

Proceedings
of the
THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
of
SOMALI STUDIES

edited by
Annarita Puglielli

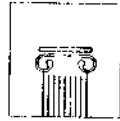


Il Pensiero Scientifico Editore

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of the
Third International Congress
of
Somali Studies**

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Preface

The III International Congress of Somali Studies was held in Rome — at the University «La Sapienza» — in May 1986 according to the three-year cadence established by the members of the Somali Studies Association. In fact, as the President of the Association mentioned in his opening address at the Congress the main objectives of the Association are:

- to promote scholarly research, both within and outside Somalia, in all areas and disciplines within the social sciences, natural sciences and humanities;
- to encourage international cooperation and to facilitate the exchange of ideas among scholars engaged in research on Somalia and the Horn of Africa;
- to organize international congresses on Somali Studies and periodic panels at meetings of national and international associations and organizations;
- to provide the general public with information on historical, cultural and contemporary issues in the Horn of Africa.

As in the two preceding Congresses — Mogadishu 1980 and Hamburg 1983 the response to the enterprise has been more than positive; the number of papers delivered in the five parallel sessions that had to be set up in the four days available, were 135. The number of participants was much larger: about 450.

We mention these numbers only to show how in recent years the interest in this area of studies and research has increased. But even if year after year more people seem to get involved in research concerning Somalia and the Horn of Africa, the development of specific fields is still not such as to permit the organization of a mono-thematic conference. Once again, therefore, the decision taken was to have a congress that could give a general overview of the state of the art in the different fields of research, from literature to development, from education to medicine.

As a natural consequence these Proceedings include all the areas for which papers were submitted for publication. Of the 135 papers read, 85 were forwarded and they have been included in this volume.

It is not my intention to comment in detail on any single paper or area, but I would like to make a general comment. In an area of study which is in rapid change, mainly because it refers to a reality which is certainly not settled but aiming at achievements that are neither easy nor certain, it is extremely difficult to keep up to date, to know the exact state of the situation. This is not easy by any means, because the sources of information are few and not easily available. The result is that sometimes the data used as a basis for our analysis and

Preface

studies are not completely up to date. This is not an easy problem to solve since there is no immediate way of collecting or getting reliable data and/or making the information available. Still this is certainly a problem whose solution should become of prime importance in the immediate future; it is only on the bases of reliable and up to date data that research can make real progress.

Just a few words on the organization of this volume. The heading given to each part may sometimes appear not completely appropriate to each single paper included. This is more so for those parts like Social Science or Applied Sciences, where given the variety of the specific topics, the choice of collocating the papers into smaller groups could have been taken. Our decision was determined by the fact that the publication in one volume did not seem to fit well with a finer subdivision in parts. I hope that single authors will not be unhappy about the collocation of their papers.

As the organizer of the III international Congress of Somali Studies it is my duty to thank all the governmental and private organizations whose contribution has made possible the realization of this Congress. The grant of the Direzione Generale per la Cooperazione allo Sviluppo of the Ministero degli Affari Esteri has made this enterprise possible. The same is true of the University of Rome «La Sapienza» both for financial support and for hospitality, and also the special help over the organization of the exhibition «Aspetti dell'espressione artistica in Somalia».*

Gratitude is also due to: the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, the Dipartimento di Studi del Linguaggio of the University of Rome «La Sapienza», E.N.E.A., E.N.E.L., Somali Airlines, SAREC-SOMAC Project, U.S. Aid Somalia, Impresit S.p.a., Consorzio Astaldi - Cogefar - Edilter, Consorzio Lodigiani - Federici - Montedil, Ditta Murri.

As for the publication of the Proceedings, this has been made possible by a generous grant of the Italian National Research Council (CNR) and the contribution of the Istituto Italo Africano.

I would like to conclude this short preface by expressing the wish that the interest and the debates that have characterized this III Congress will continue and even increase in time, and that the reciprocal knowledge that scientific cooperation determines will help to develop more and more reciprocal understanding.

Roma, maggio 1988

Annarita Puglielli

* This exhibition was set up at the University during the Congress in collaboration with the Museo Preistorico ed Etnografico L. Pigorini; its catalogue has been printed as a separate publication.

Part I

Linguistics

The Origin of the Jiiddu of Somalia

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Jiiddu and the Other Somali Dialects

There is no doubt that the idiom spoken by the Jiiddus of Somalia is nowadays a Somali dialect. This is proved in fact by many common features that Jiiddu shares with the other Somali dialects like for instance:

1. Jiiddu presents the same phonological system of the other Somali dialects of Upper Juba (May and Digil).
2. The focus system of Jiiddu fully agrees with that of the other Upper Juba dialects. The focus particles are *baa*, *yaa*, and *yey* just like in Somali.
3. The syntax of Jiiddu fully agrees with that of the other Somali dialects.
4. The personal pronouns of Jiiddu are nothing else than the regular correspondence of the Somali ones, cf.

	Jiiddu	Somali	Dabarre
1sg.	<i>anë</i>	<i>ani-ga</i>	<i>innë</i>
2sg.	<i>adë</i> etc.	<i>adi-ga</i>	<i>idë</i>
3msg.	<i>ossë/essë</i>	<i>isa-ga</i>	<i>ussë</i>
3fsg.	<i>issë</i>	<i>iya-da</i>	<i>issë</i>
1pl.	<i>unnë</i>	<i>inna-ga</i>	<i>unnë</i>
2pl.	<i>essen</i>	<i>idin-ka</i>	<i>issin</i>
3pl.	<i>ussë</i>	<i>iya-ga</i>	<i>ussow</i>

The correspondence of the forms of the 3rd person is regular as they agree with the sound laws of the respective dialects.

5. Also in the numerals one finds full agreement between Jiiddu and the other Somali dialects, cf.

	Jiiddu	Somali
one	<i>koow</i>	<i>koow</i>
two	<i>lawë/lammë</i>	<i>laba/lamma</i>
three	<i>seeyë</i>	<i>saddex</i>
four	<i>afar</i>	<i>afar</i>
five	<i>shan</i>	<i>shan</i>
six	<i>li'</i>	<i>lix</i>
seven	<i>saybë</i>	<i>toddoba</i>

eight	<i>siyeed</i>	<i>siddeed/siyeed</i>
nine	<i>sagaal</i>	<i>sagaal</i>
ten	<i>toman/tommon</i> (borrowing from Southern-Somali) and so on	<i>toban/tommon</i>

Also historically Jiiddu presents the same development that we can ascertain for the other Somali dialects, cf. for instance:

1. intervocalic **k* > *h*, cf. Ji. *lohē* 'leg' < EC **luk-* and the morphophonemic alternation of the gender consonant for masculines *k/h* in Somali *nin-ka* 'the man' vs. *waraaba-ha* 'the hyena'.
2. palatalization of **g*, **k* and **k'*, cf.
EC **gilub-* > Ji. *jelow* 'knee' and Somali *jilib* (id.);
EC **ken-* > Ji. and Somali *shan* 'five';
EC **k'eb-* > Ji. *j'aw-* 'to break', Somali *jab-* (id.).
Among the Eastern Cushitic languages only Oromo and the Sam languages have undergone a palatalization process of the velars.
3. sonorization of **t*, **k'* and **c'* (< palatalized **k'*). cf.
EC **atu* > Ji. *adē* 'you' (pronoun of the 2sg.), Somali *adi-ga* (id.);
EC **k'ab-* > Ji. *g'ow-* 'to possess', May/Tunni/Dabarre *g'ob-* (id.);
**c'eb* (< EC **k'eb-*) > Ji. *j'aw-* 'to break', Somali *jab-* (id.);
and so on

Nevertheless Jiiddu seems to be a bit apart from the other Somali dialects. In fact it also presents features which do not harmonize with the corresponding ones of Somali. The Somalis themselves find that the Jiiddu dialect presents some unexpected features, which are extraneous to their language and also among Somalists somebody (like for instance Biber) has suggested the possibility that Jiiddu could also be something else than Somali. I personally regard Jiiddu as a Somali dialect and I think it can only be classified as such because of the reasons reported above.

The Substratum of Jiiddu

But if one regards Jiiddu as a Somali dialect, one should also try to explain the considerable divergences which separate Jiiddu from the other Somali dialects and this is just the goal of this paper.

Among the Jiiddu themselves one has to distinguish two main Jiiddu branches, namely the Jiiddu of Somalia, who speak the Somali dialect in question and the Jiiddu of Ethiopia. Most Jiiddu in fact live in Ethiopia and make up an Oromo clan. Nowadays they speak an Oromo dialect. According to the Somali tradition Jiiddu (the ancestor of the Jiiddu clan) was the brother of Booraan (the ancestor of an Oromo clan) and as such he was of Oromo origin. According to that one would assume that today's Jiiddu dialect of Somalia presents an Oromo substratum. Although it surely shares with Oromo many features (which however occur also in Somali, so that it is difficult to say whether they have been taken from Oromo or from Somali), there is hardly evidence for an Oromo substratum. Nevertheless the Jiiddu-Somali divergences need an explanation. The best way of explaining them is, I think, to assume an old substratum which still survives in Jiiddu in

a few relics. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that the Jiiddu morphemes missing in Somali are clearly of Cushitic origin. In order to qualify this hypothetical substratum I applied the following procedure:

1. I collected all the noteworthy features of Jiiddu, which do not have any correspondence in the other Somali dialects;
2. I looked for probable correspondences in the other Cushitic languages;
3. then I compared the Jiiddu features that separate it from Somali, with the correspondences found.

The Jiiddu features taken into consideration for comparison, were:

1. the spirantization of initial *k- to h-, cf.
 Ji. *hor* 'body' < *kor- > Somali *kor* (id.)
 Ji. *haw* 'shoe' < *kaba > Somali *kab* (id.);
2. the development *z > y (also shared by Rendille), cf.
 Ji. *waynē* 'heart' < *waznaa,
 Ji. *meyg* 'right side' < *mizga;
3. the plural marker -d'ē, cf.
el 'eye' → pl. *el-d'ē*,
ilkē 'tooth' → pl. *ilka-d'ē*;
4. the existence of demonstratives like *ekkē/ettē* 'this' and *ekaakē/etaatē* 'that';
5. object pronoun of the 1st sg. *aku*, cf.
Ali baa aku hoogey 'it was Ali, who beat me';
6. object pronoun of the 1st plural *noku*, cf.
Ali noku deegni 'Ali will see us';
7. possessive adjective of the, 1st sg. -shē, cf.
beel-shē 'my friend', *ii-shē* 'my mother';
8. plural pronominalizing prefix *haar-*, cf.
hoo-m/too-m 'which one' → pl. *haar-mē* 'which ones',
hoo-kēs/too-dēs 'his/hers' → pl. *haarē-kēs*;
9. benefactive/dative preverb *is*, cf.
s-is shiig'ē 'tell him', *aku-s shiig'ē* 'tell me';
10. preterital endings in -ooku/-tooku/-nooku etc., cf.
 1sg./3msg. *j'am-ooku* 'I wanted'
 2sg./3fsg. *j'am-tooku*
 1pl. *j'am-nooku*
 2pl. *j'am-tookun*
 3pl. *j'am-ookun*;
11. the periphrastic preterite presenting the auxiliary *aw-*, cf.
 1sg./3msg. *shiy-awey* 'I went/I had gone'
 2sg./3fsg. *shiy-awtey*
 1pl. *shiy-awney*
 2pl. *shiy-awten*
 3pl. *shiy-awen*;
12. present endings in -ni/-nettē/-nen etc., cf.
 1sg./3msg. *j'am-ni* 'I want'
 2sg./3fsg. *j'am-nettē*
 1pl. *j'am-nen*
 2pl. *j'am-netta*
 3pl. *j'am-niya*;

13. formation of the future tense by using the auxiliary *g'ow-* 'to have', cf. *anē furshaal-g'owē* 'I will cook';
14. use of the auxiliary *yed'-/yer* 'to be exist. lie', cf. the endings of the negative present;
15. conditional endings in *-aaley/-aatey/-aaney* etc., cf.
 - 1sg./3msg. *j'am-aaley* 'I would like',
 - 2sg./3fsg. *j'am-aatey* 'you would like' etc.;
16. negative preterit in *-ēb/-tēb/-nēb* etc., cf.
 - 1sg./3msg. *mē leeged-ēb* 'I did not kill'
 - 2sg./3fsg. *mē leeged-dēb* etc.
 - 1pl. *mē leeged-nēb*
 - 2pl. *mē leeged-dab*
 - 3pl. *mē leeged-ab*;
17. endings of the negative present in *nimiir* (<*-ni ma yed'o) /-nimitē (<*-ni ma yetto) /-nimiin (<*-ni ma yed'no), etc., cf.
 - 1sg./3msg. *j'am-nimiir* 'I don't want'
 - 2sg./3fsg. *j'am-nimiitrē*
 - 1pl. *j'am-nimiinē*
 - 2pl. *j'am-nimiita*
 - 3pl. *j'am-nimiira*
18. ending of the negative subjunctive *-n-ekke*, cf.

in anē ha jis-n-ekke 'that I don't give it'.

