52
2018

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Department of African Languages and Cultures
Faculty of Oriental Studies

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Nr 52 (2018)

University of Warsaw 2018
Department of African Languages and Cultures
Faculty of Oriental Studies

Chief Editor
Nina PAWLAK , University of Warsaw

Editorial Board
Sergio BALDI, Università degli Studi di Napoli
Iwona KRASKA-SZLENK, University of Warsaw
Marcin KRAWCZUK, University of Warsaw
Rudolf LEGER, J.W. Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main
Helma PASCH, Universität zu Köln
Stanisław PIŁASZEWICZ, University of Warsaw
Alena RETTOVÁ, School of Oriental and African Studies, London
Hanna RUBINKOWSKA-ANIOŁ, University of Warsaw
Beata WÓJTOWICZ, University of Warsaw

Advisory Board/ External Reviewers
Felix K. AMEKA, University of Leiden
Matthias BRENZINGER, University of Cape Town
Katrin BROMBER, Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin
Janusz DANECKI, University of Warsaw
Zygmunt FRAJZYNGIER, University of Colorado, Boulder
Marek PAWEŁCZAK, University of Warsaw
Robert PIĘTEK, Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities
Eugeniusz RZEWUSKI, University of Warsaw
Hafizu Miko YAKASAI, Bayero University, Kano
Izabela WILL, University of Warsaw
Jerzy ZDANOWSKI, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow University

Editorial Secretary
Zuzanna Augustyniak

English language Editor
Klara Wojtkowska

Cover design
Anna Gogolewska

Publication co-financed by the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw
On-line version is available at http://www.sdalc.uw.edu.pl

Copyright © Katedra Języków i Kultur Afryki 2018
ISSN 2545-2134

Typesetting and printing Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

The printed version of the journal comes first and is primary to the online edition.
The journal content appears on the journal website after a short delay. The entire journal content is freely available on the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Licence.

CONTENTS

From the Editors 7

ARTICLES

Marek Pawełczak
Uncertainty, risk, and trust in nineteenth-century East African long-distance trade 9

Iwona Kraska-Szlenk
Kinship metaphors in Swahili language and culture 49

Salisu Garba
Hyperbole as the building block of Hausa court-songs 73

Izabela Will
From cleaning to totality – the semantic core of the "dusting off palms" gesture among the Hausa of Northern Nigeria 87

Kabiru Haruna Isa
Sunni literary responses to the spread of Shia ideology in Northern Nigeria 113

Agnieszka Podolecka
Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa – sangoma, African sage, fraud or a New Age shaman? 131

REVIEWS

Paul Newman (ed.) *Syllable Weight in African Languages*, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 338, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017, 219 pp. *(Nina Pawlak)* 155

Samuel G. Obeng & Christopher R. Green (eds.) *African Linguistics in the 21st Century, Essays in Honor of Paul Newman*, Grammatical Analyses of African Languages, vol. 55, Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2017, 155 pp. (*Ahmadu Shehu*) 161

Christine Chaillot (ed.), *The Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Volos: Volos Academy Publications, 2016, 519 pp. *(Katarzyna Anna Mich)* 165

Susanne Epple (ed.), *The state of status groups in Ethiopia: Minorities between marginalization and integration*, Studien zur Kulturkunde 132, Berlin: Reimer, 2018, 283 pp. *(Hanna Rubinkowska-Anioł)*..... 171

JOURNAL TITLE CHANGE

"Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures" (ISSN 0860-4649) has been published at the University of Warsaw since 1984. To further increase its international recognition, the editorial board decided to change the journal name to "Studies in African Languages and Cultures" (ISSN 2545-2134), starting with the issue of 2018.

FROM THE EDITORS

The journal published as an annual is a forum for presentation of the latest research in various fields of African Studies. It promotes studies on African languages, literatures, and cultures. Scholars working in these areas are cordially invited to submit the results of their work for publication. Preference is given to original research based on sources in African languages.

The journal comprises articles, monographs, and reviews, as well as bibliographies, lexicographic studies and other source materials. Some issues are devoted to specialized topics or events. All papers are reviewed according to the Journal's criterions.

The journal is indexed with and included in:

- Linguistic Abstracts
- Linguistic Bibliography Online
- MLA International Bibliography
- Index Copernicus International
- CEJSH

Submission guidelines are available at the Journal's website www.sdalc.uw.edu.pl. For further information please write to the editor at sdalc@uw.edu.pl.

The printed version of the journal is distributed through subscriptions on the basis of exchange with academic centres. Please address the offers of journal exchange to:

Uniwersytet Warszawski
Wydział Orientalistyczny
Katedra Języków i Kultur Afryki
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
PL 00-927 Warszawa, POLAND

NR 52/2018 | ISSN 2545-2134

ARTICLES

Marek Pawełczak
University of Warsaw, Faculty of History

UNCERTAINTY, RISK, AND TRUST IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EAST AFRICAN LONG-DISTANCE TRADE[1]

Abstract

This article discusses the sources and symptoms of uncertainty and risk that accompanied East African caravan trade in the nineteenth century, and the trust-building measures that minimized them. The author addresses long-distance trade of goods imported from Europe, India and the United States, as well as African products that were exported abroad, such as ivory and copal. Findings are interpreted in the context of the historical events that ensued in the region in the second half of the nineteenth century, including the centralization of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, development of mainland agriculture, penetration of the African interior by Muslim culture, and destabilization of the interior in conjunction with the emergence of stronger political structures. This work relies on late-nineteenth-century Swahili texts, including accounts by caravan participants, western travel accounts, archival documents from the homes of merchants established in Zanzibar, and consular sources.

Keywords: East Africa, Arabs, Indians, Swahili, Islam, moral community, caravan trade, risk, trust

1 | INTRODUCTION

From a historical perspective, and within the field of human activity, trade—along with war—provides an ideal opportunity to observe the interactions of people from different cultures. During a significant part of

[1] This article has been completed thanks to a grant from the National Science Centre, Poland, number 2015/19/B/HS3/01747.

human history, long-distance trade was associated with an element of organized violence, in addition to a number of other risk factors. The decision to use force occurred when the parties could not reach an agreement, sought compensation for the earlier losses, or were simply attracted by the prospect of easy profit. To paraphrase a well-known saying, violence was an extension of trade by other means. In areas where established states did not exist, or could not provide security for merchants, business contractors who focused on regular transactions (rather than quick, one-off profit) sought to develop forms of cooperation—including silent trade, various forms of alliances and political patronage, and commercial diasporas—that would lower the risk of violence (Curtin 1984).

The concept of risk implies the possibility of rationally calculating the chances of success, which requires a minimum amount of information about the world in which we operate; below that threshold, human beings must operate in conditions of uncertainty (Arnoldi 2009). In the pre-modern world, a person traveling outside his own community and cultural circle soon found himself in such conditions. For example, when caravan merchants visited an unknown country for the first time, only the experience gained from such a foray (and the possibility of exchanging it with other merchants) made risk calculation possible in future. The development of long-distance trade, and the institutions that protected and regulated it, may be seen as a process of risk reduction through improvement of trust-building methods. Here, trust is defined as encapsulated interest, i.e. one of the exchange partners presumes that by fulfilling an obligation, the other person acts in their own interest due to:

1. the desire to avoid punishment;
2. the risk of revenge;
3. the need to establish a good reputation for the purpose of long-term, beneficial cooperation;

or

4. the opportunity to obtain a moral advantage (Hardin 2004: 3-9).

The first reason is not meaningful in the absence of institutions that establish rules of the game and enforce their observance. The second and third reasons may exist independently of the political and institutional environment, including in stateless areas inhabited by peoples who, until

recently, have not participated in external trade. The final reason—moral benefit—can become relevant when hostility is mitigated by a sense of belonging to a common cultural or religious group. This factor favors the development of trade diasporas united by a common religion and language, such as the Hausa in West Africa or Swahili and Indians in East Africa. Members of these groups have spread over a large area, engineering long-distance exchange of goods (Curtin 1984).

This article discusses the sources and symptoms of uncertainty and risk that accompanied East African caravan trade in the nineteenth century, as well as trust-building measures that were developed to minimize them. I am mainly interested in long-distance trade of goods imported from the West and India, and African products that were exported abroad, e.g. ivory or copal. In concluding, I will interpret the main findings in the context of the historical processes that ensued in the region in the second half of the nineteenth century, i.e. centralization of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, development of mainland agriculture, penetration of the interior by Muslim culture, and destabilization of the interior in conjunction with the emergence of stronger political structures (Sheriff 1987, Pawełczak 2001).

In general, the risks of caravan trade fall within one of two categories: threats to life and health, and worries about economic loss. These problems are obviously disproportionate, as the second is relatively unimportant compared to the first, which was probably perceived by the participants in terms of uncertainty rather than estimated risk. In its pure form, economic risk was represented by price swings. Many merchants, anticipating high profit, hastily accepted goods on credit at enormous, arbitrarily-set prices (Mtoro 1903: 310), making economic losses highly probable. However, other less-easily-calculated factors — including human losses among porters and *askaris* — were more likely to disrupt the final outcomes of such exchanges. While the possibility of financial loss concerned all participants, threats to physical safety primarily affected caravan merchants and their business contractors in the African interior. Below, I identify the sources of both types of risk. I will also address the confidence-building measures that opened the way to negotiation and credit culture, simultaneously reducing transaction costs incurred by

participants. I consider these measures within the context of the system of social and political institutions in which long-distance trade was functioning, including courts of justice, foreign consulates, fictive kinships, as well as agnatic and cognatic ties. Thus, my analysis will extend to law and its enforcement, as well as procedures and customs devised to resolve disputes and conflicts.

If one excludes the capitalist of the overseas financial center from the analysis, the sequence of participants in caravan trade began with a financier in Zanzibar or on the coast, then proceeded through the caravan merchant to an inland supplier. It may be perceived as a chain of persons who unequally shared the risk, in which individual actors occupied places akin to their social statuses and positions in the webs of political patronage. In addition to conflicts of interests and inequalities in access to profits, this article attempts to identify situations in which participants in caravan trade sought avenues of compromise in order to serve the common good. Clearly, none of the title concepts — uncertainty, risk, and trust — can be reduced to their political and economic dimensions, as these spheres are always informed by culture and social experience. However, these topics are beyond the scope of this article, although the propensity to accept risk in Swahili culture — shaped by frequent contact with the risk of encountering strangers — could be an interesting subject for reflection. Rather, this article explores how people living in what is very broadly termed Swahili civilization behaved under the conditions of expanding commercial activity, and the legal and cultural obstacles they faced.

I mainly rely on Swahili texts published in several collections by Carl Velten and Carl G. Büttner (Büttner 1892, Velten 1901, Velten 1907, Mtoro 1903); on other Swahili texts, such as the autobiography of the Arab caravan potentate Hamīd bin Muḥammed Al-Murjebi (known more widely as Tippu Tip) (el Murjebi 1974) and the chronicle *Habari za Wakilindi* by Abdallah bin Hemedi 'lAjjemi ('lAjjemi 1962); on Western travel accounts; and on documents from American commercial firms established in Zanzibar, as well as British (and to a lesser extent, French and American) consular correspondence. Although this body of evidence allows the historian to thoroughly penetrate the world of East African caravan routes, it has obvious disadvantages: for example, the texts from

Velten's anthology are elicited, relatively recent, and originate partly from the Scramble for Africa period, during which the increased presence of Europeans in the interior disrupted existing political and economic relations. Furthermore, available sources speak at length about unusual situations distinct from everyday routine, which provide relevant but not always sufficient material on the risks of caravan trade. Many sources refer to trade in very remote areas (outside of what most historiographers accept as East Africa, though certainly part of a trading system centered in Zanzibar) where, at the end of the period under review, trade was not as standardized as it was in the areas lying closer to the coast.

Ivory — the most important object of caravan trade — did not follow any predictable commercial routine, as each tusk was singular and of great value per unit of weight. Products traded at the peripheries of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, such as copal and rubber, were less unique and of lower value. Also, the merchant culture of the East African coast spread over the nearby hinterland; therefore, it is possible that most transactions proceeded in a routine and peaceful manner. However, available sources say little about this trade. Regarding the coast, related material is quite diverse, including consular documents, Swahili ethnographies, and short travel reports, some of which include the observations and experiences of European travelers. These sources vividly illustrate the experiences of pioneer merchants, but are less useful in depicting those of rank-and-file traders who walked the most frequented trails.

2 | ORGANIZATION, CREDITING, AND PROFITABILITY OF CARAVAN TRADE

In the nineteenth century, East African products entered the global economic bloodstream. This was possible due to two phenomena that brought the region closer to the outside world. First, Zanzibar, as the center of power on the coast, reached the position of *entrepôt*, through which the majority of goods exported to the region and imported from it passed. Secondly, a network of caravan routes was created in the East African interior. Along with long-term trade based on Muslim ethics, the commercial customs of the coast spread and comingled with the cultural

practices of the interior. Initially, goods from the deep East African interior were supplied to the coast through the hands of several intermediaries. Caravan trade began thanks to the ethnic groups that specialized in long-distance trade, who for decades or longer had built networks of ties with neighboring peoples, offering their own products, such as iron and salt (Pawełczak 2010: 109-112). Over time, these local exchange systems began to serve as auxiliaries to the long-distance trade.

The caravans of interior traders were organized as independent producers' cooperatives, engaging families (including wives), lineages, and local communities (Rockel 2006). The trade organized in the opposite direction — that is, from the coast towards the interior — was initiated later, during the late-Eighteenth century at the earliest. It operated on different principles: paid or slave labor was engaged, and loans were provided by Indian (and initially, Arab) merchants and financiers, who drew on capital from places such as British protected state of Kutch (western India), Bombay, Boston, New York, Hamburg, and London. While the interior people themselves produced or obtained goods, then offered them to inland customers, organizers of coastal caravans received loans from merchants or financiers dealing in imported goods for which demand existed in the interior. These most often included cotton fabrics, beads, wire, firearms and gunpowder (Pawełczak 2010: 109-112).

Indian entrepreneurs, had visited East Africa for many centuries, expanded their presence in the region and grew in importance during the reign of *sayyid* Sa'īd ibn Sulṭān Āl Bu Sa'īdī (1806-1856), ruler of Oman and Zanzibar. The religiously and ethnically diverse Indian diaspora quickly mastered intricacies of local trade, including brokering with western merchants. An Indian company also farmed Customs, both in Zanzibar and the coast of East Africa. Under Sa'īd, and at least partly under his successor, Mājid ibn Sa'īd (1856-1870), a clearly defined hierarchy existed among the Indian merchants, headed by customs master Jairam Shivji and later, by his local representative (Bennett and Brooks 1965: 162, 194-6, 203, 212-213, 410-11). Larger caravans were financed by major Zanzibar merchants, and some ventures were sponsored by *sayyid* Sa'īd. During the reign of Barġaš ibn Sa'īd (1870-1888), acute rivalries arose in the international brokerage between several Indian merchant

houses, while Arab competition actually ceased to exist. The number of small independent traders and agents of major Zanzibari firms residing on the coast also increased (ANOM, B). This facilitated the financing of smaller caravans carrying fewer goods and subsequently, requiring fewer armed guards (Pawełczak 2010: 128-9).

Unlike overseas trade, caravans sent from the coast were mainly the domain of Arabs and Swahili. Competition was fierce, as individuals needed little capital of their own to begin trading, and daring men seeking good luck in the interior were in high supply. Caravan trade was not always a permanent occupation. Like their counterparts of the interior, young men from the coast treated the journey inland as a necessary stage in life — a chance to get rich, but also to acquire experience and satisfy their curiosity about the world. For older people, trading was often a seasonal occupation supplementing income from other sources, mainly plantations. Sometimes, however, it could be difficult to retire: one-off losses could force traders to borrow more money to pay off outstanding debts. In other cases, caravan trade was a way to escape from justice or simply from an unsuccessful life. Coinciding with the crises of the plantation economy, the number of volunteers quickly increased due to the growing shortage of slave-labor as in 1872 when after a great hurricane which almost completely destroyed the clove plantations of Zanzibar, the Sultan sent impoverished growers on a military expedition against Mirambo.[2] Some of them probably joined the ranks of caravan merchants (Büttner 1892: 151-2, Pawełczak 2010: 145-53).

Information circulated more quickly after steamships had begun to call at Zanzibar port in the early 1870s, and importers became subject to the pressures of changing consumer tastes and habits (Prestholdt 2006). With increasing frequency, Indian merchants in Zanzibar ordered imports directly from London, Hamburg, New York, and Salem instead of negotiating prices with agents of Zanzibari merchant houses. Many Zanzibari Indians had become familiar with the realities of world commerce, and were fully informed about bills of exchange, prices, and

[2] Mirambo (died 1884), a Nyamwezi chief, became the most famous of Tanganyika's nineteenth century rulers. In the early 1870s, he threatened the Arab trading colony of Tabora in west-central Tanganyika.

freight charges. Ordering western manufactured goods became even easier when, in 1883, the first western commercial bank opened a branch in Zanzibar. Small dealers and even shopkeepers with relatively few assets were able to conduct thriving businesses by drawing bills of exchange for large amounts of money after producing bills of lading for goods, which they consigned to their agents overseas (PEM, C; STAH, C). The Zanzibari agent of Hansing & Co. who ran banking services at that time recalled that the firm made advances against bills of lading to the value of 100% (Strandes 2004: 101).

However, greater availability of credit did not translate into more favorable terms for borrowers. The interest on loans granted to caravan merchants was higher than what was demanded from stationary people.[3] Technically, Indians did not require interest. Both the loan and the return were counted in money so as to meet the requirements of *sharia* law, which demands that the same good be paid back that was borrowed. In reality, creditors lent trading goods expecting future delivery of, for example, a certain amount of ivory. Details of caravan crediting are provided by German explorer Paul Reichardt. According to his example, from 4000 MTT (Maria Theresa Thaler)[4] credit, a caravan merchant received 200-300 MTT in cash and the remainder in trade goods calculated at 200 percent of market price. On the other hand, ivory supplied in

[3] The lowest rate was demanded from western merchants (6-9%), although they themselves lent at 33-40% for the best collateral (also deducted from capital). Between locals, interest amounted to 15-20% on loans granted against the pledge of real estate (Burton 1872, II: 407). Under the entry *a'mini*, Krapf's dictionary notes: *"Anapigua amini" means (according to Mr. Rebman) "an oath by which a debtor engages himself not to withdraw from his place until he has paid his debt"* (Krapf 1882: 10). Krapf seems to be uncertain of his colleague's fieldnote, as elsewhere in his dictionary he has *yamini* instead of *amini* for "*to swear solemnly*" (*ku-m-piga yamini, i.e. to make one swear with the right hand on the book of the Koran*, ibidem: 430). Irrespective of the linguistic correctness of Rebman, there seem to be a special form of contract, in which the debtor pledged to remain on the spot as long as his debt was not repaid. It is possible that it implied lower interest on credit, as well as meeting with lower security requirements. Of course, caravan buyers could not make use of this opportunity.

[4] Maria Teresa Thaler (also Maria Theresa Dollar), an Austrian silver coin, was the standard currency of the Sultanate of Zanzibar as well as many countries of Arica, Turkey and Arabian Peninsula throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

exchange was counted at 50% of its value on the Zanzibar market. Negotiating these conditions was out of the question — especially for small traders — because lenders had absolute supremacy on the financial market. Furthermore, little capital was available on the market, especially in the 1860s. While organizing a large expedition during this period, Tippu Tip borrowed goods worth 30,000 MTT from about twenty rich Indians (el Murjebi 1974: 14).

Some authors describe the financier-caravan merchant relationship using the percentage category of borrowed money, which is not entirely precise but reflects the essence of the situation. While there is a consensus that interest rates were very high, the data differ significantly. For example, French Consul Charles de Vienne placed them at around 30-40%, while in almost the same period (early 1870s) Stanley writes that Indians lent at 50, 60 or even 70%. Reichardt believes that lenders were secured regardless of the success of the caravan merchant, and rarely suffered losses (Stanley 1872: 7-8). Prospects for caravan merchants were far less secure. Information about the price of ivory in Usangu in central Tanzania and Urua in the eastern Congo from the 1860s and 1870s indicate that trade in remote areas was no less profitable (el Murjebi 1974: 16, 62). Unfortunately for caravan pioneers who had to buy trading goods in the interior, their value increased substantially. In 1857, Burton noted that in the Unyanyembe, the main caravan center of present-day Tanzania, purchasing fabrics, beads, gunpowder, brass and iron wire cost about five times more than in Zanzibar (Burton 1860, I: 333-4). Scarce data on transactions made in major caravan nodes confirm that differences in ivory prices between the coast and the interior gradually decreased towards the end of the pre-colonial period. In the 1870s, in Ujiji, the final terminal on the same route, ivory was 1½-2 times more expensive than in Unyamwezi, and in the last place twice as expensive as in Zanzibar (de Vienne 1872: 361). In the 1880s, this situation appears to have deteriorated further. According to Stuhlmann, who traveled to Tabora, ivory was only 10% cheaper there than in Zanzibar, while *merikani* cotton fabric — the basic exchange commodity in the interior — was more expensive than on the coast by 1/4 thalers (Stuhlmann 1894: 63). Around the same period it was rare for merchants to bring more to the coast than they

owed to the lender. On the way back to the coast, they often stopped in Tabora to buy the ivory of the missing debt (Reichardt 1892: 91).

A text by Swahili Selemani bin Mwenye Chande sheds light on the profit accrued by a single caravan and its individual participants. The expedition reached the southern area of today's Democratic Republic of Congo, and perhaps even further west to Angola. On the way, the traders were robbed, forcing them to sell the ivory they had collected (31 *frasila*[5], worth at least 3,000 MTT on the coast) to a European merchant at a price close to what was offered in Zanzibar. This was necessary to obtain funds for additional purchases in the country of Lunda. Finally, in the second round of the trip, they bought tusks weighing about 40 *frasila*. After repaying the loan, profit amounted to 500 MTT (the value of a small plantation or about five slaves at that time) divided unevenly between all members of the caravan; the highest share was 100 MTT (Selemani: 1965: 120).

Expensive credit could result not so much from the greed of lenders, but from the considerable risk of the financed undertaking. However, authors writing about caravan trade accentuate its enormous profitability. According to French author Charles Guillain, writing in the late 1840s, the first caravans returning from the hinterland brought 600% profits; these later fell to 100%, and finally to 25-40%. Guillain notes that exact calculations on specific caravans indicate that the profits were even smaller (Guillain 1858: 266f). Such a pessimistic estimate may have resulted from the temporary economic downturn that occurred as a result of the 1847 ban on slave exports (Bennett and Brooks 1965: 477). More recent references to profitability imply that trade became slightly more rewarding, although profits were still far from the initial levels quoted by Guillain. For example, according to Burton, as early as the 1850s, ivory brought from Ukambani in today's central Kenya returned 300% of gross profit (Burton 1872: 53). In contrast to the dwindling gains of caravan traders, creditors' profits did not diminish until the end of the pre-colonial era. According to Reichardt, on successful trips, financiers earned 300-400% of the invested capital. Even if the caravan brought

[5] 1 *Frasila* (sing.: *farasila*) – a measure of weight equal to approximately 16 kg.

only one-fourth of the ivory that had been expected, the capital brought him "only" 100% (Reichardt 1892: 90).

3 | POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND SPATIAL LIMITS OF TRUST

On the coast, lender-borrower relationships were regulated by the Shafi'ite and Ibadhi versions of Muslim law. However, disputes between Indian contractors and Western traders and those between Muslim and non-Muslim Indians were governed by the civil law of British India. Between Hindus, informal custom based on religious law was in force (Pawełczak 2010: 233). Muslim law, when applied in a pluralistic legal environment and economic reality different from the world in which it was codified, showed surprising elasticity. Although *sharia* does not recognize the institution of mortgage and overtly prohibits usury, among the coastal Arabs and Swahili, real estate was used as collateral for loans (Schmidt 1888: 152). Loarer, a French merchant studying East African trade on behalf of the French department for agriculture and trade from 1848-49, stated that the Arabs and Swahili were ready to pledge all they had in order to undertake a trade expedition (ANOM, A). The concept of selling real estate with the option of redemption after a certain period of time was used to justify loan transactions. The condition of "redemption" was, of course, the return of the borrowed amount of money or commodities. During the term of contract, the lender had the right to all income brought by the estate, which replaced interest on capital.

Bishara explains that conditional sale was an institution rooted in Ibadhi law. He has also pointed out that as credit chains extended throughout the Indian Ocean Basin region in the nineteenth century, a system of written proofs of obligation rendered in Arabic (*waraqa*) developed. An East African coastal merchant could transfer *waraqas* he received from caravan leaders to Zanzibar in order to settle accounts with his own creditors or as security against commercial credit. These documents were accepted both by Indians and Europeans (Bishara 2012: 202-3, Glassman 1995: 73). In international trade, bills of lading — documents that proved that a person had delivered goods for shipment abroad — could be used for similar purposes (PEM, C; STAH, C). This growing network of

obligation exposed its participants to losses caused by very slight economic fluctuations; such insecurity inspired East African Indians to seek British consular protection in Zanzibar.[6] Many of these documents were registered at the British court in Zanzibar. The Consulate helped British subjects to recover debts from failing businessmen on the basis of *waraqas* produced by creditors (Bishara 2012: 142-3, 217). In 1884, a case was registered at the British Consulate in which Pragji Jadowji stood before the *kadhi* of Zanzibar to claim ivory promised by an Arab trader. He presented a *paper, which was apparently intended to be a mortgage to secure the payment of the ivory in question.* The *kadhi* was to decide *according to the validity or invalidity of the Arabic document* (ZNA, F). Thus, the British Consulate became one of the key institutions in East Africa that guaranteed the validity of obligations and assisted in the execution of contracts.

Loans were also made to those who owned no real estate. In one of the Swahili debt documents published by Büttner, a man gives himself to his creditor promising to accept any job. This essentially placed him in the position of a slave, although the document does not state this openly (Büttner 1892: 85). Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari states that small merchants who began his career as caravan traders with neither property nor connections was only required to sign a promissory note (Mtoro 1903: 239). In Zanzibar, however, borrowers were usually required to present a guarantor who would repay debt in the event of insolvency. For example, there is a record of a Customs farmer, Jairam Shivji, guaranteeing a loan of a dozen MTT (STAH, B, D). Having a respectable guarantor did not always ensure getting a loan. Tippu Tip's *Autobiography* suggests that even his recommendation was not sufficient in the case of a man who asked for a loan of 1000 MTT, but whose credit was rated too low (el Murjebi 1974: 112). In Zanzibar, under Said's rule, serious loans seem to have been guaranteed by the governor of the city (CADMAE, A); later, in the 1860s, guarantor services were provided by agents who collected 2% of the sum of the loan (NARA).

[6] This was especially true after 1870, when all persons of Indian origins were proclaimed British subjects irrespective of whether they came from British India or the Protected States.

Possibly due to the influence of Muslim law, the institution of debt guarantor also existed among some non-Muslim and illiterate peoples of the interior, such as the Zaramo. Instead of a written commitment, the guarantor gave the creditor a piece of wood (*kijiti*) as the basis for a future claim if the debt was not repaid. Without it, the chief (*pazi*) would not assist in its enforcement (Mtoro 1901B: 213). According to Swahili author Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari, being a guarantor was a risky function, because debtors would often flee (ibidem: 214). In another weaker type of guarantee (*kafala*), the guarantor was responsible only for bringing in the debtor, not for repaying the debt (ibidem: 215).

The Zaramo, who participated in caravan trade, also required a pledge for debt.[7] As a rule, family members were pawned, possibly because individual land ownership was not recognized prior to the plantation-sector development that occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century. Because the Zaramo were a matrilineal society, they pawned only legitimate heirs, i.e. the debtor's nephew, but not their own child or slave. From perspective of Indian financiers, rights in persons were the only acceptable collateral for loans in the event that no institutional mechanism allowed for mortgaged property to be reclaimed. Towards the turn of the colonial era, however, the situation changed: a Zaramo debtor with no nephews would pledge a plantation (Mtoro 1901B: 216). This change may be attributed to the spread of the plantation economy among the Muslim Zaramo and the notions of private property, but other factors could also have contributed. Originally, pawnship was an institution distinct from slavery in that a pawned person remained a lineage member. With the commercialization of slavery, however, the rights of the lineage were sometimes violated (Morton 1994), which made transfer of rights in persons risky from the borrower's point of view. It is possible that the institution of the nephew pledge declined during the 1870s, when the British Consulate forbade Indians to keep slaves, on pain of severe punishment (PP, A, B). Also, a general increase in the availability of credit in the 1870s following the launch of regular steamboat communication and

[7] *Na rahani mimi nafsi yangu, na kwa killa kazi yake mimi ni mtu wakufanya bila hesabu, hatta tuishe hoja mimi naye, na muda wetu miaka mitatu kumkabithi mtumwa mwana 'me ao mwanamke* (Büttner 1892: 84-5).

the telegraph line connecting Zanzibar with the world (Pawełczak 2010: 180) could have contributed to the liberalization of loan policies aimed at the Zaramo.

To a certain extent, state authorities were engaged in the collection of debts. In Zanzibar, it was inscribed in the seasonal rhythm of monsoon reversal, which determined the possibility of sailing in the Indian Ocean. For example, twice a year, the Sultan's debt repayment was publicly announced on the 100th and 300th day of the Gujarati year, the calendar used by most East African Indians. Both dates were strategically important to those involved in shipping, one being in late November — the latest time of low tide in the north to the Persian Gulf and India — and mid-June, when the southern monsoons began and it was possible to move north after a long period of "wintering" in East Africa. According to the observations of John S. Leigh, a British trading agent writing in the 1840s, the leader of Zanzibar Swahili (*mwinyi mkuu*) sent a herald to the city twice a year, who went around striking a horn with a stick calling for everyone to pay their debts under threat of imprisonment (Leigh and Kirkman 1980: 495). Collectors of debts, however, encountered serious problems even in Zanzibar, where no formal police force existed. In 1861, Sultan Majid met with constant interventions from the British Consul, who on behalf of British Indians creditors, tried to create a police unit for the purpose of dealing with such problems. Theodor Schultz writes that the "police chief" was the former Sultan's barber, 'Abd al-Rahmān. He received the order to collect an amount owed by an Arab to a British Indian. The police chief, however, died, killed in the debtor's home by his son. He killed the Sultan's envoy and was himself killed by a soldier. After this incident, the ruler could find no eager candidates for the position of police chief (STAH, A).

On the coast, unpaid debt could be claimed in court, although in the late pre-colonial era, this was difficult unless the creditor could present witnesses or written proof. A late pre-colonial Swahili text on jurisdiction and court practices in Zanzibar shows that issuing written proofs of claims was not a normal practice. Denial of debt was widespread (Bromber 2001: 33-5), and during the boom in Zanzibar trade of the mid-to-late-1870s, it was common to transfer large sums of money in cash without

receipt (PEM, B). This may indicate a rapid erosion of business ethics in the second half of the nineteenth century, which had rapidly progressed in the conditions of mercantile capital expansion, with legal practice apparently not keeping up with social change (ZNA, F).[8]

Under Muslim law, bankruptcy of insolvent persons was carried out, but debtors' property would be confiscated and used to satisfy creditors' claims, either partially or wholly (Mtoro 1903: 312-3). Similarly, some western merchants were protected by treaties between their countries' governments and Zanzibar. For example, a treaty with the northern German cities stated that bankrupt parties should relinquish all assets owned on Zanzibar to their claimants, and would then be released from further debts. This enabled the rapid rise and fall of entrepreneurs such as Rieck, a Hamburg merchant disrespected by his compatriots because of his imprudent business ways. Although there was no such clause in the American treaty, buyers from that country stated that *Indeed we are much in doubt if there is any place in the world where so little is lost by bankruptcy as in Zanzibar* (Bennett and Brooks 1965: 488-90).

In order to prevent valuable goods from falling into the wrong hands, lenders often traveled to meet the returning caravans, even from a distance of 200 km inland (Jackson 1969: 328). However, the effectiveness of this measure was apparently limited, since by the 1880s Indians tended to seek help with debt recovery from the British Consulate. The Zanzibar National Archive contains a petition from a representative of an Arab caravan merchant who had died in the interior; liabilities on the property of the deceased amounted to 45,000 MTT, and a caravan with his ivory was supposed to be several miles from Bagamoyo. Because all creditors were British subjects, the petitioner asked for the property of the deceased to be taken over by someone appointed by the Consulate, and also for the customs master in Bagamoyo to send a message about ivory as soon as it reached the coast (ZNA, G).

---

[8] Pragji Jadowji, the author of the letter to the British consul in Zanzibar, was an Indian merchant. He presented the kadhi with a document in Arabic stating that the debtor undertook to deliver a certain amount of ivory in exchange for borrowed goods. The merchant defines the letter as "*a promise to deliver to us a certain quantity of ivory.*"

Court litigation and arrest made sense only when there was cause to suspect that the bankrupt person was hiding part of their estate (ZNA, A). This offense was punishable by imprisonment, but some debtors assigned property to their wives, making it inviolable (ZNA, C). For example, for many years the largest caravan merchant of the era, Tippu Tip, arguably to secure his assets against auction in the event of bankruptcy, did not have a house or plantation in Zanzibar, although his wife owned houses in both Zanzibar and Muscat (el Murjebi 1974: 39). Reichardt suggests that those borrowers who were arrested were notorious for failing to pay their debts (Reichardt 1892: 91); however, it was easy for creditors to use their influence in court and with local officials to have debtors arrested. This could happen to even the most eminent figures. For example, the day before the departure of an exploratory expedition led by Count Samuel Teleki, two men appeared in his camp to arrest Jumbe Kimemeta, a well-known caravan leader who operated mainly in today's central and western Kenya. The men had allegedly received an arrest warrant from some Zanzibar merchants, to whom Jumbe owed money. As intended, they escorted him to Pangani prison. However, the caravan leader was released after a few hours because Teleki's companion, Ludwig von Höhnel, boasted of his influence at the court of the Sultan of Zanzibar (von Höhnel 1892: 61). The renowned explorer Verney Cameron was also close to losing his indebted guide when the latter was nearly arrested in Bagamoyo (Cameron 1877: 69).

One may wonder whether the arrest of people who were central from the point of view of travelers' success was not part of a game against them by the coastal authorities. The latter were often involved in the illegal caravan traffic (Pawełczak 2010: 237) which made them suspicious about the goals of the European explorers, commonly associated with the anti-slavery policy enforced on the Sultan of Zanzibar by the British government (Bennett 1986: 68-9). However, there can be no doubt about the concerns of Selemani bin Mwenye Chande, who feared imprisonment in the likely event that the ivory collected by his caravan was not enough to repay the debt incurred on the coast (Selemani 1965: 117). Debtors probably constituted a large part of prison inmates in the Sultanate of Zanzibar. A petition from the patricians of Pangani to Sultan of Zanzibar

Ḳalīfa regarding the unlawful actions of Germans in the city of Pangani in August 1888 notes that they released, among others, *debtors, fugitives, and persons convicted for disobedience* (Glassman 1988: 649-56).

Bankruptcies were frequent in Zanzibar; however, they were generally declared by small firms (CADMAE, B). Only one large Western merchant house and one large Indian house went bankrupt, both during the 1880s (PEM, E). British consular materials from the 1880s provide very little information about Indian failures (ZNA, B, D, E), nor do they describe the customs accompanying declarations of bankruptcy. Burton's account refers to a *diwali* (the word also signified the end of the fiscal year, and a Hindu feast) ceremony that was performed during his stay in Zanzibar in the second half of the 1850s:

> *When a Bhattia's affairs become hopelessly involved, he generally "levants." Sometimes, however, he will go through diwali or bankruptcy, a far more troublesome process than the "Gazette." The unfortunate places in his store-front a lighted lamp, whence the name of the ceremony, and with head enveloped in a sheet, he silently occupies the furthest corner. Presently a crowd of jeering Moslems collects to see the furious creditors, ranting, scolding and beating the bankrupt, who weeps, wails, calls upon his god, and swears to be good for all future times* (Burton 1872: 334).

The custom of publicly humiliating a bankrupt person was a form of revenge taken by fellow believers, probably business contractors, and especially creditors. It made sense only as an alternative to bringing a delinquent to court. From the Indian diaspora point of view, the custom was rational because it saved her the expense of a court that was less than friendly to immigrants and probably would not have been come to their aid anyway. On the other hand, the interested person would thus be granted a second chance at doing business on the profitable East African market. These types of solutions could not be applied in cases where the creditor and debtor belonged to different religious and ethnic communities; instead, the lender could have the culprit arrested until he was capable of repayment. However, lenders were not always interested in putting debtors in jail. If someone could not pay the debt due to a failure of trade, creditors routinely equipped him for the next expedition (Stanley 1872: 7-8); the profits were then used to repay debt (Mtoro 1903: 311).

Not every creditor could or cared to turn to the courts, or to the Sultan's authorities (Bromber 2001: 45) Barriers included lack of connections or money for bribes, or fear of government. According to Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari, in the hinterland area permeated by the Swahili and Zaramo peoples,[9] a lender wishing to enforce a claim had to rely on his own strength or friends. He paid them a small sum of about 1-5 MTT to go to the debtor and demand repayment. The recruited aides confiscated the debtor's goods, but they had to reckon with the active resistance of his relatives (Mtoro 1903: 310). Such vigilantism indicates the sense of impunity present among the powerful. According to Reichardt, in the area of Pangani, Arab traders routinely enslaved indebted Africans (Reichardt 1892: 120).

In emergency situations, debtors could escape to the interior and either remain there (Thomson 1881: 244) to collect ivory to repay their debts, or retire from trading entirely. For example, an indebted immigrant who previously had traded in ivory on behalf of Zanzibar Arabs settled in Unyamwezi and began cultivating rice (Speke 1863: 116). Such people were wanted by creditors (Burton 1860: 165); therefore, many emigrated as far west as possible. Reichardt presents an example of the route of a debtor who, after escaping from the coast, settled in Tabora, where he drew debts again; he then moved further west, to Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika, where he "repeated the maneuver," and then to Nyangwe on the Lualaba (in today's north-east DRC), where an influential Arab bought some of his debts, allowing him to make a living as a slave hunter, probably in service to his benefactor. This example shows that it was not impossible to recover money from fugitives in the furthest parts of the interior; indeed, it was likely easier than recovering the debt from those who fled overseas to places such as India, or Arabia (Reichardt 1892: 92). Zanzibari governors were sent to Muslim colonies of the interior, such as Tabora, Ujiji, and Kota Kota, not for the purpose of governing them — this likely would not have been feasible — but to look after the interest of business contractors on the coast. Selemani bin Mwinye Chande is

[9] He probably originated from the area (Wimmelbücker 2009: 8).

probably correct when he writes that Sultan Barġaš sent his governor to Tabora mainly to make the colonists pay debts due to Indians from the coast (Selemani 1965: 97).

