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Contents

FROM THE EDITORS

REVIEWS

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.

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With the greatest sadness and regret
we came to know of the death of
Prof. Dr Andrzej Zaborski
who passed away on 1st October 2014.
Dr Habilitatus in the field of Arabic Studies, Jagiellonian University,
1976.
Dr Habilitatus in the field of African Studies, Vienna University,
1984.
Chairman of the Oriental Commission
of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch.
Member of the Committee of Oriental Studies.
Yacht captain of the sea navigation.
Holder of the Humboldt Foundation Scholarship.
Outstanding linguist, internationally renowned specialist
in Semitic and Cushitic languages,
Great authority in African Studies.
Lecturer in Afroasiatic linguistics, Semitology and Arabic studies.
Member of many national and international organisations.
Tireless and gifted tutor of many generations of students,
Uncompromising in his anxiety for the level and quality of scientific
research.
Irreplaceable Teacher and Master,
Unforgettable Colleague.
R.I.P.

In memory of Professor Andrzej Zaborski

Professor Andrzej Zaborski died on 1st October, 2014. He was one of the most prominent Polish linguists, a world-renowned specialist in Semitic and Cushitic languages, as well as an expert in comparative studies of Afro-Asiatic languages.

Born in Kraków on the 7th of October, 1942, he had remained 'a Cracauer' for the rest of his life. All levels of his education were completed in Kraków and all his degrees were received there, starting from his secondary school diploma up to his academic degrees. In 2000, he was nominated as *Professor Ordinarius* of the Jagiellonian University of Kraków. However, he was also granted a number of academic awards from several foreign institutions, including his (second) habilitation in African Studies at the University of Vienna, and the titles of visiting professor at the Universities of Heidelberg, Mainz, Torino, and Udine. He lectured at many universities, including the University of Vienna, University of Cologne, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. His research interests covered Afro-Asiatic linguistics, Semitic and Cushitic in particular, and the results of his studies were presented in many regular courses for students and during conferences worldwide. His teaching experience included regular lectures on Cushitic languages (Somali, Oromo, Beja), and also on Amharic, Tuareg and Masai.

With such a wide and diversified area of interests, his research specialization focused on Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics, gradually developing from the Semitic field, including Cushitic evidence, and extending to other branches of the macrophylum, and even crossing its boundaries. This perspective in conducting comparative work gave him credence in terms of his ideas referring to reconstruction and classification.

Professor Zaborski's academic career started in the Department of Oriental Philology of the Jagiellonian University, where he studied Arabic philology, Semitics and African linguistics. His MA thesis (1965) was entitled "The Medieval History of the Beja Tribes according to Arabic Sources". The Semitic and African comparative studies focus which emerged with this master's project

was further developed in the following stages of his academic career.

The groundwork for the next academic level, his Ph.D. thesis (1969) "Biconsonantal Verbal Roots in Semitic", was written under the supervision of the brilliant Polish linguist Prof. Jerzy Kuryłowicz. A solid linguistic background was also secured by his other teachers: Aleksy Klawek, Tadeusz Lewicki, Tadeusz Milewski, and Zenon Klemensiewicz. His subsequent academic degree, i.e. his habilitation at the Jagiellonian University in 1976, was granted on the basis of the book *The Verb in Cushitic* (1975).[1]

In the review that appeared in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* in 1977,[2] the book was evaluated as a 'pioneer attempt' to deal with comparative studies on the basis of the large material of Cushitic languages, including data that had not yet been published. Significant remarks refer to the methodology of comparative work which went beyond the techniques thus far used in Indo-European studies.

The second habilitation in African Studies, received at the University of Vienna in 1984, opened a new chapter in Andrzej Zaborski's academic career. That year he conducted fieldwork on the Dahalo language in Lamu, Kenya, later (in 1989) on Beja in Sudan. His trips to Khartoum, Port Sudan and Kassala brought an interest in Nubian and other languages of Sudan.

He continued his work at the Jagiellonian University, where he was granted the position of 'extraordinary professor' in 1989 on the basis of the work *The Morphology of Nominal Plural in the Cushitic Languages* (Wien: Afro-Pub 1986). The publication became the main source for other works on Cushitic languages. The data are

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[1] Andrzej Zaborski, *Studies Hamito-Semitic. The Verb in Cushitic*, (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, CCCXCVII. Prace Językoznawcze, Zeszyt 48), Kraków 1975: Uniwersytet Jagielloński.

[2] F. R. Palmer, (Review of) Andrzej Zaborski: *Studies in Hamito-Semitic, I. The verb in Cushitic.* (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, CCCXCVII. Prace Językoznawcze, Zeszyt 48) 184 pp. [Kraków]: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, [1975], *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40, 1, 1977, 198-202.

extensively used in comparative works on Cushitic and Afro-Asiatic until today.

With his publications and conference papers, Professor Andrzej Zaborski actively participated in an ongoing discussion on the internal classification of Afro-Asiatic. He did not share the common opinion which distinguished Omotic as a separate branch within Afro-Asiatic. Instead, he proposed classifying the so-called 'Omotic' languages as West Cushitic heavily influenced by Nilo-Saharan. The view was supported by Professor Zaborski's studies of contact phenomena between Semitic, Cushitic, and Nilo-Saharan, as well as on distinguishing language subareas in Ethiopia.[3] The genealogic tree of Afro-Asiatic became pictured in more compact bundles with his statements on the close relationship between Semitic, Berber and Cushitic, and their common larger distance in relation to Egyptian. Chadic languages began to be seen as the most distant relatives of all other branches.[4]

As a leading specialist in the morphology of Semitic and Cushitic, he presented critical evaluations of publications on Semitic and their genetic relations with other Afro-Asiatic languages. The reviews[5] were in fact articles on many issues connected to historical linguistics and methodological questions of reconstruction. He recognized the great need to maintain close cooperation between specialists in all branches of Afro-Asiatic research in order to bring the reconstruction of Afro-Asiatic to the next stage of investigations.

He himself started to extend his interests into Chadic

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[3] Andrzej Zaborski, „Ethiopian Language Subareas", in: Piłaszewicz, Stanisław, Eugeniusz Rzewuski (red.), Unwritten Testimonies of the African Past. Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Ojrzanów near Warsaw on 07-08 November 1989, *Orientalia Varsoviensia* 2, Warsaw 1991: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 123-134.

[4] Andrzej Zaborski, „Językoznawstwo afroazjatyckie albo chamito-semickie pod koniec XX wieku", *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1-2, 1996, 15-30.

[5] E.g. Andrzej Zaborski, (Review of) Edzard, L. (ed.), Semitic and Afroasiatic: Challenges and Opportunities, (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie, Band 24). Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2012, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, LXX, 2013, 3-4: 455-466.

languages and to compare the Chadic data with Afro-Asiatic evidence. One of the latest publications, a paper entitled "Questions of Chadic 'prefix' conjugations and Chado-Afroasiatic ablaut"[6], is an instance of such comparative work. It is an analysis of the Chadic verbal morphology from an external (Afro-Asiatic) perspective, which is different from the earlier approach to this question. Zaborski claims that in Chadic verbs there are traces of the Proto-Afroasiatic prefix conjugations and the recognized evolution within Chadic enables a better understanding of the evolution from the ablaut (or apophonic inflection) of Old Cushitic to analytical and 'apotonic' West Cushitic.

Professor Zaborski also specialized in translation, including the theory and practice of translation.[7] From 2002 to 2008, he edited a series of conference volumes entitled *Oriental Languages in Translation*. In his own contribution, he posed the question of whether a 'philological' translation exists, and the answer was that it does not. He argued that the language of every translation must be different from the language of the original, as languages are different, they cannot suddenly become identical, and it does not make any sense to compare language structures as such (Zaborski 2008: 37).[8]

Throughout his academic career, Profesor Zaborski performed numerous administrative functions. Since 2000, he held the Chair of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics. He was the Chief Editor of the *Folia Orientalia*, published by the Kraków Branch of the Polish

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[6] The paper was submitted as a contribution to the volume "Hausa and Chadic studies in honour of Professor Stanisław Piłaszewicz", ed. by Nina Pawlak, Ewa Siwierska, Izabela Will, Warszawa 2014: Elipsa, p. 75-84.

[7] Andrzej Zaborski, *Wspaniały świat Oceanu Indyjskiego Sulajmāna Kupca, Abū Zayda as-Sīrāfīego i Buzurga Ibn Šahrijāra: od literatury faktu do przygody i fantastyki (IX-X w.)*, Kraków 1998: Księgarnia Akademicka (przekład z języka arabskiego ze wstępem i komentarzem).

[8] Zaborski, A. "Nobody Translates Untranslatables, or Untranslatability Does Not Exist", [in] *Języki orientalne w przekładzie III, Oriental Languages in Translation* vol. 3, ed. by A. Zaborski, Marek Piela, Kraków 2008: Polish Academy of Sciences Press, 35-41.

Academy of Sciences. In 1997, he became the President of the Orientalist Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków.

Professor Zaborski was gifted tutor of many generations of students. The development of African Studies in Poland would not be possible without his interest, support, but also critical remarks, motivated by his concern for the level and quality of scientific research.

His death was a shock to his friends and colleagues. We will miss Him. May His soul rest in peace! Niech spoczywa w pokoju!

Nina Pawlak

Paul Newman
Bloomington, Indiana

The Range and Beauty of Internal Reconstruction:
Probing Hausa Linguistic History

Abstract

Using examples from Hausa, this paper demonstrates the probative
value of Internal Reconstruction (IR) as a method for unearthing linguistic
history. Five developments in the history of Hausa discovered by means of
IR are described. These are Klingenheben's Law; two previously
unrecognized diphthongs, *iu and *ui; the emergence of the phoneme /h/
from a phonetic feature of word onset; vowel lowering resulting in
asymmetry in plural formation; and the preservation of an archaic third
person singular masculine pronoun *ni in fixed compounds.

Keywords: Hausa, Klingenheben's Law, historical linguistics,
internal reconstruction, diphthongs, compounds

1. Introduction

Although Internal Reconstruction (IR) is not as well
understood nor commonly utilized as the Comparative Method, it has
a long pedigree in historical linguistics (see Hoenigswald 1944,
Kuryłowicz 1973). While recognizing the limitations of IR, most
historical linguists appreciate its value in historical linguistics and
would agree with Hock (1991: 550) when he concludes, "Internal
Reconstruction is an extremely useful and generally quite accurate
tool for the reconstruction of linguistic prehistory."

In standard historical linguistics textbooks, IR is presented as a
formal discovery technique akin to the Comparative Method. The
essence of the method is the analysis of "synchronic morphological
alternation" (Bynon 1977: 90) and the attempt to "reduce synchronic

language-internal variation to an earlier prehistoric stage of invariance" (Hock 1991: 533). This is achieved by means of formal procedures, which are spelled out in detail in, for example, Fox (1995, chapters 7 and 8, pp. 145-216), and Crowley (1997, chap. 6, pp. 119-128). This emphasis on IR as a formal technique is captured in the assertion that "Internal reconstruction is like the comparative method applied to a single language" (Campbell 1998: 201).

This unduly restrictive characterization dependent on morpheme alternants overlooks the great potential of IR for uncovering the earlier history of a language and it undervalues the scientific imagination and detailed knowledge that goes into this approach. The formal method has its place; but one can do so much more with internal evidence if one works at it. The scholar who has grasped this more than any other is Givón (see esp. 2000), who has emphasized that peculiarities, irregularities, anomalies, and such can serve as a window into the past. As he put it, "Synchronic irregularities are merely the foot-prints of diachronic change from earlier regularities" (Givón 2000: 114). IR in a broader sense is not a formal discovery method, but rather reflects the realization that from synchronic irregularities, the creative, inventive linguist can tease out a wealth of facts about a language's history and can reconstruct a dynamic picture of the language as it existed in the past. And even where this broader IR approach doesn't provide solid answers, it often exposes questions and hypotheses to be investigated.

This paper describes a number of important discoveries in the history of Hausa unearthed by IR. These include Klingenheben's Law, the identification of two previously unrecognized diphthongs, *iu and *ui, the source of the phoneme /h/, a vowel lowering rule, an explanation for asymmetry in plural formation, and the recovery of an old Chadic pronoun hidden in compounds.

2. Klingenheben's Law

Klingenheben's Law (Klingenheben 1927/28; Newman 2004), encompasses a set of historical sound changes affecting syllable-final consonants in Hausa. It presents a good illustration of the application of IR as a "method" involving morpheme alternants. The law

provides that *velar stops > **u**; *coronal stops > **ř** (a rolled/tap *r* that contrasts with a retroflex flap *r*, transcribed as **r**); and (in eastern dialects only) *labial stops (including /**f**/ [< */**p**/]) > **u** and the labial nasal *__m__ > **u**, the latter only before **n** or **r**. These changes were necessarily discovered without appeal to comparative evidence because back in the 1920s, the relationship of Hausa to its sister Chadic languages was not yet known.

What led Klingenheben to postulate his sound laws were the many surface irregularities and morpheme alternations that one finds in plural formations, in other morphological processes, and, with the labials, in western Hausa dialectal variants (noted here as d.v.). See examples in (2).

(1)   **Transcription key:** ' = glottal stop; **c** = English *ch*; **ts** = ejective [s'] or [ts'] depending on dialect; **ř** = rolled *r*; **r** = flap *r*; **k^w**, **k^y** etc. = labialized and palatalized velars, respectively; **aa** etc. = long vowel; **à** etc. = low tone; **á** etc. = high tone; **â** etc. = falling tone. Tone is marked on the first letter of long vowels only, e.g., **áa** or **àa**. Superscript ˙ indicates historical/reconstructed, and superscript ˣˣ ungrammatical/non-occurring.

(2)   **ɓáunáa** 'buffalo', pl. **ɓákàanée**
        búuzúu 'sheepskin mat', pl. **búgàajée**
        ɓáatàa 'destroy', cf. **ɓàřnáa** 'damage' (with suffix **-náa**)
        fářkàa 'wake up' (intr.), cf. **fáɗákář** 'awaken
                knowledge' (transitive with grade 5 suffix - **ář**)
        gáudáa 'a bean food' = **gábdáa** (d.v.) [dialect   variant]
        záunàa 'sit down' = **zámnàa** (d.v.)
        dàuróo 'millet' = **dàmróo** (d.v.)

Klingenheben found that aberrations such as the above could be made coherent and regular once one postulated historical sound laws and reconstructed earlier forms of the basic words by means of the laws. Taking a look at plurals only, consider the following pairs that follow the pattern of CVCCV (Hi-Hi) singulars and CVCaaCee (Hi-Lo-Hi) plurals, e.g., **gúlbíi/gúlàabée** 'stream (sg./pl.)'. Working from the internally reconstructed singular, the plural formation is

15

straightforward, and applying KL, the actually occurring singular forms result automatically, as in (3).

(3)　　**ɓáunáa** 'buffalo' (< *[*]ɓáknáa*)　　　　　　pl. **ɓákàanée**
　　　　bàtáuyèe 'a twin' (< prefix **bà** + *[*]tág^wyée*)　pl. **tág^wàayée**
　　　　búuzúu 'sheepskin mat' < *[*]búgzúu*)　　　　pl. **búgàajée**
　　　　fářkée 'itinerant merchant' (< *[*]fátkée*)　　pl. **fátàakée**
　　　　táushíi 'a drum' (< *[*]táfshíi*)　　　　　pl. **táfàashée**
　　　　ƙ'áurée 'doorway' (< *[*]ƙ'ámrée*)　　　　pl. **ƙ'ámàarée**

　　The discovery of KL depended on the presence of morpheme alternants and provided a natural explanation for alternations that at first sight appeared to be highly irregular. However, armed with KL as a regular sound law, we can go further and (partially) reconstruct earlier forms even where no morpheme alternants exist. For example, given a word of the form CVřkV or CVřgV, such as **sàřkáa** 'skin water bottle' or **bàřgóo** 'blanket', we can reconstruct the form of the word as originally having contained abutting consonants composed of a sequences of two stops, namely *[*]tk* or *[*]ɗk* and *[*]dg* respectively. Thus, even in the absence of morpheme alternants IR permits us to provide reconstructions such as the following:

(4)　a.　**càřkíi** < *[*]càtkíi* or *[*]càɗkíi*　'ox-pecker bird'
　　　　dířkàa < *[*]dítkàa* or *[*]díɗkàa*　'forked stick'
　　　　kířkìi　< *[*]kítkìi* or *[*]kíɗkìi*　'kindness, upstanding
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　behaviour'
　　　　wàřkíi < *[*]wàtkíi* or *[*]wàɗkíi*　'leather loincloth'
　　b.　**bářgìi**　< *[*]bádgìi*　'large corn bin'
　　　　búřgúu < *[*]búdgúu* 'giant male rat'
　　　　kářgóo　< *[*]kádgóo* 'the tree Bauhinia reticulata'
　　　　màřgáa < *[*]màdgáa* 'a cassia tree'

　　The reconstructed forms provided above by IR do not solve all the historical questions – on internal grounds we can't know whether the coronal consonant abutting with **k** is **t** or **ɗ** – but at least we can narrow down the possible forms to look for comparatively.

3. Internal Reconstruction of the Diphthong *iu

As is typical of Chadic languages, Hausa has two diphthongs, /ai/ and /au/, e.g., **sáimóo** 'barren land', **gáuláa** 'fool'. Synchronically they function as complex vocalic nuclei parallel to monophthongal long vowels (Newman and Salim 1981, Newman 1992), although historically they often derive from *ay and *aw. At an earlier period, Hausa, surprisingly, had two additional diphthongs, *iu and *ui, both of which had a very short half-life. The evidence for both of these diphthongs is internal, i.e., they depend on IR for their reconstruction.

Coronal and corresponding palatal obstruents are in partial complementary distribution in Hausa. The coronals occur before the back vowels; the palatals occur before the front vowels, where they constitute allophones of the corresponding coronals, and both consonants occur contrastively before /a(a)/. One thus gets the following possible contrasts, illustrated here with long vowels:[1]

(5) súu sóo sáa   sháa shée shíi   zúu zóo záa   jáa jée jíi
     túu tóo táa   cáa cée cíi   [dúu dóo dáa   (jée jíi)]

The statement that the palatals do not occur before back vowels is not in fact completely true. Although palatals are indeed infrequent before /oo/, there are many examples of palatals followed by /uu/, e.g., **shúukàa** 'sow, plant', **júunáa** 'each other', **cùutáa** 'illness'. Many of the palatals followed by /uu/ are the result of the application of KL, where the original syllable-final consonant is still evident in synchronically present morpheme alternants (including, but not limited to plurals), or in dialect variants, as in (6).

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[1] I take the position that [sh] before front vowels is an allophone of /s/ and not of the phoneme /sh/, and similarly for [j] (= /z/) and [c] (= /t/). For an alternative interpretation, see Schuh (2002). Synchronically **z** and **d** both palatalize to /j/, thereby neutralizing the distinction between the two voiced coronal obstruents. However, since the palatalization of /d/ and the connection between **d** and **j** is historically more recent (and psychologically less salient) than the allophonic relationship between **z** and **j**, I shall leave /d/ aside in the treatment here.

17

(6) **shúucìi** (< *__*__**shífcìi**) 'dry thatching grass'
                                                 = **shífcìi** (d.v.)
     shúukàa (< *__*__**shífkàa**) 'sow, plant' = **shífkàa** (d.v.)
     shúuràa (< *__*__**shíbràa**) 'kick' = **shíbràa** (d.v.)
     júudàa (< *__*__**jíbdàa**) 'musk' = **jíbdàa** (d.v.)
     júujíi (< *__*__**jíbjíi**) 'refuse-heap' (pl. **jíbàajée**)
     júunáa (< *__*__**jíknáa**) 'each other' cf. **jìkíi** 'body'
                                                 (**-náa** is a frozen suffix)
     júurèe (< *__*__**jímrèe**) 'withstand (hardship or pain)'
                                                 = **jímrèe** (d.v.)
     cúuràa (< *__*__**cíbràa**) 'knead into balls' = **cíbràa** (d.v.)

Given CiC- syllables where the syllable-final consonant is a labial or a velar and the operation of KL changing that syllable-final consonant to **u**, the result *had* to have been a diphthong **iu**, e.g., *__*__**cíbràa** > **cíuràa** 'knead into balls', *__*__**jíknáa** > **jíunáa** 'each other', cf. *__*__**ɓáknáa** > **ɓáunáa** 'buffalo'. Whereas the **au** diphthong generated by KL was retained, the *__*__**iu** diphthong monophthongized to **uu** and was thereby eliminated, although the originally conditioned palatals remained as such.

There are a few examples of words with palatals plus /**uu**/ where KL was not involved. The examples in (7) provide further confirmation of the former existence of the *__*__**iu** diphthong.

(7) **cùutáa** (< *__*__**cìutáa** < *__*__**cìwtáa**) 'illness', from **cíiwòo** + suffix **-táa**
     shúu (< *__*__**shíu**) 'silence', clipped form of **shírúu**
     júuyàa < *__*__**jíuyàa** < *__*__**jíwyàa** 'turn around' = **jíwùyáa** (d.v.)

Once we recognize the role of KL and the intermediate *__*__**iu** diphthong in the historical development of Hausa, we can reconstruct forms with a high probability of accuracy even in the absence of extant allomorphs or related morphological forms. Thus in all of the following cases, we can assume that a syllable-final velar has been lost. Although it is not always clear which velar has been lost, we can be fairly sure that it was a velar and not a labial. Since the labial portion of KL is dialect restricted, if these words had contained a

18

bilabial, that form would still show up elsewhere, i.e., in this case, the absence of evidence is evidence! Examples (without tone or final vowel length marked in the reconstructed forms):

(8)   **shúuɗìi** < *__shiuɗi__ < *__shiKɗi__ 'blue'
    shúuníi < *__shiuni__ < *__shiKni__ 'indigo dye'
    shúuɗèe < *__shiuɗe__ < *__shiKɗe__ 'pass through'
    cúuɗèe < *__ciuɗe__ < *__ciKɗe__ 'become confused'
    cúunàa < *__ciuna__   < *__ciKna__ 'side seam joining lower ends
                                                   of gown'
    cúusàa < *__ciusa__ < *__ciksa__ 'stuff in' (possibly related to
                                              cíkàa 'fill')

4. Internal Reconstruction of the Diphthong *ui

Hausa has a set of labialized velars: **kʷ**, **gʷ**, and **ƙʷ**. As with the semivowel **w**, they do not occur followed by front vowels; thus, whereas **Kʷa(a)** (where K represents the three velar consonants **k**, **g**, and **ƙ**) for example, is very common and *feels* normal, **Kʷii** seems unusual. Whenever /**aa**/ following /**w**/ or a labialized velar is replaced by /**ii**/ in morphological formations, the labialization is lost, or, perhaps more accurately, the labialized **Cʷ** is replaced by a corresponding palatalized **Cʸ**, although orthographically this automatic palatal offglide is not represented, neither in standard orthography nor in the usual scholarly transcriptions.

(9)   **ìgʷáa** 'canon, artillery gun' + **-oCi** pl. (where C is a copy of
    the preceding consonant) → **ígóogíi**
    àgʷàagʷáa 'duck' + **-i** pl. → **àgʷàagíi**

This replacement of labialization by palatalization also applies to the semivowel /**w**/, i.e., **w** + **ii** → **yii**. This is shown in (10).

