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Arabic Grammatical Loans in Contemporary Swahili Prose Texts[1]

Abstract: The presence of Arabic loans in Swahili has not become subject of reliable corpus-based analyses so far. The influence of Arabic language on Swahili can be investigated in literary sources, but reference to whether writers are Muslims or not is essential for their differentiation. This article intends to investigate the presence of Arabic in contemporary prose texts written by Tanzanian authors from Zanzibar and from mainland. The electronic corpus has two sets, Tanzanian corpus and Zanzibarian corpus respectively which are almost equal in size. The reference list of Arabic loans has been extracted from two published sources. Using *Concordance*, a concordance software for text analysis, the frequency of words representing grammatical classes is tested. Differences in the two corpora have been indicated, as well as some shared occurrences of items of Arabic origin (mostly adverbs and conjunctions).

Keywords: Swahili, Arabic, loans

Introduction. The representation of Arabic loans in Swahili is either overestimated or underestimated, usually without any assessment based on reliable counting. On this topic there is just a couple of articles by Elena Bertoncini-Zúbková (1973; 1985), not to mention the one which is published in Italian and therefore not so accessible to a vast number of scholars. Statements on this subject

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are generally based on intuitive assumptions rather than on attested data.

Apart from the above mentioned articles, the works on Swahili literature do not provide any checked information about the percentage of Arabic loans in Swahili texts. It is obvious that the influence of Arabic must be different in what it is or was produced by writers who were Muslims with a good knowledge of Arabic, maybe from Zanzibar, and by others who were not Muslims and living in the mainland. In this paper we will try to investigate the representation of Arabic loans in Swahili grammatical words as manifested in an *ad hoc* tailored corpus.

The data on Arabic loans. The reference list of Arabic loans has been extracted from two sources: 1) Baldi's list of Arabic loan words in Swahili (Baldi 2008, from now on BL): it is a list of 1.880 items, each one of them has an indication of grammatical categories, source dictionary and the meaning in French. 2) Bertoncini-Zúbková's work on Swahili frequency words (Bertoncini-Zúbková 1973, from now on BZL): it is a Swahili frequency list containing 1.143 entries, coming from 3.700 words extracted from a count of 40.000 occurrences found in 100 sources (ancient texts, modern literary texts, journalistic texts, miscellaneous texts). For each item, information about the grammatical category and the meaning in English is provided, along with the rank with repect to the general frequency and the frequency relevant for each set of text. Loan words, with indication of their origin, are marked in italics.

The corpus. This is a raw corpus made of Swahili creative contemporary prose texts published mainly during the second half of XX century (1960-2002).

This is quite homogeneous corpus consisting of 226.486 tokens which represent mainland Tanzanian writers' texts and 186.355 tokens of Zanzibar writers' texts. The two groups of texts contain 29.071 and 29.775 different words respectively. The corpus has been divided into two sets of texts, according to the authors' origin (see References):

• Tanzanian Corpus (TC): it includes five works by four Tanzanian authors from mainland Tanzania,

• Zanzibarian Corpus (ZC): it includes six works by three Tanzanian authors from Zanzibar.

Attention was given to secure a comparable set of texts. In fact, the number of tokens differs in the two sets of texts, but the number of single words is quite similar; therefore, it was decided to maintain the selected texts.

Corpus	Initials	Words	Tokens
Tanzanian Corpus	(TC)	29.071	226.486
Zanzibarian Corpus	(ZC)	29.775	186.355
Total		59.239	412.841

The tool. The software used is *Concordance*, a powerful and flexible tool for text analysis that provides useful insight into electronic texts[2]. It takes an electronic text as input and produces the list of appropriate words contained in the texts as output, along with giving the number of words, tokens, frequency and rank. It allows searching the context of each single token. It does not allow grammatical analysis, neither automatic morphological lemmatization nor syntax parsing. However, refined searches trough the use of REGEX (regular expressions) are possible.

The analysis. Considering that the corpus does not have labels that allow refined search and that *Concordance* does not have functions for parsing (neither morphological nor syntactical), it was decided to start the analysis with invariable items, divided according to the grammatical categories (parts of speech that they represent).

We have decided to restrict the analysis to grammatical words for two main reasons:

– the Swahili corpus is a raw corpus, i.e. the forms attested in the corpus have no labels and it makes looking for inflected forms impossible,

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[2] *Concordance* is available at http://www.concordancesoftware.co.uk/

– the software used for text analysis is adapted to searching for words and concordances of invariable forms but has no parsing functions to search for possible variants of basic lemma (except for the case of REGEX which can produce acceptable results).

Getting a list of grammatical items. The first step was to extract the items labelled as grammatical items from the two lists. Some items were assigned more than one label. The set of labels used by the two source lists were quite homogenous. Nevertheless, some adaptations were needed (a. and adj. = adjective; int. and interj.[3] = interjection; part., pr. and prep. = preposition). The label v.[4] (verb) was not relevant for our data. The final list of labels that we use is as follows:

1. adj.	adjective		5. int.	interrogative
2. adv.	adverb		6. interj.	interjection
3. conj.	conjunction		7. num.	numeral
4. idiom.	idiomatic		8. prep.	preposition

The next step was to extract the grammatical items from the two lists and to assemble them together. The first rough result was the list BL composed of around 160 items and the list BZL of around 60 items.

Some adaptations were needed, and as a result, some items had to be excluded. Here are few examples: *ina* is commonly listed with adjectival forms, but in the corpus it was found only as a constituent of the predicate 'to have' (cl. 3 and 9 + *na*); *wa* was used only in expressions, not as an isolated item, e.g. *kadha wa kadha*; the same with *bi*, as it was found only as *Bi(bi)*, and *amin*, found only as *Idd Amin*.

Graphic variants. The items representing one grammatical category were put together and listed according to the alphabetical order. In the case of alternative forms, the main representation was selected. For example, among the two forms *makusudi* and *kusudi*

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[3] interj. (Sw.: Ki Kiingizi).
[4] *Wakati* which is indicated as loan from Arabic is marked with label *v*.

the first one (*makusudi*) was put as basic item, but the frequency of the two was checked through the whole text. For some items (*marhaba*) also the variants not included in the list were checked. Some missing items have been added, as *salala, masalala, msalale*; *masalkheri*; *minajili*; *minghairi*. Items with labels referring to verbs and nouns have also been maintained.

Phrases *badala ya, kadha wa kadha, semaa wa taa, lila na fila* were searched as expressions and not as isolated items. *Baada ya, baina ya* and similiar have been searched and counted only as basic items (*baada, baina* respectively). Ambiguous items such as *la, haya* have been searched separately and marked with "!".

Expressions were counted according to the basic item, for example *kadha wa kadha* representing the item *kadha* has 30 occurrences (ZC). As 7 expressions of *kadha wa kadha* make 14 occcurences, there are 16 isolated occurrences of this item.

In items accompanied by multiple labels, as *-kabidhi* which was marked as v./adj., the v. was not maintained. The sequence of the labels is the one adopted by the source (see Appendix 1).

The further step was to transform the previous list into a list suitable to be used in *Concordance*. This implies canceling labels and numbers, dividing the items according to the categories and listing graphic variants as separate items (see the list in Appendix 2).

By using the lists indicated in Appendix 2, the searches for each grammatical category were conducted separately in the two sections of the corpus. The results are listed in Tab. 1. to Tab. 6. The number in parenthesis indicates the amount of items included in each separate list. The number of words indicates single occurrences, the number of tokens indicates how many occurrences for each single word have been attested.

Arabic adjectives

Tab. 1 – Arabic adjectives (83 items) TC adjectives: words 41, tokens 1224, t/w 30 ZC adjectives: words 46, tokens 1096, t/w 24							
Alphabetical order				Frequency order			
Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus		Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus	
1.adimu	2	1. adimu	4	1. kila	504	1. kila	521
2. ajabu	80	2. ajabu	83	2. ajabu	80	2. ajabu	83
3. ajibu	3	3. ajibu	1	3. muhimu	72	3. bora	75
4. amini	2	4. akali	4	4. makini	66	4. sawa	51
5. aushi	1	5. amini	2	5. bora	56	5. muhimu	31
6. awali	40	6 aula	1	6. kamili	52	6. rahisi	24
7. bora	56	7. awali	5	7. sawa	51	7.marehemu	23
8. dhaifu	14	8. badiri	1	8. rahisi	46	8. makini	23
9. dhalimu	2	9. bahili	1	9. awali	40	9. kamili	23
10. duni	12	10. bora	75	10. marehemu	37	10. haba	23
fani	6	dhaifu	14	halisi	27	hodari	22
fasihi	4	dhalimu	2	hafifu	24	sahihi	20
ghali	1	dhila	3	huru	20	haramu	20
haba	8	duni	4	sahihi	14	hafifu	15
hafifu	24	fasihi	2	dhaifu	14	dhaifu	14
halisi	27	ghali	3	hodari	12	imara	11
haramu	6	haba	23	duni	12	huru	11
hodari	12	hafifu	15	yakini	8	halisi	10
huria	7	halisi	10	haba	8	nadhifu	9
huru	20	haramu	20	huria	7	madhubuti	9
imara	6	hodari	22	mahututi	6	huria	7
kamili	52	huria	7	imara	6	thabiti	5
kila	504	huru	11	haramu	6	nadra	5

laghai	2	imara	11	fani	6	awali	5
madhubuti	3	jinai	1	nadhifu	5	stahili	4
mahiri	1	kamili	23	mahsusi	4	sharifu	4
mahsusi	4	karimu	1	fasihi	4	duni	4
mahututi	6	kila	521	madhubuti	3	akali	4
makini	66	laghai	2	ajibu	3	adimu	4
marehemu	37	madhubuti	9	maridhawa	2	wastani	3
maridhawa	2	makini	23	laghai	2	suna	3
muhimu	72	marehemu	23	dhalimu	2	ghali	3
nadhifu	5	muhimu	31	amini	2	dhila	3
nadra	1	nadhifu	9	adimu	2	yakini	2
rahisi	46	nadra	5	thabiti	1	laghai	2
raufu	1	najisi	1	suna	1	fasihi	2
sahihi	14	rahisi	24	raufu	1	dhalimu	2
sawa	51	safii	1	nadra	1	amini	2
suna	1	sahihi	20	mahiri	1	safii	1
thabiti	1	sawa	51	ghali	1	najisi	1
yakini	8	sharifu	4	aushi	1	karimu	1
		stahili	4			jinai	1
		suna	3			bahili	1
		thabiti	5			badiri	1
		wastani	3			aula	1
		yakini	2			ajibu	1

Looking at the first 10 most frequent items, we observe that 9 are the same in TC an ZC. The only marked difference is in the use of *awali* – 'originally, initially, early' (40 in TC and 5 in ZC), e.g.:
awali in ZC as -*a awali* (3):

1. *Ilikuwa vigumu vilevile, ingawa si kama mara ya awali.*
    'It was also difficult, although it was not like the first
    time.'

2. *Kwa mara ya awali tangu alipotoroka kwao Mbiju,
    alitanabahi juu ya yale yaliyomfutu.*
    'For the first time since he fled Biju, he realized what
    he had forgotten.'

3. *Korja ya mishelisheli ilitamalaki kipande cha awali.*
    'About twenty breadfruit trees overhung from one
    side.'

(*awali* in ZC as *pale awali*)
4. *Mazungumzo baina ya huyu msichana na mzee, yalikuwa
    arefu kuliko pale awali.*
    'The conversation between the girl and the old man was
    longer than the previous one.'

awali in TC as *-a awali* (14)
5. *Wasiwasi ule wa awali ulikuwa umepotea kabisa.*
    'The previous concerns were gone.'

6. *[...] na hatimaye ukilipata mtu hukuona tofauti na yale ya
    awali!*
    '[…] and when you found it at last nobody noticed the
    difference with the first ones!'

awali in TC as *hapo awali* (11)
7. *[...] Ilionyesha wazi kwamba hapo awali ilikuwa na maji.*
    […] 'Clearly showed that previously it had water.'

Arabic adverbs

Tab. 2 – Arabic adverbs (53 items) TC adverbs: words 35, tokens: 6375, t/w 182 ZC adverbs: words 35, token 4083, t/w 117							
Alphabetical order				Frequency order			
Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus		Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus	
1. afadhali	16	1. afadhali	25	1. sasa	943	1. sasa	791
2. asubuhi	188	2. aghalabu 1	15	2. sana	782	2. mara	455
3. baada	694	3. aghlabu 2		3. baada	694	3. baada	327
4. baadaye	104	4. asubuhi	76	4. wakati	625	4. wakati	322
5. bado	339	5. baada	327	5. mara	611	5. zaidi	236
6. bure	51	6. baadaye	117	6. zaidi	476	6. karibu	194
7. daima	42	7. bado	187	7. bado	339	7. bado	187
8. ghafla	135	8. bure	84	8. kabisa	331	8. hasa	177
9. hadhara	2	9. daima	46	9. karibu	261	9. labda	171
10. halafu	104	10. ghafla	103	10. subuhi	188	10. sana	162

Out of the first 10 most frequent items, 8 are the same, with a marked difference in the use of *sana* (TC 782 – ZC 162). Apart from following mainly verbal forms, *sana* in TC preferably follows adjectives (*-zuri* (46), *-kubwa* (40) and *-ingi* (39) as first cooccurences), while in ZC it follows nouns (*nguvu* (8), *zamani* (4) and *-zuri* (4) as most frequent co-occurrences).

Samples of *sana* in TC

8. *Mwaka huu ulikuwa mwaka mzuri sana kwa wanakijiji hawa wa Bucho.*
   'This year was a great year for the villagers of Bucho.'

9. *Alikuwa mdogo sana. Kisha mzuri sana.*
   'She was very young. And very good.'

10. *Nyumba ilikuwa kubwa sana kwa familia ya watatu kama ya Dennis.*
    'The house was too big for a family of three like the one of Dennis.'

11. *Ilikuwa ni kazi kubwa sana kulinda vifaa na vyombo vya watafiti na wataalamu wake.*
'It was a very difficult task to protect the equipment and utensils of the researchers and professionals.'

12. *Chumba cha maongezi kilikuwa kikubwa. Kilikuwa na picha nyingi sana ukutani.*
'Living room was big. It had a lot of pictures on the wall.'

13. *Nimekwisha sikia jina lako mara nyingi sana humu mjini.*
'I have heard your name very often in the city.'

Samples of sana in ZC

14. *Na yeye mwenyewe akajitupa chini kwa nguvu sana,*
'And he fell on the ground forcefully.'

15. *Alipokwisha funikwa, shetan akaanza kutika na kuzungusha kichwa kwa nguvu sana.*
'When he was covered, the demon began to shake and turned his head forcefully.'

16. *[…] jumba bovu lililobomoka zamani sana.*
'[…] a dilapidated palace collapsed long ago'

17. *Sababu za kugoma sote tunazielewa, tumeshaelezana zamani; sana ni dharau, maonevu.*
'The main reasons for the strike – we all knew it and we have already talked about – were the contempt and disrespect that we were showed.'

18. *Unaonaje tukipata nyumba nzuri sana… ?*
'Don't you feel we got a very nice house..?'

Arabic interjections

Tab. 3 – Arabic interjections (36)							
TC Interjections: words 11, tokens 457, t/w 42							
ZC Interjections: words 15, tokens 402, t/w 27							
Alphabetical order				Frequency order			
Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus		Tanzanian copus		Zanzibarian corpus	
1.ahsante 3 / asante 34	37	1.ahsante 10 / asante 9	19	1. basi	311	1. basi	240
2. ala	2	2. ala	16	2. hebu 38 / ebu 25	63	2. hebu 61 / ebu 1	62
3. ashakum	2	3. basi	240	3. asante 34 / ahsante 3	37	3. naam	32
4. basi	311	4. ebu 1 / hebu 61	62	4. laiti	20	4. ahsante 10 / asante 9	19
5. ebu 25 / hebu 38	63	5. hamadi	3	5. naam	7	5. ala	16
6. hasha	2	6. hasha	4	6. marahaba	6	6. laiti	9
7. laiti	20	7. hashakum	2	7. ole	5	7. wallahi	7
8. marahaba	6	8. labeka	1	8. yaa	2	8. hasha	4
9. naam	7	9. lahaula	2	9. hasha	2	9. hamadi	3
10.ole	5	10.laiti	9	10.ashakum	2	10.ole	2
yaa	2	marahaba	2	ala	2	marahaba	2
	457	naam	32			lahaula	2
		ole	2			hashakum	2
		salala	1			salala	1
		wallahi	7			labeka	1

Within the first 10 items 7 are the same. A marked difference within these 7 items is in the use of variants:

TC			ZC		
hebu 38, ebu 25	63		hebu 61 , ebu 1	62	
asante 34, ahsante 3	37		ahsante 10, asante 9	19	

A marked difference between the two sources is also the quantitative use of *Ala!* 'expression of annoyance' (occurences of *ala* 'instrument, scabbard' have not been considered).

Ala! in TC

19. *Ala! Kumbe huyu ni Mheshimiwa Luhala!*
   'Hey! So this is Mr. Luhala!'

20. *Ala! Simama hapo ulipo! Sasa ninataka jambo moja tu!*
   'Hey! Stop where you are! Now I want only one thing!'

Ala! in ZC

21. *Ala, bado unakokota miguu?*
   'Hey, are you still dragging feet?'

22. *Ala, jamani huyu mtoto yuko wapi?*
   'Hey, this child's friend, where is he?'

Arabic numerals

Tab. 4 – Arabic numerals (30 items) TC Numerals: words 15, tokens 391, t/w 27 ZC Numerals: words 12, tokens 261, t/w 22							
Alphabetical order				Frequency order			
Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus		Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus	
arobaini	7	arobaini	2	mia	75	mia	59
elfu	27	edashara	1	sita	65	sita	47
hamsa	1	elfu	28	ishirini	56	saba	35
hamsini	21	hamsini	18	saba	41	ishirini	30
ishirini	56	ishirini	30	tisa	30	elfu	28
mia	75	mia	59	elfu	27	tisa	22
saba	41	saba	35	sabini	21	hamsini	18
sabini	21	sita	47	hamsini	21	thelathini	9
sita	65	sitini	9	themanini	18	sitini	9
sitini	8	thelathini	9	thelathini	11	arobaini	2
thelathini	11	tisa	22	tisini	8	tisini	1
theluthi	2	tisini	1	sitini	8	edashara	1
themanini	18			arobaini	7		
tisa	30			theluthi	2		
tisini	8			hamsa	1		

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Here also 8 out of the first 10 items are the same.
A check of the collocates of 4 first most frequent items gave the following results:

Mia, sita, ishirini, saba in TC: shilingi mia; saa sita; miaka / milioni / mara / watu / magunia ishirini; saa / darasa / miaka saba

Mia, sita, saba, ishirini in ZC: shilingi, ngazi-mia, mia mia; miezi / miaka, saa sita; shilingi (elfu) ishirini

23. *Tokea siku ile waliofika kileleni juu ya ngazi-mia tamaa ya Sewa ilianza kuchipua na kuchanua.*
    'Since the day they reached the peak over the hundred feet, the desire of Sewa started to sprout and bloom.'

With *mia mia* the meaning seems to be rather 'exactly hundred' than 'about/around hundred', e.g.:

24. *Njiani aliufungua ule mkoba wake kutazama kilichosalia – noti tatu za shilingi mia mia na moja ishirini.*
    'On the way, he opened his wallet to look for what was left – three banknotes of one hundred shillings each and one of twenty.'

25. *Akathibitisha udhati wake kwa majani mawili ya shilingi mia mia.*
    'He proved his trustworthiness with two banknotes of a hundred shillings each.'

26. *Inspekta Fadhili ana hakika kwamba ukumbi huo aukuwa katika hali hiyo miezi sita nyuma.*
    'Inspector Fadhili is confident that the hall was not in the same state six months ago.'

27. *“Wazimu ncha saba”, alinong'ona.*
    “Countles spirits”, he whispered.’

28. *Asili ya mzimu ule, kama asili ya mizimu yote inavyokuwa, hadithi yenye ncha saba.*
    ‘The origin of that ghost, as the origin of all ghosts happens to be, is an endless story’

See also the expression *korja ya* ‘around twenty’ in sample 3.

Arabic conjunctions

Tab. 5 – Arabic conjunctions (28 items) TC Conjunctions: words 17, tokens 6929, t/w 408 ZC Conjunctions: words 18, tokens 5638, t/w 313							
Alphabetical order				Frequency order			
Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus		Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus	
aidha	1	aidha	3	1. kama	2109	1. kama	1394
ama	48	ama	55	2. lakini 1288 walakini 1	1289	2. lakini 1207 walakini 6	1207
au	394	au	647	3. hata	899	3. tena	711
bali	87	bali	137	4. tena	606	4. au	647
hadi	358	hadi	77	5. au	394	5. hata	561
hata	899	hata	561	6. hadi	358	6. wala	284
ila	15	ila	111	7. ili	356	7. ili	175
ili	356	ili	175	8. kabla	243	8. bali	137
jinsi	194	jinsi	120	9. jinsi	194	9. jinsi	120
kabla	243	kabla	95	10. wala	147	10. ila	111
kama	2109	kama	1394	mradi	138	kabla	95
lakini 1288 walakini 1	1289	lakini 1201 walakini 6	1207	bali	87	hadi	77
minajili	13	madhali	3	ama	48	ama	55
mradi	138	mintarafu	1	yaani	32	yaani	38
tena	606	mradi	19	ila	15	mradi	19

18

wala	147	tena	711	minajili	13	madhali	3
yaani	32	wala	284	aidha	1	aidha	3
	6929	yaani	38			mintarafu	1

The table shows that 8 of the first most frequent 10 items are the same in the two sources. Looking at frequencies, we note much more occurrences of *kama* in TC than in ZC, whereas looking at colligates of *kama* we notice a higher co-occurrence of *kama si* in ZC (46) than in TC (18).

TC: kama 2109				ZC: kama 1394			
left		right		left		right	
na	44	vile	78	na	35	vile	76
hata	35	mtu	65	ilikuwa	28	si	46
ilikuwa	30	ni	44	si	18	kawaida	30
ni	29	kawaida	28	hata	14	kwamba	30
watu	25	watu	26	alikuwa	11	mtu	23

Arabic prepositions

Tab. 6 – Arabic prepositions (8 items)							
TC Prepositions: words 4, tokens 816, w/t 204,5							
ZC Prepositions: words 4, tokens 457, w/t 92							
Alphabetical order				Frequency order			
Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian copus		Tanzanian corpus		Zanzibarian corpus	
badala	136	badala	26	bila	435	bila	336
baina	9	baina	82	kuhusu	238	baina	82
bila	435	bila	336	badala	136	badala	26
kuhusu	238	kuhusu	13	baina	9	kuhusu	13

The same 4 items appeared in the two corpora, but with much higher use of *kuhusu* and *badala* in TC. As for *badala* and *baina* the almost only colligate is -*ya* in both corpora. As for *kuhusu*, in TC the most frequent colligates are demonstrative forms, whereas there is only

one co-occurrence with a demonstrative form in ZC (*kuhusu ile mvua*).

Arabic idomatic expressions (3 items)
Kadha wa kadha; Lila na fila; Sema wa taa
Only one item: *Kadha wa kadha*
TC idiomatic expressions: words 1, tokens 2 (only in Jozi)
ZC idiomatic expressions: words 1, tokens 7 (in Tata, Bwana Musa, Kiu)

29. *Aliusimamisha mchi katika kinu na kuuzungusha mara kadha wa kadha huku akimtazama mama yake*
   She took up a pestle in a mortar and turned it around and around several times as she looked at her mother'

30. *Hadija alisimama na kimbia nyimbo kadha wa kadha za taarabu.*
   'Khadija stood up and sang several *taarab* songs'

La! Haya!
The contexts of these items have been checked thoroughly in order to avoid ambiguity with *la* (cl. 5 of -*a*) and *haya* (cl. 6 of *h*-)

TC – La! 12 occurrences	ZC - La! 28 occurrences
TC - Haya! 18 occurrences	ZC – Haya ! 29 occurrences

Adjectivals with concords
(7 items in BL: -*anisi, -faransa, -fidhuli, -halifu, -halisi, -lainifu, -tatai*).
A search for forms of the 7 lemma from BL, made with REGEX[5], produced the following results:
ZC: lemma 2; words 4; tokens 13 (*kifaransa* 1; *kuhalifu* 1; *mhalifu* 6; *wahalifu* 5)

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[5] Regex search string used for retrieving adjectivals forms:
(m|mw|wa|w|mu|mi|j|ji|ma|ki|ch|vi|vy|n|ny|mb|nd|ku|kw|pa)(anisi|faransa|fidh uli|halifu|halisi|lainifu|tatai) (See App. 8)

TC: lemma 1; words 2; tokens 2 (*mhalisi* 1; *wahalifu* 1)

In order to have a first idea of the representation of grammatical items of Arabic origin in Swahili a counter check was performed on some adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions of Bantu origins. The items have been extracted from the list by Bertoncini-Zúbková (1973). The results (see App. 65 and 6) are as follows:
Bantu grammaticali items: 123
Arabic grammatical items: 60

Bantu Adverbs – (pick list: 40 items – basic list: 31 items)
In the case of adverbs, from a list of 40 items (some of which are inflected forms), this were the results:

Tab. 7 – Bantu adverbs – Frequency list – 40 items						
TC: words: 39, tokens: 6591; ZC: words 39, tokens 5999						
Tanzanian corpus				Zanzibarian corpus		
1.pale	642			1.huku	659	
2.tu	593			2.juu	644	
3.hapa	521			3.tu	619	
4.juu	450			4.pale	395	
5.kisha	385			5.ndani	364	
6.huku	381			6.chini	353	
7.kwanza	343			7.mbele	325	
8.pamoja	336			8.kisha	304	
9.pia	314			9.hapa	252	
10.ndani	312			10.nje	242	
chini	254			nyuma	239	
nje	235			kwake	207	
mbele	213			pamoja	159	
kwake	191			kwanza	155	
kule	138			pia	149	
nyuma	127			pengine	121	
mbalimbali	106			kule	111	
jana	105			mbona	81	
pole	103			kwao	80	
kwao	94			jana	65	
mbona	86			punde	64	

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siyo	82		lini	64	
kwangu	71		mno	51	
mapema	70		siyo	41	
lini	61		kando	37	
huenda	57		kwangu	34	
mno	51		mle	31	
kwetu	50		kwako	30	
kando	32		humu	29	
humu	31		mapema	20	
kwako	29		mbalimbali	18	
mle	27		kwetu	16	
pengine	24		pole	12	
kwenu	23		huenda	12	
punde	21		kwenu	10	
polepole	18		yapata	4	
kienyeji	7		pasipo	1	
pasipo	6		kienyeji	1	
yapata	2				

Within the first 10 most frequent items, 7 items are the same.

An investigation on *hapa* produced *hapa na pale* as the most frequent sequence both in TC (17) and in ZC (9). As for *pale*, the most frequent colligates are:

TC: *pale kijijini* (22), *pale nje* (21, *pale mezani* (19), *pale mbele* and *pale pale* (17)

ZC: *pale pale* (29), *pale alipokuwa* (19) *pale chini* and *pane penye* (16)

The sequence *pale na* was not considered as it may belong to various syntagmatic constructions.

Bantu conjunctions – (pick list: 10 items – basic list: 9 items)

Tab. 8 – Bantu conjuctions frequency list (10 items)
TC: words 9, tokens 13658; ZC: words 10, tokens 12125

Tanzanian corpus			Zanzibarian corpus	
na	10154		na	10498
kwamba	1955		kuwa	677
kuwa	800		kwamba	375
kwani	453		kwani	174
kuliko	110		ingawa	161
ikiwa	88		kuliko	125
ingawa	79		ikiwa	97
iwapo	18		ijapokuwa	13
ijapokuwa	1		iwapo	4
			ijapo	1

The same 9 items appear in both lists, except for one occurrence of *ijapokuwa* in TC (13 occ. in ZC) and only one occurrence of *ijapo* in ZC (in Kiu)

As for *kwamba* we have:
TC: co-occurrences of *ni kwamba* (79), V(verb form) *wazi kwamba* (69), *kama kwamba* (29); *kwamba alikuwa* (88), *kwamba ni* (47)
ZC: *kama kwamba* (30), *ni kwamba* (29); *kwamba alikuwa* (10), *kwamba* PP(personal pronouns) (20)

Bantu prepositions – (pick list: 8 items- basic list: 7 items)

Tab. 9 – Bantu prepositions frequency list (8 items)
TC: words 8, tokens 7155; ZC: words 8, tokens 5694

Tanzanian corpus			Zanzibarian corpus	
kwa	4617		kwa	3571
katika	1406		katika	863
kwenye	404		kwenye	614
kutoka	377		mpaka	357
tangu	189		kutoka	151
mpaka	102		tokea	71
mnamo	59		tangu	51
tokea	1		mnamo	16

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We have the same 8 items in the two corpora, but their frequency is quite different (ex.: *tangu* TC 189, ZC 51; *tokea* TC 1, ZC 71)

ZC: *tokea hapo* (20)

Here is the only occurrence of *tokea* in TC:

31. *Tazameni, hii adhabu yote tuliyoipata tokea jana hadi leo ni kwa sababu ya Sifuni.*
   'Look, all this punishment we are getting since yeasterday is because of Sifuni'

Conclusive remarks

Here follows a summary of the results of the search for words (W) and tokens (T) of Bantu (B) and Arabic (A) origins in Tanzanian (TC) and Zanzibarian (ZC) Swahili corpora made of contemporary prose texts.

Adverbs							
Bantu				Arabic			
TC		ZC		TC		ZC	
W	T	W	T	W	T	W	T
39	6591	39	5999	35	6375	35	4083

Conjunctions							
Bantu				Arabic			
TC		ZC		TC		ZC	
W	T	W	T	W	T	W	T
9	13658	10	12125	17	6929	18	5638

Prepositions							
Bantu				Arabic			
TC		ZC		TC		ZC	
W	T	W	T	W	T	W	T
8	7155	8	5694	4	818	5	461

While the occurrences of Bantu prepositions (8) double the occurrences of those of Arabic origins (4 and 5), the occurrences of

Bantu adverbs (39) are only slightly higher in number than the occurrences of adverbs of Arabic origins (35). As for conjunctions, the occurrences of items of Arabic origins (17 and 18) double the occurrences of those of Bantu origins (8).

From the above data we can state that, at least for adverbs and conjunctions, there is a significant representation of Arabic loans in Swahili contemporary prose texts. A first check of their distribution within Tanzanian and Zanzibarian corpora shows some differences in the use of some of the items. Although in most cases the first most frequent items do correspond, still there are differences in number of occurrences (see the cases of *sana* and *ala!*). Differences in the collocates of numerals also resulted in the marked differences in clausual patterns. Idiomatic expression were also found (*ncha saba* 'countless', 'endless'; *korja ya* 'around twenty'). Differences in the two corpora as for distribution of colligates of *kama* and *kuhusu* have also been detected.

The resulting data of this search and counting cannot be taken as a base for final statements concerning incidence or Arabic grammatical loans and differences between mainland and Zanzibarian Swahili. They can rather be seen as indicators of possible further research. Analysis of collocates and colligates in fact cannot be done by considering only quantitative data. Attentive consideration to sintagmatic and semantic elements must be conscientiously given. Such a detailed analysis of contexts requires long time and considerable manual work. The results of this first work can give hints as to where to search for gathering more data based on information which can lead to more relevant and reliable conclusions.

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App. 1 List of grammatical items of Arabic origin from BL and BZL in grammatical order

The following is the list of items from BL and BZL, according to grammatical order. Numbers in the rank column mark the items from BZL. Graphic variants have been considered together and listed according to alphabetical criterion (e.g. in the case of *makusudi, kusuki,* it has been decided to insert *makusudi* as first item; the frequency in fact will be checked through the search in the text). Items with labels referring also to verbs and nouns have been maintained. Ex.: *-kabidhi* was labeled as *v./adj.*; the *v.* is not maintained. In case of multiple labels the sequence is the one adopted by the author.