Among coastal merchants, the commercial practices of the coast quickly spread to the interior. This was not so much due to the interests of the state of Zanzibar, but rather to cultural and ethnic connections. By the 1850s, non-cash transactions and loans were already available in more important caravan nodes. Burton recalls the founder of Tabora, an Indian Muslim known as Musa Mzuri ("Beautiful Musa"), who was not only a merchant, but also a commercial agent and warehouse owner. He was also a moneylender, so he could not move from his office due to the need to check the timely repayment of debts (Burton 1860, II: 224-5, Speke 1863: 107-8). His hallway was frequently full of visitors, both Arab and African. Most Arabs living in the interior knew each other personally or were related, which strengthened trust between them. Later, in order to avoid the necessity of moving cash, merchants issued letters of credit that could be carried by people traveling to the interior (Büttner 1892: 89-90). The archives of Entebbe, Uganda contain promissory notes in Arabic issued by coastal merchants in Bunyoro which functioned as proof that the bearer had borrowed ivory from another merchant. The payment should have been made at a specific time and place in money or, in other cases, only in ivory, which was probably connected with the necessity of giving it to the creditor on the coast (Thomas 1949).[10] Periodic difficulties in hiring porters, as well as urgent delivery times, meant that merchants often kept someone else's ivory and assisted in transporting it to the coast. The popularity of these practices is best seen in the memoirs of Tip Tipp, who for many years operated in very distant parts of the interior, including in the regions west of Lake Tanganyika (el Murjebi 1974: 84, 109).

[10] For the earlier period see also Speke (Speke 1863: 237, 449). The separation of the sphere of exchange or simply the non-exchange of goods was normal. Cameron realized that to buy a boat in Ujiji, he needed to trade the brass wire for the canvas, then the canvas for the bone ivory, and finally the ivory for the boat (Cameron 1877: 246).

4 | VIOLENCE AND EXTORTION

While for Muslim traders the coast was an oasis of law and commercial security, non-Muslim caravan traders of the interior could not count on protection from the courts or governors of coastal towns. Not only was their property in danger, but also their freedom. In the first half of the nineteenth century, those who decided to make the risky journey to the coast did so in huge caravans after securing protection from the town rulers, who had the right of preemption. This can be seen in the example of the splendid reception of the caravan of Kivoi, the leading merchant from the Kamba people in Mombasa at the end of 1840 (Guillain 1858: 211). Normally, however, on the coast, trust was established through the institution of compulsory brokerage, which was usually provided by Swahili town patricians (Pawełczak 2010: 295-7). In exchange for heavy fees, they offered shelter, protection, and brokerage to their non-Muslim guests. Caravans were sometimes hosted for up to several months (Burton 1860, I: 39). By the end of the pre-colonial period, the institutions of the state of Zanzibar were strong enough to regulate the issue of security for aliens. At the same time, the Sultan imposed exorbitant tariffs on non-Muslims. During the 1870s, compulsory brokerage gradually disappeared (Pawełczak 2010: 295-7).

Unlike on the coast, no processes of strengthening the state or legal system developed in the interior. Increasing violence on the caravan trails was only partially counterbalanced by the growing numbers of guns the caravans had at their disposal. Local warlord chiefs rarely offered protection to coastal traders, more often turning to robbery. The significant distances and the time required for information to travel (as much as two years from Zanzibar to today's Eastern Congo) imposed specific rules for cooperation between trading parties concerning storage and transport of goods (el Murjebi 1974: 103). Trade in the interior was a risky occupation. War and violence, hunger, epidemics, natural disasters, resistance and escape of porters (Meyer 2005: 8),[11] theft, lack of demand for imported

[11] Meyer writes about his arrangement with Sewa Haji, who hired the porters for him. It provided for compensation in the event of a porter's escape. The price was 27 MTT for the cargo he carried and 3 MTT for the musket.

goods or supply of African export products, and exploitation under the pretext of toll collection were all damaging to caravan merchants and the locals who traded with them. Unreliable transportation and the lack of commercial infrastructure further intensified uncertainty.

Tippu Tip's autobiography reveals the use of violence against communities from which porters were recruited (el Murjebi 1974: 14), as well as the inflated demands made by their families in the event of the death of one of them.[12] Caravan merchants competed ruthlessly with one another, sometimes to the point of killing their rivals.[13] Certain supply points or in some cases, entire routes, were controlled by specific ethnic merchant communities which exposed others to victimization (Pawełczak 2010: 114). For some chiefs, extorting caravans had become a way of life. In the autobiography of Tippu Tip, Chief Samu showed a group of Arabs some ivory in order to lure them to his realm and then murder them. According to the author, Samu killed many merchants in this way. Interior leaders not only attacked caravans, but also kidnapped merchants (el Murjebi 1974: 18) or refused to grant permission to traverse their land. The milder form of aggression was to enforce excessive *hongo* (the toll fee), or to exact other forms of servitude; for example, forced labor or participation in war (Selemani 1965: 95, 118). As told by Selemani bin Mwenye Chande, Chieftain Chata blackmailed caravan leaders, promising the return of their confiscated property if they captured an unknown Swahili caravan merchant who had cheated him (Selemani 1965: 101). The same author writes that the merchants, fearing poisoning, did not want to touch the food served by a chief. In the end, he says that *natives should not be trusted*, which also applies to a friend of the chief (Selemani 1965: 104, 109). However, Selemani shows that exhibiting distrust of locals could create further problems. For example, the head of Kabwire

[12] According to Burton, in the case of the death of Zaramo's porter, his relatives collected the cargo he carried and demanded compensation as if he had died in battle (Burton 1860, I: 113).

[13] German merchant Heinrich Adolf Meyer tried to break a monopoly of local merchants and sent an ivory caravan headed by Europeans. Of the three leaders, two fell ill with fever and had to return, and the third was killed on the orders of Arabs (Schmidt 1888: 125).

was offended by the fact that Swahili merchants initially took him — wrongly, as it turned out — for a thief who had no intention of repaying his debt (Selemani 1965: 108).

The risk of assault influenced the average economic outcome of the caravans. Oskar Baumann writes that for every five caravans leaving for the country of the Maasai (Rift Valley), one was successful, two returned the costs incurred, and the other two suffered losses (Baumann 1891: 282, el Murjebi 1974: 138). In that particularly difficult area, in order to divide the risk, caravan owners formed companies to arrange the distribution of profits (Höhnel 1892L 166). In order to improve their defense capabilities, caravans made up of usually-competing ethnic groups joined together in force. However, caravan merchants were perpetrators as well as victims of violence, and their firearms often outnumbered those of the communities controlling caravan routes. Tippu Tip's caravans were protected by hundreds and even thousands of armed soldiers, allowing him to subdue an extensive area west of Lake Tanganyika where he built his informal empire.[14]

When it was convenient and possible, caravans tended to use violence, as evidenced by the narratives of both Tippu Tip and Selemani bin Mwenye Chande.[15] For caravan leaders, war was often a pretext for seizing the wealth collected by locals (el Murjebi 1974: 23). This explains why the rulers of the Interlacustrine region treated merchants with particular distrust; at the most extreme end of this spectrum, the country of Rwanda remained closed to strangers until the end of pre-colonial times. While it traded in slaves, it did so only in neighboring countries (Chretien 2007). Also, until the 1840s, the rulers of Buganda did not allow merchants from the coast into their territory. They traded with

[14] The record-holder in this respect, Tippu Tip describes his caravans as consisting of 4,000 people (el Murjebi, *Maisha*, 45) and later, as consisting of 3,000 people with rifles and 6,000 without rifles (ibidem: 116). For comparison, the caravan of the Swahili merchant Mwinyi Dugumbi from Windi met by Tippu Tip on the Lualaba counted 1,000 shotguns, not including local reinforcements.

[15] According to Selemani, the caravan's losses on the way to Tanganyika and then to Lunda amounted to 27 people killed in combat and three by wild animals. For comparison, the caravan itself killed 83 enemies in the fight (Selemani 1865: passim).

Zanzibar merchants — mainly in ivory and slaves — in the neighboring, semi-politically dependent state of Karagwe (Gray 1947: 80). For rulers with a solid economic footing, the prospect of profiting from foreign trade did not always balance the risk of opening the country to foreign influence. For minor leaders, however, contact with caravans was an opportunity to acquire imported items for redistribution among subjects, thus strengthening their power at the expense of the institutions that curtailed it (Pawełczak 2010: 183-219, Yohanna 1919: 33-4).

Violence threatened the local trade, based on the daily exchange of food products or crafts. However, while public fairs often received a special, neutral status ensuring the safety of people involved in trade (Lamphear 1970: 85), such protection was not granted to strangers, who had to provide for their own security. Long-distance trade, focused on slaves and objects of considerable value, was governed by its own rules. First, it did not take place in public, but in secret, usually in the seat of the chief and often at night (Reichardt 1892: 64, 89, Burton 1860, I: 39, Hahner-Herzog 1990: 38). Participants usually knew and trusted each other to some degree; however, this condition was not always possible to fulfill, and contact with the unknown surely aroused fear among those involved. It is worth mentioning that in East Africa there were no intermediaries with religiously sanctioned universal authority, such as *marabouts* in West Africa (Caillie 1830: 99).

Ivory sellers had a two-fold advantage over the caravan merchants they dealt with. Their numbers were relatively limited, and most were chiefs who usually had a monopoly on ivory trade in their territory, violation of which could result in the death penalty (Büttner 1892: 93-4). Thus, men from the coast were unable to choose those who offered the commodity at lower price. The next advantage the chiefs enjoyed was the ability to hide their ivory. Almost every tusk was sold separately, so the merchants did not know until the end of the negotiations how much the seller had (Selemani 1965: 107). Chiefs, on the other hand, could estimate the amount of goods a caravan could offer in exchange for his ivory based on the number of packages carried by porters. When their observations did not suggest success in negotiations, chiefs simply did not admit to possessing tusks. However, these advantages could also work

against the chiefs, provided their contractors were powerful enough to resort to violence. Tippu Tip admits that some ivory chiefs had to be forced to sell (el Murjebi 1974: 46).

As previously noted, chieftains and other heads of territories crossed by caravan trails collected fees for passage (*hongo*) from caravans. Payment of the fee entitled the caravan to the use of water, purchase of food and sometimes even its delivery, and above all, to safety during the march. Security was also provided on the return trip, when the caravan no longer had interchangeable goods. The amount of *hongo* varied and depended, among others from who paid, on the number of caravan members, and the number guns they carried (Pawełczak 2010: 219-221). Above all, it was determined by the fee collector's location on the trail and his connections with the world of politics and caravan business. Detailed data on this subject is presented in the account of Selemani bin Mwenye Chande. Based on the amount of *hongo* paid on his journey to the Unyanyembe country, several sub-regions can be distinguished:

- Near-hinterland: the caravan paid in only two places, about 150 km from Bagamoyo. One was Morogoro, where *hongo* amounted to forty pieces of cloth; in the other place it was twenty five pieces,
- Eastern foothills of the Usagara mountains—*hongo*, paid in several places, was up to fifteen pieces in some places; in others, like Kilosa, it was nothing,
- Mpwapwa: caravan node in the western foothills of Usagara - sixty pieces,
- Ugogo country: The caravan paid successively: 440, 105, 250, 600 (in that place the caravan was also forced to work free of charge), 500, 340, 200; in the last case, the negotiations had no effect and ended with a fight.
- Unyanyembe - the author does not mention any fees.

At subsequent stops on the rarely-frequented trail to the country of Ufipa on Lake Tanganyika, the toll fee depended on the circumstances. In general, it was much lower than in Ugogo, partly due to the exhaustion of caravan supplies. Interior leaders, despite formulating high demands, also showed flexibility, apparently being more interested in maintaining

contacts with coastal merchants than in immediate profits (Selemani 1965: 240). The *hongo* data suggests that areas of the near-hinterland were directly controlled by the Sultanate of Zanzibar, and thus deprived of strong local authority; leaders of the sub-region were not capable of imposing their will on caravans. A little further on, between Morogoro town and the Usagara Mountains, the chiefs exercised power that was sanctioned by the Sultan. The amount of *hongo* varied there, because it depended on leaders' prestige and the range of their authority. Facilitating the smooth flow of caravan traffic was in the chiefs' vital interest, even if it did not bring significant profit. The Zanzibar army was not able to control territories beyond Usagara. The leaders of the strong Gogo people, whose military organization was modeled on the Maasai, did not depend on any external authority and did not take any part in the caravan trade (el Murjebi 1974: 108). From the 1850s, caravans going west had practically no way to bypass their country, and hence had to spend significant amounts to leave it safely. The country of Unyanyembe was politically dominated by the Arab colony, and the interests of long-distance trade were also a priority for local political elites. These factors discouraged the imposition of fees.

5 | CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES

In reality, payment of *hongo* did not guarantee security to caravans for a number of reasons, among them the fact that negotiations were themselves dangerous and often led to clashes. In Ugogo, it seems the fee was not negotiable, and anyone who could not stand up to the local leader simply paid an exorbitant rate, even if it ruined his venture. Negotiations related to transactions themselves required the use of special confidence building measures. The primary form of exchange between representatives of foreign cultures found in different epochs and parts of the world is the so-called mute trade. Despite the harsh criticism to which sources referring to this type of practice were subjected (Karpiński 1974, de Morais Farias 1974), it should be noted that Osgood's account from the 1840s clearly indicates its existence in early contacts between Indians and Nyamwezi. The former offered goods in exchange for a specific

quantity of ivory. The transaction came to fruition when the Nyamwezi were satisfied with the offer and accepted the goods. Osgood states that earlier Nyamwezi did not haggle at all, contenting themselves with a handful of beads (Osgood 1854: 56). Limited information is available regarding mute trade from the second half of the 19th century, which may be attributed to its disappearance as trade relations in this period became commonplace.

To protect trade, coastal traders entered into two types of alliances with the inhabitants of the interior. The first — more durable and effective, but less common — was based on affinity bonds. Reference to such ties with the leader of the visited community aroused trust in the visitors. Tippu Tip was the son of an Omani Arab resident of Tabora who was married to the daughter of Fundikiro, the chief of Unyanyembe and his chief wife, Karunde. On the maternal side, this tycoon of caravan trade was also grandson of the ruler of Kasongo, located west of Lake Tanganyika, which probably contributed to this area being chosen as the main field of commercial activity. His grandfather, Habīb bin Bušir al-Wardi, who went to the country of Urua, visited the chief of Rungu Kabare, where he met the maid of Darimumba Mwana Mapunga. He took her as a concubine to the coast, where she gave birth to Tippu Tip's mother. The mother told her son that she belonged to the royal house (*mimi kwetu sultani*) and that her relatives had a lot of ivory. Tippu Tip claims that when he visited his grandfather in Urua for the first time, he welcomed him with great honors (el Murjebi 1974: 8, 68, 70, 97). Another example concerns the family bonds of members of the Omani Barāwina tribe, who lived in the port of Lindi. The chronicle of Lindi stresses their relationship, on the maternal side, not only to a Swahili family, but also to the chief of Ubena in the Kilombero valley, located 150-200 km inland (Anonymous 1907: 265-72). Such ties must have facilitated trade and provide security not only to the tribe members but also townsmen of Lindi in the region that was an important source of natural gum during the 1880s (Pawełczak 2010: 102).

The second type of alliance was based on blood brotherhood. This institution worked well where business relations were run by partners with similar status. The ceremony included the creation of an incision

on the partners' arms and its oiling with blood of an animal slain on the occasion, as well as an oath, the breaking of which could result in serious sanctions, including the death of the perjurers. Blood brotherhood was even concluded with a one-off transaction between people who may never have seen each other again.

The Swahili texts show what commitments were accepted by partners entering into this type of relationship. For example, the author of *Habari za Wakilindi*, Zanzibar born Abdallah bin Hemedi 'lAjjemy, committed to informing his blood brother (Kimweri III, the ruler of the Shambaa state in the Usambara Mountains) what Sultan of Zanzibar *sayyid* Mājid bin Sa'id said about him. Kimweri promised not to kill Abdallah, even if he was found guilty of betrayal. Interestingly, the sanctions for breaking Abdallah's oath included the curse that Indians would never trust him again ('lAjjemi 1962: 145-6), which was clearly understood as tantamount to the civilian death of the merchant. Both commitments indicate that for an inland ruler, a trusting relationship with a man with access to the high elites of Zanzibar society (such as Abdallah) was of exceptional value. It is characteristic that Kimweri demanded that Abdallah would choose loyalty to him over loyalty to the Zanzibar regime. The theme of fear of Zanzibar as a source of oppression also appears in Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari's text. The narrator, a novice Swahili merchant, enters blood brotherhood (*usare*) with Kingalu, a chief from the north of Uluguru region. The words of the master of ceremonies are as follows: *You are coming from the coast, young mungwana,*[16] *Kingalu wanted to make a blood brotherhood with you. You came with goods. When Kingalu or his wife take from you a doti*[17] *of cloth, and you get angry, you go to the coast and accuse him of it—may you die.* [If] *Kingalu will be captured by the government—die. If you befriend an enemy of Kingalu and you will help him and say 'Kingalu is a very bad man'—may you die. If you meet Kingalu or his brother in the city and you do not feed them and give them drink—may you and your family die.*[18]

[16] *Mungwana* – the term carries multiple layers of meaning including ethnicity, descent, status, and religion. Here the speaker appears to imply that his guest is a free man from the coast.

[17] *Doti* - a measure of lenght equal to ca 5.4m.

[18] Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari, *Safari yangu*, 131. Translation of the fragment cited: Marek Pawełczak.

This fragment demonstrates that on the trade routes, the influence of Zanzibari power was strongly felt even in very remote areas (in this case, about 150 km from the coast). This was especially true of people whose power depended on success in trade. What is most interesting here is the commitment to hospitality and the extension of the circle of loyalty to the relatives of one of the persons concerned (the term "brother" - *ndugu*, is probably used in the classificatory sense and describes a fairly wide set of relatives). Unfortunately, the author does not write about Kingalu's obligations, although it may be contended that they concerned personal security of his partner.

Africans from the interior treated the blood brotherhood oath very seriously, fearing the magical power that was supposed to be unleashed if it was broken. The traditional substance of such an alliance assumed solidarity and mutual help of the partners, which went much further than in the examples mentioned above.[19] However, in relationships between chiefs of the interior and coastal traders, the oath did not always necessary create lifelong bonds of loyalty. In Selemani's account, a leader from the area of present-day Western Tanzania used the blood brotherhood as an excuse to catch visitors off guard and rob them of their goods (Selemani 1965: 101). Muslims, accepting similar ceremonies, treated them perhaps even less seriously. Meyer's travel account contains a description of the blood brotherhood between the Arab governor of Tabora and a certain chief from the Ugalla region (in today's Central-Western Tanzania). Commitments were made regarding aid during war, as well as common property and gifts. In the event of the Governor's failure to fulfil the contract, he and his family would die, and his wealth would become the property of the chief. The Governor provoked the breaking of the alliance, which inspired Meyer to believe that for him, blood brotherhood was worth little (Meyer 2005: 94). Arguably, Meyer meant the religious and psychological implications of the oath rather than

[19] In the description of the customs of the Doe people, Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari mentions that if one of the blood brothers accused the other for adultery with his wife in the *sharia* court and demanded compensation, the penalty for denunciation would be death. According to the author, in the past blood brothers even inherited from each other. In the 1890s, it was rare (Mtoro 1901C: 194).

the business-related substance. It would be unreasonable to generalize based on one incident, even if other contemporary evidence speaks to East African mainland Muslims' disenchantment with traditional African beliefs ('lAjjemy 1962: 216). Speke's mention of a murder committed on a similar occasion even suggests that the ceremony itself could have been dangerous for participants (Speke 1863: 107-8).

Another more secure way to involve the political elite of the mainland in the confidence circle was the Islamisation of chiefs, or placing Muslims in caravan nodes with the task of building ties with local leaders (Bennett 1963). It may be surmised that the latter served as a means of communication with the host communities, and helped spread the Swahili language which began to serve as a *lingua franca* of East African traders in the period under discussion. To a certain extent, the chiefs were interested in adopting Islam because the conversion raised their position in dealing with merchants from the coast. However, for the chiefs, the adoption of a new religion did not eliminate redundant links in the chain of transactions between them and Zanzibar, i.e. costal merchants. For leaders in the interior, the ideal situation would have been to sell directly to people on the coast on equal terms with Muslim traders. The fact remained that on the coast, non-Muslims obtained much lower profits because they paid higher duties and additional fees (Burton 1860, I: 7). Many chiefs sought out trusted intermediaries (including Europeans) to sell their accumulated goods and slaves on the coast at prices more favorable than those offered by caravan merchants. Even the pioneer Protestant missionary Johann Ludwig de Krapf was pressed by an officer (*negro general*) of the ruler Usambara Kimweri II to help sell his ivory *direct to the white men at Zanzibar* (PEM, A). Sometimes, they also wanted intermediaries to buy gunpowder for them, which, according to Zanzibar law, non-Muslims from the interior were not allowed to sell (Mtoro 1901: 132, 'lAjjemy 1962: 129-131, New 1873: 395).[20]

[20] Mirambo thwarted the attempt to establish direct commercial relations between Kabaki Buganda Mutesa and Sultan Majid (el Murjebi 1974: 36). See also the article by J. M. Gray on the first Arab visitor to Buganda (Gray 1947: 132).

Islamisation was not limited to chiefs, even though for the coastal Muslims they were the most valuable contractors.[21] An Islamized leader would spark conversions of subsequent family members and clients, which ensured a fairly rapid accession to Islam of the communities involved in caravan trade. Unfortunately, little is known about the working of law and commercial customs in partly Islamized East African communities.[22] We know, however, that Muslim merchants from the interior merged into the social structures of the coast, to the extent that their identity was not always obvious. Urban communities developed mechanisms that allowed newcomers to assimilate; they often had their districts in coastal cities and even in Zanzibar (Baumann 1891: 114, Burton 1860, I: 39). There is not much evidence on their role in direct trade between the interior and Zanzibar. *Habari za Wakilkindi* mentions Kheirullah, a Nyamwezi settled in Zanzibar who took care of the Shambaa delegation's formalities with Customs and possibly brokered the sale of their goats. It is likely that as an interior man, he specialized in providing services persons from outside of the coast belt and enjoyed their trust ('lAjjemy 1962: 206).

6 | DIFFICULTIES ACCOMPANYING THE DIFFUSION OF COMMERCIAL CULTURE

Distrust between coast men and interior people did not encourage trade on credit. Deferred delivery of ivory in exchange for goods that had already been supplied was risky. Even if Tippu Tip admits that he paid contractors from Ruemba with a certain number of tusks (the author uses the word *kopesha*, meaning to lend), he explains that they were "friends," and "good people" (*sahibu, watu wema*)(el Murjebi 1974: 65). Sometimes consent for deferred payment was enforced. In addition to *hongo*, chief Kitula demanded goods on credit, in return offering caravan

[21] Among the important chiefs of the interior, only one of Yao's chiefs converted to Islam (Yohanna bin Abdallah 1919: 45).

[22] On the subject of Islamized communities of the interior dwellers in the eastern Congo area, see the diary by the Polish anthropologist Jan Czekanowski on his early twentieth century travels to East and Central Equatorial Africa (Czekanowski 1958: 295-308, 319-26, 350-7).

merchants the supply of ivory when they passed through his lands on the way back to the coast. They replied that they did not give credit. Ultimately, however, they were convinced by a servant of another friendly leader to concede, and left him some goods accepting the promise of two big tusks. The argument that prevailed was that the borrower was "Sultan" and "had his own land" (Selemani 1965: 108). A Lunda chief known to merchants from the coast as Mkalikali (Swahili: "very harsh") first traded normally with Selemani's companions, then forced them to transfer the rest of their goods in exchange for the promise of delivering ivory. Then, however, he refused to fulfill his obligation under the pretext that one of the porters was seen urinating at the graves of his ancestors. The Swahili did not accept such excuses, sending a delegation to Kigongo, client of Msiri, the then-mighty ruler of Katanga. Kigongo, probably seeing a good opportunity to interfere in the neighbors' affairs, ordered Mkalikali to return the goods; he immediately found five tusks that compensated the merchants for their losses (Selemani 1965: 117). This case shows that for coastal merchants, the ultimate weapon was always a reference to a powerful protector. Such patronage was particularly important in places where the Sultan of Zanzibar's power and the jurisdiction of his courts did not reach even theoretically.[23] In early colonial times, such bonds were gradually replaced by those with European administrators.[24]

Coastal traders' behavior often inspired revenge among their trading contractors from the interior, which could lead to serious disruptions in caravan trade. In contrast to Indian lenders, the chiefs had few peaceful instruments at their disposal when merchants were reluctant to pay their debts. One example involves an attempt by Mirambo, then one of the

[23] Mirambo said that Tippu Tipp's grandfather, Juma bin Rajab al-Murjebi, made his grandfather the chief of Uyua. For this reason, the chief thought himself to be the son of Tippu Tip's father, despite the hostility that ruled between them (el Murjebi 1974: 94). The Arab colony owed Tippu Tipa connections to make peace with Mirambo (ibidem, p. 106). Tippu Tip itself used Mirambo services, for example when renting porters (ibidem: 112). Tippu Tip also befriended other important interior leaders, such as Merere, commander of Sangu (ibidem: 26).

[24] In a similar situation, Selemani's caravan appealed to a German administrator (Selemani 1965: 102-3).

lesser chieftains of Unyamwezi, to recover a debt from an Arab, whose compatriots from Tabora did not assist him with the execution. At one point, when the caravan of a partner of that indebted merchant stood on the border of Mirambo's chiefdom, he refused to allow it to pass unless the debt was settled. This led to the outbreak of a four-year war between the chief and the Arab colony of Unyanyembe (1871-1875), which paralyzed caravan trade on the Bagamoyo-Tabora-Ujiji route for several years (Bennett 1971: 55).

For caravan merchants, negotiations over the price of ivory and slaves were unusual. European travel accounts are full of references to purchasing food supplies and access to water, which were part of their daily routine. They usually illustrate the perspective of the caravaners, accentuating the greed of the interior residents (el Murjebi 1974: 40). The reasons for this often resulted from a misunderstanding of the situation of a society that did not produce significant surpluses, and sometimes from incompatibility of concepts related to ownership. In von Höhnel's account, the Meru forced an expedition to conclude a loan agreement for an ox. Although the ox was falsely understood to belong to one person, the ceremony covered virtually the entire community of the village and lasted so long that it discouraged the caravan leaders from making similar deals in the future (Höhnel 1892: 160-1). Inhabitants of the interior often were not familiar with subtleties related to the value of goods desired by merchants from the coast. One of the chiefs encountered by Selemani bin Mwenye Chande during his journey tried to sell pig tusks to traders, being wrongly convinced that they had a value comparable to that of hippopotamus teeth, a little cheaper than ivory. Another cultural barrier was that the local systems of measuring the values functioning in the interior did not adhere to the ideas of the people of the coast (el Murjebi 1974: 85). Difficulties in dealing with interior people associated with measuring and counting, however, were not impossible to overcome. For example, during negotiations, the Kikuyu represented the quantities of goods they desired with empty corn cobs of various kinds (Höhnel 1892, 161). The King of Karagwe sent a rope tied in knots for a similar purpose, the number of which corresponded to the number of tusks offered for sale (Grant 1864: 56). Reichardt cites an example from central Tanzania

of marking the circumference and length of elephant tusks with straws (Reichardt 1892: 444-5).

Inhabitants of the near-interior slowly but systematically adjusted to the use of coins. This was especially true of the Mrima coastline, where they circulated up to a depth of about 200 km inland. The growing trust in coin money (mainly copper Indian pieces) facilitated commercial penetration for small merchants who could not afford to hire many porters, and accelerated the introduction of this area into the commercial circle of the coast. Coins were used there not only for the exchange of goods, but also in the function of social payments (Pawełczak 2010: 60-3). However, further in the interior, depending on the region, different types of beads or *kauri* shells were used in a similar function. The use of a standard regional-specific medium of exchange allowed local rulers to maintain some degree of control over trade. In more peripheral regions, the caravan merchants had to adapt exchange systems based on local products. One example is the country of Ufipa, where the "currency" was dried fish (el Murjebi 1974: 54, 58).

The issue of weights was also a field ripe for abuse by merchants from the coast, who ruthlessly made use of their better orientation in trade matters and access to information. In transactions with interior people, coast men used volume and weight measures with the same names as were used at the East African coast, but manipulated their size in a way that was favorable to them (Krapf 1882: 158). Stanley cites the observation of an attempt at fraud in Zanzibar. A resident of the interior arrived at an Indian shop with an ivory punch weighing several *frasila*. Banian, putting it on the scales, was ready to swear that it weighed no more than 1 *frasila*. He reacted to the protests with a scream, not allowing the guest to leave (Stanley 1872: 7). In his letter to an American department store, Tharia Topan directly advised the recipient to offer rolls of cloth on the East African market with labels inflating the length of the roll. Such scrolls, respectively cheaper than full-fledged ones, were more popular among merchants, who later offered them poorly-oriented recipients in the interior (PEM, D).

It can therefore be concluded that coastal traders used their advantages resulting from better access to buyer information, as well as from

imposing their commercial culture and manipulating it in their own interest. The area where this advantage existed did have geographical boundaries; however, their precise delineation is quite difficult to determine. With the exception of the central route, this area reached the furthest reaches of the Usagara mountain range. Outside of this border, enforcing claims against interior residents could provide only military and political advantages.

7 | CONCLUSIONS

When one looks at nineteenth century East Africa from the point of view of the structures of trust building and risk reduction, several conclusions may be drawn. At first sight, the region seems to be composed of two areas: Zanzibar and the coast where the state and law regulating execution of contracts were well established, and the interior where such rules were just emerging. In fact, the emergence of new legal and moral environment of trade took place in both sub-regions in a way which is difficult to compare. The Muslim coast was penetrated by modern, global, capitalist practices whose bearers were Indian, and to lesser degree, Western merchants. Consequently, it was not only judicial and conciliatory institutions of the indigenous society that mediated the intrusion of the global but rather, and at times predominantly, consular and overseas courts. If reference was made to Muslim law, which was in many cases unavoidable, it was to some extent bent to the needs of modern trade. The pressure of global economy pushed deep into interior. The Islam-based economic culture played there the role similar to that of the western-cum-Indian custom and justice in Zanzibar. In none of the cases the external mediation led to an integration of views on what was fair in business and the development of risk reduction methods. The westward expansion of Islam based on migration, as well as conversion to Islam, created some sense of a moral community which assimilated elements of the indigenous cultures of these areas. Outside this community, the cultural and institutional framework guaranteeing execution of contracts may seem to be unsound. However, the growth of the caravan trade indicates that for many caravan entrepreneurs the framework worked well

enough to undertake the risk of a *safari*. Perhaps the very belief in the strength of the Zanzibar state was the factor that helped overcome all fears. Not without reason: although seemingly weak and distant, the state could be surprisingly effective.

For the peoples of the interior caravan trade carried new challenges: practical ones, resulting from illiteracy, ignorance of the counting, measures and weights, and even more difficult, related to the violation of old social structures and the moral order. In a long run one can see that the spread of Islam provides means of consensus to the societies whose traditional balance was distorted. For instance, in the interior of West Africa Muslims brought and propagated their already well-established and religiously sanctioned culture of commerce. A stable, cohesive commercial culture did not emerge in the interior East Africa, certain standards of conduct, however, were established, even if wavering and negotiable, as a result of the clash of different traditions and ethical systems. In some cases, old customs, such as the pledge of a nephew and blood brotherhood, functioned in a new context. Characteristically, a product of cultures of the interior such as the blood brotherhood was not always effectual. Nevertheless, petty Muslim merchants trying to trade within a limited distance from the coast or on less frequented routes had to rely on it in their contacts with non-Muslims. With their well--established and religiously sanctioned culture of trade, the coast men were in a privileged position, even if they did not have a military advantage allowing them to impose their own rules. Dissemination of credit only seemingly brought equal opportunities. Real profits from caravan trade required bonds of trust and loyalty, but also fire weapons, and hence the access to the state apparatus of the Sultanate of Zanzibar was necessary. All the above were available to members of a small merchant elite. One could enter it by inheriting knowledge and business contacts: both in the interior and among the financiers on the coast. It cannot be ruled out, however, that a career "from scratch" was possible under the condition of entering into appropriate marriages with representatives of an interior power elite and gaining the trust of financiers on the coast.

Risk is a factor that modern economists can measure and describe. It is much more difficult for a historian working on the basis of relatively

few and often accidentally created sources especially that the activity in question was so much intertwined with culture, religion, war, and diplomacy. One can only asses the general risk trend in the East African caravan trade. It may be broken into the risk incurred due to the general destabilization of the region (including the coast), which certainly increased, and the risk due to factors related to its organization. In the latter case, the answer is ambiguous. Although on the coast the prices of ivory and slaves grew, it did not balance their growth in the interior. This was due to better information flow, development of caravan infrastructure and trade procedures, emergence of a specialized group of commercial agents and brokers, evolution of consumer needs and tastes towards greater variety and choice, strengthening of the political power along major trade routes (Pawełczak 2010: 109-123).

The last question concerns the emergence of commercial infrastructure, understood as a system of roads, supply bases, exchange points, but also of connections and exchange of information between trade participants. Did these processes, in the longer term, favored traders or compromised their interests? Certainly, greater profit was achieved by those who were cutting new routes: both on the western edge of the Zanzibar caravan system where competition was almost absent, and in the near hinterland where new products such as rubber were to be found. Furthermore, the biggest players engaged not only in trade, but also war and diplomatic games. Those who followed the usual paths, not moving away from the places where the value of commodities and the rules of conducting trade were already known, had to be satisfied with minimal profit with the great risk of losing their lives and property. Nevertheless, many traders chose the latter which proves that it was still attractive for many inhabitants of the coast and interior.

REFERENCES

I. Published:

'lAjjemi, Abdallah bin Hemedi. *Habari za Wakilindi*. ed. by J. W. T. Allen, Nairobi: EALB 1962.

[Anonymous]. „Khabari za zamani za Lindi", *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, ed. by C. Velten, Berlin 1907, pp. 265-72.

Arnoldi, J. *Risk: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press 2009.

Baumann, O. *Usambara und seine Nachbargebierte. Allgemeine Darstellung des Nordőstlichen Deutsch-Ostafrika und seiner Bewohner auf Grund einer im Auftrage der Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesselschaft im Jahre 1890 ausgeführten Reise von Dr.* --. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer 1891.

Bennett, N. "Mwinyi Mtwana and the Sultan of Zanzibar". *Studies in East African History*, N. Bennett, Boston: Boston University Press 1963, pp. 76-80.

Bennett, N. Mirambo *of Tanzania, ca. 1840-1884*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1971.

Bennett, N. *Arab versus European. Diplomacy and War in Nineteenth East Central Africa*. New York: Africana Publication 1986.

Bennett N. and Brooks G. (eds.), *New England Merchants in Africa: A History Through Documents 1802 to 1865*. Boston: Holmes and Meier 1965.

Bishara, F.A. "A Sea of Debt: Histories of Commerce and Obligation in the Indian Ocean, c. 1850–1940", PhD. diss., Duke University 2012.

Bromber, K. (ed. and transl.). *The Jurisdiction of the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Subjects of Foreign Nations*. Würzburg: Ergon 2001.

Burton, R.F. *The Lake Regions of Central Africa, a Picture of Exploration*. Vol. I-II, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts 1860.

Burton, R.F., *Zanzibar: City, Island and Coast*. Vol. II, London: Tinsley 1872.

Büttner C.G. (ed.). *Suaheli-Schriftstücke in arabischer Schrift*, Stuttgart: W. Spemann 1892.

Caillie, R. *Travels through Central Africa to Timbuctoo and across the Great Desert, to Morocco, Performed in the Years 1824-1828*. Vol. I, London: Colburn & Bentley 1830.

Cameron, V. *Across Africa*. Vol. I, New York: Harper & Brothers 1877.

Chretien, J-P. "The Slave Trade in Burundi and Rwanda at the Begining of German Colonisation, 1890-1906". *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*, ed. by H. Medard, S. Doyle, Oxford: James Currey 2007, pp. 210-30.

Curtin, P.D. *Cross-cultural Trade in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984.

Czekanowski J. *W głąb lasów Aruwimi. Dziennik wyprawy do Afryki Środkowej*. Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1958.

Glassman, J. "Social Rebellion and Swahili Culture: The Response to German Conquest of the Northern Mrima". Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison 1988.

Glassman, J. *Feasts and Riots: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888*. Social History of Africa, Portsmouth NH: Heinemann 1995.

Grant, J.A. *A Walk across Africa: or, Domestic Scenes from my Nile Journal*. Edinburgh & London: W. Blackwood & Sons 1864.

Gray, J.M. "Ahmed ibn Ibrahim – the First Arab to Reach Buganda". *Uganda Journal* 11, 1 (1947), pp. 80-97.

Guillain, Ch. *Documents sur l'histoire la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*. Vol. II/2, Paris 1858.

Hahner-Herzog, I. *Tippu Tip und der Elfenbeinhandel in Ost- und Zentralafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*. München: Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft 1990.

Hardin, R. *Trust and Trustworthiness*, New York: Russel Sage Foundation 2004.

von Höhnel, L. *Zum Rudolph-See und Stephanie-See. Die Forschungsreise des Grafen Samuel Teleki in Ost-Aequatorial-Afrika 1887-1888 geschildert von seinem Begleiter–*. Wien: A. Hölder 1892.

Jackson, F. *Early Days in East Africa*. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall 1969.

Karpiński, R. „Handel niemy w Afryce Zachodniej. Mit czy rzeczywistość?". *Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura. Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Małowistowi w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*. ed. by. S. Herbst. Warszawa: PWN 1974, pp. 145-156.

Krapf, J.L. *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language*. London: Trubner 1882.

Lamphear, J. "The Kamba and the Northern Mrima Coast". *Pre-colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, ed. by R. Gray and D. Birmingham, London: Oxford University Press 1970, pp. 75-101.

Leigh, J.S. and Kirkman, J.S. "The Zanzibar Diary of John Studdy Leigh, Part II". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, 3 (1980), pp. 492-507.

Meyer, H. *Expedition Ostafrika. Mit der Karawane zum Kilimanscharo*. Stuttgart: Reader's Digest 2005.

de Morais Farias, P. F. "Silent Trade: Myth and Historical Evidence", *History in Africa* 1 (1974), pp. 9-24.

Morton, F. "Pawning and Slavery on the Kenya Coast: The Miji Kenda Case". *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective*. ed. by Toyin Falola and P .E. Lovejoy, Boulder-San Francisco-Oxford: Westview Press 1994, pp. 27-41.

Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari. *Habari yangu ya Udoe. Safari za Wasuaheli*. ed. by C. Velten, Gőttingen 1901, pp. 126-80.

Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari. "Khabari ya inchi ya Wazaramu na dasturi za Wazaramu kama zilizotungwa na". *Safari za Wasuaheli*. ed. by C. Velten, Gőttingen 1901B, pp. 205-52.

Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari. "Safari yangu ya Uzigua ḥatta Udoe na khabari za Wadoe na mila zao". *Safari za Wasuaheli*. ed. by C. Velten, Gőttingen 1901C, pp.126-80.

Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari. *Desturi za Wasueḥeli na khabari za desturi za sheri*'a za Wasuaḥeli. ed. by C. Velten, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1903.

el Murjebi, Hamed bin Mohammed. *Maisha ya Hamed bin Muhammed el Murjebi yaani Tippu Tip kwa maneno yake mwenyewe*. Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau 1974.

New, Ch. *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa: With an Account of the First Successful Ascent of the Equatorial Snow Mountain, Kilima Njaro, and Remarks upon East African Slavery*. London 1873.

Osgood, J.F. *Notes of Travel, or, Recollections of Majunga, Zanzibar, Muscat, Aden, Mocha and other Eastern Ports*. Salem: G. Creamer 1854.

Pawełczak, M. *The State and the Stateless. The Sultanate of Zanzibar and the East African Mainland: Politics, Economy and Society, 1837-1888*. Warszawa: IHUW 2010.

Prestholdt, J. *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization*. Berkeley: University of California Press 2006.

Reichardt, P. *Deutsch-Ostafrika. Das Land und seine Bewohner, seine politische und wirtschaftliche Entwickelung, dargestellt von* --. Leipzig 1892.

Rockell, S. *Carriers of Culture: Labour on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa*. Social History of Africa, Portsmouth NH: Heinemann 2006.

Schmidt, K.W. *Sansibar: Ein Ostafrikanisches Culturbild*. Leipzig 1888.

Selemani bin Mwenye Chande. "Safari yangu ya bara Afrika". *Swahili prose texts: A selection from the material collected by Carl Velten from 1876 to 1896*. ed. by Harries Lyndon, Oxford: OUP 1965.

Sheriff, A. *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar*, London: James Currey 1987.

Speke, J.H. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. Edinburgh 1863.

Strandes, J. *Erinnerungen an Kindheit und Jugend und an die Kaufmannszeit in Hamburg und Ostafrika, 1856– 1889*. Hamburg: Verlag Hanseatischer Merkur 2004.

Stanley, H.M. *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa: Including Four Months' Residence with Dr. Livingstone*. London 1872.

Stuhlmann, F. *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Ein Reisebericht mit Beitragen von Dr. Emin Pascha, in seinem Auftrage geschildert von Dr. Franz Stuhlmann*. Berlin 1894.

Thomas, H.B. "Arabic Correspondence Captured in South-West Bunyoro in 1895. With a Note on Arab Traders in Bunyoro". *Uganda Journal* 13, 1 (1949), pp. 31-38.

Thomson, J. *To the Central African Lakes and Back: The Narrative of the Royal Geographical Society's East Central African Expedition, 1878-80*. Vol. II, London 1881.

Velten C. (ed.). Anthologie aus der Suaheli Literatur (Gedichte und Geschichten der Suaheli), Berlin: E. Felber 1894.

Velten C. (ed.). *Safari za Wasuaheli*, Gőttingen 1901.

C. Velten (ed.). *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin 1907.

de Vienne, Ch. "De Zanzibar à l'Oukami. Route des Lacs de l'Afrique équatoriale. Par Ch. De Vienne Consul de France à Zanzibar". *BSG*, 6 sér., 4 (1872), pp. 356-69.

Wimmelbücker, L. *Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari (c.1869-1927). Swahili Lecturer and Author in Germany*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota 2009.

Yohanna bin Abdallah. *The Yaos*, Zomba (Nyasaland): Government Printing Office 1919.

II. Archives:

ANOM (Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, France)

A. Cpt. Loarer, "Ports au sud du Zanguebar," CAOM, fm sg oind 2 /10/2.

B. Cpt. Loarer, "Memoire sur la population, l'organisation et l'économie de l'île de Zanguebar," Le centre des archives d'outre mer (hereafter CAOM), Aix-en-Provence, fm sg oind 5/23/1-2

PEM (Phillips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum, Peabody, MA, USA)
A. Diary of John Felt Webb, 1851-1852, 9 April 1852, MSS 0.145.
B. Papers received from W. H. Hathorne Esq. relating to the case of Augustus Sparhawk Agent vs. Peeraby Jewanjee, John Bertram & Co. papers [1878], fol. 3.
C. Tharia Topan to Ropes Emmerton & Co., 16 March 1883, Ropes, Emmerton and Company Records, box 56, fol. 1.
D. Taria Topan to Ropes, Emmerton&Co., 29 August 1883, Ropes, Emmerton and Company Records, box 56, fol. 1.
E. Cheney to A. Hines & Co and Ropes, Emmerton & Co., 24 December 1883, Ropes Emmerton and Company Records, 1873-1902, box 55, fol. 4.

STAH (Staatsarchive Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany)
A. Schultz to O'Swald & Co., 27 July 1861, 621–1/147/4, Bd. 12.
B. Schultz to O'Swald & Co., 17 January 1873, 621-1/147/4, Bd. 24.
C. Grallert to O'Swald & Co., 19 January 1884, 621–1/147/4, Bd. 35.
D. W. O'Swald to O'Swald & Co., 17 March 1884, 621-1/147/4, Bd. 35.

ZNA (Zanzibar National Archives, Zanzibar, Tanzania)
A. Khoja Abdalla Sale Sachedin to Miles, 14 March 1883, AA2/35.
B. Gissing to Kirk, 1 May 1884, AA 10/1;
C. Gissing to Kirk, 11 May 1884, AA 10/1.
D. Gissing to *liwali* Malindi, 15 July 1884, AA 11/12;
E. Gissing to *liwali* Takaungu, 28 July 1884, AA 11/12.
F. Pragji Jadowji to the British Consul in Zanzibar [n.d. but 1884], AA 2/36.
G. Petition of British Indian subjects to Kirk], 2 May 1886, AA2/43.

CADMAE (Centre des Archives diplomatiques du ministère des Affaires étrangères, La Courneuve, France)
A. Belligny to Ministre des Affaires étrangères, 5 May 1850, Correspondance consulaire et commerciale/ZANZIBAR, série 370CCC, P.253
B. Jabłoński to Ministre des Affaires étrangères, 2 February 1862, Correspondance consulaire et commerciale/ZANZIBAR, série 370CCC, P.254, v. 2.

NARA (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington DC, USA)
W. J. Speer to W. H. Seward, 26 November 1862, Despatches from US Consuls Zanzibar, 1836-1906, Microcopy 468, roll 2.

PP (House of Commons, British Parliamentary Papers)
A. Kirk's report of 2 August 1873, PP 1874, C.946/52/3;
B. Elton to Kirk, 14 December 1873, PP 1874, C.946/1/2.

NR 52/2018 | ISSN 2545-2134
STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Iwona Kraska-Szlenk
University of Warsaw, Faculty of Oriental Studies

KINSHIP METAPHORS IN SWAHILI LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Abstract

Swahili kinship terms are highly polysemous and occur in many figurative meanings out of which some are fully conventionalized in language usage. The article focuses on a specific case of such extensions which metaphorically frames an unrelated person as one's kin. The usage patterns of this "fictive" kinship will be analyzed in various pragmatic contexts demonstrating their illocutionary and perlocutionary effects. In addition, it will be shown that this particular extension, as well as other multiple figurative uses of kinship terms correlate with the Swahili *cultural model* and the high appreciation of one's family in the community's system of values.

Keywords: cultural models, kinship terms, metaphor, polysemy, Swahili

1 | INTRODUCTION: CULTURAL MODELS IN LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL LIFE

In linguistic and anthropological studies, the idea that language and culture are interconnected and influence each other is not new in the Western thought. It goes as far back as the 19th century to the pioneers of scholarly research in this area, such as, among others, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf, although it should be noted that their original ideas have been sometimes misinterpreted (cf. Sharifian 2017). It is only in the second half of the 20th century, however, that various aspects of the language-culture connection started to be supported by solid analytical and empirical evidence coming from linguists and anthropologists, but also by independent evidence brought to attention by a multidisciplinary paradigm of brain and cognitive studies. By now, language-culture interconnection has been thoroughly

researched in many domains including: general issues of categorization and conceptualization (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Sharifian 2011, Barsalou 2012, Casasanto 2016), emotions (e.g. Kövecses 2000, 2005, Enfield and Wierzbicka 2002), embodiment (e.g. Brenzinger and Kraska-Szlenk 2014, Kraska-Szlenk 2014a,b, Sharifian *et al.* 2008, Maalej and Yu 2011) and other topics (e.g. Holland and Quinn 1987, Palmer 1996, Wierzbicka 1997).

Cognitive linguistics, which provides a theoretical framework for this article, has always relied on the assumption that meaning can be examined only when taking into account the full context of use with all of its facets, including the culture of a speech community. This approach is also promoted in the latest research (cf. Dąbrowska 2016, Geeraerts 2016, Schmid 2016, and the references therein). In cognitive linguistics, interdependencies between language and culture are known, among other labels, as *cultural scripts*, *cultural models*, or *cultural conceptualizations*, and refer to a range of cognitive processes and construals, such as schemas, metaphors, metonymies, or categories, which prevail in a particular society and are reflected in language and socio-cultural behaviors. They organize cognition, being a model "of", but they also provide guidance, being a model "for". Cultural models are realized by means of social behaviors and through linguistic expressions which reflect them, entrench them through constant language usage and, according to experimental research (e.g. Casasanto 2016, 2017), affect mental representations. The more frequent a particular cultural model is in language usage, the greater its entrenchment and impact, especially if diversified linguistic structures reveal it through fixed expressions and creative uses. This means that the same cultural models can occur in different languages with smaller or greater "force", as illustrated by the following examples.

The well-known metaphor from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) pivotal study TIME IS MONEY is well-entrenched in American culture and has many linguistic correlates (e.g. *waste/save/cost/give time*), but occurs less frequently in other parts of the world, or is non-existent. The figurative SOCIAL FACE (understood as honor, prestige) has strong manifestations in Asian languages and cultures (Yu 2008, Ukosakul 2003), and weaker realizations in other languages (e.g. Swahili or English, Kraska-Szlenk

2014a, b). Two metonymies are typically associated with work: HAND(S) FOR WORK or SWEAT FOR WORK and some languages, like for example, Polish or Swahili, reveal both of them, but each to a different extent (Kraska-Szlenk 2014b: 68).

This article focuses on Swahili kinship terms which are extremely polysemous and have a very high frequency of use. I will argue that both of these features correlate with valuing family highly which in cognitive linguistics can be expressed by the propositional schema FAMILY IS GOOD (Kraska-Szlenk 2018). This schema seems to be quite universal. People all over the world respect a family as an institution and, as a community, associate kinship relations with closeness and positive axiological marking. However, as in the examples mentioned before, the schema FAMILY IS GOOD has different degrees of entrenchment in different cultures and languages. I will demonstrate in this article that in the Swahili speaking community, this schema governs social behaviors and attitudes which complies with a high appreciation of one's family in East African culture. It is also instantiated by numerous conventionalized expressions, as well as by vivid examples of novel language practices in cultural texts and in everyday usage. High polysemy and frequent use of kinship terms also represent part of the same cultural model. A rough sketch of polysemous uses of Swahili kinship terms is presented in section 2, followed by a discussion of family values in Swahili literary texts in section 3. It would be impossible to discuss all of the uses of polysemous kinship terms in one article. For the sake of space, I will focus here on one type of metaphoric use, also known as "fictive" kinship, analyzed in sections 4 and 5. The Conclusion closes the article.

2 | POLYSEMY OF SWAHILI KINSHIP TERMS

The repertoire of Swahili kinship terms is slightly richer than in English and includes terms denoting: members of the ascending generations, e.g. *mama* 'mother', *baba* 'father', *mjomba* 'maternal uncle', *shangazi* 'paternal aunt', *ami* 'paternal uncle', *bibi* 'grandmother', *babu* 'granfather'; members of the descending generations, e.g. *mtoto* or *mwana* 'child', *binti* 'daughter', *mpwa* 'nephew/niece', *mjukuu* 'grandson/grand-

daughter'; members of the same generation, e.g. *dada* 'elder sister', *kaka* 'elder brother', *mdogo* 'younger sister/brother', *ndugu* 'cousin/distant relation'; and affinal terms, e.g. *mke* 'wife', *mume* 'husband', *mkwe* 'in-law', *shemeji* 'brother-in-law or 'sister-in-law (of the opposite gender)', *wifi* 'husband's sister or brother's wife'.

In the Swahili-speaking community, consanguinal and affinal terms are frequently used as cordial and mildly honorific address forms (with or without the use of the possessive pronoun 'my'). This practice is very common in the entire Swahili-speaking area and can be considered a respectful, unmarked manner of addressing one's kin (Habwe 2010, Kraska-Szlenk 2009, Podobińska 1997, 2001). Depending on the context and habits within one's family, addressing a family member with a term indicating real consanguinal or affinal ties may, but does not have to entail particular closeness or affection.

In addition to their use as address or referential forms in the contexts pointing to "true", or "genealogical" relations, kinship terms are used in a number of other situations in various figurative meanings, out of which some are fully conventionalized and others are creatively constructed by language speakers. In this way, Swahili kinship terms are highly polysemous.

The polysemy of Swahili kinship terms is illustrated by the following short excerpt coming from a novel by G. Ruhumbika which contains as many as six different uses of the word *mama* which corresponds to English 'mother' in its prototypical basic meaning of the 'female parent'[1]. The quoted words refer to a main character in the novel, at that time a girl of eleven years old, and are spoken by her mother in support of the girl's wish to be recognized as a 'mother' to her newly born nephew. The baby's mother – the girl's beloved older sister – died while giving birth to him. In the excerpt, the first occurrence of the word *mama* is untranslatable into English, because it is intentionally constructed to carry a vague meaning of 'mother/aunt' relative, as explained in the subsequent context, where specific modifiers are used to disambiguate particular meanings of the

[1] This is how the word is defined by the monolingual Swahili dictionary: *mzazi wa kike* 'female parent' (TUKI 2004: 219).

word: *mama yake mdogo* 'aunt' (lit. 'her young/er mother'), *mama yake mzazi* 'mother' or 'biological mother' (lit. her parent mother), and *wa mama mmoja* 'of one mother'. The next instance, *mama wa kujipandikiza* represents a creative use of the word with a literal meaning coming close to 'self-ascribed mother', which, however, used together with the adverb *tu* 'only' suggests a derogatory qualification of an 'adopted mother'[2]. The final instance of *mama* represents an affective usage of this word, comparable to the English 'young lady'.

(1) Huyu binti yetu kwanza ni *mama* hasa wa huyu mtoto. Ni *mama* yake mdogo, mdogo wa *mama* yake mzazi, wa baba mmoja na *mama* mmoja. Siyo *mama* wa kujipandikiza tu. Halafu, kuhusu *mama* huyo nae kuwa mtoto mchanga, hapa nyumbani tutampa msaada wote atakaohitaji. (*Janga*, p. 45)
'First of all, this daughter of ours is a real *relative* of this child. She is his *aunt*, a younger sister of her [own] birth *mother*, of one father and one *mother*. She is not only a self-ascribed *mother*. Then, as to this *young lady* being herself a small child, we here at home will offer her any kind of help she will need.'

Several conventionalized senses of the polysemous kinship term *mama* are shown in Table 1. The English glosses are approximate, because in some cases it is impossible to provide an exact translation which would reflect nuanced shades of the Swahili meaning. The last column indicates major features of a particular use of *mama* in a given context, but it should be noted that all kinship terms in their various uses are honorific to some extent, as well as familiar to some extent.

The first sense in Table 1 is the "basic" meaning ('female parent') from which all others are derived by adding a modifier (as in 2, 8 and optionally in 3), or semantically extend by means of a cognitive process, such as metaphor (3 and 4), metonymy (5), a combination of these two (6), or by further generalization (7). The use in 2 (the so-called *teknonym*) reflects a common practice of naming a woman by reference to her oldest child. The form in 3 is a conventionalized term for a mother's

[2] The conventionalized term for 'adopted mother' in Swahili is *mama wa kambo*.

sister and can be specified as *mama mdogo* 'aunt' (mother's younger sister) or *mama mkubwa* 'aunt' (mother's older sister). The use in 4 reflects a metaphoric, also called "fictive", extension of the kinship term on an unrelated person whom an addresser wants to frame as his/her 'mother. This particular extension will be the focus of the present article and will be further discussed in sections 3 and 4. The uses in 5 and 6 represent affectionate address inversion, when in particular circumstances a mother calls her daughter (5) or another girl (6) by the kinship term appropriate for herself. This use of kinship terms has been analyzed in detail in Kraska-Szlenk (2018). The use in 7 represents a case of generalization, when any adult woman can be addressed or referred to as *mama*. This form can be used with a woman's name, too (as in 8), although in the case of professional women, the title *Bibi (Bi)* is preferred.

TABLE 1. Polysemy of *mama*

NO	SWAHILI TERM	TYPE	ENGLISH GLOSS	FEATURE
1	*mama*	basic	mother, mum	honorific
2	*mama X1*	teknonym	X's mother	familiar
3	*mama (mdogo/mkubwa)*	metaphoric familial	maternal aunt	honorific
4	*mama*	metaphoric non-familial	mother, Ma'am	honorific
5	*mama*	metonymic	dear (daughter)	affectionate
6	*mama*	metaphoric-metonymic	dear (child)	affectionate
7	*mama*	generalized	Ma'am, lady	honorific
8	*mama X*	other	Mrs. X	honorific

Table 2 contains a polysemous network of the mirror-imaged term *baba* 'father'. While senses 1-6 are analogous to *mama*, differences between the two lexemes are noticeable in 7 and 8. The generalization of

baba in the direction of 'adult man' is not as common as in the case of *mama*, and the term *Bwana* 'Sir, Mr.' provides an unmarked strategy to address or to refer to a man in a polite way (cf. Beck 2003, Kraska-Szlenk 2018). On the other hand, the honorific title *Baba* in 8 (in reference to God, a political leader, etc.) does not have a female equivalent.

Other kinship terms also have various polysemous meanings, some parallel to those of *mama* and *baba* shown here, and some specifically associated with particular lexemes (cf. Kraska-Szlenk 2018). For the purpose of this paper, it is sufficient to say that practically all kinship terms can be used in the sense of 4, that is, when an unrelated person can be metaphorically framed as 'kin'. This also includes the case of a person within one's family who can be metaphorically leveled to a closer relationship, as for example, when a maternal uncle will be called *baba* instead of *mjomba*, or a paternal aunt will be addressed as *mama* instead of *shangazi*.

TABLE 2. Polysemy of *baba*

NO	SWAHILI TERM	TYPE	ENGLISH GLOSS	FEATURE
1	*baba*	basic	father, dad	honorific
2	*baba X*[3]	teknonym	X's father	familiar
3	*baba (mdogo/mkubwa)*	metaphoric familial	paternal uncle	honorific
4	*baba*	metaphoric non-familial	father, Sir	honorific
5	*baba*	metonymic	dear (son)	affectionate
6	*baba*	metaphoric-metonymic	dear (boy)	affectionate
7	*baba* (rare)	generalized	Sir (rare)	honorific
8	**baba X, Baba*	other	Father	honorific

[3] In the Zanzibari variety of Swahili, teknonyms tend to occur with possessive pronoun -ake 'his, her', i.e. *mamake X, babake X*. Sometimes, the names of one's other children are used rather than that of the oldest child.

3 | THE SCHEMA FAMILY IS GOOD IN SWAHILI CULTURAL TEXTS

Swahili culture, as many other African cultures, is known for its appreciation of family and social ties. Yahya-Othman comments "'[k]eeping oneself to oneself' is [...] something that one would try very hard to avoid" (1994: 145). In the same vein, Ndungo says: „Life is considered as incomplete unless one has a family [...] and social status is acquired through the institution of marriage" (2002: 66).

Numerous Swahili proverbs and clichés, whether in a direct or figurative manner, point to the importance of family, obligations toward one's kin, and love of one's kin. Several representative examples are included in (2) below[4]. While (2a-c) demonstrate universally understandable imagery, particularly interesting and very specific to the Swahili culture are the last three examples which build upon the metaphor KINSHIP RELATION IS BODY (PART) SHARING[5]: (2d) conveys the message that one should support and endure one's family, (2e) – that one should not harm one's family, and (2f) – that even a bad family member might be useful one day.

(2) a. Damu nzito kuliko maji.
'Blood is thicker than water.'

b. Mjukuu kwetu tunda.
'A grandchild at home is a fruit.'

c. Kosa moja haliachi mke.
'One fault is not enough to leave a wife.'

d. Kinaota ku jicho; kingeota ku pua, ningekitosha.
'It grows in the eye, but if it grew on the nose, I would remove it.'

e. (Mkono) wa kuume haukati (mkono) wa kushoto.
'The right hand does not cut off the left one.'

---

[4] All Swahili proverbs are cited after Scheven (1981).

[5] Discussion of this metaphor and more examples can be found in Kraska-Szlenk (2014c), which also includes the examples in (2d-f) and in (3).

f. Kidole chako kibaya chaweza kufaa siku baya.
'Your bad finger can be of use on a bad day.'

The message of family values is expressed not only in conventionalized proverbs, but can frequently be observed in the form of creative uses in various kinds of texts. The examples in (3a-d), which are excerpted from modern Swahili novels and all stress a special bond between kin, illustrate the abovementioned metaphor in its specific application, namely, of sharing *damu* 'blood'.

(3) a. Nakwambia kweli, rafiki yangu Mupangile, mimi siwezi kuisaliti damu yangu. (*HCS*)
'I am telling you, Mupangile, my friend, I cannot forsake my [own] blood.'

b. Mali yake sharti itambae na damu yake (*HCS*)
'The wealth must go with his blood'

c. nyie ni watu wa damu moja kwa hiyo itakuwa rahisi kwenu kuelewana (*HCS*)
'you (pl.) are one blood, so it will be easy for you to understand each other'

d. Ni kitu cha kawaida kwa binadamu kupenda mazao ya damu yake. (*Janga*: 46)
'It is normal for a human being to love the crops of his blood.'

The same message of a special bond within a family relationship is conveyed in example (4) which comes from a Swahili oral narrative collected in the19th century in Zanzibar. Here, a protagonist, who has just bought a young female slave to look after his daughter, uses a number of novel metaphors built on the source domain of kinship in order to frame a newly established relation between the caretaker and the girl. The framing is based on specific instantiations of the general metaphor A PERSON IS KIN in which consanguinal or affinal concepts like 'mother', 'father', 'husband', etc. provide source domains for metaphorical mapping on the target domain – a servant girl in this case. All these metaphors (i.e. A PERSON IS MOTHER, A PERSON IS FATHER, etc.) map an axiological structure

associated with kin relations: it is the positive value of love for one's kin which makes a person naturally obliged to take care of them.

(4) Mimi nimekununua sababu ya mwanangu, umpikie chakula chema, umvike nguo njema, umtandikie kitanda chema, umzungumze mazungumzo mema, huyu ndiye mamayo, huyu ndiye babayo, huyu ndiye mumewo, huyu ndiye shogayo, huyu ndiye mwanao. Basi, tafathali mtunze sana mtoto. (*Sultan Darai*, p. 38n.)
'I have bought you because of my child, that you may cook for her good food, that you may put on her good clothes, that you may spread for her a good bed, that you may amuse her with good amusements, she is your mother, she is your father, she is your husband, she is your friend [or 'female relative' – IKS], she is your daughter. Well then, I beg of you, take great care of the child.' (translation by E. Steere)

A similar example of positive values mapped by the metaphor a person is kin is shown in (5a), excerpted from modern Swahili prose; the words are said to a granddaughter by a grandmother who has been raising the girl after the death of her parents. While using the imagery of 'mother' and 'father' in reference to herself in the context of raising the child single-handedly might invoke a target domain of parental obligation, no such explanation holds for the second part of the grandmother's utterance, in which it is the granddaughter who is framed in this way. Therefore, the only possible interpretation of this metaphor relies on parental love. The same metaphor appears in (5b), except that it is used by a young man speaking to a girl he loves and intends to marry. The example in (5c) comes from a contemporary television series. In the episode, a girl is talking to her mother on behalf of her sister Sophia, begging the mother to accept her daughter's passion for playing football. The girl ends (and wins) her argument with a strong metaphor, in which a kinship relation between mother and daughter is framed as an identity relation (mother and daughter are one thing). The same metaphor appears in the final example in (5d), where, in a moment of reconciliation after a previous serious dispute, mother and daughter are literally called by the narrator 'one thing'.

(5) a. Ndiyo hali ya dunia hiyo, mjukuu wangu. Mimi ndiye baba yako, na ndiye mama yako. Na wewe ndiye mama yangu, na ndiye baba yangu. (*Rabeka*, p. 7)
'This is a condition of this world, my grandchild. It is me who is your father, and who is your mother. And it is you who is my mother, and who is my father.'

b. Wazazi wangu wanakupenda, wanaona nikiwa na wewe hata wao wakifa, nitabaki na mama yangu na baba, nao ni wewe Rabeka. (Rabeka, p. 58)
'My parents like you and they think that if I am with you, even when they die I will stay with my mother and father, [because] they are you, Rabeka.'

c. Tafadhali, mama. Sophia ni mtoto wako. Wewe ni yeye na yeye ni wewe. (*The team*, episode 13)
'Please, mother. Sophia is your child. You are her and she is you.'

d. Sasa hitilafu iliyokuwapo baina yao ikayeyuka kwa joto la mapenzi na huruma, wakawa kitu kimoja. (*Kiu*, p. 30)
'Now, the disagreement that had been between them melted down from the heat of love and compassion and they became one thing.'

Family ties often become a topic on *kanga* inscriptions, too. Among them, the ones which feature motherly love or one's love for one's mother are particularly frequent, as well as those which simply honor the mother or express gratitude to her, as for example, *Mama ni nambari wani hana mpinzani* 'Mother is number one, she has no rival', or *Mama asante sana* 'Thank you very much, mother'.

This section has demonstrated that in Swahili culture kinship concepts are associated with strong positive values. This axiological marking is mapped by means of metaphor on the figurative uses of kinship terms in various contexts.

4 | PATTERNS OF METAPHORIC KINSHIP

The habit of addressing non-kin by forms denoting "true" kinship relations is known in many cultures around the world and has been referred to in the academic literature by various terms, for example, as *non-genealogical* or *metaphoric* kinship (Agha 2007), *fictive* kinship (Braun 1988), or *truth violation* terms (Habwe 2010). In this article, the term *metaphoric kinship* will be preferred because the cognitive mechanism responsible for this extension is that of metaphor, as already discussed in section 3. The phenomenon has been previously described for Swahili, although in a rather cursory manner (cf. Beck 2003, Habwe 2010, Kraska-Szlenk 2009, 2018, Podobińska 1997, 2001). It is agreed among various authors that this form of address is quite common among Swahili speakers and that in most situations it is polite and gentle. In some cases, it may help to create an informal and warm atmosphere. It frequently occurs in contexts where a speaker offers verbal comfort and support to an addressee experiencing a difficult situation. It may also have the perlocutionary effect of manipulating an addressee into a certain action or change of thought, as discussed in section 5.

Certain kinship terms tend to occur in their fictive sense more often than others. These include *mwanangu* 'my child' said to children, but under special circumstances to adults by persons older by approximately one generation. The term *baba* 'father' directed to a man older by one generation seems to be more common in a metaphorical sense than other terms of the same generational level, as *mjomba* 'maternal uncle' or *ami* 'paternal uncle'. Some terms have become so general than we can talk about their full lexicalization, such as *mama* 'mother', with its distinguished sense 'Ma'am', 'Mrs.' (7 and 8 in Table 1), or *babu* 'grandfather', used in some contexts as a discourse marker, void of any features of an address term (cf. Kraska-Szlenk 2018). Conventionalized titles like *dada* 'sister' ('older sister' in its basic sense) and *kaka* 'brother' ('older brother' in the basic sense) might be used among youths, or directed to unknown young people, as for example, working in shops or as domestic help. The title *shangazi* 'aunt' is associated with tenderness, hence, the host of a once popular radio children program called *Shangazi Dolly* (Habwe

2010: 134), or *Shangazi Sizarina* – the columnist of the Kenyan newspaper *Taifa Leo*, who has been for many years responding to the readers' letters. The above examples and similar ones demonstrate conventionalized lexicalization patterns which represent further modification of the metaphoric address and will not be further discussed in this article.

However, in the case of such extended polysemy of Swahili kinship terms, a question can be posed: How do we know which contextual use is a metaphoric fictional address and which one represents some other sense, especially if the distinctions among them are sometimes very subtle? The response to this question must rely on a pragmatic situatedness which tells a hearer, as well as a researcher, which meaning is intended. From the perspective of linguistic analysis, all senses are organized into a structured logical network which reflects cognitively motivated paths of semantic development with consecutive stages hypothetically reconstructed and corresponding to diachronic changes (and sometimes supported by historical data). For example, *mama* in its use of 'female parent' is diachronically earlier than its use in all other senses of Table 1. Also, in a semantic synchronic network, all other senses of Table 1 can be logically extended step by step from this "basic" meaning.

The following section will demonstrate how a metaphoric kinship address is used in context and fulfils various illocutionary and perlocutionary needs. The linguistic material has been excerpted from dialogues coming from Swahili literature (prose and drama). The data collected in this way presents speech acts in diversified situational contexts in which speakers' emotions and intentions are also well known. This has a remarkable advantage over other methods of data collection, as for example, by data elicitation from real speech acts where the contexts are not sufficiently varied and speakers' motivations are not that well known, or by means of questionnaires which reveal native speakers' suppositions and not necessarily their true linguistic behaviors.

The literary sources used for the data span over a large time period: from the oldest text of an oral story collected in the second half of the 19th century and published in1870 to the newest modern literature. Although some uses of certain kinship terms have undergone various diachronic changes within such a long time or even in recent years (cf. Kraska-Szlenk

2018), it is my contention that metaphorical "fictive" kinship was traditionally used and remains very similar in its functions[6] up until today. It is also very frequent in Swahili literature and the data can be found easily. I have decided to combine several various sources together in order to present samples of different styles and uses rather than limit examples to a specific source or period.

5 | METAPHOR A PERSON IS KIN IN CONVENTIONALIZED FORMS OF ADDRESS

Unlike the previous examples in (4) and (5) analyzed in section 3 which were all creative uses, the cases discussed in this section represent fully conventionalized strategies reflecting the same metaphor A PERSON IS KIN in its specific instantiations. In all of the examples, metaphorical kinship terms are used as address titles – this use of them is most common, although sporadically they may occur in referential use, too.

One of the most common uses of metaphoric kinship is when an adult calls a child or a young person *mwanangu* in order to express positive feelings, such as affection, sympathy or support. In the novel *Rabeka*, a woman from the neighborhood calls the title character named Rabeka *mwanangu* (p. 33) in order to express compassion and to offer assistance during the time when the girl's grandmother is seriously ill. In the same novel, the same fictive strategy is applied within a family by the girl's grandmother who sometimes calls her *mjukuu wangu*, the familial title which appropriately reflects the kinship relation, but occasionally *mwanangu* (for example on p. 29), simply as a more affectionate form of address.

The interplay of two metaphorical frames: granparent-grandchild and parent-child, each conveying specific connotations, is transparently manifested in a long dialogue from an old narrative of *Sultan Darai* (pp. 90-94). The conversation takes place between a magic gazelle, which acts and is addressed in the story like a young man, and an old woman – a serv-

[6] What might have changed in time is the frequency of use, but that is beyond my capacity to investigate.

ant in the palace owned by a monster. When the gazelle arrives at the palace door and hears a voice of an old woman asking who is coming, he says: *mimi, bibi mkubwa, mjukuu wako* 'it is me, grandma (literally 'big/old grandmother'), your grandchild'. This form of framing their newly established relationship remains at the beginning of the conversation, with the gazelle addressing the woman *bibi* or *bibi mkubwa* (five times in total) and the woman calling the gazelle *mjukuu wangu* 'my grandchild' (five times). However, at a certain point, when the woman understands that the newcomer is very well-behaved and has good intentions (he will attempt to kill the monster), she starts to like him very much and sympathizes with him, afraid for his life. At this moment, she changes the form of address for *mwanangu* (used ten times) and affectionate inverted address *baba* (seven times). The gazelle immediately responds with *mama* and keeps this form of address until the end of the conversation (eight times). The established cordial parent-child framing and appropriate mutual address between the two protagonists remains later in the story, too.

Framing an unrelated child as one's own is also used for the purpose of gentle reprimand and teaching good manners. A character from a play by Khamis (2016), Bi Huba, uses *mwanangu* as the only address term while talking to a teenage girl from the neighborhood who has dropped by to pick up Bi Huba's daughter on their way to school. The woman, of very gentle demeanor, wants to reprimand the girl for her bad manners, but is doing it in a very calm and polite way. The term *mwanangu*, used as many as seven times in a short conversation, certainly helps to shorten the distance and soothes the criticism, as illustrated by the example in (6a) below. Later on in the play, the same teenage girl is approached by Bi Huba's husband who is also trying to gently persuade her to change her behavior. The man also uses the cordial address *mwanangu* and explicitly makes a point of his fatherly caring for her, as seen in (6b).

(6) a. Mwanangu, Baya, wewe ni mtoto mzuri sana lakini leo najuwa umesahau tu. Si kawaida yako kuingia ndani ya nyumba ya mtu bila ya kupiga hodi na kuingia ndani kabla ya kukaribishwa. (*Tafrani*, p. 9)

'Baya, my child, you are a very good girl and I know that today you only forgot [about something]. It is not your habit to get into somebody's house without calling *hodi*[7] and enter inside before being invited.'

b. Baya mwanangu. Mimi nataka ujuwe kuwa ninakuchukulia ni sawa na mwanangu Mwema, nyote ni wanangu. (*Tafrani*: 35)
'Baya, my child. I want you to know that I treat you on par with my daughter Mwema, you both are my daughters.'

A similar strategy is illustrated in the following example and demonstrates that it might be effective when other means fail. While riding on a bus, a woman is talking to an unknown boy trying to persuade him to offer his seat to an elderly man. This happens after several other persons have already tried to do the same. The woman's speech starts with the words quoted in (7a), in which she frames herself as the boy's mother: this is expressed by the address title *mwanangu* 'my child' and the self-reference *mama yako* 'your mother'. When the boy refuses to leave his seat, she continues to talk using the same address *mwanangu* in a gentle persuasion. Eventually, the boy gets up and responds to the woman in a polite way using the address *mama*. The narrator comments that the woman expressed *upendo halisi ya kimama* 'distinctive motherly love' in her speech. The boy's final words, quoted in (7b), confirm that he received the message.

(7) a. Mwanangu, nakusihi umpishe mzee akae. Mimi mama yako nakuomba. (*Heri*, p. 5)
'My child, I am begging you to let the man sit down. I, your mother, am asking you.'

b. Mtoto gani atakataa upendo? (*Heri*, p. 5)
'What child will deny love?'

The above examples in (6) and (7) have demonstrated that metaphoric address exhibits perlocutionary effects when applied to children.

[7] This Swahili custom is the equivalent of knocking on the door.

But it can also be used for the purpose of manipulation between adults. The example in (8), cited after Kraska-Szlenk (2009), demonstrates how two adult men – an uncle and his grown-up nephew – immediately switch to metaphoric address forms when the topic of the conversation becomes delicate: the uncle does not approve of the young man's choice of a prospective wife. The cordial address *mwanangu*, as illustrated in (8a-b), instead of the unmarked address of the nephew's first name, is meant to provide a more efficient discourse strategy. The nephew likewise abandons the previously used address *ami* 'uncle' for the more tender title *baba*, as shown in (8c-d).

(8) a. Ya nini kwenda kutafuta Wahindi mwanangu. Wewe una jamaa zako chungu nzima, kuukeni na kuumeni. [...] Ndugu yako Somoye yupo hapa. Kama unataka mke kweli tutakuoza Somoye (*Vuta*, p. 254).
'Why trouble and look for Indians, my son? You have got a lot of relatives, on the mother's and the father's side. [...] Your cousin Somoye is here. If you really want a wife, we will arrange for you to marry Somoye.'

b. Mke mwanangu ni mtu wa kuchagua kwa makini sana. Mke ni mwenzako katika safari ya maisha (*Vuta*, p. 255).
'A wife, my son, is someone to be chosen very carefully. A wife is your companion in the journey of life.'

c. Sikiliza baba. [...] Huyu mchumba wenyewe tumejuana tokea Mombasa. Tulikuwa tukiishi jirani (*Vuta*, p. 254).
'Listen, baba. [...] As for my fiancée, we have known each other since Mombasa. We used to live next door.'

d. Sikuvunja ndoa ya mtu baba. Yeye mwenyewe huyo mwanamke alikuwa hamtaki mumewe (*Vuta*, p. 254).
'I did not break up anybody's marriage, *baba*. This woman herself did not want her husband.'

The final example discussed below shows how address forms change during a conversation while the speakers attempt to manipulate interlocu-

tors' emotions and to preserve their own metaphorical "face". The excerpts in (9) come from a conversation between an old woman and a young man who is hoping to marry her granddaughter Rabeka. *Bibi* is the only title the man uses to address the woman – nine times in total, including one occurrence of *Bibi Rabeka*. When the man arrives at their house, the woman addresses him with the title *bwana* 'Sir, Mr.' and his name: *Bwana Soni*, but later with his name alone which occurs twice during their conversation. This neutral form of address correlates with the woman's bad opinion about the young man and her wish to keep a distance. At a certain moment she leaves the room for the kitchen and does not come back. The man calls her and when she enters the room, he speaks the words in (9a) in a joking manner. This time, the woman's apologetic response in (9b) includes the cordial address *mjukuu* lit. 'my grandchild'. All forms of address in this conversation demonstrate perlocutionary effects. Using the title *bibi* by the man appears as a natural polite form of address toward the elderly woman with whom he is well acquainted. But the young man uses this title so often that eventually he enforces a symmetrical use of *mjukuu* by the woman. She, on the other hand, by avoiding the fictive address shows the man her distance, which must be clearly understood by him as a lack of enthusiasm for his marriage proposal. Only when feeling guilty of offending the man, does she resort to the cordial form which in this situation helps them both save face.

(9) a. Nakwenda miye. Nimengojea weeee! Utatokea hapa sikuoni, vipi bibi hupendi kuongea na mimi?
'I am leaving. I have been waiting for you! Will you come here, I can't see you, what's up, grandma, don't you want to talk to me?'

b. Siyo hivyo mjukuu wangu, nilikuwa na kazi kidogo huku jikoni. (*Rabeka*, p. 13)
'It is not like this, my grandson, I had some work [to do] in the kitchen.'

The above situation contrasts with another episode from the same novel, when another man, named Msuku, comes to visit Rabeka and

her grandmother for the same purpose of marriage proposal. Msuku is a respectable middle-aged man and the grandmother is in favor of marrying Rabeka to him. Upon his arrival, Msuku greets the woman as *Bibi* (p. 17). She responds with *Bwana Msuku* and this form of address prevails in their conversation (pp. 17-20), although the woman occasionally uses either the name alone (*Msuku*) or only the title (*Bwana*). On one occasion she addresses him with the cordial term *mjukuu* – when she invites the man for a meal (p. 17) and one time she calls him *mwanangu* – when she assures him that her granddaughter is willing to marry him. Later on in the book, when he is already married to her granddaughter, she once calls him *baba*, which can be understood rather as a very affectionate inverted *mwanangu* than the fictive form. This interpretation is supported by the context of the scene: the woman is on her deathbed, taken care of by her granddaughter and her son-in-law.