(10)   **cìyáawàa** 'grass' + **-i** pl. → **cìyàayíi**
    kàasúwáa 'market' + **-oCi** pl. → **káasúwóoyíi**

Despite the above, which one would think should rule out the possibility of **Kʷii** existing in Hausa, there are in fact quite a number of examples of labialized velars followed by /ii/, as seen in (11).

(11)　a.　**dúƙʷíi** 'children's playful trick'
　　　　ɗùskʷíi 'horned owl'
　　　　gʷíiɓàa 'sediment'
　　　　gʷíiwàa 'knee'
　　　　kʷíiɓìi 'flesh on the side of the body'
　　　　túkʷíicìi 'small gift'
　　　b.　**bùƙʷíi** 'in a bare, exposed state' *ideophone*
　　　　lúƙʷíi 'powdery, very fine' *ideophone*
　　　c.　**cúkʷíi** 'cheese' = **cúkúu**
　　　　zúgʷíigʷìitáa 'exaggerate' (with **-taa** verbal suffix)
　　　　cf. **zùgúugùu** 'exaggeration'

The large number of such words as **gʷíiwàa** 'knee' shows that they cannot be treated as mere "exceptions". The historical explanation, suggested on internal rather than comparative grounds, is that these examples do *not* actually manifest labialized /**Kʷ**/ + /**ii**/, but rather are /**K**/ + /**ui**/, i.e., **kwíi⟨ìi** comes from *ˌ**kúi⟨ìi**, etc. The historical sequence would have been *ˌ**kúi⟨ìi** > *ˌ**kʷúi⟨ìi** (adding redundant phonetic labialization), followed by monophthongization of *ˌ**ui** to **ii**, resulting in present-day **kʷíi⟨ìi**.

The examples of alternative forms in 11c with and without **Kʷii** also support the analysis presented here. Assuming that the historically earlier forms all contained *ˌ/**ui**/, for example *ˌ**cúkúi**, then the difference in the present-day forms would have simply been due to whether the diphthong *ˌ/**ui**/ monophthongized to /**ii**/, giving **cúkʷíi**, or to /**uu**/, giving **cúkúu**, and similarly with the related pairs **zúgʷíigʷìitáa** and **zùgúugùu**.

Explaining the existence of **Kʷii** by appeal to a former *ˌ/**ui**/ diphthong is fine except that we are now left with the question of where this *ˌ/**ui**/, a diphthong generally unattested in Chadic, came from. We know from comparative evidence that Hausa underwent a

historical sound law changing non-initial, especially (only?) syllable-final, *r to i/y. When the erstwhile *r was in syllable-final position, the result was often an **ai** diphthong, e.g., Proto-Chadic *mar > **mâi** 'oil' (note also PC *$kirfi$ > **kíifíi** 'fish'). This leads to the hypothesis, which needs to be confirmed, that the **ui** diphthong, underlying current day **K**ʷ**ii** syllables, derived from *$/ur/$, e.g., **g**ʷ**íiɓàa** 'sediment' < *$gúiɓàa$ < *$gúrɓàa$. Here we have reached the limit of what IR can do for us. The answer is going to depend on comparative evidence; but in leading to the reconstruction of *ui, IR has enabled us to focus on what kind of comparative evidence to look for.

Interestingly, two linguists who are native speakers of Hausa (Abubakar 1983/85 and Sani 1999) have postulated **ui** as a synchronically existing diphthong alongside **ai** and **au**. Although I am sympathetic to the idea, I am not entirely convinced that this analysis holds up for the language as it currently exists; however, that one can reconstruct **ui** (and **iu**) on internal grounds as formerly having been a part of the language strikes me as almost certain. That is, at some period in the past, Hausa, untypical by Chadic standards, had four, not two, diphthongs, the common **ai** and **au**, plus the unusual *ui and *iu.

5. Origin of h

Before the back rounded vowels, [h] is an allophone of /f/, e.g., **táhóo** 'come' (= /táfóo/), a grade 6 verb with the **-óo** ventive suffix, cf. **tàfí** 'go'; **tsóohóo** 'old (man)', cf. the partially reduplicated plural **tsòofàffíi**; **húɗú** 'four' = dialect variant **fúɗú**. Excluding recent loanwords, [h] in Standard Hausa does not occur before the front vowels /i(i)/ and /e(e)/. It does occur before /a/, where it contrasts with /f/, but always in word-initial position, e.g., **háɗàa** 'combine', cf. **fáɗàa** 'tell to'. The question is: what is the historical origin of this /h/ phoneme, i.e., what does it correspond to elsewhere in Chadic? Given the prevalence of gutturals and velar fricatives in languages of the Afroasiatic phylum, one would expect to trace Hausa /h/ back to a source in the consonantal system of proto-Chadic, although not to *h itself since a distinct /h/ phoneme is relatively rare in Chadic and not reconstructable for the proto-

language (Newman 1977). Skinner (1976) investigated the matter from a comparative perspective and surprisingly came up with nothing. Looking at the question from an internal point of view, I discovered that the reason that Skinner found nothing was because /**h**/ does come from nothing! The source of Hausa /**h**/ is initial *Ø (Newman 1976), i.e. /**h**/ came not from another consonant, but from an originally non-distinctive phonetic feature of word onset. The clues leading to this discovery, and evidence for its correctness, came from internal facts about the behaviour of /**h**/ and its similarities to glottal stop, whose history is well known.

First, excluding loanwords, /**h**/ is limited to word-initial position, e.g., **háɓòo** 'nosebleed', **hádàa** 'combine, unite'. This is not what would have been the case if /**h**/ were a reflex of a fricative *$\mathbf{x}$ or some other full-fledged consonant. Moreover, this restriction is shared with glottal stop, which was introduced into Hausa as a feature of word onset (Greenberg 1947).

Second, as with glottal stop, the /**a**/ following initial /**h**/ is invariably short. In normal CVCV words, length is (and was) distinctive for the first vowel, which occurs long at least as often as it occurs short. By contrast, at an earlier period when Hausa had vowel initial words - it doesn't now because of the addition of the prothetic glottal stop - those vowels were invariably short (Newman 1979). The restriction on the length of /**a**/ in /**ha**/ syllables follows automatically from the fact that the words containing these syllables were original vowel-initial. That is, since in a word such *$\mathbf{áɓ\grave{o}}$ the phonotactics of the language required that the initial /**a**/ be short, the /**a**/ that appears in **háɓòo** is necessarily short.

The third clue to the origin of /**h**/ is a bit more complicated and relates to a restriction applying to glottal stop. Hausa words never contain a sequence of non-identical glottal(ized) consonants. Thus, **ɗákà** 'in the room' and **bàaƙóo** 'stranger' are acceptable whereas ˣˣ**ɗaƙa** and ˣˣ**ɓaaƙoo** are not. This restriction also applies to glottal stop, and so we find words such as **'ádóo** 'adornment' and **'áskìi** 'shaving', but not ˣˣ**'áɗóo** or ˣˣ**'áƙàa**. On first thought this seems natural and straightforward, but on deeper reflection the restriction presents a problem. We know that glottal stop in Hausa is a new

phoneme and that before it was added, Hausa had vowel-initial words. For example, with VCV words, there is no inherent reason why the C couldn't have been glottalized. Thus, the language should have had words such as *áɗóo and *áƙàa, which, when the glottal stop was added, would have become ˣˣ'áɗóo and ˣˣ'áƙàa; but words of this shape are absent. Why? The answer is that words such as *áƙàa *did* exist and that they are still alive and well represented, but with an **h** onset instead of glottal stop onset. When Hausa developed from a language with vowel-initial words into one that required a consonantal onset for all syllables, **h** stepped in to do the job in situations where the addition of a glottal stop was phonotactically prohibited. The examples in (12) show formerly vowel initial words now containing initial **h** where a following consonant is glottalized. (Note that orthographic **ts** represents an ejective, glottalized consonant.)

(12) **háɓàa** 'chin'   < *Øaɓa
      hátsíi 'grain'   < *Øatsi
      háɗèe 'to swallow' < *Øaɗe
      háƙàa 'dig'   < *Øaƙa

In sum, a careful analysis of internal restrictions and distributional peculiarities led to the discovery of the origin of /h/ which comparative work had failed to provide. However, problems remain. Consider (13):

(13) **hámàtáa** 'armpit'
      háncìi 'nose'
      hánjìi 'intestines'
      hánnúu 'arm, hand'
      hárshèe 'tongue'
      hántàa 'liver' (= dialectal **'ántàa**)
      háifù 'give birth' (= dialectal **'áifù**)
      hànzáa 'the shrub *Boscia angustifolia*' (= dialectal **'ànzáa**)

Because of the restriction against adding glottal stop to words that contained a glottalized consonant, one had to add **h** to such words, as seen in (12). But there is no phonological reason why ' couldn't have been added to words such as those in (13) that lacked a glottalized consonant. The question then is what accounts for the historical choice of **h** vs. ' (or **h** and ' both occurring as dialectal variants). For the moment, I have no answer: the solution may lie in comparative evidence, but most likely it will come out of a consideration of subtle internal factors the importance of which have failed to recognize.

6. Reformulating a Morphological Rule of Plural Formation and the Discovery of a Vowel Lowering Rule

Hausa has a wealth of plural formations (see Newman 2000). Most involve affixation (often -VCV), or suffixal reduplication, usually with an associated tone pattern, e.g., **zóomóo** 'hare'/pl. **zóomàayée; kúlkíi** 'cudgel'/pl. **kúlàakée; kéesòo** 'grass mat'/pl. **kéesúnàa; dámóo** 'land monitor'/pl. **dámàamée; táagàa** 'window' / pl. **táagóogíi**. A small number of basic disyllabic nouns with the canonical shape CVCV with the first vowel /**aa**/ form their plurals by final vowel replacement, e.g., **ráamìi** 'hole'/pl. **ráamúu; tsàakóo** 'chick'/pl. **tsàakíi**. The essence of the formation rule is that a front vowel is replaced by high tone /**úu**/ and a back vowel by high tone /**íi**/. (The **t/c, s/sh**, and **z/j** alternations, which depend on the following vowel, are automatic.)

(14) i → u : **máashìi** 'spear'/pl. **máasúu;**
              ráamìi 'hole'/pl. **ráamúu**

      o → i : **kʷàaɗóo** 'frog'/pl. **kʷàaɗíi;**
              bàaƙóo 'stranger, guest'/pl. **bàaƙíi;**
              màazóo 'antelope'/pl. **màajíi;**
              tsàakóo 'chick'/pl. **tsàakíi**

This plural formation involves flip-flop whereby a front vowel goes to back and a back vowel goes to front, but the two parts of the

rule are not symmetrical. The **i** → **u** part looks fine, but, when one stops and thinks about it (as no Hausaist that I am aware of had ever done) the **o** → **i** part is curious. To begin with, **o** → **i** doesn't match **i** → **u** exactly in that the singular has a mid rather than a high vowel. Second, the **o** → **i** vowel switch involves raising as well as fronting. Given that the switching rule with final back vowels only applies to **oo**, the obvious question is how do **uu**-final singulars of this shape form their plurals? Surprisingly, apart from a few apparent loanwords, e.g., **gàařúu** 'town wall'/pl. **gáařúkàa**, such words do not exist. That is, Hausa lacks singular nouns of the form C**aa**C**uu**. This is a very strange gap given that **uu** is a common word-final vowel and **aa** is a very common syllable-initial vowel. The explanation, discovered by IR, is that Hausa underwent a conditioned vowel lowering rule, *uu > oo / CaaC___ (Newman 1990). Thus, the final mid vowel **oo** that one finds in the vowel-switching plurals comes from *uu, e.g., **tsàakóo** 'chick' < *tsàakúu, etc. Postulation of this rule not only accounts for the missing **uu**-final singular nouns, it also allows us to reformulate and thereby understand the vowel switching plural formation, which can now be described simply as **ii** ↔ **uu**, as in (15).

(15)   **ráamìi** 'hole'   →   pl. **ráamúu**
          *tsàakúu (now **tsàakóo**) 'chick'   →   pl. **tsàakíi**

As if the above were not enough, this historical rule provides an extra bonus in our understanding of Hausa. Although some current-day disyllabic singular nouns with final **oo** form their plurals by means of the vowel switching formation, not all do, e.g. **ràagóo** 'ram'/pl. **ráagúnàa**, cf. **bàaƙóo** 'stranger'/pl. **bàaƙíi**. One could dodge the problem by saying that plural choice is random and/or lexically specific, but there is now a good explanation at hand. This explanation, which needs to be verified, is that the vowel switching formation only applies to words that historically had high final vowels and that words with final mid vowels had a different plural formation. That is, the vowel switching plural applies, for example, to **bàaƙóo** since it historically comes from *bàaƙúu, but not with the

25

similar looking **ràagóo**, since that comes from *****ràagóo** where the final **-oo** is original. In sum, final **uu** and final **oo** have merged in the specific phonological environment of a long **aa** in the preceding syllable, with the result that one cannot see any phonological difference synchronically, but the plural formation employed allows us to reconstruct which vowel was originally present, as in (16).

(16)   **bàaƙóo** < *****bàaƙúu,** pl. **bàaƙíi** 'stranger'
        ràagóo < *****ràagóo,** pl. **ráagúnàa** 'ram'

7. Reconstructed Pronoun *ni* 'him/it'

The indefinite determiner/pronoun 'some(one)' has three forms depending on gender and number. (Hausa does not distinguish gender in the plural.)

(17)   m.sg.   **wání**:   **wání ɗáalìbíi**   'some male student'
                          wání yáa zóo   'someone (m.) he came'
        f.sg.   **wátá**:   **wátá ɗáalìbáa**   'some female student'
                          wátá táa zóo   'someone (f.) she came'
        pl.   **wású**:   **wású ɗàalìbái**   'some students'
                          wású sún zóo   'some (pl.) they came'

The indefinites are clearly composed of a formative **wá-**, possibly related to the question word **wàa** 'who', plus some other element. This element is obviously a personal pronoun, as can be seen from a paradigm such as the following object set (tone variable depending on usage):

(18)   sg: 1s **ni**   2m **ka**   2f **ki**   3m **shi**   3f **ta**
        pl: 1p **mu**   2p **ku**   3p **su**

The analysis of the indefinites looks simple, i.e., **wátá** = **wá** + **ta** 3f; **wású** = **wá** + **su** 3pl and **wání** = **wá** + **ni** 1s. But if one stops to thinks about it, the analysis provides a result that is skewed and unbalanced. It is odd that the masculine indefinite should employ the 1st person pronoun when the other two forms use the appropriate 3rd

person pronouns. To be consistent, the masculine form should contain a 3rd person masculine singular pronoun, and comparative Chadic evidences suggests that this is indeed so (Newman 1972). In Hausa, the pronoun **ni** in **wání** looks just like the 1st person pronoun, but in related Chadic languages **ni** is a 3rd person masculine form differing from the first person, which also begins with /**n**/, in the vowel and/or the tone. In Bole, for example, a language of the same West-Chadic branch as Hausa, the 1st and 3rd singular pronouns belonging to the "complement" paradigm (used for indirect objects, possessives, etc.) are 1s **no**, 3m **ni**, and 3f **to** (Lukas 1970/71: 251). What apparently happened in Hausa is that the 1st and 3rd m. pronouns fell together phonologically after which Hausa dropped the **ni** 3m pronoun and replaced it with the 3m pronoun **sa/shi** that was already available in other paradigms. The form **wání**, however, had become frozen and thus stayed as is rather than being replaced by something like ˣˣ**wáshí**.

That the *ni one sees in **wání** was originally a 3m pronoun seems incontrovertible. What is strange is that Hausa could have lost this 3m **ni** everywhere in the language except in this one form. One would expect that if one dug deeply and carefully enough, one would find other traces of this erstwhile 3m pronoun; and one does.

Hausa is incredibly rich in compounds, well exemplified in the Yale Hausa dictionaries (R. M. Newman 1990; P. Newman 2007) and the subject of two excellent studies (Ahmad 1994; McIntyre 2006). One structural type consists of a verb plus a personal pronoun object plus additional material, such as a clause, a 'with' phrase, or an adverbial, e.g., **bìi-tá-dà-kállóo** (follow-her/it-with-looking) 'attractive decoration on back of a woman's wrapper'. The most commonly occurring pronoun in this type of compound is **ní**, which has always been assumed to be the 1st person singular pronoun and thus glossed as 'me'. Here are typical examples, with the literal gloss in parentheses.

(19)   **bàř-ní-dà-múugùu** (leave-me-with-ugliness) 'acne'
         bìi-ní-kà-láalàacée (follow-me-you-break down)
         'fragile branch'

bìi-ní-kà-tsìntáa (follow-me-you-pick it up)
'anything hanging down the back of the neck by a cord'
tàɓáa-ní-kà-sáamùu (touch-me-you-get it)
'name of several trees providing useful products'

The only other pronoun commonly used in compounds of this type is **tá** 'her/it (f.)', as in (20).

(20)   **bàa-tá-káashí** (give-her-excrement)
'turmoil, fight'
bìi-tá-dà-ƙullíi (follow-her-with-punching)
'adding insult to injury'
rìgàa-tá-gádóo (precede-her-bed)
'plaits on the side of the head'
sàu-tá-gà-wáawáa (release-her-to-a fool)
'short-lived marriage'

Compounds of this type are pretty much limited to **ní** 'me' and **tá** 'her/it', but this is weird. Since compounds are formed readily with the 3rd feminine pronoun, there doesn't seem to be any *a priori* reason, semantic or otherwise, why they shouldn't readily make use of the 3rd masculine pronoun. The answer is that compounds with the 3rd masculine object pronoun probably do exist, parallel to the ones with the feminine pronoun, but we have failed to recognize this because of the form of the pronoun. Instead of using **shí**, the normal 3m object pronoun in current-day Hausa, the compounds are making use of the historically archaic *ni 3m pronoun that we first identified as such in the indefinite form **wání**. Significant here is the fact that there are a couple of compounds that have alternative forms employing both **ní** and **tá**.

(21) **bìi-tá-dà-zúgúu** (follow-her/it (f.)-with-burial cloth)
    = **bìi-ní-dà-zúgúu** (follow-him/it (m.)-with-burial cloth)
        'physic nut'
    bìi-tá-zàizài (follow-her-*zàizài* [ideophone indicating going round and round])

28

= **bìi-ní-zàizài** (follow-him-*zàizài*) 'a charm / love potion that makes a person irresistible'

The above alternatives would be strange if you viewed one member of the pair as 3rd person (feminine) and the other as 1st person. By contrast the alternative pairs follow naturally if one considers them as parallel equivalents, both employing the 3rd person but differing only in gender.

8. Conclusion

The strength of IR is not in providing errorless reconstructions, but in leading to new ideas, hypotheses, and questions. It is a creative way to account for anomalies in a language, to expand one's understanding of the past, and to appreciate the language's historical development. What I have shown in this study of Hausa is that if one digs deeply, the possibilities of applying IR are not rare but can be found widely throughout the language.

To the extent that historical linguists have thought about IR, they have tended to view it as a restricted method applicable only when morpheme alternants are present. What I have shown in this paper is that all irregularities and anomalies in the synchronic state of a language, whatever their nature, can potentially provide hints and insight into the language's past. The exciting thing about this approach is that there are no *a priori* limits on what kinds of data one can use and what kinds of historical information one can retrieve. Unlike the Comparative Method, which, although extremely important, is in many ways a tedious and intellectually pedestrian approach to masses of raw data, IR as envisioned here requires in-depth knowledge, insightful understanding of the language in question, and a creative and fertile mind. This is what makes IR so difficult, and also what makes it so challenging.

Dedication. This paper is dedicated to my longtime friend and colleague Larry Hyman, a prolific scholar of wide-ranging knowledge whose work in African linguistics and theoretical phonology is characterized by perceptiveness, creativity, and high scientific standards.

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African languages in education.
Orality as a way forward[1] [2]

Abstract

In Africa, the use of African languages in education is often re-
duced to a mere change of medium. This cannot work, as past experiences
have amply shown and this rationale is even reinforced by globalization.
The use of African languages in school must be buttressed on their inner
strength, viz., local lore and orality. We suggest this can be achieved
through a revamped and rebased primary schooling relying on the implica-
tion of community members. This in turn could alleviate some of the short-
comings formal education presently experiences. Such a change of frame-
work is urgent, particularly in urban areas, to ensure transmission of linguis-
tic and cultural legacies.

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[1] This is a substantially reworked version of a paper published in the Hon-
our of Prof. Eugeniusz Rzewuski (M. Lafon 2014). My gratitude to the edi-
tors for permission to republish it. I am indebted to Prof. Brenzinger whose
meticulous review of a few pages of a first draft triggered me to try and
improve it. Obviously the analysis and opinions expressed here as well as
all shortcomings remain my sole responsibility. Please refer to the first ver-
sion of the paper for comprehensive acknowledgments.

[2] This essay was elaborated with, mostly, South Africa, particularly urban
South Africa, in mind. However, beyond regional or national specificities, I
feel the analysis may capture the essence of a process at play in the whole
sub-Saharan part of the continent. Thus, the suggestion, *mutatis mutandis*,
claims to be valid across the whole area.

In Africa, vertical transmission of languages and culture is less and less ensured. In the name of, inter alia, progress, now compounded by globalization, African languages are sidelined in official and prestige domains, including education, confining them to the private realm. Should this situation be allowed to continue, more and more languages of the continent will face extinction while others, seemingly less at risk due to high numbers, will in turn become endangered. As the competency of their speakers dwindle irrevocably, whole sets of cultural trove will become inaccessible. Already, the youth, especially in urban or semi-urban areas is seldom aware of what should constitute their cultural and linguistic heritage. Only an action directed towards the new and upcoming generations can halt this process. Still, occasional efforts by various stake-holders, from Governments to NGOs and communities towards the maintenance and promotion of local languages, including all important education policies where they exist, well intended as they might be, have proved so far largely ineffective. A new approach is in order. It should be based on what has made Africa great, viz. orality. Orality, the media in which African languages excelled, must be brought into the schools through genuine texts, drawn from authentic sources. This would open up an avenue to Africanize (or localize) the education framework, both in contents and forms, fostering an hybrid system combining in various fashions western schooling to pre-colonial practices. The all too often discarded past offer means to ensure African languages are afforded their due place. There is urgency. If, in many instances there is probably still time, should nothing happen, the writing (!), as they say, is on the wall.

Trama tsilo, bo wendza manyo!, here is the maize, those who have teeth![3]

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[3] Comorian proverb, *let's brace ourselves for the task ahead!*

Introduction

Language is central to our condition as human beings. "To be human is to exist in language" writes Capra (1996; in Chambers 2005: 120). And he adds: "In language we coordinate our behaviour, and together in language we bring forth our world". The circumstances where language is acquired and developed inform decisively our perception of ourselves and of our identities (Horsthemke 2004, 580). Agdebo quoting a Unesco report (Agdebo et al. 2012: 45) states that the very first years, up to year 8, constitute "the critical foundation for cognitive, linguistic and general developmental milestones". These capacities are enhanced by the affectivity that, in normal circumstances, binds the child to his/her caretaker(s). However, the time spent by learners in school in addition to travel to and fro limit often drastically opportunities for parents or guardians to nurse their children into their culture, especially when they are working. To make things worse, in large parts of urban Africa today, all too often the natural environment – the immediate family and surrounding community – has fallen prey to the combined blows of poverty, displacement, isolation, family dismemberment and other social ills, not to forget wars foreign or internal and diseases. In 2011, according to a report from the South African Institute of Race Relations (http://www.iol.co.za/lifestyle/family/parenting/single-parent-households-the-norm-says-study-1.1057033, November 2013) in South Africa households made of single-parent – usually mothers – have become the norm while nearly 100 000 children live in child-headed ones.