Tab. 10 List of grammatical items of Arabic origin from BL and BZL, grammatical order, used as a base for searching in TC and ZC.

	rank	item	gram.	glossa
1.	27	kila	adj.	every
2.		a tisa	adj.	ninth
3.		anisi	adj.	pleasing
4.		faransa	adj.	French
5.		fidhuli	adj.	arrogant
6.		halifu	adj.	rebellious
7.		kabidhi	adj.	economical
8.		kaidi	adj.	obstinate
9.		lainifu	adj.	smooth; facile
10.		najisi	adj.	unclean
11.		safihi, safii	adj.	pure
12.		sharifu	adj.	honourable
13.		stahili	adj.	merit
14.		tatai	adj.	cunning
15.		aali	adj.	good
16.		adibu	adj.	decorous
17.		adili	adj.	right
18.		adimu	adj.	rare
19.		akali	adj.	a few of
20.		aula	adj.	better
21.		bahasa	adj.	cheap
22.		bora	adj.	excellent
23.		bulibuli	adj.	a white, embroidered school-cap
24.		dhahili	adj.	evident
25.		dhaifu	adj.	weak
26.		dhalimu	adj.	unjust
27.		duni	adj.	mean
28.		fani	adj.	worthy
29.		fasaha, fasihi	adj.	elegance
30.		ghali	adj.	scarce
31.		haba	adj.	little; rare
32.		hafifu	adj.	trifling

	rank	item	gram.	glossa
33.		haramu	adj.	forbidden
34.		hodari	adj.	able
35.		hututi	adj.	difficult
36.		ina	adj.	certainly
37.		kamili	adj.	perfect
38.		karimu	adj.	liberal
39.		laghai	adj.	deceitful
40.		madhubuti	adj.	precise
41.		mahiri	adj.	skilful
42.		mahsusi	adj.	particular
43.		mahututi	adj.	serious
44.		makeruhi, makuruhi	adj.	offensive
45.		maridhawa	adj.	in abundance
46.		muhimu	adj.	important
47.		nadhifu	adj.	clean
48.		nadra	adj.	uncommon
49.		nakawa	adj.	clear
50.		rahimu	adj.	merciful
51.		rahisi	adj.	cheap
52.		raufu	adj.	gentle
53.		saghiri	adj.	small
54.		sahala	adj.	light
55.		sahihi	adj.	true; signature
56.		salihi	adj.	good
57.		suna	adj.	good
58.		swafi	adj.	clean
59.		tahafifu	adj.	trifling
60.		thabiti	adj.	firm
61.		thelathini	adj.	thirty
62.		yakini	adj.	truth
63.	135	awali	adj. adv.	(at) first
64.		ajabu	adj./adv.	wonder
65.		halisi	adj./adv.	real
66.		ajib, ajibu	adj./adv.	wonderfully
67.		kadha wa kadha	adj./adv.	uncertain number

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	rank	item	gram.	glossa
68.		badiri	adj./n.	*applied to various celestial phenomena and omens*
69.		sawa	adj./n.	equal
70.		kusudi	adv.	(on) purpose
71.		abadan	adv.	never
72.		abadi	adv.	ever
73.	133	afadhali	adv.	better
74.		aghalabu, aghlabu	adv.	more often
75.		baada	adv.	after
76.	110	bado	adv.	not yet
77.	130	bure	adv.	gratis, vainly
78.	133	daima	adv.	constantly
79.		dawamu	adv.	perpetually
80.		dike	adv.	exactly
81.		fauka	adv.	more (than)
82.		foko	adv.	more (than)
83.		ghalibu	adv.	more often
84.		hadhara	adv.	in front of
85.		halafa	adv.	disobediently
86.	131	halafu	adv.	afterwards
87.	100	hasa	adv.	exactly
88.	132	hima	adv.	quickly
89.		hobelahobela	adv.	anyhow
90.		inshallah	adv.	oh yes, certainly
91.	115	kabisa	adv.	utterly
92.	123	kadhaa, kadha	adv.	uncertain number
93.	114	kadhalika	adv.	likewise
94.		kasi	adv.	much
95.	133	labda	adv.	perhaps
96.	134	milele	adv.	always
97.		mkabala	adv.	in front (of)
98.		nomi	adv.	full, up to the brim
99.		nusura	adv.	almost
100.		salimini	adv.	safely
101.	21	sana	adv.	very much

	rank	item	gram.	glossa
102.	52	sasa	adv.	now
103.		sawia	adv.	then
104.		tasihili	adv.	quickly
105.		tike	adv.	exactly
106.		wahedu	adv.	alone
107.	133	walau	adv.	at least
108.	97	zaidi	adv.	more
109.	127	kusudi, makasudi	adv. n.	(on) purpose
110.	120	asubuhi	adv. n.	morning
111.	131	ghafla	adv. n.	suddenly
112.	70	mara	adv. n.	a time, at once
113.	104	zamani	adv. n.	time, past
114.	51	baadaye	adv. pr.	after
115.	109	karibu	adv. pr.	near
116.		hususa	adv./adj.	particular
117.		kadiri	adv./conj.	measure; whilst
118.		dahari	adv./n.	always
119.	135	aidha	conj.	moreover
120.	106	ama	conj.	either…or
121.	69	au	conj.	or
122.	127	bali	conj.	but
123.	80	ili	conj.	in order that
124.	10	kama	conj.	as, that, etc.
125.	42	lakini	conj.	but
126.		maadam	conj.	when
127.		madhali	conj.	while
128.		mathalan, mazalani, methalan, methalan	conj.	for instance
129.		mintarafu	conj.	concerning
130.		taraa	conj.	if
131.	123	wa	conj.	and
132.		waima, waina	conj.	if not
133.	86	wala	conj.	nor
134.		walakini	conj.	but
135.	110	yaani	conj.	that is
136.	76	tena	conj. adv.	that is
137.	118	jinsi	conj. n.	method; how

	rank	item	gram.	glossa
138.	119	kadiri	conj. n.	whilst
139.	134	mradi	conj. n.	plan; and so
140.	101	kabla	conj. pr.	before
141.	116	hadi	prep/conj./adv.	until, then
142.	38	hata	prep/conj./adv.	until, etc.
143.	96	ila	conj. prep.	except
144.		lila na fila	idiom.	for good and bad
145.		semaa wa taa	idiom.	hear and obey
146.	87	basi	int. conj. adv.	well
147.	130	ebu, hebu	inter.	well, then
148.	135	la	inter.	no
149.	133	ahasante, ahsante, asante	interj.	thanks
150.		ala!	interj.	*expression of annoyance*
151.		alaala	interj.	immediately
152.		Alhamdulillahi!	interj.	Praise be to God!
153.		Amin	interj.	Amen
154.		ashakum	interj.	pardon me
155.		audhubillahi!	interj.	*example of impatience*
156.		bismillahi	interj.	in the name of God
157.		halahala	interj.	at once
158.		hamadi!	interj.	*used when a person stumbles*
159.		Hasha	interj.	certainly not
160.		hashakum	interj.	*vulgar*
161.		haya!	interj.	come on!
162.		hobe!	interj.	go!
163.		huss!	interj.	make less noise!
164.		labeka!	interj.	at your service!
165.		laiti!	interj.	oh that!
166.		lebeka!	interj.	at your service!
167.		marahaba	interj.	*used as a common rejoinder to the salute of an inferior*
168.		ole	interj.	exclamation of woe
169.		sefule	interj.	you vile person

	rank	item	gram.	glossa
170.		simile	interj.	make way
171.		wallahi! wallai!	interj.	by God!
172.		yaa!	interj.	oh God!
173.		amini	n./adj.	believe
174.		ashara	n./adj.	ten
175.		aushi	n./adj.	live, wear
176.		bahili	n./adj.	miser
177.		dhila, dhili	n./adj.	low
178.		hanamu	n./adj.	oblique
179.		huri, huria, huru	n./adj.	free
180.		imara	n./adj.	firmness
181.		jinai	n./adj.	crime, criminal
182.		makini	n./adj.	quiet
183.		marehemu	n./adj.	the late
184.		wahedi	n./adj.	one
185.		wastani	n./adj.	middling
186.		siasa	n./adv.	politics
187.		lahaula	n./interj.	blasphemy
188.		hamsauishirini	num	twenty five
189.	135	hamsini	num	fifty
190.		hamstashara	num	fifteen
191.		arobaini	num.	forty
192.		asherini	num.	twenty
193.		edashara	num.	eleven
194.	125	elfu	num.	thousand
195.		hamsa	num.	five
196.	133	ishirini	num.	twenty
197.	124	mia	num.	hundred
198.		miteen	num.	two hundreds
199.	123	saba	num.	seven
200.		sabaini, sabini	num.	seventy
201.	115	sita	num.	six
202.		sitashara	num.	sixteen
203.		sitini	num.	sixty
204.		theluthi	num.	third part
205.		themani,	num.	eight

	rank	item	gram.	glossa
		themanya		
206.		themanini	num.	eighty
207.		themtnashara	num.	eighteen
208.		sumni, themuni, thumni	num.	eighth part
209.	132	tisa	num.	nine
210.		tisini	num.	ninety
211.	129	naam	particle interj.	yes
212.		baghairi	prep.	without
213.		bi	prep.	by
214.		fi	prep.	on, with
215.		laula	prep.	if not, unless
216.		min	prep.	from
217.		minghairi	prep.	without
218.	131	badala, badala ya	prep.	instead of
219.	130	baina, baina ya	prep.	between
220.	84	bila	prep.	without
221.	124	kuhusu	prep.	concerning
222.	34	wakati	v.	time

App. 2 Pick lists of grammatical items of Arabic origin, from BL and BZ

The pick list is based on Tab. 1. (242 items). The graphic variants have been separated for the sake of searching in the text with Concordance. In the countings, variants will be considered as single item.

2.1 Adjectives 83 items

1. ali
2. adibu
3. adili
4. adimu
5. ajabu
6. ajib
7. ajibu
8. akali
9. amini
10. anisi
11. aula
12. aushi
13. awali
14. badiri
15. bahasa
16. bahili
17. bora
18. bulibuli

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19.	dhahili	52.	mahiri
20.	dhaifu	53.	mahsusi
21.	dhalimu	54.	mahututi
22.	dhila	55.	makeruhi
23.	dhili	56.	makuruhi
24.	duni	57.	makini
25.	fani	58.	marehemu
26.	faransa	59.	maridhawa
27.	fasaha	60.	muhimu
28.	fasihi	61.	nadhifu
29.	fidhuli	62.	nadra
30.	ghali	63.	najisi
31.	haba	64.	nakawa
32.	hafifu	65.	rahimu
33.	halifu	66.	rahisi
34.	halisi	67.	raufu
35.	hanamu	68.	safihi
36.	haramu	69.	safii
37.	hodari	70.	saghiri
38.	huri	71.	sahala
39.	huria	72.	sahihi
40.	huru	73.	salihi
41.	hututi	74.	sawa
42.	imara	75.	sharifu
43.	jinai	76.	stahili
44.	kabidhi	77.	suna
45.	kaidi	78.	swafi
46.	kamili	79.	tahafifu
47.	karimu	80.	tatai
48.	kila	81.	thabiti
49.	laghai	82.	wastani
50.	lainifu	83.	yakini
51.	madhubuti		

2.2 Adverbs 53 items

1.	abadan	28.	kadha
2.	abadi	29.	kadhaa
3.	afadhali	30.	kadhalika
4.	aghalabu	31.	kadiri
5.	aghlabu	32.	karibu
6.	asubuhi	33.	kasi
7.	baada	34.	kusudi
8.	baadaye	35.	labda
9.	bado	36.	makasudi
10.	bure	37.	mara
11.	dahari	38.	milele
12.	daima	39.	mkabala
13.	dawamu	40.	nomi
14.	dike	41.	nusura
15.	fauka	42.	salimini
16.	foko	43.	sana
17.	ghafla	44.	sasa
18.	ghalibu	45.	sawia
19.	hadhara	46.	siasa
20.	halafa	47.	tasihili
21.	halafu	48.	tike
22.	hasa	49.	wahedu
23.	hima	50.	wakati
24.	hobelahobela	51.	walau
25.	hususa	52.	zaidi
26.	inshallah	53.	zaman
27.	kabisa		

2.3 Conjunctions 28

1.	aidha	6.	hata
2.	ama	7.	ila
3.	au	8.	ili
4.	bali	9.	jinsi
5.	hadi	10.	kabla

11.	kama	20.	mintarafu
12.	lakini	21.	mradi
13.	maadan	22.	taraa
14.	madhali	23.	tena
15.	mathalan	24.	waima
16.	mazalani	25.	waina
17.	methalan	26.	wala
18.	minajili	27.	walakini
19.	minghairi	28.	yaani

2.4 Interjections 36 items

1.	ahasante	20.	labeka
2.	ahsante	21.	lahaula
3.	ala	22.	laiti
4.	alaala	23.	lebeka
5.	alhamdulillahi	24.	marahaba
6.	amin	25.	marhaba
7.	asante	26.	masalala
8.	ashakum	27.	masalale
9.	audhubillahi	28.	masalkheri
10.	basi	29.	naam
11.	bismillahi	30.	ole
12.	ebu	31.	salala
13.	halahala	32.	sefule
14.	hamadi	33.	simile
15.	hasha	34.	wallahi
16.	hashakum	35.	wallai
17.	hebu	36.	yaa
18.	hobe		
19.	huss		

2.5 Numerals 30 items

1.	arobaini	4.	edashara
2.	ashara	5.	elfu
3.	asherini	6.	hamsa
		7.	hamsauishirini

8.	hamsini	20.	thelathini
9.	hamstashara	21.	theluthi
10.	ishirini	22.	themani
11.	mia	23.	themanini
12.	miteen	24.	themanya
13.	saba	25.	themntashara
14.	sabaini	26.	themuni
15.	sabini	27.	thumni
16.	sita	28.	tisa
17.	sitashara	29.	tisini
18.	sitini	30.	wahedi
19.	sumni		

2.6 Prepositions – 8 items

1.	baghairi	5.	badala
2.	fi	6.	baina
3.	laula	7.	bila
4.	min	8.	kuhusu

2.7 Idiomatic expressions list – 3 items

1.	lila na fila	3.	semaa wa taa
2.	kadha wa kadha		

2.8 Separate search : la! Haya!

App. 3 Grammatical items of Arabic origin found in Tanzanian and Zanzibarian corpus

Arabic grammatical items – full list – found in TC and ZC (239 items) TC words: 128 tokens 16100 w/t 126 – ZC: words 135- tokens 11940 w/t 88			
Alphabetical order		Frequency order	
Tanzanian corpus	Zanzibarian corpus	Tanzanian corpus	Zanzibarian corpus
adimu	2	adimu	4	kama	2109	kama	1394
afadhali	15	afadhali	25	lakini	1288	lakini	1201
ahsante	3	aghalabu	13	sasa	935	sasa	791

aidha	1	aghlabu	2	hata	899	tena	711
ajabu	80	ahsante	10	sana	758	au	647
ajibu	3	aidha	3	baada	694	hata	561
ala	2	ajabu	83	wakati	625	kila	521
ama	48	ajibu	1	mara	611	mara	455
amin	2	akali	4	tena	606	bila	336
amini	2	ala	16	kila	504	baada	327
arobaini	7	ama	55	zaidi	470	wakati	322
asante	34	amini	2	bila	435	wala	284
ashakum	2	arobaini	2	au	394	basi	240
asubuhi	187	asante	9	hadi	358	zaidi	236
au	394	asubuhi	76	ili	356	karibu	194
aushi	1	au	647	bado	337	bado	187
awali	40	aula	1	basi	311	hasa	177
baada	694	awali	5	kabisa	308	ili	175
baadaye	101	baada	327	karibu	249	labda	171
badala	136	baadaye	117	kabla	243	sana	162
bado	337	badala	26	kuhusu	238	kabisa	154
baina	9	badiri	1	jinsi	194	halafu	141
bali	87	bado	187	asubuhi	187	bali	137
basi	311	bahili	1	wala	147	jinsi	120
bila	435	baina	82	labda	141	baadaye	117
bora	56	bali	137	mradi	138	ila	111
bure	39	basi	240	badala	136	ghafla	103
daima	42	bila	336	ghafla	135	kabla	95
dhaifu	14	bora	75	hasa	112	bure	84
dhalimu	2	bure	84	halafu	104	ajabu	83
duni	12	daima	46	zamani	103	baina	82

ebu	25	dhaifu	14	baadaye	101	zamani	77
elfu	27	dhalimu	2	kadhalika	87	hadi	77
fani	6	dhila	3	bali	87	asubuhi	76
fasihi	4	duni	4	siasa	83	bora	75
ghafla	135	ebu	1	ajabu	80	hebu	61
ghali	1	edashara	1	mia	75	mia	59
haba	8	elfu	28	muhimu	72	ama	55
hadhara	2	fasihi	2	makini	66	sawa	51
hadi	358	fi	4	sita	65	sita	47
hafifu	24	ghafla	103	ishirini	56	daima	46
halafu	104	ghali	3	bora	56	yaani	38
halisi	27	haba	23	kamili	52	saba	35
hamsa	1	hadhara	2	sawa	51	kasi	35
hamsini	21	hadi	77	ama	48	naam	32
haramu	6	hafifu	15	rahisi	46	muhimu	31
hasa	112	halafu	141	kadhaa	43	ina	31
hasha	2	halisi	10	daima	42	kadha	30
hata	899	hamadi	3	saba	41	ishirini	30
hebu	38	hamsini	18	awali	40	hima	30
hima	12	haramu	20	bure	39	elfu	28
hodari	12	hasa	177	hebu	38	badala	26
huria	7	hasha	4	marehemu	37	afadhali	25
huru	20	hashakum	2	asante	34	rahisi	24
hususa	1	hata	561	kasi	33	marehemu	23
ila	15	hebu	61	yaani	32	makini	23
ili	356	hima	30	tisa	30	kamili	23
imara	6	hodari	22	halisi	27	haba	23
ina	16	huria	7	elfu	27	tisa	22

ishirini	56	huru	11	ebu	25	hodari	22
jinsi	194	ila	111	hafifu	24	sahihi	20
kabisa	308	ili	175	sabini	21	haramu	20
kabla	243	imara	11	hamsini	21	mradi	19
kadha	6	ina	31	laiti	20	kusudi	18
kadhaa	43	inshallah	1	huru	20	hamsini	18
kadhalika	87	ishirini	30	themanini	18	kadhalika	16
kadiri	10	jinai	1	kusudi	16	ala	16
kama	2109	jinsi	120	ina	16	siasa	15
kamili	52	kabisa	154	ila	15	milele	15
karibu	249	kabla	95	afadhali	15	hafifu	15
kasi	33	kadha	30	sahihi	14	mkabala	14
kila	504	kadhalika	16	dhaifu	14	dhaifu	14
kuhusu	238	kadiri	8	minajili	13	kuhusu	13
kusudi	16	kama	1394	hodari	12	aghalabu	13
labda	141	kamili	23	hima	12	imara	11
laghai	2	karibu	194	duni	12	huru	11
laiti	20	karimu	1	thelathini	11	halisi	10
lakini	1288	kasi	35	kadiri	10	ahsante	10
madhubuti	3	kila	521	baina	9	thelathini	9
mahiri	1	kuhusu	13	yakini	8	sitini	9
mahsusi	4	kusudi	18	tisini	8	nusura	9
mahututi	6	labda	171	sitini	8	nadhifu	9
makini	66	labeka	1	haba	8	madhubuti	9
mara	611	laghai	2	naam	7	laiti	9
marahaba	6	lahaula	2	huria	7	asante	9
marehemu	37	laiti	9	arobaini	7	kadiri	8
maridhawa	2	lakini	1201	marahaba	6	wallahi	7

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mia	75	madhali	3	mahututi	6	huria	7
milele	3	madhubuti	9	kadha	6	walakini	6
minajili	13	makini	23	imara	6	thabiti	5
mkabala	2	mara	455	haramu	6	nadra	5
mradi	138	marahaba	2	fani	6	awali	5
muhimu	72	marehemu	23	sawia	5	stahili	4
naam	7	mia	59	ole	5	sharifu	4
nadhifu	5	milele	15	nusura	5	hasha	4
nadra	1	mintarafu	1	nadhifu	5	fi	4
nusura	5	mkabala	14	mahsusi	4	duni	4
ole	5	mradi	19	fasihi	4	akali	4
rahisi	46	muhimu	31	milele	3	adimu	4
raufu	1	naam	32	madhubuti	3	wastani	3
saba	41	nadhifu	9	ajibu	3	suna	3
sabini	21	nadra	5	ahsante	3	madhali	3
sahihi	14	najisi	1	yaa	2	hamadi	3
salimini	1	nusura	9	walau	2	ghali	3
sana	758	ole	2	theluthi	2	dhila	3
sasa	935	rahisi	24	mkabala	2	aidha	3
sawa	51	saba	35	maridhawa	2	yakini	2
sawia	5	safii	1	laghai	2	walau	2
siasa	83	sahihi	20	hasha	2	sawia	2
sita	65	salala	1	hadhara	2	ole	2
sitini	8	sana	162	dhalimu	2	marahaba	2
suna	1	sasa	791	ashakum	2	lahaula	2
tena	606	sawa	51	amini	2	laghai	2
thabiti	1	sawia	2	amin	2	hashakum	2
thelathini	11	sharifu	4	ala	2	hadhara	2

theluthi	2	siasa	15	adimu	2	fasihi	2
themanini	18	sita	47	walakini	1	dhalimu	2
tisa	30	sitini	9	thabiti	1	arobaini	2
tisini	8	stahili	4	suna	1	amini	2
wakati	625	suna	3	salimini	1	aghlabu	2
wala	147	tena	711	raufu	1	tisini	1
walakini	1	thabiti	5	nadra	1	salala	1
walau	2	thelathini	9	mahiri	1	safii	1
yaa	2	tisa	22	hususa	1	najisi	1
yaani	32	tisini	1	hamsa	1	mintarafu	1
yakini	8	wakati	322	ghali	1	labeka	1
zaidi	470	wala	284	aushi	1	karimu	1
zamani	103	walakini	6	aidha	1	jinai	1
		walau	2			inshallah	1
		wallahi	7			edashara	1
		wastani	3			ebu	1
		yaani	38			bahili	1
		yakini	2			badiri	1
		zaidi	236			aula	1
		zamani	77			ajibu	1

App. 4 Full list of Bantu and Arabic grammatical items from E. Bertoncini list, ordered by rank

	rank	item	gram	glossa
1.	2	na	conj. pr.	and, with
2.	3	h-/h-o	dem. a.	this
3.	4	kwa	prep.	for, etc.
4.	5	katika	prep.	in, at
5.	7	-ake	pos. a.	his
6.	10	kama	conj.	as, that, etc.
7.	12	-angu	pos. a.	my

8.	13	moja	num.	one
9.	15	amba-	rel. pron.	who, which
10.	17	-ote	a.	all
11.	17	-le	dem. a.	that
12.	21	sana	adv.	very much
13.	22	-ingi	a.	many
14.	23	-ingine	a.	other, some
15.	24	hapa/huku/humu	adv.	here, etc.
16.	25	kwamba	conj.	that
17.	27	kila	a.	every
18.	29	-enye	a.	having
19.	31	-ao	pos. a.	their
20.	33	mimi	pron.	I
21.	34	wakati	v.	time
22.	36	ndi-	emphat. copula	
23.	38	hata	conj. pr.	until, etc.
24.	39	-etu	pos. a.	our
25.	40	-kubwa	a.	big
26.	42	lakini	conj.	but
27.	44	kuwa	conj.	that
28.	46	-ako	pos. a.	your
29.	47	-kuu	a.	great
30.	47	-wili	num.	two
31.	49	yeye	pron.	he, she
32.	51	baadaye	adv. pr.	after
33.	52	sasa	adv.	now
34.	57	tokea/(ku)toka	prep.	from
35.	58	-ema	a.	good
36.	58	juu	adv. pr.	above
37.	61	pia	adv.	too
38.	63	wewe	pron.	you
39.	65	kweli	adv.	truth
40.	67	-dogo	a.	small
41.	67	kwanza	adv.	first
42.	69	au	conj.	or
43.	70	mara	adv.	a time, at once
44.	72	tatu	num.	three

45.	76	tena	conj. adv.	then
46.	80	kwenye	prep.	in, at, etc.
47.	80	ili	conj.	in order that
48.	81	leo	adv.	today
49.	82	mbali(mbali)	adv.	far, distinct
50.	84	-o-ote	a.	whatever
51.	84	pamoja	adv.	together
52.	84	mpaka	prep.	limit; up to
53.	84	bila	prep.	without
54.	86	tu	adv.	only
55.	86	wala	conj.	nor
56.	87	basi	int. conj.	well
57.	88	kwangu,...	adv.	at my place, etc.
58.	91	-zuri	a.	nice
59.	91	mbele	adv. pr.	before
60.	93	-enyewe	a.	having
61.	96	ndani	adv. pr.	inside
62.	96	sisi	pron.	we
63.	96	ila	conj.	except
64.	97	chini	adv. pr.	down, under
65.	97	zaidi	adv.	more
66.	99	kati(kati)	adv. pr.	middle, among
67.	100	wao	pron.	they
68.	100	hasa	adv.	exactly
69.	101	kabla	conj. pr.	before
70.	103	kule/pale/mle	adv.	there
71.	104	jana	adv.	yesterday
72.	104	nini?	pron.	what?
73.	104	zamani	adv.	time, past
74.	105	-pya	a.	new
75.	105	kisha	adv.	afterwards
76.	106	ama	conj.	either…or
77.	107	gani	a. int.	what kind of
78.	107	-zee/mzee	a.	old
79.	107	ingawa	conj.	though
80.	107	pili	num.	the second
81.	109	-kali	a.	sharp

82.	109	mbio	adv.	running; fast
83.	109	karibu	adv. pr.	near
84.	110	nyuma	adv. pr.	behind
85.	110	bado	adv.	not yet
86.	110	yaani	conj.	that is
87.	112	-zima	a.	whole, sound
88.	112	kumi	num.	ten
89.	112	nne	num.	four
90.	113	kwani	conj.	because
91.	113	juzi	adv.	the other day
92.	114	mno	adv.	too much
93.	114	nje	adv.	outside
94.	114	tangu	prep.	since
95.	114	kadhalika	adv.	likewise
96.	115	tano	num.	five
97.	115	-enu	pron.	your (pl.)
98.	115	kabisa	adv.	utterly
99.	115	sita	num.	six
100.	116	nani?	pron.	who?
101.	116	hadi	conj. pr.	until, then
102.	117	-baya	a.	bad
103.	117	-chache	a.	few
104.	117	-geni/mgeni	a.	foreign(er)
105.	118	-refu	a.	long, tall
106.	118	-tukufu	a.	glorious
107.	118	pasipo	adv.	without
108.	118	jinsi	conj.	method; how
109.	119	ijapo(kuwa)	conj.	although
110.	119	kadiri	conj.	measure; whilst
111.	120	wazi(wazi)	a.	open, clear
112.	120	ikiwa	conj.	if
113.	120	kesho	adv.	tomorrow
114.	120	asubuhi	adv.	morning
115.	121	kuliko	conj.	than
116.	121	mnamo	prep.	at, etc.
117.	121	wapi?	pron.	where?
118.	122	pengine	adv.	perhaps

119.	122	ewe	pron.	you
120.	123	kadha(a)	adv.	uncertain number
121.	123	wa	conj.	and
122.	123	saba	num.	seven
123.	124	mia	num.	hundred
124.	124	kuhusu	prep.	concerning
125.	125	-gumu	a.	hard
126.	125	elfu	num.	thousand
127.	126	mgonjwa/-gonjwa	a.	sick (person)
128.	127	-eupe	a.	white
129.	127	(ma)kasudi	adv.	
130.	127	bali	conj.	but
131.	128	jani	a.	leaf, grass
132.	128	-zito	a.	heavy
133.	128	-pi?	a. int.	which?
134.	128	je	interrog. part	
135.	129	sawa(sawa)	a.	equal
136.	129	pole(pole)	a. adv.	mild; gently
137.	129	huenda	adv.	possibly
138.	129	ati	interj.	« I say »
139.	129	ninyi	pron.	you (pl.)
140.	129	naam	particle	yes
141.	130	-ovu	a.	bad
142.	130	kumbe!	inter.	what!
143.	130	jioni	adv.	evening
144.	130	bure	adv.	gratis, vainly
145.	130	(h)ebu!	inter.	well then!
146.	130	baina (ya)	prep.	between
147.	131	-ekundu	a.	red
148.	131	lini?	adv	when?
149.	131	kushoto	adv.	left-side
150.	131	milioni	num.	million
151.	131	halafu	adv.	afterwards
152.	131	ghafla	adv.	suddenly
153.	131	badala (ya)	prep.	instead of
154.	132	-eusi	a.	black
155.	132	-fupi	a.	short

156.	132	-tupu	a.	bare
157.	132	yapata	adv.	about
158.	132	nane	num.	eight
159.	132	hima	adv.	quickly
160.	132	tisa	num.	nine
161.	133	-jinga	a.	ignorant
162.	133	kando(kando)	adv.	aside
163.	133	mbona?	adv.	why?
164.	133	siyo	adv.	no
165.	133	iwapo	conj.	in case
166.	133	kimya	adv.	silence
167.	133	afadhali	adv.	better
168.	133	daima	adv.	constantly
169.	133	labda	adv.	perhaps
170.	133	walau	adv.	at least
171.	133	ahsante!	int.	thanks!
172.	133	ishirini	num.	twenty
173.	134	-ngapi?	a. int.	how many?
174.	134	milele	adv.	always
175.	134	mradi	conj.	plan; and so
176.	135	-epesi	a.	quick
177.	135	kienyeji	adv.	in native manner
178.	135	mapema	adv.	early
179.	135	punde	adv.	presently
180.	135	awali	a. adv.	(at) first
181.	135	aidha	conj.	moreover
182.	135	la!	inter.	no!
183.	135	hamsini	num.	fifty

App. 5 Pick list of Bantu grammatical items - From the list contained in E. Bertoncini's work (App. 4; see References)
Bantu grammaticali items: 123.
Arabic grammatical items: 60.

5.1 Bantu adverbs pick list – 40 items

Duplicated items have not been inserted as separate form, except for polepole and pole; possessives in inflected locative forms (kwangu, etc.) have been been listed separately.

polepole	jana
pole	kisha
lini	mno
hapa	nje
huku	pasipo
humu	pengine
pia	huenda
kwanza	yapata
mbalimbali	kandokando
pamoja	kando
tu	mbona
kwangu	siyo
kwetu	kienyeji
kwenu	mapema
kwake	punde
kwako	juu
kwao	mbele
kule	ndani
pale	chini
mle	nyuma

5.2 Bantu conjunctions pick list – 10 items

kwamba	na
kuwa	
ingawa	
kwani	
ijapokuwa	
ijapo	
ikiwa	
kuliko	
iwapo	

5.3 Bantu prepositions pick list – 8 items
mpaka
kwa
katika
tokea
kutoka
kwenye
tangu
mnamo

App. 6 Lists of Bantu grammatical items found in TC and ZC courpus separated by categories

Tab. 11 Bantu adverbs – 31 items

1.	129	pole(pole)	adv.
2.	131	lini	adv
3.	24	hapa/huku/humu	adv.
4.	61	pia	adv.
5.	67	kwanza	adv.
6.	82	mbali(mbali)	adv.
7.	84	pamoja	adv.
8.	86	tu	adv.
9.	88	kwangu,...	adv.
10.	103	kule/pale/mle	adv.
11.	104	jana	adv.
12.	105	kisha	adv.
13.	114	mno	adv.
14.	114	nje	adv.
15.	118	pasipo	adv.
16.	122	pengine	adv.
17.	129	huenda	adv.
18.	132	yapata	adv.
19.	133	kando(kando)	adv.
20.	133	mbona	adv.
21.	133	siyo	adv.
22.	135	kienyeji	adv.
23.	135	mapema	adv.