6 | CONCLUSION

Kinship terms were first investigated by anthropologists and they presented a problem in early research, because their polysemy and contexts of use were not properly recognized and because kinship terminology and kinship relations tended to be equalized. This sometimes led to great confusion and misinterpretation[8]. According to the influential classification of Morgan (1870), Swahili would be most likely called the *Iroquois* type, due to the fact that the term *mama* can refer to a mother or a mother's sister and *baba* can be used for a father as well as for a paternal uncle.

[8] The following sarcastic remark by Sven Lindqvist is perhaps better than any other comment: "When I was little, I was taught to call every adult man 'uncle'. It was usual in those days, and nobody took it as proof that every adult male really could be my father's brother, or that my paternal grandmother had practised group sex. [...] But when the wealthy American businessman Lewis Henry Morgan found out that certain North American Indians called each other 'brother' and 'sister', he was prompted into novel and titillating trains of thought. Perhaps, Morgan speculated, this is a form of address surviving from an earlier era when everyone of the same generation could be biological brothers and sisters because their parents lived in group marriages and practised group sex" (Lindqvist 2007: 34).

Other uses of these terms, illustrated earlier in Tables 1 and 2, might have been unrecognized or even misinterpreted. Modern research on kinship terms is quite different and takes into account a large context of genealogical ties, social relations, cultural factors and linguistic usage practices. The importance of social deixis of address terms in the on-line production of language is recognized by both, anthropologists and linguists, as exemplified by a sample of the following references.

In anthropological research on kinship, Zeitlyn (1993) emphasizes the deictic function of kinship terminology and its pragmatic sensitivity to the context. Agha (2007) recognizes metaphoric uses of kinship terms which are in contradiction to "genealogical facts". He introduces a notion of a *tropic* use of a kinterm which he defines as: "an entextualized act in which the semiotic sketch of social relations implemented through the use of a kinterm is non-congruent with a contextual model of social relations independently readable as holding between participants. Such tropes can also become widely recognized or enregistered as acts appropriate to certain contexts and, thus, themselves acquire the status of **normalized models** [emphasis his]; and these, in turn, can iteratively be troped upon by those acquainted with them" (Agha 2007: 342n).

Similar observations on the social deixis of kinship terms and address forms in general have been made by linguists. Braun (1988) develops the idea of a *social* meaning, earlier proposed by Lyons (1977), pointing out that its connotations can entirely overrule the original, etymological meaning. Dickey (1997) demonstrates that the *referential* meaning of the word can be quite different from its use as an address form. Keshavarz (2001) evidences that variation in address forms (including pronouns) depends on social distance, but also on the degree of formality of social context. In general, social deixis encompasses various factors, including mutual attitudes and permanent relationships between the interlocutors, but also temporary factors, such as, a socio-cultural setting and context of a particular speech act, as well as emotions accompanying it.

This article supports the claim that the use of Swahili kinship terms in their metaphorical "fictive" sense is tightly connected to other linguistic and social behaviors being an instantiation of the same cultural model. It has been also demonstrated that each instance of a kinship term use has

to be investigated in a pragmatic context, because only then can nuances of interpretation be observed and properly understood. The cognitive linguistic approach proposed here provides the necessary instruments (an organized semantic network, cognitive processes) to account for the polysemy and all contextual uses of kinship terms. The article has also shown how important it is to consider linguistic data in a larger context of a *cultural model*, taking into account the community's social behaviors and the system of values.

REFERENCES:

Swahili Sources

(*HCS*) *Helsinki Corpus of Swahili*. Compilers: Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, and CSC – IT Center for Science *2004*.

(*Heri*) Kalumuna, Zefania J. N. 2002. *Heri*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota.

(*Janga*) Ruhumbika, G. *Janga Sugu la Wazawa*. Dar-es-Salaam: Azania Graphics 2001.

(*Kiu*) Mohamed, Suleiman Mohamed. *Kiu*. Dar-es-Salaam: East African Publishing House 1972.

(*Rabeka*) Nyasulu, L. *Rabeka*. Dar es Salaam: Press and Publicity Centre 1982.

Scheven, A. *Swahili Proverbs*. Washington: University Press of America 1981.

(*Sultan Darai*) Steere, E. L. D. "Sultan Darai", told by Masazo. *Swahili Tales as Told By the Natives of Zanzibar*. London: Bell and Daldy 1870, pp. 11-136.

(*Tafrani*) Khamis, A. A. *Tafrani. Tamthiliya ya Vita vya Ukale na Usasa*. Zanzibar: Zanzibar Daima Publishing 2016.

The team. Television series produced by *Alkemist Media* with support of *Common Ground Productions*, director Seko Shamte 2013.

(*TUKI*) *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu*. Dar es Salaam: Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili and Oxford University Press 2004.

(*Vuta*) Shafi, Adam Shafi. *Vuta N'kuvute*. Dar-es-Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers 1999.

References

Agha, Asif. *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007.

Barsalou, L. W. "The human conceptual system". *The Cambridge Handbook of Psycholinguistics*, Michael Spivey, Ken McRae and Marc Joanisse (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012.

Beck, R. M. "Perceptions of gender in Swahili language and society". *Gender Across Languages. The Linguistic Representation of Women and Men* Vol. 3, Marlis

Hellinger and Hadumod Bussman (eds.), Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins 2003, pp. 311-337.

Braun, F. *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1988.

Brenzinger, M. and Kraska-Szlenk I. (eds.). *The Body in Language: Comparative Studies of Linguistic Embodiment*. Leiden: Brill 2014.

Casasanto, D. "Linguistic relativity". *Routledge Handbook of Semantics*, ed. by Nick Riemer, New York: Routledge 2016, pp. 158-174.

Casasanto, D. "Relationships between language and cognition". *Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. by Barbara Dancygier, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017, pp. 19-37.

Dickey, E. "Forms of address and terms of reference". *Journal of Linguistics* 33 (1997), pp. 255-274.

Enfield, N. J. and Wierzbicka A. (eds.). *The Body in Description of Emotion: Cross-Linguistic Studies*. Special issue of *Pragmatic and Cognition* 10, 1/2 (2002).

Geeraerts, D. „The sociosemiotic commitment". *Cognitive Linguistics* 27(4): 527–542.

Habwe, John Hamu. 2010. "Politeness phenomena: a case of Swahili honorifics". *Swahili Forum* 17 (2016), pp. 126-142.

Holland, D. and Quinn N. (eds.). *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987.

Keshavarz, Mohammad H. "The role of social context, intimacy, and distance in the choice of forms of address". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 148 (2001), pp. 5-18.

Kövecses, Z. *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture and the Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge: Cambrigde University Press 2000.

Kövecses, Z. *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005.

Kraska-Szlenk, I. "Emotional aspects of inversion in Swahili address terms". *Codes and Rituals of Emotions in Asian and African Cultures*, ed. by Nina Pawlak, Warszawa: Elipsa 2009, pp. 110-127.

Kraska-Szlenk, I. Semantic extensions of body part terms: Common patterns and their interpretation. *Language Sciences* 44 (2014), pp. 15-39.

Kraska-Szlenk, I. *Semantics of Body Part Terms: General Trends and a Case Study of Swahili*. LINCOM Studies in Semantics 6. München: LINCOM Europa 2014.

Kraska-Szlenk, I. "Swahili embodied metaphors in the domain of family and community relations". *Current Research in African Studies: Papers in Honour of* Mwalimu *Dr. Eugeniusz Rzewuski*, ed. by Iwona Kraska-Szlenk and Beata Wójtowicz, Warszawa: Elipsa 2014, pp. 163-174.

Kraska-Szlenk, I. „Address inversion in Swahili: Usage patterns, cognitive motivation and cultural factors". *Cognitive Linguistics* 29/3 (2018), pp. 545-584.

Lakoff, G. *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1987.

Lakoff, G. and Johnson M. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1980.

Langacker, R. W. "A dynamic view of usage and language acquisition". *Cognitive Linguistics* 20/3 (2009), pp. 627-640.

Lindqvist, S. *Terra Nullius: A Journey through no One's Land*. New York: New Press 2007.

Lyons, John. *Semantics*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1977.

Maalej, Zouheir and Ning Yu (eds.). *Embodiment via Body Parts: Studies from Various Languages and Cultures*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2011.

Morgan, L. H. *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution 1870.

Ndungo, C. "Social construction of gender with special reference to Gikuyu and Swahili proverbs". *Fabula* 43/1-2 (2002), pp. 64-74.

Palmer, G. B. *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics*. University of Texas Press 1966.

Podobińska, Z. „Use of address forms in directive speech acts in Swahili". *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* 21 (1997), pp. 5-27.

Podobińska, Z. *Politesse dans les actes pragmatiques en suahili*. Warszawa: DIALOG 2011.

Schmid, H.-J. "Why Cognitive Linguistics must embrace the social and pragmatic dimensions of language and how it could do so more seriously". *Cognitive Linguistics* 27/4 (2016), p. 543-557.

Schneider, D. M. *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1984.

Sharifian, Farzad. *Cultural Conceptualizations and Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins 2011.

Sharifian, Farzad. "Cultural Linguistics and linguistic relativity". *Language Sciences* 59 (2017), pp. 83-92.

Sharifian, Farzad, Dirven R., Ning Yu and Niemeier S. (eds.). *Culture, Body, and Language: Conceptualizations of Internal Body Organs across Cultures and Languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter 2008.

Ukosakul, M. "Conceptual metaphors motivating the use of Thai 'face'. *Cognitive Linguistics and non-Indo-European Languages*. *Cognitive Linguistics Research 18*, Eugene H. Casad and Gary B. Palmer (eds.), Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter 2003, pp. 275-303.

Wierzbicka, A. *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997.

Yahya-Othman, Saida. "Covering one's social back: politeness among the Swahili". *Text: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 14/1 (1994), pp. 141-161.

Yu, Ning. "Metaphor from body and culture". *The Cambridge Book of Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by Raymond W. Gibbs, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 247-261.

Yu, Ning. *From Body to Meaning in Culture: Papers on Cognitive Semantic Studies of Chinese*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2009.

Zeitlyn, D. „Reconstructing kinship, or, the pragmatics of kin talk". *Man*, New Series, 28/2 (1993), pp. 199-224.

NR 52/2018 | ISSN 2545-2134
STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Salisu Garba
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
Department of African Languages and Cultures

HYPERBOLE AS THE BUILDING BLOCK OF HAUSA COURT-SONGS

Abstract:

Hyperbolic expression is one of the most common and effective foregrounding expressions employed as a literary device in the form of eulogy across the literary genres. But the most common ground for its usage, among the genres, and where its usage is more effective, is poetry. Hyperbole is manifested clearly in praise-songs, which in Hausa take the form of court-songs. This paper explores the forms and effects of literary devices employed by Hausa court singers. Attention is mainly given to Salihu Jankidi and his song *Bubakar Dan Shehu Bakadire* (Bubakar, Shehu's son of Qadiriyya Sect) eulogizing Sultan Abubakar III, but also extoling Sardauna and the Sokoto Caliphate on the occasion of the durbar ceremony in 1965. The presentation includes various forms of the devices, such as irony, overstressing some facts and possibilities, cherishing both the religious and political ideals of Sultan Abubakar III, Sokoto and Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Premier of the defunct Northern Region, for whom the durbar was organized.

The paper further highlights the ability of the artist to capture the political undertones of the durbar procession.

Keywords: Hyperbole, court song, durbar, Salihu Jankidi and the song (Bubakar Dan Shehu Bakadire).

1 | INTRODUCTION

The use of foregrounding features including metaphorical and other figurative expressions are common features of literary genres which make such genres colorful and interesting to the audience. The common usage among the genres however, and where its usage is more effective, is in poetry. Such devices are considered very essential in poetry, because poetry

as seen by Baldict (2004: 100) and Kolawole (1997: 4) is an expression of thoughts that are sublime through deliberate violations of the rules of grammar, as well as the use of surprising metaphors and other devices by which the language draws attention to itself. Gusau (2014:73) posits that the Hausa community has been blessed with a natural environment that gave its people opportunities to perform and communicate songs abundantly from time immemorial. It is also known that the main focus and concern of praise-songs, especially court-songs, is in combining the vilification of rivals with the characterization of the patron in terms of power, authority, lineage, prosperity, tradition and influence (Furniss, 1996: 175). Therefore, poetry is said to be the fundamental ground on which the usage and effects of such metaphorical and other figurative expressions are vividly and attentively listened and adhered to. This is why Murthy (2007: 552) opined that figures of speech are more extensively and effectively employed in poetry in order to express ideas and feelings in an impressive manner. The use of thought-provoking hyperbolic expressions belongs to literary devices widely used by oral singers.

This paper explores the forms and effects of such devices as employed by Salihu Jankidi in eulogizing Sultan Abubakar III,[1] Sardauna[2] and the Sokoto Caliphate, in his song *Bubakar Dan Shehu Bakadire* (Bubakar, Shehu's son of Qadiriyya Sect). Jankidi heavily vilifies and mocks the rivals of the Sultan and Sardauna, the Premier of the defunct Northern Region and uses the hyperbole to describe the influence of both the Sultan, and the Premier, and their genealogy, which is portrayed as eternal unlike that of their rivals which is temporary.

2 | COURT-SONG IN TRADITIONAL HAUSA CULTURE

According to Furniss (1996: 175) and Gusau (2003: 22; 2008: 234) the court-song is a song dedicated to royal fathers, their families, courti-

[1] Siddiq Abubakar III (1903-1988), 17th Sultan of Sokoto who was on the throne in 1938—1988. This position is gained by lineage. The two-century-old throne was founded by his ancestor, Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio.

[2] Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello (1909-1966) the first and the only premier of the Northern Nigeria region. He also held the title of the Sardauna of Sokoto.

ers and all those in power, especially traditional power. The tradition of court singing is as old as the Hausa States, when emirs established emirates and exercised power within their jurisdictions. Among the court singers, the most prominent include: Sa'idu Faru, Ibrahim Narambada, Salihu Jankidi, Aliyu Ɗandawo, Musa Ɗankwairo, Ibrahim Gurso, Abubakar Akwara, Buda Ɗantanoma Muhammadu Dodo Maitabshi and Mamman Sarkin Ɗaushin Katsina, to mention a few. Their songs, according to Furniss (1996: 175) and Gusau (2014: 73) are usually performed during public occasions, such as the appointment of a new official, a celebration in the yearly calendar, or marking the official movement of the emir from one place to another.

2.1. DURBAR AS COURT CEREMONY

Durbar, according to Buratai (2012: 373-4), is a processional martial art form that has theatrical qualities as well as a set of well-defined political functions.

Durbar as a theatre functions either to interrogate or re-affirm the predominant views and values of the members of a society (Buratai 2012: 375). Therefore, the main essence of durbar, according to Buratai (2010: 66), is to extol and celebrate the heroic legacies that went into the founding fathers of the society. It also serves recreational and entertainment purposes.

The political undertones of the durbar procession, as pointed out by Buratai (2012), are traditional and modern. Always connected with showing respect for the patrons, they may be divided into primary and secondary.

In Nigeria, the first durbar was organized by Lord Lugard, the imperial governor of the Northern region, in 1911 at Kaduna. In the modern era, especially since colonialism, with the cessation and transformation of old kingdoms and empires into modern states, the traditional function of durbar has also been extended and durbar is often included in ceremonies. For instance, durbar is held during the installation and coronation of a new emir or a traditional chieftaincy title holder, or even for the purpose of cultural exhibition or for the entertainment and honoring of foreign dignitaries (Buratai 2010: 383).

As a court ceremony, durbar is organized by a traditional as well as a spiritual leader in honour of another leader or traditional title holder. Durbar is also performed during Eid Fitr, Eid Kabir and Maulud celebrations (Buratai 2012: 382). As such, whenever it is staged it upholds and also cherishes the legacies of Sultan Abubakar III and Sardauna as the direct descendants of Shehu Usman Ɗanfodiyo; both were the leaders of the only spiritual revolution in Hausaland of the 18th century (1804-1909).

Being a political event, the durbar of 1965 showed that Sardauna was the regional political leader, accepted and revered in Northern Nigeria. Some durbars organized in 1911, 1924, 1925 and 1948 by colonial masters did not perform this function, as the political leaders were non-natives and their durbars were full of functional inadequacies. They were only organized to serve a secondary, modern function, such as entertainment for foreign personages and to celebrate imperial events.

3 | SALIHU JANKIƊI'S ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

According to Gusau (2002: 1-25) Salihu Alhassan (Jankidi) was born around 1852 at Rawayya town in the present day Kwatarkwashi Local Government of Zamfara State. He inherited the art from his father, Alhassan Giye, who was a *kalangu*[3] singer; he later lived and died in Kwantagora. Alhassan Giye sang many songs to Ibrahim Sarkin Sudan Na Kwantagora. Jankidi switched to *taushi*[4] court singing and was appointed the official singer to Sultan Abubakar III around 1923; he held this position for about 50 years, until his death in 1973. Prior to his appointment as the official singer of the court of Sultan III, he served in the same capacity in the court of 'Yandoton Tsafe and Katsinan Gusau. He lived for about 123 years. He spoke and understood Nupe, Fulfulde, Clella (Dakkarci), Gbagyi and Fakkanci languages (Gusau, 2002: 3).

The celebrity of Salihu Jankidi, especially in the present song, could be seen in his unique use of multi-faceted hyperbolic expressions which are based on various figurative troops. For instance, his multi-faceted

[3] *Kalangu* – a percussian instrument, an hour-glass shaped drum.

[4] *Taushi* – a conical drum with only one diaphragm, beaten softly.

metonymic expressions such as *Kowag ga Ssokoto ya gama kallo* 'whoever sees Sokoto, has seen the last he could see' is referring to whole for part and at the same time referring to part for whole. Additionally, following Agyekum (2013:187) it is a form of synecdoche, while referring to Sultan, the most important figure in the seat of the caliphate representing the whole caliphate.

The uniqueness of Jankidi could also be seen in his effective use of multi-faceted hyperbolic imagery, where he says: *Ga yanyan na ta rawa ciki* 'here are *yanyan* (wild people) they are busy dancing in the arena' (Gusau: 2002: 106). This is an instance when the mere presence of these wild people, *yanyan* – who used to live in isolation because of their wildness – is in itself enough to make the celebration unique. Their calm and colorful participation, dancing to entertain the public, instead of harming them, is also enough to indicate the excellence of the occasion, as well as the overwhelming prestige of the patron. And again, it further reveals the prestigious dignity of the Sultan, which brought even the wild people under control and made them toys for public entertainment; this is also enough to indicate the excellence and the uniqueness of the occasion. All of these multi-dimensional expressions embedded within an expression must emanate from a unique artist, whose artistic ability has fit into the description of a successful and effective artist by Furniss (1996:168) when he writes: "[...] the ability to put together epithetic phrases, deploy hyperbolic imagery and control a particular characterization of a patron, all within the frame work of lead and chorus accompanied by drums or other instruments, is the key to effectiveness whatever the context".

3.1. THE SONG *BUBAKAR ƊAN SHEHU BAKADIRE*

The song *Bubakar Ɗan Shehu Bakadire* (Abubakar Shehu's Son of Qadiriyya Sect) was sung by Salihu Jankidi in honour of his patron, the Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakar III, in order to to commemorate the illustrious Kaduna Durbar of 1956[5], and the recognition and respect which the Durbar earned for the Sultan Abubakar III from the Queen of England, Elizabeth.

[5] Kaduna Royal Durbar organized in honor of Queen Elizabeth in 1956.

The song is a classical court song which stands the test of time, for its originality, popularity, as well as its overall aesthetic excellence. The structure of the song comprises ten clusters, including the chorus – fifty-eight lines altogether.

The language of the song is very rich and captivating especially in its use of variety and striking figures of speech. The literary devices employed are mainly those based on resemblance, which employ metaphor, personification and imagery and those expressing emphasis which include hyperbole. According to Agyekum (2013:184), they represent the most popular figures of speech. The only figure of sound identified in the song is that of anaphora which is also used for emphasis and other literary aesthetic values.

As for the norm of the language, the Sokoto dialect is the major Hausa variety employed in the song with a few Arabic loaned-words.

4 | HYPERBOLE AS A FIGURE OF EMPHASIS

Hyperbole is used to exaggerate a fact for emphasis or satirical effect. It is a figure which stretches, perhaps almost to breaking point, the communicative resources of a language. Hyperbole also serves to express personal feelings and opinions, which may be either positive or negative. In addition, it is typically used in eulogy. Hyperbole is frequently concerned with personal values and sentiments, i.e. with making subjective claims which could not be verified unless one is to rely on the general standards of society and on personal knowledge of the speaker in judging the truth of such claims (Buratai 2010; Murthy 2007:539). In poetry, hyperbole is often a means of celebrating human ideals, e.g. ideals of love, of religion, of worldly power.

According to Shelley (following Agyekum 2013: 154), poetry turns all things to loveliness; it exalts the beauty of that which is most beautiful, and adds beauty to that which is most deformed. Therefore, as further opined by Agyekum (2013: 160), a successful poet uses language not merely to express but also to communicate emotion precisely. The use of figures of speech, especially figures of emphasis like hyperbole, wholly achieved what has been described by Shelly (reported by Agyekun 2013,

as above) as the central function of poetry. It also has the capacity of persuading a hardhearted audience.

Hyperbole as defined by Abrams (2009: 149) is a bold overstatement or an extravagant exaggeration of facts or possibility. Such hyperbolic expressions were considered very essential in poetry. Court songs in Hausa are meant to please the patron, his family, and his friends and to vilify or debase his opponents. Court singers can go to any extent to archive this end, not only in Hausaland. As Jeyifo (2004: 231-233) argues, "poetry can contain such extremely contradictory intuitions and emotions because of its sheer delight in language and its semantics, phonetics and ideational resources, it often goes to the root of words and based on this, it has the capacity to hermiticize within a single episode or passage tropes, metaphors and sentiments from diverse and conflicting domains of life and experience".

The following section of this paper explores the forms and effects of literary devices as employed by Salihu Jankidi in eulogizing Sultan Abubakar III, Sardauna and the Sokoto Caliphate. The main source of these examples is his song *Bubakar Dan Shehu Bakadire* (Bubakar, Shehu's son of Qadiriyya Sect) which demonstrates various forms of literary devices. They are used to code irony, stressing some facts and possibilities, cherishing both the religious and political ideals of Sultan Abubakar III, Sokoto, the seat of caliphate. It also has reference to Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, the Premier of the defunct Northern Region. As durbar is organized for him, literary figures of emphasis can only be understood in the context of political undertones within their local and global dimensions.

5 | LITERARY DEVICES IN COURT-SONGS AND THEIR POLITICAL UNDERTONES

Durbar is performed to extol and celebrate the heroic legacies but it is also aimed at recreation and entertainment. Thus, it serves primary and secondary functions. According to Buratai (2012: 386), "it may further be seen as a site and opportunity for the ruler ship to re-affirm their

supremacy over their domain and to legitimize their continued relevance in changing social and political processes".

(1) *Ba a yi taro irin Kaduna ba*
'There has never been a durbar like that of Kaduna'

The above statement connotes that there has never been a durbar organized by such a leader as Sultan Abubakar III in honour of such a personality as the Sardauna. In this verse, Jankidi was stressing the fact that durbar convened by Sultan Abubakar fulfils the traditional as well as the modern functions that durbars are designed to serve.

In the second instance, Jankidi applauds the eminence of the Sultan Abubakar III via a metonymical statement as he says:

(2) *Kowag ga Sakwato ya gama kallo*
'Sokoto, the end of adventures'

Politically, here Jankidi was affirming the fact that Sokoto doubled up as the centerpiece of Hausaland. This is because Sokoto was the first spiritual and political headquarters of the Northern Region. Both Zungeru and later Kaduna could not be compared to Sokoto. Therefore, the Kaduna durbar marked the end of true durbars.

However, the artist further justifies his claim of the supremacy of the Kaduna durbar over all others, for even the Queen of England admitted the supremacy of this durbar. He states:

(3) *Zuwan Kaduna da anka yi taro,*
Sarauniya ta gode ma kwarai,
Ta yi murna ta sara maka.
'Journey to Kaduna when durbar holds
The British Princess thanks you so much
She was so happy and saluted (surrendered) to you'

The song *Bubakar Dan Shehu Bakadire* is a praise-song which is to show that the Sultan Abubakar III is above all emirs and whoever has the opportunity to see the Sultan, symbolically sees all of the emirs and chiefs of the region. This position is marked by metonymic expressions

which refer to Sokoto first. To underscore the everlasting influence of Sokoto as the nucleus of Hausaland, Jankidi says:

(4) *Kayan Masar birnin Hausa*
Wannan irin haske sai alfijir
'The treasure (influence) of Egypt in Hausaland
This illumination, the like is only the dawn'

In his effort to stress and affirm the political position enjoyed by the Sultan he makes reference to Egypt. Here, the artist refers to the everlasting influence of Egypt for more than five millennia, following H. W. Fairman (1965: 72) who proclaimed that in Egypt we have the longest continuous culture that is also literate – not merely in Africa but in the world. It is this that makes Egypt a veritable and unique laboratory for the study of early man and above all of early Africa. Metonymically, also *birnin Hausa* alludes to the family of Sultan Abubakar III, which exerts everlasting influence.

In these aspects, also Sultan Abubakar III is here being referred to as *Sokoto*, (the seat of the caliphate), with the statement *kowag ga Sultan ya gama kallo* 'whoever sees Sultan ends adventure' which is to mark him as being the high-ranking traditional ruler of the Northern Region. Here, Jankidi was stressing as well as affirming the supremacy and legitimacy of his social and political relevance in all aspects of life in the Northern Region.

He further emphasized that the only thing comparable to this prestigious political ascendancy is the position of prophethood. Jankidi further reaffirms the supremacy of the lineage of his patron, the Sultan, because it was the source of the spiritual as well as the political leadership of the Northern region. The artist further supports his claims in the song of Sardauna, *Allah Taimaki Mai Gaskiya* 'Oh Allah, support the truthful', where he says:

(5) *Dab bisa Borno har bisa Gwanja*
Shi ka kiran kowa ya taho nan
An san abin ku na yad dawo
Ko dole sun saki a bar ma.

'From Borno to Gonja,
he (Sardauna) is the only one to summon all to respond here
it is your legacy that re-manifests
and they must leave it for you'

The artist, in his effort to affirm the success and good living of his patron, Sultan Abubakar III, describes him as the possessor of nine powers:

(6) *Wa ka hwaɗa da mai ƙarhi tara?*
'Who can face the possessor of nine powers?'

Here, the artist has seriously exaggerated the bounties 'powers' bestowed on the Sultan, thereby 'understating' every other person in attendance at the durbar, especially colonial dignitaries who lack most of the Sultan's powers, yet they regard themselves as the most powerful. Rhetorically, no one can be equal to Sultan Abubakar III and his brother, Sardauna of Sokoto, to speak nothing of competing with them or subjecting them to any other power. Among the Hausa, *nine* signifies so many things. It is regarded as a sign of success through service. It was along this line that *Ɗan Anace*[6] applauded the uttermost success of *Gundumi na Karime (*one of the famous boxers of the time*)* in his famous song, where he says:

(7) *Ya bugge ukku, ya kashe ukku, ga ukku na magagi,*
In an haɗa tara ke nan.
'He defeated three, kills three; here are three on their death bed,
all together is nine'

It also serves as a sign of ultimate bliss. In other words, it signifies the enjoyment, influence and prestige of a personality in Hausa society. This may be the reason why 'nine' is placed early in the learning process of the language as in the following tongue-twister:

[6] Alhaji Muhammadu Bawa Ɗan Anace popularly known as Ɗan Anace was a famous court singer of Sokoto aristocratic figures, whose fame exalted most when he attached himself to the songs of combatant (boxers), especially when he associated himself with the most famous boxer, *Shago*. Ɗan Anace was born between 1915 and 1921; died around 1986 (Tsoho 2010:173, Gusau 2005:216, Furniss 1996:166).

(8) *Tantabara tara, ƙwai tara, ɗauki guda tara, sa baka sau tara.*
'Nine pigeons, nine eggs, take nine, eat nine times'

Eating pigeons signifies the ultimate level of influence in Hausa society. The artist here applauds the success of the Sultan on the throne succeeding his forefathers and the success of Sardauna on the political throne of the North, as well as the influence they both exert on the region as a whole.

In another part of the song, the artist proclaims:

(9) *Na Bello sai madi ko ba a so*
'The son of Bello, forever, even if detested'

This is also a way of reminding the Sultan's opponents about their own mortality. Ascribing immortality to a person is a form of flattery. It is therefore a form of exaggerating the qualities of their patrons and by so doing denigrating their opponents which is a staple of court songs. Here also the artist highlighted the solidification of the powers of his patron: how long he remained on the throne and which was the significance of his leadership. All these praises and bringing up of the history of the patron are pleasure driving instruments and at the same time frustrating instruments to the opponents.

Another paradoxical statement in the effort of the artist to stress the position of the Sultan III, not only in the material world, but even in the spiritual world is where he says:

(10) *Mai biɗar shi ga Manzon Allah,*
Bai sakin hanyag ga ta bi shi kai
'Whoever desires to see the Messenger of Allah (SAW)
Should maintain your path (the Sultan)'

The descendants of the Sultan are the leaders of the jihad movement, who sanctify Islam and keep it away from all of the traditional beliefs and other pagan-Hausa practices, an act which must be adopted and adhered to, before any sort of spiritual prosperity. The artist paradoxically tried to overstress the fact by equating the following of the Prophet of Islam, with the following of his patron (the Sultan). In other words, the artist,

paradoxically, regards his patron as the symbol of the prophet of Islam; therefore, what is also due for the Prophet is due for his patron.

The same ironic allusion and affirmation was made by Jankidi in the song of Sardauna, *Allah Taimaki Mai Gaskiya* 'Oh Allah, support the truthful' where he proclaims:

(11) *Gidan Shehu sun rika har abada*
Sai madi ka gamewa da su.
(Lit: the descendants of Shehu have ascended forever
They can only be met in the Hereafter).

Here, the emphasis was on the genealogy, stressing and affirming that, both traditional and political powers were vested on the two descendants of the Caliphate, Sultan Abubakar III, his chief patron, and Sardauna, who was the premier of the Northern Region.

6 | CONCLUSION

The paper tries to explain the political undertones of the Kaduna durbar organized in honour of the then premier of the Northern region, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, in 1965. It also analyses how Jankidi used a lot of hyperbolic expressions in order to subsume and stress both the traditional and modern functions of durbar, in respect to the Sultan and Sardauna.

Finally, the paper argues that the style of the song was typical of court-praise songs with features like those outlined by Furniss (1996: 180). Considering the effective usage of hyperbolic expression in all of its ramifications and so many other skillful features, Jankidi is considered one of the most celebrated court singers ever produced in the Northern region of Nigeria as portrayed in the song discussed.

REFERENCES:

Abrams, M.H. *A Glossory of Literary Terms* (9th ed.). Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, Thomson Place 2009.

Agyekum, K. *Introduction to Literature*. Accra: Adwinsa Publications 2013.

Baldick, C. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms*. New York: Oxford University Press 2004.

Bargery, G.P. *A Hausa- English Dictionary and English Hausa Vocabulary* (2nd ed.). Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press 1993.

Buratai, M.I. *Performance as Arts and Power-durbar in India and Nigeria under Colonial Rule*. Saarbrucken: Verlag Dr. Müller 2010.

Buratai, M.I. "Public Spectating and Political Undertones in Durbar: The Emirate Court of Northern Nigeria as Instrument of Governance". *Matatu Journal for African Culture and Society* 40 (2012), pp. 373-399.

Crystal, D. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (2nd ed.). Hoboken: Basil Blackwell Ltd. 1991.

Dikko, I. & Macciɗo, U. *Ƙamus Na Adon Magana*. Zaria: NNPC 1991.

Fagge, U.U. "Semantic Analysis of Single Word with Different senses". *Algaita. Journal of Nigerian Languages*, 3, 1,(2004), pp. 104-113.

Fairman, H. W. "Ancient Egypt and Africa". *African Affairs, Vol. 64, Special Issue: African Studies Association of the United Kingdom* (1965), pp. 69-75.

Furniss, G. *Poetry, Prose and Popular Culture in Hausa*. London: Edinburgh University Press 1996.

Garba, S. *Salon Sarrafa Harshe a Waƙoƙin Aƙilu Aliyu*. an unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of African Languages and Cultures, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 2011.

Gusau, S.M. *Sarkin Taushi Salihu Jankiɗi*. Kaduna: Baraka Press 2002.

Gusau, S.M. *Jagoran Nazarin Waƙar Baka*. Kano: Benchmark Publishers 2003.

Gusau, S.M. *Makada da Mawakan Hausa*. Kaduna, Fisbas Media Services 2005.

Gusau, S.M. *Waƙoƙin Baka a Ƙasar Hausa,Yanaye-yanayensu da Sigoginsu*. Kano: Benchmark Publishers 2008.

Gusau, S.M. *Diwanin Waƙoƙin Baka*. Kano, Century Research and Publishing 2009.

Gusau.S.M. *Wakar Baka Bahaushiya*. Kano: Bayero University 2014.

Hallidy, M. and Hasan, R. *Cohesion in English* (3rd ed.). London: Longman Group 1979.

Jeyifo, B. *Wole Soyinka: Politics, Poetics and Postcolonialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004.

Kolawole, G. "The application of Linguistics to Literary Criticism: Controversy and Prospects". *Stylistics in Theory and Practice*, ed. by A. Lawal, Ilorin: Paragon Books 1997.

Lawal, A. *Stylistics in Theory and Practice*. Ilorin: Paragon Books Ltd. 1997.

Leech, G.P. *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*. London: Longman 1969.

Mode, M.A. *The ABC of Stylistics*. Sokoto: Usmanu Ɗan Fodiyo University 2005.

Murthy, J.D. *Contemporary English Grammar*. London: Book Palace 2012.

Tsoho, M.Y. "Jarunta a Wakokin Baka: Nazarin Wakar Shago Ta Muhammadu Dan'anache". *HIMMA Journal of Contemporary Hausa Studies* (2010).

NR 52/2018 | ISSN 2545-2134
STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Izabela Will
University of Warsaw, Faculty of Oriental Studies

FROM CLEANING TO TOTALITY – THE SEMANTIC CORE OF THE "DUSTING OFF PALMS" GESTURE AMONG THE HAUSA OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

Abstract:

The paper shows a close relationship between speech and gestures by arguing that in oral utterances the verbal part is one of the components of the message, while the other is embedded in gesture. The analysis is based on a few hours of recordings containing natural discourse, mainly sermons preached by Hausa sheiks and religious leaders from Northern Nigeria. The focus is put on the use of a recurrent gesture referred to as the "dusting off palms" gesture. The semantic core of the gesture based on the contextual analysis shows that it refers to cleaning, mental dirt, rejection, termination and totality. The link between all of these notions is to be found in the action which gave rise to the gesture: dusting off palms after a manual job.

Keywords: Hausa, gesture, dusting off palms, Nigeria, semantic core of the gesture

1 | INTRODUCTION

Every day we perform thousands of movements. Some of them are incidental, while others are conscious, controlled, repeated and done on purpose. Many of these controlled movements we make with our hands. The more often we use them, the more internalized they are to such an extent that our body starts performing these movements almost automatically and often recalls them not necessarily in order to perform a given action but, for example, in order to show this action to someone. The movement is also recalled when we think or talk about the action. Such an imitation of the action gave rise to gestures. Many gestures are

embodied, i.e. "based on bodily experiences in and with the world (Bressem 2013: 405)". Once an action turns into a gesture it links a concrete action to an abstract notion – a schema. A mental schema is a larger unit of knowledge showing how knowledge is combined into clusters. It is also quite general and represents "a variety of particular instances, much as a prototype represents the particular instances of a category" (Reed 2012: 223). Thus, there is a clear relationship between a gesture and a thought. This relationship, rather than being unidirectional seems to be circular, i. e. gestures reflect our mental processes but also help to shape them (Cartmill, Beiloch, Goldin-Meadow 2012).

One of the gestures whose etymology is derived from a concrete action is what I call in this paper, "dusting off palms". The gesture has been described by Calbris (2011:213) in the following way: "the palms are brushed against each other in two downward movements as if one wants to remove dust off each palm after finishing a manual job". The gesture is used by speakers belonging to different communities and its form differs according to where and by whom it is performed. This paper scrutinizes the use of the gesture among the Hausa speakers from Northern Nigeria. There, the gesture has two variants: palms are brushed either in downward, vertical movements or in horizontal movements. The action is repeated several times or reduced to a single rubbing movement. Sometimes the gesture is performed in a very dynamic way – the palms hit each other quickly making a clapping sound and the moment of actual rubbing is reduced to a minimum. Sometimes, however, the movement is slow – one palm wipes against the other slowly from the base of the palm to the tips of the fingers and no clapping sound is audible and if anything can be heard it is rather a scraping sound.

The gesture of "dusting off palms" can be classified as a recurrent gesture (Ladewig 2014). Recurrent gestures are conventionalized to a certain degree and show a stable relationship between a form and a meaning. This stable form-meaning unit recurs in different contexts and is used by various speakers from a particular speech community (Ladewig 2014:1559). The recurrent gesture always has a semantic core (Ladewig 2014:1562) or a semantic theme (Kendon 2004) and "this theme (...) through the way it interacts with the (usually verbal) meaning of the

spoken component of the utterance, contributes to the creation of a highly specific local meaning (Kendon 2004: 226). For example, the semantic theme of a well described open hand palm down gesture appears to refer to the interruption of some process or line of action in progress, but when applied to a specific context it can function as a gesture of negation, evaluative intensification, denial. It also commands the interruption of something (Kendon 2004:226). Thus, a given recurrent gesture plays various different functions within a discourse.

Hausa people intuitively feel the semantic core of the "dusting off palms" gesture. When asked about the meaning of the gesture[1], they say that it refers to finishing something (*nuna kwarewar abu* 'show finishing a thing'); it may co-occur with the adverbial intensifier *kwata-kwata*[2] 'at all', or be equivalent to such expressions as *ba ruwana* 'it's not my business' (lit. there is no water of mine) and *shi ke nan* 'that's it'. It may be considered an equivalent of a statement 'It's over/finished; there's nothing else to talk about'. The gesture is also used in Hausa sign language with the meaning 'it's not my business'. The analysis of how it functions in a discourse mostly confirms the intuition of native speakers. The gesture has a summative force; it may also emphasize totality or completeness, it may accompany negative sentences[3], and it may co-occur with statements referring to rejection or denial. The only thing which was not indicated by native speakers, but comes out as a result of an analysis of the speech co-occurring with the gesture are two opposite notions: cleaning/cleanliness and being dirty/dirt.

The crucial thing necessary in order to understand the semantic core of a gesture is to find its origin, the action that gave rise to a given gesture. The gesture of dusting off the palms is derived from the action of clearing

[1] The question about the meaning of the gesture was presented to the students of Bayero University Kano and Federal College of Education during fieldwork conducted in Kano, Nigeria in August 2016.