Socialization, naturally, is not limited to the family. Much happens outside. However, in respect of language transmission, one has to acknowledge the complex sociolinguistic settings prevalent in African urban or semi-urban areas, where constant rural emigration from inside and outside national borders have yielded the replacement of 'original' languages by mixed varieties, in a process akin to

rampant creolization. [4] According to a recent study in an area of Soweto South Africa (Aycard personal communication; see also (Aycard 2014), these varieties tend to become the first language of children. This context falls short of proper linguistic input, as speakers of those varieties "may not necessarily be able to develop full competence in each (or even any?)[5] of the languages of the amalgam" (Makoni in Beck 2010: 25). Among the consequences "language shift, language loss and ultimately language death" (Pütz 2004: 67 quoting Brenzinger), at an unprecedented speed (M. Lafon 2013a). In recent years, this trend has been compounded, especially in locale in the continent which witness a measure of economic growth, by significant influxes of population from further away. Serious as it is, this process is even aggravated, through all social strata, and irrespective of national origins, by unmonitored exposure to alien TV/video programs now further disseminated through cellphones. On top of it, in the name of pragmatism, it often happens, especially in privileged families and also among immigrants, that the dominant western language, which is the language of the school, becomes the language of the home. This leads to a situation where parents are "raising little foreigners in their home" as observed sadly by the famous Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiongo (Time of the Writer Festival, Durban, 2007). As a consequence, "the mental space in which people dream is occupied by western imagery [and] the innumerable varieties of 'being human' are eliminated" (Odora Hoppers 2002: 80). Globalization, which, in Africa, amounts rather to westernization under a capitalist liberal paradigm (Ndhlovu 2013: 38), carried by the modern means of communication ensures that there is hardly any space left untouched by the pressure of the dominant

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[4] Most languages and cultures existing betray signs of creolization, much beyond so-called creole languages. English is an oft-quoted example alongside, in Africa, Swahili, Songhay, Sango, not to mention Afrikaans. However the present situation differs drastically from past processes by its global reach and constant interconnectivity, which do not leave space for languages to evolve on their own.
[5] Our comment.

western language(s) and culture(s). In many reaches of the continent, the crucial process of vertical transmission of language and culture is therefore at serious risk, which may result in their loss and general homogenization through the adoption of, to add insult to injury, (originally) alien languages.

Concomitantly, and not unexpectedly, there is a growing emphasis on schooling, even if only ca. half of the countries of the continent have reached like South Africa the goal of extending primary education to all (see inter alia Pôle de Dakar 2007: 333).

Thus, for a majority of the youth in Africa, schools have become the main loci for acquiring knowledge, skills and abilities, and that has come to include their own language and culture.

A historical view of education in Africa

In spite of its present prevalence across the world, the formal, western school does not equate with education as a whole. Education, "(…) the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of a society" (Webster on line (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/education, Nov. 2013), is a diverse and far-reaching process encompassing a variety of practices. It is the way by which human communities groom the youth into adults, who will, when time comes, carry over the burden of ensuring that the community survive and prosper and that its legacy blooms.

African societies, like all other societies in the world, have each developed their own strategies of education where the family and the community played their role. In most areas, children would learn about their community, its mores, beliefs, moral codes and behaviors through the well-documented tale-telling sessions, which gathered the young around an adult, during many a night, together with other language-driven activities. According to Rodney (in (Abdi, Puplampu, and Dei 2006: 15), close links with social life, collective nature, progressive development in conformity with children's age, as well as no separation between education and productive activity, and between manual and intellectual domains, were all characteristic of African systems. To mark the turning point into adulthood, in many societies, girls and boys would be initiated, a process that

included relevant teachings, such as "the love and protection of nature" (Haire & Matjila 2008: 161) but also proper use of language as well as secret languages or professional codes. And there were the avoidance rules, known in South Africa as *hlonipha* custom (from the Zulu/Xhosa term), which required brides and bridegrooms to avoid certain terms alluding or bearing phonic resemblance to in-laws' names. These made for intricate language knowledge. Moreover, in what (Akkari and Dassen 2004) refers to as "situated education", children, according to their gender and age, would be associated to activities central to the continuation of the family and the group – herding cattle, cultivating, fetching wood and water, nourishing and catering for the smalls, etc, all activities immersed in language. Indeed, a crucial feature that cuts across all African education practices is their reliance on orality. With very few exceptions – Ge'ez in Ethiopia and, much later, Vai and its sequels in West Africa whose impact was restrained by the secrecy that surrounded them (see http://classes.bnf.fr/ecritures/arret/lesecritures/afrique/01.htm, Nov. 2013) – pre-colonial African societies, unlike Indian or Asian ones (see for instance Mohanti 2006 for India, Kosonen 2013 for South-East Asia) did not develop their own scripts, nor, apart from Muslim communities, did they adopt an imported system.

The Western type of formal education came to Africa along with colonial domination. Western school relies on two main pillars alien to African cultures, namely i) the school itself as an institution insulated from everyday's life that "involves learning out of the context of action, by means that are primarily symbolic" (Bruner in Graff 1987: 18) also (Chanaiwa 1981: 229), and ii) literacy, understood as implying "basic or primary levels of reading and writing" and "a set of techniques for communications and for decoding and reproducing written or printed materials" (Graff 1987: 18, 19). The importance of literacy for western education cannot be understated. "Literacy is the key to the curriculum. Virtually all schooling after the first year or two assumes pupil literacy" (Hannon in Bloch 2000: 4). That alone made Western education stand in total contrast with pre-existing African ways. Moreover, in the colonial school Africa's own strategies of education had no place. "Colonialism would un-

dermine the pragmatism and relevance of education in African society" (Abdi et al. 2006: 4). Africans were thus "educated away from their cultures" as Brock-Utne (2000: 17) put it so appropriately. After all, African education fell largely under Christian missions whose prime aim was to 'civilize', viz. to 'Christianize', 'natives' deemed to have no culture of their own or cultures not worthy of formal recognition and maintenance. So much so that, even when African languages were used in the first rungs of the education ladder, there was hardly any content adaptation to the African soil. To feature in the curriculum African language texts had to conform in terms of genres, topics and views as well as medium (written rather than oral).

After Independence, in spite of the fact that education policies had become (presumably) national prerogatives, even as its extension was sought in most countries western education remained the model, undergoing only cosmetic changes. This was probably to be expected since the new rulers were in their number products of that very system and many drew on their educational achievements to foster their legitimacy, creating expectations among the populace. With a handful of exceptions, Tanzania "education for self-reliance" under Nyerere's *ujamaa* policy being one, now buried along with the memory of the socialist ideal which inspired it (see Vavrus 2002: 375),[6] education provided by independent African states remained Euro-centred. Of course, this cannot be divorced from the fact that the African states themselves are but colonial creations, of which the education system is part and parcel. No significant attempt was made to reshape education within the respective indigenous cultural paradigms by bringing in local practices. Rather, those practices were often derided as primitive and dismissed (Horsthemke 2004: 573). What subsisted of them was discouraged, if not forbidden, as in revolutionary Mozambique (M. Lafon 2008). Calls for an 'African curriculum' were not translated into realities (Brock-Utne 2000: 9). "The educational goals are oriented towards the reception of western ideas and the acquisition of knowledge and skills considered to be

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[6] Interestingly, "mwalimu" Julius Nyerere was himself trained as a school teacher as his familiar nickname recalls.

relevant in western societies" (Hanf et al. 1975: 69). And imperialist agendas (Prah 2009: 85) played their part. Links with former colonial countries provided support, in terms of teachers and manuals, allowing for equivalence, transfers, etc. and, for a tiny minority, access to foreign Universities. The proclamation of the Education for All strategy in 1990 has in many places dealt a final blow to what was left of traditional education (Lewandowski 2012 *à propos* Burkina), even if, in countries such as South Africa, the acknowledgment of cultural rights as prescribed in the Constitution leads (or compels, depending on the principal and teachers' own inclinations) schools to condone, to some extend at least, the absence of learners undergoing initiation and other traditional practices (own research, Mamelodi, Pretoria). Be it as it may, in school proper, the global education paradigm pushed by the international agencies (Samoff 1999) ensures that the Western influence prevails in pedagogy and curriculum design if not in contents. "the common discourse of learner-centredness, as promoted in the English speaking West, has become controlling and culturally corrective in its prescriptions of how students ought to behave in the classroom" writes (Holliday 2005: 130). (Brock-Utne 2000: 35 & seq) describes several cases where this influence has been exercised to the detriment of local contents. Some private schools even prepare for exams from the former colonial country, thus locating themselves outside national education systems (Vavrus 2002: 377 for Tanzania). This fosters dependency, both financial and ideological as (Qorro 2009, 73) illustrates for Tanzania again. Without effective national ownership, it is bound that the western paradigm in education would prevail.

This aping, down to nitty-gritty details, of an institution that prospered in widely different historical, social and cultural dispensation, resulted in maintaining if not broadening the gap between schools and the communities, in terms of settings – schools which "did not grow out of the local societies" (Hanf et al. 1975: 68) are the direct heir of the convents- or barracks- style establishments of 18-19th century Europe – as well as practices and knowledge contents.

Manuals are "geared to an English language mediated imagined[7] common culture" as observe (Peresuh and Masuku 2002: 29) for Zimbabwe. Indeed, the notion of a universally valid school curriculum must be seen, like universalism (Odora-Hoppers, in Brock-Utne 2000: 11), as a delusion that hides assimilation into Western cultures. (Roy Campbell-Makini 2000: 112) puts it best: "Knowledge brought by the Europeans has become enshrined in the curricula of most educational institutions in Africa while African beliefs and practices are viewed by the Europeans and the most successful products of their educational system as backwards and uncivilized". Thus, school remains a main lever for cultural assimilation, leading to "the colonization of the minds", to quote from Ngugi's strong-minded denunciation.

No wonder local languages were and remain largely overlooked in the process. There is a strong link between language and the curriculum. The use of local African languages in school makes sense only if it goes together with a significant revamping of contents and pedagogy, so that they incorporate alongside western science significant facets of local cultures, practices and worldviews. As (re)stated in 2012 by the ADEA Youth Forum: "African cultures, history and languages [should] be placed at the heart of the development of education and training" (in Glanz 2013: 58) and again by (Msila 2014) in respect of universities. I contend that, on line with traditional practices, this can only succeed if buttressed on orality.

Language in African schools – the crux of the problem[8]

In independent Africa, language policies, which include the language(s) to be used in schools, have all too often been taken hos-

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[7] Emphasis added.

[8] The topic has generated studies galore. Suffice it to quote but a few, each including various views and ample bibliographies, such as the compilations by (Alidou et al. 2006), (Abdi, Puplampu, and Dei 2006), (Brock-Utne and Skattum 2009) and also on new trends at the world level, (Rubdy and Tan 2008). Our argument is congruent with the analysis in (Brock-Utne 2000)'s source volume, in particular chapter 5 dedicated to language.

tage of politics around state formation and nation building (Ricento 2000); (Tsui and Tollefson 2004); (Ferguson 2013: 17). Some even claim that the promotion of a language cannot be divorced from ethnic nationalism – see (Kriel 2010) *à propos* the defense of Afrikaans in South Africa. Indeed, arguments in favor of extended use of local languages rarely fail to invoke ethnicity, opening the floodgate to claims of 'tribalism', if not political autonomy or independence, therefore threatening often fragile political status quo. It is therefore crucial to disentangle the issues. To that end, we shall limit ourselves to the debate on the use of African indigenous languages as mediums of instruction *aka* Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) in modern South African educational parlance. Furthermore, we concern ourselves here exclusively with early education, viz. from bottom, including where they exist nursery school and grade 0 (or R for reception) as the year immediately before compulsory school begins is sometimes called, up to the end of the primary level. The use of African languages as LoLT beyond primary, especially for science subjects, raises specific challenges which, contrary to a simplistic approach, cannot be overcome by mere translation. In any case, it is largely premised on a consistent policy from inception.

The question of the role indigenous languages should play in formal or school education in Africa is one which is mired in controversy. Opinions differ widely as to whether African indigenous languages, viz. languages born and bred in African soil, to the exclusion of varieties of Dutch, English, French and Portuguese, even if the nature of pidgins remains contentious, should be used at all in school and if so, to what extent.[9]

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[9] See (Wamba 2011)'s review of Brock-Utne & Skattum (2009) for a convenient summary of arguments. The position of Arabic involves another line of reasoning, due to its centrality in the teaching of the Quran which among Muslim communities is deemed an intractable part of any education. Moreover, recent events in Nigeria and Sahel countries have considerably complicated the issue and, in the line of the contention I present here, calls for very nuanced and careful statements lest it be misinterpreted. I will therefore not consider it here.

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In the names *inter alia* of education efficiency, progress, preparing the youth for a better future (eg. Qorro 2009: 59) for a tentative list), mainstream thinking advocates for the sole use of international languages, which happen to be the ex-colonial ones[10], English, French and Portuguese.[11] This attitude is deeply rooted. For instance as early as 1889 Cameroonian communities petitioned the missions for education in "a civilized language", viz. English or German, against attempts to use a neighboring "backward" variety (Ngoa 2006: 47). As so-called 'globalization' spreads its wings further, increasingly English displaces other ex-colonial languages. This goes along with the perception of language as a mere commodity to be traded in the global market, where English reigns supreme (see Rudby & Tan 2008).

A substantial number of experts and academics, however, among the staff of international agencies and Ministries of Education, together with a small part of the local intellectual elites, insist on the well-established educational advantages of first literacy in a language familiar to the child, to improve cognitive development (Ferguson 2013: 17). Since at least the 1924 Phelps-Strokes foresighted report on education in (then) British colonies which unequivocally stated "the disregard of the Native language is a hindrance even to the European language" (in Brock-Utne 2000: 146), many observations, not least (Macdonald 1990)'s thorough study of education in South Africa, have confirmed that good knowledge of one's own language contributes to learning and conversely that insufficient knowledge has adverse effects. (Cummins 1979) theorized it in the linguistic interdependence principle, illustrated in a plethora of case studies across the world, for instance (Mohanti 2006: 280, Chumbow and McIlwraith 2013: 41). This lobbying combined with donors' pressure and occasional concerns to placate minority groups and implement educational and/or linguistic human rights, has resulted in a growing number of countries in Africa now allowing – at least in the

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[10] Hausa and Swahili, are, among others, international languages; still they are usually not implied in this context. For Arabic, see above.

[11] In South Africa, one has to add Afrikaans.

book – for the use of local languages in early primary education, usually as the step ladder towards acquiring the international language, in so-called transitional models. Even 'Francophone' countries have bought in, essentially subsequent to France's change of mind on the matter (Albaugh 2009). Only few countries have yet, though, like Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Malagasy and Ethiopia, a fully developed curriculum for (some) local languages as home language subjects further up the education course. However, this is not without problems, especially regarding the selection of the school varieties in the primary level. Often, states' apparatuses take the opportunity to promote a locally dominant language, more often than not that of the ruling group, over 'non-dominant' ones, leading, at the very least, to further marginalization of the former, as in Tanzania with Swahili, possibly forced assimilation into the culture the later expresses, as is the case in Botswana for standard Setswana and arguably Malawi and Zimbabwe (Nyati-Ramahobo 2006; Batibo 2004; Mtenje 2004; Mtenje 2013; Issa and Yamada 2013; Peresuh and Masuku 2002). In urban areas, even disregarding the mixed varieties alluded to above, every day varieties may have drifted so far apart from 'school varieties' of nominally the same language that their mutual intelligibility can be questioned (M. Lafon 2005; Cook 2008).

On the ground, though, even the proponents of the use of African languages in schools are keen to register their off-springs in English-, French- or Portuguese- medium schools rather than in schools using African languages where those exist. Statements in favor of African languages appear as little more than political posturing or wishful thinking. Still, their attitude is justified on pragmatic grounds. Who would not choose what they feel is best for one's progeny or, at least, escape the worse? In South Africa, schools using African languages as LoLT are located in rural areas, townships or informal settlements, all characterized by high poverty. They are, as a rule, under-equipped, under-staffed with lowly qualified teachers, mismanaged, etc, to the extent of being globally perceived as dysfunctional (M. Lafon 2012). "Dysfunctional and impoverished schools, (are) used by the majority of South African children" while

"a small number of well resourced schools (are) used by the privileged minority", observe (Botsis and Cronje 2007: 50). The latter, including private schools which have mushroomed across the country as elsewhere in the continent in the wake of economic liberalization, offer, comparatively, better quality education even if fly-by-night establishments make the news sporadically. Located mostly in urban or suburban areas, they are overwhelmingly, if not all, English-, French- or Portuguese- medium. These are the schools where the elite register their own children.[12] Indeed, language practices in South-African schools subsume the dichotomy of a system that has become "bimodal" (Pretorius 2008). This option for an 'international' language and especially English finds further justification in the narrow focus on education as a key to a financially rewarding carrier within the so-called globalised world. Thus, unless the balance of power changes drastically, the progress of the globalization discourse (if not of globalization itself) ensures that African languages are crowded out of education systems. Transient victories triggered by language activists, as in South Africa, should not foster illusions. Dual-medium education where both the local and international languages are seen as interchangeable, as is argued *inter alia* by (Kamwangamalu 2013), well-intended though it may be, is equally doomed to remain on the wayside. The playing field is overwhelmingly tilted against African languages economically, politically, linguistically – for lack of language development – if not demographically – if we factor in language diversity.

In that context, it is not surprising that a strong preference for the international language is the norm among African parents across all social groups (see Agdebo et al. 2012: 48 for Nigeria). In countries with so-called mother-tongue education, with few exceptions, among them Mozambique (see Chimbutane 2011; M. Lafon 2013b), possibly Niger, Mali and Burkina-Faso (Traore 2009), given a choice

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[12] The president of Urugay who keeps to a modest life-style, letting his family attend state hospitals and schools, has by all appearances few followers on the continent. See: www.thoughtleader.co.za/songezomabece/2014/10/23/batho-pele-we-need-servants-not-rulers/

most if not all parents or guardians would follow the example of the elite and register their charge in schools using an international language, even if far from home (Bunyi 1999: 342) for Kenya; (Vavrus 2002: 382) for Tanzania; (Mesthrie 2008), (M. Lafon 2010) for South Africa). Even if it betrays primarily a quest for quality rather than a derogatory view on one's own language, as studies in South Africa have suggested (Heugh 2000) (Mark Data 2000 in Lafon 2010; Ndhlovu 2013: 46), it nurtures the belief in the intrinsic superiority of English-medium schools (Mohanti 2006: 280 for India). Correlatively, the absence of recognition of one's variety in the school syllabus fosters self-depreciation among children (Okonkwo in Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2005: 1). We are yet to see elite African families betting on African languages and cultures, in the way a group of Hawaian parents did (Brenzinger, pers. com., November 2014 and Brenzinger and Heinrich 2013). It is in this light that the measure announced in November 2013 by the South African Department of Basic Education to introduce *all* learners to an African language must be understood. However, the capacity of the state to ensure its implementation remains uncertain, as do the modalities it would take (see M. Lafon 2013c)). The devil lies in the details.

This is bad omen for African languages. For things to change, the trend must be reversed which implies that education be reinvested with its full humanistic aim of forming and shaping adults apt to function adequately in a given society and, on this basis, in the world. As the successful revival of Hawaian language and culture shows (see Brenzinger and Heinrich 2013), the school, provided it is supported by concerned parents and educators, may be the proper scene to act.

Merging the old and the (not so) new

In Africa, as was outlined earlier, unrelenting urbanization, compounded all too often by dysfunctional families, and the near disappearance of traditional strategies of education have resulted in schools becoming central in the delivery of, and any improvement to, education understood in the broader sense of grooming youth into adults socially fit to take the baton, so to say, from their fathers. And

indeed primary schools dot the African landscape, in rural as well as urban areas. Still, the claim that Education for All can be implemented effectively and efficiently while making use of an alien model is an illusion. Beyond ideological reasons, delineated above, the resources are just not there, as was argued recently for the choice of language of instruction in the South African context (Taylor and Coetzee 2013). Indeed, by 2014, it was observed that, despite oft reiterated political commitments, only slightly over half the pupils had books (Veriava 2014). This strengthens the case to revisit the whole framework, taking the opportunity to "recast the philosophical foundations of African education" (Abdi, Puplampu, and Dei 2006: 23). The historical look at education in Africa delineated above, underlines crucial missing elements in the European model of school education implemented in Africa: the African tradition of community education and socialization through lore and interaction with adults and peers. And these concerns make even more sense when we include the medium, viz., the language used. Local African languages and the culture they carry could be made part of a new, inclusive or hybrid curriculum, much beyond the mere duality of medium, in a complementary allocation of tasks. Crucially African languages should be brought in *primarily orally*, through the medium in which they excel, based on genuine texts, rather than as vehicles for 'foreign' knowledge through 'foreign' procedures. "The greatness of Zulu verbal art is in its oral traditions" wrote Scheub in 1985 (Scheub 1985: 505). Still Zulu could claim, at the time, over a century-old tradition of written literature. How much truer then for languages more recently, if at all, instrumentalized! To be true to the African ethos, orality should take centre stage.

Conversely to a view largely shared (*inter alia* Alidou 2004: 209, (Webb 2006), also (Welch 2012), I hold that literacy, that is the reference to written texts, is *not* a requirement for the meaningful use of African languages in education. This is putting the yoke in front and is probably counterproductive. Over-emphasis on literacy – arguably another avatar of the aping of the Western model – has blurred the essential fact that orality comes first in human development (see Welch 2012: 5) and that literacy is optional, that is, some

cultures have developed it, others not, this establishing no hierarchy between them. Orality does not prevent transmission of values and knowledge (see in particular the works of Goody, *inter alia* (Goody 2000), ensuring cognitive development, viz., reasoning ability and so forth. Besides, as (Stroud 2004: 89), elaborating on Fishman, has established, minority languages need to reclaim their lost functions before they can eventually enter the terrain of their bigger competitors. (Blommaert 2005) reminds us that the discourse of linguistic rights, when positing languages as theoretical equals, leads nowhere.The intractable condition for any progress is that learners acquire a good command of the language. Rich oral transmission is optimal for that aim, as the past has amply demonstrated. Moreover, in the present situation, as noted by (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2006: 67), orality is also a form of resistance. In most of Africa, written codes, need it be recalled, are colonial creations, if not impositions. This probably largely explains why the written usage of African languages has rarely been appropriated by the speakers, even though some languages, such as Swahili, Lingala, Zulu, do enjoy significant written practices, from literature to newspapers.

Of course orality need not be the end of the game for the African language. Deeper knowledge of the language, in terms of linguistic structures as well as cultural wealth, together with the acquisition of the technique of reading and writing, even through another language, has the capacity to boast mother-tongue literacy, if taken up willingly by speakers. And indeed, this finds confirmation in the spread of African language texting on mobile phones practiced by youth across the continent (see Vold Lexander 2014).[13]

How then can some relevant educational practices making use of local languages be reintroduced?

Most areas, particularly urban sprawling townships or informal settlements, contain hordes of unoccupied adults, some of them at least with the relevant knowledge and experience, who could be entrusted of linguistic and cultural transmission. These cultural me-

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[13] We hope to come back to this issue with data from a South African chat–room.

diators would need to be vetted and approved in a process involving parents, local teachers, community leaders and the state. Not all applicants would qualify. Possibly a stipend could be handed over, or food, especially where food schemes are in place in schools. Sessions could be set in the yard of their homes, for the benefit of the children of the neighborhood. Placing the sessions outside the school will emphasize that school is not the only source of knowledge. Oral art functions effortlessly, through pleasure, which would make the sessions popular with children, dispensing with discipline. Given a gifted mediator, they might even compete successfully with TV and computer games.