24.	135	punde	adv.
25.	58	juu	adv.
26.	91	mbele	adv.
27.	96	ndani	adv.
28.	97	chini	adv.
29.	110	nyuma	adv.
30.	58	juu	adv. pr.
31.	91	mbele	adv. pr.
32.	96	ndani	adv. pr.
33.	97	chini	adv. pr.
34.	110	nyuma	adv. pr.
35.	99	kati(kati)	adv. pr.

Tab. 12 Bantu Conjuctions – 9 items

1.	25	kwamba	conj.
2.	44	kuwa	conj.
3.	107	ingawa	conj.
4.	113	kwani	conj.
5.	119	ijapo(kuwa)	conj.
6.	120	ikiwa	conj.
7.	121	kuliko	conj.
8.	133	iwapo	conj.
9.	2	na	conj.

Tab. 13 Bantu numerals – 9 items

1.	13	moja	num.
2.	47	-wili	num.
3.	72	tatu	num.
4.	107	pili	num.
5.	112	kumi	num.
6.	112	nne	num.
7.	115	tano	num.
8.	131	milioni	num.
9.	132	nane	num.

Tab.14 Bantu prepositions – 7 items

1.	84	mpaka	prep.
2.	4	kwa	prep.
3.	5	katika	prep.
4.	57	tokea/(ku)toka	prep.
5.	80	kwenye	prep.
6.	114	tangu	prep.
7.	121	mnamo	prep.

Tab. 15 Bantu pronouns – 12 items

1.	33	mimi	pron.
2.	49	yeye	pron.
3.	63	wewe	pron.
4.	96	sisi	pron.
5.	100	wao	pron.
6.	104	nini	pron.
7.	115	-enu	pron.
8.	116	nani	pron.
9.	121	wapi	pron.
10.	122	ewe	pron.
11.	129	ninyi	pron.
12.	15	amba-	rel. pron.

Tab. 16 Bantu miscellanea

1.	3	h-/h-o	dem. a.
2.	17	-le	dem. a.
3.	36	ndi-	emphat. Copula
4.	7	-ake	pos. a.
5.	12	-angu	pos. a.
6.	31	-ao	pos. a.
7.	39	-etu	pos. a.
8.	46	-ako	pos. a.
9.	130	kumbe	inter.
10.	129	ati	interj.
11.	128	je	interrog. particle

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Bature Tanimu Gagare: Hausa Social Activist and Writer[1]

Abstract: Bature Tanimu Gagare became famous as an
ardent critic of Nigerian social and political life. Due
to his public engagement and unusual activities he was
given various nicknames and epithets. Some people
saw in him an able writer, others considered him as an
adventurer. In this article an attempt has been made to
present the profile of the author and to discuss his only
novel *Karshen Alewa Kasa*; its genesis, content
and the message.

Keywords: Bature Gagare, Northern Nigeria, novel,
social life, Biafran war

Profile of the Author

The life-story of Bature Tanimu Gagare became largely
known from an interview by Ibrahim Sheme, which was
published online.[2] The reason for this long-lasting

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[1] This is a reworked version of a paper published in honor of Prof.
Eugeniusz Rzewuski (Piłaszewicz 2014).

[2] The Author granted Ibrahim Sheme this interview in his own house
on August 5, 2001. Later on, it was published in „Weekly Trust" on
August 17, 2001, and then placed on Internet under the title *Bature
Gagare: marubuci mai yaƙin danniya da wariya* [Bature Gagare: the
writer struggling with oppression and colour bar],
http://www.gumel.com/Hausa/wasiku/Bature-Gagare.htm

conversation with the Author was the dispute of the Society of Musicians and Singers which was founded by Bature Gagare in Katsina, with the fundamental organisation of *'Yan Izala*,[3] developing its activity in this State. The followers of Bature were questioning some legal regulations which prohibited drumming and singing. The prohibition was introduced from the initiative of the Department of the Islamic Law [*Hukumar Shari'ar Musulunci*] in Kaduna State under the pretext that those forms of rejoicing and celebrating of festivities are contradictory to the Islamic faith. It is the Association of *'Yan Izala* which insisted on introduction of this prohibition which was breaking centuries-old secular tradition.

The members of the Society of Musicians and Singers condemned the violation of the deep-rooted tradition and urged the immediate release from the detention of the well-known popular musicians Sirajo Mai Asharalle, who was captured by the Shari'a Enforcers [*Rundunar Adalci*]. Bature Tanimu Gagare, General Secretary of the Society petitioned the authorities: he described the abduction as a barbarian deed, unjust, unconstitutional, breaking the essential rights of the musicians to present their skills in any place and through any medium of their choice (*Guardian* 2001). According to him, it was regrettable that a clique of malams had illegally overtaken the prerogatives of the jurisdiction and arbitrarily carried out the interpretation of the shari'a. He demanded the immediate and unconditioned release of Mai-Asharalle from the prison; the annulment of regulations which aimed at the curtailment of freedom of the artistic self-realisation; and the disbanding of the illegal groups which were considering

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[access January 27, 2005].
[3] It is the Hausa name of the members of *Ǧamā'at Izālat al-Bid'a wa-Iqāmat as-Sunna* [Association for the Eradication of the Innovation and the Establishment of the Sunna]. This organisation was fighting against the Muslim brotherhoods.

themselves as shari'a enforcers. Apart from these, he urged the Katsina State Government to pay compensation or to offer apology to the people whose rights have been violated (*Guardian* 2001).

The dispute ended with Bature's victory. *Hukumar Shari'ar Musulunci* has finally issued a *fatwa* which allowed the performing of praise-songs and drumming during the child birth and marriage ceremonies, and on occasion of the advancement of local notables.[4]

Bature Gagare was born on June 7, 1959 in Katsina. In the years 1965-1972 he was going to primary school Gobarau in his birth town. Next, in the years 1972-1977 he continued his education in Barewa College in Zaria and graduated from it with rather mediocre results. Having resigned from further education, he took up the duty of a teacher which was entrusted him by the school curators (*Hukumar Ilmi*) in Zaria. He was employed in a village school in Yakawada (Giwa commune) and spent there two years (1978-1979). From June to December 1979 he was going to the Nursing School in Katsina but was relegated for the participation in a students' revolt. Then he moved to Kano and in 1980 started to work in the textile industrial plant known as Bagauda Textile Mills. There he soon became trade unions' activist and due to this

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[4] In an interview published by „Weekly Trust" on August 17, 2001 Gagare said: „As the Secretary General of the Performing Artists and Artisans Association, Katsina State, I had a job to do – principally to smash the mullah dictatorship endangering our profession and, by implication, our culture. The wind that swept the false ulema and humiliated the Izala sect in Katsina was simply a reaction by the youths, the musicians, artists and other Muslims, towards a very dangerous blend of dictatorship and Sharia in the State. Now, of course, our association has stood firm and routed the false mullahs..." http://fridaydiscourse.blogspot.com/2010/05/discourse-99-no-to-mullah.dictatorship... [access 26.06.2013].

after three months time he was dismissed. In a similar way he ended his unionist career in the Universal Textile, a factory situated in the Bompai quarter of Kano.

After those unsuccessful efforts to find a more stable place in life, Bature Gagare returned to his former profession and one year he was teaching in Kyarama village. It was an exceptional period in his life career. He took a liking for rural life and had a high opinion of local farmers' values: their sincerity, simple-mindedness, loyalty and other features typical of an ideal Hausa man – *mutumin kirki*. He led a life of a hermit and had enough time to think over his future way of life. At the same time he was reading a lot which served his intellectual development. With time he himself decided to try his creative abilities. It is in this remote village he conceived the idea to write the novel titled *Karshen Alewa Kasa* which came into being – as he admitted himself – in a one month time.

In the years 1981-1983 Bature Gagare was studying in the Faculty of Fine Arts and English of the Kafanchan College of Education. From an announcement in „New Nigerian" he came to know of a literary competition which was run by the Federal Department of Culture, Ministry of Social Welfare and Culture. The writings in three Nigerian languages were taken into account: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Not looking forward to success, he sent to jury in Lagos the manuscript (even not typescript) of his novel which unexpectedly won the third prize, having been beaten only by *Turmin Danya* [The Strong Man] by Sulaiman Ibrahim Katsina[5] and *Tsumangiyar kan Hanya* [The driving whip] by Musa Mohammed Bello.[6]

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[5] Northern Nigerian Publishing Company for Nigeria Magazine, Lagos-Zaria 1982.

[6] Northern Nigerian Publishing Company for Nigeria Magazine, Lagos-Zaria 1982.

In the second year of the Writer's sojourn in Kafanchan he joined the students' organisation of the local College and soon was elected to the post of General Secretary. He was also a candidate to the post of Vice-President for Foreign Affairs of the National Association of Nigerian Students. Two weeks before the final examination in the College he headed a students' manifestation, and for this reason he and four his companions were relegated from the school. During his sojourn in Kafanchan he was fascinated by socialist ideas, revolutionary movements in various parts of the world, and by the great leaders like Ernesto Che Guevara, Michail Bakunin, Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung, Ho Chi Mingh and others. He was studying the *Catechism of a Revolutionist* by Sergey Nechayev who was inciting to a bloody revolution in order to overthrow the capitalistic system.

Having disgracefully ended his student's career in Kafanchan, he returned to Kano and set to work of a petty trader in consumer goods. After the downfall of the Soviet Union he left his leftist deviations. He took a dislike to arms competition between the world powers which entailed a significant part of the national product and was worsening the material situation of the Soviet citizens. He was uneasy about the violation of human rights, and especially about the repression of writers and the intelligentsia. He arrived at the conclusion that the communist ideology does not favour the development and well-being of societies. Having retreated from the public life, he resigned from further studies, set up a family and became father of five children. Further vicissitudes of his life are less known. Since the beginning of 2003 he has been mentioned in some publications as *Marigayi* Tanimu Gagare which is equivalent of the English phrase „The late Tanimu Gagare": he died in January, 2003.

These episodes of Bature Gagare's life bear witness to his unusual activity. He certainly was a social activist to the core.

He used to engage in religious life. The above mentioned dispute with 'Yan Izala won him the good feeling of many followers, but increased the number of his furious enemies. Since the early youth he has become a well-known person in the Hausa society. Having interviewed him, Ibrahim Sheme (2001: 1) realised that as early as he stayed in Katsina, his birth place, Bature Tanimu Gagare was a commonly known young man but rather controversial one. He was given various nicknames and epithets. Some people saw an able writer in him but also a man who was disregarding the principles of the social life. Others considered him an adventurer. There were many who treated him as a not very pious Muslim;[7] he was even considered as an atheist by some. In spite of all those opinions people appreciated his sharpness, craftiness and competence in accurate interpretation of various social phenomena.

The genesis of *Karshen Alewa Kasa*

Bature Tanimu Gagare had large interests. He was reading literary works and got to know Hausa customs. He was fascinated by philosophical books and interested in cinema, poetry and European music. When asked by Ibrahim Sheme about sources of his writing activities, he responded that he had no experience in that respect and that he did not inherit this ability from the school:

> „I write just like this. This competence is but a gift of God for man. It is a part of all that I have learned when reading works of great writers, the living ones and those who passed away. One can say that it is God who favoured me with the talent of placing words on a sheet of paper. I do not adhere to any rule, I do not take into account any principle, I disregard all that is an obstacle

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[7] It is striking that in his anthroponim there is no Muslim name.

in revealing my pains. The words are arriving with such intensity that I am often late in capturing them by my pen." (Sheme 2001: 3)

Having been interrogated about *Karshen Alewa Kasa*, he avowed that he started writing it under the influence of some life problems which he did not want to reveal. Quiet atmosphere of the Kyarama village, where he was working as a teacher, favoured his creative activity. He has chosen the Hausa language as a mean of literary expression. Having been a beginner (*sabon hannu*) in writing, he was not courageous enough to write in English. Moreover, he wanted to mark his presence in the history of Hausa literature as an author of the first and large (342 pages) thriller, a literary genre which was not known in the Hausa literary treasury.

Graham Furniss (1996:40) is of opinion that *Karshen Alewa Kasa* is the most substantial Hausa novel to date. It addresses one of the pressing issues of post-civil-war Nigeria: the fate of thousands of demobilised soldiers. Written in a vivid, conversational style, the story traces the central character originating from the Maguzawa people[8] who were resisting both the Islamisation and Christianisation for a long time: they became collective hero of the novel. According to oral tradition, they originated from Rogo, a place situated between Kano and Katsina. Their enclaves were spread in the vicinity of Zaria, Katsina and Bauchi. In present times they live on the outskirts of Kano and Katsina emirates, and in the Maradi valley on the territory of Niger Republic. In the twentieth century their population considerably decreased. It

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[8] An informant of P. Krusius has defined the notion of Maguzawa in the following way: „They are authentic Hausa and authentic pagans. They are refugees who do not want to pray and are against any progress". Cf. his *Die Maguzawa*, „Archiv für Anthropologie" XIV, 1915, p. 189.

is estimated that now only 45.000 Maguzawa were left in Hausaland (Wente-Lukas 1984: 154). In the above discussed interview Bature Gagare provides the following characteristics of the heroes of his novel:

> "It is the Hausa and Fulani people who forged the ethnonim Maguzawa: in such a way they name a part of the Hausa society which they were not able to conquer. More than a hundred years ago the Hausa people and the Fulani Muslims were oppressing the Maguzawa and kept them in isolation just because they preserved their ancient customs and beliefs, although they were true Hausas. All the efforts of the jihadists of Shaykh Usman dan Fodio, who were trying to islamise them, and numerous undertakings of the Christian missionaries, became fruitless. That is why they were not recognised, both by the Hausa and the Fulani. They do not treat them in a proper way but rather avoid and despise them. The Maguzawa have no access to modern education, they are not allowed to take any employment and are devoid of a proper social care. Evil and clever people make use of the Maguzawa and they incite them to causing trouble, supporting military regimes, and to committing criminal acts. The hero of the novel chose the way of the criminal conduct." (Sheme 2001: 4)

The Writer became well acquainted with secrets of the Maguzawa life. He shared their company when working as a teacher in Yakawada. He was often visiting their villages spread in the Giwa district. Many times he participated in their marriage ceremonies, and in the gatherings of political nature. However, he avows that as a Muslim he was not able to learn all their customs and traditions, as the Maguzawa were not fully confident of his intentions.

Content and message of the novel

The novel is composed of eleven chapters and can be divided in two thematic parts. The first two chapters present an idyllic life in a Maguzawa village *Tsaunin Gwano* [The Hill of Stink-Ant]. In a vivid and conversational style the Author depicts the local customs, organisation of the villagers, their occupations, and especially their ancient magical and religious beliefs.[9] In that village Mailoma (*alias* Kanzunzum, *alias* Maguzi), the main character of the novel, was born. Having experienced different life vicissitudes, he decides to create a terrorist organisation and manages to make his plans real. His actions change the character of a story making it more sensational.

Bature Gagare deals with one of the most sensitive problems of Nigeria which arose after the bloody Civil War (1967-1970). The war broke out as a result of the Biafra secession. After the signing of the peace agreement, the reduction in the Nigerian army became unavoidable. Mailoma is not ready to await for the end of war. He betrays the soldiers' oath soon after the declaration of the surrender of Biafra. Having gathered around him some desperate soldiers, he forms a marauding band that kills politicians, indulges in robbery and mayhem, seeks to control the drug trade, and eventually tries to overthrow successive governments and take over the country:

> „I am a person who will keep Nigeria under fingernails. I will keep the whole of Africa in my fingers. In due time, we shall have the whole world in

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[9] Religion and magic of Maguzawa were presented by Olga Blumczyńska in her M.A. thesis titled: „The image of the religious life of Maguzawa in the novel *Karshen Alewa Kasa* by Bature Gagare", Department of African Languages and Cultures, University of Warsaw 2010.

the palm of our hand. We shall prosper in the black world just like the Mafia is prospering elsewhere. We shall govern ourselves in the same way as Cosa Nostra does. We shall proceed just like the CIA is proceeding. We shall act just like KGB is acting. We shall become great armed robbers, chief smugglers of arms and modern war equipment. We shall sow Indian hemp and grow hallucinogenic plants, which people will take and get intoxicated by their strength. If we do so, we can be sure that nobody will be courageous enough to challenge us unless he wants a bullet in his head. Finally, we will make sure that all the whorehouses in the country are under our control". (Gagare 1982: 191)

Reminiscences of the Civil War are numerous and have various connotations. In Chapter II the reader witnesses a scene of recruitment into the Nigerian army. The *Sarkin Arna* [Chief of the Pagans] from Tsaunin Gwano is asked to supply thirty young men urgently. He is quick to do so, not because he is sensitive to the slogan „One Nigeria", but rather because he discerns a very good opportunity to get rid of the Christians who have tried to settle in his 'kingdom'. The political awareness of the villagers is almost nil: the names of Tafawa Balewa, Ahmadu Bello, Aguinyi Ironsi and even Chukwuemeka Odumegu Ojukwu have no significance for them. The young boys go off to fight for something they cannot understand:

> They were travelling in a lorry towards Zaria. Suddenly, one of the young men, who was weeping terribly for having been taken into the army, touched the hand of Corporal Danko and asked: „What is that Nigeria you were talking about?" (Gagare 1982: 54)

The expected end of the war causes the soldiers to think about their future. Some of them, for instance Mailoma, the

novel's main character, have entered the army to avoid punishment for crimes committed earlier. When organising his gang, Mailoma convinces the bewildered boys in a following way:

> „As you see, the war is almost over. Our soldiers have captured nearly all the important Igbo towns. In six months time Ojukwu will calm down. And then the soldiers will become useless. And what are you going to do after the war is over?"
> The civilian laughed, sipped the drink, then took out a small card and said: „Look at it, Gadu. It is proof that I am a Nigerian soldier of the rank of second lieutenant. But I have deserted and taken a new occupation which will provide me with food". (Gagare 1982: 85ff)

The core of the band is formed during the Civil War on the ethnic principle. Mailoma contacts his fellow Maguzawa and wins them over. One is Lieutenant Mati, who has retained his position after the Civil War, and is now stationed in Kano. Having access to the military storehouse, he becomes the main arms supplier for the terrorist organisation that Mailoma decides to create. Breaking trust, betrayal and macabre death frequently appear on pages of the novel. Finally, the main character looses his life having been bitten by a snake or shot down by the machine gun.

Graham Furniss (1966: 40) is right to notice that the novel *Karshen alewa ƙasa* marks a major departure from previous Hausa writing. It shows the most characteristic features of a modern Nigerian city: speedy cars, drunkenness, hazardous undertakings, sex and violence. The characters of the novel represent different layers of the Nigerian society: emancipated girls, soldiers from different ethnic groups, Maguzawa farmers, Christian converts and many other social groups typical of Northern Nigeria.

Short after the book had been published, it enjoyed great popularity among the readers. It became an obligatory reading for the college and university students. When in December, 1983 General Muhammad Buhari in a coup d'etat overtook the power from the civilian President Shehu Shagari, the cultural policy of the military authorities underwent a substantial change. Censorship activities became a serious obstacle in the public life. The printing of the novel was prohibited, as a result of an action called "War against Indiscipline". Since that time it is hopeless to look for it on the book-shop shelves, although it is obtainable online.

Final remarks

In an interview conducted by Ibrahim Sheme, the Writer revealed that he harbours in his desk a large (450 pages) novel titled *Tsuliyar Kowa da Kashi* [Everyone is guilty]. He wrote the novel long ago and it was supposed to be published by Gaskiya Corporation. However, the publisher has fallen into serious financial difficulties and could not take the risk of editing the book. After two years of delay, Bature Gagare started to translate the novel into English. This time the Writer felt that his English was quite satisfactory and he could compete with the experienced and well-known writers from Southern Nigeria. It seems, however, that the change of language as the vehicle of literary expression would be a great disadvantage for the development of Hausa literature. We consider him the master of word and an unquestioned reviver of the cultural life in Northern Nigeria. The Writer understands his mission in the following way:

> The aim of writing for people is to provoke discussion which would support an idea or reject it. If they say that my writing provokes discussion and makes some persons to have their neck veins swollen, it would

indicate that I do my job in a proper way. (Sheme 2001: 7)

The Author touches upon unjust opinions concerning him, which were often formulated on the basis of the features of characters who appear in his novel:

> „They say I am quarrelsome. Then I ask them whether all that has been written by an author points to the features of his character? If so, then I am quarrelsome because with every kicking of my pen I see how many readers die out of fear. Many people adorn me with false patches. They say that I do not worship God, that I am a wizard, that I provoke conflicts, and so on. These features, that they impute to me, are all lies. People say that God granted me intelligence. But it is not so. I am not more educated than others. I do not have a brighter brain. Maybe I am different from others because I do not undergo any influence of outside pressure, and I am consistent in realisation of my plans". (Sheme 2001: 7)

Further on, the Writer took his position towards the intrigues in Katsina, where he played a leading role. As the Secretary General of the Society of Musicians and Singers he aimed at the belittling of the false malams who were threatening the customs and traditional occupation of the Hausa community. He used to repeat that the wind of change, which made damage to those malams and which embarrassed *'Yan Izala* in Katsina, was a very effective tool of fighting a false interpretation of shari'a in the Katsina region. The Society took a firm position and those malams disappeared in disgrace:

> „If for that reason some believe I am an adventurer, that is all right. I agree with this opinion". (Sheme 2001: 7)

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Arabic Patterns in Hausa Poetry: Stanza, Metre and Rhyme in Comparative Perspective

Abstract: The paper deals with prosodic patterns of the Hausa poetry and investigates its stanzaic, metre, and rhyme structure with reference to the patterns developed in the Arabic poetry. Using the corpus of poems written in *ajami* by four contemporary poets the use of Arabic-based patterns as well as their "deviated" or "defected" forms have been investigated. The analysis confirms the cross-fertilization between the oral and written poems tradition in Hausa.

Keywords: prosody, stanza, metre, rhym, Hausa

1. Introduction

Poetry is an art form that uses words and language not merely to express meaning or content, but to symbolize meaning and content (Eagleton 2007: 69). Generally, Hausa language has a single word for poetry, *waƙa*, meaning either 'song', with reference to oral poetry, or 'poetry', which is more associated with its written form. In Hausa literary tradition, the two notions are additionally distinguished by the socio-historical context. Written poetry is seen as a

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consequence of contact with Arabs, whereas oral poetry represents Hausa literary heritage of pre-Islamic times.

When Islam came, scholars in Hausaland started to write in Arabic script. Later they evolved a variety of writing, namely *Ajami*, using modified or variant of the Arabic alphabet to write indigenous languages. Today the Hausa language functions in a digraphic style of writing as both Arabic (*Ajami*) and European *(Boko)* systems are used (Zima 1974: 54). The latter one which is based on Latin alphabet has the function of the official style of writing. As a consequence of this situation, there are two ways of composition in Hausa. The paper deals with the poetry which is written in *Ajami*. The corpus of my material attests to the fact that it is a living tradition also in modern times.

Metrical patterns of the Hausa poetry have drawn the attention of scholars for many years. Pioneer's study on Hausa verse prosody were Greenberg (1949; 1960), Hiskett (1969), but also Bayero (1970), Galadanci (1975), Sheshe (1977), Muhammad (1978), Sani (1978), Sipikin (1978), Sa'id (1978; 1983) and Junaidu (1981; 1988). Main attention was put on correlation of Hausa prosodic features with the Arabic patterns. Following the publication *Poetic Marriage Between Arabic and Hausa* by Galadanci (1975), Hausa poems have a similarity with Arabic poetry in terms of syllable structure, feet, metres, and even in types of deviations and defects of the basic patterns. Author's conclusion that 'the marriage' has come about by accident or by design, evoked a considerable number of studies, either to support, prove or to discard such assertion. The most significant steps made in subsequent works (Schuh 1987; 1988/89; 1989; 1995; 1996; Junaidu 1988) refer to including both Arabic and Hausa perspective in interpreting the nature of the Hausa metrics. Prosody remains subject of investigation also in recent studies on Hausa (Sa'id 2002; Dunfawa 2003; 'Dangambo 2007; Bello & Sheshe 2013); Zaria 2013; and Bello 2014).

The present paper investigates the stanzaic, metre, and rhyme structure in Hausa poems composed by four Hausa poets considered representatives of modern Hausa poetry. Main focus is put on how they fill the patterns of Arabic poetry from which they are derived. The poets are: Usman Jari Kurfi, Garba Gashuwa, Ibrahim Kaulahi and Raihanatu Usman. The corpus consist of 388 poems composed in *Ajami* script on several topics and these manuscripts were scanned directly from the sources.

2. Stanza

According to Cuddon (1991: 863), stanza is "a group of lines of verse". Hirsch (2014: 608), putting it another way, defines stanza as "the natural unit of the lyric, a group of or sequence of lines arranged in a pattern". Padgett (2000: 183), however, states that the stanza is "a group of lines in a poem separated from other lines by a space".

2.1 Stanzaic structures in Arabic and Hausa

In literary Arabic, there exist a number of forms in the Arabic poetic tradition. A poem can consist of a stanza with a single line; that which has two lines per stanza is called *muzdawidj* or *qasida* (couplet); three lines per stanza is called *muthnawi* or *masnawi* (triplet); four lines per stanza is called *ruba'i*[1] *(*pl. *rubaiyat)* or *dubayt*. And finally, five lines per stanza is *mukhammas* or *khumāsiyya* (quintuplet).

Also, there is what is called *tarbii'i* and *takhmiis*, in which a poet supplies two or three hemistichs to a couplet or triplet in order to make it quatrain or quintuplet respectively.

In Hausa poetic tradition, a number of structures have been identified. According to Sa'id (1983: 50-54), there are seven

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[1] An Arabic term meaning a quatrain, or four-line stanza. The term is nearly always included in the title of any Arabic poem that is built upon such quatrains (Greene *et al.* 2012).

categories[2] of Hausa verse structure. A poem can be *gwauruwa*[3] (single line stanza); a poem that consists of two lines per stanza is called *'yar tagwai*[4] (couplet); that which has three lines par stanza is called *kwar uku*[5] (triplet); four lines per stanza is *'yar hudu*[6] (quartet); five lines per stanza is *'yar biyar* (quintet); *tarbi'i* (expanded quartet) and finally *tahamisi* (expanded quintet).

Figure 1. An example of a single line stanza with chorus by Garba Gashuwa

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[2] The first five categories are termed by Bello (2014) as *Primary Types gwauruwa, 'yar tagwai, kwar uku, 'yar hudu* and *'yar biyar)* and the last two as *Secondary Types (tarbi'i* and *tahamisi).*

[3] Sometimes it is called *tiluwa* from the word *tilo* (singular).

[4] Sometimes it is called *biyuwa* or *'yar biyu* (see Bello 2014).

[5] It is also sometimes called *'yar uku* (see Bello 2014).

[6] It is sometimes called *kwar hudu.*

Considering the given types of the stanzas, it can be seen that both Arabic and Hausa poems share a similar stanza type, although they have different terms. Furthermore, there are representations of all these kinds of stanzas structure in the poems of my authors. The commonest types have *'yar biyar* quintet as well as *'yar tagwai* couplet. *'Yar biyar*, the quintet is the highest in number (171), followed by *'yar tagwai,* the couplet (102), then *'yar uku* triplet (53), then *'yar hudu* quartet (42), and *gwauruwa* single (20) as the least type in the corpus.
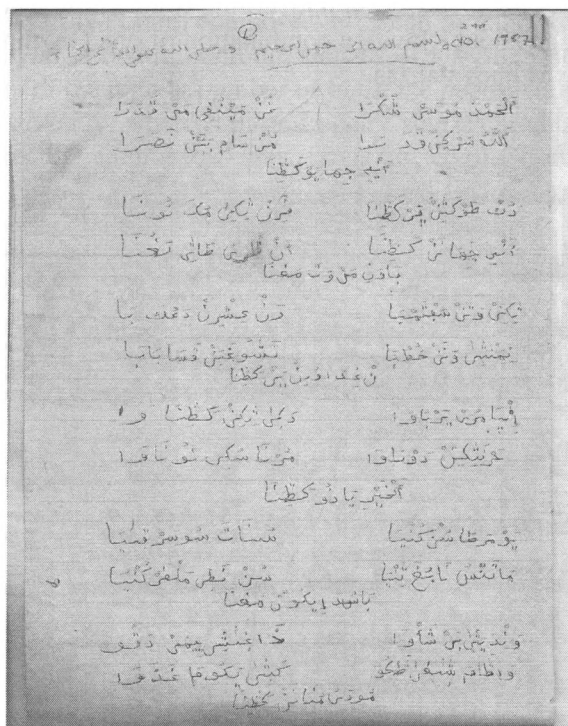
Figure 2.An example of a five line stanza by Usman Jari Kurfi

It is interesting to observe that, in my corpus, there are some poems with a mixed stanza. For example, in Garba Gashua's poems called *Muzurun sako* [The Hidden Tom-cat], there is a combination of 2, 5, and 7 stanzas.

Also, there is another example of a combination of six (6), seven (7), nine (9) ten (10) and fifteen (15) lines stanzas in a poem named *Achaba* [motorbike] composed by Alhaji Garba Gashuwa. Furthermore, from a poem named *Kebbi* there is a combination of two (2), four (4), and five (5) lines stanzas.

Other instances of mixed stanzas are from a poem named *Mulki sai wanda ya san shi* [Governing is for Those who have Knowledge about it] with a combination of one (1), three (3), and five (5) lines stanzas.
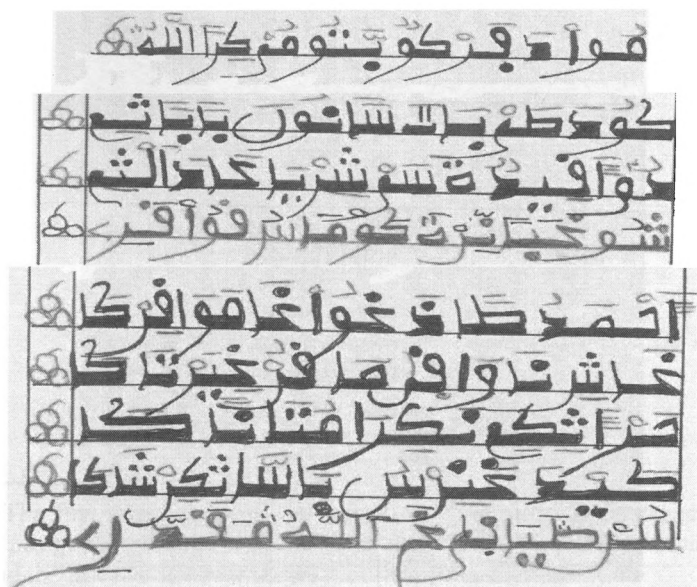
Figure 3. Instance of a poem with a mixed stanza by Garba Gashuwa

Alhaji Ibrahim Kaulahi's poem called *Kai ne abun yabona* [You are the One I praise] contains 22 stanzas in a whole, out of which 16 stanzas have 2 lines, others with 10, 14, 18, 25, and 29 line stanzas.

Also, there is a poem called *Naraguta*, composed by Alhaji Ibrahim Kaulahi with a combination of 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10 line stanzas.

This is also a poem with a total number of 7 stanzas in which all the 7 stanzas have 14 lines, namely *Rai ya dade*, [May you Live Long] composed by Alhaji Ibrahim Kaulahi.

On Hausa poetic tradition, stanzas of a written poetry are built up of the regular number of lines, the poems follow fixed verse structure, whereas in oral poetry stanzas are built up of the irregular number of lines range in length, from one to many lines. This is a typical characteristic of oral poetry incorporated in some of the modern written poems.