[2] *Kwata-kwata* is a bipolar adverbial intensifier that can be used in positive and negative clauses. In positive clauses it conveys a maximally emphatic meaning of 'completely, entirely, totally'. When used as a negative-degree polarity adverb it means 'not at all, not even a bit' (Jaggar 2009: 66-68)

[3] For a discussion of other Hausa gestures co-occurring with negative sentences and the gestures expressing negation see Will (2017) and Yakasai (2014).

or brushing the hands. Imagining this action is really helpful in linking all of the components of the semantic core of the gesture. The action takes place when something dirty and unpleasant sticks to the palms and one wants to get rid of it. It may also take place after finishing a manual job. Finishing a job means two things: either (a) that the job was completed and there's nothing else to be done (so an external force was responsible for ceasing the job) or (b) a job was not completed, but the person doing it decided to stop it for some reason (because of tiredness, it was getting dark, it was time to finish the job, he/she had enough of it – the work was interrupted/incomplete because of an internal force). The components of the action – the dirt, the action of cleaning, finishing the job preceding dusting off the palms – would be found in the examples of using the gesture.

2 | METHODOLOGY

In collecting the data I followed the method adopted by Antas (2013:10) and relied on pieces of natural discourse, which were not recorded with an intention to study gestures. Such a method has it shortcomings (Will 2016:186), but allows for scrutinizing the use of a given gesture in different verbal contexts. The data was accessed via YouTube service and consists of sermons and announcements given by the most popular northern Nigerian sheikhs and religious leaders. The length of each video varies from fourteen minutes to an hour and a half. The language of all of the videos is Hausa. The examples shown in the paper were extracted from eight videos. It should be emphasized that the use of a given gesture depends on the temperament of a speaker as well as his preferences for performing particular gestures. Therefore some speakers are overrepresented. In one of the films, the speaker had not used this gesture even once in a half an hour interview although his gesticulation was rather rigorous. Instead, he often used another gesture having a very similar meaning – the gesture of wiping the back of the hands (Will 2017:26).

It has been proved that co-speech gestures are strictly connected with verbal utterance (McNeill 1992). That is why the verbal part of the utterance which accompanies the gesture was analyzed in order to find a key-word or phrase which directly refers to the gesture. Picking up

these lexical elements allowed us to establish a semantic core of a gesture. The relationship between various words or phrases co-occurring with the gesture may seem to be vague at first glance, but the more occurrences of a given gesture, the more links between the words accompanying the gestures appear.

In order to establish the semantic core of a given gesture, a method of micro-analysis advocated by Kendon (2004) was used. "Micro-analysis always combines the analysis of form with attention to the exact moment of production, in relation to the ongoing utterance and the actions of the co-participants (Streek 2009:24)". That is why a larger fragment of speech was analyzed, especially the one preceding the gesture. Without this broader context, it is easy to misinterpret the meaning.

3 | THE SEMANTIC CORE OF THE DUSTING OFF PALMS GESTURE

The following section involves a description of examples showing different contexts of using the gestures. Each example contacting a fragment of speech is illustrated by the sequence of pictures containing the print screens from the videos. In each example the moment of the gesture appearing is underlined.

3.1. CLEANING

As mentioned in the introduction, the etymology of the gesture is quite obvious – dusting off or cleaning the hands after a manual job. The reminiscences of the action of cleaning are present in words co-occurring with the gesture, which additionally confirm the hypothesis concerning the origin of the gesture. A speaker talking about the importance of keeping one's environment and one's body clean states:

(1) *duk wadannan abubuwa ki ringa amfani da ruwa kina tsaftace su, kina gyara su*[4]

[4] All fragments of the speeches and interviews has been transcribed by the author. Hausa examples as well as words and phrases discussed in the article are all written in standard Hausa orthography.

'all these things, always use the water to clean them, to make them neat'

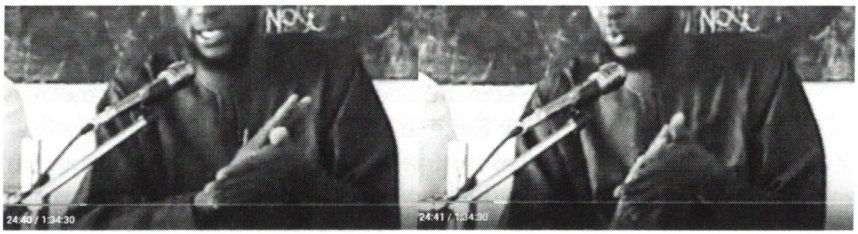

FIGURE 1. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 24:40-24:41.

When uttering the phrase concerning cleaning things, the speaker wipes his palms once in a very slow way referring to the primary meaning of the action which gave rise to the gesture – cleaning.

However, cleaning does not to need to refer to a physical action as described in (1). Cleaning often has religious or ritual dimension and the process of physical cleaning is necessary for cleaning the mind (Reader 1995:240). It may also refer to clearing the mind of bad thoughts. In (2) the speaker explains that the first wife should keep calm and take things easy when her husband marries another wife. She should also avoid showing contempt, fury and maliciousness. He summarizes his speech with the following advice:

(2) *ki saki jikinki warkam, sai ki ga jikinshi ya yi sanyi*
'relax (lit. release your body), take it easy and you will see that he [your husband] is cooled down (lit. his body is cold)'

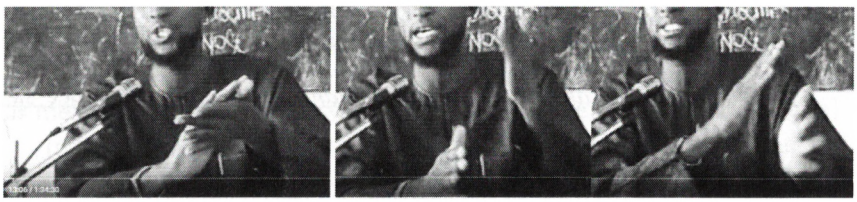

FIGURE 2. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 13:06

When uttering the phrase *saki jikinki* 'relax' the speaker performed a gesture in the following way: first he slowly wiped his left palm with his right palm and then he repeated the movement in a very dynamic way twice, and made a clapping sound. The phrase co-occurring with the gesture refers to relaxing, i.e. cleaning the mind from a negative approach towards a new wife, getting rid of jealousy. This physical cleaning is present in the gesture. Another explanation of using the gesture is also possible. What triggered the occurrence of the gesture is the literal meaning of the Hausa phrase *saki jiki* 'relax' which is composed of the verb *saka* 'to release', 'to let go' and a noun *jiki* 'body'. It is worth indicating that the expression the speaker used is a metaphor and the gesture refers to the source domain of the metaphor rather than to its target domain[5] (Antas 2013: 202). Therefore, in (2) the speaker could refer to the primary meaning of the verb *saka* and show the action of letting something go or freeing something, which is similar to the action of dusting off the palms; in both cases one gets rid of something – either dust/dirt or a concrete object such as a key or a bag.

Another example of using the gesture is connected with the statement concerning the Jews and Christians who would be rewarded or blessed if they followed the teachings of the prophet Muhammad. The expression that appears at the very moment of performing the gesture *yi alheri* is composed of two words, the light verb *yi* 'to do' and the noun *alheri* which means 'good deed, gift, act of generosity, blessing, kindness, a good term'. I believe that the use of the gesture was attracted by the fact that the reward or acceptance the speaker has in mind can be connected somehow with the action of cleaning – getting the reward is closely connected with being spiritually clean. But another explanation of

[5] As observed by Antas, a gesture refers to a concrete action, not to an abstract concept. Therefore, when a Polish speaker utters an idiom: *trzymać Pana Boga za nogi* 'to be lucky' (lit. to keep God's legs) the gesture co-occurring with the expression does not indicate luck, but refers to the literal meaning of the idiom and indicates gripping someone (Antas 2013: 201). Antas notices that when the two modalities – verbal and gestural – co-occur, a process of demetaphorization takes place. The language metaphor is demetaphorized by the gesture which imposes an explicit interpretation of a metaphor by displaying its metonymic source (Antas 2013: 202).

using the gesture is also possible – it can be connected with the phrase following the expression *yi alheri* which is *duniya da lahira*. It refers to this world as well as to the Next World, which is believed to be the final destination for every Muslim. But the expression *duniya da lahira* is commonly used to mean everywhere, anywhere you are; so *duniya da lahiya* indicates totality, completeness – a notion which is also associated with the gesture (see section 3.5):

(3) *Su ma, Yahudu da Nasara, da sun bi annabi da su za a yi musu alheri duniya da lahira*
'but also them, Jews and Christians, if they follow the prophet, they would get a reward in this world and in the Next World'

FIGURE 3. Source: Sunnah TV Nigeria (2014a), minutes 18:07.

3.2. MENTAL DIRT

An inseparable component of the action of dusting off is the existence of dust or any other dirt which covers the hands – something one wants to get rid of. Many examples of using the gesture of dusting off palms refers to this component. However, I haven't found an example of using the gesture in which the speaker refers to physical dust in the same way he refers to physical cleaning as in (1). Whenever speakers refer to something dirty, it is always "mental dirt", i. e. something undesirable or problematic. For example, a speaker who is talking about Nigeria and the problems it faces states:

(4) *sai ya ce: amma matsalarku shi ne leadership, ba ku da shugabanci*
'your problem, it is leadership, you have no leadership'

FIGURE 4. Source: AbdulQadir Muhammad Bello (2013), minutes: 1:10.

When expressing the phrase *shi ne leadership* 'it is leadership' the speaker performs the gesture of dusting off his hand once in a very quick way and the clapping sound accompanies his performance. Possibly, the gesture refers to *matsala* 'problem' which Nigeria should get rid of and the speaker indicates it by imitating the action of getting rid of the dust covering the hands. The gesture seems to be a metonymic base of a more abstract concept, i. e. *matsala* 'problem, affair, obstacle'. However another explanation of using the gesture in (4) is also possible. The gesture precedes the clause: *ba ku da shugabanci* 'you have no leadership'. This lack, the absence, nonexistence, closely connected with the notion of termination (see section 3.3) could also trigger the use of the gesture.

The association of the gesture with mental dirt is also visible in the utterance quoted in (5), where the speaker is warning women who are listening to his speech against focusing on material things when they are preparing themselves for marriage. Instead of buying goods for the house, the woman should prepare herself mentally:

(5) *sai ya zama ta jera komai na zaman gidan aure amma abu ɗaya ta rasa, shi ne ba ta sallama da zaman gidan miji ba. To wannan zai kawo mata cikas a rayuwa*
'So it happens that she collected everything to live as a married woman (lit. in a married house), but she missed one thing, which

is: she did not welcome living at her husband's house. That will bring a blemish on her life'

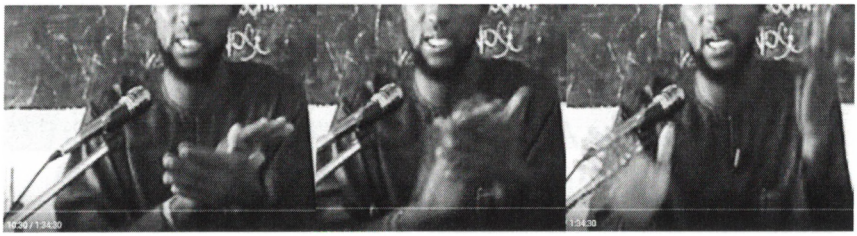

FIGURE 5. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 10:30.

Before uttering the word *cikas* 'blemish' the speaker rubs his palms once to indicate the mental dirt, understood as a defect or stain that should be removed.

In (6), where the speaker is talking about one of the prophets who experienced nothing but trouble since he became a Muslim, this mental dirt is rendered by the word *wahala* 'trouble'.

(6) *Musa'ab (...) bai taba ji wani sakamako ba. Tun da ya musulunta a wahala yake* [pause].
'Musa'ab (...) did not feel any reward. Since he became a Muslim, he had been in trouble.

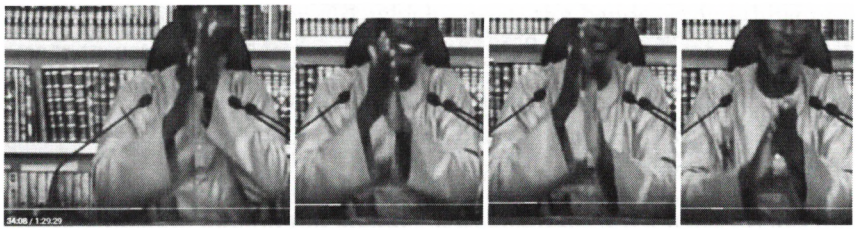

FIGURE 6. Source: Salisu Lukman (2014b), minutes 34:08-34:09

The speaker repeats the dusting off gesture three times in a steady way and finishes performing it a moment after he finishes his speech as if emphasizing the amount of trouble the character in the story experienced.

In another example the speaker says that if a man claims something that does not belong to him, he makes a mistake, but if he fights for something in accordance to the law, he should not be blamed.

(7) *to amma abin da mutum ya cancanta ko aka zalunce shi, matuƙar ya kai kara wajen da yake ga al'amar adalci, to a nan ba laifi ya yi ba*
'but if a person deserves something, even if he would be oppressed [because of that], if he brings his case where he can claim justice, in this case, he does not do anything wrong'

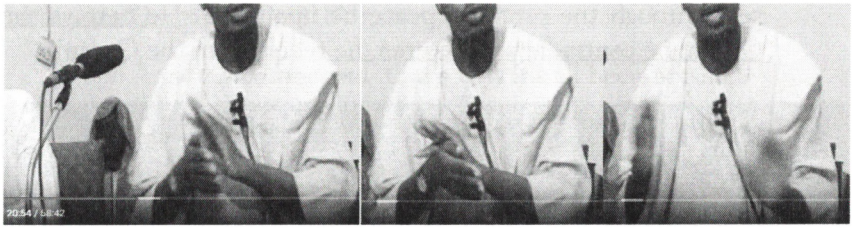

FIGURE 7. Source: Sunnah TV Nigeria (2013), minutes 24:40-24:41.

The speaker wipes his palms once just before uttering the word *laifi* 'wrong doing, crime, flaw'. The statement concerning committing a crime or doing something wrong is negated. Thus, the speaker on the one hand refers to the mental dirt like in (5), on the other he refers to cleaning (see section 3.1). By wiping the dirt from the palm, the speaker exonerates the very person he mentions, indicating the guilt-free. It is important to emphasize here that the two notions – cleaning and being dirty – are strictly connected: there is no cleaning without dirt and dirt is something which needs cleaning. Although, from the semantic point of view dirt and cleanliness are two antonyms, on the gestural modality they are strictly related – a single wiping movement shows both the existence of the dirt and getting rid of it which results in cleanliness. Rather than representing them as two polar opposite notions, I would say they are two notions situated on a circle showing the process of cleaning, getting clean and then getting gradually dirty – the stage where the cleaning is needed again. Thus, it is not surprising that the gesture is used not only

when the speaker is talking about getting rid of "mental dirt" but also when he refers to getting mentally dirty. It is exemplified by an utterance where the speaker talks about betraying the principles of Islam after consulting a witch doctor.

(8) *wanda ya je wurin boka, boka ya faɗa mishi magana ya amince da ita hakika ya kafirce wa abin da aka sauka wa annabi, Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallam. Ya kafirce wa Alkur'ani, ya karyata Alkur'ani, ya yi wa Alkur'ani tawaye*
'The one who went to the witch doctor and the witch doctor told him something and he agreed with it, he truly betrays the things sent through the prophet, peace be upon him. He betrays the Quran, he contradicts the Quran, he rebels from the Quran'

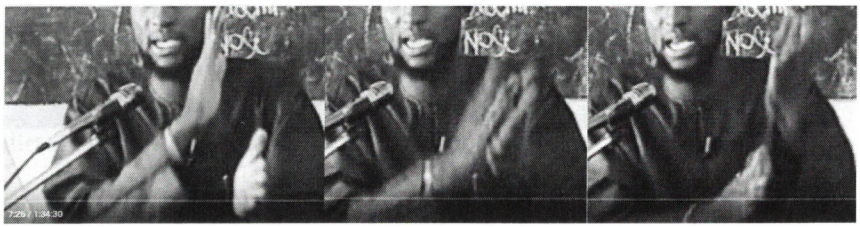

FIGURE 8. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 7:26.

First the speaker performs this gesture once (Figure 8) in a vertical movement making the clapping sound. Later on, he performs the gesture three times in a horizontal way and this time the performance is less dynamic, more wiping-like and with no audible sound. The gesture co-occurs with two verbs *kafirce* 'betray' (lit. become a pagan) and *karyata* 'give the lie to'; both conveying the notion of getting mentally dirty. If we remember the circular process which connects two notions, cleanliness and dirt, we can assume that by performing the gesture the speaker proceeds with the next step which should be done by someone who got dirty (in a mental way), i.e. cleaning. However, another interpretation of the gesture is also possible. The speaker wanted to emphasize that someone who visits the witch doctor betrays the teachings of the Quran completely, totally (cf. section 3.5).

3.3. TERMINATION/FINISHING

Apart from referring to cleanliness and dirt, the gesture of dusting off palms often occurs in contexts where completing or finishing something is emphasized. As mentioned in the introduction, the action of dusting off the palms takes place after finishing the job or after stopping the job. Therefore, the notion of termination is a necessary component of the semantic core of the gesture. When referring to finishing something the gesture may co-occur with the phrase *shi ke nan* 'that's that'. The close connection between the phrase and the gesture is not accidental. The phrase has a summative force, especially when it occurs as a clause-initial connector (Jaggar 2001: 510).

(9) *shi ke nan duk an gama* 'that's that it's all been finished'

This summative force of the gesture as well as the phrase *shi ke nan* is visible in (10), where the speaker is warning women against going to the witch doctor and using black magic in order to control their husbands. In (10) he describes one such method:

(10) *Tsokar nama fa, yankar nama, za ta je ta saka shi a cikin farjinta ya kwana. Gari ya waye sai ta fito da wannan tsokar nama, ta dafa shi sai ya ba mijinta ya ci. Shi ke nan.* [pause] *ta mallake shi*
'A piece of meat, a cut piece of meat, she will take and put it to her vagina and keep it for a night. When it's getting light, she will take this piece of meat off, cook it and give it to her husband to eat. That's it. [pause] She fully controls him'

FIGURE 9. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 58:26-58:27.

The speaker starts performing the gesture when making a pause just after uttering the phrase *shi ke nan* 'that's it' and keeps on dusting off

his palms when giving the final conclusion to the story. The gesture is repeated three times and a clapping sound (which can be heard when the palms touch each other while the last performance of the gesture takes place), gives an extra emphasis to his concluding remark.

The same exact function of the gesture – concluding a story – can be observed with reference to the same speaker, who is explaining that the coexistence of love and harm is impossible in marriage. The gesture is used exactly when the speaker utters the phrase *shi ke nan* 'that's it'. In (11) there is his explanation which precedes using the gesture, quoted for a better understanding of the context:

(11) *Mijinki yana sonki amma kina wulaƙanta shi. To, ba zai iya jure ga so ga cutarwa ba. Sai wannan ƙiyayya sai ta kori soyayya. Shi ke nan. Aure ya ƙare*
'Your husband loves you, but you treat him with contempt. He will not be able to stand love and harm [at the same time]. This hate will chase the love away. That's it. The marriage ends.

FIGURE 10. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 33:13.

Since the gesture is used to indicate that something is finished/over, it is not surprising that one speaker uses it at the end of his utterance saying an Arabic formula often accompanying fulfilling the task:

(12) *alhamdulillahi wa s-Salatu wa s-Salam 'ala Rasulullah*
'praise Allah and peace be upon the Prophet'

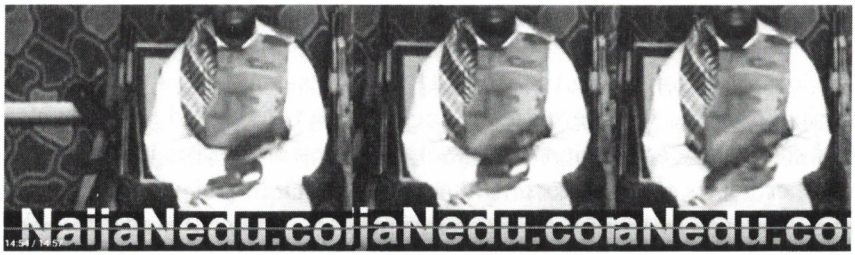

FIGURE 11. Source: NNTV-Africa (2012), minutes 14:54.

The phrase in (12), usually used in shortened form *alhamdulillahi*, expresses gratitude to God for something: completing a task, avoiding a danger. It is used in response to situations "both mundane, as on concluding a meal or a journey across town, and the extraordinary, as on the birth of a child" (Gaudio 1996: 82). Here the gesture together with the religious phrase denotes finishing the message the speaker gave.

A slightly different interpretation of this gesture is used by another speaker who is trying to show that one should not shout in order to reprimand people, but rather explain what is intended in a steady, controlled voice:

(13) *kada wanda ya sa waya a caji a wurin nan. Jama'a, kada wanda ya sake shiga wurin nan. Kawai. Ya isa. Shi ke nan. Haka ne sunna ta nuna.*
'Do not charge your phone here! People, do not enter here again! That's enough. That's it. That is how sunna shows it'.

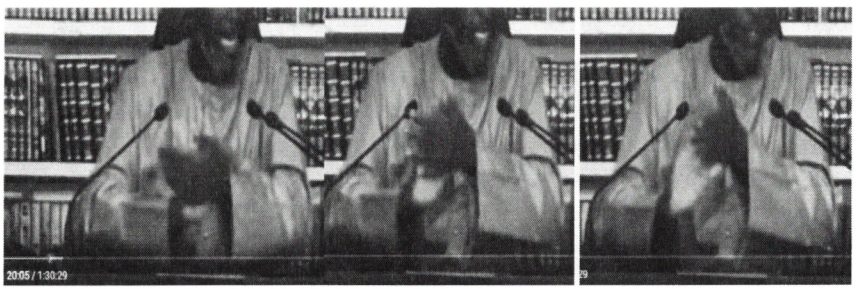

FIGURE 12. Source: Salihu Lukman (2014b), minutes 20:05.

When saying *haka ne* 'that's it' the speaker wipes his palms. Just like in example (10), (11) and (12) the gesture is somehow connected with the idea of summarizing the story. The speaker emphasizes that one can behave only the way he suggests, one shouldn't do or add anything else and such is the conclusion of his story. The gesture occurs just after the speaker utters the phrase *shi ke nan* 'that's it'. In his utterance there are other words which also have a summative force: the adverb *haka* 'thus', which actually co-occurs with the gesture and in fact refers to the summary of his explanation. Another word connected with concluding a statement is the verb *isa* 'to be sufficient'. There is also an adverb *kawai* 'only, alone' giving a sense of exclusiveness and totality (cf. section 3.5). All of these expressions go along with the action of dusting off the hands.

3.4. REJECTION

Many examples show that that the action of dusting off the palms is connected with the idea of rejection. It is not surprising since rejecting is simply getting rid of something and once you dust off your palms you get rid of the dust or the dirt. The notion of rejection is clearly expressed in (14) where the speaker gives advice to people to stop doing anything which may bring on the wrath of God:

(14) *duk abin da yana cikin sha'aninsa ya jawo wa mutum fushin Ubangigi, to ka bar shi*
'everything of this kind that brings on the wrath of God to a man, well, leave it'

FIGURE 13. Sunnah TV Nigeria (2014b), minutes 16:59-17:00.

When uttering the phrase: *ka bar shi* 'leave it/give it away' the speaker rubs his palms several times.

Since the idea of rejection is closely connected with negation, it is not surprising that many examples where the "dusting off (the) palms" gesture emphasizes rejection contain morphological markers of negation. In (15) the speaker explains the misinterpretation of the concept of humility. He states that if someone behaves in a modest way but steals and cheats at the same time he cannot be considered humble. The speaker rejects the idea both verbally by negating the sentence and in a gestural way by wiping his palm once.

(15) *ya ci kudin wani ya yi yaudara, ya yi makirci. Wannan ba tawadu'u ba ne*
'He stole someone's money, he cheated, he was crafty. This is not humility'

FIGURE 14. Sunnah TV Nigeria (2014b), minutes 15:18-15:19.

Similarly in (16) the gesture emphasizes rejecting an idea by the speaker who does not agree with something. The speaker answers the question about the origin of the day of mourning celebrated by Shia Muslims on the 10th day in the month of Muharram and performs this gesture twice; first when he says that the feast has no origin and a few moments later when he repeats the statement and wipes his palm once:

(16) *sabo da haka in da ta yi magana asali ne, musulunci bai karantad da wannan ba*

'that is why if she is talking about the origin, Islam does not teach about it'

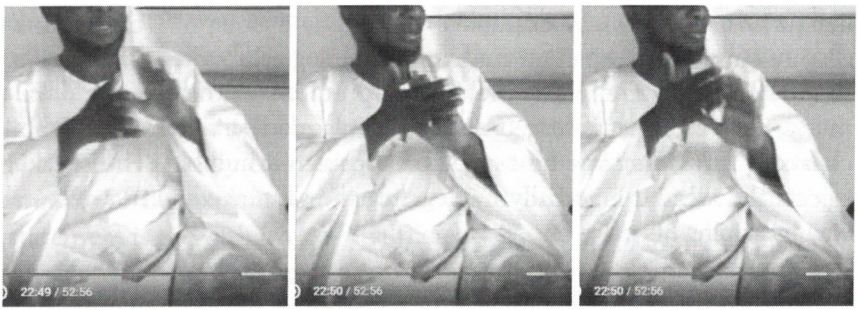

FIGURE 15. Source: Sunnah TV Nigeria (2014b), minutes 22:49-22:50.

3.5. TOTALITY/COMPLETENESS

Closely connected with the idea of finishing or completing is the idea of totality. Being total is being complete, whole. Totality seems to be the most abstract component of the semantic core of the gesture, but it is strictly connected with its primary meaning – dusting off the palms. One gets rid of the dust because the job was completed and there's nothing else to do or one wants to stop the job for some reason and decides to end it in one moment, because he/she was pressed to the wall, reached a critical point or was brought to an end. Somehow this abstract notion is also visible in the speech modality. The words that carry the idea of totality are often functional words (quantifiers, determiners), rather than lexical ones and many of these words accompany the gesture. For example, the speaker who answers the question about using birth control pills states that due to using the pills the menstruation blood first disappeared completely. The gesture renders this idea of completeness together with an expression *gaba ɗaya* 'all together' (lit. front one):

(17) *wa ya ce a sha ƙwayar hana haihuwar? A dalilin shin wannan ƙwayar hana haihuwar sai jinin haila gaba ɗaya yake je*
'Who said to take birth control pills? Because of taking these pills, the menstrual blood went away completely'

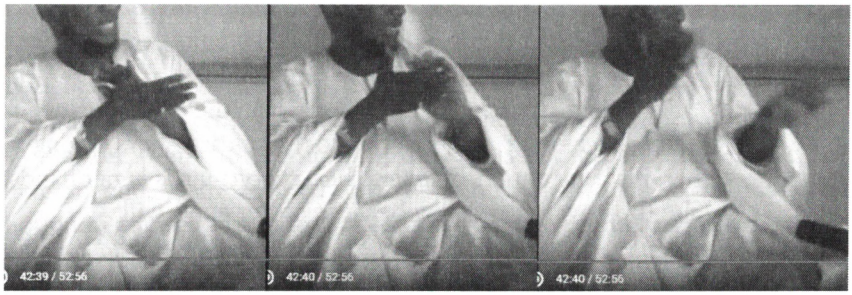

FIGURE 16. Source: Sunnah TV Nigeria (2014b), minutes 42:39-42:40.

The speaker wipes his hands once in a slow movement finishing with a dynamic jerk of the left hand. Apart from emphasizing totality, the gesture seems to express disappearance, going away, nonexistence – the notion that appeared as an alternative explanation of the gesture use in (4).

Exactly the same expression – *gaba ɗaya* – emphasizing the idea of totality is used in (18) where the speaker talks about a wife who wins her husband's love and admiration by her total devotion to every-day home duties. When uttering the statement quoted in (18a) the speaker performs the gesture four times starting from a slow wiping of his left palm in a horizontal way and finishing with a very quick dusting off the palms in a vertical way making a clapping sound. He concludes his story about the devoted wife by stating the sentence quoted in 18b.

(18) (a) *sai ta mai da kanta baiwa a gida ta tattake kanta gaba ɗaya*
'she turns herself into a slave at home, she disregards herself totally'

FIGURE 17. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 38:45-38:48.

(b) *sai waye gari, takardun gida na hannunta, takardun motoci na hannunta, takardunshi na kudi na banki, komai yana hannunta, komai ta kwace sabo da limana*
'at the end of the day (lit. at dawn), the property deeds belong to her (lit. are in her hands), the car papers belong to her, his bank papers belong to her, everything is in her hands, she took over everything because of her good-will'.

In 18b the gesture is repeated six times in a very quick and dynamic manner with a lot of clapping. It seems to be triggered by the universal quantifier *komai* which is mentioned twice by the speaker. But the intensive use of the gesture may also emphasize the end of the story (see section 3.3).

A similar expression (i.e. a fixed phrase indicating totality) is used by another speaker who talks about the necessity of keeping face-to-face contact between relatives, even if some people claim that contact through the phone is sufficient. When uttering the phrase *ba komai* 'that's o.k.' (lit. there's nothing), the speaker makes a single wiping movement. The gestural part of the utterance does not refer to the actual meaning of the phrase it co-occurs with, but to its literal meaning, i.e. to the universal quantifier *komai* which means 'everything' or 'nothing' (in negative sentences). However, it is also necessary to state that the Hausa expression *ba komai* is used in many contexts as an equivalent of the phrase *shi ke nan* 'that's it' (compare ex. 11). Both play a similar pragmatic function in the language and can be translated as: 'that's o.k.', 'alright', 'no problem'.

(19) *ya ce: ba komai, magana ta waya ta isa*
'he says, that's o.k., talking by phone is sufficient'

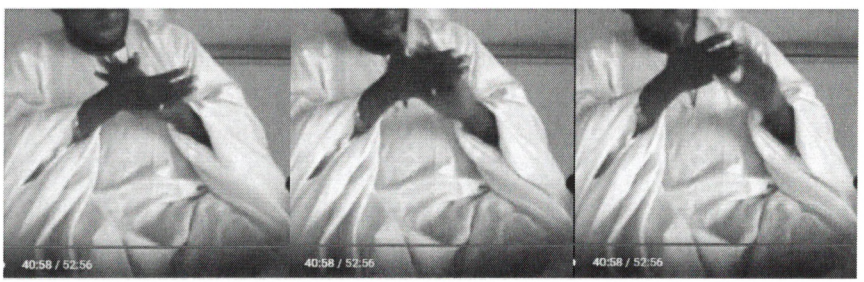

FIGURE 18. Source: Sunnah TV Nigeria (2014b), minutes 40:58.

The fragment of the utterance quoted in (20) is part of the story where the speaker explains that someone called the fire brigade after noticing the fire in the neighborhood. But the fire car could not pass the road due to the crowd of people who gathered around to watch the fire, so that the calling of the fire brigade was useless because they could not help anyone. There seemed to be no determiner which would mark the notion of totality in the text accompanying the gesture. A closer look at Hausa grammar, however, shows that there is one: *wani*. Although *wani* is a specific indefinite determiner 'some', 'one', when it is used in negative assertive clauses, it is read as a negative counterpart of 'some' and it is equivalent to 'not any X' (Jaggar 2001: 315).

(20) *sai ya zama kiran da aka yi wa 'yan kwana-kwana bai yi wani amfani ba ke nan*
'so it happens that the call they make to firefighters, was of no use'

FIGURE 19. Source: Salihu Lukman (2015), minutes 5:50.

4 | CONCLUSION

When we gather all of the lexical items co-occuring with the "dusting off palms" gesture, we can clearly see that they refer to some part of the semantic core of the gesture: cleanliness (*tsabtace* 'clean'), cleaning the mind (*saki jiki* 'relax', *yi alheri* 'bless, get a reward'), mental dirt

(*wahala* 'trouble', *matsala* 'problem', *cikas* 'blemish', *laifi* 'fault', *kafirce* 'become a pagan', *karyata* 'give the lie to'), termination (*shi ke nan* 'that's it', *alhamdulillahi* 'God be praised', *haka ne* 'that's it'), rejection (*bari* 'leave'), totality (*gaba ɗaya* 'completely', *komai* 'everything/nothing', *wani* [+ negation] 'any') and denial or absence (morphological negation). Although the phase *ba ruwana* 'it's not my business' which was indicated by Hausa speakers as a lexical equivalent of the gesture was not found in the data, its meaning, i.e. rejection, the will to get rid of something is well represented in the examples.

There seems to be no correlation between the form of the gesture (space, movement size and direction, number of rubbing movements) and its semantic core. The form of the gesture, especially the number of rubbing movements is more related to the temperament of the speaker as well as some metalinguistic elements such as prosodic features of the utterance or discourse flow. For example in (5) and (6) the gesture refers to mental dirt. However in (5) the speaker performs the gesture only once and then he switches to another topic, while in (6) the speaker repeats the rubbing movement several times and continues to perform it while he pauses as if he wanted to get a tighter hold on this topic.

All of the components of the semantic core of the gesture are strictly connected with the action that gave rise to the gesture. The person who dusts off the palms wants to make them clean and hence the notion of cleanliness. The action of cleaning is strictly connected with the existence of dirt, dust or filth, i.e. there is no cleaning without dirt and that is how the meaning component connected with mental dirt came into existence. Furthermore, dirt is something we want to get rid of; hence the notion of rejection. Denial is simply rejecting a more abstract idea. Since the action of dusting off the palms often takes place after completing the job, the notion of termination or finishing presents itself. Finally, completing the task or finishing the job assumes completeness and totality as well as absence since there is nothing left to do. The semantic link between all of these components of the semantic core of a gesture can be compared with the links between the words in a semantic word net[6], where, for example, dusting is

[6] cf. Princeton University "About WordNet". WordNet. Princeton University. 2010.

a hyponym of cleaning, while cleaning can be defined as removing dirt, filth or unwanted substances from something and removing is a synonym of taking away or getting rid of something. Therefore, one gesture encompasses many meaningful components which can be expressed with words.

One has to bear in mind that splitting the semantic core of a gesture into several meaningful components is somehow artificial and done because of the analytical nature of research. Although the appearance of a certain lexical item in the utterance may suggest that the speaker wanted to emphasize this very salient feature such as getting rid of something undesired or indicating totality, every interpretation should be treated with caution due to the nature of gestures – they are global and synthetic. Global means that the meaning of the parts is determined by the whole (that is why dusting off the palms is performed in a slightly different way each time) – the gestalt of the form. The synthetic nature of gesture is connected with the fact that "one gesture can combine many meanings" (McNeill 1992). Therefore, in many examples given in the paper two or more components of the semantic core of the gesture fit perfectly. For instance, in (16), the most salient feature that the speaker emphasizes with his gesture seems to be rejection, but it can be totality as well because the speaker rejects the idea completely. Thus the gesture in (16) could be also analyzed as a nonverbal marker of totality, replacing one of the verbal statements indicating totality such as: 'at all'. Similarly in (2), the gesture seems to refer to cleaning the mind, but it can also indicate rejection since the lexical item co-occurring with the gesture, *saki* 'release' is a synonym of the verb *bari* 'to leave' in (14) where the meaning of rejection seems to be stressed. In contrast to language which is made up of smaller elements such as phonemes, morphemes, phrases and clauses, gesture represents a gestalt which is indivisible and unmitigated. As noticed by Antas (2013) every gesture is predicative in nature and presents a full statement. It may be connected with certain phrases or words, but this relationship is never one to one, i. e. no single phrase can be the only equivalent of a gesture. The examples show that the "dusting off palms" gesture triggers the utterance of some phrases, i. e. *shi ke nan* 'that's it' or words belonging to a certain semantic net, but the repertoire of words or phrases that can accompany the gesture is not limited.

REFERENCES:

Antas, J. *Semantyczność ciała. Gesty jako znaki myślenia*. Łódź: Primum Verbum 2013.

Bressem, J. "20th century: Empirical research of body, language and communication". *Body – Language – Communication. An international handbook on multimodality in human interaction*, C. Müller, A. Cienki, E. Fricke, S. Ladewig, D. McNeill, S.Tessendorf (eds.), Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton 2013, pp. 393-415.

Calbris, G. *Elements of Meaning in Gesture*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2011.

Cartmill, E., Beilock, S., Goldin-Meadow, S. "A word in the hand: action, gesture and mental representation in humans and non-human primates". *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. B.* 367 (2012), pp. 129-143.

Gaudio, R. *Men who talk like women: language, gender, and sexuality in Hausa Muslim society*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Linguistics, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 1996.

Jaggar, P. *Hausa*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2001.

Jaggar, P. "Quantification and polarity: negative adverbial intensifiers ('never ever', 'not at all', etc.) in Hausa". *Negation Patterns in West African Languages and Beyond*, N. Cyffer, E. Ebermann, G. Ziegelmeyer (eds.), Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2009, pp. 57-69.

Ladewig, S. "Recurrent gestures". *Body – Language – Communication. An international handbook on multimodality in human interaction*, C. Müller, A. Cienki, E. Fricke, S. Ladewig, D. McNeill, S.Tessendorf (eds.), Berlin : De Gruyter Mouton 2014, pp. 1558–1575.

Kendon, A. *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004.

McNeill, D. *Hand and Mind: What Gestures Reveal about Thought*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1992.

Reader, I. "Cleaning Floors and Sweeping the Mind: Clearing as a Ritual Process". *Ceremony and Ritual in Japan: Religious Practices in an Industrialized Society*, J. Van Bremen, D. P. Martinez (eds.), London and New York: Routledge 1995 pp. 227–45.

Reed, S. K. *Cognition: Theories and Applications*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Pub Co. 2012.

Streek, J. *Gesturecraft: The manufacture of meaning*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2009.

Will, I. "To what extent do African studies refocus our understanding of gestures?". *African Studies. Forging New Perspectives and Directions*. N. Pawlak, H. Rubinkowska-Anioł, I. Will (eds.), Warsaw: Elipsa 2016, pp. 183–198.

Will, I. „Niewerbalne sposoby wyrażania negacji w kulturze hausa". *Afryka* 45 (2017), pp. 11-32.

Yakasai, H. M. "Bodily Gestures as Negative and Emphatic Markers in Hausa". *Hausa and Chadic Studies in Honour of Professor Stanisław Piłaszewicz*, N. Pawlak, E. Siwierska, I. Will (eds.), Warsaw: Elipsa 2014, pp. 188–199.

Sources of videos:

AbdulQadir Muhammad Bello. *Sheikh Aminu Ibrahim Daurawa A wa'azi na Musamman da aka Gudanar a Masallacin Miyetti, Gombe* 2013 [online video clip]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DEy44G-6E8s [Accessed 11 May 2018].