In order to avoid misunderstandings it must be again pointed out that these features were chosen according to the criterion, that they are not shared by the other Somali dialects. Otherwise Jiiddu agrees with Somali (and also with a lot of other Cushitic languages) in many respects.

Jiiddu within Cushitic

According to the features reported above Jiiddu presents the greatest agreement within Cushitic with the languages of the Konsoid group, and among these the coincidences with D'iraassh^a are particularly striking. Total agreement with Konsoid was ascertained for the following features:

1. the plural marks Ji. *-d'ē*, D'iraassh^a and Konso *-dd'a*, cf.

D'i. *arrapa* 'tongue' → pl. *arrapa-dd'a*,

iil-t^a 'eye' → pl. *in-d'a*,

Ko. *ilka* 'tooth' → pl. *ilka-dd'a*,

il-ta 'eye' → pl. *il-d'a*.

This kind of plural seems to be characteristic of the languages of the Ethiopian Province of Gamu Gofa, cf. Gawada *-add'e*, Zaysse *-ir* (with *d' > 'r and also Arbore *-d'a* (cf. Hayward 1984: 178);

2. present endings, cf.

	Ji.	Ko.	D'iraassh ^a	Gawada
1sg.	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-niyo</i>	<i>-nin-kiy^a</i>	<i>-na</i>
3msg.	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-niyo</i>	<i>-niy^a</i>	<i>-na</i>
2sg.	<i>-nettē</i>	<i>-nittu</i>	<i>-ni-kkishi'</i>	<i>-nay</i>
3fsg.	<i>-nettē</i>	<i>-nittu</i>	<i>-nish^a</i>	<i>-nay</i>
1pl.	<i>-nen</i>	<i>-ninnu</i>	<i>-nin-ki</i>	<i>-nani</i>

2pl.	-netta	-nittan	-ni-kkishani ⁱ	-nanku
3pl.	-niya	-niyan	-niyani ⁱ	-nanki

The Konso paradigm refers to present tense and is used only in relative clauses. The D'iraassh^a one is present continuous tense and the Gawada forms are present/future like the Ji. ones;

- *k- > h-: EC *k- has developed to h- in D'iraassh^a and to kh- in Konso, cf.
EC *kimbir- > D'i. *hampira* 'birds', Ko. *khampira* (id.).
In Dullay *k- has developed to h- and kh- according to the respective dialects, cf.
EC *kimbir- > D'i. *hampira* 'birds', Ko. *khampira* (id.);
- dativ/benefactive marker *is*: this morpheme has been ascertained in Bilin and in Western Cushitic (Ometo cluster, Shinasha, Janjero); but within Eastern Cushitic only Oromo (-Vf) and D'iraassh^a (-ssⁱ) present it, cf.
D'i. *inkoot^a seette-ssⁱ* 'to that woman',
Oromo *gurbicca-af* 'for the boy';
- negative preterite: cf. the Ji. endings reported above -*ëb/-tëb/-nëb/-tab/-ab* with the negative preterite in D'iraassh^a

	D'iraassh ^a	
1sg.	<i>amme he-n</i>	<i>aan-em</i> 'I did not go'
3msg.	<i>amme he</i>	<i>aan-em</i> etc.
2sg./3fsg.	<i>amme he</i>	<i>aan-tem</i>
1pl.	<i>amme he-n</i>	<i>aan-nem</i>
2pl.	<i>amme he</i>	<i>aan-tenem</i>
3pl.	<i>amme he</i>	<i>aan-enem</i>
	<i>aan-</i> (stem of the verb « to go »), <i>amme</i> (not, negation), <i>he</i> (focus particle).	

Gide'o and Alaba are the closest languages to Jiiddu after those of the Konsoid Group. In fact Jiiddu shares also many common features with Highland East Cushitic. This suggests that the Jiiddu people must have had quite close relation with HEC-speakers. Some of these agreements between Jiiddu and HEC are:

- object pronoun of the 1pl.: Ji. *noku*, Sidamo *-nke* (pronominal verbal suffix of the 1pl.), cf.
Sidamo *gani-nke* 'he beat us' vs. *gani* 'he beat'.
Cf. also Gide'o *no'o* ('we', pronoun of the 1pl.) and Alaba *na'u* (id.);
- demonstrative forms:
Ji. *ekkë/ettë* 'this',
Sid. *hakku/hatte* 'that',
Gide'o *okkone/ettene* 'that',
Hadiya *okki* 'that one' and *kuuki/tuuti* 'this one',
Alaba/Kambatta *hikka/hitta* 'that'.
Similar demonstrative forms are also found in the other Sidama-languages (i.e. Omotic), cf.
Shinasha *ekkewi* 'that',
Janjero *ak* (id.),
Wolayta *hegge* 'that' and *hage* 'this'.
But the demonstrative forms of Bayso are the closest ones to those of Jiiddu, cf.

	this	that
Bayso	<i>hikki/hitti</i>	<i>aakki/aatti</i>
Jiiddle	<i>ekkë/ettë</i>	<i>ekaa-kë/etaa-të;</i>

3. ending of the negative subjunctive Ji. *-ñ-ekkë* (s. above); Sidamo *-nke* (suffix of the negative jussive), Gide'o *-kk'e* (id.), Alaba/Kambatta *-nka* (id.), cf.

	Sidamo	Gide'o
3msg.	<i>assoo-nke</i> 'he shall not do it'	<i>asso-kk'e</i> (id.)
3fsg.	<i>assitoo-nke</i> etc.	<i>assito-kk'e</i>
1pl.	<i>assinoo-nke</i>	<i>assinaanno-kk'e</i>
3pl.	<i>assitoo-nke</i>	<i>assino-kk'e</i>

	Alaba/Kambatta
3msg.	<i>itu-nka</i> 'he shall not eat'
3fsg.	<i>ittu-nka</i> etc.
1pl.	<i>intu-nka</i>
3pl.	<i>intu-nka</i> (Alaba)/ <i>iteenu-nka</i> (Kambatta).

The suffixation of a morpheme containing *-kk-* is a characteristic of the negative conjugation of the Omoto languages; however there *-kk-* is not limited to the subjunctive (like in Jiiddle) or the jussive (like in HEC), but it is also used to negate the indicative, cf.

	Dac'e	
1sg	<i>ta be'-ikke</i> 'I do not see'	<i>ta be'-ar-ke</i> 'I did not see'
2sg.	<i>ne be'-akka</i>	<i>ne be'-ar-ka</i>
3fsg.	<i>iza be'-ukku</i>	<i>iza be'-ar-ko</i>
1pl.	<i>nu be'-okko</i>	<i>nu be'-or-ko</i>
2pl.	<i>hinte be'-ekkeeta</i>	<i>hinte be'-ar-keeta</i>

4. the Ji. preterital endings *-ooku/-tooku/-nooku/-tookun/-ookun* correspond to the preterital morphemes *-ukko* and *-akko'o* and the paradigm of the present perfect of Hadiya, cf.

	Hadiya
	preterite
3msg.	<i>it' mar-ukko</i> 'he went'
2pl.	<i>ki'nuwi mat-takko'o</i> etc.
3sg.	<i>iss^e mar-akko'o</i> (polite form)
	compound perfect
3msg.	<i>it' mar-aakko</i> 'he has gone'
3fsg.	<i>ise mat-tookko</i> etc.
2pl.	<i>ki' nuwi mattaakko' ookko</i>
3pl.	<i>iss^e mar-aakko'ookko</i>

Kambatta presents a post-verbal particle *ikke* in order to express past tense, cf.

Kambatta *ani ita-yoommi ikke* 'I was eating'

vs.

ani ita-yoommi 'I'm eating'.

Anyway preterital endings containing a velar have been ascertained also in Central Cushitic, cf.

	Bilin.	
1sg.	<i>q^wal-kh^wën</i> 'I saw'	1pl. <i>q^wal-nëkh^wën</i>
2sg.	<i>q^wal-dukh^w</i> etc.	2pl. <i>q^wal-dënukh^w</i>
3msg.	<i>q^wal-ukh^w</i>	3pl. <i>q^wal-nukh^w</i>
3fsg.	<i>q^wal-ti.</i>	

Conclusions

From all what has been said above it is to be concluded that

- a) although Jiiddu is to be regarded as a Somali dialect, it differs in several respects from the other Somali dialects;
- b) the isoglosses, by which Jiiddu differentiates from Somali, mainly point at some specially close contacts first with the languages of the Konsoid group and second with the Highland East Cushitic languages;
- c) as the Jiiddu features, that don't have any correspondence in Somali, can be only regarded as substratum (adstratum and superstratum are out of question, because of the geographic distribution of Jiiddu itself and of the other languages concerned), it is assumed here that the Jiiddu people originate from Ethiopia and exactly from the Ethiopian province of Gamu Gofa (most of the isoglosses separating Jiiddu from Somali clearly point at that region).

Originally the Jiiddu people should have spoken an idiom belonging to the Konsoid group and similar to that of the D'iraassh^a. Because of still unknown reasons the Jiiddu emigrated from Gamu Gofa towards the East until they reached the present province of Sidamo. There they probably had close contacts with the HEC population and especially with the Gide'o people. These contacts are reflected in some common features that join Jiiddu to the other Highland East Cushitic languages. After that the Jiiddu people probably separated into two main branches, i.e. a first group settled down in the Bale province and accepted later the Oromo culture and language in consequence of the influence of the Oromo who lived there. Nowadays the descendants of those Jiiddu are fully oromized and constitute an autonomous clan within the Oromo nation. The second group, that was smaller than the first one, continued the migration that their ancestors had begun in Gamu Gofa and emigrated towards south-east. They reached Somalia and settled down in the Lower Shabelle region. There they underwent a Somalization process, according to which they adopted the Somali language and culture. Only a few linguistic relics nowadays reveal the origin of the Jiiddu people. It is difficult to say whether also the Jiiddu of Somalia were oromized before they emigrated to Somalia. In any case an Oromo substratum can not be proved for Af-Jiiddu.

References

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List of symbols and abbreviations

ë corresponds to IPA schwa (ə)

kh corresponds to IPA x'

kh^w corresponds to IPA x^w

q^w correspondes to IPA q^w

ñ correspondes to IPA ŋ

Raised final vowels (i.e. ^a or ⁱ) correspond to devoiced vowels. All the other symbols are the same as IPA.

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D'i.	=	D'iraassh ^a	pl.	=	plural
EC.	=	Eastern Cushitic	1pl.	=	first person plural
			2pl.	=	second person plural
			3pl.	=	third person plural
HEC	=	Highland East Cushitic	sg.	=	singular
			1sg.	=	first person singular
			2sg.	=	second person singular
Ji.	=	Jiidu	3fsg.	=	third person feminine singular
K.	=	Konso			
Sid.	=	Sidamo	3msg.	=	third person masculine singular

A Lexical Aspect of Somali and East Cushitic Languages

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Generally speaking, Somali dialects can be classified into five groups: Northern Somali, Banaadir, Maay, Digil and Ashraaf dialects (Lamberti 1963: 162).

The Northern Somali dialect cluster is spoken by the majority of the Somali people, in particular by the pastoral nomads who live from the Juba river to the North and West of the Shabelle river. These dialects, which have a rich oral literature, and are also remarkably rich in their lexicon, make up the **standard somali language**.

Three groups of words are present in their lexicon:

1. words of everyday speech;
2. words no longer in current use, but of frequent occurrence in classical poetry, and often unintelligible to many of the younger generation of town dwellers;
3. modern words.

The modernization of the Somali lexicon began with the programmes in the Somali language broadcasted by Radio Hargeysa since 1943; but it strongly increased after 1972 with the introduction of the Somali official orthography. Vocabulary expansion is achieved in two basic ways:

- a) through native invention and adaptation, through semantic shifts, by reviving archaic words fallen into disuse, by morphological derivation, by compounding;
- b) through loan words or calques.¹

The use of loan words developed out of linguistic necessity, as in science or technology, where concepts may be impossible to be translated adequately, and where an international vocabulary is understandable. But in the words of everyday speech many innovations can be found that were introduced a long time ago. Most of them are Arabic loan words which have no connection with religion or commerce, while, as regards other words, it is still unclear where they came from.