Another distinctive feature of the oral poetry found in the corpus, is the presence of *amshi*[7] (refrains or repetend or chorus) in most of the poems in the corpus. In his paper, Muhammad (1978:80) outlined the twofold relevant structural implication as follows:

> First, the *amshi* marks of the stichs (or stanzas); and from this fact flows the other significance of *amshi*: that its presence enables the stichs to be grammatically independent of each other.

Amshi is a distinctive feature of Hausa oral poetry, incorporated in some Hausa modern poems, as we can see it in Garba Gashuwa's poem (example presented in Figure 1):

Da karkarā da cikin birnī   *Ku dūbi yanda mukē fāmā*

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[7] Though it differs significantly from that of oral song.

3.0 Metre

Metre is the basic rhythmic structure of a verse, "a way of describing the rhythmic patterning in poetry, of keeping time, of measuring poetic" (Hirsch 2014: 375). To Jansson (2010: 8), metre is "the pattern of repeated sound-units in the line of a poem".

The metrical system of classical Arabic poetry has been studied by Arab lexicographers and philologists since 700s[8]. They laid the rules of interpreting the variations of patterns depending on the types of feet and their sequence.

The works on the Hausa metre keep a reference to the Arabic metre and show the correlation of patterns in the two languages (Galadanci 1975, Sani 1978, Sa'id 2002, Bello & Sheshe 2013, and Bello 2014). The transmission of the rhythmic scheme from Arabic to Hausa was termed as "poetic marriage between Arabic and Hausa" (Galadanci 1975) as highlighted in the introduction. The analysis of the Hausa metre is basically oriented at Arabic metric patterns as one-to-one correspondence, but some attempts were also made to show the 'defects' and 'deviations' from the Arabic metres (Galadanci 1975, Dunfawa 2003 and Bello 2014) and to indicate the Hausa linguistic features exploited in the poetry (Junaidu 1981; Junaidu 1988). This will be elaborated in 3.1.

3.1 Metre in Arabic and Hausa

Both Arabic and Hausa metres are quantity based, i.e. built up on the changing of long and short syllables. The short syllable in Arabic is a consonant (C) followed by a short vowel (v), while the long syllable is any of the following: CV,

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[8] Khalil ibn Ahmad Al-Farahidi (d. 791), the author of Arabic prosody, is the inventor of a measure for studying prosody of Arabic poetry (Abbas 2001: 29).

C + diphthong, CvC, CVC or C + diphthong + C, where capital V represents a long vowel (Retso, 2002: 18 quoted in Jansson 2010: 9).

Hausa has only two syllable types: light syllables: CV in which V represents short vowel, and heavy syllables: CVV, CVC in which VV is a long vowel or diphthong (Schuh 1995: 1).

In both Arabic and Hausa, the syllable, either long or short, is the basic unit of the metrical system, and combination of syllables makes up a foot (pl. feet). Feet, *tafā'īl* (in Arabic), *ƙafāfuwà* (in Hausa), refer to a group of syllables, which further combine and form a metrical unit.

There are ten (10) feet in all that both Arabic and Hausa use. In fact, the Hausa units are of Arabic origin. Their names representing the sequence of syllables confirm that they have been adopted directly from Arabic. The tables below indicate the names of these bases in both Arabic and Hausa:

1.	فَعولُن	1. [9]*Fa'uulun*
2.	مَفاعيلُن	2. *Mafaa'iilun*
3.	مُفاعَلَتُن	3. *Mufaa'ala-tun*
4.	فاع لاتُن	4. *Faa'ilaa-tun*
5.	فاعلُن	5. *Faa'ilun*
6.	مُسْتَفْعِلُن	6. *Mustaf'ilun*
7.	فاعلاتُن	7. *Faa'ilaatun*
8.	مُتَفاعِلُن	8. *Mutafaa'ilun*
9.	مَفْعُولاَت	9. *Maf'uulaatu*
10.	مُسْتَفْعِ لُن	10. *Mustaf'ilun*

(Galadanci, 1975: 3ff.)

A certain number of feet forms the metre. Some metres consist of two, three or four feet of the same type. Some

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[9] The long line placed under the moras indicates the position of stem/*turkē*/*watad* of that particular foot.

metres are composite (consisting of different feet) (Abbas 2001: 35).

Classical Arabic has sixteen (16)[10] established metres. Al-Farahidi (d. 786 or 791) divided Arabic metres into fifteen parts, but Al-Ahfaš (d. 793) added one further metre *al-mutadārik* which makes sixteen (Abbas 2001:34).

No.	Metre	Feet Combination
1.	طويل	فَعولُنْ مَفاعيلُنْ فَعولُنْ مَفاعِلُنْ
2.	بسيط	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ
3.	مديد	فاعِلاتُنْ فاعِلُنْ فاعِلاتُنْ
4.	وافر	مُفاعَلَتُنْ مُفاعَلَتُنْ فَعولُنْ
5.	كامل	مُتَفاعِلُنْ مُتَفاعِلُنْ مُتَفاعِلُنْ
6.	هزج	مَفاعيلُنْ مَفاعيلُنْ
7.	رجز	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ
8.	رمل	فاعِلاتُنْ فاعِلاتُنْ فاعِلُنْ
9.	منسرح	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلاتْ مُفْتَعِلُنْ
10.	خفيف	فاعِلاتُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلاتُنْ
11.	مقتضب	مَفْعُولاتُ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ
12.	مجتثّ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلاتُنْ
13.	مضارع	مَفاعيلُ فاعِلاتُنْ
14.	سريع	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ فاعِلُنْ
15.	متقارب	فَعولُنْ فَعولُنْ فَعولُنْ فَعولُنْ
16.	متدارك	فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ

Figure 4. The 16 Arabic metres with their feet combination

The analysis of meter in Hausa poetry is usually conducted with reference to the patterns of Arabic meter. M. Hiskett (see Bello 1983/85) examined poem written by Ɗan Fodio

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[10] For description of these metres, see Abbas 2001; Siwiec 2005; Ibrahim 2005; Hashimi (no date).

and his contemporaries and discovered that the poets used 10 of the 16 basic Arabic metres, namely: *Basit*, *Kamil*, *Khafif*, *Mutadarik*, *Mutaqarab*, *Rajaz*, *Ramal*, *Sari'*, *Tawil* and *Wafir*.

Galadanci (1975) identified additional metres that function in Hausa poetry, namely: *Madid*, *Hajaz*, *Munsarih* and *Muqtalib*. Sani (1978) discovered the existence of *Mujtath* as an additional metre in Hausa. Zaria (2013) added the sixteenth (16) pattern, i.e *Mudaari'ii*.

From the foregoing, according to Bello (2014: 33), sixteen (16) Arabic metres have found their way into Hausa poems.

No.	Metre[11]	Feet Combination
1.	*Dawil*	*Fa-uu-lun Ma-faa-ii-lun Fa-uu-lun Ma-faa-ii-lun*
2.	*Basid*	*Mus-taf-i-lun Faa-i-lun Mus-taf-i-lun (+Faa-i-lun)*
3.	*Madid*	*Faa-i-laa-tun Faa-i-lun Faa-i-laa-tun (+Faa-i-lun)*
4.	*Wafir*	*Ma-faa-a-la-tun Ma-faa-a-la-tun (+Ma-faa-a-la-tun)*
5.	*Kamil*	*Mu-ta-faa-i-lun Mu-ta-faa-i-lun (+Mu-ta-faa-i-lun)*
6.	*Hajaz*	*Ma-faa-ii-lun Ma-faa-ii-lun (+Ma-faa-ii-lun)*
7.	*Rajaz*	*Mus-taf-i-lun Mus-taf-i-lun (+Mus-taf-i-lun)*
8.	*Ramal*	*Faa-i-laa-tun Faa-i-laa-tun (+Faa-i-laa-tun)*
9.	*Munsarih*	*Mus-taf-i-lun Maf-uu-laa-tu (+Mus-taf-i-lun)*
10.	*Hafif*	*Faa-i-laa-tun Mus-taf-i-lun (+Faa-i-laa-tun)*

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[11] As can be noted from the above table, some Hausa metre names are the same as Arabic ones, while others have undergone modifications in phonetic shape.

11.	**Muqtalib**	Maf-uu-laa-tu Mus-taf-i-lun
12.	**Mujtat**	Mus-taf-i-lun Faa-i-laa-tun (+Mus-taf-i-lun)
13.	**Mudari'i**	Ma-faa-i-ii-lun Faa-i-laa-tun (+Ma-faa-i-ii-lun)
14.	**Sari'i**	Mus-taf-i-lun Mus-taf-i-lun (+Maf-uu-laa-tu)
15.	**Sari'i**	Mus-taf-i-lun Mus-taf-i-lun (+Maf-uu-laa-tu)
16.	**Mutadarak**	Faa-i-lun Faa-i-lun (+Faa-i-lun) (+Faa-i-lun)

Figure 5. The Hausa 16 metres originated from Arabic

In describing a metric structure of the Arabic poetry, it's pertinent to mention a metrical change or deviation called *zihāf* (pl. *zihāfāt*) and a metrical irregularity or defect *'illa* (pl. *'ilal*).

According to Abbas (2001: 319) *zihāf* in prosody is a metrical change which affects feet. He further goes on to say that this change is not obligatory, but it is regularly made on syllables *asbāb* in all feet of a poem and is specifically connected with *'arud*, *darb* and *hasw*, i.e. the last foot of the first hemistich, the last foot of the second hemistich, and the remaing part, respectively)". Quoting Ibn Rasiq al-Qayrawaanii Abbas (2001: 31) pointed out that "there is no poetry without *zihāfat*. *Zihāf* gives the poem *qasiida* much melody".

According to Al-Hashiimi (no date), Abbas (2001), Ibrahim (2005) and Ayagi (2011) there are two kinds of *zihāf:* *mufrad* (single) and *murakkab (muzdawa)* (double, mixed composed).

Changes qualified as *zihāf mufrad* include deleting the fifth moving letter from the foot *mufā'alatun* / V–VV– of *waafir* metre; as a consequence, the foot becomes *mufā'ilun* / V–V– (the change is termed as *aql*); within this meter the change into *mufā'altun* / V– – – may also occur (termed as *'asb*).

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The deviation *zihaaf murakkab* occurs, when, for example, *maf'uulātu* / – – –V changes to *fa'ilātu* / VV–V, whereas *mustaf'ilun* / – – V– changes to *fa'ilatun* / VVV–).

The changes recognized as deviations operate within the metrical pattern. They are connected with the replacement of one type of syllable by another one to fill the metrical limit. All the deviations found in Arabic may also occur in Hausa. The names of particular changes also function in Hausa and they are direct equivalents of the Arabic names, e.g. Arabic *aql,* Hausa *akalii*, similarly *'asb (asabī), habn (habnī), idmār (ilmārī), kaff (kaffi), qabd (kablii), tayy (dayyi), waqs (wakasī)* within *zihāf mufrad (gwauron zihāfī* in Hausa), as well as *habl (hablī), hazl (hazlī), naqs (nakasī),* and *sakl (shakalī)* as *zihāf murakkab (tagwayen zihāfī* in Hausa)[12]. These deviations are found only in the affixes of the feet and never in the stems (Galadanci 1975: 6).

'Illa in prosody according to Abbas (2001: 106) is "...a metrical irregularity. It appears in syllables *asbab* and *awtād* concerning two feet: *'arud* and *darb*. Following Al-Hashiimi (no date), Abbas (2001), Ibrahim (2005) and Ayagi (2011), there are two kinds of *'illa*: *naqs* (decrease), and *ziyāda* (increase). Like *zihāfat*, poets use these metrical changes in order to give their composition more harmony and melody (Abbas 2001: 106).

The defect of decrease (or omission) *naqs (*'illar ragi* in Hausa) takes place when, for example, the *faa'ilātun* /– V– – foot changes to *fā'il* / – –) or the *maf'uulātu* / – – –V foot changes to *maf'uulā* / – – –. They represent the changes termed as *batr (batarii* in Hausa*)* and *kasf (kashafī)* respectively. Other defects are *hadad (hadad), hadf (hazfī), qaṭ' (kada'ī), qatf (kadafī), waqf,* and *qasr.*

The defect of increase (or addition) *ziyāda (*'illar dadi* in Hausa) refers to adding one long syllable (or two moras) at

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[12] See Galadanci 1975, Dunfawa 2003, Bello & Sheshe 2013.

the end of a foot O O-O O-O + O-O (the change termed as *tarfīl, tarfīli* in Hausa) and also includes two other kinds of changes *tadyiil (tazyīlī)* and *tasbīg*.

According to Galadanci (1975: 8) once the defect occurs in a feet in any particular position in a line of a poem, it must recur in that foot in that the same position in every line of the poem.

As stated above, in both Arabic and Hausa poems there exist a number of deviations and defects with almost the same characteristics and functions. Similarly to meters, the Arabic terms for the type of changes (slightly modified on phonetic ground) are used.

With respect to my corpus, I did come across some poems that conformed with some of the classical Arabic metres. I have found few irregularities and also some units that are not metrically structured according to Arabic pattern.

Scansion[13] of the following verse from a poem by Usman Jari Kurfi which is in **Mutadārak** (*Faa-i-lun Faa-i-lun (+Faa-i-lun) (+Faa-i-lun)*) metre is to illustrate:

(1)   Fa'lun/ fā'ilun /fā'ilun   Fa'lun/ fā'ilun /fā'ilun

         - * -   - V -   - V -   - * -   - V -   - V -

         Fa'lun/ fā'ilun /fā'ilun   Fa'lun/ fā'ilun /fā'ilun

         - * -   - V -   - V -   - * -   - V -   - V -

                    Yasbī /Chāma mai/ cī gabā

                    - * -   - V   -   - V -

(First verse of Usman Jari Kurfi, *Yasbī Chāma*)

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[13] The analysis of metrical pattern. In Hausa it is called *yanka* or *fēdē wākā*.

This poem above, is in Arabic metre *Mutadārak,* which repeats *Fā'ilun* (- V-), three times in a line. However, sometimes one finds *Fālun* (- -), as in those places marked with asterisk (*) as a result of a metrical irregularity namely *kaḍa'ī* (*qaṭ'* in Arabic) which is an accepted variant.
Consider other examples from the corpus below:

(2) Ibrahim Kaulahi, *Allah Sarki Rabbana ga Kaulahi* [Oh my God, Here is Kaulahi], which follows *Rajaz* metre.

Allāhu Sar/kī Rabbanā/ gā Kaulahī,
- - V - - - V - - - V -

Zai addu'ā /bāwanka ɗan/ baiwarka.
- - V - - - V - - - V *[1]
(First verse of Kaulahi, *Allah Sarki Rabbana ga Kaulahi*)

The poem, like the previous *Yasbī Chāma* [S.B. Chamah][14] also is in one of the classical Arabic metre *Rajaz*, which is a repetition of *Mustaf'ilun Mustaf'ilun* (+ *Mustaf'ilun (- - V -*). However, in the second hemistich of the second line, at the point of rhyme, one will notice a cut off of the last long syllable, this happen as a result of a an *Illa* called hazfi (*hadf* in Arabic).

(3) Alhaji Ibrahim Kaulahi *Adalci* [Justice]:

a. Allah gaa mu garee ka Allah,   Mun daawoo a garee ka Allah,
- - - V V - V - -   - - - VV - V - -
Mu nan baayi nee naa Allah,   Allah gaa mu garee ka Jallah,
V - - - V - - - -   - - - V V - V - -
Don baa zan iya yin shiruu baa.
- - - VV - V - -

[14] Brigadier General Samaila Bature Chamah was a former military administrator of Katsina State during Abacha's regime, from 1996 to 1998.

b. Kuukaanaa Allah garee kaa,   Na kaawoo Allah don isarkaa,
  -   -   -   - - V -   -   V   -   -   -   - - V -   -
Don sirrinka da annabinkaa,   Jalla Wahaabu ka shaaren kuukaa,
  - - - V   V   - V   -   -   - V   V   -   V V   -   -   -   -
               Ba sai nai maka maagiyaa baa.
               V   -   -   V V   -   V -   -
c. Zaamaanin nan am matsee muu,   An kaamaa an taakuraa muu,
  -   -   -   -   -   - V   -   -   -   -   -   -   - - V -   -
Haƙƙooƙi duk an hanaa muu,   Allah gaa mu gareeka gaa muu,
  - - V   - - V -   -   -   -   -   V V - V -   -
             Don baa yaafeewaa mukee baa.
             -   -   - - -   V   -   -

In the above quintuplet verse we see a combination of different feet in each stanza (a - c), including feet that are not metrically structured. Moreover, there are some specific adaptations of the text to conform with the metrical 'length' of the verse. They concern final syllables in which short syllable is lengthened, mostly pronominal forms, therefore *isarka* has the form *isarkaa*, *taakuraa mu* is *taakuraa muu* and *gaa mu* is changed into *gaa muu*.

(4) Alhaji Garba Gashuwa's triplet *A Daidaita Sahu* [Straightening the Rows][15]

    a.   Da farkoo bismillahi Allah Rabbanaa yaa lillahii,
          V   - -   -   - V V -   -   V   -   - - V -
          Taabaaraka Alhayyu Waahidun yaa Jallaa,
          -   - VV   - - V   - V -   - - -
          Jalla Allahu ceecee mu daa ba zaa mu iyaa baa.
          -   V - VV   - -   V   - V   -   VV -   -

b. Allahu mai yamma mai gabas mahaliccii,
- V V - - V - V - V V - -
Shii yai kudu har areewacii makaɗaicii,
- - V V - V - V - V V - -
Jalla Allahu ceecee mu daa ba zaa mu iyaa baa.
- V - V V - - V - V - V V - -

c. Jalla Allah kee bai mutum walau ya hanaa shii,
- V - - - - V - V - V V - -
Tun da shii nee Rabbi Ganiyyu baa a tuƙee shii,
- V - - - V V - V - V V - -
Jalla Allahu ceecee mu daa ba zaa mu iyaa baa.
- V - V V - - V - V - V V - -

The above examples indicate that Hausa poems do not copy the Arabic metrical system in all its variants. From the corpus, so far, I came across a handful number of classical Arabic meters employed by my authors and the results are as follows: *Mutadārak*, being the predominant and followed by*Muƙtalib* and *Rajaz*. Regular combination of feet in each line are manifested in poems (1) and (2), while (3) and (4) are instances of an irregular combination of feet in each line. The lack of abiding to strict metrical rules, as in some of the poems analyzed, direct our attention to another factor, namely the cross-fertilization between the oral and written poems tradition.

As cited earlier, following the publication of Galadanci (1975), a number of approaches surfaced to explain the sources and inspirations for the Hausa metrical system. Some of them view Khalilian system of Arabic metres as adequate to distinguish also the Hausa patterns (Sani 1978; Sa'id 1978, 1979, 1981, 1983 and 2002; Dunfawa 2002; Dangambo 2007; Bello and Sheshe 2013; Zaria 2013, and Bello 2014). Some other ones see the Arabic-oriented analysis as neither adequate nor satisfactory and additionally supporting the theories of cultural imperialism (Sipikin 1978). It has drawn

the attention to the features that are indigenous in Hausa culture (Furniss, 1996: 212). According to Schuh (1996), a theory of Hausa metrics must use information extracted from both phonological structure and from various aspects of oral performance.

The studies on the metrical system of Hausa poetry tend to distinguish the specific features at the level of foot. Dangambo (2007: 26ff) revealed the existence of 8 feet, in addition to those originated from Arabic. Bello (2014: 70), presented an approach based on the foot-counting procedure. He stated that the most predominant or dominant foot will be ensured as the one along which the metre shall be established. The illustration of the verse which functions in modern poetry has confirmed the variation of feet patterns.

As for meters, the survey of 252 poems published during 1950 and 1960s (Furniss 1996: 211) found that *Kamil* was the most common metre, followed by *Mutaqarab*, *Wafir*, *Ramal* and *Mutadarik* and the rarely used metres were *Basit*, *Rajaz*, *Tawali* and *Kafif*. Taking this into considerations, one can say that now there is gradual departure from the conventional Arabic patterns, despite the fact that some of the remaining metres that were not identified earlier were identified recently in modern poetry.

As noted earlier, I came across only three classical Arabic meters that my authors employed, namely *Mutadārak*, *Muƙtalib* and *Rajaz*. Withal, the poets adopt metrical feet, but in most of the cases they hardly follow their combinations in order to get the patterns characteristic of Arabic. In some poems, the metrical structure cannot be attributed to any established Arabic metres.

4.0 Rhyme

Rhyme is "a structural and/or semantic pattern formed by the repetition of syllables with identical or similar sounds"

(Goring *et al*, 2010: 417ff) or the regular occurrence of a particular sound or word in a poem (Sa'id 1983: 62).

Referring to Arabic, *qafiya* "is the last word of each verse of the *qasida*" (Al-Ahfaš quoted in Abbas 2001).

4.1 Rhyme in Arabic and Hausa Poems

In Arabic poetry, a rhyme can be *muṭlaqa* (loose rhyme) or *muqayyada/muğarrada* (fettered one) (Abbas 2002: 181). *Mutlaqa* is when when the *bayt* 'verse' ends with a vowel. Using this criterion, a half dozen kinds of loose rhyme can be distinguished (Abbas 2012: 181ff). *Muqayyada* is when the *bayt* ends with a consonant. The fettered rhyme can be found in three cases (Abbas 2002: 181ff). There are further classifications and terminology concerning the names of rhymes, vowels in rhymes and letters of rhymes.

As for Hausa, according to Sa'id (2002: 287ff)[16], there are four types of rhyme in Hausa poetry[17]. These are as follows:

Babban amsa-amo (Terminal rhyme[18])

This is the steady occurrence of a sound or syllable at the end of each stanza, continuing to end of the poem. The below example is from Raihanatu Usman's poem, namely *Gasar Begen Annabi* [Competition on the Prophet's Eulogy]:

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[16] Sa'id (1983: 62-70) mentioned five types of rhymes in Hausa, namely; terminal rhyme, initial rhyme, internal rhyme, tonal rhyme and independent rhyme.

[17] Dunfawa (2003) distinguished five types of rhymes in Hausa namely: *babban amsa-amo, ƙaramin amsa-amo, amsa-amon farawa, amsa-amo mai zaman kansa, amsa-amon karin sauti.*

[18] Birniwa (1987) called this rhyme *external rhyme*.

Figure 6. Example of terminal rhyme in Hausa

Da suunankā Yā Rabbanā zā ni fārā,
  Ka bā nī fasāhar zuwwā in ga*mā*.
Kusā dai Muhammadu shī nē fā haskē,
  Na Allah ā lūtā da bābū sa*mā*
Fa bā bu ƙasa kumā duk bā halittā,
  Fā sai shi gurin Rabbanā mai sa*mā*.

This type of rhyme can be observed in the whole couplet poem consisting of a total number of 20 stanzas; each stanza ends with terminal rhyme *mā*.

Ƙaramin amsa-amo (Internal rhyme[19])

According to Sa'id (2002), this is usually found within three types of Hausa verse: triplet, quartet, and quintet, where two, three or four repetitions occur on each stanza, and there is terminal rhyme repeated throughout the poem. Consider the following couplet from the corpus:

(5) Bi'ismika Sarkii Raahimi*i*,   Mahaliccin raanaa har dare*e*
    Sarkin da ya tsaida saman bakwa*i*, Bai sa turkee ba ya tookare*e*.

---

[19] It is also called *amsa-amon ciki*.

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As can be noted from the above couplet, *e* stands as the rhyming scheme of the stanza or verse. It is the external rhyme of the poem, whereas *i* stands for the internal rhyme of the stanza and it can vary from one stanza to another.

Amsa-amo mai cin gashin kansa (Independent rhyme)

It is the case, each stanza has its own independent rhyme. Internal rhyme and terminal rhyme are not relevant here.

Consider the following example of this type of rhyme from Alhaji Ibrahim Kaulahi's poem called *Ya Allah ya Allah taimaki Gaddafi* [Oh Allah, oh Allah, please help Gaddafi].
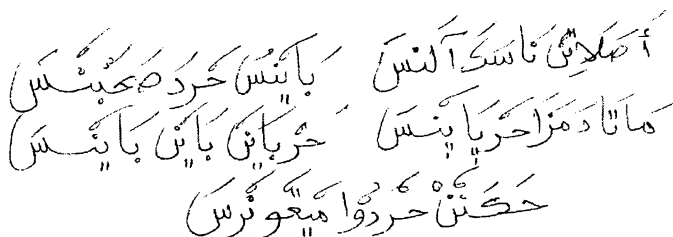
Figure 7: Example of independent rhyme (sa) in Hausa

A Salātin nā saka ālan*sa*,   Bāyan su har da Sahabban*sa*,
Mātā da mazā har 'yā'yan*sa*,   Har bāyin bāyin bāyan*sa*,
Haka nan har dū mai kaunar*sa*.
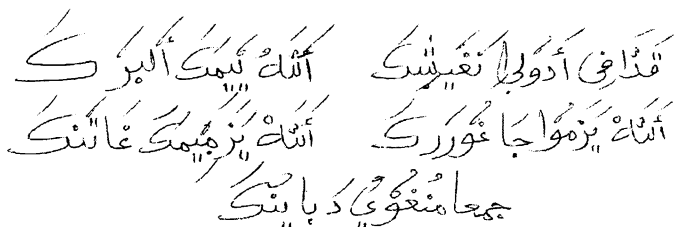
Figure 8: Example of independent rhyme (ka) in Hausa

Gaddāfī a dōlē na gaishe **ka**,   Allahu ya yi maka albar**ka**,
Allah ya zamō jāgōrar**ka**,   Allah ya zamē maka gātan**ka**,
          Jama'aa mun gōyu da bāyan**ka**.

Amsa-amon somin-taɓi (Initial rhyme)

Here the same sound comes at the beginning of each stanza or each line in the stanza. This is very rare in Hausa. I did not come across this type of rhyme in the corpus.

From the foregoing classification of rhyme in Arabic (though not extensively explained) and Hausa it is interesting to note that the classification of rhyme in Hausa differs from Arabic. In Arabic, loose rhyme (when the *bayt* ends with a vowel) have six varieties, each with a unique name. Likewise, the fettered rhyme (when the *bayt* ends with a consonant) also has three cases with each with a different name.

In Hausa, *babban amsa-amo* (terminal or external rhyme) can be loose or fettered. Likewise, the *amsa-amon ciki* (internal rhyme), or *amsa-amo mai cin gashin kansa* (independent rhyme) can terminate with either vowel or consonant.

In my corpus, there is the presence of three rhymes (*babban amsa-amo, amsa-amon ciki* and *amsa-amo mai cin gashin kansa*), but I did not come across *amsa-amon samin-taɓi* (initial rhyme).

5.0 Summary

In this paper, an attempt was made to present and compare some prosodic elements (stanza, metre and rhyme) of Arabic and Hausa poems. The presentation is to manifest that almost all (except for those modified phonetically and phonologically) terms used in the analysis of the prosody of Hausa poetry, particularly, the metrics, have been originally borrowed from Arabic. The influence of Arabic prosody on classical Hausa poetry, particularly those poems written during the 19th, century is a well known fact, but also the

presence of such influence in some modern Hausa poems is undeniable. In terms of stanzaic structure, my authors still follow the theoretical account of Arabic poem stanzas despite numerous irregularities in their application. With regard to metrical patterns, there are poems that exhibit greater or lesser degree of resemblance with that of Arabic model, though the majority is marked by deviations which make the metrical analysis based on Arabic-oriented method impossible. With regards to rhyme, the Arabic patterns are still in use, however, there are differences in their classification.

To sum up, metrically unexplainable deviations, defects and modification in some modern Hausa poems (manifested, for instance, in using *amshi* and accompanying instrument while performing it) confirm that the prosodic nature of the modern Hausa poetry needs additional attention which would include mixing of oral and written traditions in creating the metrical patterns of the Hausa poetry.

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Narrative Strategy in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Novel „Americanah": the Manifestation of Migrant Identity

Abstract: In this essay I will examine the characteristics of narrative strategy used by Nigerian writer and activist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in her novel „Americanah" with special reference to Igbo language. The paper provides examples of several expressions in Igbo taken from the novel such as phrases, sentences, proverbs and other lexical items. Using the concept of the migrant identity for my analysis I argue that her narrative strategy including certain Igbo context as base for recognition could be interpreted as the method of manifestation of different self-identifications, global identities and a dynamic sense of belonging from a perspective of Nigerian writer living in the United States.

Keywords Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Anglophone Nigerian literature, Igbo, narrative strategy, migrant identity

Introduction

Written African literature, and to be certain literary art in general, is responsive to social phenomena providing discussions over themes from cultural to political issues. Therefore, it is characterized by linguistic diffusion and significant cultural diversity within regions and countries. In the twentieth century most African writers preoccupied themselves with the use of English, French or Portuguese in their works following the postcolonial discourse. However, literary forms written in African languages also emerged, being determined by the fact that writers chose their mother tongue for addressing proper audience. Still, the problem of choosing the form and language appropriate for conveying the right message and expression has been re-

searched by literary critics and linguists as the base for interpretation of representative intellectual movement or current social and cultural issues, especially regarding postcolonial context. In this respect in the following essay I will provide the analysis of the strategy of contemporary Nigerian writer, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, who has described her approach toward literary work saying:

> I think that what is important in the discourse is not whether African writers should or should not write in English, but how African writers, and Africans in general, are educated in Africa. I do not believe in being prescriptive about art. I think African writers should write in whatever language they can. The important thing is to tell African stories. Besides, modern African stories can no longer claim anything like 'cultural purity' (Azodo 2008: 2).

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie – biographical note

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, born in 1977 in Nigeria, is an award-winning novelist and social commentator, representative of the black literary writers with African roots and young female cosmopolitan, who write in English. According to Nigerian writer and researcher Helon Habila, Adichie should be referred to as the third generation of influential and representative African female writer (Habila 2011: 7). Her works differ strongly from the postcolonial wave, roughly beginning in African countries in the 1960s, which brought international acclaim to first remarkable Anglophone female novelists like Flora Nwapa (1931-1993), Nadine Gordimer (1923-2014), Ama Ata Aidoo (b. 1942), Buchi Emecheta (b. 1944) or Zaynab Alkali (b. 1955). Recently, she received wide critical acclaim and high profile reviews, winning several main awards such as Commonwealth Writer's Prize for Best First Book in 2005, the National Book Critics Circle Award for fiction (2014) and nominations, for instance for the Booker Prize and the Orange Prize for Fiction (2004), among others (Szupejko 2012: 145).

Her works include *For Love of Biafra* (1998), *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), *The Thing Around Your Neck*

(2009), *Americanah* (2013) and *We Should All Be Feminists* (2014). The novel *Americanah*, which will be analyzed below, was selected by the New York Times as one of The 10 Best Books of 2013. Adichie, who divides her time between the United States and Nigeria, runs a summer writing workshops and academic lectures both at Nigerian and American universities.

In *Americanah* Adichie captures the complexity and range of Nigerian experiences through the eyes of migrant living in the diaspora by presenting the history of lives of two main characters: young woman Ifemelu and her friend Obinze, who are both from southern Nigeria. They fall in love with each other, but because of many unpleasant circumstances their paths separate, forcing them to migrate to the United States and Great Britain. In States, Ifemelu, well-educated and creative entrepreneur, writes a popular blog about her life-style and growing racial and gender consciousness of being black migrant. When she is back to Nigeria, her friends describe her with the name "Americanah", as occurs in the title of the novel, to tease her about new americanized way of behaviour, as well as attitude toward conditions of living in her home country and sophisticated usage of American English.

The story of Obinze and Ifemelu set partly in Africa, partly in the Western countries, reflects events to which Adichie herself can relate – experiences of living and working in different settings within American society. It is a novel about the African diaspora experience, full of cultural references familiar to Western audiences, a kind of a social commentary on the discourse of gender and strong race divisions and how it affects the lives of black migrants, especially female migrants in the United States. She expertly portrays black male and female characters in a realistic way in order to make readers be able to identify with them and switches between characters' perspectives, giving them voice to speak out loudly their opinions, also in Igbo language. In so doing she tries to battle stereotypes and affliction of racism and sexism. Furthermore, she creates this by applying her own narrative strategy as a Nigerian writer.