Salihu Lukman. *Manufar Kafa Daarul-Hadeethis-Salafiyyah Zaria 1/3: Albani*. 2014a [online video clip]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=22JtbvRphkk [Accessed 11 May 2018].

Salihu Lukman. *Manufar Kafa Daarul-Hadeethis-Salafiyyah Zaria 2/3: Albani* 2014b. [online video clip]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sJH41TcwfMA&t=1205s [Accessed 11 May 2018].

Salihu Lukman. *Wasiyyar Matan Aure: Shaikh Albani Zaria* 2015. [online video clip]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=adG1NnT5_qI [Accessed 11 May 2018].

Sunnah TV Nigeria. *Sheikh Isa Ali Pantami (Tafsirin Ramadana wa Iyaye Mata 1434/2013 7)* 2013 [online video clip]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NYwYFY3XIWk# [Accessed 11 May 2018].

Sunnah TV Nigeria. *Sheikh Aminu Ibrahim Daurawa (Gudumawar Sahabban Annabi)* 2014a [online video clip]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_RtK6-dXdBk [Accessed 11 May 2018].

Sunnah TV Nigeria. *Sheikh Muhammad Bin Uthman (Tambayoyi da Amsa 2)* 2014b [online video clip]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rxn18NMvivA [Accessed 11 May 2018].

NNTV-Africa. *Boko Haram leader "Imam Abubakar Shekau" Message to President Jonathan 1* 2012 [online video clip]. Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=umkj50SUzck [Accessed 11 May 2018].

NR 52/2018 | ISSN 2545-2134

STUDIES IN AFRICAN
LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Kabiru Haruna Isa
Bayero University, Kano
Department of History

SUNNI LITERARY RESPONSES TO THE SPREAD OF SHIA IDEOLOGY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA[1]

Abstract:

The infiltration of Shiism and subsequent increasing growth of the Shia community in Sunni dominated northern Nigeria, especially from the 1980s to date (2015), have generated ideological tension and anxiety. The introduction of the Shia into northern Nigeria has challenged Sunni ideological dominance and ascendancy. The Shia *ulama* (scholars) clandestinely converted thousands of Sunnis into the new religious group. The Sunni *ulama* responded to the penetration and emerging Shia community through a myriad of ways in order to arrest what they perceive as a diffusion of antithetical ideology. The responses came in the form of public condemnation, invective songs, theological debates, and literary antiphon. The main thrust of all of these responses is the condemnation of Shia ideology, rituals and practices, especially the ones that oppose Sunni ideological beliefs. One of the major consequences of these responses is the emergence of literature in different languages, namely: Arabic, English and Hausa. However, there is an apparent lack of academic attention to this body of literature in spite of its relevance to understanding Sunni-Shia relations and theological contestations in northern Nigeria. This paper analyses some selected Hausa and English Sunni-reactive literature and assesses its attempt to challenge the spread of Shia ideology in northern Nigeria.

Keywords: Sunni, Shia, literary response, Northern Nigeria, Hausaland

[1] This topic was initially presented at the 2nd International Conference on Shii Studies in May, 2016 which was organized by The Islamic College London. The present article is an extended and modified version of the paper submitted for conference proceedings.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Northern Nigeria is one of the most hotly contested religious spaces in Africa because of its religious pluralism and the importance attached to religion. The area has been a practicing arena of the two most popular Abrahamic religions: Islam and Christianity. Historically, the early inhabitants of northern Nigerian practiced traditional religion up to the eleventh century, when Islam was introduced in the Borno Empire. Islam remained in Borno and was subsequently introduced in Hausaland, specifically Kano, in the fourteenth century by the Wangara traders from Mali (Phillips 1982/85). The introduction of Islam in northern Nigeria marked a religious shift from paganism/traditionalism to the practice of Islam. However, in spite of the introduction of Islam in Hausaland, it was not everyone that embraced it. A reasonable number of people stuck to paganism until the nineteenth century Sokoto Jihad movement, which further changed and consolidated the practice of Islam. The nineteenth century not only witnessed the Jihad movement, it also saw the diffusion of Christian faith, especially to an area that is today known in the political parlance of Nigeria as north-central Nigeria or the Middle-Belt zone. In the Muslim dominated areas, especially the Muslim north, Christianity did not make a significant in-road up to now. It was in the twentieth century that the pagans of the Muslim northern Nigeria started to embrace Christianity due to the institutionalization of British colonial rule, establishment of non-Muslim settlements and robust evangelism carried-out by different Christian missionaries. Moreover, despite this evangelism, Christianity remains a minority religion in northern Nigeria.

From the eleventh century up to the twentieth century Muslims in northern Nigeria practiced Sunni-Islam. The Maliki School of jurisprudence informed the theological basis of the Muslim North. Sufism was the main feature of Sunni-Islam in northern Nigeria because a number of Sufi scholars visited Hausaland and succeeded in convincing and persuading early Muslims to practice Sufism. The famous North African fifteenth century scholar, Abdulkadir al-Maghili, visited the Hausa states of Kano, Zaria and Katsina and influenced certain political and religious reforms. The influence of al-Maghili, coupled with other fac-

tors led Muslims in Hausaland to embrace the *Qadiriyya* Sufi order[2] in the fifteenth century. The nineteenth century Sokoto Jihad consolidated and further entrenched the teachings of *Qadiriyya* on the account of the fact that all the Jihad leaders, namely: Usman Danfodio, his brother Abdullahi and his son, Muhammad Bello were all Qadiris (members of *Qadiriyya*). *Qadiriyya*, therefore, enjoyed a monopoly over the religious space of northern Nigeria for a long time; both commoners and ruling families embraced and practiced its rituals at least at an individual level. This monopoly was challenged and broken by the introduction of the *Tijaniyya* Sufi order[3] in the nineteenth century by Alhaji Umar Tal. The introduction of *Tijaniyya* created a kind of denominational competition in the religious terrain of northern Nigeria. *Tijaniyya* became increasingly popular among the masses as opposed to *Qadiriyya*, which was identified with both masses and traditional rulers (Hill 2010).

The Sufi brotherhoods competed against each other from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. The scholars of these two groups established schools and mosques in different places where they taught students, performed rituals and observed prayers. Generally, their relationship and competition on the surface appeared to be cordial; it only got strained in the 1950s when scholars from an emerging sub-group of the *Tijaniyya* known as *Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya* engaged in a series of doctrinal debates in Kano with the leader of *Qadiriyya*, Shaykh Nasiru Kabara. The followers of the two groups in some instances locked themselves in physical confrontation with one another, especially in the 1950s and 1960s (Brigaglia 2017). The emergence and popularization of Salafism[4] and Salafi ideology which was mostly promoted by Shaykh Mahmoud Gumi, posed a collective threat to the Sufi brotherhood in northern Nigeria. The formation of a Salafi-oriented organization, *Jama'at Izalatul Bid'awa Iqamatus Sunna* (Izala) in 1978 in Jos[5] by a disciple of Gumi, Shaykh Ismaila Idris, further challenged the religious hegemony of Sufi groups in northern Nigeria. The challenge of Salafism to Sufi brotherhoods ne-

[2] For a comprehensive history of *Qadiriyya* in Nigeria see (Folarin1986).

[3] For the history of *Tijaniyya* see (Quadri 1981)

[4] For a recent work on Salafism see (Thurston 2016)

[5] For a history of Izala see (BenAmara 2011; Kane 2003; Yandaki1990).

cessitated them to unite and bury their difference in order to contain a common doctrinal threat (Loimeier 1997). The religious landscape of northern Nigeria became dominated by Sufi groups and the Izala; hence, it was also characterized by competition and contestation. It was in the midst of competition and rivalry between Sufi and Salafi groups that Shia ideology emerged on the scene and constituted a threat of increasing diversity among Sunni-Muslims. The spread of Shia ideology and the subsequent emergence of a Shiite community in northern Nigeria attracted huge Sunni-responses which appeared in the form of public condemnation, invective songs, theological debates, and literary antiphon.

2 | A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SHIA[6] IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Most of the scholars of Islamic movements in Nigeria tend to erroneously believe that the Shia came to Nigeria as a result of the Iranian Revolution of 1979[7]. There has been a passive Shia community in northern Nigeria since the early colonial period. Lebanese traders were the first Shia community in northern Nigeria and they constituted an exclusivist religious ensemble. The British colonial residential segregation policy separated the Lebanese settlements from the indigenous community. For instance, in Kano the Lebanese were settled at the Syrian Quarters far away from the local Hausa community[8]. Therefore, there was not much engaging cultural contacts and exchange between the host community and the Lebanese. The Lebanese came to Nigeria in the second decade of the twentieth century for trading purposes and devoted a substantial part of their time to trade. They served as Licensed Buying Agents (LBA) in order to expatriate companies in Nigeria. They did not engage in any missionary activities from the time of their arrival up to the post-colonial period. It was in the 1980s and 1990s that some of them who remained in northern Nigeria started to relate closely with locals with a clear intent of converting them to Shiism[9]. The Lebanese were exposed to social

[6] For the general history of Shia see (Nasr 2006; Hazleton2009).

[7] (Bunza 2005, Suleiman 1997, Umar 2011, & Yola 2000).

[8] For more see (Albasu1995).

[9] Interview with Usman Lawal, 47, at Kwari Market on 23 May, 2014

life which presumably distracted them from any proselytizing campaign. They were the first to build cinemas, casinos and other social centres in northern Nigeria. During the colonial period, these institutions were perceived by the Sunni-Muslims as agents of social vices and moral laxity and therefore were harshly condemned by *ulama* (scholars) and moral-watchdogs of the society.

The active Shia community in northern Nigeria represents the Iranian brand of Shiism, *Ithna Ashariyya* or the Twelvers, which infiltrated Nigeria as a result of the 1979 Iranian Revolution. This brand of Shiism was promoted by a group of young Muslim political activists known as the Muslim Brothers (*Yan-uwa Musulmi*) under the leadership of Malam Ibrahim el-Zakzaky[10]. The root of the Muslim Brothers was the Muslim Student Society (MSS) which was an association of Muslim students in various Nigerian tertiary institutions. Former members of MSS under the influence of el-Zakzaky created the Muslim Brothers. At the initial stage, the Muslim Brothers was a Sunni-oriented Islamic organization largely influenced by the rhetorics and activities of the founders/leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, *Ikhwan Muslim*, of Egypt. The Iranian Revolution impacted and changed both the philosophy and ideology of this movement. The leader of the movement, el-Zakzaky, visited Iran and embraced Shiism and subsequently he influenced thousands of his followers

[10] Malam Ibrahim Yaqoub el-Zakzaky was born on May 5th , 1953 at Kwarbai Residential Area, in Zaria, Kaduna state. He first attended Fada Provincial Arabic School, Zaria from 1969-1971. He secured admission into the famous School for Arabic Studies (SAS), Kano in 1971 and finished in 1975. He was admitted into the prestigious Ahamadu Bello University, Zaria in 1976 to study BSc. Economics and was unable to graduate due to his religious activism on campus which prompted him and his colleagues to clamp-down and prevent some students from holding a wine drinkers' party on the premises of the university. He was arrested by Nigerian security agents and incarcerated in Enugu prison only to be released in 1984. During his university days, he held many position in a Muslim students association known as the Muslim Student Society (MSS) and the highest position he held was that of Secretary General in 1978. Subsequently he became the Vice President of the association. The position that el-Zakzaky held in MSS is what gave him the opportunity to have a large following and form the Yan-uwa Muslim, Muslim Brothers, which later metamorphosed into a Shia-oriented Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN). (Rashid 2017)

to renounce Sunnism and embraced Shiism (Isa & Adam 2013/2014). Those who were not comfortable with the Shia leaning of the movement broke away and formed an opposing group called *Jama'at Tajdidil Islamy* (JTI) in 1994 under the leadership of Malam Abubakar Mujahid (Umar 2012). With the break of JTI, the Nigerian media started to address the movement and followers of el-Zakzaky as the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN)[11]. IMN had a larger followership than JTI, hence, it engaged in a massive underground conversion campaign in different Muslim states in order to create space for itself and compete actively on the religious terrain of Nigeria. IMN adopted different strategies to win a following, which included proselytization in rural areas, efficient welfare packages and economic empowerment of the distressed members of the society. Many observers have argued that the most potent weapon of the Shia is temporary marriage, *mutu'a*[12], which lured and tempted thousands of Sunni-youth. Now, in the 21st century, IMN boasts of having millions of followers in Nigeria with a modern organizational structure. The leader of the movement in Nigeria is Ibrahim el-Zakzaky, who is ably represented by an *amir* (deputy) in each of the predominantly Muslim states of northern Nigeria. The *amir* is saddled with the responsibilities of coordinating the activities of the movement in a given state. There is a sub-structure in each state where the *amir* appoints leaders of centres, *halaqa*, to manage the affairs of members and activities of the movement at a local government level. (The) IMN has a clear political motive which

[11] In the course of conducting research I interviewed the amir (leader) of Shia in Kano, the late Shaykh Muhammad Mahmoud Turi who opined that the name Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN) was not coined by either the leaders of the movement or by its followers. According to him, the name was created and given to them by journalists and they accepted and adopted the nomenclature. Interview with Muhammad Mahmoud Turi on 4th January, 2014 at Goron Dutse, Kano

[12] *Mutu'a* is a temporary marriage which is very popular and legal according to Shia theology. According to Sunni teachings, *mutu'a* is prohibited and therefore the Sunnis do not practice it. Because of the abstinence from sexual intercourse outside of marriage by the Sunnis, when Shiism was introduced to northern Nigeria those who embraced the new ideology, especially the youth, tended to find the practice of *mutu'a* appealing to them. (Isa 2016)

is establishing an Islamic government in Nigeria similar to what happened in Iran[13].

There is an erroneous assumption that the IMN is the only promoter of the Iranian brand of Shiism in northern Nigeria[14]. There exist other groups that promoted Shia ideology independent of IMN; one, there is *Rasulul A'Azam* Foundation (RAAF), and two; there is *Darul Thaqalyn* Organization (DTO). RAAF was founded in 2003 by Nigerians who studied at the International Theological Centre Qom, Iran. Shaykh Muhammad Nura Dass, who spent sixteen years in Iran, is the chairman of RAAF, while Shaykh Saleh Sani Zaria, who spent five years at *Ahlul Bait* Institute in Ghana and an additional five years at Iran, is its Secretary General. The objective of this organization is to educate their members and spread Shia ideology in Nigeria using its school, *Baqirul Ulum* Theological Centre, as a catalyst. RAAF, at least for now, has no political motive and recognizes the Nigerian state. It avoids any informal assembly that antagonizes the Nigerian state, that is why its members do not participate in procession, *Muzahara*, an annual trek which is very popular and a trademark of IMN[15]. RAAF had an interactive session with Nigerian security agents (Nigeria Police Force and State Security Service) and media in April, 2016 and explained its position on the army/Shia clash in Zaria in December, 2015. RAAF disassociated itself from the religious activities of IMN and condemned its leadership for portraying the Shia in a negative way. The leader of RAAF, Shaykh Nura Muhammad Dass, made it clear to the Nigerian security and media that their members are law-abiding citizens and they recognize the sovereignty of Nigeria and respect its constitution. Dass said that the leading Shia *ulama* in Iran have admonished them to respect the sovereignty, constitution and laws of their country. Perhaps RAAF wants to construct a unique identity and does not like to

[13] Interview at Goron Dutse quarters, Kano with a Shia cleric who sought anonymity

[14] The existing writings on the history of the Shia in Nigeria tend to conclude that IMN is the only promoter of Shiism in Nigeria. But there are other groups who subscribed to Shiism and engaged in massive prozelytization. For more information on these writings see, (Umar 2012, Suleiman 1997, and Bunza 2005)

[15] Source: http://www.bbc.com/hausa/news/2016/04/160428_shia_nigeria_division.

be submerged in the shadow of IMN and that is why it discourages its members from participating in procession and other public celebrations often associated with IMN. However, DTO was established by Iranian nationals in Nigeria in collaboration with some indigenous Shiites such as Malam Isa Makama who withdrew their membership from IMN (Isa & Adam 2013/2014).

3 | THE SUNNI LITERARY RESPONSES TO THE SPREAD OF SHIISM

There are two genres of Sunni reactive literature against the infiltration of Shiism in northern Nigeria. First, there are books/pamphlets written in either English or Hausa to counter the initially clandestine and later meteoric spread of the Shia ideology and Shiitization[16]. Second, there are books/pamphlets written in Arabic and translated into either English or Hausa by the Sunni *ulama* because of the role they could play in shackling the spread of Shiism in northern Nigeria. The choice of Hausa and English to write these books/pamphlets is strategic, since it is easier to communicate with and send a message to the target-audience in these languages. The majority of the target-readers at least speak or understand Hausa, this being the most widely spoken language in the region. English is the official language in Nigeria; therefore, a substantial number of Muslims could read and understand English. Perhaps English is chosen by the Sunni Muslims because of the number of western educated Muslims that have been embracing Shiism. However the books written in English could possibly be more appealing to them than, say, those written in Arabic.

The main thrust of Sunni literary responses to the spread of Shia ideology borders on the condemnation of certain practices and beliefs associated with the Shiites. Traditionally, the Muslims in northern Nigeria are taught to love and respect the *Ah-lulbait* (progeny of the Prophet), the *sahaba* (the companions of the Prophet) and wives of the Prophet

[16] This term is used by Israel Elad-Altman (2007) to denote the conversion of Sunnis into Shia in Sunni majority countries such as Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, Egypt, and Syria. According to Elad-Altman, this conversion was carried out by Iranian missionaries and Iranian Cultural Centres (Elad-Altman 2007: 2-4).

without any preference or discrimination. The Sunni *ulama*, especially those who operate traditional Islamic schools, abstain from recounting the history of early intra-Muslim conflict which involved companions and wives of the Prophets, perhaps, to discourage their students from being judgmental and taking sides. However, when some people in northern Nigeria started embracing Shiism after the Iranian Revolution, Sunni scholars engaged in a kind of literary campaign against the Shiite ideology and the Shia community. One of the main themes of this reactive literature was the position of *sahaba* according to the teachings of Shia ideology. Most of the literature has unanimously concluded that Shiites disparage the closest companions of the prophet, namely: Abubakar, Umar and Uthman. The Sunni reactive literature alleges that Shiites treat and regard these companions as usurpers, saboteurs, and renegades. In one of his books, Umar Labdo[17] asserts:

> Shiites believe that the majority of the companions committed apostasy after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him)...some even believe that most of the companions never accepted Islam in the first place, but they were acting hypocritically and deceiving the Prophet...

It is a common belief within the Sunni community that all those who subscribe to Shiism treat the companions contemptuously. According to Sunni literature, the leading Shia scholars popularize the disdain and hatred of the companions and some of the wives of the prophet. Labdo

[17] Professor Umar Labdo was born in Kano, which is the commercial and religious nerve-centre of northern Nigeria. He attended the School for Arabic Studies (SAS), Kano. He completed a B.A. in Islamic Studies at Usmanu Danfodiyo Sokoto, Nigeria and proceeded to Bayero University Kano, Nigeria where he completed his M. A and PhD in Islamic Studies. He worked with Usmanu Danfodiyo University before he was appointed as Vice Chancellor of Katsina University. He is currently the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Northwest University Kano, Nigeria. He is also a member of the Kaduna State Judicial Commission of Inquiry which was inaugurated in January, 2016 after the Army/Shiite Clash in December, 2015, which resulted in the death of over 300 members of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria. Labdo wrote many books and pamphlets on the Shia and dominant Sufi groups, *Qadiriyya* and *Tijaniyya*, in northern Nigeria. He is associated with Salafi-oriented organization, *Jama'at Izalatul Bid'a wa Iqamatus Sunna*. (Labdo no date)

argued that the notable Shia scholar and prolific writer, Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi, said that Abubakar and Umar were unbelievers. Labdo claims that al-Majlisi lumped these two companions with Uthman and Mu'awiyya and described them as four idols who must be renounced and disowned. Abdul Hussain al-Rashti, who is another Shia scholar, wrote that Abubakar and Umar were the major cause for misguiding the *umma* (Muslim community) (Labdo no date[4]: 16). Even though he did not cite any of the Shiite literature, Shaykh Aminuddeen Abubakar[18] postulates in his book that the Shiite in their literature accused Umar of homosexuality (Abubakar 1991: 21). The Sunni scholars popularized the views of Shia on companions, especially the ones that are regarded as disdainful and sneering. Presumably, the popularization of these views through writings is to discourage Sunni Muslims from embracing Shiism because all of the Sunni Muslims hold the companions, including Mu'awiyya, in high esteem. The Sunni have a strong belief that the characters and personalities as well as the deeds of the companions, especially Abubakar, Umar, Uthman and Ali are sacrosanct; therefore, could neither be questioned nor criticized. They consider anyone who shows them contempt to be their enemy.

Most of these reactive literatures try to disconnect Shiism from Islam and connect it with other religions, basically in order to defend the Sunni fortress of northern Nigeria from the ever-increasing influence of Shiism. According to Umar Labdo: (Labdo no date)

> Shiism was founded by the Jews and Persians as a reaction to Islam's destruction of their civilizations and effectively wiping them off the map of the world [...] the companions of the prophet under the leadership of the

[18] The late Shaykh Aminudddeen Abubakar was born in 1947 in the Shahuci quarters in Kano city. He received a traditional Qur'anic education and subsequently attended Judicial School Shahuci, Kano and graduated in 1967. He proceeded to the School for Arabic Studies (SAS) and completed his studies there in 1970. He also obtained diploma and degree certificates from Abdullahi Bayero College (now Bayero University Kano, Nigeria). He taught temporarily at the Centre for Qur'anic Studies, Bayero University, Kano. He died on July 9th, 2015 in Mecca while on a medical trip. (Abubakar 1991: 21)

> second Caliph, Umar bn Khattab, fought the Persian Empire in a series of battles, dispossessing it of its territories until they destroyed it completely...

The Sunni *ulama*, especially those who are inclined to Salafism, use this narrative of the Jewish and Persian connection to Shiism repeatedly in their public lectures, *Khutbah* (Friday sermon) and writings, in order to disabuse the minds of their followers from accepting or recognizing the Shia as part of Islam. Moreover, these *ulama* discourage inviting Shiites to any forum organized to discuss either Islamic issues or problems facing the Muslim community[19]. Symbolically, the followers of Sunni groups use their power of majority to push the Shia to the margins of the Muslim community. In one popular anti-Shia publication which is widely circulated within the Sunni community, the author opines (Yunus 2011: 1):

> Shia is basically and primarily a political party which should have nothing to do with Islam, or its doctrine and practices. The so-called Shia did not exist in days of Ali bn Abi Talib. However, the word Shia, in this context does not owe its origin to any difference of opinion among Muslims in matters of the faith and practice...

Most of the Sunni literary responses to the Shia ideology are replete with words such as heretics, apostates, and *rawafids* (rejectionists). There are Sunni *ulama* in northern Nigeria who called Shiites 'heretics' based on their understanding and interpretation of a "true Muslim". These *ulama* assumed the will to power and deployed their ideological/doctrinal yardstick to measure the religiosity or otherwise of "others", especially those who differ from them in terms of theological worldviews

[19] For instance, the representatives of different Islamic groups in Kano, namely: *Qadiriyya*, *Tijaniyya* and Izala, visited *Rahama Radio Kano* in 2015 and discussed the blasphemous statements made by members of a revisionist faction of *Tijaniyya* called *Yan-haqiqa* about the Prophet (PBUH). Shiites were not invited because some of the representatives of these Islamic groups do not consider them as Muslim. Subsequently, the deputy director of *Darul Thaqalyn* Organization (a Shia organization), Malam Haliru Lawan Mu'azu, came on *Freedom Radio Kano* and complained bitterly about the marginalization, libel and (mis)perception of Shiism promoted by Sunni scholars.

and interpretation. Muhammad bin Uthman[20] in his pamphlet titled *The Shi'as are a Heretical Group* accuses Shiites of lies, misrepresentation of facts and distortion of the teachings of Islam. This pamphlet was a rejoinder to a paper written by an anonymous Shiite writer and distributed in Sunni communities of northern Nigeria. The paper was a kind of self-representation in which the author explained who the Shiites are. The paper enumerated the good qualities of those who identified themselves with Shia. Bin Uthman disputed those qualities and described the content of the paper as "a propaganda strategy devised by the heterodox Shiite apologists for selling false beliefs to people"(Uthman no date: 2). The pamphlet was also circulated and distributed to Sunni youth in order to insulate them from the rapidly infiltrating Shia ideology which competed for religious space and followership with dominant Sunni groups.

The issue of *mutu'a* (temporary marriage) features prominently in most of the Sunni literature consulted in writing this paper. The Sunni *ulama* are unequivocal in their condemnation and refutation of *mutu'a*. According to Shehu Dala, *mutu'a* was practised during the period of ignorance (*jahiliyya*) and early years of Islam and subsequently outlawed by the Prophet. He argued that it was not Caliph Umar that prohibited *mutu'a* as suggested by Shiites (Dala 2016: 27). Shiites are accused of promoting social vices and promiscuity in Muslim society through *mutu'a*. Mansur tried to draw an analogy between *mutu'a* and prostitution; he said that *mutu'a* and prostitution are two sides of the same coin. He outlined eleven similarities between the two practices to justify his claims and a number of them are mere repetitions (Dala 2016: 24f). The major similarities, however, according to him, are that both practices are temporary, flexible, and devoid of mutu'al inheritance. Much of the Sunni literature written in northern Nigeria argues that Shiites used *mutu'a* as a powerful weapon to tempt, lure and convert "ignorant" Sunni youth into Shiism (Labdo no date[5]: 2; Dala 2016: 1-24). The Shia have a large following of young people in Nigeria and a substantial number of

[20] Muhammad bn Uthman al-Kafawy is the Imam of *Sahaba Juma'at* Mosque, Kano. He is a Salafi-scholar who specializes in delivering his Friday sermons in three languages namely: Arabic, Hausa and English. The tone and rhetoric of Uthman attract Muslim youth who are fascinated by his eloquence.

them were enticed by *mutu'a*[21]. This view seems to be a mere assumption because none of the authors were able to provide concrete fact to support his argument. It could be part of the reason that make the Shia popular among the youth in Nigeria but there is the need to conduct thorough research to establish the veracity of this claim. The late *amir* (deputy) of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria, Shaykh Mahmud Turi[22], posited that the followers of the Shia in Nigeria believe in *mutu'a* but they do not practice it as it was over-amplified by Sunni scholars[23].

The Sunni literature on the Shia asserts that the Shiites do not believe and read the "authentic Qur'an"; Shiites are alleged to have a different Qur'an from that of Sunni. Umar Labdo (no date[5]: 2) posits:

> The Shiites believe that the Qur'an is incomplete. According to them, the Book is full of contradictions, interpretations, inaccuracies and inconsistencies...the Shiites say it is the Sahaba, companions who were the custodians of the Book and who preserved and compiled it after the Prophet. They say the companions embarked on this slanting of the Qur'an in order to cover their scandalous and disgraceful acts, which are graphically exposed in the Qur'an, and to hide the outstanding traits and qualities of the family of

[21] Interview with an anonymous Sunni scholar in Kano on 23/05/2014.

[22] Mahmoud Turi was born on July 7th , 1963 in Zaria city, Kaduna State, Nigeria, into a family of second generation western-educated elites of northern Nigeria. His father, Muhammad Turi, had been a prominent journalist working with the first northern-based English newspaper, *New Nigerian*. After attending a traditional Qur'anic school for a short time, in 1969, Mahmoud Turi enrolled in a primary school. From 1974 to 1979, he attended the Federal Government College, Sokoto. He then proceeded to the School of Basic Studies, Zaria and in 1980 gained admission into the prestigious Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (ABU) to read Accounting. Like many of the first generation members of the Muslim Brothers, he emerged in the field of student activism. In 1982, he and some of his cohorts clashed with the ABU authorities and were expelled. In the same year, he was admitted into the University of Maiduguri to read the same courses that he had started studying in ABU and he finally graduated in 1984. Since then, he has attended courses on Islamic Law and Sharia, first in Sudan, then in Iran. In 1999, Turi was appointed as the *amir* (leader) of IMN in Kano and remained in this position until 2015 when he died as a result of the army/Shia clash in Zaria.

[23] Interview with Muhammad Mahmoud Turi on 4th January, 2014 at Goron Dutse, Kano.

> the Prophet, the Ahlul Bait, including Ali's right to be the Imam after the Prophet, which are explicitly set in the Qur'an...

The popular discourse among the Sunni is that the Shiites accused the companions of distorting the verses of the Qur'an basically for political reasons. This literature further asserts that the Shiites have a distinct Qur'an, *Mus'haf Fatimah*, which they describe as authentic and uncorrupted. This Qur'an, as suggested by the Sunni literature, was bequeathed to the Shiites by Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and mother of the Imams (Labdo no date[5]: 4). It is alleged that the Shiites' Qur'an contains verses, *Suratal-wilaya* and *Suratal-nurayn*, which are not in the Sunni Qur'an. These verses, as suggested by the Sunni literature, were inserted to justify Caliph Ali's right to succeed the Prophet (Bar 2005: 91). The Shiites in Nigeria denied the claim that they have a different Qur'an and challenged all the Sunnis to present a copy of the said Qur'an. Shaykh Sale Sani, secretary general of RAFF, accused Salafi scholars of spreading rumours about Shiite Qur'an and opined that there is no any difference between the Shiite and the Sunni Qur'an. He said that the Qur'an is one and it cannot be distorted easily by any Islamic group. He asserted that individual scholars can distort the interpretation but certainly not the content of the Qur'an[24].

Sunni reactive literatures discussed other issues extensively, such as *Taqiyya*[25] (dissimulation) and the position of the *ahlulbait*, progenies of the prophet, in Shia ideology. Muhammad Mansur[26] asserts that *Taqiyya* is a tool that Shiites used to deliberately misquote the Prophet (Ibrahim

---

[24] Interview with Shaykh Saleh Sani Zaria, at Baqirul Ulum Danbare Kano, on 27th June, 2013.

[25] *Taqiyya* is a precautionary dissimulation or denial of religious belief and practice in the face of persecution. This practice is associated and promoted by the Shiites perhaps because of the numerical position in the Muslim world. In most of the Muslim countries in the world, Shiites constitute a minority Muslim group with the exception of countries such as Iran and Lebanon. (Nasr 2006)

[26] Dr Muhammad Mansur Ibrahim is a staff of the Department of Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria. He wrote many books on the Shia and the most popular is *Kalubalega Yan Shi'ah: Tambayoyi 70 Waɗanda ba su da Amsa*, (Challenge to Shiites: Seventy Unanswered Questions).

2006: 39-41). Therefore, Sunnis even in other parts of the Muslim world condemn and distrust the Shiites because of *Taqiyya* and other practices (Bar 2005: 91). Shiites are used to over-venerating Caliph Ali (Labdo no date); it is said that they gave him divine status by adding his name to the *Shahada* (testimony of faith), *ashhadu anna Aliyyun waliyyullah*' I am witness that Ali is the agent of Allah' (Labdo no date[3]: 4-5).

4 | CONCLUSION

The representation of the Shia in Sunni literature is aimed at purifying and freeing the Sunni community from the massive and destructive influence of Shia ideology. The Sunni *ulama* took up their pens and engaged in writing about the identity, beliefs, ideology, and ritual practices of Shiites. The Shiites are presented as others in Sunni reactive literature and their ideology as venomous and antithetical to Sunni ideology. Based on a close study of the Sunni literatures, their representation of the Shia and the Shiites are completely negative. The authors of these literatures questioned the moral and spiritual authenticity of the Shiites and accused them of debauchery, distortion of the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet. The way and manner in which Shiites are presented coupled with the general views of Sunnis on the Shia created reservation, antagonism and ostracism. The ideological differences between the Sunnis and the Shiites in northern Nigeria coupled with other factors factionalized the Muslim community.

One of the primary goals of Sunni reactive literature is mainly to keep the Sunnis from converting to Shiism and to fight the clandestine and increasing Shiitization of the Sunni populace. It can be argued that a majority of these converts were previously Sunnis including the leading figures and actors in the domain of Shiism in northern Nigeria. The central figures that spearheaded the Shiitization campaign, figures such as Ibrahim el-Zakzaky, Muhamad Nura Dass, Saleh Sani Zaria, late Auwal Tal'udi, Isa Makama and other leaders of the three dominant Shia factions in northern Nigeria were hitherto Sunnis. The Shia constitute a minority community in Muslim northern Nigeria, hence, they engaged in massive missionary activities in order to get as many followers as they

could convert. The Sunnis realized that the gains of the Shia mean a loss to their sect, so they adopted strategies to contain and resist what they perceived as the Shiites' ideological incursion and invasion. One of the strategies was production and distribution of the reactive literature to their followers in order to re-orient and avert them from embracing Shiism. The Shiites devised a means of peddling their ideology to the Sunnis; they went to country-sides and engaged in massive conversions of unlettered and semi-lettered rural-dwellers, especially those who know little about the dividing line between Shiism and Sunnism. The Shiites also developed effective welfare packages to assist distressed converts in rural areas. They maintained the loyalty of their urban converts through economic empowerment, indoctrination and regular re-orientation. According to Sani Saleh Zaria[27], the Shiites invested hugely in the Nigerian economy and they employed the services of their members to manage the investments. They also sponsored their members, especially those from lowly social background, to study in different tertiary institutions.

REFERENCES:

Abubakar, Ameen-al-deen. *Shin Hadin Kai Zai Yiwu Tsakanin ahlus-Sunnan da Shi'ah?* Kano: Da'awah Group 1991.

Albasu, A. *The Lebanese in Kano: An Immigrant Community in a Hausa Society in the Colonial and Postcolonial Periods*. Kano: Durumin Iya, Kabs Print Services 1995.

Bar, S. "Sunnis and Shiites: Between Rapprochement and Conflict". *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* 2, Hillel Fradkin et al. (eds.), Washington DC: Hudson Institute 2005, pp. 87-96.

Ben Amara, R. Izala *Movement in Nigeria: Its Splits, Relationships to* Sufis *and Perception of Sharia Re-Implementation*. unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Bayreuth 2011.

Brigaglia, A. "The Outburst of Rage and The Divine Dagger: Invective Poetry and Inter-Tariqa Conflict in Northern Nigeria, 1949". *Journal for Islamic Studies, Special Issue: Islam and Politics of Religious Dissent in the History of Northern Nigeria* 36 (2017), pp. 101-139.

[27] This information was narrated to me by Shaykh Saleh Sani Zaria in an interview at Baqirul Ulum Danbare quarters, Kano state in 2014.

Bunza, Mukhtar Umar. "The Iranian Model of Political Islamic Movement in Nigeria", *L'islam Politique au Sud de Sahara*, ed. by M. Gomez-Perez, Paris: Université Paris 2004, pp. 227-242.

Dala, Shehu U. *Ba Sayyidina Umar ne Ya Haramta Aure Mutu'a ba*. 2016 (no place of printing).

Elad-Altman, I. "The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy". *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, vol. 5, Hillel Fradkin, et al. (eds.), Washington DC: Hudson Institute 2007, pp. 1-10.

Folarin, A. A. *Qadiriyyaand its Impact in Nigeria*. unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan 1986.

Hazleton, H. *After the Prophet: The Epic Story of Shia*-Sunni *Split in Islam*. New York: Anchor Books 2009.

Hill, J. N. C. *Sufism in Northern Nigeria: Force for Counter-Radicalization*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute 2010, pp. 12-28

Ibrahim, Muhammad M. *Akidun Shi'ah a Saukake*. Sokoto: Usmanu Danfodiyo University 2006.

Isa, Kabiru H. & Sani Y. Adam. "The Shia and its Factions in Nigeria: The Case Study of Kano, 1980-2011". *Annual Review of Islam Africa* 12/1 (2013/2014), University of Cape Town.

Kane, Ousmane. *Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria: A Study of the Society for the Removal of Innovation and Reinstatement of Tradition*. Brill-Leiden-Boston: University of Leiden Press 2003.

Labdo, Umar. *The Fallacy of Shiite Beliefs*. Kano: Double Five Prints (no date[1]).

Labdo, Umar. *Auren Mutu'a a Wajen Yan Shia*. (no date[2] and place of printing).

Labdo, Umar. *The Fallacy of Shiite Beliefs*. (no date[3]and place of printing).

Labdo,Umar. *What the Shiites Say about the Companions of the Prophet (Peace be Upon Him)* (no date[4] and place of printing).

Labdo, Umar. *What the Shiite Say about the Qur'an*. (no date[5]and place of printing).

Loimeier, R. *Islamic Reform and Political Change in Northern Nigeria*. Evanston-Illinois: Northwestern University Press 1997.

Nasr, V. *The Shia Revival: How Conflict within Islam will Shape the Future*. New York & London: W. W. Norton & Company 2006.

Phillips, J. E. "The Islamization of Kano before the Jihad". *Kano Studies* (new series) 2, 3 (1982-85), pp. 32-52.

Quadri, Y. A. *The Tijaniyya in Nigeria: A Case Study*. unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan 1981.

Rashid, J. *A Biography of His Eminence Shaikh Ibrahim Zakzaky: The Leader Islamic Movement in Nigeria*. Zaria: Institute of Compilation and Publication of Shaikh Zakzaky's Works 2017.

Suleiman, Muhammad Dahiru. "Islamic Fundamentalism: The Shia in Katsina". *Islam and History of Learning in Katsina*. Tsiga, Ismail & Adamu, Abdallah Uba (eds.), Ibadan: Spectrum Books 1997, pp. 53-66.

Thurston, A. *Salafism in Nigeria: Islam, Preaching and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016.

Umar, A. T. *A History of Jama'atu Tajdidil Islamy in Kano, 1994-2007*. unpublished M. A Thesis, Bayero University, Kano 2012.

Uthman, Muhammad. *The Shi'as are a Heretical group: A Rejoinder to "Who are the Shias" Written and Distributed by Anonymous Shiite Propagandist*. Kano: Islamic Propagation Committee (no date).

Yandaki, Aminu I. *A History of the* Izalah *Movement in Northern Nigeria up to 1989*. unpublished M. A Thesis, Usmanu Danfodio University, Sokoto, Department of History 1990.

Yunus, Abu Y. *Why You Should Never be a Shia*. 2011 (no place of printing).

Internet resources:

http://www.bbc.com/hausa/news/2016/04/160428_shia_nigeria_division

NR 52/2018 | ISSN 2545-2134
STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Agnieszka Podolecka
University of Warsaw, Faculty of Oriental Studies

VUSAMAZULU CREDO MUTWA – SANGOMA, AFRICAN SAGE, FRAUD OR A NEW AGE SHAMAN?

Abstract:

Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa is a South African sangoma, a writer and artist, and a controversial 'expert' on UFO-related conspiracy theories. He considers himself an expert on South African, especially Zulu, cultures and religions. He is rejected by academics and often considered a self-imposed 'expert' and a fake whose version of Zulu religious beliefs has ventured so far from Zulu religion that they are hardly recognisable. Mutwa himself claims to be misunderstood and falsely judged. He calls himself a shaman, a 'Chosen One', a guardian of secret knowledge and an expert on esoteric African wisdom. In the article I present V.C. Mutwa's artistic accomplishments, his version of Zulu mythology and sangomas' work, and I compare his versions to known facts about Zulu culture. I also analyse Mutwa's popularity within New Age circles and try to assess the veracity of Mutwa's claims and place him within New Age rhetoric.