These loan words have displaced a large number of Proto-East Cushitic words that still survive in some Somali dialects. So the aim of this paper is to try to examine a number of such lexical innovations of Standard Somali, comparing them with words in some Southern Somali dialects and East Cushitic languages.

The Southern dialects with which these lexical comparisons are made are spo-

¹ For instance *Saddexagal* = triangle, *qalabka cayrin* = raw material, *adke* = solid, etc.

ken in the inter-riverine zone, and are in particular Maay and one of the Digil dialects, namely Dabarre (in Dinsor District).

In collecting the list of words of such dialects, especially the ones that are nearly unintelligible, or are not of common use for Standard Somali speakers, even though some of them occur in classical poetry or in some idiomatic phrases, I tried to be faithful to the dialectal meaning and phonetic shape. Indeed, in the works of some illustrious scholars, such as Reinisch, Von Tiling, Moreno and others, who deal with Maay dialects, there may be found certain misconceptions about them, since they call these dialects with different names: Jabarti, Digil, Central Somali, etc. I also came across some lexical mistakes, that I think were due to the informants. For instance, Reinisch's informant confused Maay with Maxaatiri (the name for all the Northern and Banaadir dialects). Even the name Jabarti that Reinisch gave to this dialect is not only inappropriate, but it means the opposite.

Unfortunately, most of Maay speakers, especially when they live among or near speakers of Standard Somali, tend to standardize their lexicon. This is what happens whenever speakers of a language/dialect come into contact with a more prestigious form of speech. As is well known for some countries, this may give origin to the phenomenon known as *diglossia*.

A similar phenomenon obviously happened with the Somali and Arabic languages, because there is no good reason to borrow an Arabic lexeme, where there still exists a corresponding word in Somali.

This, probably, came from the fact that Somalia is a Moslem country, and has always had strong and close cultural and commercial links with the Arab world since time immemorial; these links, of course, exerted a profound influence on the Somali language. In Somalia for many years Arabic has been used as a medium of written communication, whether among the Somalis themselves or with foreigners, even after the arrival of the colonial powers. The Somalis used it occasionally for writing religious books, and even for composing poetry. Thus Arabic became a language of prestige among the Somalis, especially in the Northern regions, which are, geographically speaking, so close to the Arabic peninsula. Then borrowings have become extensive, and innovations are arising daily.

With this impact many Somali archaic words are going to disappear or have already been suppressed. These lexemes can be classified into three groups:

1) Words that have completely lost ground vis-à-vis the borrowed ones, e.g.:

EAST CUSHITIC	SOUTHERN SOMALI DIALECTS	STANDARD SOMALI
'kill'		
* <i>agis</i> - * <i>gsi</i> (P.E.C.) ²	Dab. ³ <i>igees</i>	<i>dil</i> (? Amharic, Gurage)

² P.E.C. (Proto-East-Cushitic). Most of P.E.C. words that are used in this paper are reconstructed by Sasse (1979).

³ The following abbreviations are used in the present paper:

Af. = Afar	Dab. = Dabarre	Kon. = Konso
Arb. = Arbore	Das. = Dasenech	Or. = Oromo
Aw. = Aweera	Elm. = Etmolo	P.E.C. = Proto-East-Cushitic
Am. = Amharic	E.C. = East Cushitic	Rend. = Rendille
Ar. = Arabic	Gid. = Gidole	Sa. = Saho
Ban. = Banaadir	Had. = Haddiyya	Sid. = Sidamo
Ba. = Bayso	Ji = Jiiddu	S. = Somali
M. = Maay	Kam. = Kambata	S.S. = Standard Somali
P.S.L. = Proto-Sam Language	P.O.T. = Proto-omo Tana.	

		dël 'victory' Harari dël/dil 'id'; Beja dir 'kill'. Somali <i>l</i> & beja <i>r</i> have regular correspondence, e.g. <i>laab</i> = <i>raab</i> 'bend', <i>galab</i> = <i>garib</i> 'afternoon'
'smoke'		<i>qiiq/qaac</i> (? cf. kaf. <i>qaqo</i> 'fever') <i>caro</i> 'anger'
Or. <i>aara</i> 'smoke, vapour; anger'; Af. 'er Das. <i>eer</i> Arb. <i>irjat</i>	Dab. <i>er</i> Dab. M. <i>ir</i> (anger)	
'sack'		<i>jawaan</i> (South. Ar. <i>jawaan</i>) <i>kiish</i> (Ar. <i>kiis</i>)
Arb. <i>arar</i> Aw. <i>äraäré</i> Or. <i>daro-to</i>	M. <i>araar</i> Dab. <i>araar</i>	
'neighbours'		<i>deris</i> (?)
Or. <i>olla</i> , Arb. <i>ollah</i> ; Sid. <i>olla</i> ; Had. <i>olla'a</i> ; Dara. <i>olla</i> ; Bur. <i>olla</i>	M. <i>ollog</i>	
'faeces'		<i>xaar</i> (cf. Ar. <i>khari'a</i> 'defecate'; Hebrew <i>harā'im</i> 'dung'; Tigrinya <i>har'e</i> ; Argobba <i>har</i> , etc) <i>saxaro</i> (cf. Ar. <i>zuhar</i> 'disentry')
Or. <i>udaan</i> ; Arb. <i>udu</i> ; El. <i>utu</i> ; Ren. <i>udu</i> ; Aw. <i>uddi</i> ; Sid. <i>fuda</i> (excrement of horses, mules and donkeys)	M. <i>uddē</i> Dab. <i>udē</i> Ji. <i>uda</i>	
'evil eye'		<i>qumay</i> (cf. Ar. <i>qami</i> 'despectus' Rein).
Or. <i>buda</i> , Arb. <i>bed'd</i> (evil, badness), Ba. <i>buda</i> , Bur. <i>bud-a</i>	M. Dab. <i>budaale</i> 'man with evil eye', <i>buda</i> . Ji. <i>budaale'id</i>	
'be ashamed'		<i>xishood</i> (<i>xil</i> < ? ar. <i>khajal</i>) <i>khajil</i> (Ar. <i>khajal</i>)
* <i>d'eer</i> (P.E.C.)	M. Dab. <i>j'eer</i> Ji. <i>j'uir</i> (other instances of <i>j'</i> these dialects versus <i>d'</i> in other languages is: * <i>d'iif</i> (P.E.C.) 'grow tall, stretch oneself'; <i>j'iif</i> (M. Dab.) 'stretch oneself, lie down'	
'hide (cau.)'		<i>qari</i> (?)
* <i>d'eg</i> / <i>d'og</i> (P.E.C.)	Dab. <i>dag-as</i> M. <i>dag</i> .	
'leave off/ abandon'		<i>delyn</i> , <i>daa!</i>
Or. <i>d'iisuu</i> , Arb. <i>d'ihis</i> , Ba. <i>iis</i> , Sid. <i>do'ossa</i> 'to throw'	M. <i>dhi</i> Dab. <i>dhiis</i> Ji. <i>dhisē</i>	
'be dirty'		<i>wasakh</i> (Ar. <i>wasakh</i>)
* <i>d'ur</i> (P.E.C.)	M. <i>dhusug</i> Dab. <i>dhusug</i> , Ji. <i>dhēddē</i> , Ban. <i>dhusuq</i>	

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'day' *gwy (P.E.C.)	M. <i>gee</i> 'day, today' Dab. <i>gee</i> 'id'	<i>maalin</i> (Ge'ez <i>mā'alt</i> Reinisch)
'nose-bleeding' *suntu)- (P.E.C.)	Dab. <i>sanuun</i> M. <i>sanuun</i>	<i>sangoror</i> (innovation)
'liver' *tir/tira (P.E.C.)	M. <i>tirraw</i> Dab. <i>tarrow</i> J. <i>turúw</i>	<i>beer</i> (no trace of the etymology of this word, while *tir is so common in East & South Cushitic, and even in some Omotic languages).

2) Words that have got a safe refuge only in classical poetry, in idiomatic phrases, and have disappeared from everyday speech:

EAST CUSHITIC	SOUTHERN SOMALI DIALECTS	STANDARD SOMALI
'heart, soul, life' *lubb-i/rubaz (P.E.C.)	M. <i>rubud</i> Dab. <i>rubud</i>	<i>naf</i> (Ar. <i>nafs</i> . 'soul') <i>rubadjar</i> 'deprive of life, kill'
'hit strike' *d'aw (P.E.C.)	M. Dab. <i>dhaw</i>	<i>garaac</i> (Ar. <i>qara'a</i>) <i>dhaw</i> 'to possess someone in carnal pleasure', but in compound words. The original meaning is retained in e.g. <i>dhabaandhaw</i> 'beat again', <i>suuldhabo</i> 'to snap one's fingers'.
'face, front' *fool/*fuul (P.E.C.)	M. <i>fool</i> , Dab. <i>fuul</i> Ji. <i>fuul</i> , Ban. <i>fool</i>	<i>weji</i> (Ar. <i>wajh</i>) <i>fool</i> 'incisor; throes' <i>fool ka fool</i> 'face to face' <i>fool xume</i> 'to be ugly faced, to be bad'
'house' *man/*min (P.E.C.)	M. <i>man/min</i> Dab. <i>min</i> Ji. <i>min</i> Ban. <i>minan</i>	<i>guri</i> (? Harar <i>gār</i>) <i>aqal</i> (? cf. Am. Ge'ez <i>säqāla</i> 'tenda' Reinisch) <i>min</i> 'uterus', <i>minyaro</i> 'wife married for last'. <i>minfiiq/mafiiq</i> 'sweep, house cleaning'

'meat'
*so' (P.E.C.)

M. Dab. *so'*
Ji. *su'*

hilib (cf. Ar. *habra* 'meat with bones', Ge'ez *abaal* 'meat').
so' (idiomatic phrases: *so' iyo sar toona ma laha* 'it has neither meat nor hide'. The word appears also in classical poetry).

'footprint, heel'
*sa'n (P.E.C.)

M. *saan* 'print, step'
Dab. *saan* 'id.'
Ji. *saam*
Ban. *saan*

raad (Ar. *rāda* 'cercare' Reinisch)
saanqaad 'taking the first steps'.

3) Words still surviving, but not used frequently or primarily. Some of such words are used with shifts in meaning:

EAST CUSHITIC

SOUTHERN SOMALI
DIALECTS

STANDARD SOMALI

'time, now'
**amin(-an)* (P.E.C.)

M. *ammañ* 'time'
Dab. *ammañ* 'id.'

waqti (Ar. *waqt*)
ammin 'time',
imminka 'now'

**d'iif* (P.E.C.) 'grow tall,
stretch oneself'

M. Dab. *j'iif-*
'to lie down, to
sleep' (for *d'/j'*
correspondences,
see **d'eer* in the
first group).

seexo (cf. Ar. *sakhā*
'quietit' Rein.)
jiif 'to lie down'

'truth'
**d'ug* (P.E.C.)

M. Dab. *dhug*
'intelligence'

caqli (Ar. '*aqf*)
dhug 'intelligence'

'group clan'
Or. *gosa*,
Arb. *gosa*
Bur. *gosa*

M. *goos(ën)* 'group'
Ji. *gooson*
Dab. *goos(ën)*

koox (Ar. *kūkh* 'capanna' Rein.)
goosan 'a part of a group'

'grave'
**hawaal* (P.E.C.)

M. *habaal*
Dab. *hebeel*

qabri (Ar. *qabr*)
xabaal 'id.'

'be fat'
klis*/klus* (P.E.C.)

M. *kulus*
Dab. *shilis*

cayil (?)
naax (?)
shilis (not frequent)

'how much?'
Af. *magidey* (?)
Das. *miya*

M. Dab. *meeqaa*
Ban. *meeqaa*

immisa (innovation)
meeqa (not frequent)

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Or. *meeqa* (?)
Kon. *meeqaa*, Gaw. *mee'e*
Had. *me'i*

'morning'
sa' (P.E.C.) M. *saa* (—)
Dab. *saa* (—) *subax* (Ar. *ṣubḥ*),
saaka'
saakay 'this morning'

'nasal mucus'
**sirn/surn-* (P.E.C.) M. Dab. *siin* *duuf* (innovation)
siin (very rare)

'smoke'
**uum* (P. Sam) M. Dab. *uun* *qiiq/qaac* (see *qiiq* in the first
Ban. *uun* group)
Ji. *bun* (?) *uumi-* 'to fumigate'.