Narrative strategy characteristics

Narrative strategy, defined as the theoretical category depicting certain writing techniques and practices, is used by literary researchers for the analysis of narrative and social discourses and merely to indicate particular features of the investigated text. It has become the key concept of literary studies since 1965 (Souvage 1965). Tjupa (2014: 2) suggests that the narrative strategy is a configuration of three aspects of a single utterance:

1) narrative modality (the speech subject's rhetorical competence),
2) narrative world picture (the sphere of objects that are of narrative interest),
3) narrative intrigue (the aspect of plot that correlates the story with the recipient's expectations), that influence each other constructing a communicative event.

In this study I will use that concept to present the implementation of Igbo lexical component into plot of the novel that not only depicts the speaker's preferences and creative behaviour, but also might be seen as the indicator of the author's manifestation of the process of creating identity from the perspective of the migrant living in the diaspora. Similarly, it may be understood as product of interconnected identifications, which require a dynamic understanding in the context of postcolonial globalized world. The novel itself is structured around several intersectional issues such as retrospectives to childhood and youth life of Ifemelu and Obinze, being mobile, love tribulations and are related to the reconstruction and negotiation of identity during whole migration processes, for instance changes of place of living and the sense of belonging.

Migrant identity theoretical framework

I would suggest that Adichie, while using expressions in Igbo, proceeds her story by explaining the theoretical framework of Nigerian migrants' ethnic identity, and essentially what has been called by A. Constant, L. Gataullina and L. Zimmermann – the *ethnosizer* (Zimmermann 2007: 1). It indicates the strength of association with

either or both the culture of origin and the new host culture exhibited by the individuals. The *ethnosizer* is the concept that consists of four distinct combinations of commitments and identifications: assimilation, integration, marginalization, separation with respect to five key elements of ethnic identity: language, visible cultural elements, ethnic self-identification, ethnic networks and future citizenship plans (Zimmermann 2007: 6). This means that if one follows the two-dimensional model of the measurement of ethnic identity he believes that commitments to different societies – as in this case to Nigeria, United States or United Kingdom – can coexist simultaneously and may influence each other in several ways[1]. As a result, all identity elements are visible in human attitudes and behaviours in their material consequences and appear strongly in verbal communications. The Igbo language – one of the important identity marker – is used by Adichie as an *ethnosizing* narrative strategy and can be subjectively appropriated.

Homi K. Bhabha, critical and literary theorist, in *The Location of Culture* (1994) examines "the processes of cultural identification and cultural variation in identity construction and transformation, by examining the self-positioning against the ascribed identities, the negotiation of categories for self-identification, and the deconstruction of those categories. As a product of belonging to multiple affiliations, the hybridization of being at the borderlands poses serious challenges to the existing hegemonic culture of society" (La Barbera 2007: 5).

However, contemporarily many researches show the broken illusion of the essential relationship between culture and place (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 10). This may be applied to the portrait of some

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[1] However, the assumption of two-dimensional model of migrant identity recognizes that a migrant, who identifies with the values of culture of origin, may or may not have a strong involvement with the host culture. Secondly, a migrant with a strong affinity to the beliefs of a receiving country may or may not totally identify with his or her culture of ancestry. Similarly, migrants could be completely detached from the home or host country (Zimmermann 2007: 5). All of the options are well illustrated in the novel.

individuals from the novel (like Ifemelu, Aunty Uju), who actually do not have the aspirations to abandon their roots and habits while living in the new country and re-negotiate language and cultural practices by using multilingual communication (English, Igbo, Nigerian Pidgin English) or creating spaces for identifiable community of Nigerian or Africans (barber shops, beauty and hair salons, grocery shops with so called 'African' food). In this group there are also others, who claim to be considered more Western and educated and come back to home country in order to be given a name "Americanah" by their compatriots.

Analysis of Adichie's narrative strategy

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's adopted the variety of stylistic approaches considering her writing in English. In the interview taken by Women's Caucus of the African Literature Association in 2008, Adichie, when asked about the reasons for choosing both the English and Igbo language as the medium of the expressive writing, replied:

> I come from a generation of Nigerians who constantly negotiate two languages and sometimes three, if you include Pidgin. For the Igbo in particular, ours is the Engli-Igbo generation and so to somehow claim that Igbo alone can capture our experience is to limit it. Globalization has affected us in profound ways. I'd like to say something about English as well, which is simply that English is mine. Sometimes we talk about English in Africa as if Africans have no agency, as if there is not a distinct form of English spoken in Anglophone African countries. I was educated in it; I spoke it at the same time as I spoke Igbo. My English-speaking is rooted in a Nigerian experience and not in a British or American or Australian one. I have taken ownership of English. (Ada Uzoamaka Azodo 2008: 2)

Significantly, *Americanah* has been interwoven with Igbo phrases and sentences, which could be decoded by the non-Igbo speaking and Western readers through usage of general lexical context or simply, dictionary. This makes the readers aware that some of her

characters would be speaking in Igbo to one another, and that the story is mediated between two or more identities. It is worth mentioning that all Igbo expressions are highlighted in the novel through italics.

In the post-colonial novel, such as *Americanah*, the narrative strategy includes: glossing, untranslated words, interlanguage, syntactic fusion, code-switching and vernacular transcription (Anyokwu 2011: 82ff.). However, Igboanusi (2002:56ff.) went on to assert that there are seven linguistic categories that occur in the processes of writing and are identified as sources of Igbo English in the Nigerian novel, such as loan-words, coinages, loan-blends, translation equivalents, semantic extension, collocational extension and colloquialism. Also in this novel they foregrounded the unique sense of place and contextual realism and worked inimitably into the complex tapestry of her narrative (Anyokwu 2011: 83). Thus, Onukaogu and Ezechi (2010) described three main strategies in Adichie's narrative:

1) Linguistic Appositioning (refers to glossing);
2) Narrative Framing (meaning is contextually explicated);
3) Discourse Implicature (reader as co-creator).

Regarding the main function of Igbo language component in the novel with relation to ethnic identity, the most important feature is Discourse Implicature, which means that the reader, by using his or her *ethnosizer* skills, is required to decode the meaning from the flow of narrative and is able to notice nuances of the indigenous communicative code.

Phrasal and lexical level

To be specific, in the novel there are not any Nigerian nicknames for most of Nigerian characters such as Ifemelu or Obinze. Besides, in the text Ifemelu herself gives the explanation about the meaning of her Igbo name, which is „leave us in peace" (Adichie 2013: 32). It reveals that Igbo meaning has been transferred not only to fill lexical gap, but also to capture the Igbo cultural worldview as the mean of identification. To show more of the Igbo rhetoric adopted widely as the narrative strategy I would indicate instances selected from the

text of novel. This is the examination Adichie's deployment of Igbo language in the novel. The meaning of the items is provided in square brackets.

"Ifem, I don't know what got into me. *Ndo*." [I am sorry] (Adichie 2013: 83)
"But on that first day, she liked Kimberly, her breakable beauty, her purplish eyes full of the expression. Obinze often used to describe the people he liked: *obi ocha*. A clean heart." [clean heart] (Adichie 2013: 147)

"He reminded her of Obinze's expression for people he liked. *Obi ocha*. A clean heart." [clean heart] (Adichie 2013: 353)

"Darling, *kedu ebe I no*? Where are you?" [where are you?] (Adichie 2013: 21)

"Ahn ahn! [an exclamaition remark] *O gini?* [What?]" (Adichie 2013: 23)

"The Zed, *o gini*? What is it? Is it just tiredness?" [what?] (Adichie 2013: 472)

"What? *Gini*? Ifemelu asked." [What?] (Adichie 2013: 119)

"Ha, *o di egwu*, [it is wonderful] for where?" (Adichie 2013: 24)

"But calm down first. It will be okay, *inugo*?" [take my words, okay?] (Adichie 2013: 95)

"*Adi m ime*, [I am pregnant] she said simply." (Adichie 2013: 83)

"Normal *kwa*? [raising doubt on what is taken to be normal] It's not normal at all." (Adichie 2013: 141)

"Ugly *kwa*? [raising doubt on what is taken to be ugly] What are you talking about? The house is beautiful." (Adichie 2013: 393)

"Classics, *kwa*? [raising doubt on what he likes] I just like crime and thrillers." (Adichie 2013: 60)

"Mummy, *nno*, [welcome] he said. She acknowledged his greeting with a nod and put down her bag on the centre table." (Adichie 2013: 234)

"That thing can do wonders to your head, *eziokwu*. [ascertaining the truth of the statement] It has not been easy at all for him." (Adichie 2013: 240)

"It will happen for you, don't worry, *rapuba*." [forget what happened, it will be fine] (Adichie 2013: 240)

"Look my brother. You won't sell it at that price, nobody will buy. *Ife esika kita.* [Things are very costly or difficult now] The recession is biting everybody." (Adichie 2013: 455)

"They sat in the living room, eyes on the screen, and Obinze said, "Mummy, *chelu* [wait a moment], let's hear". (Adichie 2013: 71)

"The Yoruba man is there helping his brother, but you Igbo people? *I ga-asikwa.* [It can't be possible] Look at you now quoting me this price." (Adichie 2013: 456)

"*Obinze ma ife* [Obinze is wise or intelligent], he imagined Edusco saying. Obinze is not like some of these useless small boys with money. This one is not stupid." (Adichie 2013: 456)

"The Zed! You are really quiet today," Okwudiba said, now on his fifth glass of champagne. "*Aru adikwa*?" [surprised at the magnitude of evil or stange occurences] Obinze shrugged. "I'm fine. Just tired". (Adichie 2013: 469)

"Iloba spoke up in Igbo. "Vincent, my brother here is trying to save money and do his papers. Thirty-five is too much, *o rika biko*. [it is too much] Please just try and help us". (Adichie 2013: 250)

"Ifem, *kedu*? [how are you?] Aunty Uju asked. "I thought you would be in Nsukka" (Adichie 2013: 99)

"Ifem, *kedu*? [how are you?] Aunty Uju said. Aunty Uju called too often to ask if she had found a job." (Adichie 2013: 141)

"It is rumpled. *Ngwa* [quick], go and iron it". (Adichie 2013: 49)
"*Ngwa*, scrub between your legs very well, very well". [Quick] (Adichie 2013: 128)

"You're a joker," she told him. "*Biko* [please], I'm changing to Nsukka as well". (Adichie 2013: 89)
"What kind of man bleaches his skin, *biko*?" [please, tell me] (Adichie 2013: 117)

"Aunty, *biko* [please], leave my hair alone," Ifemelu said." (Adichie 2013: 216)

In the extract above, we can identify the use of Igbo lexical items, which stand between or instead of English phrases, observations, states and situations that deliver actual information. However, the Igbo forms serve important functions as motivators, introducers and affirmers (Onukaogu, Ezechi 2010: 273). Adichie employs the pattern of using single phrases in Igbo, apparently to suggest and reinforce the contextual meaning, affirming the articulation, introducing, giving it more strength and emphasis. It shows that she did evolve her own variety of multilingual communication in the text, which might be a reflection of the habits of thought and speech patterns of the many Igbo speakers from United States, who use code-switching or second language inclusions. In addition, this writer's strategy can

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be seen as the effective way of mentioned previously – *ethnosizer* mechanisms, like achieving the space for representation and status of being at once „local", „international" or „global" and also, which is essential for identity formation, as voicing to some extent the predicament of Nigerian migrants, who live in the junction of global influences, hybrid interconnections and traditions and recognize themselves in the narration. Hence, does Igbo language might be a formula which enables writer to be relevant?

According to Herbert Igboanusi, the phenomenon of Igbo English is said to be found in creative writing (in novels) "as a deliberate but significant stylistic device, which arises from the influence of the Igbo language and culture on English [...] Has spawned what has been categorized as „ethnic literary tradition", and, as such, African literature today is characterized by „linguistic diffusion and cultural diversity" (Igboanusi 2002: 2). He remarks that certainly the uniqueness of first-generation Igbo English writers, such as Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Buchi Emecheta, Flora Nwapa, Elechi Amadi, manifests in three strategies: their experimentation in language, in recreating distinct Igbo discourse in English and in stylistic innovations. He concludes that their writings demonstrate a good instance of so called "Igboization of English" (Igboanusi 2002: 2). With regard to the Adichie's works, many researchers claim that she consciously follows what has come to be referred to as „the Achebe model" described by Anyonkwu (2011: 81)[2]:

> the deployment of supra-linguistic, para-verbal nuances such as folklore, proverbs, wise sayings, folksongs and other allied

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[2] Indeed, one of the novel's character is asking "Have you read *Things Fall Apart*?" (Adichie 2013: 425). Moreover, Adichie admits: „I like to think of Achebe as the writer whose work gave me permission to write my own stories [...] Achebe is the most important writer for me, and so every opportunity I have to pay tribute to him I"ll take it (Adichie 2008: 42). Extraordinary was also the fact that Adichie grew up in the house that had once belonged to Chinua Achebe's family.

forms of language games, stylistic strategies which emboss and semiotize the Africanity or the sense of place in the novel. Much as Nigerian (African) writers have preoccupied themselves with the „fleshpot" of the African past, the question of content did not bother literary critics as such. But the issue of form was another matter.

Thus, the form consists of certain narrative strategies that are used in order to make the works truly and authentically Nigerian, but still remaining in the migrant context. However, what is foregrounded in the novel is not only the unified Nigerian migrants national identity, but the diversity of African experiences and many variant points of views from characters that are different with regards to ethnicity, race, gender, social class, age.

Phrases with English equivalent

In some cases, a sentence in Igbo is followed by the exact English translation. Those phrases are not strategically pivotal in the narrative, but still it is clear that Igbo rhetoric has enriched the text. It is strongly visible in the dialogues between Nigerian characters, mainly Ifemelu, Obinze, Ifemelu's aunt Uju, her cousin Dike and other relatives. Here are some examples:

"Curt touched Ifemelu's shoulder gently, asked if she was okay, before going back outside. "*O na-eji gi ka akwa,*" [pampered, adored and handled with care like egg] Aunty Uju said, her tone charged with admiration. Ifemelu smiled. Curt did indeed hold her like an egg." (Adichie 2013: 219)

"She stopped on the platform to fumble in her bag for it and, at first, because Aunty Uju was incoherent, talking and sobbing at the same time, Ifemelu thought she said that Dike was dead. But what Aunty Uju was saying was *o nwuchagokwa* [he nearly died] *Dike anwuchagokwa.* Dike had nearly died. (Adichie 2013: 365)"

"When the male and female voices sang in Igbo, Obinze sang along with them, glancing away from the road to look at her, as though he was telling her that this was really their conversation, he calling her beautiful, she calling him beautiful, both calling each other their true friends. *Nwanyi oma,* [beautiful woman] *nwoke oma,* [handsome man] *omalicha nwa,* [beautiful or good child] *ezigbo oyi m o*" [my good friend]." (Adichie 2013: 443)

"You put on some weight and it suits you. *I maka*". [You are beautiful – as in flattering someone] She felt shy, a pleasant shyness, hearing him say she was beautiful." (Adichie 2013: 430)

Proverbs

Another instance of the deployment of this specific strategy in the text can be found in the extract below. It presents part of conversation made by main characters – Ifemelu and Obinze, who talked about their ability of speaking Igbo language and knowledge of traditional proverbs. The frequency with which Adichie employs vivid imaginary of proverbs in her works – also in *Americanah,* may partly be interpreted as significant influence of Igbo oral traditions, that are continued largely through literature of Igbo speaking writers. They are common statements that enable speakers to display not only their wisdom and intelligence, but also distinctive ability to use language for manipulation. They express specific meanings, which derive from the Igbo pre-suppositions and socio-cultural contexts of the speech community in Nigeria and diaspora and as H. K. Bhabha said, in order for self-positioning (Bhabha 1994: 179).

- But I bet I speak Igbo better than you.
- Impossible. - he said, and switched to Igbo. - *Ama m atu inu.* I even know proverbs.
- Yes. The basic one everybody knows. A frog does not run in the afternoon for nothing.
- No. I know serious proverbs. *Akota ife ka ubi, e lee oba.* If something bigger than the farm is dig up, the barn is sold.

- Ah, you want to try me? - she asked, laughing - *Acho afu adi ako n'akpa dibia*. The medicine man's bag has all kinds of things.
- Not bad - he said - *E gbuo dike n'ogu uno, e luo na ogu agu, e lote ya*. If you kill a warrior in a local fight, you'll remember him when fighting enemies.
They traded proverbs. She could say only two more before she gave up, with him still raring to go.
- How do you know all that? - she asked, impressed. - Many guys won't even speak Igbo, not to mention knowing proverbs.
"I just listen to when my uncles talk. I think my dad would have liked that." (Adichie: 2013: 61-62).

In second instance, the characters exclaim:

- Dike, *I mechago*? [Have you finished?] Ifemelu asked.
- Please don't speak Igbo to him, Aunty Uju said. - Two languages will confuse him.
- What are you talking about, Aunty? We spoke two languages growing up.
- This is America. It's different. (Adichie 2013: 109)

As we see here, this narrative strategy is intertwined with such simple moments, where an action, dialogue or thought reflected by characters show the distinct differences in conceptualization of Igbo and English; for some people using two languages might be confusing. This short extract visualizes somehow the discourse within which the migrant works – being herself or himself an Igbo, who lives in American context and has to redefine language usage. Adichie goes beyond certain day-to-day situations of migrants' lives, trespasses the boundary of their origin by interweaving global motifs, sometimes going back into the Igbo roots and tradition for example proverbs. Ethnic experiences are here expressed in a heritage language and connections with home country. However, in the novel there are also several indirect references to Igbo without special translation, as in the following example:

His grades were falling. Aunty Uju threatened him more often. The last time Ifemelu visited, Aunty Uju told him, "I will send you back to Nigeria if you do that again!" speaking Igbo as she did to him only when she was angry, and Ifemelu worried that it would become for him language of strife. (Adichie 2013: 171).

It perfectly reveals the attitude of Ifemelu and Uju toward using Igbo to express certain feelings and emotions. For Aunty Uju Igbo is considered as more appropriate language to express personal negative feelings like being angry. It shows how the character perceives the language use for different situations and negotiate it in communication.

Nigerian Pidgin English component

Moreover, Adichie utilizes lexical items of Nigerian Pidgin English such as *abi?* [right? Isn't it?] and Hausa such as *haba* [No, I disagree]. Those examples may be seen as instances of Nigerian Pidgin English, today used also by non-Igbo speakers, but their origin can be traced to the Igbo language and culture.

"Your mother is an American, *abi*? [right?] So you have an American passport" Emenike asked. (Adichie 2013: 65)

"With a magic handkerchief, *abi*? [right?] Zemaye scoffed. (Adichie 2013: 418)

His name is Ndudi. Cool name, *abi*? [right?] You can't get more Igbo than that. (Adichie 2013: 387).

But to get up and say you have no problem with your wife but you are leaving for another woman? *Haba*. [No] (Adichie 2013: 472).

As these various examples show – and as I will also argue, the aim of Adichie's strategy could be interpreted as the method of mani-

festation of identity and useful device for articulation of sense of belonging. Firstly, the self-identification of social interaction is mediated by symbolic resources available within a given culture, including in particular – the language. Secondly, obtaining identity occurs during interaction, sending, receiving and interpreting messages, which are all crucial to the reconstruction of relational and oppositional identity. Language works similarly, it is the base for recognition, as in the novel two languages appear either in opposition, or in supplementary mode to each other, giving the recognition and the feeling of empowerment. The identity manifests itself in practices. Hence, using Igbo phrases stands for mapping writer's roots on a big map of global literature (La Barbera 2007: 4). Therefore other functions are for instance: expression of specific aesthetics, putting emphasis on the literary composition, communication of cultural ideas and the life patterns of the Nigerian people, a or simply willingness to reach readers more widely (Owolabi, Owoeye 2013: 28).

Closing remarks

Like many other Nigerian authors Adichie has been working to deconstruct particular matters by expressing her artistic thoughts using Igbo vocabulary. Those phrases are used to convey communication, states of mind, feelings and opinions, expressions of affection, endearments and addressative forms. Patterns of identification regularly relate to the translation of proverbs, idioms, cultural phrases from Igbo into English. The language Adichie uses is a clear indicator of her status mingling within two worlds, not only one. In one of her statement she admits:

> Igbo is a major influence since most of my characters speak it and since I mutter in Igbo when the writing is not going well. Language and style are very important to me; I am a keen admirer of good prose stylists and I can tell, right away, which writers pay attention to style. I care about the rhythm of a sentence. I care about word choice. I much respect poetic prose done well (Tunca: 2008).

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Taken this into consideration, one could argue that her literary approach presents that Igbo language plays a vital role in Adichie's writing process as well as English and in the globalized world both are crucial part of migrant identities formation. Analysis of her narrative strategy in reference to languages gives the opportunity to see the constant need for reconsideration of a fluid and dynamic identity. The novel may act as an example of polyphony and illustration of Adichie's awareness of contemporary global phenomena as well as her open attitude toward deploying linguistic flexibility and creative skills to reflect controversial and shifting social practices and postmodern tendencies in global literature.

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The Paintings in St. George Church in Addis Ababa as a Method of Conveying Information about History and Power in 20th - century Ethiopia[1]

Abstract: In one of the most important churches in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), there is a panel containing several paintings. They are exact copies of photographs showing Emperor Haile Sellasie I during the war against Italy (1935-1941). The paintings were copied from frequently published, and thus well-known, photographs, which served imperial propaganda to show the Emperor's role in fighting for Ethiopia's independence. Using the paintings as source material, it is the aim of this article to discuss specific propagandistic methods applied in Ethiopia under Haile Sellasie to transmit a message about power and history, and to present the intended image of the Emperor to his subjects.

Keywords: Ethiopia, visual representation, St. George Church, Haile Sellasie I, Italo-Ethiopian War

Introduction

In St. George Church, one of the main Addis Ababa churches, there is a panel of paintings presenting scenes from the Italo-Ethiopian war (between 1935 and 1941). The paintings were made as a reminder of the role Haile Sellasie I (the emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974) performed in regaining Ethiopia's independence. The pictures were meant to testify to the Emperor's services to the nation and emphasize his right – frequently undermined by his opponents – to rule the country after independence was regained. They also con-

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stitute a good example of the method of communication and of the message delivered by the Emperor to his subjects.

The aim of this article is to present how Haile Sellasie took advantage of visual material and employed it within a wider spectrum of his propaganda politics. His politics can also be perceived in wider terms as an integral part of the system of legitimization of power. The imperial propaganda used different tools and methods to transfer a message of power, and especially the message based on visual material played an important role within this system. This article uses the panel of paintings from St. George Church to elaborate on this issue.

The content conveyed by the panel and the methods of providing the appropriate message can be analyzed by taking into account several aspects. One is the role played by the relation of tradition and modernity. The terms "traditional" and "modern" as well as the discussion of the process of "modernization" provide space for a complex and multilayered deliberation.[2] It is so in terms of Ethiopia, where, similarly as in a number of non-European states, the idea of "modernization" played a major role in rapid changes occurring at the turn of the 20th century. If we take the examples of Japan under the Meiji dynasty, Ataturk's Turkey or Habib Bourguiba's Tunisia, in spite of the differences in all these countries, we see how strong the shared idea of the necessity to introduce changes was. The changes, aimed mostly at adopting technology and new administra-

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[2] References to modernity and modernisation in literature on Ethiopia's history are numerous. Bahru Zewde discusses the subject from different angles, and his "Pioneers of Change" provide a fundamental contribution (Bahru Zewde 2002). Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis's Ph.D. thesis (2010) and a special issue of *Northeast African Studies* (2013) are among the latest publications devoted to this topic. However, it should be remembered that the discussion on modernity was initiated in Ethiopia decades ago. Gebre Hiywet Beykedegn is remembered as the writer who initiated the discussion almost a hundred years ago, while Mahteme Sillasie Welde Mesqel or Haddis Alemayehu are among those who participated in it during Haile Sellasie's reign (cf. Rubinkowska-Anioł, Wołk-Sore 2014 and 2015).

tive and educational models, were supposed to make it possible for the countries in question to survive and rebuild their power in new circumstances.

In Ethiopia, Tewodros II (1855-1869) and the emperors who followed struggled to centralize the country, strengthen imperial power and bring about the country's unity. To achieve these aims, they searched for different ideas while building an ideology. They called on what could be seen as tradition, but they also employed changes and introduced new approaches to strengthen their position and the image of imperial power. Apart from benefitting from Ethiopian patterns found in the history of the Empire which were applied in the wide concept of legitimization of power (e.g. Yohannis IV, 1972-1989, cf. Orłowska 2006), and constructing a new vision of the country (as in the case of Menelik and the conquests of the neighbouring lands, cf. Donham, James 2002), the emperors were aware of the necessity to adopt Western patterns into different spheres of ruling the country. The process reached its peak during the reign of Haile Sillasie, and can be traced in every sphere of social and political life. The dichotomy of "traditional" (Amh. *tarikawi*) and "modern" (Amh. *zemenawi*) can also be found in the language used at the time to discuss both the contemporary situation in the country as well as its future. However, for the purposes of this article I do not intend to discuss the complex meaning of "modernization" in Ethiopia in the times of Haile Sillasie. I rather propose to understand both terms "modernization" and "modern" as an aim which the Emperor and a group of his subjects[3] wanted to achieve[4]. The Emperor wanted Ethiopia to be "modern", but also used "modern" accessories to stress the value of traditional aspects of Ethiopian culture. He applied modern, i.e. newly introduced forms to stress the power of the country, its people and – quite obviously – the power of his person and Imperial

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[3] The group in literature is referred to as "intellectuals" (e.g. Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis 2010) or "pioneers of change" (Bahru Zewde 2002).

[4] Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis writes about "early intellectuals obsession with 'new' and 'modern'" (Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis 2010: 14).

dignity. In Haile Sellasie's message of legitimization, modernity was strongly intermingled with traditional elements. The result was supposed to provide a vision created out of the perfect combination of "modern" and "traditional". This was a vision of Ethiopia and its culture based on a long and splendid history of its civilization while at the same time as fitting well into the contemporary world. This mixture of modern and traditional elements was the core of the message Haile Sillasie wanted to deliver to his subjects as well as to the outside world. The panel of paintings from St. George Church presents this bricolage and – with all the complex layers of elements which are meant to represent "modern" or "traditional" – forms an example of how Haile Sillasie conveyed information about recent Ethiopian history and about his power. In other words, how this paintings served as a method of conveying the Emperor's message.

Another aspect of the analises includes the question of applying connotation to oral and written forms of the message. The culture of the Ethiopian Empire was deeply submerged in orality with a strong influence of the written word and *vice versa*. This also provides a certain point of view for analyses. The panel consists of paintings, which by their very nature are neither a part of oral nor of written methods of communication. However, the paintings can be perceived in relation to both and they served as a mnemonical tool for delivering a message. The images were accessible to illiterate subjects, and while strengthening the message conveyed to those who could read and write, remain within the quasi-oral form of transferring information. The pictures were, however, supported by information provided in writing attached to each of the paintings. The text provided a precise description of the situation represented in the picture and this joint manner of delivering the message – through the visual representation and through the text – resulted in an even stronger effect. The connection of the panel to the church and ennobling of the message by the presence of religious images makes it play a role not only within the sphere of non-written Ethiopian culture, but also through the church and sacrum the message is related to the area of written culture.

The interweaving of the sacred and the profane in service of power, as in the case of the paintings from St. George Church, creates

another point of observation. The secular scenes involving the Emperor were placed in a religious context. Both the place where the panel was located (on the inner walls of the church) and the inclusion of other paintings presenting hagiographic scenes inscribed the panel into the convention of actions in which supernatural powers played a part.

All these perspectives allow for analyses of a complex set of methods applied to deliver a specific message about the role performed by the Emperor during the war, emphasizing his function as a leader, his patriotism, courage and his aspirations to regain Ethiopian independence.

Having all this in mind and before I move on to the analyses of the pictures from the St. George Church panel, I will describe the background for the desired message provided by Haile Sellasie.

1. The significance of St. George Church

St. George Church (in Amharic *Kiddus Giyorgis*) is also known as the Arada Church (from the name of one of the Ethiopian capital's central districts where the church is located) or *Gennete Tsigie Giyorgis*. The term which best captures the significance of this church is yet another name, *Mennagesha Kiddus Giyorgis*, since the Amharic word 'mennagesha' is used to denote a ruler's residence or place where his or her coronation takes place. As a matter of fact, two Ethiopian rulers were crowned in St. George Church – Empress Zewditu in 1917 and Emperor Haile Sellasie in 1930. Numerous ceremonies connected to the most important events in the Ethiopian Empire were also held there throughout the 20th century, amongst others, the main ceremonies related to the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the coronation of the imperial couple in 1955.

The church is situated in the very centre of Addis Ababa in Piassa (or Arada – as this area was once called). Addis Ababa was founded toward the end of the 19th century, but hundreds of years earlier another church building had already stood in the location which later came to house St. George Church. According to legend, this first church was destroyed during the Muslim invasion of Ethiopia in the 16th century. After several centuries, in 1886 according to the Ethiopian calendar, i.e. 1893 or 1894 A.D., Menelik II ordained the con-

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struction of a new church, which was initially a small building with a thatched roof. The significance of the church during Menelik's II reign is evidenced by the fact that the function of the *gebez*,[5] i.e. the secular church administrator, was performed by one of the most important people in Ethiopia at that time: *Ras*[6] Mekonnin, who was Emperor Menelik's cousin and the father of *Ras* Teferi Mekonnin, the later Emperor Haile Sellassie. The fact that many Ethiopian dignitaries were buried in the church also testifies to its significance. In 1926, *Fitawrari*[7] Habte Giyorgis was laid to rest in St. George Church. Habte Giyorgis was one of the members of the triumvirate (alongside Empress Zewditu and *Ras* Teferi Mekonnyn), which ruled the country between 1916 and 1926 (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1987: 64).

St. George is one of the most popular and revered saints in the Ethiopian Church. Paintings presenting George killing a dragon are frequently found in many church buildings, while his significance can also be observed in different aspects of everyday life, among others the fact that *Kiddus Giyorgis*, i.e. "Saint George", is the name of the most popular beer brand in Ethiopia, produced since Haile Sillasie's reign. The saint also played an important role in Ethiopia's history. It is widely believed that George's intervention helped the Ethiopians in their victory over the Italians in the Battle of Adwa in 1896. The battle is remembered as one of the most important events in the history of Africa as it deterred European plans of colonizing Ethiopia and guaranteed its independence for the next few decades. The saint's intervention followed Emperor Menelik's decision to take the *tabot*[8] from St. George Church so that it would accompany

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[5] The function of *gebez* was entrusted to a member of Ethiopian aristocracy with more or less influence, depending on the significance of the church. The function could be performed by both women and men. The position of the particular aristocrat who was chosen to be the *gebez* of a given church could also raise the importance of the parish.

[6] *Ras* – one of the highest court titles in the Ethiopian Empire.

[7] *Fitawrari* – a military title in the Ethiopian Empire.

[8] *Tabot* – a replica of the tablets containing the Ten Commandments given to Moses, stored in a special chest. This is the holiest item kept in every

the soldiers into battle and ensure their victory. The presence of the *tabot* on the battlefield and the support the Saint provided to the fighting Ethiopians are traditional elements of the stories about the Battle of Adwa and of its numerous iconographic representations.

Following the battle, St. George's merits were duly appreciated and, even though the saint had already enjoyed a lot of popularity among church members, his cult only became stronger after the Ethiopian victory. As a form of expressing gratitude, Emperor Menelik II established an annual holiday to celebrate the Saint and bestowed some land for the construction of a church in Arada which would be dedicated to St. George. Some years after the victorious battle, the construction of a new building was initiated, this time in the European style. It was finally completed in 1916 shortly before Empress Zewditu's coronation.