Central in the sessions, of course, traditional genres, such as tales, story-telling, plays, songs, games, etc, of which there is no short supply in any language. The positive effects of the various genres of orature on cognitive development need not be restated (*inter alia* Bloch 2006, quoted in Welch 2012 and above). This teaching goes much beyond transmission of a cultural legacy. Tales, for instance, contribute to acquiring social mores (see *inter alia* Platiel 1993), (Ntuli and Pretorius 2005), (Mutasa, Nyota, and Mapara 2008), (Haire and Matjila 2008). And, of more relevance still, they play a crucial role in developing reasoning capacity. Very few children are insensitive to tales well told. They easily become fascinated and want to emulate the narrator, repeating and creating their own, thus discovering and trying causal and temporal relations. Experiments in schools in French Guyanna and southern France impulsed by S. Platiel based on her initial research in Burkina-Faso, have demonstrated decisively the positive effects of telling tales in the classroom, in terms of creating interest in the children, triggering their willing participation and enhancing their social, linguistic and reasoning abilities (see http://www.franceculture.fr/emission-sur-les-docks-prelude-au-salon-du-livre-23-«-les-histoires-de-suzy-platiel—-plaidoyer-pour-les-contes, November 2013). Riddles, an important part of traditional cultural repertoires "present cognitive challenges and are also an invaluable tool in acquiring linguistic and cognitive skills" (Ngonyani 2013: 1).

Children should be in small numbers, not more than 10 or so. Often that will be a welcome improvement on school-classes. Oral activities require interactivity, with children creating their own stories, responding to riddles, etc, and being listened to by their peers as well as adults. It is important that the adult mediators afford children individual attention. Such language activities are a sure way to enrich the vocabulary, including categories of terms peculiar to African languages which are coming fast into disuse, such as ideophones, to enlarge the stock of proverbs and other idioms whose knowledge, besides informing the mind, often tells the native from the outsider, to explore grammatical structures, and so forth.

Obviously, the oral sessions would be conducted in the language variety of the community, without however any stringent rules as orality allows for much flexibility. The issues of language choice, norms and dialectal differences, which have proved to be such a drawback in the absence of accepted standards, would largely fall away, as would in great part that of language diversity. After all, as (Alidou 2004: 197) reminds us "the medium of instruction problem emerged in the late 1880s with the introduction of Western education in Africa", that is in the wake of the colonial conquest. The very logic of mother tongue education is often defeated by the discrepancy between the local variety and the school standard or the national language as the case may be.

When (so-called) mother tongue literacy is run in parallel in the school, the formal class would teach the standard form of the language in contrast, rather than in opposition, to the oral practices of the sessions. (Stegen 2005)'s suggestion of using Swahili for teaching local Tanzanian languages contrastively is an idea that, adequately customized, might prove valuable. Arguably, in such circumstances, standard varieties should rather be taught as subject for their cultural value than be used as LoLT, at least at lower level. In such circumstances though, one must be careful to avoid the pitfall of translanguaging and the like, fashionable as they may be: the variety used must allow access to the cultural trove of the languages, expressed in so-called standard registers.

In places where local languages do not feature in the school curriculum, the school would introduce the foreign LoLT, while the community sessions would ensure oral competency in the local speech form.

The use of the local language acts as an invite for indigenous knowledge to be brought in, especially through lore as acknowledged early by (F. Lafon 1982). Horsthemke (2004: 583) quotes "traditional healing, conflict resolution, basket-weaving, pottery, local agriculture" as worthy of consideration. Mutasa et al. (2008) highlight the relevance of folktales for environmental education. And, albeit in a slightly different perspective, (Tourneux, Abdoulaye, and Konaï 2011) 's bilingual source material for classes in Cameroun which makes available both the community's views as expressed in its own language (Fulfulde) and the western scientific insight on natural features such as species of fish or bats. Of course, indigenous knowledge and cultural features should not be glorified uncritically on account of their authenticity, lest we fall into the swift sands of cultural relativism (Horsthemke 2004). Culture is dynamic. Beliefs which contradict scientific truths, notably around diseases, practices now deemed socially unacceptable, especially around gendered roles, must be left aside or at the very least contextualized. Still, the western individualist ethos disseminated by the western competitive school system is not the only model for emancipation. "An African-based education", write Dei et. al. (2006: 58), [should] "build the individual and collective worth of learners as responsible and conscientious human beings who (…) fulfill their common obligations to a larger (…) community".

The introduction of local languages and lore in early education would defuse the feeling of backwardness triggered by their marginalization. A better-balanced position between the languages and cultures would follow, contributing possibly to slacken the pace of language shift, as well as positively impact on the children's image of the self and identity building, on his/her perception of the community, increasing social cohesion. The image of rural life, often associated to poverty and backwardness, could be at least partially

rehabilitated, as community sessions would reclaim its cultural worth.

Is this to say that formal schooling should be discontinued or delayed? Not quite.

Let us look first at pre-schooling. Crèches or pre-schools have spread in cities across the continent. They attempt, once again, to copy the West, with their educational games and pretty colored material. More often than not in the African context, they bank on the early introduction to the international language to attract parents by (allegedly) increasing the child's chances in school. Existing crèches could be turned into 'community' care and focus on orality in local varieties. In South Africa, where the level immediately before the first grade of primary school (called R for Reception) is gradually generalized and made compulsory, with state funding where necessary, such a move would be facilitated. Let early child development be linguistically authentic. And let children from all communities in a given country – regardless of race, origin and background – partake in a system which would become the local norm, very much in the same way that immigrants to the Netherlands or Sweden must per force learn the local idiom.[14]

Secondly, school does not probably have to start so early and be so time-consuming (especially given the average low outcomes). That this happens in the West does not make it a must. Rather, it should be seen for what it also (or mainly) is, a palliative to the unavailability, and sometimes, unwillingness, of parents to tend to their children. Close monitoring of children in smaller groups could in any case help customize the starting age for formal schooling. Children do not develop at the same pace. Very much in accordance to practices in modern, up-market alternative schools,[15] children cognitive development would be assessed by the mediators before moving into formal schooling, reducing class repetition.

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[14] In South Africa, the HCR sponsors English classes for refugees, but apparently none in any local language (own research).
[15] I owe this insight to S. Rudwick who specifically referred to the Montessori brand of schools.

When school starts, for the first 3 to 4 years or longer, attendance could be limited to, say, three hours in the morning, with a focus on second language learning and as the case may be mother tongue literacy, while the afternoon is left to the community sessions which could continue as after-care when need be.[16] What about the sacrosanct curriculum? No one would deny that at least some of the skills presently in the curriculum, among them literacy in an international language, are crucial in to-day's world. But the pace of learning as well as the obsession with mathematics probably need to be questioned. Some subjects could be spaced, others, such as life skills, would become redundant in view of the social relevance of mother-tongue teaching based on lore and tales. In other cases, both fonts of knowledge could be brought in. The few examples cited above suffice to show that it is not an 'either or', there is no final "conceptual divide" (Dei et al. 2006: 54).

Due to their improved knowledge of their language, children would in any case be in a better position to understand and apprehend the contents of the formal classes and assimilate literacy when it is in home language. Where no mother-tongue literacy is offered, the aim of making children literate by the end of the first 4 years (see (Spaull 2014) should probably be abandoned. Literacy in a second language cannot occur before a sufficient oral fluency is secured. And much more than language and contents is involved. Children would benefit cognitively from a better social and psychological environment. Community mediators could, to some extent, compensate for absentee parents in a way that teachers in crowded classes cannot, and trigger children's more harmonious development.

It is obviously crucial that the community sessions do not appear detrimental to (formal) education progress. For that to happen, to avoid bypassing strategies from skeptical or reluctant parents, they would have to be made part of a renewed, inclusive curriculum, enforced by the state(s), where oral competence in local languages

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[16] Such involvement of the community in education could also allow for dividing over populated classes, through an optimized schedule where, say, one group would study in the morning the other in the afternoon.

and cultural knowledge are duly valued. Controls where the children would show their ability to express themselves orally in the local language should become an integral part of the assessments. After all, will that competence not be expected of many them as professionals?

This limited 'African curriculum' limited to the primary level is, we feel, realistic. It amounts to little more than the reintroduction of humanities in the classical sense of contextualized knowledge and moral values, based those on African tradition as expressed in specific cultures, a *reculturation* as Abdi (2006: 24) puts it. An hybrid education system including orality on the same footing as writing and knowledge emanating from both sources, local as well as western would offer children the opportunity to become the bi-/ multi- cultural adults that Africa so desperately needs, constituting the counter-elite that Prah (2009: 83) is calling for. African education should be "a societal project that takes into consideration African languages, cultures, values and belief systems and above all the type of societies that each nation wants to build" (Alidou 2009: 119).

The proof of the validity of such a culturally hybrid education lies in front of our eyes if we care to see. The great African intellectuals and politicians of yesteryear and even today, the likes of, say, Senghor, Nyerere, Mondlane, Mandela, Mugabe, Krumah, Ngugi, Dube, Plaatje, and many more, did not attend English or French or Portuguese-medium crèches and preparation schools. They were fluent in their mother tongue and conversant with the culture before they entered mission or government schools, where they learnt the official school language and, for most, adopted Christianity. Who would say they lacked in achievements?

Conclusion

Africa urgently needs to reassert herself. The much-vaunted African Renaissance cannot ignore the continent's cultural practices and world views as expressed through her languages (Moodley 2000: 103). The road towards an African future may thus start by looking back. A soft approach to African languages maintenance and development could reconcile the old and the new through the involvement

of local communities to set up informal sessions for children, reminiscent of traditional practices immersed in orality. Indeed, weaning Africa from Europe (Simango 2009) cannot happen in languages and processes alien to the intended target. This may also be a step towards promoting a model of development giving prominence to social and spiritual well-being over material wealth. At a time when numerous signs show that the planet cannot bear much longer the wastage of resources that goes under the name of progress, this is a route that Africa needs to engage on, for its own sake as well as that of humankind. Only thus can she create conditions more enticing for its denizens than risking their lives attempting the new, self-inflicted and hopeless middle passage.[17]

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[17] The **Middle Passage** was one leg of the triangular trade which shipped millions from Africa to be enslaved in the plantations of the 'New' World.

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57

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Two East African Toponyms:
A Case Study in Intercultural Transmission of Knowledge

Abstract

Toponyms of the East African coast present a recorded illustration of the multicultural environment of the Indian Ocean in its western part. A number of historical locations have been identified on the basis of modern or archaeological evidence corresponding to place names found in the written sources ranging from Antiquity to the contemporary era. From the Horn of Africa to the Swahili coast to Mozambique, the East African coast has been marked by a certain geographical stability of urban centres and port locations. Some of the modern cities still carry the names first recorded in the 10th century C.E., while some medieval toponyms may be correlated to locations first listed in ancient Greek sources.

The present paper will examine two examples from the extensive toponymical record for the East African coast. The major cultural traditions related to the place names and their recorded history in the written sources of the past centuries are generally known. Medieval Arabic sources provide the bulk of written information about the region in the pre-Portuguese era. The paper acknowledges some differences between the evidence of academic Islamic geography and the information provided by Arab travellers and navigators. The sources reveal a degree of stability in the inventory of the recorded place names despite the historical changes on the coast. Analysis reveals a complex picture of historical and language-based patterns of knowledge transmission in the trans-cultural oceanic environment.

Keywords: East Africa history, Indian Ocean history, historical geography, environmental history, onomastics

The East African coast presents a unique geographical and cultural environment that has imprinted Africa's history in various and complex ways. Geographically, the coastal line here is as little divided as the other coastal contours of the continent. The long north-south stretch that begins at the tip of the Horn of Africa trends from northeast to southwest; south of the Somali peninsula it has limited east-west variation and few large islands until the Comoros (at about 12^0 S., where the Mozambique Channel begins). The same coastline faces the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean, which covers roughly 30 parallels of latitude and varies in its east-west extent over from 30 to 50 meridians of longitude. This paper offers a discussion of two historical locations on the coast and the toponyms related to them over time, marking two out of many East African termini of Indian Ocean sailing routes. We aim to embrace the whole coast known prior to the Portuguese circumnavigation of Africa by focusing on examples purposely selected from the northern and southern ends of the coast: they may be identified as Juba, in modern Somalia and Sofala, in Mozambique.

Many studies of the coast address connections between the coast and the interior of Africa[1]. However, the record of coastal locations over centuries, and even millennia, has been the product of contacts with the outside world, and to it we must address our inquiry. The earliest extant sources describing East Africa and providing names of coastal locations belong to the late Antiquity. The very earliest is the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (the current dating varies between A.D. 40 and 70)[2] which describes the trade on the Indian Ocean in the early imperial Roman period. This itinerary guide for merchants in the western part of the Indian Ocean is superseded by sections of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography* (*circa* 150)[3]. The phrasing of passages in Book IV, Chapter VII reflects

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[1] See, for example, "The Swahili Coast and the Interior," chapter 2 in Pearson 1998.
[2] For the most recent English translation see Casson 1989. For dating see Casson, *ibid.*, esp. pp. 6-7; for a somewhat different view see Mathew 1975.
[3] For the purposes of this article, I used the English translation by E.L. Stevenson. Criticism has been voiced in regard to the scientific merits of this transla-

some changes in coastal political arrangements and the development of coastal market towns that had happened since the *Periplus*, but the main focus in Ptolemy's work is on distances and geographical coordinates of locations.

Both the texts have been thoroughly examined by historians. A few places mentioned in the two sources are the same; a few more may possibly refer to the same locations. Ptolemy's data, in abridged and rearranged form, were transmitted in medieval Arabic sources. Among them are mentions of several places on the Somali peninsula. Only one place name on the whole coast has been traced through three stages – from Antiquity to the Islamic Middle Ages to contemporary usage. This is the Greek Opone – the Arabic *Khāfūn*, or Ras Hafun, at the north-eastern extreme of the Horn. Out of the remaining list of place names for Eastern Africa, one or two others have been traced from the Greek to the early Arabic geographical sources, and several physical features have been tied to the coast's contour and relief (most particularly, Cape Guardafui). It is easier to establish connections between later medieval Arabic records and a few larger contemporary centres (e.g. Merka, Brava, Mogadishu). Many place names, however, whether in Greek or Arabic sources, do not easily lend themselves to firm identification with geographical features, archaeological sites[4], or between the two lists. Below, some place names preserved in Greek and Arabic texts are discussed not only as evidence of local onomastics, but also for the significance of these findings to the treatment of the early written sources.

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We begin with a summary of coastal features listed by the *Periplus* along the northern coast of the Horn past the Bab el-Mandeb Strait:

[...] the Arabian Gulf [Red Sea – M.T.] trends eastward and at Avalites is at its narrowest. After about 4000 stades on an

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tion, but I have found it adequate for the cited passages. See *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* 1932. The new authoritative, but partial translation is Berggren, Jones 2000.

[4] For an archeological overview of the coast described in the *Periplus*, see Horton 1990.

eastward heading along the same coast, come the rest of the ports of trade of the Barbaroi, those called "far-side", lying in a row and offering, by way of anchorages and roadsteads, suitable mooring when the occasion calls. After Avalitês, about an 800-stade sail distant, comes another, better, port of trade called Malaô... From Malaô it is two runs to the port of trade of Mundu... From Mundu, with the course heading eastward, similarly after two, perhaps three, runs near [? a promontory] lies Mosyllon on a beach with a poor harbor... Beyond Mosyllon, after a two-run voyage come the so-called Neiloptolemaiu, Tapatêgê, a small laurel grove, Cape Elephas,... it has a river called Elephas and a large laurel grove called Akannai, the one place that produces most "far-side" incense, of fine quality to boot. ([Geography] 7-11; Casson 1989: 55, 57).

The Gulf of Avalitês is the Gulf of Aden. The "far-side" ports, among which is included also Opônê (more on that below), were the African ports east of the Bab el-Mandeb ([Geography]: 115). I omit discussion of unidentified toponyms that do not recur in later sources. The same part of the coast in Ptolemy is reduced to a terse table of geographical coordinates ([Geography]: 107):

After the strait in the Red Sea	Long.	Lat.
Dire town in the promontory	$74^0 30'$	11^0
Then in Avalites Bay		
Avalites market place	74^0	$8^0\ 25'$
Malao market place	75^0	$6^0\ 30'$
Mondu market place	78^0	7^0
Mosylum promontory and market place	79^0	9^0
Cobe market place	80^0	8^0
Elephas mountains	81^0	$7^0\ 30'$
Acanna market place	82^0	7^0

Although it has been alternately suggested that Avalitês was Zeila on the Somali-Djibouti border, Assab in Eritrea or a village in

the Tadjoura Bay ([Geography]: 115-117), it is clear from the narrative that its location is near the Bab al-Mandab strait. The remarkable feature of this list of place names is that, despite the coordinates, not one toponym has been reliably identified with an urban site. While the overlapping of the two Greek sources is considerable, only one name, the *Acanna* of Ptolemy, in the Greek version the same *Akannai* (Ακανναι) as in the *Periplus* (transcribed in Latin also as *Acanne*), is found in the extant early Arabic recensions of the *Geography*[5] . These Arabic versions of the 9th-10th centuries change both the coordinates[6] and the name, citing "the city of Qanānā on the sea"[7]:

	Long.	Lat.
al-Khwarizmi (table)	72° 30'	2° 45'
al-Khwarizmi (text)	72° 30'	2° 20'
Suhrab (table)	73° 30'	3° 45'
Suhrab (text)	72° 30'	2° 20'

Ptolemaic toponyms do not last long in Arab geography. Few of them ever appear outside the tables of geographical coordinates, and even fewer continue to appear in later works, influenced by updated measurements and travel information[8]. The name "Qanānā" never again appears in Arabic sources, but we were able to find a modern solution to the ancient puzzle.

The puzzle is both geographical and linguistic. Unfortunately, we know that we cannot rely on the Arabic source numerical data because the Arabic letter numerals, as preserved, do not accurately transmit Greek astronomical coordinates[9]. Is there a

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[5] For an overview of overall Ptolemaic influence on early Islamic cartography see chapter 4 "The Beginnings of a Cartographic Tradition" by Gerald R. Tibbets in Harley, Woodward 1992, esp. pp. 97-100.

[6] For a discussion of some causes for these changes see Tolmacheva 1991.

[7] Compiled by the author from Kubbel', Matveev 1960: 271, 279, 301, 305. These versions are much shorter than Ptolemy's book and contain much non-Ptolemaic information.

[8] Regarding this phenomenon see, for example Tolmacheva 1996.

[9] For discussion of Ptolemaic coordinates in Arabic geography see Tolmacheva 1991: 132.

connection between the Greek *Akanna* and the Arabic *Qanana*? Even beyond the easily observable phonetical similarity, it has been suggested by Hubert Daunicht (1968, 1: 220) that this last toponym is a distortion of the transcription *Aqanāyī for Ακανναι. The particular pattern of phonetical change from "Akanna," with a double middle consonant, to "Qanānā", with long vowels after each *n*, carefully signed by the use of the Arabic letter *alif*. If that is so, we are dealing with consequences of careless, rather than careful copying. As becomes apparent below, the form *Qanānā* is both a plausible variant and a guide to solution. The solution, as often happens, has been there for a long time. One of the early scientifically trained explorers of the East African coast, the French naval captain Charles Guillain left an extensive collection of data recorded during, and in connection with, an Indian Ocean voyage of 1846-48 (Guillain 1-3 1856). In his extensive records of local settlements, customs, and vocabulary along the coast from Somali to Madagascar and Mauritius, Guillain – to my knowledge, the earliest western author to do so – specifically noted that the Somali name for the Juba River is Ganāné (Guillain 3: 384). The same name is also applied to an area along the river, alternatively called Lock (Guillain 3: 43). Guillain records the full name of the river as Ouébi-Ganāné and provides the local etymology: "Son nom de Ganāné signifie <u>division</u>, et lui a été donné, sans doute, parce qu'en certain point de son cours il se bifurque. On le nomme aussi Giouéna; les Arabes seuls l'appellent Djoub, et les Souahhéli Voumbo" (Guillain 2: 178). This information is later confirmed and augmented in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*'s edition of 1911:

JUBA, or JUB, a river of East Africa, exceeding 1000 m. in length, rising on the S.E. border of the Abyssinian highlands and flowing S. across the Galla and Somali countries to the sea. It is formed by the junction of three streams, all having their source in the mountain range N.E. of Lake Rudolf which is the water-parting between the Nile basin and the rivers flowing to the Indian Ocean.

Of the three headstreams, the Web, the Ganale and the Daua, the Ganale (or *Ganana* – my italics, M.T.) is the central river

72

and the true upper course of the Juba. It has two chief branches, the Black and the Great Ganale[10].

The toponym *Juwa* first appears in Arabic Geography in the *Geography* of al-Idrisi (d. 1165), where it is placed in the Fifth Section of the First Climate (Kubbel', Matveev 1965: 301). Later variants include the forms *Jubb* and *Jubba*. The earliest European to record his visit to the Jubba area is the Jesuit Jeronimo Lobo (1624). The lower Juba was explored in 1865 in a steamer by Baron Karl von der Decken, but he was murdered by Somali at Bardera, and the river system remained otherwise almost unknown to the West until after 1890. The river and city at its estuary are both given the same name in medieval Arabic sources. The nearest contemporary city is Kismayo in Somalia. In the commentary to the *Three Unknown Sailing Instructions of Ahmad ibn Majid*, T.A. Shumovsky identifies the "Jubb country" (*Bilād Jubb*) as "the area of Mogadisho " (Shumovskii 1957: 124) but the capital of Somalia is located 328 miles (528 km) northeast of the river Jubb estuary. Therefore the connection between the similarly named river and city firmly indicates the region of Kismayu (the latter place name does not appear in pre-modern sources). In addition, the location is identified by Arab geographers as an area near the border between the Land of Zanj (to the south) and the land of Barbara (to the north). Barbara is the ethnonym commonly applied in Arabic sources to Somalis. Jubb continues to appear in 13th-century sources, when Mogadisho (*Maqdashaw*) makes its first appearance in the geographical dictionary of Yaqut (d. 1229). The fact that first Yaqut and then Ibn al-Mujawir (d. 1291) each include both Jubb and Maqdashaw in their books as two distinct cities (Kubbel', Matveev 1985: 257, 265) affirms the clear distinction between them in the geographical knowledge of that era.

The following is a brief summary of observations we may derive from this case study of a toponym at the northern terminus of the East African coast. (1) The information cited above confirms the

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[10] http://www.theodora.com/encyclopedia/j/juba_river.html, accessed on 23 April 2014.

accuracy of the ancient Greek sources by discovering a connection between the Greek transcription of the local place name and the modern river name in the Somali language. (2) The analysis of early Arabic data confirms accuracy of the Arabic transcription of the Greek spelling of a local name. This gives hope for broader extrapolation to other examples of Greco-Arabic transmission of information in onomastics. (3) Ancient Greek place names for East African emporia are not to be found in the later Arabic sources on Africa; some of those that may be tentatively identified are eventually replaced with emerging contemporary place name inventory. (4) Sources appear to support the particular identification of a historical site located in the river estuary of an Indian Ocean region easily reached from the Red Sea. (5) This isolated case study spans a period of almost two thousand years and involves at least four different languages, not counting those added in the period of modern West European exploration: Greek, Arabic, Swahili, and Somali. (6) Based on the reviewed linguo-geographical information, we may assume a relative stability of ethnic boundaries for coastal Northeast Africa for the recorded period, as observed by the non-indigenous visitors to the region.