Apart from the phenomenon of loan words, where Standard Somali has many innovated or lost words, the Southern Somali dialects have often preserved the original form of words inherited from Proto-Omo-Tana. As an example, a short comparative vocabulary of these dialects and Galaboid⁴ is given below:

Gloss	Elmolo	Arbore	Dasenech	Maay/Dabarre	Stn. Som.
'dog'	<i>ker(ə)</i>	<i>ker</i>	<i>cir</i>	<i>ker-kerē</i> 'pig'	<i>doonfaar</i> 'pig'
'fire'	<i>eek, eek</i>	<i>eeg</i>	<i>g'ietti</i>	<i>M. oog</i> 'flame, in-flame	<i>olol</i>
'go'	<i>a-seeṭe</i>	<i>se'ad</i> 'go to'	<i>si-(sezi, sietti)</i>	<i>seed-</i> 'arrive, go to'	<i>tegid, aadid</i>
'go away'	<i>ar-ke'</i>	<i>ke'</i> 'stand'	<i>ke'</i>	<i>Dab. she</i> 'stand up'	<i>kac</i>
'head'	<i>mere'</i>	<i>metteh</i>	<i>me</i> (pl. <i>mett-u</i>)	<i>madē</i>	<i>madax</i>
'heavy'	<i>ilsida</i>	<i>ilsa</i>	<i>hiliš</i>	<i>Dab. ilis</i>	<i>culus</i>
'ill'	<i>ekis</i>	<i>ek'es</i>	<i>ees-</i>	<i>Dab. igees-</i>	<i>dil</i>
'look at'	<i>an-doya</i>	<i>dooy-'see'</i>	—	<i>dey</i>	<i>day</i>
'meat'	<i>sow'</i>	<i>so'</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so'</i>	<i>hilib</i>
'navel'	<i>onyur</i>	<i>henč'ur</i>	<i>'onyir</i>	<i>ukur(?)</i>	<i>xuddun</i>
'one'	<i>toko', taka</i>	<i>toko, taka</i>	<i>taka-č</i>	<i>took-to</i> 'once'	<i>mar</i>
'sheep'	<i>elem</i>	<i>'ellém</i> 'ram'	<i>'ellem</i> 'female young sheep'	<i>eleen</i> 'ram'	<i>wan, idò</i>
'smoke'	<i>iiri'</i>	<i>irjat</i>	<i>'eer</i>	<i>Dab. er</i>	<i>qiiq</i>
'ten'	<i>tomon</i>	<i>tommon</i>	<i>tommon</i>	<i>tomon</i>	<i>toban</i>
'tongue'	<i>erep</i>	<i>'erréb</i>	<i>'ere</i>	<i>Dab. errep</i>	<i>carrab</i>
'two'	<i>laama?</i>	<i>lama</i>	<i>naama</i>	<i>lammé</i>	<i>labo</i>
'eat'	<i>-aam/-oom-</i>	<i>ahom-</i>	<i>kòm</i>	<i>M. aam-</i>	<i>cun</i>

⁴ Galaboid includes the three East Cushitic languages, i.e., Arbore, Dasenech and Elmolo, which are spoken around Lake Rudolf.

Although some of these words have cognates outside of Omo-Tana languages, it is significant that there is a considerable core of vocabulary items that are restricted to these dialects for Omo-Tana. Another very interesting example is given by lexical and phonological affinities of the Dabarre dialect with Bayso. This dialect, like Bayso, has lost the P.E.C. pharyngeal fricatives: the voiced *c* and the voiceless *h*; but morpho-initially the voiceless pharyngeal sound has a reflex *h*. What is very impressive is that wherever a pharyngeal fricative has been lost or replaced by *h*, the vowel has usually changed to *e*. In polysyllabic roots there is vowel harmony, with assimilation of other vowels to *e* (Hayward 1979: 75-76) e.g.:

Gloss	Bayso	Dabarre	P.E.C.
'hand'	<i>gene</i>	<i>dene</i>	* <i>gana</i> ^c -/* <i>gan</i>
'cow'	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	* <i>sa</i> ^c
'rise up/start'	<i>ke-</i>	<i>she</i>	* <i>ka</i> ^c
'go'	<i>seet-</i>	<i>seed</i> 'arrive'	* <i>so</i> ^c -at- (POT)
'intestines'	<i>men'eer</i>	<i>med'eer</i>	* <i>mind</i> ^c 'ar (POT)
'love/like'	<i>geelaat-</i>	<i>jeelaad</i> 'love'	* <i>ge</i> ^c el (PSL)
'name'	<i>mege</i>	<i>mej'e</i>	* <i>mag</i> ^c
'salt'	<i>esebo</i>	<i>esbē</i>	* <i>a/osbo</i>
'thorn'	<i>e'en</i>	<i>ereen</i>	* <i>kod'an</i>
'tongue'	<i>erreb</i>	<i>erreb</i>	* <i>arrab</i>
'grass'	<i>ees</i>	<i>ees</i>	* <i>aws-</i> /* <i>avš</i> ^v
'go out'	<i>be-</i>	<i>be'</i>	* <i>bah</i>
'head'	<i>mete</i>	<i>madē</i>	* <i>matah</i>
'pus'	<i>mele</i>	<i>melē</i>	* <i>matah</i>
'steal'	<i>het-</i>	<i>hed-</i>	* <i>hat</i> (PSL)
'become heavy'	<i>islaat</i>	<i>islaat/ilisaat-</i>	* <i>ils</i> / * <i>uls</i> .
'colt (milk)'	<i>it-at</i>	<i>eedag</i>	* <i>it</i> (f.) / * <i>itit</i> . s. <i>caano fadhi</i>

This overwhelming identity of lexical elements demonstrated above between Southern Somali dialects and East Cushitic leads us to conclude that Southern Somali is, in some aspects, more archaic linguistically, and can be considered as a link between the Omo-Tana or East Cushitic languages and Standard Somali, thus confirming the idea that, from a linguistic point of view, the older speech community of early Somalis expanded from the South (around Lake Rudolf) to the East and North of the Horn of Africa. During this immigration, the Somali internal dialect differentiation took place. In the second Somali expansion from North to South, from the beginning of the last millenium, the inter-riverine Somali people conserved many lexemes, even though they were subjected to many cultural and linguistic superimpositions.

This conclusion is certainly a further confirmation of the very genuine inspiration evidenced in the works of such illustrious scholars as H. Fleming, H.J. Sasse and B. Heine.

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Conseguenze possibili di un etimo somalo: *xayaad* « riti e danze contro la possessione »

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0. I riti somali contro la possessione da parte di spiriti non sono finora stati studiati come meritano, eccezion fatta per i brevi e penetranti accenni di I. Lewis (1978); lo scopo di questo breve contributo non è quello di descriverli, ma di presentare qualche riflessione su un confronto lessicale sinora ignorato dagli studiosi.

1. Innanzi tutto è bene precisare che, pur avendo quasi tutti le stesse caratteristiche strutturali, i vari riti somali si differenziano per designazioni, per i canti impiegati durante l'esorcismo, per finalità e per area di diffusione. I riti principali sono il *mingis* (<*mingis* « nome di uno spirito malefico »), il *boorane* (<*booran* « avere la schiena curvata »), *xayaad* (<*xayaad* « intonazione di un canto »); noti sono, nella Somalia centro-meridionale, i tipi *beebe*, *túmbura* e *shtímiri* (swahili di Brava; dal nome di uno spirito malefico = ar. *qiṭmír*). La diversa funzionalità è legata alla diversità degli spiriti infestanti, ognuno con caratteri e gusti diversi (in fatto di canti e profumi) e che il capo ritualista deve ben conoscere per poter scacciare, dopo averlo riconosciuto, lo sgradevole ospite: ogni rito, dunque, si presume possa esorcizzare solo certi spiriti. I nomi degli spiriti più frequentemente esorcizzati nel *mingis* sono *Yoose* (<*yoos* « lunga capigliatura »), *Loomé*, *Maamme*, *Abbaane* (<*abbaan* « protettore »?), *Shualmaale*; *Wariise*, stranamente, sembrerebbe essere uno spirito femmina, ma per ora giudico alquanto dubbia questa informazione.

Da un *calaqad* (§ 2,3) mi è stato mostrato un ritratto di *Loomé*: con rimpianto ho accertato che si trattava di Maria Theresa d'Austria, nobilmente occhieggiante da un tallero alquanto consumato.

Gli Arabi di Mogadiscio hanno riti equivalenti, definiti *barakin* (<*baraka*).

2.1. Per i Somali non è oggetto di dubbio che questi riti di esorcismo — così come oggi sono praticati, vengano « dal Nord »: per il *mingis* in particolare, si sostiene una provenienza dal *Bari* (regione del Corno d'Africa). Di fatto, a Brava (città di dialetto swahili e sino a non troppo tempo fa completamente slegata dal contesto culturale somalo) i riti in questione sono in uso solo da pochi decenni (e sono in fase di rapida espansione). È storicamente congruente con la tradizione ricercare l'origine in ambito etiopico: *ad abundantiam* lo provano prestiti come *saar*, nome generico per indicare gli spiriti possessori, ed *calaqad* (< amh. *alaqa*),

nome del capo che guida il *mingis*. È ben noto, infatti, che i *Besessenheitskulte* sono diffusi in tutta l'Africa orientale e sembrano avere il loro epicentro storico in Etiopia: dall'Etiopia essi si sarebbero diffusi abbastanza rapidamente verso il Sudan, l'Egitto e l'Arabia, ma soltanto agli inizi di questo secolo avrebbero raggiunto le genti dell'Etiopia meridionale (Haberland 1960; Lange 1982 *passim*; Braukämper 1983: 256 ss.).

2.2. In ambito somalo non si può a rigore parlare di culti di possessione, ma di cure eterodosse contro la possessione diabolica. In teoria il mussulmano praticante non dovrebbe prendere parte a tali riti, durante i quali è proibito pronunciare il nome di Allah (fatto, questo, piuttosto significativo) e possono aver luogo sacrifici di animali destinati allo spirito possessore e da egli stesso richiesti; per questi motivi — e per il sorprendente volume di interessi finanziari connessi: un esorcismo completo può costare anche l'equivalente di 1000 U.S.\$ — le autorità politiche e religiose somale proibiscono i riti in questione (di fatto ampiamente diffusi e tacitamente tollerati). Un compromesso ambiguo con l'ortodossia è costituito da riti particolari nei quali si presuppone l'intervento e il possesso da parte delle *rooxaan* del celebre Sheekh Xussen del Bale, spiriti benefici che possono aiutare in vario modo gli uomini e che hanno capacità divinatorie: confesso però che le mie informazioni su questi riti — che comunque prevedono canti, danze e *trance* — sono ancora molto ridotte.

2.3. Mi sia concesso di aggiungere alcune brevissime osservazioni personali; innanzi tutto confermo che la stragrande maggioranza delle persone possedute è formata da donne, per cui mi sembra che l'interpretazione sociologica del Lewis (emarginazione sociale → possessione), tesi già presente nell'interpretazione di E. De Martino sul tarantismo italiano meridionale, sia assodata. In qualche caso ho notato fenomeni di glossolalia e di mistione di codici linguistici: uno spirito per bocca del posseduto, mi ha una volta ingiunto di andarmene parlando in swahili (regione di Mogadiscio). In ogni riunione di esorcismo, sono i canti a costituire l'asse fondamentale del rito: una raccolta di tali testi dovrebbe essere curata da due colleghi dell'Università Nazionale Somala di Mogadiscio.

3. Come ho detto, si sostiene che i culti di possessione sono arrivati nell'Etiopia meridionale solo in epoca molto recente, ed in qualche caso si è sostenuto che l'Islam abbia largamente contribuito alla loro diffusione; è chiaro, ad esempio, che nomi sidamo come *shēt'āne* « spirito possessore », *Fāt'ime*, *Nūra* e, forse, lo stesso grande *Ilā'ilo* [tratto dalla formula di professione di fede mussulmana?], tutti i nomi di spiriti, sono traccia evidente dell'influsso esercitato dai vicini Arushi (Oromo). Tuttavia non è affatto inverosimile l'ipotesi che alla base di queste pratiche moderne (sconosciute alla religione tradizionale oromo dei Gabbra keniani, come mi conferma P. Tablino) ci siano elementi molto antichi.

Il som. *xayaad* vale originariamente « intonazione di un canto », e che non si trattasse di un canto generico è provato dal confronto puntuale col sidamo *hayyāta*, nome di una seduta di esorcismo fatta per guarire un malato/posseduto (Lonfernini 1971: 118 ss.), e si veda l'espressione *isi hayyātanno* « he begins to sing the songs to exorcise » (Gasperini 1983: 152); in kambata (Braukämper 1983: 257) i canti dei *medium* esorcisti sono detti *hayāta*, voce che dovrebbe essere comune anche allo hadiya (ma non registrata dalla Plazikowsky-Brauner). Tutto invita a postulare l'esistenza di una radice **hay-āt-*, denotante i canti esorcistici, essendo

difficile ammettere un prestito; la sonorizzazione somala milita a favore di un'evoluzione diretta.