In 1935 the Italians attacked Ethiopia again, this time conquering the country. During the occupation, the Ethiopians made sure that the *tabot* from the church in Arada did not fall into the enemy's hands. It was moved to the provincial areas and handed into the care of the leader of the underground army in central Ethiopia – *Ras* Abebe Aregay. During the war, the church in Arada was bombarded by the Italians, but the occupants who appreciated the beauty of Ethiopian buildings later partially reconstructed it. After the war, Haile Selassie made sure that St. George Church was returned to its former pre-war splendour. After Ethiopia regained its independence, the original *tabot* was brought back to the Church (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1987: 64). Upon his return to Addis Ababa in 1941, the Emperor's first port of call was St. George Church, a move which stressed the significance of the place.[9]

Ethiopian church. In accordance with the rules of Ethiopian christianity, a church building is only able to perform a sacral role when it contains a consecrated *tabot*.

[9] The Pathé News commentator states the following for the British Chronicle: "His Majesty Haile Sellasie returns in triumph to Addis Ababa. A great ovation is given to him by his subjects who witness the moving spectacle of their emperor attending a thanksgiving service at the Cathedral of St.

During Haile Sellasie's I reign, St. George Church was one of the most important and frequently visited sacral buildings in the capital. As a result, the paintings which decorated its walls were admired by many and the message they meant to convey performed their intended role. Today the church serves both as a place of worship and as a museum. The information conveyed by the pictures on the walls continues to be received, both by Ethiopians and by foreigners.

2. The paintings in St. George Church

In Ethiopian churches, the *tabot* is located in the *meqdes*, "the holiest of holy" places. It is not accessible to anyone but the priests who have received the highest ordination, and Ethiopian emperors. In many Ethiopian churches, the walls separating the *meqdes* from the remaining parts of the church are decorated with paintings. In St. George Church, these consist of works by prominent Ethiopian painters: the best known and esteemed being Afewerk Tekle. The author of the panel in question is Imaelaf Hiruy. During the reign of Haile Sellasie, the new generation of painters was influenced by European styles and in later decades received a formal education (Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis 2012: 65; on early development of secular art cf. Pankhurst 1966). Those active after the Italian occupation, even though frequently alluding to the Ethiopian painting tradition, simultaneously broke with its principles, while their works initiated a new period in the history of the fine arts. Imaelaf Hiruy could be perceived as one of those who paved the way for this generation. Born in 1908 and trained within the traditional framework by his father, a church artist from Gojjam, Imaelaf was already an experienced artist when he painted the St. George panel.

The content of the paintings conveys information concerning selected events from Ethiopian history which served as means of legit-

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George. His first act on returning to the throne of Ethiopia."; "Haile Sellasie enters Addis Abeba" (Pathe 1941) available at:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akChOvfHADs (accessed on 8 August 2014).

imizing imperial power. The immortalized subject matter includes the coronation of Emperor Haile Sellasie I, the Battle of Adwa, as well as a representation of the legendary meeting between Queen Sheba and King Solomon, in other words – the founding myth of the dynasty of Ethiopian rulers[10] (frescoes painted by Afewerk Tekle). However, in this article, primarily the paintings by Imaelaf Hiruy are discussed. They represent events from the period of the war with Italy in 1935-1941 and the involvement of the Emperor. Even though from the artistic point of view these works are a far cry from those by Afewerk Tekle, they provide a contribution to the analysis of the use of the fine arts in the service of conveying information to society on such topics as history and power. These paintings like many other ventures during Haile Sellasie's reign[11] refer both to traditional models and suggest various changes. On the one hand, they break with the accepted Ethiopian painting patterns used in churches; on the other, they also refer back to this tradition. Such exceptional elements which break with tradition include the message they convey and the adopted techniques. The paintings are copies of a few photographs which were on numerous occasions published in Ethiopian books and in the press, presenting the Emperor during critical moments of the war. These photographs became so well known that they began to function as symbols of Ethiopian resistance to the Italian invader, of the struggle for independence and the ultimate victory of the Ethiopians, as well as of the might of the Ethiopian nation and

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[10] An English translation of the Ethiopian legend of Queen of Sheba, King Solomon and their son Menelik I (*Kibre negest*) was done by A. Wallis Budge as "The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek" (1922).

[11] According to the information provided by Wiesława Bolimowska, a journalist who frequently travelled to Ethiopia in the 1970s and 1980s, the discussed panel was not visible in St. George Church during the Derg regime (a military dictatorship under the leadership of Mengistu Haile Mariam), which overthrew the Emperor in 1974 and maintained power until 1991. In all probability, due to the propaganda it served to spread, the anti-imperial Derg ordered the paintings to be covered or destroyed. Today they can once again be admired in St. George Church.

of the Emperor himself.

3. The message concerning history and power in 20th - century Imperial Ethiopia

The possible range of research issues connected to the methods used by Haile Sellasie I for conveying information about his right to hold power, his own might and the strength of his country is enormous. The same is also true of any attempts at analysing the efforts the Emperor made to introduce a particular version of Ethiopian history. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the details of these various issues. However, in order to enable an analysis of the role of the paintings from St. George Church in Addis Ababa, it is essential that a few basic features of the Emperor's policies connected to his methods of conveying information are presented. Primarily, Haile Sellasie valued modern methods which made communication easier and to a large extent he based his reign on various technological solutions which he propagated in Ethiopia. These included, among other things, telephone and telegraphic lines, which connected various sites across the entire country so that the Emperor could convey his orders quickly and directly while also being up-to-date with events occurring in distant provinces. The beginnings of the telecommunication system in Ethiopia were introduced during Menelik's II reign, who – like Haile Sellasie later – acknowledged the need to use modern means to strengthen his power and maintain better control over the country. The first telephone in Ethiopia was installed in 1902 at the seat at that time of the Ethiopian ruler in Addis Alem. However, rapid development of telecommunications only occurred after Ethiopia freed itself from Italian occupation. According to the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, there were 90 telephone numbers in Desie (one of the larger Ethiopian cities) in the 1950s, while there were as many as 236 in 1967 in Harer (yet another important municipality) (Lindahl 2010: 913ff.). In addition, the Emperor's fascination with aviation, the import of airplanes and the construction of airports resulted from a desire for more effective management of the country. Therefore, he acknowledged the need to develop means of moving more easily across difficult Ethiopian terrain and a more efficient transfer of information as paramount to his reign. The new communication capabilities were all the more important as in a large

part of the mountainous Ethiopia traditional forms of travel became practically impossible during the rainy season.

Haile Sellasie was also more than willing to use new methods and technologies for conveying information about power in Ethiopia and about the history of the country. He used print and photographs, propagating an image of the Empire – both of its past and its present – through books and the press. Both words and images were used in various publications, i.e. a certain message was conveyed not only through the text but also through the attached illustrations (drawings and photographs). The Emperor was also aware of the possibilities offered by other media – when he was still performing the function of heir to the throne and participated in governing the country during Empress Zewditu's reign, he noted the propagandist potential of images immortalized on film. Filmmakers from Europe and the USA arrived in Ethiopia as early as at the beginning of the 20th century. Films exist from the period of Zewditu's reign,[12] and it can be assumed that they were made with the approval of the Heir to the Throne at that time, the later Emperor Haile Sellasie I. Without a doubt, Haile Sellasie consciously made use of the message conveyed by the film chronicle Movietone News, which immortalized his coronation in 1930.[13] Haile Sellasie also valued theatre in terms of its propaganda capabilities, and as a result this form of entertainment became popular in Ethiopia during his reign. The first Ethiopian plays were performed during the period when Zewditu's was in power,[14] while with time theatre became increasingly more highly valued

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[12] Among others, a 13-minute-long film in the Albert Kahn Archive in Boulogne/Billancourt in France entitled "Ethiopie: Couronnement de la reine 11 février 1917".

[13] Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJl0i_yvxQM or http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qlzfuiL2WIA (accessed on 25.07.2014)

[14] Tekle Hawariat Tekle Mariam is the author of the first Ethiopian play "The Comedy of Animals", which alluded to La Fontaine's fables. It has never been printed. Written in 1911/12, it was performed in 1921 in the Hotel Majestic for the imperial court. It was later banned due to its criticism of the current social relations (Kane 1975: 7).

by Ethiopian authors and audiences. Simultaneously, Haile Sellasie did not refrain from making use of more traditional methods of conveying information. He kept in mind that the majority of his subjects remained in the sphere of oral tradition; therefore, the spoken word and images were more effective means of communication than the written word. It was precisely for this reason that theatre enjoyed such popularity, which – despite its European form – quickly found a willing audience among the Ethiopians by referring to oral culture. All in all, in post-war Ethiopia, images of Haile Sillasie were published and distributed on a great number on occasion, the Emperor was to be seen in the press, in the beginning pages of books; his image was also presented in churches alongside representations of saints, as in the case of the St. George panel. (Cf. Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis 2013: 63)

The Emperor took advantage of legal and administrative means to control information. Following liberation, a Censorship Board composed of seven members was established. It functioned within the "Newspaper and Information Office" (*Yegazietanna mastaweqiya mesriya biet*), a department under the Ministry of the Pen. In 1960, its name was changed into the Ministry of Information. (Wondwosen Teshome 2009) On a daily basis, Haile Sillasie himself checked if press information (both in terms of its form and content) met his expectations. As Meseret Chekol Reta puts it, "The Ministry of Information was to ensure that films, plays and other types of public entertainment were in conformity with moral standards and did not destabilize the imperial government". (Meseret Chekol Reta 2013: 165) The Ministry of Information was also responsible for providing specific information regarding the Emperor: e.g. information concerning Haile Sillasie's daily activities received priority and the front page was devoted exclusively to news about the Emperor. (Meseret Chekol Reta 2013: 108-109) A significant task of the Ministry included publishing information and propaganda material. The Ministry issued a number of books and booklets which were supposed to provide a specific image both of the country and of its ruler.

For centuries in Ethiopia, painting was one of the traditional methods of conveying information, including art which served those in power. For hundreds of years, the paintings which often decorated

the walls of churches influenced the imagination of the faithful, pre-
senting events described in the Bible, the hagiography of saints, as
well as scenes of a political nature. The pictures – traditionally sup-
plemented by short inscriptions containing information on what the
particular painting illustrated – intertwined written content with a
non-textual image; therefore, they were able to influence the percep-
tion of those who could read and those who had not mastered the
skill. This desire to integrate the written and visual form during Haile
Selassie's times was thus a continuation of practices from earlier
centuries. Despite the huge pressure placed on the need for educating
his subjects, the level of illiteracy in Ethiopia continued to be high.
However, it is equally important to note that even the perception of
those who could read was shaped by a largely oral culture, which
was extremely significant for the reception of the conveyed infor-
mation. On the other hand, the use of the written word in images
which for centuries had been connected with issues of power and
religion raised the significance of the message conveyed by the
paintings and ennobled their content.

Throughout history, the methods of presenting rulers have under-
gone certain modifications, especially since the end of the 19th centu-
ry, but the principle of propagating information concerning a particu-
lar ruler's might through this medium (i.e. painting) – used also in
other parts of the world, including Europe – remained the same.
Those visiting a church, a sacred place, could see what the person
who had commissioned the painting considered to be important in-
formation, worthy of being conveyed and immortalized. This was
also the case with the panel on the walls in St. George Church.

4. The story behind the represented scenes
The panel consists of seven paintings (from the top):
1. Scenes from the life of the equestrian saints Gigar and Aboli
2. Haile Sellasie hoisting a flag in Um Idla
3. St Mercurius killing Ulianos, wherein one of his opponents
    has the head of a dog
4. Haile Sellasie next to a cannon during the Battle of
    Maychew in 1936
5. Haile Sellasie on the battlefield

6. Haile Sellasie giving a speech before the League of Nations in 1936
7. Saint Aregawi

Re. 1 – see re. 3.

Re. 2

The photograph which was the basis for this painting was taken following Haile Sellasie's return from Great Britain, after crossing the border with Sudan to enter Ethiopia. Like various other such photographs, it was often published and copied during Haile Sellasie's reign. One such example would be the publication of this photograph in the magazine "Ethiopian Review" in May 1945 (in the book by Desta Ager Beneberech 1945: unnumbered).

In January 1941, the British with the support of the Ethiopians achieved a considerable success in their battles against Italy. The Italians were attacked on three fronts. On 19th January, British and Indian detachments attacked from the north, from Kassali through Eritrea, and arrived in northern Tigray. The second attack came from the south: the British and South African forces attacked on the 24th of January from the Kenyan side. These detachments moved through Italian Somalia and Harer to arrive in Addis Ababa on 6th April. From the perspective of this article, and from that of Ethiopian propaganda which aimed to emphasize Haile Sellasie's participation in the battles and his significance for Ethiopia's liberation, the third front was the most important. On 20th January, a smaller detachment than the others, consisting of Ethiopian, Sudanese and British forces, led – at least formally – by the Emperor marched into Ethiopia at the border village of Um Idla. From there, they marched south to Addis Ababa (Pankhurst 2014).

However, before this happened, on 18th January Haile Sellasie and his court were transported by plane to Khartoum from Roseire, situated some 60 km from the border with Ethiopia, and from there – also by plane – they arrived in Um Idla, a border village located on the Ethiopian side of the border with Sudan. This place was chosen by General Orde Wingate who was in charge of the front and had come to the conclusion that it offered the smallest chance of direct

contact with the enemy. Two days earlier, Wingate had marched into Um Idla with his detachment, while Haile Sellasie arrived only after it had been confirmed that the Emperor would not be in any danger. As a British participant of the war, Anthony Mockler wrote: "There was not then, nor was there ever to be, any question of Haile Sellasie leading his own troops in person: his person was too valuable to risk. He (…) followed behind where Wingate and others led" (Mockler 2002: 316).

The role Haile Sellasie performed in 1941 consisted in providing a symbolic emphasis for the actions of the British, who aimed to help the Ethiopians in regaining their independence and were not striving to take over the Ethiopian territories from the Italians through military action. The British Pathé film chronicle immortalized Haile Selassie's arrival by plane in Um Idla and him hoisting the Ethiopian flag. The reader states that "the ceremony is of such significance that the crowned prince himself makes a photographic record of it". However, it is difficult to establish whether the photograph which was the model for the paintings in St. George Church is one of those taken by the Emperor's son and heir to the throne, Asfa Wessen. The commentator of this same film chronicle continues, "and now the most dramatic scene of all, the breaking of the red, green and gold flag of Ethiopia by His Majesty, who said 'I am entering Ethiopia with full confidence of assistance from the British government in order to crush our common enemy'" (The British Pathé Chronicle).

In his approach to his subjects, Haile Sellasie attempted to create a version of history in which he himself had commanded the Ethiopian forces, liberated the occupied lands, and in which his role had been much more significant than the one presented above. In Ethiopia, such was the official version of events in 1941, and until the fall of the Empire it was confirmed by numerous publications of the discussed photograph. The paintings in St. George Church in Piassa served the same purpose of conveying such a version of history.

It should be noted that even though the discussed photograph is the most popular, other images of Haile Selassie arriving in Um Idla and hoisting the Ethiopian flag were also used in Ethiopian publications.

Re. 1, 3, 7

The representations of saints – the equestrian saints Gigar and Aboli at the top of the panel, St. Mercurius below and St. Aregawi at the very bottom – is not simply a supplementary element to the rest of the composition as it allows for a more in-depth interpretation of the entire panel.

The painting situated at the top of the panel represents two saints; one (Gigar) is fighting Herod, while the other (Aboli) is murdering a pagan. Both saints are mounted on horses, which – according to the interpretation of traditional Ethiopian paintings – serves to ennoble them, making them worthy of the highest form of respect. St. Gigar is one of the most frequently encountered saints in Ethiopian church paintings. The legend of his deeds was written down in the book "One hundred and ten miracles of our Lady Mary". According to the story, St. Gigar was the first martyr for Jesus cause and died after being sentenced by Herod. In connection with Herod's search for the Holy Family, the traditional representation of St. Gigar is usually situated in the vicinity of the representation of the flight to Egypt (Friedlander 2007: 38). However, this is not the case in the St. George church panel.

According to the Synaxarium, i.e. the Ethiopian compilation of saints arranged in the order of their anniversaries with each appointed one day in the liturgical year, St. Aboli was a Roman martyr who refused to worship idols (Friedlander 2007: 46).

In the case of the third painting, the represented story is connected to one of the saints of the Eastern churches, St. Mercurius of Cappadocia. He was also described in the Synaxarium. In the painting on the panel at St. George Church, St. Mercurius is shown killing the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate, who in Ethiopian tradition bore the name Ulianos (Friedlander 2007: 45f). One of the most significant elements of the painting would be the representation of an enemy with a dog's head. Dogs do not enjoy much respect in Ethiopian culture and calling someone a dog is considered to be the highest form of insult. In this case, an enemy of the faith is represented as a dog. In all probability, this symbol can be interpreted as an offensive representation of the enemies of the Christian Ethiopian Empire. In combination with the paintings alluding to the war against Italy, such

a representation suggests an insult aimed at the Italian invaders.

The representation of these particular saints, i.e. Mercurius, Gigar and Aboli, does not seem to have been a random choice. The stories of these warriors for the faith metaphorically refer to the role performed by Haile Sellasie (both during the war and later). If we take into consideration that metaphors play an enormous role in Ethiopian culture, it becomes clear how obvious the message conveyed by the panel in St. George Church was to an Ethiopian audience.

The representation of St. Aregawi is not relevant to these considerations. Aregawi, one of nine Syrian saints considered in Ethiopia to be propagators of the faith, the legendary founder of the Debre Damo Monastery, is represented according to traditional conventions – with a snake which supposedly aided him in climbing the inaccessible mountain where he founded the monastery (Friedlander 2007: 32). He is one of the saints most frequently represented in traditional paintings in Ethiopian churches. However, the different – less realistic and more traditional – painting style from that of the others in the panel make it possible to perceive this picture as an element which was added later, perhaps painted by a different artist. This is confirmed by the date on the painting (1979 a.m., i.e. 1987/88). This dating is all the more surprising if we take into account that in all probability the panel did not adorn the walls of the church during the *Derg* dictatorship (1974-1991).

Re. 4 and 5

These two paintings show Haile Sellasie on the battlefield during the war of 1935/36. The first presents the Emperor next to a cannon during the Battle of Maychew, while in the other Haile Sellasie is on the battlefield, standing and gazing down at an Italian bomb which has not exploded. The Emperor is accompanied by various dignitaries and by his own son – the Heir to the Throne Asfa Wessen.

The Battle of Maychew took place on 31st May 1936. It is the most frequently mentioned battle of the war in 1935/36, during which Haile Sellasie had intended to tip the scales in Ethiopia's favour and which was supposed to have been a spectacular victory. However, this was in fact where the Ethiopian forces suffered their ultimate defeat. The Emperor arrived at the battlefield in the compa-

ny of his court, the archbishop of the Ethiopian Church and the head of the Ethiopian monks. Approximately 40 thousand Ethiopians participated in the battle, including the best trained detachments – the imperial guards. The Emperor as the commander of the Ethiopian army was supposed to have guaranteed their victory. The battle which was meant to ensure Ethiopia's continued independence instead became the decisive moment leading to the Italian occupation of the country. It has also been remembered as the "Lake Ashangi Massacre" due to the Italians' use of poisonous gas.[15]

The Emperor retreated from the battlefield and went to Addis Ababa, where small isolated Ethiopian troops continued to fight against the Italians. As a result of the defeat, Haile Sellasie (and formally a night session of the Ethiopian parliament) came to the decision that he as ruler of the country should flea Ethiopia for Europe from where he would conduct diplomatic activities and strive for support for Ethiopia. The Emperor's decision was often criticized in Ethiopia and perceived as treason.

Maychew is a symbol of Ethiopian valour, the fight against the Italians under the leadership of the Emperor, but also of defeat and suffering. Haile Sellasie – especially after independence had been regained – wanted the Battle of Maychew to be remembered as evidence of the Emperor's sacrifice and his active participation in the fighting on the battlefield.

The photograph which presents Haile Sellasie next to the cannon at Maychew was published in numerous texts, among others, in a book of praise written in poetic form entitled "Kibre negest" (The Glory of the Kings) published in 1939 according to the Ethiopian calendar (i.e. 1946/47 A.D.) by Welde Giyorgis, while an example of a publication in the press is the issue of the "Ethiopian Review" from

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[15] The Battle of Maychew – as the decisive moment in the Italo-Ethiopian war – is frequently mentioned in the literature on the topic. A. Mockler writes about the battle in *Haile Sellasie's War* (Mockler 2002) while another description can be found in A. del Boca's *Negus: The Life and Death of the Last King of Kings* (del Boca 2012), as well as in numerous other positions.

May 1945, in which a similar though not identical photograph was published.

Another image that was frequently published came in the form of photographs presenting Haile Sellasie standing with his son on the battlefield over an Italian bomb. An example of this is one of the most important Ethiopian publications from Haile Sellasie's period, i.e. his autobiography, published right before the revolution erupted which in 1974 overturned the Emperor (Haile Sellasie 1973/74).

Re. 6

Haile Sellasie gives a speech before the League of Nations.

The speech given by the Emperor in Geneva was an important event, but it did not influence Ethiopia's fate. It was an attempt by Haile Sellasie to draw the world's attention to the events occurring in his country and a diplomatic appeal for support against Italy. The only countries capable of supporting Ethiopia and curbing Italy's actions, i.e. France and Great Britain, came to the conclusion that a good relationship with Italy was more important than showing support for a relatively insignificant African country. However, Haile Sellasie's speech became a symbol for all Africans fighting for their countries, a symbol of the efforts introduced to make the rights of "small countries" matter (at that time the term "small countries" was used to denote all those nations which did not have a voice in deciding the fate of the world, primarily Central European countries). It also documented Haile Sellasie's skills at analysing the global situation and his ability to foresee the results. In Geneva, Haile Sellasie also spoke of the possibility of the extermination of nations (even though he did not use the exact term, which at that time did not yet function with the connotations it later acquired), and also about the threat that fascism posed if there was no reaction from the world powers.[16] Haile Sellasie's speech, even if did not have any direct

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[16] For more information about the international situation behind the scenes in terms of the Italo-Ethiopian war and the various intrigues within the League of Nations in connection to the war in 1938 and 1939, see A. Bartnicki (1971). The text of the speech in Amharic (the language in which the

effect, went down in world history and diplomacy as a symbol of the struggle of a weaker opponent against his oppressor, while the Emperor himself as a dignified and wise politician and diplomat. It is therefore not surprising that the most known photograph from his speech at the League of Nations was used to remind people of the praiseworthy role the monarch played in the struggle for the independence of his country.

This photograph was, among others, included in the authorless book "Tarikinna sira (bachiru)" (History and work, in short), published in Addis Ababa in 1939 a.m. (1946). The photograph of Haile Sellasie giving the speech was also published in the Emperor's autobiography (1936/37 [1973]).

In the next part, I will argue that the multilayered message conveyed by the panel referred to a number of connotations.

5. The message conveyed by the panel in St. George Church

The original photographs themselves provide material for analysis of the symbolism of power and the message referring to the Emperor. Such elements as the clothes worn by Haile Sillasie, the people who accompanied the Emperor, the choice of specific photographs among many different similar presentations, etc., provide grounds for further research. Such consideration, however attractive, remains beyond the scope of this article. The same is true about a discussion of the reason behind taking certain photographs as well as how the scenes were stylized and whether they were at all. Instead, here I intend to limit myself to discussing the method of communicating the message to those who saw the paintings.

In the case of the panel in St. George Church, both tradition and change (which can be defined as indications of Western influences, modernity and the pro-modernizing tendencies of the Emperor) inter-

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Emperor gave the speech) was published in Haile Sellasie's autobiography (Haile Sillasie 1936/37 [1973]: 253-264); the English translation is available in the English version of the Emperor's autobiography (Ullendorff 1976: 299-312); and in the *Selected speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I 1918 to 1967* (1967: 304-316).

twine on a number of interpretational levels. The traditional elements and those which constitute novel modifications were both used as tools for conveying specific content concerning the Emperor's role in defending the country and in regaining the country's independence.

The panel refers to this mixture of tradition and new methods of expression through its form. The technique initially used to immortalize the scenes, which was photography, can be identified as modern. These modern techniques were transposed to a traditional form, which is a panel of paintings in a church. The fact that the pictures were painted on the walls separating the *kiddasie* from the rest of the church open to the public is an element which can be perceived as in accordance with tradition. The written texts under the pictures providing information about their content also constitute a traditional element. The inclusion of images representing various saints (St. Mercurius, St. Gigar, and St. Aboli) emphasizes the panel's embedment within the convention which for centuries had been used in the painting of church walls in Ethiopia.

The style of the paintings breaks with tradition by referring to realistic European art. The Emperor is to be recognized easily, not through imperial attributes and symbolic representation, but just because of the specific features of the person. This fact goes against the Ethiopian painting tradition. (Cp. Weinerth 2014: 58). Another example of the abandonment of tradition came in the form of the painter, Imealef Hiruy, signing his works (traditional painting in Ethiopia was anonymous).[17] The fact that the paintings are faithful copies of photographs can be perceived as an innovative tendency. However, the faithful representation of a scene immortalized in photographs can also be considered as a reference to tradition. Traditional Ethiopian painting was often based on copying specific patterns. This can also be applied to the interpretation of the picture from the panel in St. George Church. Selected photographs, often re-issued both in books and in the press, constitute a fixed model (all the more

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[17] It is interesting to note that not all the pictures in the panel were signed by the artist. The painting presenting Haile Sellasie giving his speech before the League of Nations lacks a signature.

consolidated as they were often copied through multiple publications of a given book). Thus, the copying of such fixed models as paintings on church walls can definitely be perceived as a continuation of the tradition of Ethiopian art.

From the perspective of the subject matter of the paintings, this can also be interpreted as an aspect which simultaneously refers to tradition and to change. The scenes from Ethiopian history and the focus on presenting the ruler refer to tradition, but the fact that a large part of the panel was dedicated to this topic – and not to a more religious theme – constitutes a break with tradition.

This reference to both tradition and innovations, elevating secular topic to the sphere of sacredness and making the message easily understood through the mnemonics of Ethiopian culture were exactly what constituted the method used to convey the message - the desired vision of the Emperor Haile Sellasie I.

6. Conclusions

The panel in St. George Church constitutes a valuable source concerning the way in which a certain message about power in Ethiopia was conveyed. An analysis of this material provides information about many aspects of how the Emperor communicated with his subjects and how he formulated his propaganda.

As stated in the beginning of this article, the basic idea behind the panel and the message transferred through this medium includes a number of manners and levels of providing information to a viewer. Both the form and the content are employed to deliver a certain message. The method included presenting well visible and easy to read information, elevating the recent Ethiopian history and deeds of the Emperor to the level of sacredness as well as increasing the attractiveness of the subject by presenting the content in a modern form, however making it familiar to the viewer by putting it in a well-known setting. The panel of paintings evoked traditional Ethiopian art and by pointing at tradition inscribed the panel in the sphere of grand history. These traditional aspects were complemented by modern elements. The way in which the figures were presented and the use of photography as the basis for the paintings reflected this vision of modernity.

The symbolism and mnemonics of the panel stressed the sacredness of the story presented in the paintings. The location on the wall of the *meqdes* situated the story told within the framework of the life of the saints traditionally presented in the sacred church setting.

Such a complex message fulfilled the role it was entrusted during Haile Sellasie's reign. It continues to perform this role today as St. George Church remains one of the most frequently visited places in Addis Ababa, not only by Ethiopians, but also by foreign tourists. The Ethiopian priest who provides a tour of the church talks about the Emperor's deeds performed for Ethiopia and his struggle for the country's independence. As a result, the panel continues to perform the role for which it was initially created.

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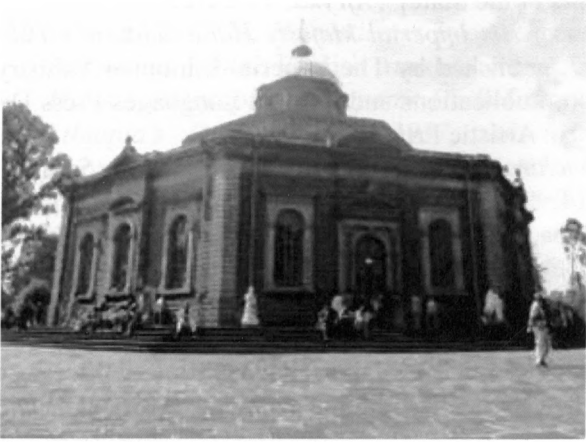
St. George Church in Addis Ababa

A panel from St. George Church

Haile Sellasie speaking at the League of Nations in 1936.
Photography published in: "Tarikinna sira" (1946: 27).

Painting from St. George Church panel copied from the photography
of Haile Sillasie speaking at the League of Nations in 1936.

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The history of railway in Ethiopia and its role in the economic and social development of this country

Abstract: The paper presents the history of the Ethiopian railway from its beginnings up to now. Its main aims are to inform the reader about the role that Franco-Ethiopian railway played in the economic and social development of that African country. The Ethiopian railway also played a significant role in the political relations between the Empire and the Western powers. In this article the rolling stock of the Ethiopian railway is described thoroughly, which is   often overlooked in other publications. The fate of the Ethiopian railway is examined against a background of the crucial historical events in Ethiopia so that the reader could understand not only the factors that contributed to its length and equipment but also its function in the Ethiopian economy and in changing the social relations among the Ethiopian nations.

Keywords: Ethiopian railway, rolling stock of the CFE company, new railway projects in Ethiopia, colonial rivalry in Ethiopia

Introduction

The Ethiopian railway was built by the French to facilitate the transport of merchandise which previously had to be carried on the backs of animals. Taking into account the natural topography of this country and the lack of proper roads it was extremely difficult to transport goods from central Ethiopia to the ports of the Red Sea, and merchants spent months travelling from Addis Ababa to Massawa, Zeila or Berbera, which put a crimp on the export of goods from

Ethiopia. Not only did the Ethiopian railway contribute to bring the country out of its centuries-old isolation from the rest of the world but it also played an important role in changing the social relations between the Ethiopian nations. Even though the railway line had limited transport possibilities because of the gauge (950 mm) and enormous differences in level, it became the most important thoroughfare of Ethiopia for many decades.

The reasons of building a railway in Ethiopia

When it comes to the reasons of constructing the railway line in Ethiopia, they were numerous but the most crucial one was to make the country less dependent on the Muslim world which encompassed the Ethiopian empire. The Ethiopians have always been at the mercy of the Muslims from the Sudan and the Ottoman Empire as to their international commerce due to the location of their country. As mentioned before, the Ethiopian emperors wanted to boost the economic development of their country by shortening the time needed to carry the merchandise through the mountains and the Great Rift Valley as it took even more than two months for the merchants to transport the flagship goods of Ethiopia from Ankober to the Red Sea ports. What aggravated the transport of merchandise in Ethiopia was the fact that the roads could be washed away by the rivers that burst their banks during the summer rains and that the merchandise had to be shifted from mules to camels and vice versa due to the much harsher climatic conditions in the mountains (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987: 390).

Another reason for building a railway line in Ethiopia was the increased international trade with the province of Shoa in the 19th century. Having become autonomous since the time of Prince Abiyye who won the battle with the royal troops from Gondar in the middle of the 18th century, this province was attractive for the European and Muslim traders because of the uniform customs charges and sensible regulations issued by its princes who were fully aware of the inconveniences of mule transport and its costs that greatly hindered the trade in various commodities such as coffee, ivory, wax or hides

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and skins. The Ethiopian emperor Menelik who came from Shoa knew that the international trade could not be developed without the use of the blessings of European civilisation in his country and thanks to the railway the competitiveness of Ethiopian merchandise could be seriously increased while the civilizational differences between Ethiopia and the European countries could be limited at least to some extent (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987: 325).