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Sofala presents a significantly different case as a toponym, and not just because of its location in Southeast Africa. Firmly attached to a city site in central Mozambique ever since the Portuguese first saw it in 1501, the place name "Sofala" began its existence in Arab geography as the name of a country. The earliest sources belong to the first half of the 10th century C.E., when Sofala appears in the *Wonders of India* and in al-Mas`udi's *Golden Meadows* (Kubbel', Matveev 1960: 379). At this time Sofala is a country beyond the Land of Zanj, that is of black East Africans whose country's northern border lay at Juwa or Jubb (above). Located at an often but vaguely determined distance from Zanj to the south, this is a somewhat mysterious place, not yet Islamized, and not on the regular sailing routes. Besides the usual *Sufāla*, there are variant names *Sufālat al-Zanj* (Sofala of the Zanj), *Sufālat al-dhahab* (Sofala of Gold) and

Sufālat al-tibr (Sofala of Gold Dust)[11]. The gold of Monomotapa, in addition to ivory and slaves, fed Sofala's trade and fascination of the authors, whether medieval or early-modern. However, the secrecy surrounding the trade also resulted in a shortage of precise information, so until the publication of Portuguese narratives very few hard data were made available to the pre-modern reader either about the country or the cities in it. One stable feature of the Arabic records of Sofala containing geographical information is the perception that this is the southernmost part of Africa reachable on the Indian Ocean. Here are some examples of how the coastline is arranged[12] in narratives or even maps by the authors of the 10th-15th centuries (north-south):

Al-Mas`udi (d. 965), al-Idrisi (d. 1165), Ibn al-Wardi (d. 1348):
      Land of the Barbara (Somali) – Land of the Zanj – Sofala – WaqWaq
Ibn Sa`id al-Maghribi (d. 1286):
      Land of the Barbara – Land of the Zanj – Sofala
Al-Dimashqi (d. 1327):
      Land of the Barbara, Zanjabar, Sofala, Daghuta

     The Land of Sofala is populated by these authors with cities, as many as five in al-Idrisi, none of which bear the name of Sofala – even though it is common in that tradition to identify the major city of an area by the name of the country, and indeed Yaqut and Qazwini call Sofala a city in the land of Zanj (Tolmacheva 1969: 278). Al-Biruni (d. c. 1050) is the first to provide its astronomical coordinates: 10^0 S. and 55^0 E.; these figures are later misreported by Abu 'l-Fida' (d. 1331). Idrisi's northern boundary of Sofala is in the southern part of Section Seven of the First Climate, with the rest occupying Sections Eight and Nine. The "first" (that is, northernmost) city in Sofala is *Batīna*, while the major city of Sofala, or of the area even further south, is called *Sayūna*. Ibn Sa`id al-Maghribi provides these

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[11] See more on Sofala descriptions in Arabic sources in Tolmacheva 1979.
[12] For greater detail see Tolmacheva 1969, esp. pp. 270-278.

locations with (false) coordinates, placing Batina at the latitude of 2^0 30' South and the longitude of 87^0 East, and Sayuna at the same latitude, but at 99 degrees East. There is no such confusion in the sailing instructions of Ahmad ibn Majid (d. c. 1500), the celebrated navigator of the Indian Ocean and author of the *Sufāliyya* poem, detailing for the pilot the monsoon route from southern India to Mozambique and the Comoros[13]. But the data are not compatible. Ibn Majid uses "star coordinates" common among the pilots of the Indian Ocean whose orientation needs were supported by the celestial stability of tropical constellations visible during monsoon sailing seasons. He leads his student navigator toward Mogadisho, with possible stopovers at Merka and Brava (Barawa), and then the coastal route is open to him from Jubb "to the very end of Sofala" (Shumovskii 1957: 22ff).

The most remarkable aspect of the Sofala of classical Arabic geographers is the lack of stable location for this country, despite the seeming (but misleading) precision of Ibn Sa`id's coordinates. Yes, it is the southernmost part of Eastern Africa: we are firmly told by al-Biruni that "ships do not reach beyond: Sofalat al-Zanj" and that "after Sofalat al-Zanj the sea reaches the western Ocean Sea" (Kubbel', Matveev 1960: 114). Therefore, there is no room further south for the even more mysterious WaqWaq[14] or the recently invented Daghuta. But where is the northern border? The southernmost "Zanj" city of al-Mas`udi is Mombasa (*Manbasa*); from there to the cities in Sofala is a distance of up to 300 miles, which takes us approximately to Kilwa. Various orthographic forms of this name begin to appear in the sources of the early 13th century. Al-Biruni's coordinates place the city of Sofala close to the location of Kilwa – approximately at 9 degrees South and 39.5 degrees East. The great Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta visited Kilwa in 1331, when it was no longer part of Sofala: it was now a Muslim city

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[13]For the facsimile of the Arabic MS and Russian translation, see Shumovsky 1957. For English and French translation see Khuri 1983 and Jouannes 2001.
[14] For WaqWaq see Tolmacheva 1987/1988 and Tolmacheva 2003.

whose the ruler conducted jihad against the "infidel Zanj" (Defrémery, Sanguinetti 1877: 193). It is about this time that Kilwa had gained control of the gold trade from further south. According to Ibn Battuta, the land of Sofala was at a distance of two-weeks' travel from Kilwa. Computation of astronomical orienteers provided by Ahmad ibn Majid (six *isba'* by the Great Bear) places Sofala approximately between 16^0 and 20^0 S (Tolmacheva 1969: 278), while the historical Sofala was discovered by the Portuguese approximately at 20° South and 35° East. By the late 17th century, Dapper places Sofala on the coast between the estuaries of the Zambezi and the Limpopo (Dapper 1686: 394), modern coordinates 18°34'14"S 36°28'13"E and 25°10'S 33°35'E, respectively[15].

This case study follows the history of the toponym Sofala, recorded in Arabic sources from the 10th century and gradually, though not always accurately, attributed greater cartographic elaboration and precision. The Arabic word *sufāla* literally means "lowlands" and is usually interpreted as "lands further south." Such interpretation agrees with the destination at the farthest (southern) end of the winter (NE) monsoon route. It does not support the visual association with the Western map or compass, where North is up and South down, because in Islamic cartography it is south that is usually up (as the magnetic compass needle in fact points south). With the shift of the toponym location further away and, inevitably, southward, it is also tempting to speculate if the historical use of *sufāla* may not apply to the continental shelf now known as the Sofala Bank. The bank lies off the coast of Mozambique and stretches approximately 950 km north from Beira (near the historical city of Nueva Sofala)[16].

The second case thus presents a more consistent linguo-cultural example than the first: for the pre-modern period we deal exclusively with Arabic sources and an Arabic word. Our

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[15]http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zambezi and
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limpopo_River, accessed on 23 April 2014.
[16]http://operations.ifad.org/web/ifad/operations/country/project/tags/mozam bique/1184/project_overview, accessed on 23 April 2014.

observations are inevitably quite different in the case of this term: (1) the same place name is identified by earlier medieval authors as applicable to (usually) country or (rarely) city. (2) The gradual shift from a more northerly location (south of Mombasa) to a more remote one (south of Kilwa) marks the expansion of the Land of Zanj toward a more remote boundary, pushing the unknown Sofala farther away. (3) The southern reaches of the monsoon remained permanent over centuries; it was the extent of knowledge, of information and sailing skills that changed, gained, and allowed expanded contacts in southern Africa. (4) Cabinet geographers relying on copied manuscript sources confuse the cartographic picture of southeast Africa; while Ibn Battuta has no formal geographical knowledge, he only tells us what he knows, hears and observes, and therefore his information is reliable. (5) Ahmad ibn Majid's professional knowledge, gained by extensive navigational practice, reflects the knowledge of places as destinations and routes to those termini. Sailing from Calicut to Sofala or the Comoros and from Sofala or Madagascar to the Swahili coast are at the centre of his instructions, more important to him than land areas we seek to discover behind toponyms. (6) The *Sufāliyya* poem contains a considerable number of coastal toponyms south of Mogadisho from African languages, mostly Bantu. Significantly, these place names do not duplicate the onomastic vocabulary of the "academic" Arabic sources, but rather add to it.

Based on the limited analysis of the two case studies we can make certain general conclusions regarding intercultural transmission of geographical and onomastic knowledge. (1) The very existence of the records discussed above is evidence of interaction between different cultures and of transmission of information communicated from local to "foreign" languages. (2) Transmission of pre-modern place names to modern usage has been documented via Greek, Arabic, Swahili, and Portuguese languages. (3) Ancient Greek records prove reliable even in multi-stage transmission; toponyms from the Greek sources may be found both in Arabic transcription and, in a few cases, translation. (4) African toponyms are often recognizable in Arabic transcription and, in rare cases, may be

recognizable in Greek transcription. (5) Toponyms with cultural or evaluative content, such as "Zanj" and "Sofala" over time may change their geographical application and cultural or informational emphasis. Their geographical range may expand or contract or the location may shift, while cultural implications may change in the positive/negative aspect depending on the amount of information available or the content of that information (historical, religious, and economic data).

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The Mobutu Regime: Leveraging State Weakness

Abstract

This paper focuses on regime survival in Zaire/Congo. The author
will analyse the events in Zaire during Joseph Mobutu's reign from 1960 to
1997 through the lens of regime and linkage theories. It is no secret that
President Mobutu came to power with Western (US and Belgian) assistance.
It is also no surprise that Mobutu was dependent on Western support to
remain in power. But it is remarkable that when this support was suddenly
withdrawn after the Cold War, Mobutu was able to resist both Western
pressure to abdicate and internal opposition, and did so successfully until he
was invaded by his smaller neighbours and fled in May 1997. If Mobutu
was so dependent on Western support, how did he manage to keep his
regime afloat at a time when diplomatic and financial ties were severed?
How is it possible that he was able to cling on to power with democratic
protests on his doorstep, with no capable army and no alternative great
powers to court? The author will show that a combination of regime and
linkage theories can formulate answer to these questions by linking the
domestic and external relations in one model. This text will not provide a
full historical overview of the events in Congo/Zaire from 1960 to 1997, but
only pick out those phases, which are necessary to explain regime
behaviour.

Keywords: Mobutu, Personalist regimes, Zaire, Democratic
Republic of Congo, Linkage, Leverage

Regimes, leverage and linkage

S. Levitsky and L. Way were the first to develop a coherent
theoretical framework to analyse democracy promotion as a global
phenomenon. While their interest was to explain the halted
democratic transitions in the so-called hybrid regimes: authoritarian

regimes with a democratic façade, they did develop a model that focuses on actors promoting democracy and possessing various forms of leverage to do so; and on the various channels this promotion can take place – linkage.

In 2010 a Danish professor, Jakob Tolstrup, updated their model to address various important shortcomings. Levitsky & Way only focused on Western promotion, but disregarded that the modes of channelling leverage intro influençe are in essence neutral, and the model should also be used to focus on negative influence that counters democratization processes. Finally, Tolstrup criticized Levitsky & Way's model for ignoring any forms of agency for the political elites that are subjected to such leverage. In result the aspects of linkage were presented as petrified and almost reduced to geographical proximity between the actor promoting democratization and the target country (Tolstrup 2010).

The amount of leverage an external actor possesses depends on three factors: (1) the state's raw size and military and economic strength, (2) the existing of competing issues on the external actor's policy agendas, (3) the existence of alternative regional powers that can support the country politically, economically, and militarily. Linkage then refers to the density of ties to the external actor or multilateral institutions dominated by it. (Tolstrup 2010: 33). Levitsky & Way have identified five elements, which have been updated by Tolstrup:

- economic linkage – credit, investment and assistance, patterns of export and import
- geopolitical linkage – ties to governments and alliances and organizations
- social linkage – tourism, migration, diaspora communities, and elite education abroad
- communication linkage – cross-border telecommunications, Internet connections and foreign media penetration
- transnational civil society linkage – ties to international NGOs, churches, party organizations, and other networks (Tolstrup 2010: 33).

In his article Tolstrup convincingly argues that elites have agency and can affect the various forms of linkage, enhancing or eroding foreign influence. Figure 1 offers a visualization of Tolstrup's updated model (Tolstrup 2010: 32).

Figure 1. Model of when external actors can influence democratization
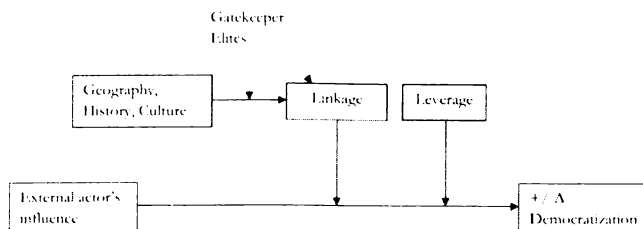
The economic, cultural and political ties elites build out over time are not carved in stone (unlike the geographical links). Elites have a significant influence to assess the costs and benefits of maintaining such ties and whether or not to give in to external demands. Some elites are more successful than others in this respect. Therefore, the author replaced elites with regimes, in order to differentiate between their variations in performance. However, comparing regime's types is beyond the scope of this paper. Here I will focus on the highly-personalized Mobutu regime, drawing from Tolstrup's theory to investigate foreign influence, and from regime theories in order to explain internal dimensions as well. The aim is to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this paper.

Mobutu's Ascend to Power

Mobutu's rise took place against a background of chaos and high international anxiety. When the former Belgian colony became independent on 30th June 1960 as the Republic of Congo, state structures quickly collapsed one-by-one and plunged the new state in deep crisis. There were many omens this could happen: the Belgian colonial system did everything to postpone independency. For the Ministry of Colonies and the Belgian government the mere idea of

independence had been preposterous in 1950, undesired in 1956, an idealistic future scenario that would take decades of preparation in 1958, and completely unstoppable by 1959. The colonial government seemed to be always one or two steps behind in their reaction on events: using repression led to more protests; granting small concessions like local elections only fuelled greater demands from Congolese side.

Finally the Congolese political leaders, each with their own regional or ethnic base of support, were invited to Brussels on 20th January 1959. Lumumba, the only politician with a national program, was freed from jail on demand of the other Congolese leaders. A united Congolese front took the unprepared Belgian delegation by surprise and a date for independence was set. With the announcement of national elections, the unity made place for bitter rivalry among Congo's political voices. Absorbed by their election campaign, they were absent during the second negotiations in Brussels, in which Belgium secured most of its financial assets in light of the new Congolese order.

The new political system installed in Leopoldville was mirrored on the complicated Belgian consociation model. However, creating a ruling coalition from the new-born and fractured party-landscape in which every party was deeply entrenched in its local or ethnic roots proved difficult. With some Belgian mediation, Patrice Emery Lumumba, leader of the 'Mouvement National Congolais' (MNC), the biggest party with 26.6% of the vote, agreed to accept the post of Prime Minister and hand over the presidency to his smaller coalition partner ABAKO (Alliance des Bakongo, 9.5%). Its leader, Joseph Kasavubu took the post. The biggest loser within the coalition was CONAKAT (Confederation des associations tribales du Katanga), led by Moïse Tshombe. CONAKAT only conquered 4.7% of the vote and some minister posts, while representing the economic engine of Congo: the mining industry in Katanga.

When this weak political constellation declared Congo's independence and took over power from the Belgians in a grand ceremony, the illusion of prosperity was complete. Alas, only one little push from a group that saw no benefits in this new reality

would suffice to topple the political pillar and through a domino-effect destabilize the economical one as well. This disgruntled group was the Force Publique (FP), the former colonial army, whose draftees were denied all fruits of independence: still ruled by Belgian officers, these soldiers were subject to rigid discipline and harsh corporal punishments for the meanest transgressions. At a disciplinary speech, General Janssens made clear that while the citizens celebrated the new era in the streets, for them, the soldiers everything was going to remain as before the independence.

With such a weak, divided government, the army was bound to interfere in politics. What was so remarkable is Congo was the speed by which the army became an instrument of local power politics. As different political factions co-opted their ethnic regiments for local agendas, a civil war quickly became inevitable. Especially as different foreign actors made their own alliances with their own regional elites. In the end it became more convenient to thrust Congolese politicians aside altogether and restore order by dealing with the army officials directly.

The garrison's mutiny started Thysville. They demanded better pay, less corporal punishment by former colonial officers and promotion of African officers. While the riots itself were small in scale, it were the rumours of rape on white women, which sent shockwaves through the white population. The government promised concessions to ease the tensions. Among them were the replacement of Janssens and the rapid advance of Congolese to senior positions within the FP. This last appeasement destabilized the FP, which would prove a disastrous move in order to gain the military upper hand in the later secessions of Kasai and Katanga. Belgium responded by first offering assistance to the new Congolese government, but then refused to wait for their final decision. The former colonizer decided to act unilaterally to protect its citizens and safeguard its economic interests, de facto invading Congo, bombing the port of Matadi and sending paratroopers to detain whole garrisons of the FP. Even this did not stop the panic: whites and their families left in the thousands leaving behind their plantations and firms, plunging Congo in an abrupt economic crisis. To make things

worse, sensing the weakness of the central government, Katanga, Congo's richest province, and later Kasai declared independence on 11th July and on 8th August respectively. They received tacit support from Belgium and foreign firms with huge stakes in these regions.

The political pillar would not hold out much longer: Kasavubu and Lumumba quickly fell out on the issue how to muster foreign support to reunite the country and get the Belgians to leave. This was the point where Lumumba had a serious disadvantage. Lumumba's MNC "[…] was undoubtedly the only political party to have a radical program aiming at transforming the economic structure of the Zairian society. In addition, the MNC was the only political party organized on a national rather than ethnic basis. Given his radical stands, Lumumba was not expected to get any Western assistance. In the struggle for the control of the postcolonial state, Lumumba exclusively relied on the Zairian masses while other Zairian leaders were seeking foreign support" (Naniuzeyi 1999: 678). Lumumba had already burned his bridges with the Belgians at the independence's ceremony in which he insulted the Belgian king, Boudewijn, and for firing general Janssens. In return the Belgians were most eager to support Tshombe's secession and his CONAKAT, which party program adhered to a slow and cooperative way to independence.

Even when the UN put together an international force with remarkable speed in order to replace the disintegrated FP troops and restore order in the Congo, these foreign troops would be responsible to the international body and not, as Lumumba initially anticipated, to the Congolese government (Young 1984: 722). Also the US quickly lost faith in him. After making a bad impression on the US representatives during their visit, Lumumba continued his international isolation by accusing the UN for supporting the colonizer over the colonized when addressing the issue of the Belgian troops still present on Congolese soil. The Belgians refused to leave as long as the safety of their citizens could not be guaranteed. As inexperienced politicians, Lumumba and Kasuvubu panicked and desperately turned to the Soviets for assistance. Khrushchev reacted immediately by sending ten Ilyushin planes with

food and arms to Congo (Van Reybrouk 2010: 318). This way he personally dragged the Cold War on Congo's doorstep and unconsciously signed his own death warrant.

It was in this context that Mobutu slowly came to power. Due to his close friendship with Lumumba, Joseph Désiré Mobutu had already made great promotional leaps forward within the Force Publique, now called Armée Nationale Congolèse (ANC). In a couple of months he rose to the position of Chief of Staff, even though he did not have much army experience and practiced journalism before independence. He was at the right place at the right time, when the CIA and Belgians were looking for trusted allies within the Congolese government. Despite his friendship with Lumumba he joined the same camp as Kasavubu, when the latter was urged by the great powers to politically neutralize Lumumba. On 5th September 1960 Kasavubu fired Lumumba as Prime Minister in a public radio broadcast. Lumumba reacted fast and an hour later already dismissed Kasavuba as president. The political chaos was complete. When the parliament supported Lumumba over Kasavubu on 13th September his Western allies realized Kasavubu did not have the authority to lead (Van Reybrouk 2010: 321-323). The next day, Colonel Mobutu, Chief of Staff, suspended the political scene for a year and installed a government of technocrats with support of the CIA. The first *coup d'état* was a fact.

Mobutu was well aware he was plan B for the CIA in case Kasavubu turned out too weak to take the lead. With no vote cast in his name, a "temporary technocratic government" was the furthest he could go without facing complete popular insurrection. As soon as he *de facto* took over the country, he started building out his own patronage networks and destroying potential challengers. Further, he did not allow Kasavubu to rebuild his power-base.

With UN support, troops loyal to Lumumba were removed from key positions and strategic locations (De Witte 1996: 271-2). Since Kasavubu proved unable to defeat Lumumba politically, the way was paved for a military dictatorship. The main targets were the two rivalling Congolese governments: the Kasavubu-faction and the Lumumba-faction, led by Antoine Gizenga as Lumumba was kept

under house arrest by Kasavubu, but also protected by ring of Ghanaian UN-troops around his house. Journalist De Witte states that even the UN was surprised by Mobutu's coup, but embraced it consequently. The new government consisted of many young Congolese, who had good ties with Belgium, where they obtained their university degrees. The government was apolitical and neutral, and did not have the support of the people, who had become more nationalistic and anti-Belgian.

Without foreign help, Mobutu would not have maintained the upper hand. His regime was still weak and he had many internal and external challengers to his rule. Different parts of the army had diverse loyalties and without active help of the UN, he would have been disposed of for sure (De Witte 1996: 285). Even with the UN's help in paying the army's wages he could only persuade some parts of the army. With their active involvement he arrested conspirators. Repressive measures were also necessary to reform the army. Swiftly key positions went to loyal Congolese from Mobutu's home region, Equateur (De Witte 1996: 287). Nonetheless, Lumumba proved a lingering threat even when under house arrest. When he escaped from his house arrest to recapture the throne and reorganize in his firm support base in Stanleyville, he was arrested by Mobutu's troops on the road. If Lumumba had not lingered in the capital to give a speech, he would have made the trip (Van Reybrouck 2010: 325). A mutiny broke out again in Thysville after his arrest became public knowledge.

The new regime did not know what to do with him. In the end it was the Belgian government who put pressure on Tshombe to accept Lumumba and two other captives. They arranged to transfer the three prisoners to Katanga, a completely hostile environment far away from the capital where Lumumba would be unable to rally for support, and at the same time gave the Belgians the opportunity to strengthen their ties with the new regime in Leopoldville. On 17th January Lumumba and his colleagues landed in Katanga. They were tortured and murdered later on the same day. Mobutu and the Belgians could wash their hands in innocence and pin Lumumba's murder on Tshombe. This master move caused an outrage in the

global arena and gave new impetus to annex Katanga and Kasai. The UN-ANC operations were prolonged and difficult. National unity was finally achieved in 1963, after US President Kennedy approved operation 'Grandslam.' Tshombe fled to Spain and his hirelings crossed the border to Angola (Van Reybrouck 2010: 328-337).

In the beginning US policy towards the Congo was very sensitive to Belgian preferences. During colonial times the US refrained from sending African American staff to its embassy in Leopoldville so they would not upset racial concerns US intelligence was restricted in the territory, relying on Belgian reports and limited technical aid plans were formulated and implemented in cooperation with colonial authorities (Schraeder 1994: 52).

After the FP mutiny and Belgian invasion, the Congo crisis received considerable US attention. Despite Lumumba's negative reputation within US policy circles, the US pursued a diplomatic solution, appeasing both Congolese and Belgian sides. In order not to provoke they send a multinational peacekeeping force under the UN banner. It was not until Lumumba fell out with the Secretary-General, Dag Hammerskjöld, which refused to take on military action against the separatists in Katanga, and turned to Soviet assistance, the US prepared for covert actions (Schraeder 1994: 54-55).