Keywords: Credo Mutwa, sangoma, shamanism, Zulu, New Age.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa is one the most controversial figures on South Africa's cultural firmament. With his claim to be a true depositor of the ancient Zulu and South African wisdom and tradition, he is rejected by scholars as a fake and self-imposing fraud[1]. Chidester denies him any authenticity and accuses him of propagating 'fake religion' and false knowledge of South African culture, knowledge "bearing no relation to any historical or ethnographic account, because he [Mutwa] invented

[1] Academics who denied Mutwa African authenticity are, among others, D. Chidester (Chidester 2002: 65-85; 2004: 2-12; 2008:136-159), C. Blakney (1968: 122-125), A. Blount (1970: 206-210), C. Steyn (2009: 305).

them' [historical and religious]" (Chidester 2002: 79). These words are harsh and not entirely true, as many traditions, customs and religious rituals Mutwa presents accurately, especially those performed by sangomas.[2] During my field studies in RSA in 2013 and 2018[3] I spoke about Mutwa and his books with Zulu sangomas and most of them shared the academics' sentiments about Zulu myths but they agreed that the way he describes a sangoma's work and calling are accurate.

Evaluating the authenticity of Mutwa's myths and religious statements is difficult, though not impossible. Well documented Zulu mythology and religious beliefs and statements from my sangoma informants allow us to determine the areas in which Mutwa's version is congruent with Zulu or South African tradition. The aim of this article is to present Mutwa's activities in the fields of literature, culture and religious inheritance and evaluating African authenticity in Mutwa's writings, DVD films and interviews on the basis of academic research and information which I acquired from my sangoma informants. I also analyse Mutwa's co-operation with New Age circles because, with the passing of time, Mutwa's rhetoric has changed and he has adapted to the demands of late twentieth century esotericism represented by the New Age. This is a result of the social and political change in South Africa and New Age patronage of Mutwa's enterprises.

According to Mutwa, none of the scholars criticising Mutwa's books or public activities has interviewed him or asked how his ideas have evolved during the last several decades. I decided to visit him and check how he feels about his writings after so many years, which of his ideas have changed and evolved in the course of his life, and which he rejected. Mutwa told me I was the first academic who interviewed him about his life and writings. Some photos documenting the visit have been attached at the end of the paper.

---

[2] Sangomas are diviners, clairvoyants, healers, exorcists, people who are believed to contact ancestral spirits in Nguni ethnic groups. They are believed to have abilities and perform duties similar or identical to shamans from different cultures of the world.

[3] The field study among South African sangomas in 2018 was financed by the National Science Centre, Poland (Narodowe Centrum Nauki), project no.: 2017/25/N/HS1/02500.

2 | THE PROBLEMS WITH DEFINITIONS

Sangomas' work is based on religious belief in the presence of spirits. Does it mean that sangomas are believers of a certain religion? No, not according to contemporary sangomas. Mutwa is a contemporary sangoma but he has been alive for almost a century and his calling started in a totally different reality than the twenty first century. He based his sangoma vocation on the Zulu belief system but his version of it is questionable. This also does not mean that the Zulu belief system presented by sangomas is a religion, especially today when Mutwa and many other sangomas are influenced by shamanic systems from other parts of the world and when Christianity and New Age create new syncretic values with native African beliefs.

Delineating definitions of religion in South African terms is one of the biggest problems for researchers. Religion in Southern Africa is such a fluent thing that even Christians may not be perceived as Christians by their counterparts in Europe. A good example is Roman Catholicism, which theoretically has strict rules: the celibacy of priests, their ability of dissolving sins during confession, baptism that cleanses a person of birth-sin. This does not apply in Africa, especially in cultures where the sangomas have a strong place. At the very beginning of a baby's life it can be baptised by a priest, but not be considered cleansed or blessed by many native Africans. The baby is often taken to a sangoma who contacts ancestral spirits and asks for their blessings and if he or she finds some threat around the baby (i.e. a bad spirit, a curse), a special ritual is made and sometimes it includes an animal sacrifice. For Catholics priests should be authorities, people who understand them, give absolution and set them free from sins. This also does not apply in the case of Africans. Priests do not have wives and children so for many Africans they cannot be considered an authority on family life. When there is a problem, Africans ask sangomas for help and it is estimated that about 80% of South Africans consult them at least once a year.[4] All my sangoma informants that I met

[4] There are no specific statistical data for the number of people behaving this way but during both my field research and when I lived in RSA for 2,5 years, I heard such stories from almost every native family I met.

in the last ten years personally and over the Internet are adamant: most of their clients are Christians, among them Catholics. Also weddings are often blessed by sangomas and even if a couple marries in church only, their relatives believe that they should fulfil duties towards ancestors and ask sangomas for a ritual behind the newlyweds' backs.

Establishing a definition of religion or being religious in South African terms is a great challenge that may never be achieved. Unfortunately during the 2013 and 2017 censuses there were no questions about religion. I can only say that from my private conversations with sangomas, they do not see a contradiction in being Christians, Jews or Muslims and believing in spirits and their influence on the living. South Africans who practice only 'traditional' beliefs are in a minority as compared to Christians. As I discussed in my PhD thesis (Podolecka 2017b: 49) "the denomination 'traditional' is very imprecise and has been heavily criticised by R. Shaw as an invention of colonisers: they called African native beliefs 'traditional religions' as opposed to Christianity (Shaw 1990: 339). The same applies to 'traditional healers', 'traditional spiritual leaders', 'traditional style of life' etc. The term 'traditional' should be used with great care as sangoma traditions have "multiple roots that extend across time, cultures and languages, and derive partly from pre-colonial African systems of belief" (Thornton 2009: 17). Also "few sangomas today see their knowledge as the unmodified product of the past. No two sangomas appear to believe or do precisely the same thing. The knowledge they apply is constantly in circulation, producing a diversity of regional and even personal variants" (Thornton 2009: 23). Also when thinking about religion, should the believers have a god or God to worship? In the case of Zulus, this is an answerable question: they cannot decide if uNkulunkulu is their highest god or the first ancestor. One thing is certain: native South Africans are very religious people in terms of believing in having soul, souls turning to spirits and various rituals that have a religious background; they also have many superstitions based on religious beliefs.

Another problem with delineating the definition of religion in South African terms is: is it possible to have two religions at the same time? Is it possible to believe in Jesus as God and in the spirits of ancestors, nature and universe? While believing in spirits and contacting them stays in

opposition to Christianity, how is it possible that so many South Africans (including Christian sangomas) practice both Christianity and 'traditional' religious rituals. And this is precisely South African reality. As I will show in this article, Mutwa is an example of a person who was first Christian, then renounced this religion in favour to sangomahood and Zulu religious beliefs, then turned to New Age which combines both and many other religious and philosophical traditions.

3 | A LIFE ENTWINED WITH HISTORY

Presenting a fully credible biography of V.C. Mutwa is difficult because there are no written documents from his early years and all persons important in his life before he became a writer are now deceased. I find placing Mutwa within South African history important because history, political and social changes created the environment for turning points in Mutwa's life. They have hugely influenced Mutwa's thinking patterns and the goals he has set for himself over the last ninety seven years. The accounts Mutwa presents in certain periods of time and his political and moral opinions show the influence of the times he lived in; they show the changes in his views and perception of the world. He is not the only South African whose life was determined by historical changes and I emphasise this to help Western readers understand the importance of racial segregation and its influence on people. Till today all of my sangoma and non-sangoma informants live in the heritage of these times, even the young ones born after the collapse of apartheid. Skin colour makes no difference, white people felt superior for decades and had black or coloured workers, then suddenly in 1994 the situation changed and turned their world upside down: white people started having native managers, kids stopped being in white-only schools and were forced to learn native languages and in the case of white sangomas, they had to submit and be totally obedient to black teachers. Such situations had never been possible before and till this day provoke controversies. One must remember about white-only politics when analysing Mutwa's heritage.

According to his father's words, V.C. Mutwa was born on 21 July 1921 in Zululand in South Africa (www.credomutwa.com/about/

biography-01). He was an illegitimate child of a Zulu woman coming from a family who never converted to Christianity and a Roman Catholic builder who then became a fanatic of the Christian Science Church. The religion of his father is important because his religious views almost led to Mutwa's death, when he fell seriously sick in 1937, and changed Mutwa's life forever. Mutwa's mother, Namabunu, came from a family practicing old Zulu religion, a family with many sangomas and healers (Mutwa 1999: 691). According to Mutwa, his grandfather was a medicine-man and a Bushman and he considered a relationship with a Christian a violation of tradition and religion and a highest dishonour. To take the disgrace away from the family Mutwa's grandfather ordered his daughter to give the child away to the father's family (www.mutwa.com, 2012). In this way C.V. Mutwa was separated not only from his mother but from Zulu culture as well.

Mutwa returned to his roots after 1937 when he had become sick after an accident and his father refused any medical treatment as a follower of the Christian Science Church. On his website Mutwa says that he was seized and sodomised by a group of mine workers (www.mutwa.com, 2012). In *Zulu shaman* he gives a more benign version – he fainted and was found by school children passing by (Mutwa 2003: 2[5]). He was physically sick, extremely weak and he started having hallucinations and visions. He saw creatures he could not have known as a Christian, among them Amarava[6], a supposed Zulu goddess, mother of all the people, and Zulu king Shaka who told him to take the name Vusamazulu, the 'Awakener of the Zulus'. Mutwa claims that he could see 'through' a person even before this person entered his hut, recognise the disease and heal it with his hands (Mutwa 2003: 4).

---

[5] I use the shortened titles of Mutwa's books and the following editions of Mutwa's books: *Indaba, My Children* 1999 (written in 1964), *Africa is My Witness* 1966, *My People. The Writing of a Zulu Witch-Doctor* written in 1969, 1977 edition, *Let not my Country Die* 1986, *Zulu Shaman. Dreams, prophesies and Mysteries* 2003 (first published in 1996 under the title *Stars of the Stars*), *Isilwane, the Animal* 1996, *Kingdom of Forever* 2008 (cartoon published on the Internet).

[6] No scholar informs about such a deity, she is most probably Mutwa's creation or he heard about her in a story that was not a part of Zulu mythology.

When Mutwa finally could not rise from a mat, his father allowed his uncle Anthony to take him to live with his family in the slums of Cato Manor near Durban. When Western medicine had failed, Mutwa was taken to Zululand to his aunt Mynah, a sangoma, who recognised a sangoma's illness, the traditional calling by ancestors' spirits to become a sangoma. It was Mynah who explained to him that his sickness was a calling from ancestral spirits, something he could not refuse because it would kill him. She promised to cure him and – with the help from Mutwa's grandfather – teach him everything he need to know about sangomas and Zulu beliefs. The healing process was also the beginning of Mutwa's conversion from Christianity to the Zulu faith. He was initiated after two years and began his life as a sangoma[7].

In spite of the apartheid regime and the limits on travelling for non-white citizens, in the 1950s Mutwa travelled a lot in Southern Africa for his employee, A.S. Watkins, the owner of a curio shop in Johannesburg, who relied on him to authenticate African artefacts. Mutwa used these travels to visit other sangomas and learn from them. He was an avid reader and working for Watkins helped him read world classics and contemporary books (Mutwa 1977: 12-13; Mutwa 2003: 10-11; www.mutwa.com, 2012). This reading passion is visible is Mutwa's writings: creating his characters he often uses inter-cultural symbols like the Tree of Life, or he cites the Bible and other religious texts.

Racial segregation obviously influenced Mutwa's life. He experienced all kinds of humiliation including imprisonment. In one of the riots in March 1960 a woman whom Mutwa loved was shot dead. Her family gathered around her coffin, cut off a lock of her hair and promised vengeance. It was another great turning point of his life. Mutwa states that he was so heartbroken that he understood that revenge and violence could not lead to understanding among people and to peace. He cut his vein, let his blood into his lover's wounded body and swore what he calls the Chief's Great Blood Oath but – in contradiction to her family – he swore to tell the truth about Bantu peoples and to do his best to make

[7] Two years is the shortest time for training. All the sangomas I interviewed said that it usually takes three to six years to be initiated.

peace between the whites and the rest of the society (Mutwa 1977: 13, Mutwa 1999: xxi). This led him to writing *Indaba, my children* which was first published in 1964. This was not an easy act as it required funds but Mutwa turned to be an imaginative storyteller and convinced Watkins that his stories were true recounts of Zulu tribal history and religious beliefs. In 1964 Watkins and A.S. Brink (an academic in the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg) sponsored the publishing of *Indaba* and its sequel *Africa Is My Witness* in 1966 (Chidester 2002: 68).

Mutwa tried to promote African cultures through his next books *Africa is my Witness* and *My People* and by building "cultural villages" for tourists. They were destroyed and he was often accused of supporting apartheid and changing African legacy into a show, especially by his fellow Africans, though one "cultural village" near Johannesburg has been turned into a tourist attraction and still exists today. Mutwa's dream about awakening people to understanding and mutual respect was just a mere dream before the fall of apartheid but once the system collapsed in the 1994, this dream suddenly resurfaced. History caused yet another turning point in his life: the freedom of movement, the possibility of practising a sangoma's duties stigmatised by the apartheid law; also new technologies have allowed him easier access to potential clients and sponsors. When racial mixing became a social necessity, many white South Africans felt the need to learn at least basic facts about the people they governed and oppressed, though often without the consciousness of oppression. They were well aware that their children would soon go to school with native Africans and that their employees would soon demand equal treatment. *Indaba* was published again and it became a respected source of knowledge – indeed many white South Africans born during apartheid told me that Mutwa's books were written in an easy fashion, and many also believe that Mutwa presents the true version of Zulu and other Bantu peoples' mythology.

Another turning point was meeting and co-operating with Stephen Larson, a New Age writer and publisher. He published and promoted Mutwa's book *Zulu Shaman*, in which Mutwa describes sangomas' vocation and work, his version of Zulu mythology, ecological issues, a holistic

approach to life and health, and supposed contacts with UFO. New Age circles found Mutwa's myths ecologically inspiring and his messages about reincarnation, holistic life and pacifism in line with their life view; Mutwa's ideas fit New Age ideology perfectly.

4 | THE CREATION OF THE SANGOMA

Mutwa calls himself a shaman and a sangoma. He grants himself the highest authority by the fact that he is a sangoma, *inyanga* (herbalist) and a high *sanusi* (a sage), a very respected person in South African society. Scholars agree with Mutwa that sangomas are very important figures in South African society and so are the other spiritual professions (Berglund 1976: 29-30; 106; Griffiths, Cheetham 1982: 959). Mutwa explains that a sangoma is a clairvoyant, a kind of prophet, a diviner who uses the drum to arouse the spirits to seek their help. Mutwa explains that an *inyanga* is a witch-doctor and a *sanusi* is a medicine-man but "higher than both of them – the one who causes things to ascend, the uplifter, or the pilot of that which ascends" (Mutwa 1999: 541, Mutwa 2003: 211).

Sangomas used to be diviners who could also heal by contacts with ancestral spirits. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, they are much more: healers, psychologists, tribal historians, psychopomps, exorcists and certainly diviners. They deal with everything that is connected to spirituality, a holistic approach to life and natural medicine. Many use the Internet and co-operate with healers from different cultures. Their importance is based on faith in spirits (both good and evil) and their presence in everyday life. According to Mutwa and all my informants in the last ten years, every living being has a soul and this soul can be protective and helpful or destroying and vengeful. Zulu and other South African peoples do not separate soul from body and mind and nor does Mutwa. "The mind, the brain, is matter in its purest form, and it is the hands and the feet and the wings of the soul. The mind is the link that connects the body with the soul, just as the handle links the iron head of the axe with the arm of the man wielding it" (Mutwa 1999: 611). When people learn to co-operate with their souls, they "will be able to do the most impossible things" because "the soul is a grain in the Structure

of God, as the single grain in the sandstone is a part of the mountain" (ibidem). The belief in the concept of soul and the ubiquitous presence of spirits, and the ancestral spirits' guidance form the base for sangomas' work. Sangomas, who co-operate with spirits, provide a way of locating misfortune and offer the possibility to repair the damage. Sangomas are also believed to be able to counteract the evil done by sorcerers and witches (Chidester 1992: 14, 16). Mutwa describes the fields of study of a sangoma: self-control, meditation, healing, *muti*-lore (medicines), the lore of soul, history and mythology, bone oracle and other means of divination (Mutwa 2003: 13-32).

When I did my field research in South Africa in 2013 and 2018 and then contacted my sources by phone and the Internet, I learnt that modalities can differ but their core remains the same: the well-being of patients is based on their relationships with spirits. While working with Xhosa sangomas in Western Cape Province in 2018 I learnt that traditionally they do not use bones for contacting spirits and divination; they get into a trance. This is done without hallucinogens and usually by drum beating, singing of simply reciting verses and calling spirits to come. However, their clients are not only Xhosas but also people of different cultural backgrounds, African and Western. Mutwa still uses bones but he also claims to read aura around people and see their chakras (an evident influence of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs).

To become a sangoma, a person needs to have a calling. Mutwa's sickness that had almost killed him was recognised as a "sangoma sickness", a phenomenon that all sangomas claim to go through which includes a weakness of the body, strange dreams and visions, and hearing voices. All of these are symptoms of the calling – a decision made by spirits to call a person to become a sangoma.[8] Mutwa explained to me that each sangoma had to go through a phase of "sangoma illness" or "sickness", a kind of sickness that was common in most shamanic traditions. A sangoma's calling means rejecting the ego and submitting to spirits, allowing

[8] In Zulu the calling is called *ukuvuma idlozi* which means 'accepting the spirits' (Berglund 1976: 142).

possession and co-operation with spirits. This can be done only through a tuition by a fully-fledged sangoma who will lead the apprentice from the world of *profanum* to the realm of *sacrum*. The healing process involves strange dreams and hallucinations and the process of understanding them. Mutwa told me that he called himself a shaman also because shamans go through a sickness like sangomas. Such sickness occurs in most shamanic cultures in the world: in Siberia, North and South America, Australia. Both shamans and their patients believe in the process and its results and the same applies to sangomas and their clients (Podolecka 2016: 151).

The training of a sangoma is called *ukutwasa* and the apprentice is called *twasa*; the tutor carefully chooses his or her *twasas*, or rather believes that ancestors chose for him or her. Mutwa was a *twasa* to his aunt Mynah. Mutwa describes the *twasa* stage as very difficult and tiring. He was trained by Mynah and his grandfather to refine his "skill of healing and divination and diagnosis of illness" (Mutwa 2003: xxiii, 26-27). There are a lot of fakes pretending to be sangomas and the factor that helps to distinguish the real ones is the hardship of the calling and training, which is all about crashing ego, learning utmost obedience towards their teachers and spirits and crashing the old personality to let the spirits build a new one on its ashes. This is a common belief among real sangomas and scholars.

Scholars and all my sangoma informants confirm Mutwa's opinion about the complexity of the sangoma's profession. They agree that a sangoma's work is a combination of different kinds of healing which in the Western cultures are separate professions: doctors, psychologists, priests, psychopomps, exorcists – all those professions combined make sangomas very skilful healers. It is not only Mutwa who considers sangomas as healers, diviners, psychologists and protectors of the wellbeing of their community. Scholars also confirm Mutwa's information about training stages though the training differs slightly according to region and local tradition. After their initiation sangomas are still obliged to learn and improve their skills (Gati 1962: 198, Berglund 1976: 147, 176, Chidester 1992: 18).

5 | THE CREATION OF THE WRITER

Indaba and then *Africa* are comprised of tales which Mutwa presents as indigenous African myths. Mutwa starts his narration with creation myths in which he emphasises the duality of all creation: the universe is a combination of light and darkness, humans are comprised of good and evil, male elements entwine with the feminine but never become one another, and even a soul is dual, made of two elements from which one goes on in a process of reincarnation and the other stays as an ancestral spirit to help the living (Mutwa 1999: 5-11; Mutwa 2003: 18-22). Mutwa tells the story of the first goddess, Ma, who is the mother of the First People; the father is the Tree of Life, a symbol present in numerous cultures. After the Great Deluge to purify the Earth of evil done by the First People and other creatures (another universal symbol), Mutwa writes a history of Amarava, the mother of the Second People, and Odu, a monster whom she was forced to marry by the gods. Those parents are the ancestors of all humans living in our times (Mutwa 1999: 7-68; Mutwa 1977: 15-32; Mutwa 2003: 33-67).

Mutwa states that he knew the publishing of *Indaba* was a violation of old tribal laws but he seems sure of his right intents and of his version of history and religious stories. This is a key-idea of his life and all of his cultural activities. No matter how much he is criticised and laughed out, no matter how other sangomas deny the authenticity of his myths, Mutwa insists with determination that his version of Zulu mythology is the only true one and that there are not enough initiated wise men to prove him wong. Mutwa's aim was to help the Africans to learn "their own native heritage" and "to lay a foundation for better understanding between two different types of human beings" and to help foreigners understand the wisdom and beauty of African cultures (Mutwa 1999: 690, xviii, Mutwa 2000: 32). This understanding, Mutwa claims, is the foundation of all of his personal and professional activities. When I asked him about Amarava and other deities he describes in his books and when I mentioned that other sangomas I had met did not know these myths, Mutwa stood firm on his belief that he had always presented the truest version of Zulu beliefs and the way he chose to do it was the easiest one for foreigners to

understand. At the age of ninety two he told me the stories in the same way he told them in his books and ensured that I understood what he was saying (Mutwa 2013).

Mutwa calls his tales 'myths' in contrast to Chidester, Blackney and my sangoma informants. They consider Mutwa's stories to be 'tales' as they are not proven by anyone to be Zulu or even African myths. Mutwa's myths differ significantly from those collected by scholars and those which are known by my sangoma informants. Each literary culture has its own stock-figures who are easily recognised by the community. These can be gods, tricksters, animals, heroes, unfaithful wives or husbands etc. The stories with these figures reflect human dilemmas, hopes and worries which are explained and commented on in a way that is helpful to the listeners (Finnegan 1976: 351). The problem with analysing Mutwa's myths and stories is that his stock-figures are not the ones known to Zulus. Mutwa does not refrain from well-known figures from the Zulu pantheon of deities like the most known and revered deity, uNkulunkulu, presented by scholars as a creator, great spirit or the first ancestor. He also recalls Tokoloshe, the evil creatures that are believed to make people misbehave and harm others, to make milk stale and cause bad accidents (Coote Lake 1960: 56-57). Krige's informants describe Tokoloshe as a hairy "wicked dwarf who lives in deep pools or in the reeds", steals milk and is more an animal than a man though he is "very fond of women (...) and is often guilty of cohabiting with women" (Krige 1962: 354). Tokoloshes are known to Zulus and other South African peoples but not the way Mutwa presents them. In his version of the myth he describes Tokoloshes as iron-made by a vengeful man and presents them as tools of killing the First People. This resulted in the gods' wrath and the Deluge that cleansed the world. This version is entirely Mutwa's creation and serves as a reminder that humans should not defy gods and should follow their instructions (Mutwa 1999: 24-29, Mutwa 2003: 41-44).

Other deities and creatures described by Mutwa are not known. The black sangomas I interviewed were all story-tellers, firmly set in their tribal and clan cultures, and they all emphasized the importance of passing down history and tribal culture. None of them recognised Mutwa's stories of the goddesses Ma, Amarava, the Tree of Life or Kintu the Trickster. Hence, can we accept Mutwa's decision to call his stories myths?

Myths manifest the important issues of human lives, and myth-makers and myth-tellers strive to explain the works of nature and social rules. The context of myths may vary but there are certain similarities which distinguish myths from other forms of narration: myths give information about the most important, creative, divine forces that create and rule the universe and show people their place. Myths sacralise taboos and religious beliefs. They are codes of life and they are represented through ritual and in this way make a sacred past present in human lives (Honko 1972: 10-12).

African mythology is a combination of the myth-makers' observation of the natural environment, historical events, calamities like great floods and the philosophical explanation of them on two levels: exoteric – an understood by everyone explanation of social order, law, clan and authority system, and esoteric – more philosophical and spiritual, explaining life force and divinity, understood only by initiates (Piłaszewicz 2000: 28). Mutwa's aim follows the above patterns: retells fears in parables, makes creation myths that are present in every culture and religion and explains human bravery and goodness but also faults, misdeeds and their results that bring some kind of punishment or reward.

In his tales Mutwa follows the pattern and includes all of these subjects, therefore I would accept his claim to call his stories myths, though not Zulu ones. I would even call his ecological tales "eco-myths". There are many allegorical stories about human life where animals are used, i.e. *Panchatantra*, Aesop or La Fontaine's tales, and nobody treats them as myths. However, in the case of Mutwa, one can do so, as in the forward to these stories (especially in *Isilwane, the Animal*) Mutwa clearly states that his animal myths can be treated as allegories and metaphors. The myths presented in *Isilwane* may be read as myths or children's tales but they are marketed by Mutwa and his publisher as an ecological manifesto – in the preface Mutwa reminds people that they are equal to other parts of Nature[9], not the supreme rulers.

In spite of constructing tales as myths, they cannot be considered Zulu myths. All sangomas I interviewed in 2013 and 2018 claim they

[9] When I write "Nature" with capital "N" I am referring to the New Age attitude towards nature. They perceive it as Mother Nature.

have never heard such versions of Zulu myths and none of the academics has ever reported such myths. I am in no position to decide if Mutwa truly believed in what he wrote decades ago but till today he is adamant that his version is true and he learnt it from the goddess Amarava.

Mutwa has become a writer as a result of his blood oath and the need to change the position of native Africans. He considers himself a writer and he gladly cooperates with other authors. Keeney studied the Bushmen culture, first scientifically then from the New Age perspective and was initiated as the first white Bushman shaman. Having problems in his country (USA), he sought refuge in South Africa with Mutwa. Mutwa took him to Mynah, his aunt who initiated him as a sangoma and who agreed to teach Keeney. Keeney described his experience with Mutwa's family in his books *Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa: Zulu High Sanusi* (2002) and *Bushman shaman. Awakening the spirit through ecstatic dance* (2005). Keeney calls Mutwa 'the Pope among Africans' though he admits that some people call him a fake and 'a scoundrel' and states that he understands this point of view (Keeney 2005: 92). Mutwa also wrote a preface to *Mystery of the White Lions: Children of the Sun God* by Linda Tucker and allowed her to publish a lengthy interview she made with him (Tucker 2005).

6 | THE CREATION OF THE NEW AGE SHAMAN

Mutwa has been artistically active for about seventy years. He has tried to adapt to historical and political situations, to new technologies and new demands. His ideology has partially changed and so has his rhetoric, for example his attitude towards women: from quarrelsome creatures who should be obedient to their fathers and then husbands to equal to men in rights and even more intuitive and better suited for the sangoma vocation than men. Today, Mutwa emphasises the mutual influence of men and women in relationships and says that reciprocal respect make them better parents (Mutwa 1966: 207, March 2013). This narrative shows the evolution of his thinking patterns and his adaptation to twenty first century expectations.

New generations have posed new possibilities for him, especially New Agers. When Mutwa wrote his first four books in the 1960s and 1980s, he was not aware of the existence of New Age. However, he was discovered by New Age publishers in the 1990s and his ideas were incorporated within this esoteric ideology. New Agers, who are usually Westerners refusing Christianity and seeking alternative spirituality, pay attention to certain aspects present in Mutwa's books, websites and interviews: soul migration, a holistic approach to life and health, ecology, common roots and unity of all people and the belief in extra-terrestrial life. New Age is a global phenomenon which draws from all religions and so-called "ethnic" cultures, especially shamanism. New Agers try to find "truth" in life, though there is no binding definition of what this "truth" is. New Agers believe in an energy or soul that resides in every living being and migrates to another life after the death of the body. They also believe in karma which means that what people experience is the result of previous lives. They are ecologically aware, pacifists and believe in the equality of all humans, no matter what race or religion. All of those elements Mutwa explains plainly and in an easy way in his books, especially in *Zulu Shaman*, and his publishers and co-operators make them widely known via the Internet.

Mutwa explains that each plant, animal and human being have immortal souls, they "are all parts of God, just as each one of the hairs on your head"; also the sun, moon and stars are "an infinitesimal part" of God who has no end and not believing in "the existence of God is the greatest form of madness there can ever be" (Mutwa 1999: 561-562). In *Zulu Shaman* Mutwa reminds the readers that all people have souls and without a healthy soul a body is sick. According to him, souls were created when God created himself and they are an integral part of God' and life on Earth exists 'because God exists, and our souls are fragments of this Universal soul' (Mutwa 2003: 18). Mutwa is a strong believer in the idea of soul migration. He claims that most of the wisdom about soul migration is reserved for the chosen ones but in *Indaba* he decides to share this wisdom (Mutwa 1999: 560). Since *Indaba* Mutwa has been emphasising the equality of all souls; for him it means the equality of all living beings: "All souls are the same, and Man is but one of the many

forms, or re-incarnations that a soul must pass through" (Mutwa 1999: 565). Ideas presented forty years ago resurface and are embraced by many New Agers.

Mutwa also believes that all religions and cultures have the same roots and finds it "a tremendous unifying force, because it means we are all brothers and sisters, not only in our dreams, but in our mythologies and our very origins" (Mutwa 2003: 156). Perceiving humans as particles of God and Nature as a divine being, and accepting the unity of all people are important components of New Age ideology and Mutwa fits the profile perfectly (Steyn 2009: 308). The peaceful co-existence of all nations and cultures is one of the key ideas of New Age and New Age Internet websites spread Mutwa's ideas.

As I mentioned before, contemporary sangomas are open to clients from all cultures and they do not try to convert them to any religion. Also, they often combine Christianity and sangoma traditions and they cannot tell when one starts and the other begins. In February 2018 over twenty sangomas told me that there was no difference which religion people followed as long as they are good people. Mutwa's idea of seeing the same core in all religions (divinity, soul, goodness, love) was close to their hearts. In this case, they respected Mutwa's ideology.

Also, many holistic healing centres use Mutwa's authority to strengthen their credibility.[10] Like Mutwa, New Agers perceive the human being as an equal combination of body, spirit and mind and believe that only the balance between the three can make a person healthy and happy. They perceive sickness as an imbalance of this unity. Mutwa consciously uses New Age key-words like energy, Mother Nature, holistic healing, and shamanism in his interviews to target this group of readers. He agreed to change the title of his book to gain atraction in the New Age market: Larsen changed *Song of the Stars* to *Zulu Shaman. Dreams, Prophesies, and Mysteries*. Mutwa has no problem with co-operating with New Age

[10] Selected websites promoting Mutwa's ideas: http://davecumeshealer.blogspot.com/2014/08/this-weeks-blog-continues-on-some-basic.html); http://www.examiner.com/article/meditation-and-indigenous-africa; http://www.shamanportal.org/shamanism_african.php, https://ourdivinemedicine.wordpress.com/tag/khomani-bushmen-kalahari-credo-mutwa-sacred-journeys-south-africa-indigenous-ancient-healing/

writers and enthusiasts. His message was spread by Kenney (2001), Tucker (2010) and David Icke who used Mutwa's conceptions about aliens visiting Earth to make three dvd films distributed as *Reptilian Agenda* (Mutwa believes that aliens inhabiting the Earth look like big reptiles).[11]

Mutwa surely could not have predicted that the myths written in *Indaba, Africa is My Witness* or *My People* would one day be used to promote ecological awareness and would become a part of Mother Nature rhetoric. He wrote them as Zulu myths, not allegories or metaphors. Mutwa told me also that he had not expected to witness sangomas registered as professional healers, and being paid by national insurance in South Africa. Several decades ago Mutwa could not have perceived that holistic healing – so typical for South African cultures – would permeate many trends in Western societies and would be used alongside Western medicine (March 2013). Even though Mutwa's books were published abroad before New Age took an interest in them, their real popularity started with Mutwa's co-operation with New Age publisher Stephen Larsen who published *Zulu Shaman* and marketed Mutwa's ideas as indigenous African wisdom combined with all the aspects important for New Agers: eco-friendly mythology, a holistic approach to life, reincarnation and UFO conspiracy theories.

The co-operation with New Age propagators resulted in the growth of Mutwa's popularity and ended up fulfilling some of his dreams: his pacifist message is globally-known and his cultural village is considered by international communities as a serious place of healing and a means to develop a spiritual quest. In his house in Kuruman on the outskirts of the Kalahari Desert, the Mutwas built the Temple of Peace[12] sponsored largely by New

[11] Selected New Age websites promoting the *Reptilian Agenda* and Mutwa's views on aliens' presence of Earth: http://www.new-age-of-aquarius.com/reptilian-agenda.html; https://lindasmithinspiration.wordpress.com/blog/. Selected (or, Some, 'a few, etc.) films with Mutwa speaking about aliens, their presence on Earth and their help in creating humankind: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iez0tDqNBC4, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Il8bojbgi5I, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJq2qVpI6BU.

[12] The Temple of Peace is a building built opposite Mutwa's house in Kuruman. It fills a role of a multi-religious temple, hospital and recovery centre for the sick. On the other side of Mutwa's house, his wife Virginia built a set of buildings which form her

Agers. It is built in the Kuruman township and consists of Mutwa's house, the Temple of Peace, a Christian chapel and hospital buildings. Mutwa sculpted deities from many religions to make everyone feel welcome and at ease. Building all of these facilities was possible thanks to Ringing Rock Foundation[13] which offered Mutwa a lifelong stipend to enable him in 'his creative work' accessed in May 2003, the will of the local chief and the support of Icke and New Age donors (www.ringingrocks.org; Chidester 2002: 72; March 2013).The ceremony of laying down the corner stone was led by Mutwa and Icke. The speeches focused on the need for peace and unity among all people.[14] The temple serves as a spiritual centre and a children's hospital "because traditional South Africans care both for children's minds and souls; Western hospitals do not. (...) This is why you can see toys here. And the hammock is important: it is proved that if you put a child on a hammock and place salted water underneath and let it evaporate, a child will get healthy quicker. I helped a lot of children in this way" (March 2013). When I asked Mutwa why he chose Icke, Teash, Tucker, Smith and other New Agers for co-operation, he said: "because they seek the truth, their hearts are ones and clear" (March 2013). He believes in their honesty and is happy that they propagate his teachings.

As I mentioned before, shamanism is one of the most popular phenomena within New Age circles. New Agers perceive shamans as depositors of ancient traditions and wisdom. Most New Agers do not study shamanism from the academic perspective but adopt those aspects which are supposed to enhance their spirituality. There are many aspects in shamanic practices that interest New Agers: communication with Nature, soul-lore, holistic medicine, spiritual guidance. From the New Age perspective, shamans are people who work with energy, use elements and other natural environment's energies to help people and to broaden

---

hospital. Credo and Virginia want to diagnose patients and Virginia and a nurse trained in Western medicine can treat patients there.

[13] Ringing Rock Foundation, Pennsylvania, claims to explore, document and preserve indigenous cultures and their healing practices; it offers spiritual counselling, guidance and healing. Details: www.ringingrocks.org

[14] The ceremony of laying down the corner stone can be seen on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eSJF0z5-CJg.

their comprehension of the Universe, Nature, human nature and human spiritual life. For New Agers, Mutwa is a shaman and in my opinion, New Agers and Mutwa's calling himself 'a shaman' is justified. Mutwa fulfills duties very similar to Siberian and other shamans; he is believed to have the abilities that shamans possess, and his work is partly in-line with academic views on shamanism. At the same time, his work with energy and the whole vocabulary connected with energy work and a holistic approach to life make him a shaman in the New Age meaning.

7 | SUMMARY

During his ninety seven years of life and over seventy years of working as a sangoma and an artist Mutwa has proved to be an outsider, a person who walks his own path and who does not give up his beliefs, though he has managed to accommodate in order to market needs. He has adapted himself to the demands of new markets, he answers New Agers' needs and he does not see a contradiction in being a sangoma, a shaman and a New Age authority. Mutwa is a practising sangoma and sangomas fulfil the same duties as shamans – they have the same abilities and play the same social role. Mutwa is also a New Age shaman always ready to share his wisdom and methods on how to live a holistic life. For New Agers the authenticity of "African wisdom" comes secondary to Mutwa's pacifist and holistic message which inspires thousands of people around the world.

Mutwa is an innovative and ever-changing artist. One cannot perceive him as mainly a sangoma or mainly a writer as he became the writer because he had already been the sangoma. As an expert on Zulu mythology, Mutwa is an unreliable source of information for academics but I would not call him a fraud. He keeps to his beliefs and after spending some time with him and interviewing him, I think he believes in what he says. He may truly believe that a strange woman from his hallucinations is Amarava and that he heard all of the stories and myths he wrote from this goddess. He is reliable as a sangoma; he offers insight into sangomas' work and he can be treated as a good source, usually in accordance with other sangomas' statements. Difficult to be classified, Mutwa remains a person and an artist full of contradictions and impossible to be unravelled: a sangoma, an inventive writer, an artist and a New Age shaman.

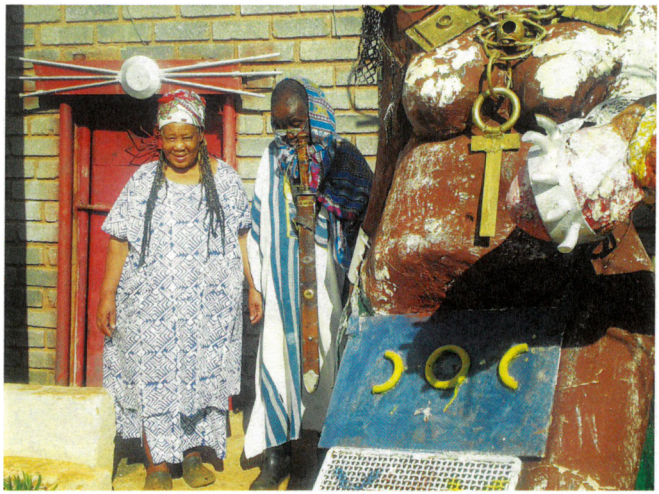

PHOTO 1: Vusamazulu Credo and Virginia Mutwa in front of the Temple of Peace. The sculpture on the right hand side is a 2,5 metre high goddess. There are many religious symbols in front of the temple including Egyptian cross, a symbol of Baal and the image of the goddess Ma whom Mutwa describes in his books.

PHOTO 2: A chapel for people of all religions who wish to pray or meditate before or after meeting the Mutwas. In front, a Christian cross and black Mary with Jesus.

PHOTO 3: Toys carved by V.C. Mutwa for children. He said that children could not be bored because then they felt bad and slowed the healing process; they had to be occupied to get healthy.

REFERENCES:

Berglund, A.-I. *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism*. Uppsala: C. Hurst & Company 1976.

Blakney, Charles P. "Review of Indaba, My Children by Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa". *African Historical Studies* 1 (1968), pp. 122-125.

Blount, A. T. "For a Black Studies Course. Credo Vusa'mazulu *Mutwa*, My People, My Africa". *Modern Age* 14 (1970), pp. 206-210.