Evidently, the political situation of Ethiopia in the second half of the 19th century put a severe impact on the construction of railway line in this country. Of all the historical events in Ethiopia in that time, the most important were the military expedition of Lord Napier in 1868, the war with Egypt under the reign of Emperor Yohannes IV, the Italo-Ethiopian conflict (1894-1896), the rivalry of the colonial powers in Ethiopia as well as the internal antagonism between the northern and southern parts of Ethiopia. When Lord Napier landed in Ethiopia in 1868 to free the British hostages in the fortress of Maqdala, he built a short strategic railway line so as to ease the transport of troops and weapons inland, which was dismantled on his return to England. Because of that, Emperor Menelik feared that if he allowed Alfted Ilg, his Swiss advisor and the French company to build such a railway, it could be used by the Muslims or the European powers to conquer his country. As for Emperor Yohannes IV, Menelik's predecessor, he forbade the Shoan authorities to construct any railway as it could put the entire country in dire straits given the ambitions of both the Egyptian khedive and the Italians to colonise Ethiopia.

In regard to other factors which put a crimp on the construction of railway in Ethiopia was the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1894-1896 which resulted from the territorial aggrandisement of northern parts of Ethiopia by the Italians who had set up their colony of Eritrea in 1885 and attempted to extend it to the entire Abyssinia trying to win by any means. Although the concession to build the railway in Ethiopia was awarded to the French by Menelik in 1894, the project could not be moved forward and because of the conflict with the Italians the construction work was commenced almost three years later while the first shunting steam locomotives were brought to

Ethiopia no sooner than in 1898. Even though the Ethiopians won a tremendous victory over the Italians, the French capitalists were unwilling to invest in Ethiopia despite strong arguments of the railway's promoters, that is Alfred Ilg and Leon Chefneux.

What contributed to the further delay of constructing the railway line in Ethiopia was the bitter rivalry of the European colonial powers in that country with a predominance of England, France and Italy. The British wanted to link to their empire the western parts of Ethiopia where the springs of the Nile are featured. As for the Italians, they failed to consent themselves with their colonies in Eritrea and Somalia and they were eager to extend their territories at the expense of Ethiopia. But for the sagaciousness of Emperor Menelik who applied the policy of counterbalances towards the predatory actions of these countries, Ethiopia would have become a British or Italian colony. Only France was a very welcome ally for Ethiopia as it was not inclined to join the areas in the vicinity of their protectorate apart from the territories near the Gulf of Tadjourah which were not important for the emperor. Menelik skilfully created a counterbalance for the diplomatic actions of Italy which cheated him as to the interpretation of the 1889 Ucciali treaty and he granted the concession to the French (Marcus 1994: 107ff).

The influence of the Ethiopian railway on the external and internal political situation of the Ethiopian empire

The construction of the railway proceeded slowly also because of the centuries-old antagonism between the northern and southern provinces of Ethiopia. Due to the even limited access to the sea, the northern provinces developed rapidly while the southern ones were left behind to some extent. The Ethiopian governors from the south were envious of the increasing affluence of the north and they wanted to control these territories or even to corrupt their development in some way. Not surprisingly, Emperor Menelik failed to push the Italian troops out of Ethiopia after he had won the battle of Adwa but he allowed the lands of Eritrea to be recolonised by the Italians in order to suppress the rapid development of northern Ethiopia lest his enemies depose him. Even the Ethiopian noblemen

from the south aimed to use the railway for themselves and interrupt its connection with Djibouti.

As for the imperial concession of March 9, 1894, it consisted of fifteen articles. It should be pointed out that even though it was awarded by Menelik to the Ethiopian company, the contribution of the Ethiopians was fictive in that enterprise. The first article stated that Alfred Ilg, Menelik's adviser, was to establish the Compagne Imperiale des Chemins de Fers Ethiopiens in order to build and operate the line from Djibouti to the White Nile via Harar and Entoto. The third article laid down that the concession for the entire line would expire after 99 years from the time of its completion and specified that no other company would construct competing lines neither from the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean coast into Ethiopia nor from Ethiopia to the White Nile. Worth mentioning is the fact that the French tried to protect their interests in Ethiopia so adamantly that they wrote in the French version of the concession that no other railway would be permitted to compete with the Franco-Ethiopian railway while the Amharic one stipulated that no other railway would be permitted near the mentioned railway. Anyway, the Ethiopian emperor failed to take the necessary measures for that divergence even though it resembled the Ucciali treaty. According to the fourth article, the concession was to be invalidated if the construction work on the first section wouldn't commence within two years but the tracks started to be laid with an over two year's delay (Pankhurst 2015).

Other articles stated that the company had to build and operate a telegraph line at its own expense. Each state message was to be sent free of charge. It was forbidden for the company to carry the troops and warfare without the emperor's consent and the soldiers and the military devices were to be transported for free in war time whereas in peace, at prices mutually agreed by the emperor and the company. In regard to the charges for the transport of merchandise by train, they had to be lower than the existing cost of transport by other means. The custom charges levied by the imperial government at Harar had to be 5% in proportion to the goods' value and they should not exceed million francs. The company was also entitled to levy a

10% tax to secure its invested capital if the line was not extended to the White Nile. The customs charge was to be reduced to 5% should the company's profits exceed 2.5 million francs or totally withdrawn if its revenues were bigger than 3 million francs. If the profits were to exceed that amount, they should be divided equally between the company and the Ethiopian authorities. As for the final article, it stipulated that the company would pay 100,000 Maria Theresa dollars to the emperor in return for that concession and the railway property could be purchased by the Ethiopian government at the end of the concession (Pankhurst 2015).

Although Emperor Menelik's concession was awarded to the French, they had to fight for the railway with the British so as not to be supplanted from their enterprise. As England and France aimed to grasp and control the sources of the Nile in order to have an impact on the politics of the Sudan and Egypt, these countries looked forward to having a concession awarded by the Ethiopian emperor from Djibouti and Zeila to the Sudan and Uganda. The British wanted to urge Menelik to be allowed to construct a railway by them so they brought out the high costs of the line's construction and exploitation by the French who had to increase the charges because of the low popularity of the railway. They told the Ethiopian emperor that the merchants were inclined to carry their goods on animals as in the past, which was more profitable than the railway given the durability of the most popular merchandise in almost all weather conditions. The Englishmen offered to enable the transport of goods from the province of Kaffa through the Sudan after its pacification. They also alarmed Emperor Menelik that his concession was sold to other French company.

As for the French company, it started to be financially inefficient from the beginning. The costs of the railway's construction were much bigger than expected. Even though the company issued 36,000 shares each worth 500 francs as well as 56,700 debentures each valued at 500 francs, not many people became interested in them. In order to avoid bankruptcy, the French company had to accept the foreign capital from England. It was on the verge of being taken over by the British New Africa Company but because of the conflicts as to

the line's abandonment and making a new one from Zeila or Berbera the Franco-Ethiopian line remained in its place. It was finally negotiated that a junction would be built in Harar where the British railway from the Red Sea coast would meet the French one. Simultaneously, the French shares and debentures started to be increasingly bought out by such British companies as the New Africa Company, the New Egyptian Company and the Oceania Consolidated Company. What is more, the British gave a loan to the Franco-Ethiopian railway company amounting to 3 million francs and they created the International Ethiopian Railway Trust and Construction Company (Trust) which affiliated the British and French shareholders. The British acquired the right to construct the remaining sections of the railway but they lacked funds which would allow them to overtake the railway entirely. As the French feared that the British might take possession of their railway as they already did when it comes to the Suez Canal, they resolved to sign the 1902 Bonhoure-Chefneux convention which would keep their enterprise away from the British hands.

The Bonhoure-Chefneux convention was signed by the Governor of the French Somali Protectorate, Bonhoure and the Ethiopian Consul General for Europe, Chefneux on February 6, 1902. Although this agreement regulated the terms of the further construction work and the train traffic towards Addis Ababa, the French failed to inform Empeor Menelik or any of his officials as to the negotiations. The convention consisted of 18 articles. The most important ones concerned the annual subsidy for the CFE, the use of the territories on which the French were to lay the track and build railway stations, the customs charge the Ethiopian railway company agreed to pay for the French Somali Protectorate, regulations as to the loans the company could be given and the fates of the railway after the expiry of the 1894 concession. When it comes to the annual subvention for the line's operation, it was granted by the French Somali Protectorate for 50 years in the amount of five hundred thousand francs on condition that the company would be controlled by the French authorities and its status will be changed in accordance with the French law, which meant that all the company members were to be

Frenchmen and their director had to be approved by the Ministers for the Colonies and Foreign Affairs. In addition, the company's headquarters had to be located in Paris and under no circumstances should they be moved into other cities. What is more, it was solely the Minister for the Colonies who could empower the company to increase its capital, accept loans or even invest the money in other projects (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987: 294).

As stated in article 4, the Franco-Ethiopian company was entitled to occupy the territories on which the railway line was to be constructed as well as other buildings free of charge until the end of the concession. Other article stipulated that the trains would reach Addis Ababa before December 31, 1902, which was impossible. It was also concluded that the French Protectorate would protect the trains on its own territory while the French legation in Addis Ababa would watch over the safety of the passengers and the merchandise and it was a flagrant violation of Ethiopian sovereignty. The tenth article ruled that the CFE was not allowed to accept mortgage loans from the British for the construction of any stretch of the railway line. The following article stated that the Franco-Ethiopian company had to pay the French Protectorate the annual customs charge depending on the revenues obtained by it. For every 5-8 thousand francs the charge levied was 10% while for 8-12 thousand francs it amounted to 20%. Were the company to exceed the amount of 12 thousands francs, it was obliged to pay as much as 30% of the income. The law came into force on July 1, 1902. In regard to the rolling stock, tracks, stations and other properties of the CFE, they were to belong to the French government and not to the Ethiopians at the end of the concession (Pankhurst 2015).

The increasing financial problems of the Franco-Ethiopian railway company and its imminent bankruptcy

Even though the 1902 Bonhoure-Chefneux convention protected the French interests in Ethiopia as for the railway line, it could not save the Franco-Ethiopian company from indebtedness and the ultimate insolvency. There were many factors which contributed to

the company's bankruptcy. Because of the undue customs charges amounting to 15% of the transported goods' value, the Franco-Ethiopian line enjoyed little popularity among the traders who continued to carry their merchandise on animals due to the lack of feeder roads to the line. As for the tracks, they were laid sloppily by the French workers, which resulted in frequent derailments without the possibility to use a railway crane. The derailed cars were set on the tracks with the use of simple machinery or simply jettisoned en route. Although the CFE was constantly being equipped with new carriages of different types from Europe, the lack of rolling stock was troublesome for the railway company. Another problem which was burdensome both for the company and its workers were the attacks of the Afar and Issa people from the Danakil region on the trains. They disconnected the tracks and used the fishplates and bolts that link two rails together to make ornaments. As the speed of the trains made it possible for the tribes to enter the train, they often killed the passengers and stole their luggage or other merchandise carried on the train (trains in Ethiopia usually consisted of both passenger and freight carriages). Not surprisingly, the railway company did not want to take responsibility over the damaged merchandise and in order to avoid insolvency it carried the goods free of charge on dangerous sections of the line.

Had it not been for the ubiquitous corruption, the Franco-Ethiopian railway could have avoided its bankruptcy. The railway statistics were forged and the money was swindled from the French government. The Ethiopian emperor was alarmed by the British that the actual cost of laying track towards Dewele on the Ethiopian frontier was 30,000 francs per kilometre while the French spent as much as 65,000 francs per kilometre. The railway property was often damaged by the French dignitaries who blamed the Afar and Issa people living in the Danakil region for the losses and they grabbed the money allocated to pay compensations to those tribes for having blasted the line over their burial places.

What prejudged the limited tonnage of the trains in Ethiopia was the narrow gauge of the track as well as an extremely difficult profile of the line with gradients up to 2,5%. The trains negotiated enormous

level differences. Starting at Djibouti the line increases to 1200 m above sea level (a.s.l.) at Dire Dawa and then goes down several hundred metres to the Great Rift Valley to climb again to the altitude of 2400 m a.s.l. at Addis Ababa. The number of carriages had to be limited to fifteen units which were often hauled by two locomotives. It took as much as 14 hours for the trains to reach their termini and the length of the stretch between Djibouti and Dire Dawa was 310 kilometres. It should not be overlooked that the limited capacity of the route allowed only two trains a day. As for the passengers, only a small number of the Ethiopians could afford the tickets at the turn of the 20th century. The trains carried mainly foreigners while the richest dignitaries paid little for the fares or travelled for free[1].

The 1902 Bonhoure-Chefneux convention was agreed behind Menelik's back. In the consequence, the Ethiopian emperor decided to withdraw a considerable number of the company's privileges. The French could no longer use the stones to construct their military buildings. They also lost the right to levy 10% of the customs charge not to mention the right to extend the railway line further to Addis Ababa. The customs officials from Harar were ordered not to shift the merchandise on the railway, which forced the company to increase the charges for the transport of goods. From that time the traders had little reason to use the railway and they profited more from the traditional animal transport. What is more, the Ethiopian emperor awarded the new concession to the British who were to construct a new line from Berbera to Harar and link it with their railway network in the Sudan and Uganda. Even though the British failed to construct the above-mentioned line, they showed the world how to bargain with France.

When the three colonial powers (England, France and Italy) decided to sign the 1907 Treaty of London in order to secure their interests in Abyssinia and divide Ethiopia into their spheres of influence, this action really added fuel to the fire when it comes to the French relations with the Ethiopian emperor who withdrew the last remaining privileges of the company. So the French allowed the

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[1] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [accessed 10 January 2015]

British to buy out their shares and debentures. However, the French Ministry of Finances ceased to subsidise the Franco-Ethiopian company because of the too high share of the British capital. Fearing the imminent bankruptcy, Chefneux passed the governmental subvention on to the two insurance companies, that is La Générale Vie and La Nationale Vie, which was to bring him 25 million francs within 50 years. As this period was too long, the Ethiopian Consul General for Europe, that is L. Chefneux, had to pay 3 million francs of the loan awarded to the company by the British as well as to liquidate the Trust. Eventually, the CFE company was closed down despite the loan offered to the French government from the Banque de l'Indochine.

France wins Menelik's favour again for the completion of the railway to Addis Ababa

As the colonial powers expected, the Ethiopian emperor's health started to fail and it was Britain who yearned for his country to be joined to its colonies. Even though Menelik did not want to make another deal with France who had earned his displeasure, he had to do it again because he knew about the rapacious plans of Britain as to his country. Thanks to Dr. Vitalien, Menelik's personal physician, the French authorities agreed to set up the new railway company – the Compagne de Chemins de Fer Franco-Ethiopien de Djibouti à Addis Ababa. Having been persuaded to sell the new concession to the Banque de l'Indochine and disappear, Vitalien showed loyalty to the emperor who gave him much more money than the bank had offered him. The 1909 concession consisted of a preamble and 18 articles and it was adjusted to the Ethiopian law (Pankhurst 2015).

The first article stated that the Ethiopian government should be the new company's shareholder so that the French could not use that concession as a means of putting pressure on the Ethiopian politics. The new company was to pay the emperor 2.3 million francs with a 5% interest for the old concession. The emperor obliged to provide the capital in cash or human work. According to another article, the construction work on the line towards Addis Ababa should commence no later than a year after the signing of the concession.

The fifth article ruled that the emperor would provide the company with the land for the construction of the tracks, stations and depots as well as a strip of land from the frontier to the capital city of Ethiopia. As for the subsoil, it was to remain in the hands of the Ethiopian government, though the French company was free to use water, wood, limestone, sand and ballast for the further construction of the railway. In regard to the company's capital, it could not be increased without the consent of the Ethiopian emperor who had the right to control its capital routinely. The company could turn to the French government for financial aid only when it was solvent. It was entitled to charge the duty of 6% of the value of the goods transported by trains of which 2% were to be paid to the royal treasury for the construction of feeder roads and other ventures for the benefit of Ethiopia. As stated in the eleventh article, the Ethiopian emperor had to be informed about the president of the Franco-Ethiopian company in France and his representative in Ethiopia who could be recalled if found incompetent by the Ethiopian government without the prior notification of the French authorities. The following article stipulated that in return for the concession the Ethiopian government claimed the charges amounting to 15%, 20% and 25% of the income per kilometre should it exceed 6, 8 and 12 thousands francs respectively. At war time the entire railway infrastructure had to be given back to the Ethiopian emperor who had to pay fixed charges for the transport of troops and weapons. With the consent of the railway company, the military trains could be stopped anywhere on the route in order to load or unload the soldiers and military devices (Pankhurst 2015).

It was already said that the Franco-Ethiopian railway boosted the country's economy and changed the relations between the nations of Ethiopia. Thanks to the construction of railway the French town of Djibouti developed rapidly. From the start of the construction work towards Dire Dawa, the town was famous for the new buildings, enterprises, lime kilns, coal warehouses and even an ice factory. The port was equipped with four lighthouses, a breakwater and a reservoir of fresh water. The main road was made of crushed coral, which was a mark of the town's richness. As for the railway station, it was opened in 1900 and it consisted of two pavilions that framed the

central building. The apartments of the railway company's director and the station master were found on the ground floor. What is more, the railway station housed a hospital for railwaymen and their families, a supply store as well as a culture club. Outside the station there were many other buildings that is offices, a storage shed, two repair workshops, a locomotive depot with a turntable and two large houses for the personnel as well as lodgings for the temporary staff. The flats for the railway workers were supplied with bathtubs and showers, though these amenities were not intended for the Africans. In regard to piped water in the town, it came from the wells localised five miles from the town. Given the town's rapid development, a suburban railway was planned to be built there but this enterprise has never come into being in Djibouti.

As for Dire Dawa, this town constructed by the French also benefited from the railway. Having been originally named Addis Harar, the town had to be given another name as it was constantly being confused with Addis Ababa by the European dignitaries. This town was placed 310 kilometres south-west of Djibouti on the territory of Ethiopia. Opened in 1902, the station has been one of the railway's main supply base until today. The station of Dire Dawa housed general workshops such as forging, casting, metalwork and carpentry, repair workshops for passenger and freight carriages, a learning centre for the equipment and traction service including a training centre for the company's technical personnel. In the vicinity of the station there was a hospital for all the company's officials and their families. After the completion of the line from Harar, this station was to be upgraded to a junction but so far only a feeder road has been built from Harar to the station of Dire Dawa. With the completion of the line from Djibouti, Dire Dawa became the most progressively developing town in Ethiopia which was also a hub converging most of the Ethiopian merchandise. In the early 1900s almost ten thousands inhabitants lived there. Although the population was multinational and consisted of the Shoans, Somalis, Danakils and Oromos, everyone lived in perfect harmony and no racial segregation took place there.

Rapid development of the Ethiopian railway from its completion until the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian war

Not until 1917 did the Franco-Ethiopian railway reach the capital city of Ethiopia. Even though the first station buildings were made of wood, they were demolished once the new station building designed by P. Barrais was opened there in 1929. The station building featured the offices of general administration of the railway, an accountant's office, a school for the railwaymen, a hospital for the railway workers and their families as well as a railwayman's club. Within the station, there were workshops for routine maintenance of locomotives and other rolling stock, a 80-ton weighbridge and the railway's terminal facilities and private service facilities were in not short supply there. Worth mentioning is the fact that the station of Addis Ababa has been the pride for the Ethiopians for many years[2].

Because of the line's difficult profile, trains were hauled by steam locomotives in double traction. The trains were composed of both passenger and freight carriages, though the passenger ones were almost exclusively found at the end of the train. A typical train in Ethiopia consisted of a guard's van, a few goods carriages of different types with a predominance of open trucks, a third class carriage, mixed first and second class ones as well as a first class longues used by domestic and foreign diplomats. As for the social relations of the Ethiopian and foreign labourers who helped in the construction of the railway, they changed diametrically. Not only Armenian and Indian immigrants but also the local Danakil, Somali or Oromo people were employed in the construction work. Even though the tasks of the uneducated people were menial in character, the local people willingly carried heavy rails, sleepers and other materials necessary for the construction of the Ethiopian railway. The Ethiopian militia managed by C. Beauvais strived to protect the trains and the infrastructure from the attack of the Issa people as well

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[2] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [accessed 10 January 2015]

as the *shifta*[3]. As for the racial segregation which was so commonplace in Djibouti, it was not tolerated in Ethiopia and the Europeans shared their compartments with the Africans. No African was even forced to leave the train for smoking in the presence of women (Pankhurst 2015).

In Ethiopia, the railway served mainly to transport freight. The trains carried coffee, ivory, hides and skins, imported coal, minerals, live camels for the Saudi Arabian and Yemeni markets and many other goods. It is not surprising that just before the outbreak of the 1935-1941 war with Italy, 86% of all the carriages owned by the Franco-Ethiopian company were freight ones.

When it comes to the rolling stock of the Franco-Ethiopian railway since its opening and until the Italian annexation of Ethiopia, it came mainly from Switzerland and France, though there were also a few second-hand locomotives from the Yunnan railway in Vietnam. The first two steam shunters were brought to Ethiopia in 1898. They were of the Pinguely type and were named Djibouti and Harar. They had the axle formula of 0-3-0 and weighted 19 tons. As for heavier locomotives, they were imported to Ethiopia a couple of years later from the factories of SLM Winthertur, Switzerland and SACM Graffenstaten and Belfort, France. The Swiss locomotives had the wheel arrangement of 1-3-0 while their counterparts from SACM had the axle formula of 1-4-0. However, the French locomotives had too many defects so they were not popular among the drivers. Most of these engines were fuel-fired and each of them had a name connected with Ethiopian geography and culture, for example, Lion, Rhino, Elephant, Ankober, Shoa, Gojjam, etc. Other locomotives brought to Ethiopia were manufactured by Henschel, Germany and labelled as class HK numbers 11-30. They were rarely used in Ethiopia because of their excessive coal-consumption and too much power as for the Ethiopian standards. Another nine second-hand Pinguely locomotives were sold to Ethiopia from the Beaujolais

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[3] *Shifta* – an Ethiopian term referring to groups of bandits or outlaws. See: Bustorf D., 2010, "Šǝfta", in: S. Uhlig, 2003-2014, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, p. 594.

Railway (France) but they never reached the country of their destination as the ship which carried them to Ethiopia had been torpedoed by the Italian submarine in 1935[4].

As for the carriages, the CFE was supplied with French passenger and freight carriages, whereas some of the freight ones were also made in Germany. The roster contained of Buire lounges from 1913, first and second class carriages from Decauville (1900, 1925), Buire Lyon (1912) as well as third class carriages made by Carel et Fouche. The freight cars came from the factories of Decauville, Nicaise, ACNF, Delcuve and Nenhausen and they were of different types such as open trucks, flat cars, flat bed covered cars with tarps for the transport of live camels and other inventory. Curiously, the fleet of the Ethiopian rolling stock was practically devoid of modern tankers until 1947. On the eve of the Italian invasion the Franco-Ethiopian railway company had in stock 54 steam locomotives, 46 lounges, 10 first and second class cars, 26 third class cars, two service cars, and as much as 445 goods wagons of different types. According to the official French data, the revenues from the trade in Ethiopia exceeded 47 million francs in 1914[5].

The fate of the Ethiopian railway during the Italian occupation of the country

In revenge for the lost battle of Adwa in 1896, the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and occupied that country for six years. Taking advantage of the lack of modern warfare in Ethiopia and the unreadiness of the Ethiopian troops who had little idea of conducting military operations in the European way (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987: 373ff; 378), they pushed forward to the capital city of Ethiopia fighting the encountered resistance by hook or by crook. When they seized Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and his entourage had already left the country in order to fight for its independence abroad. The Ethiopians never resigned themselves to the lost fatherland and once their troops were disarmed by the

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[4] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [Accessed 10 January 2015]
[5] Ibid.

Italians, they continued their guerrilla warfare until the country's liberation by the Allied Forces in 1941.

One of the main reasons of colonising Ethiopia by the Italians was the exploitation of its mineral resources and the creation of convenient living conditions for the Italian immigrants. Nevertheless, the extraction of raw materials and their transport to the coast required good quality roads which were scarce in Ethiopia. The construction of new roads and railways was dependent on the amount of financial resources allocated for that purpose by the Fascist government and this amount was constantly reduced at the expense of the military operations in Ethiopia. So the Italians only managed to export salt from that country on a large scale, though it was hardly profitable given the deplorable state of roads in Ethiopia at that time. Having been at the mercy of the only one line in Ethiopia, the Italians used it to transport their troops and weapons but their actions were continually disturbed as the Ethiopians often interrupted the line to prevent their enemies from their uninhibited movement across the country. During the occupation of Ethiopia the Italians wanted to construct the following lines: Addis Ababa–Desse–Addigrat–Massawa, Desse–Assab, Desse–Gondar–Om Ager and Addis Ababa–Dollo–Mogadishu, but none of these lines was ever built (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987: 389ff).

In order to upgrade the fleet of the Ethiopian railway so that their output could be increased, the Italians brought to Ethiopia twelve heavy steam locomotives which could haul not only the military convoys but also other freight trains. Six R302Gr class steam locomotives with tenders came to Ethiopia in 1937 which was followed by another batch of cumbersome engines of the Garrat type with the axle formula of 1-4-1 1-4-1. In regard to the R302Gr locomotives, their tenders had the capacity of $18m^3$ and they were used as regular goods wagons carrying water along the line after the cessation of hostilities in 1941. In 1939 one of the R302Gr locomotives was moved to Eritrea. As for the Garrat engines brought to Ethiopia between 1937 and 1940, they were rarely exploited on the line because of its too heavy weight (87 tons) and too big axle load exerted on the rails. Interestingly, the Italians introduced the

diesel traction in Ethiopia by importing three railcars nicknamed "Littorina" from their country. These motor cars had 27 seats and they were used in Ethiopia as fast trains on the section Dire Dawa– Addis Ababa. However, these diesel motor units (DMUs) had problems with overheating and no sooner than in 1948 were they equipped with the new cooling racks. In addition, a number of the new freight cars were also brought to Ethiopia during the war. There were covered cars with a maximum permissible laden weight of 25 tons as well as many self-unloading cars from ACNF, Nicaise Delcuve and Baume Marpent. It should be not overlooked that the retreating Italians blew up the largest railway bridge in Ethiopia over the Awash river with the total length of 151 metres. This bridge was then temporarily rebuilt by the South African sappers but it was officially re-opened in 1946[6].

Modernization of the Ethiopian railway after the end of the Second World War until the Derg takeover

After the end of the Second World War, the mainstay of the Ethiopian rolling stock was obsolete. The Italian heavy steam locomotives were decommissioned and scrapped, moreover the additional supply of ten fuel-fired Mikado steam locomotives from the US failed to match the increasing railway traffic. Worth mentioning is the fact that the Americans brought these locomotives to Ethiopia in return for the emperor's consent stipulating that they could freely use the Ethiopian military bases and store stockpiles of vehicles and weapons there. In response to the growing needs of the railway's clients, the CFE administration commissioned 12 diesel locomotives in Switzerland which would haul heavy passenger and freight trains. These SLM Winthertur locomotives had to be adjusted to high temperatures on the territory of Djibouti as well as to the constantly changing weather conditions in central Ethiopia. The order of these six-axle locomotives with the possibility of connecting their backs so as to have two-section locomotives was fulfilled at the turn of the year 1951. These locomotives numbered from 1M to 12M

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[6] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [Accessed 10 January 2015]

had their maximum speed of 90 km/h and offered 651 kW. They were tested on the mountainous sections of the Rhaetian Railways in Switzerland prior to being delivered to Ethiopia. This order was followed by the delivery of the Coferna and Billiards shunters to replace the old Pinguely steam locomotives. These vehicles were manufactured in France in 1955 and were marked by one forged axle which did not touch the head of the rail. These locomotives had hydraulic transmissions. The Coferna class could run at the maximum speed of 25 km/h while its Biliards counterpart's maximum speed was 30 km/h. Each shunter offered 130 kW and 148,5 kW respectively. The Coferna class locomotives were numbered from C1 to C6 while the Billiards ones bore the numbers from C11 to C14.

Another important type of diesel locomotives for mixed traffic was delivered to Ethiopia in several batches from 1954 to 1989. Time and time again each batch of these BB class locomotives was modified in terms of their speed, power output as well as multiple steering devices. These four-axled locomotives constituted the mainstay of the Ethiopian rolling stock for many years and their sturdiness and reliability have been appreciated by the Ethiopian engine drivers up to the present. The CFE company was also equipped with four six-axle locomotives class CC in 1960. These locomotives had reduced power output in Ethiopia and they were exploited rarely because of their length (15,8 metres). They usually hauled the imperial train. Nowadays two of them are placed in the railway museum in Addis Ababa and they are in a very poor condition without the prospects of major repairs.

When it comes to passenger trains commissioned by the imperial government, five modern DMUs were bought in the French factories De Dietrich and Soule. They were labelled as a series ZA1 and numbered from 01 to 05. They were able to carry up to 250 passengers in three classes at the maximum speed of 85 km/h. The route Addis Ababa-Dire Dawa was covered by them in nine and a half hours including a stop of 45 minutes for the passengers to eat their lunches at the station restaurant in Awash. Each railcar could haul up to three trailers. What is more, another series of passenger

cars built by Decauville was brought to Ethiopia in 1955 to replace the wooden third class coaches. The CFE company acquired also several third class cars second hand from the Sarthe Railway, France in 1941. Worth mentioning is the fact that the Ethiopian railway company rebuilt on its own a number of 1912 Buire Lyon salon coaches in 1954[7].

It should not be overlooked that the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie I was very often making use of the train services in his country and he had his own imperial train. The first train was offered to him by the French government in 1935 and it consisted of two coaches with Pennsylvania-type bogies which were manufactured by the Société Franco-Belge. The first coach featured a lounge, couchettes and the imperial office while the second one housed a restaurant and kitchen. Having been for the exclusive use of the Emperor, the first imperial train was followed by the second one received from England in 1954. Until its last run in 1973, the new imperial train was composed of two locomotives, a 1913 Nicaise Delcuve generator van for the permanent supply of electricity during the journey, four cars for His Majesty and his family, two first class lounges and couchettes for the Emperor's guests and employees, two second class for the imperial escort and two covered vans for luggage. This imperial train can be presently seen by the tourists in the Imperial Railway Museum in Addis Ababa[8].

As for freight cars, a new batch of tankers for the transport of fuel and molasses was delivered to Ethiopia in 1947. Thanks to the resourcefulness of the Ethiopian railway engineers, another ten tankers were rebuilt in Dire Dawa from the old frames from the Kenyan railways. In addition, the Dire Dawa workshops constructed from their own resources eight car carriers under the supervision of Lucien Brua. As Eritrea became Ethiopian province in 1962, the imperial government agreed to supply that railway with two Krupp shunters and forty open trucks from the same plant in 1957 and 1967 respectively.

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[7] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [Accessed 10 January 2015]
[8] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [Accessed 10 January 2015]

At the beginning of the 1960s the Ethiopian government planned to construct a new railway line from Nazret to Dilla in the province of Siddamo which was to become its own property. It was estimated that the current traffic should oscillate between 24-93 ton kilometres within 15 years. The proposed railway was to carry coffee, oilseeds, pulses, cotton and wood. Given the dense population of that region, also the passenger trains would have been extremely profitable. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian government was unable to build this railway despite having been offered a loan from the French government for that purpose as that loan, if taken, could hardly be repaid because of the lack of reforms in the field of agriculture, which was the country's main income[9].

Among the primordial reforms that were neglected by the Ethiopian government after the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 were those in agriculture and taxes. The failure to carry them out soon brought horrific consequences for the country, which eventually turned out to be a cul-de-sac for the imperial government. The social unrest which ravaged Ethiopia since the unsuccessful coup d'état in 1960 was skilfully used by the Provisional Military Administration Council known as Derg in Amharic who took power in 1974, deposed and killed Haile Selassie I and took on the communist ideology in order to win favour of the socialist countries which supplied the country with weapons as the US who failed to acknowledge the new authorities withdrew from selling any military devices to Ethiopia (Meredith 2006: 206).