The CIA took the lead in preparing Lumumba's assassination, firstly by disabling him politically by forcing Kasavubu to relief him of his duties as prime minister. As this backfired, and the ensuing political crisis got worse, they nudged the young Mobutu to step up and take over. As mentioned above, Lumumba remained a threat, even under house arrest, but the direct plan for his assassination was conceived by the Belgian secret service[1].

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[1] The US plans were thwarted with the arrival of the new Special UN representative, Rajeshwar Dayal that refused to bend to Western demands, did not recognize Mobutu's coup and provided protection for Lumumba, which was placed under house arrest. His assassination was only set in motion after Lumumba escaped the compound (Schraeder 1994: 47).

The newly elected Kennedy's administration came to power in the midst of a deep crisis, as the whole world cried out in protest against Lumumba's murder. This led Kennedy to make some controversial decisions to avert the criticism. He called for the departure of Belgian troops and reconvention of the Congolese parliament. The CIA would pay off enough MPs to ensure victory for Kasavubu, supported by a nationalist prime minister Cyrille Adoula in order to keep the Lumumbist faction in check[2]. The wise choice to put forward Adoula, which was acceptable to most Congolese politicians, resulted in the planned outcome by itself.

Kasai was subjugated by the FP on its own, but Katanga proved too strong. Finally, after long negotiations and internal divisions within US decision-making a bold UN operation ("Grandslam") in 1962 brought the separated Katanga faction back into the fold, eliminating 'the last threat' to the Congolese state and the geopolitical balance, but not for long. The US could not wait any longer, since the dragged-on negotiations with Tshombe almost led to a take-over by the Lumumbist fraction that had started to undermine Adoula. The Congolese unification averted Soviet influence and Tshombe fled to Spain while his mercenaries crossed the border to Angola (Van Reybrouck 2010: 328-337).

At this point, the US would be committed in preserving stability in the Congo. It was a challenging task as the excluded Lumumbist factions embraced socialism and turned to armed struggle as a last resort. While the government more or less succeeded using the ANC to repress civil protests (De Witte 1996: 310), the Soviet-backed (Russian and Cuban) military challengers proved too strong. Without continued backing of the UN, Belgium, France and others, Mobutu would not have been able to defeat Pierre Mulele's Maoist-inspired rebellion in Kwilu, nor would he have won against the Simba rebels operating from Kivu. In an attempt to turn the tide against this Lumumbist-socialist rebellion, Mobutu even had to co-opt Tshombe in order to get the help of his Katangese mercenaries. This bloody civil war only ended in 1965 when the US

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[2] If this failed, they still had Mobutu to retake the political scene.

and Belgians entered the fray with air support (Van Reybrouck 2010: 345).

When peace was once again forcefully installed, Mobutu had no legitimacy to remain in power. Although he was not in such a weak position as before. The army had been cleared from Lumumbist or Tshombe's factions and its higher officers were loyal to Mobutu exclusively. Kasavubu retook the position of acting-president, elections were declared and Mobutu drew back to the shadows. The second free elections since independence turned out to be an enormous victory for Tshombe and his new party CONACO (Convention National Congolaise) with 122 of the 167 seats in parliament (Young 1984: 729). Kasavubu felt threatened by his former rival and repeated his move from 1960, by replacing Tshombe with Evariste Kimba as Prime Minister (Van Reybrouck 2010: 348). This time Mobutu was ready to step in for good.

A military coup by the ANC high command was announced on 25th November 1965. This time, Mobutu himself would take up the position of president for five years. Colonel Leonard Mulamba became the new prime minister. The high command legitimized their coup in the traditional way that they did so in order to save the nation. The CIA supported it, favouring a strongman-approach to infighting politicians that could refuel the rebellion. After the five-year transition period had passed, Mobutu still firmly controlled the government. On 4th October 1973 he addressed the UN General Assembly with the stability-mantra:

> "The situation which we have experienced from 1960 to 1965 was cruel for our people. And we must recognize that anarchy, chaos, disorder, negligence, and incompetence were master in Zaire. Some of you look in the dictionary perhaps to understand the definition of the word 'anarchy', while in Zaire we have experienced it so thoroughly that many thought the word 'anarchy' was a Zairean invention."[3]

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[3] Quote from *Études Zairoises*, September-October 1973, 2, 79-102. (Young 1984: 730)

In an evaluation of the First Republic, Young states that the ANC exaggerated the scope of the disorder, putting the blame on the politicians and pushing for further de-politicization. It is true that many Congolese experienced some repercussions in their personal lives, but major economic enterprises continued to work, schools continued to function. Yet Young argues that "[…] disorder was fatally lodged in the arteries of the system. […]. This is why, in its unanimous acclamation of the New Regime, parliament was faithfully representing its constituents. The First Republic passed into history as a distasteful period […] (Young 1984: 731). Mobutu's rise to power was welcomed by the masses, which had been effectively excluded, especially when the MNC was set aside. The former government was composed of quarrelling elites (évolués), which became its immediate beneficiaries (Naniuzeyi 1999: 678-9). At the time of the November coup, the masses expected a radical change in their socio-economic conditions. Of course Mobutu would quickly disappoint, but at the time his popularity with the masses helped him to step up and take over (Naniuzeyi 1999: 679).

Personal rule

This time Mobutu did not hesitate to monopolize power and turn Congo into a personal regime. His legacy would have a lasting influence on the country, more even than colonial rule. The political black-earth methods he used to stay in power, would pave the way for new personal regimes after his protracted fall after the Cold War. This paper will analyse his rule through the prism of regime theories to describe its most important characteristics. A short look at the regime structure according to the typology of Hadenius & Teorell and Geddes in combination with the Bueno de Mesquita's selective theory will explain how Mobutu eradicated internal threats. Even while Mobutu's position was directly linked with the Western support, he was able to erode their influence over decades despite the endemic state weakness that would only increase.

But first things first; what constitutes a personal regime? Ezrow and Frantz highlight its main characteristics: "Personal

dictatorships are regimes in which a single individual controls politics. […] one person dominates the military, state apparatus and ruling party (if one exists). No autonomous institutions exist independent of the leader. […] Personal dictators rule with extreme freedom, allowing for eccentric policies." (Ezrow, Frantz 2011: Chapter 11). They "[…] handpick a group of individuals to assist them in governing often referred to as the personal clique. These individuals are typically friends or family members of the leader. The balance of power between the leader and the clique is tilted significantly in the leader's favor: as such, personalist dictators face few checks on their power" (Ezrow, Frantz 2011: Chapter 11).

The murder of Lumumba proves that Mobutu did not hesitate to step over bodies to secure his position. Even when he did not execute his former friend himself at that time, his share in the murder cannot be denied. At the beginning of the coup, Mobutu swiftly wanted to get rid of his other challengers. His two-track approach of repression and selected patronage quickly allowed him to dominate the political scene. His first victims were the last Prime Minister, Evariste Kimba, and three other important figures from the First Republic[4]. After the show trial of the so-called Pentecost conspiracy, all four were hanged publicly in a main square of Léopoldville. The victims were lured into a trap by a bunch of officers, loyal to Mobutu but pretending to prepare a coup against him. None of the victims had undertaken any steps to prepare such a move. None of the soldiers were prosecuted (Van Reybrouck 2010: 356).

Those who got the message before could not wait to get out of Mobutu's way. Immediately after the *coup*, Tshombe left for Spain, but even in exile he remained a threat for the usurper. Even there he could not escape Mobutu's schemes: in 1967 a dodgy French businessman lured him to Ibiza for a relaxing weekend. En route, the Frenchman hijacked the plane and forced it to land in

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[4] The other victims were former Minister of Defense, Jérôme Anany, former Minster of Land Policy, Alexandre Mahamba (a Lumumbist), and Emmanuel Bamba, former Finance Minister and a fervent adherent of Kimbangism that could potentially mobilize his fellow religious followers (Van Reybrouck 2010: 356, Poppe 2011: 57).

Algiers. Tshombe was arrested, but his extradition to Congo was prevented by De Gaulle. Anyhow, he died in mysterious circumstances in his cell two years later, officially from a heart attack (Van Reybrouck 2010: 357-8). Kasavubu on the other hand, suddenly decided that he wanted to retire from politics and moved back to his home village in Bas-Congo. He died of natural causes four years later (Van Reybrouck 2010: 357). Someone that however did not notice these warning signs was Pierre Mulele, the former rebel leader from Kwilu that fled to Brazzaville after his insurrection failed in 1964. Mobutu promised him amnesty and a position in the new government, but when he arrived in Kinshasa he was used as a brutal example for future challengers of the regime. Mulele was horribly tortured and executed in public (Haskin 2005: 40).

In the east of Congo, however, there were still small pockets of resistance. The ANC was still weak and tribally divided, so Mobutu relied on white mercenaries to do the job. By the end of 1967 they succeeded in expulsing the last Simbas and their leaders Soumialot and Gbenye from the Kivu. Only Laurent Kabila was able to maintain a small foothold on the shore of Lake Taganyika, but no longer presented a threat (Van Reybrouck 2010: 361).

The only threat to stability were the Katangese Tigers, or Tshombe's gendarmes that had fought bitterly to defend Katanga's short-lived independence. When the Simba rebellion threatened national security, they were co-opted together with their leader, Tshombe. Their help was crucial in stopping the Simba advance. They rebelled twice. First when Tshombe announced he would return from Spain. Only a mix or negotiation and military action could stabilize the situation. A part of the soldiers and their families were granted amnesty, a promise Mobutu did not break, the rest was forced once more to leave Congo, and crossed the border to Angola once again, where they would play an active role in the Angolan civil war (Haskin 2005: 39-41).

The second time, a part of the hirelings, led by Major Jean Schramme, a former Belgian plantation owner, turned against Mobutu in order to 'save the Congo' after they learnt that Tshombe's plane had been hijacked, and even shortly occupied Stanleyville and

Bukavu. As always, Washington's support in the form of three C-130 with a contingent of 150 US soldiers was already underway. Even when Congress pressure forced President Johnson to redraw the order, one plane stayed behind until the crisis was over (Schraeder 1994: 74-80). The mercenaries quickly drew back to the Kivu province and afterwards were negotiated safe conduct to Rwanda by the Red Cross (Haskin 2005: 40).

After ridding the country of all former political and military opposition, Mobutu turned on his army supporters to wriggle all political power from their hands. His only real support at the time of the coup was from the high general staff of the ANC. They were his only electorate: according to Bueno de Mesquita that is the group "whose endowments include the qualities or characteristics institutionally required to choose the government's leadership and necessary for gaining access to private benefits doled out by the government's leadership" (Russet 2011: 15.) Mobutu knew his electorate was too small to co-opt other segments of society, much needed to stay in control. In order to weaken their influence, and broaden the pool of collaborators he decided to launch his own party, the 'Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution' (MPR). He deliberately refrained from including many military officers in the government or administrative functions (Young 1984: 731), but created a military-one party regime (Hadenius & Teorell 2007) in which both organs would be controlled by himself, the Président-Fondateur.

The larger electorate made it possible for him to rotate loyal followers between various political posts, allowing some 'their turn to eat,' while degrading others. This system of patronage gave Mobutu all the strings, playing out his clients against each other. In order to do so, he reformed the whole political system. He wrote a new constitution so he would be "[…] solely responsible for the appointment and dismissal of all cabinet members, the provincial governors, and all judges. The constitution called for compulsory military service. It was submitted to ratification by a popular referendum in June 1967 and was reportedly approved by 98 percent of the population" (Haskin 2005: 42). The MPR was to be extended to all significant segments of society, not unlike a totalitarian regime.

"At the centre, effective power was concentrated in the office of the president. (...) Generously endowed with government funds and vehicles, the party extended its structure throughout the country in the months that followed. There quickly appeared jurisdictional conflicts between the administrative and party representatives at different echelons of government, leading to a decision in October 1967 to fuse at each level the party and administrative responsibilities. The MPR role was extended to all organizational sectors: unions, youth and student organization were converted into party organs, and cells were established in Catholic seminaries and army units." (Young 1984: 732).

Mobutu's regime did not become totalitarian, as his nationalist ideology would wither in face of the economic crisis of 1974 (Van Reybrouck 2010: 362). If one links the developments on Zaire's domestic scene with the international dimension, the case of Zaire proves J. Tolstrup's findings that political elites are key players in influencing their international relations, and that democratization can be successfully stalled on both levels in some cases. Mobutu's regime, truly personal in nature, can be understood to have more agency in reassessing the country's linkage compared to other regime types. If Mobutu had not succeeded in monopolizing power for himself, he would not have been able to maximize selected relations with the West without facing open Congolese dissent from key support groups.

By 1965 it was clear that Mobutu was the golden boy in Washington's eyes. Even when they frowned upon his internal repression, he offered them a stable bastion that would ward off all communist influence to Congo. This is a clear shift since 1960: the US took over from Belgium in their responsibility to maintain stability. The US-Zaire special relationship already provided Mobutu with the largest US Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) in Africa, and doted it as well with small, but effective military programs ($3-4 mln annually to train Zairian military personal) in

addition to the support for Zaire's purchase of six C-130s, which would be maintained with US military aid (Schraeder 1994: 80f.). Mobutu would strengthen this linkage over the years by using his personal contacts to draw foreign direct investment in his developing mining sector.

Eroding linkage: the tail that wags the dog

Social Linkage. The white population had definitely been reduced since independence. In 1960, when the Thysville mutiny broke out, 30.000 Belgians crossed the river to Brazzaville or flew back to Brussels. In three weeks about 10.000 public officials, 13.000 employees from the private sector and 8000 colonists (plantation owners) left the Congo (Van Reybrouck 2010: 307). Afterwards the Congo crisis evolved into full scale war with the Simbas, who in their last struggles targeted the white population, killing over a hundred in Kisangani, before fleeing off to the bush. The only area in Congo, where foreigners were not harassed during the crisis, was Katanga. Its mining sector heavily relied on their know-how and technical assistance. And Tshombe, when still in charge, envisioned a slow cooperative route to full independence that would not disturb economic progress. Social linkage with the West remained strongest in Katanga, which explained how Tshombe was able to smoothly run the secessionist republic, attract funds and successfully organize its defence against attacks from the ANC.

When the Katangese secession was finally defeated 1964, Congo's provinces were split into mini-provinces by Kasavubu to subject them to more central control. After Mobutu took over he undid this decision, appointing loyal cronies to directly control 8 provinces and changing Katanga's name into the degrading – Shaba. However, over the years, economic mismanagement, étatization and growing insecurity made many settlers decide to move away. Benjamin Rubbers estimated their total around 1500 (of which 850 Belgians) in 2004 (Rubbers 2009). It is clear that even before these numbers were never high enough to mitigate any form of Belgian or Western influence on Congolese politics. Quite the reverse actually,

as Mobutu used the lives of foreign nationals to demand military assistance during the Shaba wars (Cf. footnote 7, below).

Communication Linkage. As a journalist, Mobutu very well understood the power of the media. Directly after the *coup*, he sent young Congolese to Paris to learn how to make television. A year later, on 23rd November 1966 the first Zairian state channel was launched; in 1967 the first broadcasts in Lingala started. The country would have colour TV long before many parts of Eastern Europe (Van Reybrouck 2010: 354f.). Propaganda was a key aspect of Mobutu's power in the early years. It promoted his policy of "authenticité" or "Zairization" actively banning Western influence to spread national consciousness, and helped foster his personal cult. As Mobutu build out national television networks by himself and for himself, there was complete censorship and no foreign influence, and therefore no linkage with the West.

Transnational Civic Society linkage. The only player Mobutu was not able to root out by force was the Catholic Church. While all other forms of civil society (trade unions, women's organizations and youth movements) were incorporated in the Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution' (MPR), the President-Fondateur could not co-opt, nor violently repress this organization, in fear of losing his Western support. He did, however, succeed in sowing division and limiting its influence, especially on education. Mission schools were forced to have a native principal, crucifixes were burnt. Saints were replaced by ancestors, young priests in education had to join the MPR youth movement. Christian youth organizations were banned, Christmas became a working day, etc. (Van Reybrouck 2010: 375).

Insofar Mobutu's 'Cultural Revolution' succeeded the main challenge were the bishops that proved to be fierce critics of his regime. After forcing Cardinal J. Malula in exile in 1972, the president's divide-and-rule strategy proved successful to ward of Western influence:

"In the early 1970's, President Mobutu sought to rein in the power of the church by nationalizing church schools and

hospitals, and in the ensuing conflict, Cardinal Joseph Malula was driven briefly into exile before a compromise was reached with the regime. In general, however, church leadership rarely confronted the Mobutu regime despite its brutality, severe corruption and gross mismanagement of the economy. According to Patrick Boyle, a professor at Loyola University Chicago, the ethnic, personal and ecclesiastical divisions among the bishops diminished the church's capacity to take a prophetic stance and played into the hands of the regime. For most of the 1970's and 1980's, the bishops were too divided to serve as a unified voice of opposition" (Longman 2001).

Economical Linkage. While the Zairian economy initially boomed due to the high copper prices, drawing foreign investments and loans, its dependency on the mining sector, low differentiation of export commodities, and pure mismanagement contained all the seeds for economic collapse. Already in 1967 the Mobutu's regime searched for new avenues of profit to siphon off funds directly to the state treasury, that is, to his broad electorate (army officials, loyal party members and kin), nationalizing the biggest mining firm (Union Minière), renaming it Gécomin. To strengthen his economic policy, Mobutu also launched a new currency – the Zaïre.

When the war in Vietnam ended, the price of copper plummeted. In combination with the oil crisis the Zairian economy started stagnating in 1974. Using his high political profile to borrow from Western bank to overcome this "temporary setback" drowned Zaire in debt. With US and French intervention Mobutu was able to obtain more financial injections, some debt alleviation and much rescheduling (Young 1983: 116-120). As the doors to private banks one-by-one closed, Mobutu unexpectedly ruptured diplomatic relations with Israel (its former ally) and declared solidarity with the Arab cause at a UN meeting in order to gain access to Arab banks. The US was shocked of this unannounced *volte-face*, but took no action (Schraeder 1994: 82).

When finally the IMF became involved, they tried to bring Mobutu to financial accountability in 1976. The few austerity

measures, which Mobutu allowed, mostly affected the population. Due to the fall of food imports, reports of starvation appeared already in 1979. By then it was too late: a report by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 1978 disclosed:

"[…] the real value of imports has fallen by some 45 percent (since 1972). In these circumstances, the scope for general austerity seems very limited indeed. It is a source of wonder that supposedly responsible people can, without any apparent awareness of inconsistency, both condemn the violation of human rights in Zaire and insist on economic policies that can only be imposed by terror" (Young 1983: 122).

Soon the IMF stopped caring about the hundreds of million dollars owed to private banks, but concentrated to return the Zairian economy as a reliable participant in international trade. This proved to be an impossible task. Mobutu and his cronies had patronized all lucrative trade dealings, in which both parties (Zairian and foreigner) transferred abroad as many of their liquid assets as possible as no side trusted to invest in the Zairian economy. Development programs were passed on to loyal clients, who corruptly squandered the funds with no chance of economic return (Young 1983: 14-129).

In the end, while aid was allocated to Mobutu half-heartedly, debt-repayment and structural adjustment sank to a level of mere symbolic exchange. The Zairian people drew back from the public sphere to the "second economy" (black market) in order to survive. Mobutu knew that his patrons in the West would not cut the umbilical cord, as there was no alternative to his regime. As Young (1983: 125) stated: "External actors were in a curious position, they could neither afford to see Mobutu fall, nor could they afford to see him fail."

Geopolitical Linkage. This was without doubt the most important form of linkage for the regime. As the crisis situations of the 1960s no longer required direct US presidential attention, Mobutu strengthened his personal contacts with the CIA and Defence Department. Moreover, during the presidency of D'Estaing, he

102

sought better ties with France, a more reliable and active partner on the African continent. Belgium by then was no longer an important player. Its Military Technical Assistance remained constant during the Mobutu years (mostly providing training and equipment for the FAZ)[5] and this was not influenced by the fickle political relationship. Even on occasions it might have been, Mobutu would personally interfere "to file of the sharp edges". Belgium's interventionist reflex, however, had been put aside after 1965 and would not play an important role for Zaire's geopolitical position, besides legitimizing the regime (Vanthemsche 2007: 257-260).

Formally, US and French interests in Africa only seemed complementary during the Cold War. The US aimed to keep Russian and Cuban leverage at bay and even tried to 'roll back' Soviet advancement altogether at times. On the other hand, France was not preoccupied with ideological issues, but first of all sought to consolidate and promote their influence in their former colonies and other French-speaking African countries. France was very protective of its former colonies and more lenient towards leftist regimes in its *chasse gardée* as long as their loyalty to Paris was guaranteed. While this led to a direct clash of French and US policies in Africa at times[6], Mobutu found it easy to use this tension to convince Paris to establish better ties with Zaire, especially as France had perceived Mobutu to be a US puppet and a potential threat to its influence in Central Africa (Schraeder 2000, 398-400).

During the Angolan Crisis in 1974, a pivotal moment in the African Cold War, Mobutu was still able to bully the US for more support and aid:

"In an effort to shock the White House into reassessing the value of US-Zairian ties and making policy more consistent

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[5] Some Belgian officers were included as advisors in Mobutu's inner circle, for example Colonel Louis Marlière (Vanthemsche 2007: 259).
[6] Benin, Congo-Brazzaville and Madagascar are clear examples when French protégés turned Marxist, but did not lose support of France. Another case of US-French friction was when the US decided to support Guinea after it had defected from French orbit during Sékou Touré rule.

throughout the executive branch, Mobutu on June 19, 1975, accused Washington of plotting his overthrow, declared Ambassador Hinton *persona non grata*, and arrested the majority of the CIA's contract Zairian agents. [...] Ford and Kissinger quickly sought to repair the breach with Mobutu" (Schraeder 1994: 58).

By the time of the first Shaba war (March-May 1977) Mobutu could no longer afford such bold moves. The US refused to get involved when Angolan rebels (The Katangese Tigers – former troops of Tshombe) crossed the border with Zaire and started rapidly taking control over cities in Katanga. At the time, Mobutu's troops proved to be worthless against this small (2000 rebels), but disciplined group. However, by then he could rely on France (and later Belgium) to come to his aid[7]. France did not have important economical stakes in the conflict, but considered Zaire a strategic reserve. After the rebels' second attempt (May 1978), France even set up an African-led peacekeeping force to discourage them from trying again. Allocating this task to Mobutu's undisciplined and plundering FAZ would have brought instability to the province and scared off the white population, needed to keep the mines running (Zartman 1989).

Conclusion

During his rise, Mobutu was successful in eroding Belgian's linkage and tying its faith with that of the US. As Zaire's geopolitical and economical linkage with the US was firmly established, Mobutu actively started pursuing different patrons, especially France. By the time the Cold War ended and his geopolitical capital melted as snow in the sun, all other forms of linkage had also weakened to such a degree that none of his formal allies could nudge him out of power.

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[7] During the Shaba II, Mobutu ordered the execution of 30 whites in Kolwezi. He successfully framed the Katangese tigers and instantly received support from French legionnaires and Belgian paratroopers (Van Reybrouck 2010: 394-395).