L'accettazione di questa isolessi come fatto conservativo avrebbe alcune interessanti conseguenze: innanzi tutto dovremmo ammettere che *anteriormente* alla diffusione dei culti di possessione esistevano tecniche dell'estasi almeno presso alcune genti cuscitiche; in secondo luogo, che la *trance* — indotta da canti, danze, inalazioni di sostanze aromatiche — non riguardasse il « paziente », ma in primo luogo il *medium* esorcista. Non sarebbe inutile rilevare che tutto ciò sarebbe congruente con l'origine cuscitica (sostenuta per primo dal Cerulli e oggi comunemente accolta, Leslau 1979: 713) dall'amh. *zar*.

In altre parole, i culti di possessione in ambiente cuscitico potrebbero essere un « cavallo di ritorno ».

Vorrei concludere questo contributo con un'ultima osservazione; non di necessità si deve guardare all'ipotizzato fondo cuscitico come ad un fenomeno religioso in senso stretto, ma piuttosto come a riti esorcistici/curativi presupponenti un'eziologia particolare di alcune malattie, evidentemente immaginate come aggressioni da parte di spiriti malvagi. È interessante ricordare a questo proposito la correlazione preferenziale riscontrabile tra società pastorali e teorie della malattia come aggressione spiritica (Murdock 1980: 82 ss.); se questa correlazione potesse essere dimostrata, essa costituirebbe un confortante contributo al quadro generale qui delineato.

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Somalia and the Indian Ocean: Cultural and Linguistic Contacts

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One of the main aims of traditional linguistics has always been the compilation of an etymological dictionary; to be sure, this aim might seem somewhat out-of-date, in view of the standards of modern sociolinguistics. But even such an apparently static work as a repertoire of etymology could do good service to our understanding of a complex linguistic situation. Cast and woven together, the items of an etymological dictionary help to reconstruct trends and directions of linguistic contacts in a fairly subtle and accurate way; no other comparable device could obtain the same results. The recent publication of a comprehensive dictionary of the Somali language, comprising more than 25.000 items, gives us, for the first time, the opportunity to widen our etymological speculations all over a large and reliable corpus of words, carefully checked for accuracy and real use. This checking out allows us to discard the typical uninvited guest in etymological discussions, the nonce or instant loanword; in wordlists collected by single-handed researchers it is sometimes difficult to screen out loanwords which never found their way to common usage.

At least since the first centuries of the Christian era and increasingly during the Middle Ages, the coast of Eastern Africa has been actively involved in the far-reaching process of cultural cross-hybridization which took place in the Indian Ocean; in spite of apparently wide distances, the particular system formed by seasonal monsoons and summer equatorial streams allowed an uninterrupted chain of communication from Sofala and Madagascar in the southwest to Sumatra and Java in the southeast. Here and there this contact resulted in a complete ethnic melting; this was the case in Madagascar, where a Malayo-Polynesian stock mingled with the native African population, imposing on them his own language, Malagasy. Tradition has it that Persian or Arabic-speaking settlers from Shiraz, the Persian Gulf, and Oman, founded many cities and harbours all along the East African coast; and kiSwahili language is still there to witness the depth of cultural contact between Islamic settlers and Bantu ethnic groups. Along the channels of trade and communication every kind of precious goods was sold or bartered: foodstuff, crops, spices and drugs, textiles and so on; but technologies and specialized skills, crafts (such as wood carving), and sailing techniques also found their way into Africa. I will not elaborate on such well-known topics, about which almost everything has already been said in the learned contributions of A.J. Arkell,

U. Monneret de Villard and V. L. Grottanelli; but I want to stress that the linguistic facet of these centuries-old connections is of paramount importance; carefully scrutinized, single lexical items can reveal the direction of a trade and can provide a chronological peg when chronology is doubtful.

Much still remains to be done in this field; the whole gamut of Asiatic languages (Persian, Urdu, Gujarati, Marāthī, Tamil, Malay, to mention just the most important among them) has been carefully worked over by well-known specialists in search of mutual relationships, and I would like to mention the superb papers of Alessandro Bausani on Persian influences on Tamil and Malay, and on nautical terms in the Indian Ocean; thanks to his unsurpassed command of Asiatic languages and civilizations, Prof. Bausani has provided complete coverage and sound evaluation of the entire array of the phenomena involved.

On the other hand, the record is rather poor for East African languages and for several reasons; specialists of African languages, dealing usually with unwritten or recently written sources, are less willing to engage in the bookish work of comparing and sifting etymologies; and lexicographical devices are of course of a lower standard when compared to the extensive dictionaries at hand for every major Asiatic language. Spadework on Arabic loanwords in Somali was done almost twenty years ago by Prof. Zaborski. A welcome addition to our scarce equipment is a recent paper by J. Knappert, of the SOAS, consisting mainly in an annotated checklist of Swahili terms of Persian and Turkish origin; this will provide a useful touchstone for evaluating loanwords in Somali too, even if it does not substantially increase information already available in Johnson (1939).

But there is a major theoretical problem intrinsic in every wordlist. By its nature a wordlist squeezes a multifaceted and flowing reality in a yes-or-no framework; a list has to state just one starting point, and this statement could be utterly inaccurate, because most of the time there is more than just one path. To look for Turkish words in Swahili amounts to overstating the case for etymology at the expense of the case for a sociolinguistic model of contact. As everywhere, even in linguistic research there are many kinds of truth. There is a purely etymological truth, when we trace the most remote starting point of a word — and in this vein we can say that there are Accadian words in Somali, because *aajur* 'brick' is traceable to a Mesopotamian word of the 2nd millennium, (namely, *agurru*). And there is also a sociolinguistic truth, telling us that to state the Accadian origin of *aajur* is utterly irrelevant, since speakers of the two languages never had the opportunity to interact.

The linguistic layer which for the sake of brevity I will term Asiatic is the second major layer in the Somali language, after the Arabic one. But there is a main difference between the Arabic component and the Asiatic one. Arabic elements reached Somali through two different channels of contact, the cultivated knowledge of the literary language, the property of every cultivated Somali, and contact with Arabic-speaking people — not necessarily ethnically Arabs — from the coasts of South Arabia. It is merely trivial to state that through the former channel a host of words have been adopted, referring to religion, law, social and political institutions, and the whole world of spiritual experience. The second channel has a different range; it relies on face-to-face interaction, and it encompasses many aspects of everyday experience, from military service to seafaring and trading — this mainly in the Red Sea area. Since this is a spoken, current language and

not a pure, literary form, this variety includes some amount of non-Arabic material, chiefly of Persian, or even of Western origin.

The second component, the Asiatic one, does not involve a single specific contact with a specific community. Of course, minorities of Persians or Gujaratis have settled in Somali cities, but their linguistic contribution to Somali is not very relevant. We have to account instead for a rather peculiar and specific phenomenon of linguistic contact: since the Middle Ages, across the whole immense area of the Indian Ocean many varieties of « *linguae francae* » have been in use among seamen, traders, soldiers. They were and are based on Arabic or Persian or Hindī-Urdu, or even Tamil or Malay, but they share their main lexical bulk. Asiatic words in Somali, indeed, come from these forms of language, which it would be inaccurate to style Persian or Urdu or Hindi.

Statistically, a very frequent word is likely to be accepted in many different languages, and in fact more or less the same lexical core occurs in different languages, ranging from Swahili to Malay. That is why I kept at hand the whole range of lexical lists in compiling my own checklist. An obvious loanword at one point of the area can help to identify a dubious loanword in another point.

Many « *Wanderwörter* » are so commonly and widely spread through all the languages of the Indian Ocean that it would be rather naive even to try to trace a definite starting point; but even so, there are interesting differences in the attitudes of Somali speakers. The word for 'tea' is *shaah*, *shaahi* in Somali, hence a typical Arabic word; it is *chai* in Swahili, pointing to an unmistakable Persian origin. Many words of Persian origin spread widely not from Persia but from India, possibly in the so-called Anglo-Indian usage; to a lesser extent the same holds true for coastal Arabic, particularly in nautical terminology (cfr. *daqal*, *qalammi*, *qolfaad*).

Something has to be said about the assimilation of non-Somali material into the lexicon. At first sight, the core of the Somali lexicon seems to react strongly against non-native addition. As compared, for instance, with Swahili, a language standing in a very similar position, Somali looks much more self-centered. Where one would expect a foreign label for a foreign referent, Somali uses a native sign. The common Arabic word *fūḍā*, which is the current word in the « *lingua franca* », as every Western traveler could testify, was not adopted in Somali but replaced by *furun*. The A-P term *janbiya* for a typical Yemeni hooked dagger is not in Somali (but it is in Swahili, as *jambia*), and many more examples could be quoted.

Phonologically, the same rules seem to be at work for the purely Arabic and for the Asiatic loanwords; the opposition long/vs/short vowel is heavily used either to duplicate a similar opposition holding in the source language, or, more commonly, to depict a vowel color opposition; this is the case with Persian phonology, in which in modern times vowels contrast only for quality. As for Arabic, the fairly accurate rendering of long and short vowels could also be owed to the fact that cultivated people are perfectly aware of the source forms and of their spelling too; but comparable knowledge could not be assumed for Persian or Urdu.

The opposition voiced/voiceless at the end of the word, which in one case is assumed by Knappert as diagnostic between Persian and Turkish (*bārūd*/*barut*, whence Sw *baruti*), is irrelevant in Somali and cannot be used as a diagnostic.

Vowel harmony is responsible for the vowel pattern of *baraf*, *daftar*, *galaas*, *saab* or, with a different rendering of vowel height, *bender*. Dissimilation is at work in *binnuur* (<-ll-), *deeban* (<-m-).

It is hardly possible to define with any accuracy the phonology of the source languages. Persian is a direct source in many cases; and judging from the vowel quality, it would seem that loanwords come from a rather archaic stage of the language (as in *sambuusi* with long /u/ instead of /o/); but as I said, in many cases a more recent Indian or even Anglo-Indian intermediate has to be assumed.

Morphologically, an unsteady rendering is adopted for the final morpheme of a word; as we know, an Arabic word with *tā marbūṭā -ah* is usually rendered as *-ad*. The same applies for Persian words: *-ad* is added analogically in *beesad* (dual form *beesteen*), *damaashad*, *rubbad*; but *baamiye*, *rande* show a -∅ ending, and *bafto* is analogically formed according to a regular morphological pattern of Somali.

An interesting feature is the suffix *-i*, which is very frequently added to foreign words. As we know, there are different sources for *-i*: there is a native Somali *-i*, as in *rati*; there is an Arabic formant *ī* as in *Maḥmūdī*, *miṣrī* ('relative to, coming from' etc.); there is a Persian *-ī*, with the same meaning, but different etymology (ancient Persian *-aya*, middle Persian *-īg*); and there is an Indo-Aryan *-ī* as in the feminine ending of *rānī* 'queen', or in *bālī bāldī*; and Swahili too adds a formant *-i* to loanwords: *tini* 'fig'. So *-i* would scarcely qualify as a diagnostic; it might sometimes act as an integrative formant, just to give the expected Somali shape to a foreign word (*banji*, *ranji*); sometimes it is already in the source word (*rani*, *kori*); and sometimes it is unexpected, as in *sambuusi*.

I will present here only the general results of my sifting; the corpus of words of Asiatic origin is rather meager; taking the *DSI* as a starting point, there are only one hundred and twenty words of traceable origin; a few more are of possible Asiatic origin, in view of their meaning and phonological form.

Loanwords are distributed over several thematic areas, with a rather balanced ratio: commodities and goods, food, plants, textiles, but also social life and institutions. As predictable, a small but tight group of words refer to seafaring and fishing, the techniques handed over to Somalis by the seamen of the Indian Ocean.

Checklist

aayad 'wet nurse' < U *āya* < P *āya* < Pt *aia*?; *aayad* 'verse of the Qur'an' is from A *āyat*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 18 (<< Hindustani-English >> ≠ S *aayo* 'stepmother, uncle's mother, auntie')

almas 'diamond' < A *almās* < P, cf. Mal *almas*

baaldi 'bucket' < U *bālī* < Pt *balde*

cf. *HJ*, p. 53b, <s.v. « balty », Bausani 1969, n° 4

baamiye 'okra, *Abelmoschus esculenta*' < P *bāmiya*

cf. Knappert 1983, p. 120

baaniyaal 'Indian trader; follower of Hinduism' < Bengali *bāniyā*, Guj *vāniyo* etc.