Chidester, D. "Credo Mutwa, Zulu Shaman: The Invention and Appropriation of Indigenous Authenticity in African Folk Religion". *Journal for the Study of Religion* 15 (2002), pp. 65-85.

Coote L. E.F., „Folk Life and Traditions". *Folklore* 71, 1 (1960), pp. 52-58.

Keeney, B. *Bushman shaman. Awakening the spirit through ecstatic dance*. Rochester: Destiny Books 2005.

Keeney, B. *Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa: Zulu High Sanusi*. Maine: Leete's Island Books 2002.

Krige, E. J. *The Social System of the Zulus*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shotter 1962.

Mutwa, V.C. *Africa is my witness*. Johannesburg: Blue Crane Books 1966.

Mutwa, V.C. *Indaba my children*. New York: Grove Press 1999.

Mutwa, V.C. *Zulu shaman. Dreams, Prophesies and Mysteries*. Rochester: Destiny Books 2003.

Podolecka, A. "Sangomas, Shamans and New Age: the Hybridity of some Modern Healing and Esoteric Practices and Beliefs in South Africa". *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* LXIX (2016), pp. 142-157.

Podolecka, A. *Esotericism in Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa's writings*. PhD thesis, University of Warsaw 2017.

Shaw, R. "The Invention of 'African Traditional Religion". *Religion* 20 (1990), pp. 339-353.

Steyn, C. H. "Credo Mutwa, New Age Zulu". *Zulu identities. Being Zulu, past and present*, Carton Benedict, Laband John and Sithole Jabulani (eds.), London: Hurst & Company 2009, pp. 304-311.

Tucker, L. *Mystery of the White Lions: Children of the Sun God*, New York: Hay House Inc. 2010.

REVIEWS

Paul Newman (ed.) ***Syllable Weight in African Languages***, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 338, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017, 219 pp.

Syllable weight is found among linguistic concepts which are both obvious and self-evident as well as unclear in terms of their constituent features. Identified as an opposition between heavy and light syllables, it has many structural variants with regard to what constitutes a heavy syllable. It differs from language to language and for theoretical analysis, it must be regarded as a higher level concept which captures various aspects.

The monograph on syllable weight edited by Paul Newman discusses the theoretical aspects of syllable weight in linguistic analysis and presents how the concept is manifested in African languages. The monograph includes evaluation of the concept from different perspectives and presents syllable weight in genetically, geographically and typologically different languages. The volume is published by John Benjamins Publishing Company in the series Current Issues in Linguistic Theory as its 338th volume.

The book is organized in twelve chapters which focus on either theoretical interpretation or exemplification of the syllable weight concept in particular languages. The focus is put not only on its segmental constituents but also on its relation with moraic structure, accent, rhythm, tone and phenomena such as reduplication or sonority. A lot of attention has been paid to the languages from North and West Africa (mostly of Afroasiatic family) where the idea of syllable weight in its linguistic dimension is connected with the well-established canon of meter in poetry. The volume ends with an index which includes authors' names, names of languages and linguistic terms.

The presentation of syllable weight starts with an introductory chapter in which Paul Newman discusses the concept in historical perspective with reference to his own contribution to African linguistics and linguistic theory which consists in introducing syllable weight (both as the concept and the term) to modern phonology. The idea is more widely developed

in Chapter 1, *Syllable weight as a phonological variable*, this chapter being an abridged version of Newman's paper published in 1972 where it was first proposed as a new variable relevant for linguistic description. The theory which relies on heavy/light syllable dichotomy is illustrated by Hausa and other Chadic languages (Bole, Kanakuru) and includes data from Arabic and some European languages. The author shows cross-language validity for the concept of syllable weight and its significance for understanding various processes in individual languages. One of the main claims is that there is one and only one type of light syllable, namely Cv, but what constitutes a heavy syllable is connected with language-specific phenomena. In Chadic, the form of heavy syllables is Cvv or CvC and the contrast between heavy and light syllables is correlated with morphological processes. The paper focuses on presenting the concept of syllable weight in its segmental manifestation, but it also discusses interaction between syllable weight and tones, functioning as morphological variable or as the prohibition against falling tones on light syllables.

The discussion about syllable weight as a theoretical and typological concept continues in Chapter 2. Matthew Gordon in *Syllable weight: A typological and theoretical overview* shows that the weight criterion employed in languages may be different and the phonological representation of weight found across languages is not uniform. From this perspective, syllable weight is defined as "the property that differentiates syllables with respect to their prosodic behavior" (p. 27). Stress is indicated as a phenomenon which is sensitive to syllable weight, but it is also admitted that tonal languages have their rules of tonal assignment which are associated with heavy syllables. Phenomena in which syllable weight plays a role make the list longer and include metrical feet that are templates governed by syllable weight.

The Author demonstrates how various processes usually analyzed as distinct phenomena (compensatory lengthening, reduplication, some specific instances of prosodic morphology) are connected with syllable weight. He also presents the results of studies on relationship between phonological properties of weight and its phonetic exponents which also have its language-specific manifestation. The importance of syllable weight in the development of moraic theory is also indicated.

The presentation of the function of syllable weight in particular languages begins with chapters discussing the data of Afroasiatic languages. In Chapter 3 *Syllable weight and morphophonologically induced resyllabification in Maghrebi Arabic* Lameen Souag demonstrates how the notion (and the term) of syllable weight allows for interpretation of diachronic changes that account for alternations in morphophonology of modern Arabic dialect. Contrary to earlier interpretations, basing mostly on phonological representation of the syllable, it is shown how the category of syllable weight (including the light, heavy and superheavy distinction) can justify the processes responsible for the deletion of short vowels (or schwa – zero alternations) more widely in North African Arabic. The process is perceived as a tendency towards avoiding vowels in light syllables which is presented as a possible Berber influence.

In Chapter 4, *Syllable weight in Amharic* Hannah Sande and Andrew Hedding analyze the role of coda consonants in determining syllable weight. With reference to the typology of the syllable weight system, in which CVC syllables are either heavy (type A) or light (type B), the authors identify Amharic CVC syllables as light unless the coda is geminate. This CVG system is distinguished as another pattern (type C) in which geminate consonants in coda position affect the perception of syllable weight. In Amharic, geminate consonants are results of the reduplication process which is motivated by the stress system.

In the next chapter, *Syllabic weight in Tashlhiyt Berber*, François Dell and Mohamed Elmedlaoui provide a summary of the existing knowledge of various aspects of syllabification. Using data from Tashlhiyt Berber, they discuss the status of geminates in a coda position that are related to weight. A large part of the article is devoted to the relationship between the syllable structure in its textual representation (i.e. grammatical syllabification) and the syllable segments which are realized in traditional singing. It is also shown how the notion mora which is significant in the analysis of heavy/light contrast finds its application in songs (as meter patterns) and in grammatical forms (as templatic plurals). The long tradition of research on syllable structure in Tashlhiyt from various theoretical perspectives is reflected in specific terminology and numerous references that make the description hermetic. For example, the authors use

abbreviations H/L to mark heavy and light syllables respectively, whereas these symbols are commonly used in linguistic works to mark (H)igh and (L)ow tones.

The question of relationship between textual and poetic material is further discussed in the Hausa data. In *The psychological reality of syllable weight* (Chapter 6), Russell G. Schuh demonstrates how the distinction between light and heavy syllables accounts for regular patterns of versification. Relating the category of syllable weight to the feeling for one's own language, he analyses the metrical properties of Hausa poetry (*wakā*) in syllabic, musical and psychological dimensions. The comparison of written text and its oral performance (in sung form) shows that the musical settings manifested in the division into musical bars are faithful to the syllable weights of the text even if the durational distinction between syllables is actualized differently. The Author concludes that Hausa speakers are aware of the syllable weight distinction and the singers preserve this distinction in sung duration of light vs. heavy syllables.

Chapter 7 by John M. Keegan (*Syllables and syllable weight in Sara-Bagirmi languages*) initiates the presentations of Nilo-Saharan data. In the languages under discussion (Mbay, other Sara languages, Sara Kaba languages, Bagirmi and Kenga) the categories of syllable weight follow the pattern based on the sequence of CV (for light syllables) or CVV and CVC (for heavy syllables). However, the option of non-consonantal onset, consonants of complex articulation (e.g. prenazalized stops) and distribution rules that affect the final syllable position make these patterns largely differentiated and allow distinguishing the third superheavy types (C)VVC, (C)VVV, and (C)VCC. What supports the differentiation between heavy and light syllables is tone which contributes to the rules of syllabic readjustment, especially in the course of morphological processes which are helpful in the reconstruction of language development.

Another Nilo-Saharan language, Fur, provides data for discussing the importance of syllable weight in relation to reduplication. The study by Ashley L. McKeever *Reduplication in Fur: Prosodic structure and sonority* (Chapter 8) presents patterns of reduplication in which syllable weight is one of the factors determining its output, but they also include sonority principles of the coda consonant.

In Chapter 9 *Non-uniform syllable weight in Southern Kenyan Maa (Maasai)* Richard Griscom and Doris L. Payne investigate syllable weight in Maa (Maasai) from Kenya in relation with some phonological phenomena which determine a different categorization of syllable weight. The differentiation starts from the definition of syllable which is grounded in a combination of the sonority hierarchy and extends to phenomena such as distribution of contour tones, restrictions on syllable templates and minimal verbal root requirements. The data from Maa do not confirm the binary categorization between 'light' and 'heavy' syllables and therefore the manifestation of the category is identified as non-uniform.

Chapter 10 Fiona Mc Laughlin and Caroline Wiltshire *Syllable weight in the phonology of Pulaar* examines the role of syllable weight in stress assignment. Based on the data from Fuutankoore Pulaar, a Senegalese dialect of Fula, it investigates the correlation between syllable weight and stress in connection with other processes such as compensatory lengthening, patronymic reduplication, minimal word requirement. The question of the 'salient' syllable which is correlated with stress is discussed from the perspective of various (up to four) levels of weight. In addition, cross-dialectal comparisons of the role of syllable weight in Fula shows that the criteria for stress assignment differ between dialects.

Chapter 11 by A. Agoswin Musah *Syllable weight and tonal pattering in Kusaal: A moraic perspective* poses new challenges to the interpretation of light/heavy syllable contrast. It investigates the syllable types and structures in Kusaal (Gur language) which is tonal. The specific feature of this language in which the final syllable consonants are not moraic and do not contribute to syllable weight (therefore the CVC syllables are light) sheds more light on the studies of moraic structure and the role of tone in syllable/mora division.

The Interaction between tones and syllable weight is further discussed in Chapter 12, *Syllable weight and tone in Mara Bantu languages* by Lotta Aunio. Weight-related tone placement is discussed for some Mara Bantu languages spoken in Western Tanzania which represent the Niger-Congo phylum. Whereas segmental structure of nouns and verbs have been presented as a common areal feature, variations in the prosodic systems are discussed for Ikoma, Isenye, Nata, and Ngoreme separately.

As these languages have restricted tonal systems in which only one high tone per word is allowed, the discussion extends into other aspects related to the "stress-tone scale" and pitch prominence relevant for linguistic typology.

The book *Syllable Weight in African Languages* is a unique monograph discussing the concept of syllable weight, which is manifested in language in relation to complex phenomena, including stress, tone, reduplication, sonority, germination, vowel length, minimal word requirements, and metrics. African languages enable discussing this complexity from both a theoretical perspective and as a representation of typologically, genetically and geographically different languages. The authors of these particular presentations are renown specialists in theoretical and/or African linguistics, focusing on the language of their long-term and exhaustive studies.

The volume is organized so that chapters highlight particular aspects related to syllable weight and develop the ideas by complementing each other. In this approach, the understanding of syllable weight goes beyond the 'classic' opposition between light and heavy syllables which is based on the contrast between Cv and Cvv/Cvc syllables and extends it to many other types and variants that include other features. Since its establishment as a linguistic concept on the basis of Chadic languages, syllable weight has gained a new dimension due to going beyond the previously analyzed circle of languages, especially including tonal languages.

The monograph on syllable weight edited by Paul Newman gives linguistic investigations new directions, possibly not related only to syllable weight. The discussion on the psychological reality of syllable weight includes the question of correlation between the abstract concept invented by linguists for analytical purposes and the speakers' feeling for language that escapes the frames of linguistic investigation.

Nina Pawlak

Samuel G. Obeng, Christopher R. Green (eds.), *African Linguistics in the 21st Century: Essays in Honour of Paul Newman*,
Koln: Rudiger Koppe Verlag, 2017, 154 pp.

This book is a collection of 10 chapters written on various linguistic aspects of diverse African languages. The purpose of the book is to celebrate the eightieth birthday and fiftieth professional anniversary of the accomplished and renown Hausaist and Chadist, Paul Newman. There is no doubt that Newman could be said to be the most prominent Hausaist of all times, the author of many seminal and widely used descriptions of the language, with immense contributions not only to Hausa and Chadic studies, but also to African and global linguistics in general. In fact, prior to the current volume, leading Chadists, Philip J. Jaggar and H. Ekkehard Wolff had compiled a commentary of Newman's works titled *Chadic and Hausa Linguistics: Selected Papers of Paul Newman with commentaries*, presenting some of the finest linguistic studies on Hausa and Chadic languages available thus far.

The eight analytical chapters in this volume cover a wide range of topical issues on many traditional aspects of linguistics: phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, as well as the interface between these subfields such as phonetics-phonology and phonology-semantics. The two other chapters are the introduction and an account of Newman's professional life. The languages discussed belong to the two major African language phyla: Afro-Asiatic (to which the Chadic group belongs) and Niger-Congo (which is the largest linguistic family on the continent). The methodology across these chapters is similar, in that most of the authors employ empirical field data, applying various linguistic theories (many of which were Newman's brainchildren) as tools for data analysis and interpretation. Similarly, the authors have used a systematic glossing pattern which presents the data in enormous grammatical detail, and provides evidence of the assumptions and conclusions postulated thereof. The chapters are discussed in turn.

Chapter 1 is an introduction by the editors which provides the general overview of the book ranging from the aims and scope of the publication, to the topics and languages covered, as well as the theoretical frameworks

and general methodological issues pertaining to all of the chapters in the book. Apart from a general summary of the volume, the editors highlight the key issues and contributions of each chapter.

In chapter 2, Wolff, H. E. analyses *Vocalogenesis in (Central) Chadic Languages* which is a diachronic reanalysis of the vowel systems of Chadic languages. In the beginning, Wolff discusses the Chadic vowel system in general, and the typological features of Central Chadic vowels, followed by a reconstructive analysis of the genesis and evolution of the Chadic vowel system. Wolff suggests that there may be no phonemic vowels in the Proto-Chadic language, and that the Central Chadic vowels, as they are today, are a result of prosodic features such as labialization and palatalization. In the end, four diachronic stages of the evolution of the Central Chadic vowel inventory were discussed. These include: step 1: /a/, step 2: /i, u/, step 3: epenthetic *schwa*, step 4: /e, o/.

Chapter 3, titled *Nasality and the Gengbe syllable* by Lotven, S. and Obeng, S. G. addresses the question of nasality in the consonantal and vocalic syllables of the Gengbe (Mina) language (Left Bank, Kwa group, Niger-Congo) spoken in Southern Togo and the Mono region of Benin. Employing the autosegmental theory, the authors examine the application of the so-called *Oral-Nasal Onset Allophony Rules* in the language. They conclude that these rules are largely applicable to the Gengbe syllable albeit with some exceptions. Nasalization in this language, according to the authors, is syllable-bound, in that it could only spread within, but not outside of the syllable boundary. In terms of the direction of nasalization, nasality usually spreads leftwards onto a preceding consonant, but also rightwards, albeit in limited circumstances such as clitic nasality.

Abbie Hantgan-Sonko's *A weight-based analysis of Joola Eegimaa lenition* in chapter 4 discusses syllable weight in relation to segment position in Joola Eagimaa (Atlantic, Niger-Congo) spoken in Southern Senegal. The purpose of the chapter was to show that Eegimaa lenition is sensitive to syllable weight, and to contribute to the current discussion on the phonemic representation of the Eegimaa consonants. The earlier parts of the chapter focus on background issues such as Eegimaa consonantal inventory, which is followed by a summary of the existing literature related to the topic. Using the theory of *Weight by Position* proposed by

Hayes (1989), Hantgan-Sonko shows that lenition in Eegimaa is sensitive to syllable weight. In conclusion, the implications of the weight-based analysis of lenition on the contemporary controversies surrounding some consonantal phonemes were discussed.

This is followed by Christopher, R. Green and Michael C. Dow's *Morphology of nouns in Najamba (Dogon)* that constitute chapter 5. Najamba belongs to the Dogon subgroup of the Niger-Congo family, with very little descriptive literature. The authors set out to review Health's (2011) suggestion that class-internal patterns of nominal inflection is unpredictable in the language. They show that the assumed haphazard nature of the nominal inflection patterns in the language was as a result of misanalysis of all noun stems as underlying vowel-final. To explain the systematic nature and predictability of the alternations, Green and Dow propose an analysis that allows for vowel and consonant-final noun stems, taking into consideration other relevant parameters such as phonotactics, syllable shape and stem versus affixal faithfulness.

Chapter 6 is Seth Ofori's *Semanticization of some phonological attributes in sound imitating words in Akan*. The chapter focuses on the phonology-semantics interface in the segmental composition of onomatopoeic words in Akan (New-Kwa, Niger-Congo) spoken in Ghana. From data presented in the study, the author shows that there is indeed a correlation between the phonetic features and sequence of sounds of an idiophone and its referent such as the events described, physical properties or the state of delivery. The chapter provides extensive background and review of literature as well as Akan word and syllable structures in relation to various sound classes and onomatopoeic words.

In the following chapter 7, Roland P. Schaefer and Francis O. Egbokhare discuss serial verb construction in Emai (West Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo) spoken in Nigeria. Titled *Emai serial verb domains: Symmetrical and asymmetrical*, the chapter analyses the symmetricality and asymmetricality of serial verb constructions in three semantic domains, *vis*: locative contact constructions, possession retention and the manner of directional motion. The authors show that predicate pair elements are symmetrical, asymmetrical or a mixture of both, across all semantic domains. Furthermore, the implication of this study on linguistic theory,

especially the intra-semantic domain variation, was discussed in the conclusion.

Kofi K. Saah's chapter 8, titled *The null 3rd person object pronoun and the syntax of Akan* provides an analysis of pronominals in Akan (New-Kwa, Niger-Congo). The chapter discusses the conditions allowing for the use of the null object and the interaction between a null pronoun and the verbal tense in the language. Saah provides a counter argument against an existing claim on this subject and provides an alternative explanation by analysing the syntactic behaviour of third person singular object pronouns in three separate conditions, *vis:* animacy condition, lexical condition and clause-final/right edge condition. By analysing various syntactic constructions such as serial verbs, and focused declarative and interrogative sentences, the author concludes that Akan allows a null 3rd person object pronoun governed by the above mentioned conditions.

Chapter 9 is Nina Pawlak's analysis of the semantic content of the notion BE in Hausa (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic) widely spoken in West Africa and beyond. As the title *'To be' and 'not to be' in Hausa: The question of grammar and communication* implies, this chapter analyses the expression of 'be' through active and stative verbs within various syntactic constructions. Pawlak shows that the interpretation expresses a variety of meanings identified in different exponents, and that Hausa, like other West African languages, codes particular notions *via* specific markers. Beyond the syntactic aspects, the study points out the semantic content of the notion BE, and that new communication contexts provide a clearer distinction between 'being' in the sense of 'existence' and 'being' in its general, unspecified context.

The final chapter 10 profiles a comprehensive account of Paul Newman's journey to the top, spanning over five decades of active academic sojourn. There are no better authors of such a chronicle than his life partner, Roxana Ma Newman and one of his most accomplished disciples, Philip J. Jaggar. In this chapter, the authors summarise his successes, contributions and the most remarkable moments of his life, both as an individual, and his career as a linguist. It takes the reader through a fascinating, inspiring, yet challenging story of the life and experiences of the man and scholar, Paul Newman. From this chapter, one would say, a linguist can't be better!

Overall, the book is extremely interesting in many ways, especially the natural data-based analysis and varied theoretical approaches applied by the authors. The scope of the book, in terms of languages and topics covered, the confluence of scholars, juxtaposed to the celebrant's life and career, is simply amazing. However, it would have been even greater if all four of the African language families were represented to celebrate Newman *san frontier*.

Ahmadu Shehu

Christine Chaillot (ed.), *The Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Volos: Volos Academy Publications, 2016, 519 pp.

The breach of ecclesial communion between Eastern Orthodox Churches and Oriental Orthodox Churches, caused by the pronouncements of the Council of Chalcedon, concerned the relationship between the human and divine natures of Christ.

The relations between the separated Churches were very difficult and caused by mutual accusations of heresy. This painful division continues to modern times. For many centuries, the establishment of dialogue between Eastern Orthodox Churches and Oriental Orthodox Churches was not possible. It was only in 1964 the unofficial dialogue between these families of Churches began, and the official theological dialogue started in 1985.

This topic of such difficult dialogue is taken up in the book *The Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches* in a comprehensive and multifaceted way. The book was edited by Christine Chaillot and published in 2016 and it presents a rare view of the history of bilateral relations between Eastern Orthodox Churches and Oriental Orthodox Churches. It is a very unique source for research on understanding the relationships between them. The Editor of this publication is an eminent expert of life and spirituality of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, the Eastern Orthodox Churches and also on the dialogue between these two families of Churches. Christine Chaillot focused on

developing a very difficult, but also very important topic. The understanding of whose own bilateral ecumenical dialogues should be more widely known not only by specialists but also by ordinary people.

The editor's aim was to collect contributions from specialists coming from different Churches in order to create as complete a picture of these difficult relationships as possible. The publication is made up of a collection of articles. All of the authors are representatives of either the Eastern Orthodox or Oriental Orthodox Churches. Some of them have participated in official theological dialogue. Contributions are coming from prominent specialists and representatives of different Patriarchates and Churches. This book deserves attention. The foreword was written by His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew (p. 15).

In the introduction, the editor briefly presents the path to reaching an official bilateral dialogue and state of current dialogue, the issues concerning misunderstandings in Christology, and other topics which have to be discussed before reaching full unity. The most important of them are the main dogmatic decisions of the Council of Chalcedon and the lifting of all condemnations ("General Introduction" by Christine Chaillot, p. 17-27).

Thirty-four articles are divided into three main sections. At the end there is an appendix with different statements and texts.

The first part of this book, "Eastern Orthodox Perspectives", shows the problems from the perspective of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Articles are divided into six sections: A. *The Theological Dialogue since 1985*, B: *Chalcedon and Patristics*, C: *Chalcedon and Theology*, D: *The Oriental Orthodox and Iconology*, E: *Chalcedon and Anathemas* and F: *The Theological Dialogue: Questions and Proposals Towards Unity*. Authors from the Eastern Orthodox Churches attempt to understand the role of Cyril of Alexandria and Severus of Antiochia on Chalcedon (Section B); The usageby Cyril of Alexandria of the phrase, *Mia physis tou theou logou sesarkomene* (One nature *(physis)* of God - the Word incarnate[1]) in his early Christological doctrine ("St. Cyril of Alexandria's Miaphysite Christology and Chalcedon Dyophysitism" by Fr. John

[1] The formula „mia physis" does not have for Cyril a monophysite meaning, like for Apollinaris, but aims an union not by composition, but a union of simplicity, a single nature of the Word, but incarnated. For St. Cyril the human nature of the Jesus is

McGuckin, p. 39-55); the role and place of Severus of Antioch in the development of post-Chalcedonian Christology with consequences also for modern dialogue ("Severus of Antioch: Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Perspectives" by Fr. John Behr, p. 64-73).

In the following section of the book (Section C) the authors present different aspects of theology whose explanation is crucial for mutual relations. Among these important contributions one can read "The Cyrillian Character of the Chalcedonian Definition of Faith" (by Georgios Martzelos, p. 74-94), "Controversial Aspects in Christology of Dioscorus of Alexandria (by Ilias Kesmiris, p. 113-134), "The Issue of Wills and Energies in the Perspective of the Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox" (by Fr. Cyril Hovorun, p. 134-146) or "The Romanian Theologians and the Dialogue with Old Oriental Churches or Oriental Orthodox Churches" (by Fr. Vassile Răducă, p. 160-185).

In this part of the publication (section D) there is an important article written by Christine Chaillot about the cult of Icons and representation of Christ in the Oriental Orthodox Churches. This article is one of the most interesting articles in this part of the book ("The Role of Pictures, the Veneration of Icons and Representation of Christ in the Oriental Orthodox Churches", p. 186-196). The author presents an understanding of the veneration of icons in the Oriental Orthodox Churches and shows that "for the Oriental Orthodox the icon of Christ is a Christological argument, and not theological obstacle, because it is the proof of the visibility and the real humanity of God the Saviour" (p.195).

The next articles in section E concern legal issues related to anathemas, e.g. "Anathema: An Obstacle to Reunion" by Fr. John H. Erickson (p.197- 221), in which the author argues that despite mutual consent "all the anathemas and condemnations of the past which now divide us should be lifted by the Churches in order that the last obstacle to the full unity and communion of our two families can be removed by the grace and power of God" (1990 Chambèsy Agreed Statement, par. 10). Unfortunately, so far this has not been done yet (p.197).

---

always present as being made up of body and rational soul, the Logos is not substitutable in any way any to one of the elements of Saviors' humanity.

The last articles in this part of the publication (section F) are related to the theological dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Authors show not only the experiences from the different environments, but also the challenges and possibilities for the future, such as "The Development of the Eastern-Oriental Orthodox Dialogue: The Experience of the Moscow Patriarchate" by Metropolitan Hilarion Alfeyew (p. 237-240), "The Bilateral Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches: Challenges and Future" by Metropolitan Emmanuel Adamkis (p. 222-236) or "Suggestions for Determining the Basic Cornerstones Leading to Ecclesial Unity" by Metropolitan Georges Khodr of Mount Lebanon. These articles are the valuable testimony of bilateral ecumenical dialogue.

The second part of this publication, entitled "Oriental Orthodox Perspectives" presents articles by authors from the Oriental Orthodox Churches. It is divided into two sections: A: *Articles on Christology by Oriental Orthodox* and B: *Articles on Liturgical Texts on Christology of the Oriental Orthodox Churches*.

This part of the book shows Christology from the perspective of the Oriental Church, including as it is expressed in their liturgical texts.

Christology is presented as understood in the Coptic, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian and Ethiopian traditions. In section A one can find five articles about the understanding of Christology in Oriental Orthodox Churches. The problem of the union of human and divine nature in Christ caused a split in the Christian world. The theological view that the divine nature of Christ is primal and dominates over human nature has been condemned and recognized as a heresy at the Council of Chalcedon. However, some bishops from areas that supported separatist tendencies towards the imperial power in Constantinople, such as Egypt and Syria, did not recognize the Council's provisions.

The Oriental Orthodox Churches adopted the doctrine of monophysitism, but they rejected the views of the inventor of this doctrine, Eutyches, who proclaimed the assimilation of the humanity of Christ with his divine nature. Closer to them is the view of Cyril of Alexandria, according to whom the Word became flesh, creating one hypostasis, while preserving unchanged, Christ's human nature.

Fr. Shenouda M. Ishak and Dn. Anthony Bibawy present Coptic traditions of Christology in the article "The Christology of the Coptic Orthodox Church" (p. 273-287). Metropolitan Mor Polycarpus Aydin writes on "Syrian Orthodox Christology and the Chalcedonian Definition of Faith" (p. 288-300). The Armenian tradition is presented in the article "The Armenian Christological Tradition" by Archimandrite Shahe Ananyan (p. 301-316). Getatchew Haile discusses this problem from Ethiopia's perspective in the article, "The Christology of Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahedo Chruch" (p. 348- 329).

Section B is dedicated to Christological liturgical texts in the Oriental Orthodox Church. Four articles show Coptic, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian and Ethiopian traditions.

Donna Rizk analyzes in her article the Christology in Divine Liturgies, Prayers, and Hymns of Coptic Orthodox Church (p. 349-362). The presence of Christ in the Syrian Orthodox Liturgy is the subject of Fr. Baby Varghese's considerations ("Christ in Syrian Orthodox Liturgy", p. 362-377).

Fr. Michael Daniel Findikyan presents "Christology and Armenian Holy Sacrifice (Soorp Badarak)" (p. 378-386), while Getatchew discusses Ethiopian's Christological faith and liturgy ("The Christological Faith of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as Reflected in its Liturgy", p. 387-398).

The third part of this book, "Chalcedon and Practical Dialogue", is dedicated to mutual dialogue in practice and presents the previous experience of bilateral relations. In this section, seven articles are dedicated to practical dialogue.

Kostadin Nushe analyses in his article Dialogue Between the Armenian Community and Eastern Orthodox in Bulgaria (p. 404-407). The subject of Michel Hjäm's deliberations is the experience of the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Cooperation in Sweden and the United States in America (p. 408-414). Stanislau Paulau presents analyses of the relations between the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church Family, both prior to and after the start of official dialogue ("Beyond Words: Practical Dialogue between the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church Family", p. 415-

421). The editor of the whole book – Christine Chaillot – tries to show the activity of the Association 'Dialogue between Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox' in Paris (p. 427-431). George Alexander presents the text "Seeking United Orthodox Christian Witness through Mass Media and Other Types of Exchanges", p. 423-426).

The last part of this book, "Appendices", contains a collection of documents such as the Official Statements of the Theological Dialogue (section A), other official statements, a joint declaration, agreements and letters (section B) essential writings on Theological Dialogue (section C) and a short chronology of the Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches (p. 511-514).

In my view, the book *The Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches* is a work that everyone interested in theological dialogue between these two families of orthodox Christianity should read.

The book allows the reader to understand not only the difficult theological complexities that led to a split between churches, but also the specificity of Oriental Churches and their Christology as well as Liturgy.

The publication is perhaps a modest but successful attempt to present the mutual relationships and attempts to overcome (or at least lessen) the breach of unity both from the perspective of the Eastern Orthodox Church as well as the Oriental Orthodox Church.

The publication contributes to supporting a knowledge of the history of bilateral relations and gives hope for their continuing development.

Katarzyna Anna Mich

Susanne Epple (ed.), *The state of status groups in Ethiopia: Minorities between marginalization and integration*, Studien zur Kulturkunde 132, Berlin: Reimer 2018, 283 pp.

"The existence of the marginalized minority groups in Ethiopia has puzzled scholars for decades" (p. 9), is one of the first sentences from the foreword of the book. The authors of the volume, aware of this fact, have successfully attempted to present the problem from different angles. Their aim was to offer not only new material on different groups, but also to confront research with findings and theories from previous publications on the subject. The terms "marginalization" / "marginalized groups" in themselves are discussed thoroughly in the volume, and other terms (e.g. "occupational groups" / "hereditary status groups" and "status groups" as applied in the title of the book) are offered with the view to better describe the various phenomena. Also the history of research is critically discussed (as in the „Introduction" by Susanne Epple, esp. p. 13-17, or by Hermann Amborn, p. 131-133).

"The state of status groups in Ethiopia..." is an example of a vision of Ethiopia's history and cultures presented from the perspective of the periphery; however, the influence of the state on the discussed groups throughout as well as the groups' relationships with the state, are strongly addressed. The main interest of the authors lies in the areas that have remained on the edges of scholarly interest, e.g. Bayso and Haro people living on one of the islands on Abbaya lake in southern Ethiopia; Mao and Komo from western Ethiopia; or Kumpal-Agaw in the northwest of the country. Among the theoretical questions, the issue of sometimes blurred differences between ethnic and social groups has also arisen in the book. Another subject is the manifestations of marginalization, which are being discussed throughout the volume. Eating and drinking taboos resulting in separation within these spheres are among the most obvious, while breaking this separation is an obvious sign of overcoming marginalization. Another taboo is intermarriage between the members of groups of low and high status. One of the biggest values of the volume lies in the authors' ability to present a picture of the contemporary situation of occupational and hereditary status groups within the context of the *longue durée* processes.

The volume begins with a foreword by Dena Freeman, whose work, co-authored with Alula Pankhurst, titled "Peripherial people: Excluded minorities of Ethiopia" (Addis Ababa 2003) is quoted throughout the book as one of the milestones in the scholarly interest in minorities and marginalization in Ethiopia. The volume continues with Editor Susanne Epple's introduction in which she discusses the state of research in this field. She also highlights the problems attached to the question of minorities. This chapter itself provides a valuable source of information on the history of the research, the main themes connected to the subject and an overview of the most important discussions. The general introduction leads a reader to case studies divided into two parts. The first part discusses "Transformation and manipulation of social differences", while another part concentrates on "Resistance of marginalization". Susanne Epple continues her thoughts from the introduction in the first chapter, where she presents the contemporary situation in Ethiopia in terms of how and if the roles of status groups within the spheres of social life have changed at a local and national level ("The transformation of status groups in Ethiopia. Recent observations", p. 33-48).

The internal and external factors involved in minimizing marginalization have been interestingly described in the volume. Conversion to Christianity is perceived as one of the most important factors which stimulate change. Conversions — to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church or to Evangelical churches — are often perceived by the members of the marginalized groups as a way to escape marginalization. A number of authors of the volume (including Samuel Tibebe in "The chances and limitations of integration through conversion to Evangelical Christianity", p. 49-63) discuss to which extent and under which circumstances the method is effective. A different way of overcoming marginalization is presented by Susanne Epple and Fabienne Braukmann using the example of Haro people ("Overcoming layers of marginalization. Adaptive strategies of the Bayso and the Haro people of Laka Abbaya, southern Ethiopia", p. 79-100). Both the motivations arising from the Bayso-Haro environment, and external triggers for change influenced the development of their mutual relations. In the case of internal processes, apart from adaptation through religion, some features of the Haro's culture (i.e. the

Haro being respected for their magical and medical abilities as well as divination practices) influenced every-day life in which friendship and intermarriage practices started to be accepted. As for the external influences, migrating off of the island and modern education brought some change.

Within the volume, the authors also seek to describe social boundaries between the groups discussed, and at the center of interest is the flexibility of social categories which are closely related to how the boundaries are understood. Another important question asks how these boundaries change and to what extent they remain solid. Consequently, the methods of influencing situations are discussed, particularly which changes are caused by the developing social and political situation, and which are created by the members of the groups under discussion. It seems however, that even in a constantly changing environment the social order often remains to a large extent, static. This provokes further questions about the factors (among them social, historical, political) responsible for keeping the old order, or — in some cases — for returning to the established system. Another discussed problem are the processes that begin as social differentiation and later turn into discrimination. This problem is reflected in a chapter by Sayuri Yoshida ("From social differentiation to discrimination. Changes in the relationship between the Kafa and the Manjo of southwestern Ethiopia", p. 193-217).

A subject which provokes many questions is on the status of the descendants of enslaved people. It might seem that, as a consequence of the many decades since slavery was officially abandoned in Ethiopia, the descendants of the slaves have managed to find their place within Ethiopian society without being stigmatized by the status of their ancestors. The situation proves to be otherwise, however. This subject is discussed by Bosha Bombe ("Heritages of slavery and status transformation. Evidence from Ganta, Gamo highlands of southern Ethiopia", p. 65-78). Kiya Gezahegne's contribution ("Living on the margins in the Rayya Qobbo highlands. Slave descendants in contemporary Wollo, Amhara region", p. 157-171) also discusses the question of social memory regarding being a slave (or the descendant of a slave), but in an area geographically distant to the one researched by Bosha Bombe.

The authors show the contemporary situation not only from an anthropological, but also from a linguistic point of view. Graziano Savà and Kirsi Leikola present the problem from a linguistic perspective. Graziano Savà ("Code-switching from Bayso and Haro to Amharic as a status-change strategy", p. 101-119) concentrates on using Amharic phrases in the Bayso and Haro languages while Kirsi Leikola ("Talking Manjo. Manipulating a social boundary through new linguistic resources", p. 219-240) researches on Manjo. Both authors seek for an answer to how changes occurring in languages are related to social processes.

Among the most interesting perspectives is the one by Hermann Amborn ("Continuity and change in the relationship between artisans and farmers in southern Ethiopia", p. 121-136). Amborn discusses the "marginalization" term itself and he further goes into presenting arguments showing that traditional relationships between artisans and farmers in the south of the country aimed for integration to a greater extent than marginalization. He also claims that marginalization was induced by the colonization of the south by the northern peoples representing the Ethiopian Empire.

Desalegn Amsalu opens the second part of the volume devoted to the persistence of marginalization with a chapter on the Kumpal-Agaw group living in northwest Ethiopia who believe that they are themselves responsible for their status as a cursed group (Desalegn Amsalu, "The social reproduction of marginalization among the Kumpa-Agaw of Northwest Ethiopia", p. 140-156). The influence of the construction of Ethiopia as a contemporary nation state on the lives of minorities has been analyzed by Alexander Meckelburg using the example of the Mao and the Komo from western Ethiopia ("Minority integration and citizenship expansion. Observations from the Mao and Komo groups in western Ethiopia", p. 174-192).

Of special interest is a translation of the text by late Eike Haberland which had first been published in German in the "Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde" magazine (number 8, 1962). This chapter not only presents the state of art and the problem of status groups as it was perceived over half a century ago, but it also proves the contemporary value of Haberlands's findings at the time.

Annexes to the book include a glossary of terms in Ethiopian languages (p. 269-274), a list of contributors with information on their scholarly interests and achievements (p. 275-278) and an index of persons mentioned in the chapters of the book (p. 279-283).

Hanna Rubinkowska-Anioł

GUIDELINES FOR THE AUTHORS

Only original works, not submitted elsewhere, which are related to the thematic framework of the *Studies in African Languages and Cultures* will be accepted for publication. Contributions are expected to be in English, exceptionally also in French or in German. Authors should obtain permission to publish any material under copyright. The article must be preceded by an abstract (max. 100 words) and five keywords.

Please send your papers as an attachment by e-mail in both MS Word (or RTF) and PDF format to the editor at sdalc@uw.edu.pl).

The author will receive an issue of the journal and PDF file of the article.

THE JOURNAL STYLE SHEET

The authors are requested to keep the rules of formatting accepted for the journal:

- The total length of the article does not exceed 12 000 words, including notes and references.
- The main text of the manuscript is one and a half spaced lines, 12 points size (using Times New Roman font), and numbered consecutively.
- The author's name and institutional affiliation is put in the left top corner of the first page.
- Footnotes (not endnotes) are used.
- For citation, the author's name followed by the date (and page number, if relevant) of the publication are put in round brackets and used in the main text, for example (Smith 1990: 25). Please do not use footnotes for citation. The complete bibliographical entry will be given at the end of the article. The style of the references should conform with the MLA format:

Heine, B. *Cognitive Foundation of Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997.

Schuh, R. G. "The Evolution of Determiners in Chadic". *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*, ed. by E. Wolff, H. Meyer-Bahlburg, Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 1983, pp. 157-210.

Holliday, A. "Small Cultures". *Applied Linguistics* 20/2 (1999), pp. 237-264.

Studies in African Languages and Cultures
formerly known as
Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures
published since 1984

www.sdalc.uw.edu.pl