In face of democratic opposition after 1990, an isolated Mobutu blew hot and cold, but without doubt stayed on top of the transition process. The only exception was his fear for excommunication after he crushed a religiously-led pacifist manifestation with napalm, killing more than 35 people on 16th February 1991, which temporarily forced him to agree to reforms (Van Reybrouck 2010: 426-247). All the opposition's attempts to gain access to political power were reversed. With only his loyal presidential guard, well paid, trained and armed, he was able to maintain control of Kinshasa. Mobutu no longer needed the FAZ.

When the genocide broke out in Rwanda on 6th April 1994, France offered Mobutu a last straw to grab, in order to pursue its own interests. After 1989, US-French rivalry had gained new momentum. France saw the US supported emergence of Yuweri Museveni and Paul Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front as victories of Anglo-Saxon influence in Central Africa. Less than three weeks after the start of the genocide, Paris sent two envoys to Mobutu to feel him out on French intervention in Rwanda. In exchange for letting France reassert its waning influence in Central Africa, Mobutu was "rehabilitated" to the rest of the Western World with French references[8]. In the words of Guy Labertit: "France committed a major political mistake by clinging to the myth of Mobutu even after his regime had lost all coherence" (Whitney 1997). The same could have been said about the US.

Mobutu had managed to transform the very weakness of Zaire into an asset for the survival of his regime. He has astutely sustained the "Mobutu or chaos" thesis, which unfailingly brought Western powers to his rescue when push finally came to shove. The more enfeebled the regime, the more "Mobutu or chaos" became a live issue (Young 1986: 130). The above analysis of Zaire's linkage and leverage leads to an interesting observation – while Mobutu's vulnerability to external pressure (leverage) theoretically should have increased as Zaire only resembled the shell of a state – its economy had completely collapsed and been corrupted to the core; its army

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[8] Insights from Journalist Mark Huband (McKinney 1994).

was worthless; and after the Cold War, Mobutu became an international embarrassment for the West, with no alternative sources of support – Mobutu's regime was still able to block all attempts to circumvent his power, both from the West as from within. Zaire is a clear case that not only a personal gatekeeper regime can effectively restrain foreign linkage, but even use its own state weakness to turn this linkage against its patrons, in fact forcing them to support its client and even aiding him in removing challengers. In order to do so, the regime had skinned linkage to pure geopolitics and dismantled all institutions or actors that could challenge Mobutu's patronage of this linkage. The author hopes that this analysis might influence our thinking about the power of state weakness.

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Exodus! Movement of Jah People[1] in Contemporary Ethiopia with Reference to Shashemenē[2] (a report from field research)

Abstract

This work concerns Shashemenē – a city in southern Ethiopia, which is often and unofficially called the capital of the Rastafari Movement. The article contains some facts about this place and its history, description of living conditions there and the author's personal impressions from the visit to this city. Moreover, there is a short paragraph about relations between Rastas and native Ethiopians.

Keywords: Ethiopia, Shashemenē, Rastafari

Whole Africa and especially Ethiopia take up special place in hearts of millions of black people from the New World. Idea of repatriation or exodus to the motherland appeared with the first black slaves from Africa on American soil, and has been passing through consecutive generations until today. It has special meaning for one group of people, originally consisting only of slaves' descendants in Jamaica – Rastas.

It is quite hard to classify what Rastafari Movement exactly is. Scholars tend to categorize it as religion, socio-religious or socio-

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[1] Title of this paper is derived and inspired by Bob Marley's 1977 album: „Exodus. Movement of Jah People".
[2] In this paper I'm using following transcription system: Romanization System for Amharic, BGN/PC GN 1976 System.
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140402150947/http://www.pcgn.org.uk/Romanization_Amharic.pdf; access 12.09.2014

cultural religious movement or even religious political movement[3]. Rastas themselves prefer to call it philosophy, movement or simply – the way of life. Regardless of categorization, members of Rastafari movement do not accept the term 'Rastafarianism' and that connected with it – 'Rastafarians', which they see as 'Babylonian' and degrading. That is why I am not going to use this terms in this paper.

Below, I would like to describe the image of people (mainly members of Rastafari Movement) who have managed to fulfill the idea of repatriation and are now living in Ethiopia. This article is to a large degree a product of my recent trip to Ethiopia in January 2014, and is thought to be as much up-to-date as possible.

Shashemenē – myths and reality

Shashemenē is widely known amongst Rastafari Brethren around the world as a land of milk and honey. Most of them hear about this place in Ethiopia at least once in their lifetime, but only few read something more about it and even less have been there. Most probably this is the reason why a lot of legends and myths aroused around Shashemenē. I am going to tackle them here.

If you are Rasta or someone interested in the Movement or Shashemenē itself, there is a high probability that you heard or read something like this:

> "This small village near the District Town of Malkoda gained international attention in the African Diaspora in 1948, when 500 acres of its fertile land was granted as a gift to the black people of the West, by His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I, the reigning Ethiopian Monarch, for their massive support to Ethiopia during the Italian occupation of 1935-1941."[4]

This piece of information, taken from official website of The Shashamane Settlement Community Development Foundation, could

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[3]Check for example entry 'Rastafari' in Encyclopaedia Britannica: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/491801/Rastafari

[4] http://www.infoexgraphics.com/shashamane/?page_id=11

be often found in works concerning this place. Unfortunately, some of this data is not accurate anymore but many people still believe it is. Like in the quotation above, in many reportages, articles or books one can read about a "village" or "town", while Shashemenē is none of them. Admittedly in 1994, so only twenty years ago it had a population of ca. 52 000 while now (according to 2012 national census) its population is estimated at 122 000. In fact, nowadays Shashemenē is large and very crowded city. According to actual administrative partition the city lies in Oromīya Region Ethiopia and it is located around 240 km south form the capital – Addis Ababa.

It is true that in 1948 Emperor Hayīle Selassē I decided to give 500 acres of his private land for members of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), the Rastafari Movement, and all black people in the West who wanted to go back to the motherland. It is also well-known that Emperor decided to make this donation in order to express his gratitude for the black diaspora, which massively aided Ethiopia during its struggle to recapture independence from the Italian occupation. Unfortunately, the communist Derg[5] regime confiscated most of the original 500 acres and left only 27 acres for the newcomers. Thus, the stories about great stretch of fertile land does not reflect current reality.

As I already have mentioned, for the Rasta people Shashemenē is the Promised Land, Paradise on Earth or something like the capital of their Zion. This type of thinking is hardly understandable for other people. For the average travelers or tourists Shashemenē is "grubby and raucous"[6] town where one needs to be careful with his wallet. I had browsed through some reports and forums concerning Shashemenē before I left for Ethiopia last time and I have to admit that rather I would not go there if it was not so important for me. Shashemenē does not have good opinion neither in

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[5]Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army later on renamed the Provisional Military Administrative Council – communist regime which ruled Ethiopia from the overthrown of Hayīle Sellasē in 1974 until 1987.
[6] M. Phillips, J.B. Carillet, 2006, *Ethiopia & Eritrea*, Footscray: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, p.174f.

westerner's nor in Ethiopians eyes also as I realized during my stay there. It is famous for "rude and hostile treatment of travelers"[7], occasional thefts and importunity of self-appointed guides and *ganja* dealers. In my opinion it definitely does not resemble a heaven on Earth or Zion. It is dusty, loud and has a characteristic, unpleasant smell. In fact, the city lies on Cairo-Cape Town Trans-African Highway and air pollution is perceptible here very distinctly. For someone from Europe or so called Western World a walk around the town could be nearly an extreme sport. The main streets and roadsides are wide, but continual flood of cars, *bajajs*[8], people and animals make the trip hard and force you to watch out all the time. Finally, I need to mention beggary: children, old, healthy and disabled, poor and those in probably quite good financial condition. It is really sad and at the same time extremely annoying, because firstly it makes you feel like a walking money-box, secondly like disgusting miser (even if I decided to give away all my money it would be still too little) and thirdly, you are furious for everyone thinking – why did I come here?

Well, everything is true, but to be honest I have to add that all things are also present in other places in this country, especially in Addis Ababa's Piazza. Maybe somewhat other and in different intensity, but that is nothing extraordinary. Trying to be as much objective as I can, I have to admit that Shashemenē looks like every other big city or town in Ethiopia. It is chaotic and deterrent at a first glance, but if you are not afraid and have some time to look deeper, you will see that not only normal life runs there, but perhaps you will perceive something interesting.

Everyday living

It has been nearly 60 years since the first settlers – the Piper's family (members of EWF) came to Shashemenē in 1955. After them, more and more followers settled on the land granted by the Emperor. At its peak, the society of newcomers – followers of Rasta philosophy, members of EWF or other sympathizers of Ethiopia

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[7] Ibid.
[8] *Bajaj* – a kind of auto rickshaw, vehicle known wider as tuk-tuk.

counted over 2 000 people. Now, their number is estimated for around two or three hundred. Even so Shashemenē is still home for the largest Afro-Caribbean Society in Africa[9]. They live in northern outskirts of the town known as 'Jamaica'. Certainly, the name reflects the most numerous national group within immigrants' community. Apart from Bob Marley's compatriots, there are also representatives of other Caribbean countries (e.g. Trinidad and Tobago, St. Vincent) as well as United States, Great Britain and others. Yet nowadays, in Shashemenē there are more and more... Ethiopians. While it is true that they have foreign parentage, but also there is insignificant number of fresh newcomers now. The city is still visited in large numbers by followers of the Movement from all over the world, but I am wondering whether it is possible that one day there will be no "settlers", "newcomers", "immigrants" or "Jamaica" in Shashemenē.

The settlers never had an easy life in their Land of Promise, but the worst period, when they were discriminated the most in their history, was the time of the communist regime. In 1975 all the land in Ethiopia was nationalized. Of course, the Land Grant was included. Some of the settlers gave up and went back to Caribbean or USA, but some remained to fight for their rights. After some time and with the assistance of Jamaican government land was returned to the settlers, but much reduced as I mentioned above. In 1992, after several hard years of Derg's rule "in order to represent the collective interest of the Community to the Ethiopian Authorities"[10] , the settlers inaugurated non-governmental organization – The Jamaica Rastafarian Development Community (JRDC)[11]. Few years later, in 1998 they brought The Shashemane Settlement Community Development Foundation into existence. Its purpose and goals are as follows:

„to promote awareness of and organize developmental support for the Shashamane Settler Community and similar charitable causes throughout the world; to foster better local, regional, national, and international rela-

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[9] http://www.infoexgraphics.com/shashamane/?page_id=11
[10] http://www.infoexgraphics.com/shashamane/?page_id=11
[11] Ibid.

tions through the promotion of trade, sports, and cultural linkages; to support and contribute to U.S. based Ethiopian and other charities whose objectives are in harmony with the Foundation's goals; to establish and facilitate communications networks with the Settler community, particularly the youth; to develop methods of establishing self-help, self-sufficiency, and community enrichment programs for the Shashamane community"[12].

Thus we can notice, that Rastas and other settlers, are deeply set in Ethiopian reality and seriously take their exile here. In the past, immigrants' children learned at home, sometimes in small groups of peers. Now, there is The Jamaica Rastafarian Development Community School which was originally established to teach the immigrants' children, but also native Ethiopian children attend there. The school, (which is financed only thanks to private donations) is large. Around 400-500 children attend there and 27 teachers are emplyed[13].

In 'Jamaica' community all three Rastafari Mansions[14] are represented but Twelve Tribes of Israel seems to be the most numerous. There is Rasta Nyabinghi Church in the settlement, which is being built for years and Black Lion Museum, but it seems that it is closed now[15]. One of the most interesting and positive people I met there was Ras Hailu Tefari (his real name is Bany Payne) who is an artist running "Banana Art Gallery". Apart from him and probably some other members of the community, the majority are farmers.

I am bound to say that Shashemenē made me confused. I was trying to be interested, objective or even positively oriented, but I have to say that this city made a sad impression on me. In my opinion, Jamaica resembles paradise definitely more than Shashemenē.

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[12] http://www.infoexgraphics.com/shashamane/
[13] Ibid.
[14] In other words – branches which are as follows: Twelve Tribes of Israel, Nyiabinghi, Bobo Shanti.
[15] Probably since 2012, when its founder – Gladstone Robinson, the first Rasta settler in Shashemenē died.

Ethiopians and Rastas

Emperor's great-granddaughter Esther Sellasie Antohin wrote: "Ever since Ethiopians in the diaspora became aware of the Rastafarians, their views of them have been tenuous at best and antagonistic at worst"[16]. In my opinion this sentence reflects also attitude of Ethiopians living in their motherland towards their Rasta neighbors.

It is necessary to acknowledge that from the beginning Rasta Brethren has faced misunderstanding and alienation in their Zion. During the communist Derg period they were even treated as some kind of public enemy. The main reason was simple – completely different views on the Emperor's figure. He was a God or Messiah for Rastas, and an old despot for some people in Ethiopia and abroad. To be honest, newcomers often were and still sometimes are conductive to preserve negative stereotypes about Jah People. In the past they were often engaged in marijuana cultivation or smuggling and it was not well-seen by locals. Now they are rather inducting native Ethiopians to cultivate herb for them, and locals' attitude towards this drug is also changing. The Movement had an unusually bad reputation during communists' administration, because aside from their evident distinctness, they were at that time against the system. Military revolution, overthrew the monarch, who was and still is the central figure of the Rastafari philosophy. It is not difficult to guess that members of the Movement with inseparable attributes and references to abolished regime, did not have an easy life in those times. Nevertheless, they continued to sing songs which glorified the Emperor, hung up his pictures, hoisted the flag with Lion of Judah or collected and featured other symbols related to Hayīle Sellasē I and Ethiopia's past. Moreover, the settlers always had better, richer households. These aspects of Rasta's culture and life did not make them friends of course.

During the Derg's regime, newcomers struggled with the land problems. As I already have mentioned, communists seized the great majority of the ground granted by Emperor Hayīle Selassē I.

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[16] E.S. Antohin, 2007, *Ethiopians & Rastafari*, Sellassie Pub., p.10.

Today, there is still no possibility to buy some land because according to Ethiopian law land cannot be private property and every part of this country is in state ownership.

From my interviews with native Ethiopians *in situ* and in Poland results one main reflection – Rastas and their beliefs (especially the one about divinity of Hayīle Sellasē I) are strange for the common people. Their philosophy is incomprehensible and obscure. According to some people, they are even inferior to Ethiopians, because they are black[17].

Rasta Brethren in Ethiopia still have problems, and one of the biggest is their separation from the rest of the society. Members of the movement are ethnic minority with their own traditions and rituals which are still alive and cultivated. They emphasize their difference in many ways like their manners, style of dressing, characteristic hairdo (dreadlocks), different language (usually English) and customs.

After all, in my opinion, the situation is slowly changing. Long time ago the newcomers were hardy to assimilate, but now they are trying to adapt somehow to local conditions. As I described above, they established a foundation. One of its aims is to improve relationship between them and the local community. JRDC is also responsible for foundation and operation of school in Shashemenē. Some individuals from among Rasta Brethren are plunging into work for the common good. Last but not least, more and more members of the movement are able to communicate in Amharic, which is already lessening the distance[18].

Locals' attitude to Jah People is evolving as well. From my

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[17] The majority of Ethiopians have light or medium brown skin colour and have Semitic features. They like to call their skin colour as honey or caramel whereas Rastas are mainly slave's descendants, who came from West Africa and had dark brown skin with Negroid features.

[18] It comes from two factors. First of all, as I wrote above, the number of first settlers' descendants, born and raised in Ethiopia is increasing. Therefore they know Amharic and also their parents are learning it (if the fathers did not learn the language before). Secondly, some individuals, even new in the society, are trying to communicate with locals in their language to be more familiar.

observation results that being a Rasta is simply becoming popular among some groups of young people in Ethiopia. It seems that at present this phenomenon concerns only the largest cities, which in practice means that it is limited mainly to Addīs Ababa and Shashemenē. There everyone can see young males with dreadlocks (usually this is the only Rasta attribute for this type of people), who will try to "help" or make friends with white travelers. For the time being it seems that this popularity comes mainly (or even only) out of possibility to make easy money on naive tourists but I may be wrong. Reggae and dancehall music is very fashionable, so maybe the attitude of Ethiopians towards Rastafarians will change in the future.

Conclusion

Shashemenē definitely is not a city in which one is going to love at first sight, but with curiosity and patience one will discover that under hard, dusty crust, there is another, more human picture. For almost sixty years it has been home for brave people who were not afraid to leave their native countries and set off to their spiritual motherland. I admire their steadfastness, especially the first settlers who left the United States or Europe in fifties or sixties last century and found themselves in completely new environment of Ethiopian interior, which in that time belonged more to nineteenth than twentieth century. Of course I am aware of race discrimination and other problems of black people in USA, Caribbean and UK. Fortunately, I did not experience alienation in my own country and I did not have to escape anywhere to be treated as citizen of full value. Nonetheless, I can imagine that decision to move from bad but familiar conditions into probably better but completely different and unknown must have been extremely difficult. It is worth to add that sixty years ago world was definitely "bigger" than today – telecommunication and transport network were weaker, knowledge about distant corners of the earth was smaller and harder to reach and obviously there was no Internet. Newcomers who settled in Ethiopia and remained there were most probably strongly convinced that their beliefs are right and real. Despite the courage and steadfastness, which I already have

mentioned they had to be strong and patient and to have fortitude, skills, a lot of optimism and at least a little bit of luck. No matter what we think about and how we evaluate their efforts, they fulfilled their dreams about Zion on Earth. This is the reason why their history and they themselves are so fascinating to me.

Afterword

Despite all unfavorable, critical or even warning opinions regarding Shashemenē I was trying to be as much positively oriented and open minded as I could during my stay there. Unfortunately one of the most unpleasant situations during my trip to Ethiopia took place in that city. We were looking for Black Lion Museum and our driver stopped the car on the roadside to ask for the way. After a while we were mobbed by a group of young Rasta boys offering their services as guides. We were trying to refuse politely although decidedly, but there were no place to debate. The boys showed us that this is an offer we cannot reject. Some of them stuck to our car and a few blocked the way. The lockup lasted only a few minutes including the time we and our driver lost to excuse ourselves from the situation. However, it was sufficient to notice the boys' red eyes and excitation, characteristic to *ch'at*[19] users who are in big opposition to *ganja* stoned, calm and relaxed, real Jah People. Finally, after quite impetuous quarrel between our driver and sham-Rastas we fortunately drove away. Of course, it was not the hair-raising accident but this definitely harsh situation fits unusually well to all the stereotypes about Shashemenē. The question remains – was it unusual case for sure? I still hope it was.

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[19]*Ch'at'* (*khat* or *qat*) – edible plant, characteristic to Horn of Africa, where it is chewed by a lot of people. It contains cathinone – amphetamine-like stimulant. The plant is present in Ethiopia from a long time. It is legal in this country and still very popular.

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Reviews

Sergio Baldi, Geraud Magrin (eds.), *Les échanges et la communication dans le bassin du lac Tchad. Actes du colloque de Naples du réseau Méga-Tchad,* **Studi Africanistici, Serie Ciado-Sudanese 6, Napoli: Universitá degli Studi di Napoli „L'Orientale", 2014, 569 pp.**

Since its inception the Mega-Chad network has organised fifteen colloquia in various countries (France, Germany, Netherlands, Nigeria, Cameroon and Italy), proceedings of which have been published in separate volumes. The sixteenth colloquium in September, 2012 was revolving around the topic indicated in the title of the volume presented here. The contributions selected for publication have been distributed in five sections.

The first one titled **Échanges matérielles sur le temps long (Material flows in a long term perspective)** contains six articles. The first one, „La diversité des échanges de plantes: regards interdisciplinaires", presented by a group of ten scholars, investigates social and biological factors modulating genetic exchanges for two crops in the Lake Chad Basin: pearl millet and Bambara groundnut. Another group of researchers, S. Langlais, G. Favreau, R. Tapia and Ch. Leduc, in „La diffusion des techniques de creusement des puits et de puisage á travers le Sahara et le Sahel" deal with the variety of types of wells and water-lifting devices and come to a conclusion that the Lake Chad Basin appears to be a crossroads where water technologies are transferred between the inhabitants of northwestern Africa. Internal exchanges among the Tubu pastoralists are described by C. Baroin in her article „Échanges internes et externes chez les pasteurs: le systéme économique des Toubou". Walter E.A. van Beek in „Dynamics of Kapsiki/Higi marriage exchanges" retraces the evolution of the conjugal transactions among Kapsiki from northern Cameroon. Technical systems, socio-economic organisation and iron ex-

change networks of the Dii ethnic group in the upper Benue valley are discussed by O. Langlois and I. Abdoul Sardi in their contribution „La circulation du fer depuis le pays dii au début du XXème siécle".

The second section composed of four contributions, **Le commerce, les réseau, les circuits commerciaux (Trade and commercial networks),** is opened by Hadiza Kiari Fougou, Boureima Amadu, J. Lemoalle and G. Favreau in the self-explaining article „L'évolution des circuits de commercialisation du poisson dans la partie nigérienne du lac Tchad en phase de Petit Lac". T. Musch in „Linking regions by men and animals. Note on transnational livestock trade in Banki / Borno State" concentrates on some characteristic traits of transnational networks which are maintained by livestock tradesman in the Banki market. In „Les échanges monétaires en zone rurale dans le Mayo-Danay (Extrême-Nord du Cameroun: lieux, acteurs et pratiques" Ch. Violon and J. Wencelius aim at the analysis of the plurality of forms of money exchanges by the Tupuri farmers in the rural areas of Mayo-Danay. G. Mbaye Ngaressem in „Des handicapés physiques, acteurs du trafic quotidien entre N'Djaména et Kousséri" provides information about the origin of the disabled merchants-traffickers operating in a „parallel trade" between N'Djamena and the small Cameroonian city of Kusseri.

The third section titled **Politiques et influences extérieures sur les échanges / Policies and external influences on exchanges** is composed of four articles. Ch. Segnobos in „La moto chinoise: une révolution urbaine et rurale" deals with the massive arrival of the chinese motorcycles on the North Cameroonian market and describes jobs generated by the motorcycle taxis in Maroua and Ngaoundéré. Internal crisis of agricultural production in Central African Republic, which is troubled by armed conflicts, is dealt with by E. Chauvin in „Conflits armés, mobilités sous contraintes et recompositions des échanges vivriers dans le nord-ouest de la Centrafrique". G. Magrin and G. van Vliet in „Désenclaver le pétrole: une bifurcation pour le Tchad?" analyse the contradictory role played by recent access to oil in a landlocked Chad. C. Arditi and others try to answer the question: „Le développement a-t-il influancé l'agrobiodiversité dans le bassin

tchadien au cours du XXème siécle? Histoire d'une conservation par les échanges". They pay special attention to the 'informal' seed exchange networks.

The fourth section, **Échanges régionaux des mots et des idées / Regional exchanges of words and ideas,** contains five contributions of a linguistic character. S. Baldi and R. Leger in „On Language Contacts in the Mega-Chad Area: The Arabic Influence" take into account Arabic words which with Islam entered the lexical inventory of Hausa, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Kwami and Kupto. The article by B. Caron titled „Loanwords in South-Bauchi-West Chadic Languages" gives more information on vocabulary and history of those languages, and at the same time verifies the functioning of the data base RefLex. H. Tourneux in „La communication linguistique interethnique au nord du Cameroun" points to the increasing importance of Fulfulde in northern Cameroon despite the appearance of consciousness movements among some ethnic minority groups. R. Blench in „Linguistic evidence for the chronological stratification of populations south of Lake Chad" discusses the indications of the chronostratography of those peoples settled to the south of the Lake Chad. Two texts of MuËammad al-WälČ, highly respected scholar form Central Sahel, are presented by D. van Dalen in his essay „The making a man of letters. Exchange as intellectual strategy in the work of Muḥammad al-Wālī".