Abraham, *SED*, p. 30 (< U); cf. *HJ*, pp. 63a-64b; s.v. « banyan » and Sw *banyani*

baaruud 'gunpowder' < P *bārūd*, Tk *barut*
cf. Knappert 1983, p. 121, Sw *baruti*

baati 'batik' < Mal *batik*
cf. *HJ*, pp. 201b-202b, s.v. « chintz »; the dropping of [-k] would suggest a proper Mal pronunciation ([bati.]) and hence a direct loan

babbaay, mafafay 'pawpaw' < U < Mal *papaya*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 22 (< H); cf. *HJ*, pp. 670b-671b, s.v. « papaya, papaw ». This fruit is of course of Mesoamerican origin; but its diffusion in Asia started out from the Philippines and Indonesia, and from there it spread to India.

bakhaar 'store' < A, P, U *baqqāl* 'shopkeeper'
cf. *HJ*, p. 117a, s.v. « buckaul »

*barandis*¹ 'ropes of the stern pulleys in a boat' < A *brinda*, P *buranda* 'swifters (shrouds)' < Pt *brandal*
cf. Bausani 1969, n° 10

*barandis*² 'a wooden barrack' < Anglo-Indian *veranda*, U *varandā*,
cf. *HJ*, pp. 964b-966a, s.v. « veranda »

bariwale 'postman' < U *vālā*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 24 (« baddiwale », < U)

bafto 'a cotton fabric, white and valuable' < P *bāfta*
cf. *HJ*, p. 47, s.v. « bafta », Knappert 1983, p. 120, Sw *bafta*; Bausani 1964, n° 23, Mal *bafta*

bajiye 'fried bean pancakes' < U *bahjiyā*
Xuseen 1984, p. 198 < Sw *bajia*

banji 'hemp; a local drug' < U *bhaṅg*
cf. Knappert 1983, p. 121, Sw *bangi*

baqaal 'a large freight dhow' < P *baghala*, M *bagla*
cf. *HJ*, p. 123, s.v. « buggalow »; Knappert 1983, p. 120, Prins 1965, p. 280, Sw *baghala*

bakhshiish 'tip' < P *baxšīš*, cf. Mal *bachsijs* etc.
cf. *HJ*, pp. 117b-118a, s.v. « buckhsheesh, buxees », Bausani 1964, n° 17

baraf 'snow, ice' < P *barf*
cf. Knappert 1983, p. 121, Sw *baraf*

barasaab 'British governor' < U *barā ṣāhib* 'great Master'
Abraham, *SED*, p. 23 (< H), cf. *HJ* 132, s.v. « burra sahib »

baraykaan, maraykaan 'a cotton cloth, imported from Zanzibar' < Sw *amerikani*
'a kin of unbleached calico'

the « American » cotton cloth was a current piece of good by the end of the past century, as witnessed by Bottego 1900, p. 333, cf. also *Mal kain merikan* 'a coarse American cloth'

bariid, bariis 'rice' < P *birinj?*

cf. Knappert 1983, p. 122, Sw *birinzi*; the actual phonetic shape of S form is problematic

barrad 'hawser of a sailboat' < A *barraj* > Sw *barai, baraji* 'halyard', cf. Prins 1965, p. 280

bayraq 'flag, banner' < P *bayraq, bayrāq* < Tk *bayraq*

beden 'a fishing boat' < A *badan*
cf. Prins 1965, p. 281, Sw *bedeni*

beesad 'a coin, 10 cents of a rupee' < U *pāisā*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 31 (< H *paisa*); cf. *HJ*, pp. 703b-704a, s.v. « pice »; *bees-tayn, beesteen* '20 cents' and *beeso* 'money' are also used. Since the original value of a *pāisā* is 1/64 of a rupee, only the general meaning of 'little coin', 'subunit' has been adopted

bender 'seaport, harbour' < P *bandar*

cf. *HJ*, p. 127, s.v. « bunder »; Bausani 1964, n. 28, *Mal bandar*; Prins 1965, p. 280, Knappert 1983, p. 120, Sw *bandari*

bengali 'a kind of sugar' < P *bangalī* 'Bengalese'

sugar was commonly styled out of the name of the place; cf. A. *misrī* 'Egyptian sugar', *HJ*, p. 568b, s.v. « misree ».

binnuur 'a glass for drinking' < P *billawr* 'crystal, glass'
for the diffusion of this word cf. Cardona 1980-81

borbo 'a kind of mango' < Sw *boribo*
Xuseen 1984, p. 198

bundad 'a roll, a bale of clothes' < U
Abraham, *SED*, p. 36 (< H)

buntuq, bunduq 'a rifle' < P-A *bunduq*

cf. *HJ*, pp. 127b-128a, s.v. « bundook »; Knappert 1983, p. 122; a very common word in every Islamic country; the plural form *buntuqyo* is purely Somali, but the broken plural *banaatiq, banaadiq* presupposes an A origin

bustaan 'a small cultivated field, garden (rare)' < P *bustān*

cf. Knappert 1983, p. 122, Sw *busitani*, Bausani 1964, n° 39, *Mal bostan, bustan*

caanad 'a coin worth 1/10 of a rupee' < U *ānā*

cf. *HJ*, pp. 31b-32a, s.v. « anna »; a. a. is 1/16 of a rupee; cfr. Sw *anna*

Linguistics

cambe, cambo 'mango, *Mangifera indica*' < P *'anbe*, A *'anbā* < Sk *amrā*, cf. *SI*, p. 552

Xuseen 1984, p. 198, Sw *embe*

cananaas 'pineapple' < U /*'ayn un-nās*

cf. *HJ*, pp. 25a-28a, s.v. « ananas »; the fruit is of Mesoamerican origin but has been grown in India; the name has been reinterpreted, f.i. U *'ayn un-nās* 'the eye of the man'; the presence of /ʃ/ seems to point to an Asiatic, not to an European origin, even if renderings such as *cisbitaal* < *hospital* are also known.

daal 'pulse' < U *dāl*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 44 (< H); cf. *HJ*, p. 312, s.v. « dhall, doll »

daalan, daallan 'after dinner sweets' < U *dālī* 'a offering of fruits, flowers, sweetmeats etc.'

cf. *HJ*, p. 322a, s.v. « dolly »

daftar 'register, record-book, copy-book' < P *daftar*

cf. *HJ*, p. 329, s.v. « dufter », Bausani 1964, n. 49, Mal *daftar*; Bausani 1971, n° 177, T *taptār*; Knappert 1983, p. 124, Sw *daftari*

damaashaad 'festival, public ceremony' < P *tamāšā* < A *tamāšā*; via India Abraham, *SED*, p. 45 (< H < A); cf. *HJ*, p. 941, s.v. « tumasha »; Bausani 1964, n° 175, Mal *tamasja*, Bausani 1971, n° 172, T. *tamācu, tamāš*, 'show, spectacle, fun'

daqal 'the ship's post' < A *daqal* 'sistem of a tree, mast of a ship'

cf. Bausani 1969, n° 16; forms from India have rather *ḍol* etc.

deebaan 'sailrope' < U *dāwanī*, G *dāmaṇ*, *dāmṇū*, M *dāvaṇ* etc. < Sk *dāman* 'rope', cf. Turner, *CDIAL*, n° 6283

Bausani, 1969, n° 17 traces the word to P *dāman*, which means 'skirt hem'; but the general meaning of the Indo-Aryan group makes an Indian origin of the Somali word more likely; cf. Prins 1965, p. 283, Sw *demani*; Bausani 1971, n° 173, T *tamān*

derji 'tailor' < P, U *darzī*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 57 (< H); *HJ*, p. 319a, s.v. « dirzee »; Bausani 1964, n. 52, Mal *dardji/darzi*

dhambaal 'postman, message' < U *ḍākvālā* 'postman'

Abraham, *SED*, p. 46a; for U and M *ḍāk* 'post' cf. *HJ*, p. 299b, s.v. « dawk »

dhodho 'a kind of mango' < Sw *dodo*

Xuseen 1984, p. 198

digsi 'iron cooking pot, casserole' < U *dēgci*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 61b (< H)

doobbi 'laundryman' < U *dhobī*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 64c (< H), cf. *HJ*, pp. 312b-313a, s.v. « dhoby »

doon, doonni 'dhow' < T *tōni* 'a vessel formerly made out of a single dug-out tree'
cf. *HJ*, p. 323, s.v. « doney, dhony ». In the Indian Ocean a rather similar term
is widespread, cf. *HJ*, pp. 314a-315b, s.v. « dhow, dow » and Prins 1965, p.
283 for Sw *dau*. The vowel of *doon* has advanced tongue root, which could originate
as a Umlaut form from the other variant, *doonni*, which in turn might be the
more archaic one

faarmaan 'beam of a sail' < P *farman* < U *parwān*
cf. Bausani 1969, n° 24; cf. Prins 1965, p. 284, Baldi 1976 n° 399 for Sw *foromali*
etc.

gaari 'cart' < U *gārī*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 84 c (< H), *HJ*, p. 365b, s.v. « garry, gharry »

galaas 'glass' < P *gilās*
cf. Knappert 1983, p. 126, Sw *gilasi*; glasses were formerly made out of tin and
not glass; so it is possible that the loanword comes via P

Gereza < Sw *gereza* 'fort used as a prison' < Pt *igreja* 'church' (and then ob-
viously 'masonry building')
cf. Mal *geredja* 'church'

haadbiri 'handcuffs' < U *hāth* 'hand' + ?
deest in *DSI*; Abraham, *SED*, p. 101c (< H *hand* + ? Somali *bir* 'iron')

hadhiin 'hearts at cards' < ?
Rheinisch, *SDW*, p. 198 assumes Sk *hr̥daya-* 'heart' as a candidate, but none
of the modern Indo-Aryan words (cf. Turner, *CDIAL*, n° 14152) seems suitable
in form and meaning

hafto 'instalment' < P *hafta*, U *haftā* 'week'
Abraham, *SED*, p. 103a (<H <P)

heeyl 'cardamom' < P *hel* (written <hyl>) < Skr *ēlā-*, cf. M. *ēlā*

huruud 'saffron' < A, P *hurd*, var. *harad*
the meaning 'saffron' is given by Abraham, *SED*, p. 113b and *DSI*; in Somali
sac̣faraan < A *zạ̄faran* is also known; but often what is currently referred to
as 'saffron' in Somalia is actually turmeric, the ground powder of *Curcuma longa*,
which is, by the way, very similar in color to real saffron, *Crocus sativus*; and
even the Somali form seems to presuppose an Indo-Aryan derivate of Sans. *haridrā-*
'turmeric'.

jaalabbuud 'a boat' < U *jālībōt* < Eng *jolly-boat*
cf. *HJ*, p. 447b, s.v. « jaleebote », 361 a, s.v. « gallevat »

jago 'place' < U *jaga*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 137b (< H)

Linguistics

jaws, jows 'nutmeg' < A *jawz*

the primitive Iranian form, **gōz* etc., was Arabized and then readopted in Persian, as witnessed by the initial phoneme

jengeli 'bushman, rustic woman' < U *jangal* 'forest'

cf. Turner, *CDIAL*, n° 5177; the original meaning of Sk *jāngala-* is 'waterless place'; the best translation would be 'bush' as opposed to 'inhabited place'

joohaar, masjoohaar 'a mythical snake with a gem in his belly' < P *jawhar, gohar* 'pearl'

cf. Knappert 1983, p. 128, Sw *johari* 'jewel'; the archaic Iranic form is *gohar*; /j-/ points to an Arabic intermediate, but the Arabic form has been readopted in Persian

jowhar, jowharad 'jewel, precious stone'; see the preceding item

kaafuur 'camphor' < P *kāfūr*

the variant *kanfuur* is also attested, in Abraham, *SED*, p. 148b; cf. Knappert 1983, p. 128, Sw *kafuri*, Bausani 1964, n° 90, Mal *kapur*

kaanad 'rudder' < A *kāna* < U *kān* 'ear, helm of a rudder' < Sk *karna-* 'ear, handle', cf. Turner, *CDIAL*, n° 2830

cf. Bausani 1969, n° 35

kaari 'curry' < T *kari*

cf. *HJ*, pp. 281a-283a, s.v. « curry »

kabaab 'roast meat' < A, P, U *kabāb*

cf. *HJ*, p. 138, s.v. « cabob »

karaab 'the floating of the net' < ?

karaawil, karaawul 'spade (in cards)' < A *karwiya* 'caraway'

cf. *HJ*, p. 166, s.v. « carraway »

karraani 'clerk' < U *karānī, kirānī* 'a clerk'

Abraham, *SED*, p. 149 a (< H); cf. *HJ*, pp. 273-274, s.v. « cranny », Knappert 1983, p. 129, Sw *karani*

kidaar 'thick, round millet-bread' < ?