The misuse of railway in communist Ethiopia and its further impairment during the Eritrean and Somalian conflicts

This period of the communist rule was detrimental for the functioning of the Franco-Ethiopian railway as the communists tended to subsidise the road transport. The railway was being constantly underfunded so the necessary repairs of the rolling stock and tracks were heavily neglected because of the lack of spare parts. Having been devoid of funds and forced to meet the demands, the

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[9] Ibid.

Ethiopian railway engineers transformed the wooden boxcars from 1937 into relatively unsophisticated passenger coaches. As for the freight cars, they were also victims of the political ideology because no maintenance or repair had been undertaken correctly so the wrecks were left to rot along the line. Facing the heavily reduced rolling stock, the communist authorities of Ethiopia turned to Zimbabwe for help. As a result, a number of gondolas and special cars for the transport of livestock were supplied to Ethiopia in the late 1980s. Most of them have remained in use up to the present. Apart from freight cars, the Ethiopian railway also acquired four diesel locomotives from the Fauvet Girel Alsthom plant (France) as well as it continued to purchase the rest of the ZA1 railcars along with their trailers[10].

Also the Ethiopian conflicts with Eritrea and Somalia during the communist regime had serious implications for the functioning of railway in Ethiopia (Seifu Gebru 2003: 58). The sole railway line in Eritrea was completely dismantled, while the rolling stock was left on the sidings near the station of Asmara, because it was regarded by the Derg to have been used by the Eritrean partisans as a means of shifting the warfare during the war with the Ethiopians[11]. As for the Somalian conflict, it resulted in the destruction of a number of BB class locomotives of which only three were then rebuilt in the workshops of Dire Dawa, three ZA1 class railcars numbers 03, 04 and 07 as well as all the Ethiopian first class coaches.

As a result of Djibouti's independence in 1977, the Ethiopian and Djiboutian governments signed an agreement on March 21, 1981 concerning the further exploitation of the railway line from Djibouti to Addis Ababa. This gave rise to the new company called the Chemins de Fer de Djibouti à Addis Ababa which became the property of both governments. Its management board was recruited from the Ethiopian and Djiboutian representatives. It was concluded that the aim of the railway was to promote the economic and social development of both countries.

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[10] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [accessed 10 January 2015]
[11] www.ferroviaeritrea.it [accessed 10 January 2015]

Attempts of the railway's revival in post-communist Ethiopia

With the fall of the communist regime in Ethiopia in 1991 and the independence of Eritrea in 1993, the Ethiopian state was virtually dependent on the Franco-Ethiopian railway in terms of its international trade as it had lost the ports of Massawa and Assab. Having been in a very poor condition, the line was no longer suitable for intensive use and it enjoyed little popularity which translated into the lack of proceeds from transporting merchandise. so the railway workers went frequently unpaid. Despite numerous difficulties a desultory traffic was maintained mainly from Dire Dawa to Djibouti and such goods as fruits and vegetables, coffee, *khat* or live animals continued to be transported by trains. The freight trains run mainly at night because of the attacks of the Issa people (Blunt 2009).

In order to shift even smaller amount of goods onto trains, the Ethiopian government decided to allocate some of the budget to modernise the railway line in terms of replacing the rails and sleepers for heavier as well as the rectification of curves. In the early 2000s, the section from Dire Dawa to Addis Ababa was closed for the exchange of rails and the improvement of bridges while the stretch from Dire Dawa to Djibouti was regularly closed every few years so as to do similar repairs. The replacement of tracks in Ethiopia was being made with the assistance of the European companies Groum Abate 2006). In addition, the fleet of the BB class locomotives was upgraded by the purchase of four units second hand from the Spanish FEVE railway. Most of the locomotives from the plants of Coferna, Billiards, SLM Winthertur and CC Alsthom were withdrawn and scrapped. Only a small number of the BB class locomotives were used until 2013 and because of the fact that the repairs of these locomotives were rather difficult to undertake in today's Ethiopia, the technicians from the Dire Dawa workshops had no option but to scavenge parts of damaged machines as well as to swap their chassis, cabs and engines[12].

In 2006, the Ethiopian railway company was taken over by the South African Comazar who obliged to supply it with 46 modern

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[12] www.train-franco-ethiopien.com [accessed 10 January 2015]

locomotives as well as 600 freight cars of different types. After the line's reconstruction it was planned that as many as ten pairs of trains would run daily. Even though the project was financed by the European Union, it was soon abandoned. Although the Comazar failed to invest in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian government proposed to develop the railway by themselves. Firstly, the Ethiopian-Djibouti Company was created in 2007 to replace the previous one established during the communist regime. Secondly, it proposed a 5,000 kilometre network of standard gauge railway in 2009 which would link the biggest cities of Ethiopia. This railway is planned to be entirely electrified thanks to the hydroelectric stations located on the Blue Nile and the Omo river. Intended predominantly for freight, this network is to be joined with the Sudanese and Kenyan ones. This project was already commenced in 2014 thanks to the loans from Chinese and European banks and if it has ever been completed, it will be one of the most remarkable engineering feats in the 21th century (Munford 2010).

Even though the construction of the standard gauge network in Ethiopia was postponed for some time, the Ethiopian Railway Corporation began the construction of a 34 km light railway system in Addis Ababa in 2011. Financed by the Export-Import Bank of China, the project was completed in early 2015. There are two tram lines in the capital city of Ethiopia from north to south and from east to west with a common section of 3 kilometres. The light railway links Menelik Sq. with Kaliti and Ayat Village with Tor Hayloch. The double track line was electrified with an overhead catenary system. The rolling stock consists of 41 Chinese low-floor trams with the maximum speed of 70 km/h whose tinted windows will screen out 90% of ultraviolet radiation. Their electrical equipment is placed on the fast draining roofs. The first trams were delivered to Ethiopia at the end of 2014[13]. After several months of test running, both lines were opened for revenue service on September 20 and November 12, 2015 respectively. Financed almost entirely by Export-Import Bank

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[13] *Addis Ababa tram supplier selected*, 2014, www.railwaygazette.com [accessed 10 January 2015]

of China, this first light railway network in sub-Saharan Africa operates daily between 6.00 and 22.00. The Chinese contractor is not only responsible for providing crews and maintenance staff but also for maintaining the tramway's independent power supply network including four substations with a total rating of 160MW[14].

Today's problems of the Ethiopian railway

As for the current problems of the Ethiopian railway, they are numerous but less serious as they were several years ago when the refurbishment of the old narrow gauge line was taken into consideration by the Ethiopian authorities. The prolonged repairs on the section from Dire Dawa to Addis Ababa whose end was not in sight precluded the direct train connection with the capital city of Ethiopia by which there is a serious competition from the road and air transport. In addition, the tracks in Addis Ababa were used as a market place for many years. What made the railway less popular than other means of transport in Ethiopia was the already mentioned deplorable state of tracks between Djibouti and Dire Dawa without the prospects of major repairs as well as the obsolete rolling stock. The locomotives and passenger cars came from the 1950s and 1960s with the lack of such amenities as air-conditioning or soft seats. The timetable left a lot to be desired as it was constantly being changed so the passengers have to check it at the station a day before the planned departure and there was no current Ethiopian railway website where one could check the timetable.

Moreover, as of 2013, there were two pairs of trains weekly between Djibouti and Dire Dawa. Each train left at 3 or 6 a.m. and reached its destination at about 8 p.m. so the journey took longer than at the beginning of the past century. Because of the lack of agreement between Djibouti and Ethiopia as to the ticket fares, the price of the ticket bought for the same train was over three times higher in Djibouti than in Ethiopia and it was not surprising that the Ethiopians were likely to choose the road transport on their way

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[14] Addis Ababa light rail opens, 2015, www.railwaygazette.com [Accessed 16.11.2015]

home. Other problems were associated with the illegal transport of *khat* through the frontier and the illegal flight of the young Ethiopians to Djibouti who take advantage of the limited speed of trains crossing the borderland[15].

When it comes to the care for the railway heritage in Ethiopia, its authorities do not seem to seat great store for that. They are indifferent to the fact that most historic rolling stock is decaying on the sidings of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa without roofing with the exception of the imperial train. What is worse, the old steam locomotives that are stabled both in the Imperial Railway museum or in the premises of station Dire Dawa are not likely to be reinstated as once the standard gauge line has been officially opened for transport, the old Franco-Ethiopian line will be useless and can be removed in the consequence.

Of particular importance is also the fact that the agreement between Ethiopia and Djibouti as to its free use of the port of Djibouti expires on December 31, 2016. For the further use of the port it was necessary for the Ethiopian Railway Corporation and its counterpart in Djibouti to replace the old railway infrastructure in both countries. Because the former Franco-Ethiopian narrow gauge railway was no longer suitable for further use, it was decided to construct a new 756 km standard gauge line of which 671 kilometres were laid on the Ethiopian territory. Worth mentioning is that the new railway line does not fully concur with the old route. The entire standard gauge line from Djibouti to Addis Ababa is expected to be opened in early 2016, though the first trial run of a diesel locomotive with a rake of 30 empty tankers was conducted on the whole operable line (not yet extended to Addis Ababa) on 31 August 2015[16]. This new railway line in Ethiopia is going to become a chief transport thoroughfare from which branch lines to a number of Ethiopian towns are now being constructed, for example, to Mekkele and Tadjourah (through the Afar region). Even though the standard

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[15] www.seat61.com [Accessed 16.11.2015]
[16] *Premier convoi d'essai sur le chemin de fer Djibouti-Ethiopie*, www.africantrain.org [Accessed 16 November 2015]

gauge line has not yet reached Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian government agreed for the line's further extension to southern Ethiopia and the project commenced in May 2015.[17]

Conclusion

The Ethiopian railway heavily influenced the economic and social development of the country for many reasons. Ethiopia ceased to be dependent on its Muslim neighbours as far as the transit of merchandise is concerned. Thanks to the Franco-Ethiopian railway the country avoided long-term colonisation and became a member of the League of Nations and in the consequence the seat of the African Unity Organisation. As for the social relations of the Ethiopian nations, they changed radically as the nomadic and pastoral peoples who were employed at the construction of the railway changed their ways of life and conformed to the European lifestyle. What is more, the railway construction contributed to the co-operation of people diversified under the account of beliefs and cultural backgrounds who previously lived in discord.
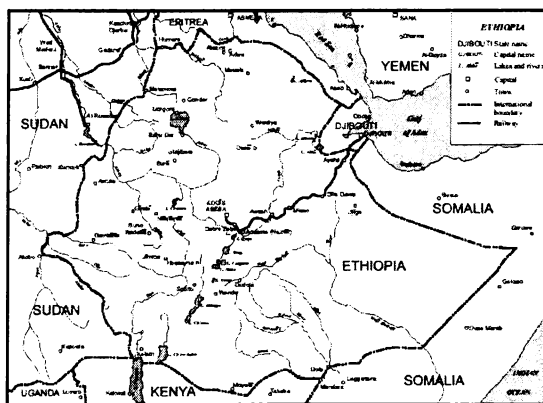
Map of the railway line from Djibouti to Addis Ababa[18]

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[17] www.erc.et [Accessed 16 November 2015].

[18] The map is based on the one found in Rubinkowska (2010: 288).

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Reviews

Alessandro Suzzi Valli, *Maaka Oral Tradition and Proverbs*, **„Studi Africanistici", Serie ciado-sudanese 5, Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli „L'Orientale", Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo, 2014, 229 pp. + 5 folios of selected charts, maps and images**

This publication contains a piece of Maaka oral tradition with text translation into English, grammatical analysis, comments and glossary. Maaka (known also as Maha) is the name of a small ethnic group, according to R. Leger („Foreword" p. 7) comprising roughly four thousand people. They live in the south-western corner of the Yobe State in Northern Nigeria, in the vast and flat savannah zone, and - apart from a small number of hamlets - inhabit two main towns: Bara and Gulani. Known as skilled farmers, they are encircled by several major ethnic groups of Northern Nigeria: Kanuri, Bura-Pabir, Tera, Bole and Kupto.

Maaka's tongue is an endangered language „which counts approximately 3000 speakers"! (A.S. Valli p. 13). It belongs to the Bole-Tangale group of the West-Chadic branch of the Afroasiatic family. Now nearly all Maaka speak Hausa, the vehicle of the Islam in this area. Suzzi's book is therefore an invaluable source material for the preservation of the Maaka language and their traditional culture. Until the beginning of author's activities not much was known about the people. The situation has changed in recent times thanks to his extensive field research among the Maaka in years 2010-2013. During several visits to Bara he had a chance to collect a large number of materials, especially based on oral tradition.

This publication on Maaka oral tradition has been possible due to support of the Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca Scientifica e Tecnologica, and thanks to a collaboration with the University of Cologne. It is Rudolf Leger who included the author into the project on Maaka, financed by the German Research Council. There is not

much known on the ways of the data records except for the statement that they „have been based on multi-media techniques, part of which will be also available shortly via veb" (p. 9). The author also discloses that a full Maaka-English-Hausa dictionary with the reverse index is being prepared in collaboration with German linguists.

Out of the huge Maaka corpus, the author selected stories about migration and the relation of the Maaka to their neighbours, and has chosen some proverbs and riddles. The present text - as well as several others yet to be published - stems from the material recorded under the auspices of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and now deposited in Institut für Afrikanistik in Frankfurt under the care of. Prof. H. Jungraithmayir. The typing, transcription and translation have been realised during a field research in 2012 by the author of the book, supported by Jibril Jatau Bara and Musa Ali Baba.

In „History of Bara" the pages on the left side (folios verso) contain the original Maaka text, including phonological and grammatical analysis with all morphological traits. The lines below the text comprise the literal translation accompanied by the morpho-syntactic indicators. On the front page (folio recto), the text is then reproduced alone, below followed by a free English translation.

Few pages of this volume are devoted to those Maaka proverbs which are frequently used by common people. They have been taken from a collection of proverbs and riddles gathered by H. Jungraithmayr and Jibril Jatau Bara (1998), and revised by A.S. Valli, Jibril Jatau Bara and Musa A. Baba (2012). The entries contain the original Maaka proverbs, literal translations, free translations, Hausa equivalents (if any), and one or two explanations.

The book is provided with hand-drawn beautiful pictures of the essential episodes of the story (by Massimiliano Sommella and Riccardo Rosati), a selection of which can be admired in the appendix. That is only a pity that in this very valuable and well structured book many misprints escaped the attention of the proof-reader. It applies to the free English translations of the text on pages recto.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

Gian Claudio Batic, *A Grammatical Sketch of Bure – a Chadic Language of Nigeria*, Chadic Linguistics /Linguistique Tchadique /Tschadistik (ed. by Dymitr Ibriszimow, Henry Tourneux, H. Ekkehard Wolff), vol. 9, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, Köln 2014, 178 pp.

The descriptions of endangered or little-known languages contribute to our knowledge about the varieties of language structures, but are also important as support to the attempts for language revitalization. The work done so far in the area of African studies is relatively significant in number but still insufficient with respect to the two above aspects.

The work under review presents a description of Bure (also known as Bubure or Bubbure), a Chadic language from northern Nigeria, used by a very low number of speakers in an ethnic population consisting of about 500 people. This is the first comprehensive approach to the structure of the Bure language which refers to material collected by earlier researchers (Rudolf Leger, Bernard Caron and Andrew Haruna), but is mainly based on the Author's field research undertaken during four trips in 2011 and 2012.

The book was published in a series of Chadic Linguistics as its 9th volume. Being a description of one Chadic language, it makes a breach in the sequence of publications dedicated to topics in Chadic linguistics which have a wider perspective. With the title stating that it is a grammatical sketch of Bure, it significantly differs from the descriptions of other Chadic languages done so far and from the linguistic descriptions of any other language in general. It combines the presentation of linguistic data with other factors that are relevant for the documentation of endangered languages by referring to the social, historical, religious and political context in which the language functions. The typological features of the Bure language are presented in the introductory chapter. The linguistic profile which is deeply embedded in current developments on Chadic covers lexical comparison and reconstruction. The position of Bure among Bole-Tangale languages is illustrated by ten lexical items from Bure and their equivalents in Kirfi, Galambu, Gera, and Bole. Their proto-Chadic roots are also indicated, according to the reconstruction by Jun-

graithmayr and Ibriszimow (1994). The Author's contribution to the knowledge of Chadic refers mainly to the description of Bure language structure in which already known but also some rare or unusual features have been manifested. As for criteria for fieldwork descriptions, the community's attitude is indicated as essential for collecting the data and their interpretation.

This is primarily a linguistic description but it also includes non-linguistic methodologies in the presentation of the collected material. The first chapter is devoted to sociolinguistic aspects that provide eleven disciplinary perspectives of the view on the Bure (*Bùbbúrè*) linguistic community (demography, geography, economics, sociology, linguistics, psychology, history, politics-law-government, education, religion, and media), according to the Sociology-of-Language framework proposed by John Edwards (remark: the book reference is correctly listed at the end as *Minority Languages and Group Identity*, 2010 , but it is erroneously introduced on p. 23 as Edwards 2011). This approach also includes three basic categories (speaker, language and setting) that are relevant for the description. Adopting the criteria of language endangerment (following the model developed by the UNESCO expert group in 2003), the Author classifies the language as moribund, but at the same time he states that the language is critically endangered. The table on the multilingual situation in the Bure area in which Hausa and Fulfulde are the dominant languages completes the characteristics of the Bure language that justify the content of the book and how it was presented.

As far as the linguistic description is concerned, it is divided into five chapters which gradually deal with the phonology, nominal morphology, pronominal system, TAM system, and syntax. The Bure language has never been standardized; therefore, the Author adopts orthographic rules for the purpose of the description which are based on the Latin script and follow conventional rules of its application to African languages, including *ɓ, ɗ* for implosives and *mb, nd, nj, ng* for prenasal(ized) consonants. The correspondence with Hausa rules of orthographic encoding is observable in ignoring the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the word-initial position, but indicating it with ['] in other positions in the word, as well as in the lack of an orthographic distinction

between the tap [ɾ] and the trill [r]. However, four nasal consonants identified as phonemes are orthographically distinguished; therefore, we have the velar *ŋ* and palatal *ny* (to indicate /ɲ/), along with *m* and *n*. Long vowels are marked by double vowel letters, while both high and low tones have their diacritics placed above the vowel.

In the inventory of phonemes, some features characteristic of other Chadic languages are manifested, such as the implosives *ɓ* and *ɗ* (but not ejective *ƙ*), palatalized (but not labialized) velar consonants, allophonic variants of the phoneme /*p*/, whereas a rich set of prenasalized consonants can be rather attributed to the features common to non-Chadic languages, similary the lack of /*z*/ in the phonological inventory.

The analysis of vowel length and tonal pitch were made with computer-aided support (using the PRAAT program for sound analysis). The detailed presentation of the phoneme distribution makes the description of the Bure language quite exhaustive at the phonological level. Some very interesting linguistic material is placed under the section "The rhyme", illustrating the intended use of the language's sound properties. However, some inconsistences in the description can be pointed out. The consonantal inventory consisting of 28 phonemes has the item *mb* listed in two different places. Since the phoneme *nk* mentioned elsewhere is lacking in the table, one may expect a typographical error which affects this consonant and its proper placement in the table. Moreover, the column headed as labio-velar imposes a misleading interpretation of its content. It includes the approximant *w* and the two consonants *kw* and *gw*, which in Chadic descriptive tradition are rather interpreted as labialized velar consonants. The latter one is not listed under the onsets admitted in Bure, whereas the word *gwómà* 'antelope' seems to confirm it.

The presentation of the structure is based on the most distinctive patterns in the area of morphology and syntax. Nominal morphology is illustrated by noun plurals, associative constructions and adjective-like structures. Separate chapters are devoted to the pronominal system and the TAM system. Typological properties of Chadic can be recognized in some structural patterns, but less common features are also manifested. Quite significant in this respect is a category of gen-

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der which follows the Chadic characteristics (i.e. a distinction present only in the singular), but the rules of its assignment might be different. Gender distinction is productive in pronouns (in the second and third person of the singular), in demonstratives, in relative markers, but not in copulas. In verbal morphology, some features are interesting for their relevance for comparative works, e.g. the perfect marker -*kò* which is suffixed to the verbal stem is important for historical investigations focusing on the development of TAM systems in Chadic. Also the markers which function as verbal extensions are open for further interpretations in comparative analyses of other Chadic and non-Chadic languages.

The chapter on syntax covers different types of clauses (verbless, complement, relative, and interrogative clauses), but also includes patterns referring to semantic relations within the clausal frame. Providing examples from Bure, the chapter shows how semantic types of arguments (giving, affecting, speaking, thinking, and liking) differentiate language structure properties. This section is not supported by theoretic interpretations, but it provides source material for such studies from a more general linguistic perspective.

The final chapter consists of two texts provided with word-by-word morphological coding and interlinear English translation with the Hausa version at the end. The recorded speech in Bure is a piece of unique linguistic material which provides a source for further linguistic investigation and comparative analysis. A list of references complements the descriptive parts of the publication.

An important part of the book comes in the form of the appendices. The first appendix presents a set of colored pictures that create a photographic portrait of the Bure and present their traditional way of life. The second appendix consists of Bure-English-Hausa vocabulary, along with two glossaries – English-Bure and Hausa-Bure. Using the three languages for lexicographic purposes is a strategy motivated by the sociolinguistic situation in the area. Special attention to lexicographic entries related to local flora is devoted by providing illustrations to the listed terms. With this material, the names of plants that have been the subject of studies on Hausa language data

for decades (Blench 2003) have now received a new comparative perspective.

The whole book is supplemented by maps, tables and figures that make the presentation more compact but at the same time clear and easy to follow.

A Grammatical Sketch of Bure is a significant contribution to the description of Chadic languages from both the linguistic and socio-linguistic aspects. It brings new insights to the current investigation on Bole-Tangale languages and West Chadic from a broader per-spective. First of all, the description of Bure provides new data for areal studies. Bure has many features of a contact language that are relevant for studies on the stages of language development and lan-guage reconstruction. As for other aspects, this approach to the presentation of language is connected with the specific function of linguistic descriptions of endangered languages which tend to the use the knowledge of languages for social good. This work is an attempt at language revitalization and provides support for initiatives which aim to protect small cultures living in contact with dominant cul-tures.

Nina Pawlak

Marjolijn Aalders Grool, *Verbal Art of the Fon* (*Benin*), Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2013, 252 pp.; *Vodun Stories of the Fon* (*Benin*), Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2014, 725 pp.

This book is a result of about two and a half years of the Author-ess stay in Benin. She came to this country in February 1975 and started to learn Fongbe in the summer of that year, which enabled her to commence a thorough research on the indigenous verbal art. The main objectives of the research was getting understanding of the techniques and skills of the performers of the Fon literary genre known as *hwénúxó*. Between April and June 1976 she recorded on audiocassettes the performances of 37 texts in Fongbe, and during her stay in Benin she completed the transcription and a first transla-tion into French. In the years following the fieldwork, the Authoress checked the transcription and the French translation of the stories. However, she had to work for a living, which forced her to store the

tapes and the manuscripts in a metal case. So only in 2004 she re-started her work and digitized the analogue recordings.

The corpus of 37 texts of Fongbe verbal art was collected in three rural areas: Ayou, Abomey-Calavi and Abomey. The size of the corpus is about 57.000 words and it comprises 12.000 utterances. As far as the performers are concerned, six women told twenty stories, seven men told fifteen stories , and a young boy and girl each told a story. All of them were keen on improvisation in story-telling.

Before embarking upon the structuring of the discourse in *hwénúxó* Marjolijn Grool described the cultural and religious background of the stories. The essential part of the book is composed of five parts (20 chapters). The first part provides information on story-telling session, its background and recording. Its first chapter gives an overview of a number of publication referring to the former Kingdom of Dahomey, those dealing with Fongbe grammar and Fon verbal art. Chapter 2 describes the project of the recording of the corpus in the rural areas, whereas chapter 3 presents the event of the performance as well as some aspects of the performance. Of special interest is the discussion on the principle of duality in the royal administration of the Dahomey kingdom. One can also notice a severe critique of the M. and F. Herskovits' works which „have many lapses" (p. 26).

The second part deals with elements, topics and genre of the collected corpus. Its chapter 7 discusses characteristics of the *hwénúxó* stories. All of them are set in the surroundings that are familiar to the performers and the audience. They have three main topics: power, conflict and taboos. The stories end with the loss of power by the culprit, who is sent into exile or into death. The Authoress noticed twenty three songs inserted in 19 stories of the corpus and she divided it into two major sub-genres: the dramatic *hwénúxó* being a narrative about the fate of human life, and the comic *yéxó* – a narrative that tells trickster stories.

The third part contains an analysis of the structuring of the discourse. It describes the pauses by which the performers segment the narrative discourse into utterances and silence. Extensive pauses serve to highlight rhetorical phenomena. The peak of the story is

followed by a long pause. Chapter 10 emphasises the multifunctional use of the definite marker *ɔ̂* which marks the transition to a new paragraph in the story or indicates the central participant in the story.

The fourth part constitutes a survey of the stylistic devices that the performers use in the narrative. They are grammatical choices and the use of the emotionally marked words. The stylistic devices of the songs are also discussed: code switching, alliteration, assonance, contractions and elisions, use of loan-words.

The fifth part contains an analysis of the creative process by which the performer tells the story. It is observed that the practice of putting identical features and elements in different stories occurs far beyond the Fon area in Benin. The West African corpora show that the performers insert analogous elements in similar stories, but also in different ones. It becomes evident that in West African story-telling there is no ideal version of a story: there is no ideal story-line, but rather improvised versions.

The book is provided with an impressive list of references and three appendixes: I: The performers and the performances, II. The day to thresh the millet (Story from Abomey 4), and III. Graphical representation Abomey 4.

Vodun stories of the Fon are edited in the Fongbe version with an English translation. The edition is preceded by an extensive introduction which is partially re-edition of the former book. It has been enriched by remarks about the transcription and the translation, but impoverished by structuring the discourse, style in Fongbe verbal art, and performance, framework and story board. The stories have been arranged in three groups according to the place of their origin: The Ayou Stories (8 pieces); The Abomey-Calavi Stories (19 pieces) and The Abomey Stories (10 pieces). Technically, the Fongbe texts are placed on the folios verso, and the English translation on the opposite recto page. This makes it easy to compare both versions of the stories. Such an arrangement seems to be the reason for which the explanations in foot notes seem to be rather scarce and makes the reader to look for information in the descriptive part of both books.

Summing up, it is pertinent to say that both publications, so long awaited, deserve the attention of all those who are interested in the verbal art. Not only in Benin and Africa, but all over the world.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

Assibi Amidu, *Objects and Complements in Kiswahili Clauses - A Study of their Mechanisms and Patterns*. Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2013, 677 pp.

The book was published as part of series *Grammatical Analyses of African Languages* edited by Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig and Bernd Heine. The Author, renowned for his long interest in Swahili morphology and syntax, once again as expected, raises a point of adequacy of traditional grammatical descriptions to Swahili and Bantu languages in general. The book further advances our knowledge on the subject of transitivity in Swahili, that has been thoroughly discussed in the author's book published already in 2001. This time it centres on the nature of objects and/or complements in Swahili predication-sentences or clauses.

This sizeable book is composed of nine chapters divided further into sections, followed by a bibliography and an index. It comprises Author's thoughts and insights on the interpretations of Swahili language structures as presented in various grammars and dictionaries ever published, and their adequacy for modern linguistic analysis within the framework of empirical grammar.

The first chapter on „transitivity, cognateness and introductory notes" discusses the nature of transitivity and presents different views adopted in language descriptions. The author challenges the Hopper and Thompson continuum hypothesis and refers to his earlier findings of dual transitivity of predicate verbs in Swahili. His research reveals that verbs cannot be classified as having either transitive or intransitive character, as the same verb may generate both transitive and intransitive patterns. In other words, this bitransitivity means that predicate verbs may project both trasitive and intransitive syntax in discourse. He also challenges traditional descriptions of Swahili grammar and points out the unfortunate character of the translational approach that results in inadequate descriptions of the

language. To support the thesis he gives examples of the status of locative nouns in Swahili or the so called 'phrasal verbs' and their treatment in various grammars. The author clearly states that he attempts to present a study on Swahili syntax that is far from adopting descriptions tailored for Indo-European languages.

Chapter two discussess the nature of syntactic constituents in predication sentences or clauses. The author presents six principles of grammar and predication sentence syntax that constitute the framework for proper interpretation of syntactic relations. These are transitivity system, complement system, relativity system, subordinate-main clause dependency, statistically central versus peripheral prototypes, and transitivity function of predicates and their predication sentences. Then the discussion turns towards difficulties in the description of the object or complement in Swahili. The neglect of extended predicates in clause structure analysis and its relevance for the understanding of Swahili syntactic categories is emphasized. The Author focuses his criticism on Ashton's grammar of Swahili published in the 1940's which provides interpretations not suitable anymore for modern description of the language.

In the next chapter – „transitives described as intransitives“ – some more inadequacies of Swahili descriptions are highlighted. The discussion focuses on object NPs that are usually presented as adjuncts or nominal constructions in traditional grammars, already mentioned in the previous chapter. In this attitude, an object is understood simply as a complement of a predicate, and this interpretation is clearly justified in the discussion. The chapter is divided into sections that gradually deal with subordinate versus main clause relationships linked by relativization, idiomatic verbal phrases or phrasal verbs or V + NP complexes, and objecthood from a historic and synchronic perspectives.

Chapter four looks at subject and object transpositions in predication sentences. The author's viewpoint contradicts the application of English topic subject hypothesis to Bantu languages. The notion of symmetric and asymmetric tansposition is introduced. The subject and object transposition and the status of AGENT in passive and

reflexive syntax and in active non-reflexive syntax are dealt with in separate sections.

Chapter five is devoted to the verb *-enda* 'go'. It analyzes various constructions that confirm the transitive uses of this predicate verb, thus proving its bitransitivity, and focuses on contexts of specialization that it enters into and how it stimulates new, particularly idiomatic meanings.

Chapter six deals with constructions known as the syntax of passivization. It quotes different views on active versus passive syntax and the role of objects. Once again discussion reveals that a typical English approach is not suitable to Swahili, and it challenges again the adjunct hypothesis and phrasal verb analysis often attributed to some verb-NP complexes. It is presented how the object relativization test allows to set apart objects from complements. Once again evidence is provided that the NP undergoing object relativization must be an object.

The following chapter, seven, proposes a new approach to passivization theory based on the weaknessess of the theories of passivization and objecthood presented in the previous chapter. Then, in chapter eight, the discussion turns towards the idea of adverbial complements or complement adverbials of predicate verbs and the question whether they exist in Swahili. Again the problem of the translation equivalent approach is raised and its influence on the identification of various subjects and complements as adverbial subjects or adverbial complements. The claim is based on the notion of the noun class system on which Bantu languages operate. Because of it, the complements of predicates are regarded as nominal items since adverbial elements, that lie outside the noun class system, cannot generate agreement concords. The last chapter explores further the function of nominal-predicate phrases and prepositional phrases as subject and object.

In conclusion the book is a main of knowledge on Swahili morphology and syntax. It provides a lot of information that lie beyond the core scope of the book. It gives a solid basis and firm explanations to understanding peculiarities of Swahili grammar. The Author takes the language structure as a starting point for his analysis, and

rejects the use of translational approach that, in his view is totally inadequate in the descriptions of Bantu languages. Throughout the book, the Author provides evidence for how the analysis based on the English translation turns out false and misleading. Furthermore, the Author shows how acknowledgement of variation and diversity without overlooking uniformity in different languages may contribute to writing better universal grammars. Undoubtedly, the book challenges the traditional descriptions of Swahili grammar and should be of interest not only to linguists but lexicographers, language teachers and students as well.

Beata Wójtowicz

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