The final section, **Échanges et identités / Exchanges and identity,** contains five papers and begins with that by R. Dewiere titled „Nommer l'autre: la représentation politique du monde au sultanat du Borno (XVIème siécle)". F. Dumas-Champion in „'Gizey, terre d'échanges'. Considérations sur la diffusion du pouvoir sacré lié á la terre (Cameroun/Chad)" strives to show that the Masa-Gisey have a sacred power bound to the earth which is comparable to the one of the Wina, the Tupuri and the Musey. A. Melis gathered data on the initiation language of the Masa people from Cameroon and gave some information on the newly reintroduced ritual session in his contribution „La langue de l'initiation Laɓata, moyen de communication interethnique (Cameroun-Chad)". L. Gaffuri, A. Melis and V. Petrarca in „Les Gizey du Cameroun et du Tchad: identité, dyna-

mismes, échanges culturels" points to the documents which testify to a long standing negotiation over the Gizey identity's relationship with other neighbouring populations. The volume closes with an article by S. Ruelland titled „Les pronoms tupuri: adamawa et tchadique?", in which she investigates H. Tourneux's suggestion that the large quantity of loan-words from Chadic languages in Tupuri may partly be attributed to a Chadic substratum.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

Girma Awgichew Demeke, *Grammatical change in Semitic: A Diachronic Grammar of Amharic*, "Afroasiatic Studies" 4, Princeton-Addis Abeba: WibTaye Publishers, 2014, 336 pp.

This volume has been published under the auspices of the Institute of Semitic Studies in Princeton. Like the previous ones, it is focused on Ethio-Semitic languages, in this case Amharic. Amharic boasts unusually long recorded history among African languages yet this book seems to be the first systematic attempt to reconstruct its development over the period for which we have any reliable data. If my understanding of the author's intentions is correct, the work surveys "oldest Amharic manuscripts" (p. 2) in order to show the main differences between pre-18th century Amharic ("Old Amharic", henceforth OA, so defined on p. 3) and modern Amharic (MA).

It might be perhaps useful for the prospective reader to list here the material from which the author has drawn his data on OA, as it is not clearly indicated in the book. These are:

- *Timhirtä haymanot*,[1]
- so-called Royal Songs,[2]
- so-called Fragmentum Piquesii,[3]

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[1] R. Cowley, "A text in Old Amharic", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37:3, 2004, pp. 597-607. Throughout this review I am using the transliteration employed by the author.
[2] Quoted after I. Guidi, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di Re Abissini", *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Rendiconti ser. 4, vol. 5, 1889, pp. 53-66.
[3] R. Cowley, "Ludolf's Fragmentum Piquesii. An Old Amharic tract about Mary who annointed Jesus' feet", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28:1, 1983, pp. 1-47.

- Hiob Ludolf's *Grammatica linguæ amharicæ*,
- a manuscript referred to as Kane 196 containing "Geez-Amharic Grammar", the exact location of which is obscure to me,
- a series of contributions by Getatchew Haile.

This list could be easily expanded, as the author states himself, by manuscripts such as EMML 1943, 2118 and others. This "corpus" is of course problematic in many ways, which is explained in the introduction (pp. 1-7). As for the manuscripts, the usual problems of dating (both the text and the carrier) arise. As for Ludolf's work, the first comprehensive grammar of Amharic, its reliability is at times highly questionable of which even the great pioneer himself was aware[4]. In the royal songs the original syntax is obscured by the poetic form.

Chapters 2-7 cover various aspects of OA grammar. Every linguistic example is presented in Ethiopic script and supplied with name of the source (for OA entries), transliteration, glossing of grammatical terms and literal translation. Such presentation will probably be appreciated by readers who do not have extensive knowledge of Ethio-Semitic languages.

In chapter 2 after briefly presenting the principles of Ethiopic script the author addresses various issues regarding phonology. As one can deduce from the table on p. 23, according to the author's reconstruction OA and MA have almost identical inventory of phonemes, the main difference being the loss of two pharyngeal sounds in MA (namely /ħ/ and /ʕ/) and introduction of a labiodental voiced fricative /v/ which however seems to be limited to foreign words. Certain diachronic phonological processes can be reconstructed on the basis of available data such as the change /k/ → /x/ → /h/ discussed on pp. 49-53. In other instances the author prefers to speak about tendencies rather then well defined changes; for example the fact that in OA /ž/ appears very often in the context where MA has /j/ (pp. 37-39). A mention is made of some other phonological

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[4] Cf. *Igitur me saepe conjectare oportebat, ad quem locum in grammatica status & formatio alicujus vocis referenda esset* (H. Ludolf, *Grammatica ...* p. 3).

processes such as palatalization, consonant alternations (/s'/:/t'/ or /l/:/n/) or labialization but no major differences between MA and OA are detected.

Chapter 3 discusses basic word classes and describes all the basic parts of speech identified for Amharic. There seems to be very little difference between OA and MA in terms of nominal and verbal morphology. Of interest is however the use of the plural marker *–acc* alongside *–occ* in OA which has possibly become fossilized in some MA forms such as *irsaccäw*. Regarding the adpositions, the author claims (p. 89) that spatial postpositions so common in MA did not undergo full grammaticalization in OA but rather still function as nouns. He notices also (pp. 88-89) that the preposition *kä-* has in OA an allomorph *xä-*, nowadays restricted only to the Menz dialect of Amharic.

Chapter four deals with agreement, tense and negation. Again, the differences between OA and MA are proven not to be very striking yet some points deserve a special mention. There is a tendency in OA for apocopation in verbal forms much stronger than in MA (pp. 111-114) which the author analyzes against the data from Shonke-Tollaha variety of the Argobba language. The OA employs greater number of object markers than MA, although this may be just an impression resulting from inconsistency of writing. Regarding the tense system, the author notes that OA allows for simple imperfect to be used in matrix clause (pp. 126-129). In fact this is the only non-past form used in the Royal Songs. Also in this chapter (p. 130) the author mentions an OA particle *žig* which can follow simple imperfect, perfect and jussive. This particle is altogether missing in MA and its meaning roughly corresponds to MA *zänd*. Regarding negation one very substantial difference between OA and MA is that the former allows the main verb to appear without the negative marker *–m*, for example *ʔaygʷaddäläwat* "she did not lack". Also the negative verb of existence can occur without this marker: *ʔelläw* as opposed to MA *yälläwɨm* (p. 134). According to the author, this leads to the conclusion that the use of post-verbal negative markes is an innovation in Transversal Ethio-Semitic languages.

In chapter 5 entitled "Word order, relative clauses, imperson-

al constructions" the author concludes that while MA "has a rigid head-final order" (p. 137) OA is mixed in this regard. As exemplified by sentences on pp. 139-142 the verb can take the initial or even medial position within a clause. The OA relative constructions differ from their MA counterparts in that they appear without the obligatory (for non-past tense) marker *–mm-* whose origin is also discussed. An interesting impersonal construction (called *injonctif* in some sources[5]) which seems to have an equivalent in Gurage languages is presented as yet another discrepancy between MA and OA but also as a remain from the diachronic stage when Amharic was not yet a rigidly head-final language.

Chapter 6 deals with the copular constructions. Most of the chapter is devoted to analyzing various grammatical elements based on the element *n (in particular the copula, the so-called accusative marker and the coordinating conjunction). After reviewing the earlier literature and presenting comparative material the author concludes that all these elements ultimately derive from a focus marker. OA seems to have certain copular constructions which do not exist in MA (pp. 153-154). One of them is a clause without any visible copula, the other employing a morpheme *–t* which however the author associates rather with marking definiteness or focus (pp. 180-189).

Chapter 7 on pronouns records numerous variants and allomorphs of demonstrative, interrogative and personal pronouns and seeks to determine some laws of historical development. In demonstrative pronouns we notice phonetic development well known from other domains of the language such as the passage /l/$\rightarrow$/n/. After a lengthy survey of independent personal pronouns in various Ethio-Semitic languages (pp. 205-216) the author focuses on third person pronouns. Regarding the singular the author argues that the forms *irsu* and *issu* are not, as it might appear, simply variants but there are traces of them having different functions and more importantly they can be derived from two different words: *irsu* from *riʔs "head" and *issu* from *ħins "lower part of the belly [?]". The historical develop-

[5] See for example: S. Strelcyn, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, Warszawa 1968, p. 65.

ment of third person plural is somewhat less puzzling and the author demonstrates that in the first quarter of the 20th century MA *innärsu* came to fulfill this function replacing earlier *irsaccäw* which in turn has been moved to the domain of honorifics. The author closes this chapter with some interesting notes on sociolinguistic aspects of pronouns.

Chapter 8 entitled "Conclusion" contains the summary of all the most important topics raised in the book but it also touches upon the issue of semantic and lexical development, otherwise consciously ignored by the author.

The book is furnished with three appendices. Appendix 1 is a list of abbreviations. Appendix 2 explains the classification of Ethio-Semitic Lanaguages. By far the most valuable is Appendix 3 (pp. 256-325) as it contains the sample texts from various historical stages of the Amharic language. The sampled texts are as follows:

- the Royal Songs transribed from the Bodleian Library
- manuscript Bruce 88 as well as the facsimile of the relevant
- pages of the manuscript itself
- *Timhirtä haymanot* (facsimile of the manuscript only)
- Fragmentum Piquesii (transcription and facsimile of the manuscript)
- excerpts from three chronicles of *as'e* Tewodros (the anonymous one, by *aläqa* Zännäb and *aläqa* Wäldä Maryam)
- three excerpts from Afäworq Gäbräyäsus' *Grammatica della lingua amarica* (Roma 1905) which are supposed to represent late 19th century Amharic.

The book concludes with references (pp. 327-332) and index.

While the author has not, as it seems, uncovered any new data that would enrich our present knowledge of the older stages of the Amharic language, he has managed to combine the available information with the up-to-date linguistic methodology and to include some fairly recent comparative material (particularly from Argobba and Gurage). The presenation of the material makes it easily available to linguists who do not specialize in Ethio-Semitic languages.

The scope of the book makes it unavoidable that certain issues are only briefly mentioned. For example, perhaps if we looked deeper into the dialectology of Amharic it would turn out that some of the differences between MA and OA are dialectal rather than diachronic. Do the *andimta* commentaries which have gained so much scholarly attention in recent years contribute to the understanding of historical development of Amharic? These and many more questions arise after reading this thought-provoking monograph.

Marcin Krawczuk

François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar, Bertrand Hirsch (eds.), *Les ruses de l'historien. Essais d'Afrique et d'ailleurs en hommage à Jean Boulègue,* **Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2013, 498 pp.**

This Festschrift is dedicated to the memory of Jean Boulégue (d. 2011), professor of history at the Paris University Panthéon-Sorbonne. From 1976 until his retirement in 2005 he was teaching nineteenth century history of Africa and became famous from his books on the ancient kingdoms of Wolof and on the Luso-Africans of Senegambia. He has authored numerous contributions to the collective works and published many articles and reviews in the field of African studies.

The volume encompasses articles referring to the ruses of history which should be denounced by historians. Their everyday tasks are to reveal hidden thoughts and silences of the written sources; to explain contradictions in narration which stimulate the recurrence to orality; to recognise the truths of memory and to discover the intervention of censorship. Those four obligations of a historian gave rise to four sections of the book.

Section one titled „Derrière l'écrit, ou les ruses de l'oralité" contains six articles and begins with the one by Rokhaya Fall on the necessity of recurrence to the oral tradition in the writings on African past. Jose da Silva Horta deals with the Wolof oral tradition from the Cape Verde Islands. Claude-Hélćn Perrot tries to answer the question whether the Éotile (Ivory Coast) are autochthons: she makes use of oral traditions, travel reports and ancient maps. The relationship between scripture and word of Lefèvre d'Étaples and his disciples is

presented by Nicole Lemaitre. André Thiéblemont, a historian of recent armed conflicts, ponders on the possibility to register the memories of the military operations which were witnessed by a war reporter. Christian Seignobos points to the difficulty in history writing of the Muzuk and the Masa from Cameroon.

The second section of the book, „Comment l'histoire s'écrit, ou les ruses du povoir", is composed of seven articles. Marie-Laure Derat re-analyses two versions of the „chronicle" of the Ethiopian king Zara Yaeqob (1434-1468). New interpretations of this chronicle and another one of Ba'eda Mariam have been proposed by Bertrand Hirsch. Liliane Daronian gives an account of her experiences during her journey to the historical Armenia where all the traces of the Armenian community genocide have been totally effaced. Gérard Chouin compares the structure and composition of two travel reports from the Guinea Coast and discovers the traces of censorship in them. Chouki el-Hamel pays attention to the register of slaves of sultan Mawlay Isma'il in the late seventeenth Century Morocco. A review of the European imperial regimes as Muslim powers all over the world is given by David Robinson. Having taken into an account the *lingeer* of the Walo kingdom of the Senegalese Wolof, Imke Weichert refers to the power of women in the so-called dual gender political system.

Six papers have been placed in the third section titled „Savoirs et représentations, ou les ruses de la mémoire". Christian Décobert discerns a parallel between a story of the copper city from *Thousand and One Nights* and the famous epos of Alexander. Names of hunger and those of „tired people" in the Soninke country (Senegal) are discussed by Monique Chastanet. Henri Médard revisits the historiography of Buganda, a kingdom in present-day Uganda, in the pre-colonial and present times. The image of the „barbarian" Zulu in the ninetieth century France has been reconstructed by Sophie Narain. Of special interest is an article by François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar in which he presents the correspondence between Raymond Mauny and Władysław Filipowiak concerning excavation of Niani (Guinea), the potential capital of the Mali empire. Françoise Doutreuwe and Bernard Salvaing ponder on the architectural evolu-

tion of the Sankore mosque in Timbuktu.

In the final section, „Retours aux sources, ou les ruses de l'enquête", five article have been published. At its beginning one can find the third article in this volume which refers to Ethiopia and deals with the Sembrutes inscription, pseudo-king of Aksum. Robin Seignobos analyses two „shifted" transmissions of information on the Nubian kingdom by the Arab geographers. In the seventeenth century the African coast became asylum for so-called New Christians: Peter Mark takes into account iconography to make observations on Maroons thus enriching traditional historic sources. Maria Emilia Santos Madeira refers to the sacred forest situated between the former Portuguese colony of Angola and the South African Union. The volume closes with an article by Tal Tamari who deliberates over a Bambara translation of an Arab poem by Imru'l-Qais.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

Nina Pawlak, Ewa Siwierska, Izabela Will (eds.), *Hausa and Chadic Studies in Honour of Professor Stanisław Piłaszewicz,* **Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, 2014, 271 pp.**

This book is a monograph comprising contributions by 21 authors on various aspects of the Hausa language and culture in the broader sense of the Chadic-speaking area of West Africa. The volume is dedicated to Professor Stanisław Piłaszewicz – a renowned Polish specialist in African studies, the author of numerous works on the Hausa language and its literature (oral and written), on the religions of West Africa, as well as on other Chadic languages and a mentor to many of the Hausa students.

On the opening pages of the book Eugeniusz Rzewuski, in his article *Professor Stanisław Piłaszewicz. Croquis for a portrait. On the occasion of His 70th birthday*, sketches a portrait of the Scholar followed by a long list of works published by the Professor and a list of theses supervised by Him throughout His academic career, which was compiled in collaboration with Bożenna Hanczka-Wrzosek.

This celebratory volume acknowledges Professor's strong links with the international scholarly milieu and at the same time

confirms the importance of Hausa studies at the University of Warsaw. The authors include leading Africanists from France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Nigeria, as well as Polish specialists in the Hausa language, literature and the history of West Africa. The contributions are divided into four topical sections.

Part I: Current progress in linguistics contains four articles dealing with linguistic issues concerning Hausa and other Chadic languages. Ahmad Tela Baba, from the University of Maiduguri, opens this part with his recent study of the Guddiri dialect of the Hausa language entitled *Hipercorrection in the use of velar ejectives amongst the youths in Guddiri Hausa.* The author notes the differences in the pronunciation of glottalized segments by older and younger generations of speakers of Guddiri Hausa, which he explains in sociological rather than in phonological terms. Herrman Jungraithmayr from the Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main, in his contribution entitled *The subjunctive in Mokilko – a mixed perfective-imperfective verb stem*, describes the morphological changes of verbs in the Chadic language Mokilko, where the basic opposition between perfective and imperfective verb stems has been enhanced by the appearance of a third, subjunctive stem. Olga Stolbova from the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, in her article *Hausa contribution to Chadic database (vocabulary of farming)*, presents part of her research on the Hausa lexicon in a diachronic perspective. Under discussion here are common Chadic terms for farming and their counterparts in more distant languages from the Afroasiatic language phylum. Andrzej Zaborski, in his contribution *Questions of Chadic 'prefix' conjugations and Chado-Afroasiatic Ablaut*, discusses prefix conjugations of Chadic languages from the Afroasiatic perspective, finding many common typological and morphological traces. He stresses the need for further descriptive studies of the Chadic language area.

Part II: History and language development deals with historical issues, including the history of languages. The opening article in this section, *French loans in Hausa*, is by Sergio Baldi from the University of Naples "L'Orientale". The author presents a substantial collection of French loan-words in Hausa, noting that Hausa has

been developing in Niger in a direction distant from its standard form. This contribution is of great value to Hausa studies, as up until now researchers were preoccupied with the influence of the English and not the French language on Hausa. Nikolay Dobronravin from St. Petersburg State University, in the article *Tackling the publication of Ajami manuscripts: A historical Hausa poem from Ségou*, stresses the importance of Ajami writings in the development of Hausa literature. He describes writing styles and techniques of publications in Arabic script and, as an example, analyzes the form and content of one particular poem from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, dedicated to the holy war of Usman ɗan Fodio. Rudolf Leger from the Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main, in an article entitled *The 'Urheimat' of the Proto-Afrasian speaking peoples and their early migrations – with specific reference to Chadic speaking groups of the wider Gongola-Benue basin*, joins in a discussion about the prehistory of Afroasiatic people – the protoplasts of the Hausa and other Chadic speaking groups. He puts forward the assumption of the westward migration of Chadic peoples from their previous habitat in the Eastern part of geographical Sudan. Basing his findings on a careful examination of Bole-Tangale language data, he shows historical and linguistic interactions which led to the formation of a language league (Sprachbund) in this area. Robert Piętek from the Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities, in his *Comments on European knowledge of the African interior in the 16th and 17th centuries*, analyzes how Europeans' knowledge of Africa developed throughout their presence on the African soil.

Part III: Language and culture contains articles focusing on semantics in language studies using cognitive methodology. All the works published in this section concentrate on Hausa, which reflects its position as the best-studied and best-described language of the area. The first title, *Les noms des parties du corps dans les versions haoussa de la Bible*, is a joint effort by Philippe Cassuto from the University of Provence and Victor Porkhomovsky from the Russian Academy of Sciences. The authors, basing their research on the Hausa Bible, show the use of body part names in metaphors describing the attributes and the works of God. The next contribution –

'Fathers' and 'mothers' in Hausa from a cognitive semantic point of view – also authored by two scholars: Dymitr Ibriszimow from the University of Bayreuth, and Balarabe Zulyadaini, from the University of Maiduguri, is a presentation of the results of attribute listing tests carried out with L1 and L2 Hausa speakers in Nigeria on lexemes connected with the semantic field of kinship. The next author is Joseph McIntyre, an experienced teacher of the Hausa language in Hamburg University, who in his text *Teaching Hausa: Language(s), Culture(s) and the Semantics of the 'Grade' System* sheds light on the ethnocentric conditioning of learning a foreign language. It is followed by an article by Nina Pawlak from the University of Warsaw, entitled *'Woman' and 'Man' in Hausa Language and Culture*, which is a semantic analysis of lexical equivalents of concepts denoting 'a woman' and 'a man'. The way the word *mata* is used to mean 'a woman' and 'a wife', as well as other linguistic evidence, reflect the traditional model of a family and the clear divisibility of genders in Hausa society. The article by Hafizu Miko Yakasai from Bayero University of Kano, *Gestures as negative and emphatic markers in Hausa*, concludes this topical section. The author interprets gestures as a part of the grammatical system of a language. He concentrates on the meaning of negation and emphasis in Hausa expressed by gestures of the head or hands.

Part IV: Literature and Culture concerns social issues as appearing in Hausa literature and political publications. In the first contribution, *The 'Yan Izala movement – its educational and social activity in Northern Nigeria*, Sabina Brakoniecka, a PhD candidate from the University of Warsaw, introduces the programme and activities of the conservative 'Yan izala movement founded in 1978 by Ismail Idris bin Zakariyyah and analyzes the cause of its popularity among the lower social classes. Another PhD candidate from the University of Warsaw, Patrycja Kozieł, in an article entitled *Hausa women's rights and changing perception of gender in Northen Nigeria*, focuses on the social status of Nigerian women in contemporary world, who, on the one hand, are denied many rights under Islam but, on the other, are beginning to regain their social consciousness, forming women's associations to fight against injustices. In the next

136

article, entitled *Could tradition find its niche in popular culture? Characteristic features of the Hausa oral literature and its possible place in modern reality*, Mariusz Kraśniewski from the Polish Academy of Sciences shows how Hausa oral tradition finds its way into mass culture and, in particular, the music of Nigeria. The contribution of Ewa Siwierska from the University of Warsaw, *Charisma within Islam: Ibrahim Niass in Hausa poetry*, is devoted to the Community of Grace, an independent branch of the Tijaniyya brotherhood, and its founder Ibrahim Niass – a Muslim scholar, mystic and a master of medicine, whose exceptional powers were the cause of many extraordinary events, described in Hausa poetry as miracles. The concluding article of this section and of the whole volume, *The image of the East in contemporary Hausa novels*, is by Izabela Will from the University of Warsaw. The author illustrates the influence of Arabic culture, mainly through the image schemas of prestige and aesthetics, on contemporary Hausa culture.

The contributions collected in this book reflect the scope of research on Hausa language and culture, which in the field of African studies constitutes a distinct area comprising Hausa or Chadic studies. The book reveals the presence of Polish specialists in research conducted in this part of Africa and their cooperation within the international milieu of Chadologists.

Ewa Wołk-Sore

Guidelines for the Authors

Only original works related to the thematic framework of the *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Culture* will be accepted for publication, they should not be submitted elsewhere. Authors are responsible for obtaining permission to publish any material under copyright. An article must be in English, French or in German, exceptionally also in Russian, Swahili, Hausa or Amharic when it is within the general concept of a specific issue. The article should begin with an abstract up to 100 words in one of the above mentioned languages (preferably English). It should be followed by five keywords.

Whenever possible, manuscripts should be submitted electronically in *DOC and *PDF formats to sdalc@uw.edu.pl. If electronic submission is not possible, the copies of the manuscript may be addressed to:
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- When quoting an author, his name should be given in the text, with date and page number of his publication in round brackets. The complete bibliographical entry will be given at the end of the article. The style of the references should conform with the following examples:

Heine, B., 1997, *Cognitive Foundation of Grammar*, New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Schuh, R.G., 1983, "The Evolution of Determiners in Chadic", in:
E. Wolff, H. Meyer-Bahlburg (eds.), *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*, Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 157-210.
Holliday A., 1999, "Small Cultures*", Applied Linguistics* 20/2, 237-264.

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