Abraham, *SED*, p. 151b

koodhi 'income-tax' < U *kurhi* 'house-tax'

Xuseen 1984, p. 198 < Sw; Knappert 1983, p. 130, Sw *kodi*

laas 'silk' < P *lās*

Knappert 1983, p. 130, Sw *lasi*

laxoox 'thin, flat millet-bread' < ?

Abraham, *SED*, p. 162c

liim 'lime, lemon' < P *līmū* 'lemon'
cf. Bausani 1964, n. 113; *liimougunji*, *liinugunji* 'pineapple' seems to point to *Unguja*, the Sw name of Zanzibar

maxamuudi 'white cotton fabric, a kind of *bafto*' < P *maḥmūdi*
cf. *HJ*, p. 707b, s.v. « mammoodies »

miidaan 'an open space in town' < P *maydān*

mīnsaab 'European lady' < Anglo-Indian *memsāhib*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 180c (< H), cf. *HJ*, p. 567a, s.v. « mem-sahib »

miis 'table' < P *mīz* < Pt *mesa*

mindil 'handkerchief' < A, P *mindīl*, *mandīl* < Pt *mandil*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 180b, cf. Mal (archaic) *mandil*

moor 'stamp, seal' < P *muhr*
cf. Knappert 1983, p. 131, Sw *muhuri*; Bausani 1964, n° 117, Mal *mohor*, Bausani 1971, n° 102, T *mōkar*

murjaan, *marjaan* 'coral' < P *marjān*
cf. Knappert 1983, p. 130, Sw *marijani*

naakhuude 'ship's captain' < P, U *nāxudā*
cf. *HJ*, p. 612, s.v. « nacoda, nacoder », Bausani 1964, n° 120, Mal *nachoda*;
Bausani 1969, n° 47, Bausani 1971, n° 104, T *nakuta*; Knappert 1983, p. 131,
Sw *nakhoda*

nayruus 'new year's festival' < P *nawrūz*
Abraham, *SED*, p. xviiib < P; the Somali equivalent for the beginning of the
solar year is *dabshid*, and the festival is currently held to be of Persian origin,
cf. Lewis 1955, p. 63, n. 25; cf. Knappert 1983, p. 131, Sw *nauruzi*

nookar 'civil servant' < U *naukar* 'servant'
Abraham, *SED*, p. 189a (< H), cf. *HJ*, p. 628b, s.v. « nokar »

qaabuuli 'a kind of rice; a spiced rice-dish in the Indian style' < P *kābulī* 'from
Kabul'
commenting upon Mal (*nasi*) *kebuli* 'rice in the Kabuli style', Bausani 1964, n°
93 notes that P *birinj-i kābulī* is not a rice preparation, but rather a medicine:
« maybe this preparation was used in India ».

qalammi 'the main mast of a ship' < A *qalami*
cf. Bausani 1969, n° 48

qarmuusi 'a silk fabric' < P *hurmuzi* 'from Hurmuz'
cf. *HJ*, pp. 645b-646b, s.v. « Ormus, Ormuz »; the first sound is difficult to ex-
plain; a form <agramuzo< in a XVI century Western source quoted by *HJ* shows
an analogous rendering of initial /h-/

qolfaad 'to caulk' < A *qalfaṭ* etc.

cf. *HJ*, pp. 148b-149a, s.v. « calputtee »; Bausani 1969, n° 33, Prins 1965, p. 288, Sw *kalafati*

qulaan 'jack, knave' < P *ghulām* 'boy, page'

raando 'carpenter's plane' < P *randa*

Xuseen 1984, p. 198 < Sw, Knappert 1983, p. 133, Sw *randa*

raani 'the queen in the cards' < U *rānī* 'queen'

Reinisch *SDW*, p. 324 (< Sk *rajnī*), cf. *HJ*, p. 757a, s.v. « rane »

ranji, rinji, 'color, dye, paint' < P *rang*

Xuseen 1984, p. 198, Knappert 1983, p. 133, Sw *rangi*; there is no need to surmise a Sw intermediate, as pointed out by Xuseen. The same morpheme seems to occur in *booranji* 'a kind of fabric'

rishwaan, rushwaan 'silk fabric'

in spite of its obvious Persian form, it is impossible to trace the source of this word; maybe it is an all-too obvious metathesis from P *širwānī*, a brocade from the town of Širwān

rooti 'loaf of bread' < U *roṭī* (maybe < Dutch *broodje* > Mal *roti*)

Abraham, *SED*, p. 211 b (< H) s.v. « roodhi »

rubbad, rubbiyyad 'rupee' < U *rūpiya*, P *rūpiya* < Sk *rūpya*

cf. *HJ*, pp. 774b-776b s.v. « rupee »

saab 'officer, oh lord!' < U *ṣāhib* < A *ṣāhib*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 213b (< H < A, P), cf. *HJ*, pp. 781b-782a, s.v. « sahib »

saari 'woman's dress' < U *sārī*

Abraham, *SED*, p. < H)

sabuul 'maize-cob' < A, P *sunbul*, 'ear, spike (of grain)'

sambuusi 'spiced meat in triangular pastry' < P *samūsa, sanbūsa*

Xuseen 1984, p. 184 (< Sw), cf. Bausani 1964, n° 183, Mal *tembosa*, Knappert 1983, p. 134, Sw *semusa, sambusa*. The name of this favorite stuffed bread has spread in both variants, with /-b-/ and without (Malagasy *samosa*, Sw *semusa*)

sareedaan 'ship's galley, camboose' < A *sārīdān*, P. *sārīdān*, T *cuḍuvān*

cf. Bausani 1969, n° 57 (the ultimate origin seems to be T)

sargaal, sarkaal 'officer' < U *sarkār* 'government'

Abraham, *SED*, p. 218c (< H), cf. *HJ*, pp. 840b-841a, s.v. « sircar », Bausani 1971, n° 22, T *carkkār*

sees 'groom' < U *sā'is* < A *sā'is*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 220c (< H), cf. *HJ*, p. 885b, s.v. « syce »

serenji 'ship's commanding officer' < P *sarhang*

cf. *HJ*, pp. 812b-813a, s.v. « *serang* »; Bausani 1964, n° 162, Mal *serang*, Knappert 1983, p. 134, Sw *serehangi*, Bausani 1971, n° 18, T *caranku*

seeriwale, siiriwale 'arbiter' < U

see *siiri* and *-wale*

shaabuug 'leather whip' < P *šābuk* 'quick' whip, via India

cf. *HJ*, pp. 185b-186b, s.v. « *chawbuck* »; Bausani 1964, n° 187, Mal *tjabuk*; Knappert 1983, p. 122, Sw *chabuki*

shaadir 'woman's veil' < P *šadar*

cf. Bausani 1964, n° 186, Knappert 1983, p. 122, Sw *chadari*

shaal 'shawl' < P *šāl*

cf. Knappert 1983, p. 134, Sw *shali*, Bausani 1971, n° 164, T *sāl*

shanle, shanlo 'comb' < P *sana*

cf. Knappert 1983, p. 123, Sw *ki-shanuo*

shati 'pass, letter, license' < U *šiqṭhī*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 231a (< H), cf. *HJ*, p. 203a, s.v. « *chit, chitty* », Knappert 1983, p. 123, Sw *cheti* 'note, ticket, passport, certificate'

shax 'a game' < P *šāh*

cf. Bausani 1971, n° 162, T *šāhā* 'check to the king'

shooki 'police station' < U *cauki*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 233a (< H)

siiri 'whistle' < U *sīrī*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 223c (< H); der. *siiriwale, seeriwale* 'arbiter'

sirwaal 'trousers' < A *sirwāl*, P *šālwār*, U *sarwel*

deest in *DSI*. Cf. *HJ*, pp. 832b-833b, s.v. « *shulwaurs* »; Bausani 1964, n° 160, Mal *seluar* < P

suubeehi, suubbeehi 'private soldier, police constable' < P *sipāhī*

cf. *HJ*, pp. 809a-811b, s.v. « *sepoy, seapoy* »

suubidaar 'sergeant-major' < U *subadār*

Abraham, *SED*, p. 227c (< H), cf. *HJ*, p. 856b-857a, s.v. « *soubadar, subadar* »

taaj 'crown' < P *tāj*

cf. Knappert 1983, p. 136, Sw *taji*

taambuug 'tent' < U

Abraham, *SED*, p. 235b (< H)

Linguistics

takhtar 'doctor' < U *dāktar* < Eng
var. *dhaktar* (Abraham, *SED*, p. 43c) seems to be even closer to U

tartan 'sprinting-race' < U

*tastuur*¹ 'bowsprit' < P *dastūr*
cf. Knappert 1983, p. 124, Sw *dasturi*

*tastuur*² 'constitution law, habits, good manners' < P *dastūr*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 236b (< H), cf. Sw *desturi*, Bausani 1971, n° 190, T *tastūr*

toonbakh 'tobacco' < P, U *tanbākū*
cf. *HJ*, pp. 924b-926b, s.v. « tobacco »; Bausani 1964, n° 182

tumbul 'betlenut, Piper betle' < P *tunbūl*, A *tanbūl* < Sk *tāmbūla*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 240c, cf. Knappert 1983, p. 136, Sw *tambuu*

-*wale* 'the man of' < U *vāfā* < P *wār*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 249a (< H); it is the equivalent of S -*le*; cf. *dambaalwale*
'postman', *fidnawale* 'agitator', *siiriwale*

xamaam 'pigeon' < A *ḥamām*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 116b; the meaning 'bathroom' is from A *hammam*

xawaldaar 'sergeant' < P *hawaldār*
Abraham, *SED*, p. 118c (< H), cf. *HJ*, pp. 412b-413a, s.v. « havildar »

yeeke 'ace' < P *yek* 'one'

The spelling of Somali words is the one adopted in *DSI*; variants are given after a comma; the transcription of Persian is a rather conservative one, since it aims to reproduce a rather archaic phonology; note the following abbreviations:

- A Arabic
- H Hindustani (that is, U in Abraham, *SED*)
- M Marāthī
- Mal Malay
- P Persian
- Pt Portuguese
- Sk Sanskrit
- Sw Swahili
- T Tamil
- Tk Turkish
- U Urdu (actually Hindī-Urdu)

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Italian and English Loanwords in Somali

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1. Preliminary Remarks on the Corpus

This is a preliminary report on a research in progress on Italian and English loanwords in Somali, which will eventually complement Zaborski's paper (1967) on loanwords of Arabic origin and/or mediation. As for now, the research has been mainly based on the total corpus of putative European loanwords entered in the *Dizionario Somalo-Italiano* (1985), directed by F. Agostini, A. Puglielli and Ciise Moxamed Siyaad, and amounting to more than 220 simple items (plus their derivative forms). The moderate size of this corpus is easily accounted for with the attitudes of the Dictionary team, not very prone to accept the vast amount of loanwords one finds in everyday interaction in Somalia, where foreign words are often displayed for snobbery or for stylistic purposes, without any strictly referential need.

However, this small corpus (which will be supplemented, in some cases, with other sources and with direct observation) seems to be adequate for some rough generalizations about the main trends of their phonological and morphological naturalization into the Somali language and for characterizing their distribution into different fields of human experience.

As the dictionary furnishes the lexical items in the standard Somali orthography as it is currently used, we are provided with accurate information on vowel quantity, but not often so on the position of accent and on the advanced vs. retracted quality of vowels. Therefore, our remarks on vowels will be very limited in scope.

2. Segmental Adjustments. Consonants

The differences between the consonant inventories of Italian/English and Somali are easily surmounted with the following adaptation rules, suffering few exceptions, which would deserve further study:

Plosives: I, E /p/ → S /b/

Ex. I *piantone* « guard » > *biyaantooni*; I *coperta* « blanket » > *kubeerto*;
E *parliament* > *b(a)rlam(m)aan*; E *sport* > *isboorti*;

Affricates: I /ts/, /ds/ → S /s/; I, E /tʃ/ → S/s/, (/dʒ/)

Ex. I *marzo* « march » > *maarso*; I *dolce* « cake » > *doolshe*, *doorshe*;
I *cemento* « cement » > *shamiinto*; I *arancia* « orange » > *araanjo*;

Fricatives: I, E /v/ → /f/, /w/, (/b/ mainly with Arabic mediation); E/θ/ → /t/; E/ð/ → /d/; E /z/ → /ʃ/

Ex. E *television* > *tefishen* / I *televisione* > *tefishoon*; E *savanna* / I *savana* > *safaana*; E *November* / I *novembre* > *No (o)fembar*; I *visita* « medical examination » > *wiisito*; I *cravatta* « collar tie » > *garawaati*; I *vapore* « steam (ship) » > *baabuur* « motor vehicle » (through Arabic);

E *thermos* > *tarmuus/termuus*;

E *television* > *tefishen*; E *garage* → *garaash*;

Nasals: I / / → /nj/; E /ŋ/ → /n/

Ex. I *ingegnere* « engineer » > *injinyeer*;

E *steering (wheel)* > *isteerin*; E *shilling* > *shilin*;

Liquids: I /k/ → i /lj/

Ex. I *luglio* « July » > *Luulyo*

3. Segmental Adjustments. Vowels

The study of the adjustments of Vs is left to future research, because of two difficulties: (a) lack of detail in the *Dizionario*: the advanced *vs.* retracted nature of Vs is seldom given for loanwords; the position of accent is not always sure; (b) lack of information on the precise phonetic values of unstressed Vs (there seems to be much regional variation), which is also reflected in the many variants given in the *Dizionario*. A provisional generalization can be the following: vowels (no matter whether short or long) which are stressed in the source language usually result in a long V in Somali, as in: I *lògica* > *loojika*, I *cioccolàto/-a* « chocolate » > *shukulaato*, I *forchéta* « fork » > *fargeeto*.

4. Sequential Adjustments: the Structure of the Syllable.

As it has been pointed out by Cardona 1981, (11-13), most phonotactic constraints have in Somali a syllabic basis. The only possible syllable types are the following:

['] V	C ₁ V
['] V C ₂	C ₁ VC ₂

The diffusion of glottal stop in front of an initial V remains to be ascertained (differences in style/formality or in geographical distribution?).

Position C₁ can be filled (Cardona 1981, 18-21) by 20 different Cs (i.e.: /b t d dh k g q j f s sh kh x c h m n l r/ and the glottal stop) plus the two glides (/w y/); V can be either short or long; position C₂ can be filled by 17 different Cs (as /k t m/ are excluded from this position; /dh/ → /r/ in CS dialects; /m/ is only permitted in /m\$ m/ or /m\$ b/ sequences) plus the two glides (thus forming diphthongs). As a consequence, when an unpermitted C appears in C₂ position in the underlying representation, it is linearized with the following rules: /t/ → /d/, /k/ → /g/, /m/ → /n/ and (CS dialects) /dh/ → /r/; this rule generally applies also to loanwords, as in *book* → *buug*, *note* → *nood*.

When a morpheme has the underlying structure | C₁V₁C₂C₃ |, C₂ and C₃ can not be linearized within the same syllable and if C₃ can not be resyllabified as C₁ of a following syllable (this happens if there is a following suffix beginning

in a V; the case of composition has not been thoroughly studied so far), there is epenthesis (= svarabhakti) of a V (usually the same as V₁), thus offering a nucleus to the extrasyllabic C₃. E.g. the root |ark| « to see » has forms such as /ar\$ kay/ « I saw; he saw », where /k/ is attached to the nucleus of the following syllable, and /a\$rag\$stay/ « you saw; she saw », where an extra-syllable is the result of epenthesis, following the rule:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow V / - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

where V is copied from the V of the lexical morpheme; besides, /k/ → /g/ syllable-finally.¹ As in such Somali clusters one of the Cs must be a liquid, this kind of context is not very frequent in loanwords, as in *meter* → *mitir* (pl. *mitirro*, and not **mid-ro* as one might have expected), *liter* > *liitir* (pl. *liitirro*).

5. Morphophonological Conditionings at Word Level

5.0. Therefore, in true Somali words, C clusters can only belong to two different morphemes, except in the case of resyllabification. So that in a sequence ...C₂\$C₁ ..., we have the following possibilities:

(1) C₂\$C₁+V (resyllabification, just examined); the limitations in the inventory of C₂ and C₁ in such cases deserves further study; it seems, however, that C₂ is usually a liquid;

(2) C₂+C₁, where C₂ is the final of a lexical morpheme and C₁ the initial of an inflectional morpheme and + is an inflectional boundary; we know from Cardona 1981 that in this case C₁ cannot be but /k t n s/ (the glide /y/ must be added to the list), with minor exceptions in case of C assimilation, at least in some varieties;

(3) C₂ # C₁, where # is a boundary between a lexical morpheme and a derivational one; from a check in Puglielli 1984, passim, and Caney 1984, (289-305), we see that derivational suffixes only add /l/ and /sh/ as possible C₁;

(4) C₂ # C₁, where # is a compounding boundary; from the list of Caney 1984, (306-308), we deduce that those words which are most frequently used as a second element of a compound can begin with every syllable-initial C, without any apparent limitation.

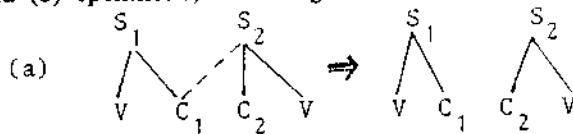
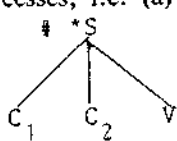
We deduce from this list that there are no other possible clusters, and therefore:

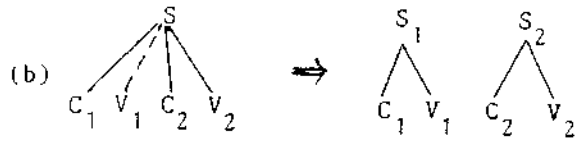
(5) *# # C₁C₂ ... and

(6) *... C₁C₂# #,

very frequent in foreign words, are unpermitted clusters and can not be linearized as such. They must be eliminated either through some sort of resyllabification or simplified with the deletion of one C. The operation of these processes is better seen in relationship with the position the cluster has in the word.

5.1. *Word-initial clusters.* In this position we usually have syllable-creating processes, i.e. (a) prosthesis and (b) epenthesis, following the schemes:





Prosthesis takes place only in case of /sC/ initial clusters: e.g.: *sport* > *is\$boorti*, *stadio* > *is\$stadiyo*, *slogan* > *is\$loogan*; in the other cases we have epenthesis. The epenthetic V is mainly copied from the nuclear V of the adjacent syllable, as in, e.g., I *blocchetto* > *bulukeeti* « little cement block », I *professore* > *bar(a)fasoor*, *glass* > *galaas*, *gramme* / I *grammo* > *garaamme*; *frigidaire* > *firi-jider/-ter*; exceptions, due to the labializing effect of /b/, can be found in: *brush* > *buraash* or in I *placcato* « plated » > *bulakaati*; other exceptions are probably to be explained with neutralization in unaccented syllables.

5.2. *Word-internal clusters.* Many loanwords have, in their source language, word-internal clusters, but these clusters can hardly fulfil the Somali morphophonological conditions listed above in 5.0. I. e., as there are both in Italian and English many polysyllabic morphemes (or sequences of two or more morphemes which are not easily segmented by Somali speakers), C clusters do not often belong to two different morphemes. As a consequence, there is some doubt whether, in a sequence ... C₂\$C₁ ..., C₁ must belong to the list of Cs permitted at the beginning of a grammatical morpheme (be it inflectional or derivational, see above, 5.0, cases (2) and (3)), or can belong to the larger inventory of permitted word-initial Cs (see 5.0, case (4)).

The initial Cs of the syllables preceded in the following examples by the sign \$, seem to meet conditions (2) and (3): I *coperta* « blanket » > *kubeer\$to*, I *carta bollata* « stamped paper » > *kaar\$tabol\$laato*; I *marzo* « March » > *maar\$so*.

There seems to be, however, also an extension of possible C₁s to Cs that do not belong to the list of (2) and (3) (/k t n s h l y/), but have slight differences either in force or place or articulation, i.e. /b d g m f/ are also attested. Ex. I *carburo* > *kar\$buuno* « lamp », I *giardino* « garden » > *jar\$diino*; E/I *germ(e)* > *jeer\$mi*.

On the contrary, when the candidate C₁ is a liquid, this C is not permitted and therefore we have V epenthesis, with two different procedures:

(a) copying of adjacent vowel, as in: I *disciplina* > *dishibiliin*; E *control* > *kontorool*, I *padre* « priest » > *baadari*; E *microphone* > *maggarofoon*;

(b) use of the neutral vowel /a/ (the exact value of which and its relationship with [±ATR] feature remains to be ascertained); ex.: I *complesso* « complex » > *kombaleeso*.

However, there are also signs of a possible relaxation of these restrictions, as the *Dizionario* lists words either with alternative consonants or with and without V epenthesis, as in the cases of: E, I, (A?) *democratic(o)* > *dimuqraadi/demokaraati* (is it a question of different sources, e.g. E/I vs. Arabic?); I *contrabbando* « smuggling » > *kont(a)rabaan*; there are even words having no adaptation at all, such as: E *diplomacy* > *diblomaasi*; E/I *April(e)* > *Abriil*; I *febbraio* « February » > *Febraayo*; I *nastro* > *naastro* « cassette recorder »; E *microscope* / I *microscopio* > *mikroskoob*. All such words are in some way not completely assimilated to the Somali (morpho)phonological constraints; they only underwent minimal adap-

tations (e.g. segmental adjustments, see above, 2. and 3.), but still present non-native clusters. Is this to be interpreted as a sign of dependence on the orthography (and phonology) of the source language, or does this mirror a partially assimilated pronunciation of learned words, at least in educated people?

It would seem that this relaxation of the rules against C clusters takes place more easily word-internally, than word-initially or -finally. At any rate, the true popular pronunciation of these forms should be more nativizing. Are we faced with an ongoing trend of rule changing, under the pressure of loanwords, and starting from educated people?

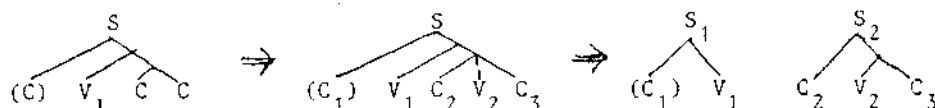
5.3. *Word-final clusters.* No C cluster is admitted in this position. Different processes are at work for the regularization of syllable structure:

(1) Syllable-creating processes:

(a) V epenthesis:

$\emptyset \rightarrow V_2 / C_1 - C_2 \# \#$

I. e., in syllabic terms:

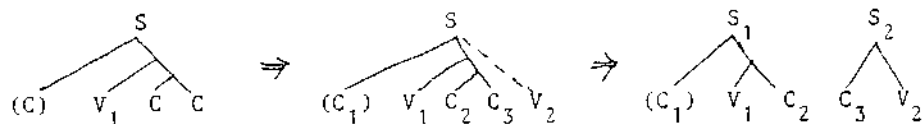


Where V_2 is mainly /i/. Ex.: *science* > *saynis* « (natural) science » (as opposed to *cilmi* « (human) science »), *telex* > *telekis*.

(b) epithesis:

$\emptyset \rightarrow V_2 / C_1 C_2 - \# \#$

I. e., in syllabic terms:



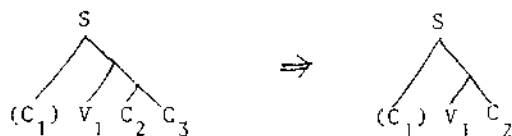
where V_2 is /i/, or some other vowel justified by morphological motivations. Ex.: E *tank* > *taan\$gi*, E *yard* > *yaar\$di*, E *cent* > *sen\$ti/san\$ti*, E *sport* > *is\$boor\$ti*;

(2) Syllable-regularizing process:

(c) final C deletion:

$C_3 \emptyset / C_2 - \# \#$

I. e.:



Ex. E *record* > *rikoor*; E *list* > *liis*; E *sergent* > *saajin*; E (*driving*) *licence* > *leysin*;

6. Morphological Motivation

The modalities of morphological integration of loanwords will be studied in the future. In many instances phonological adaptation seem to prevail over correspondence in morphological class (e.g. in gender) between the source and the target language. E.g., Italian words ending both in *-o* (masculine) and in *-a* (feminine) are usually adapted into Som. *-o* (f.), as in *salotto* (m.) « living-room » → *salooto* (f.), *ferro (da stiro)* (m.) « (flat-)iron » → *feero* (f.), *forchetta* (f.) « fork » → *fargeeto* (f.), *agenda* (f.) → *ajeendo* (f.). Departures from a strict phonological adaptation in a direction of morphological motivation seem to be less frequent: e.g. I *mandarino* (m.) « tangerine » → *mandariin* (m.) and not **mandariino* (f.), etc. Doublets of E and I origin are by no means rare, as in: I *farmacia* → *farmashiye* and E *pharmacy* → *farmasi*; in some cases it is not easy to detect which is the source language: I/E *trac(h)oma* → *tarakoomo*. In some other instances where the plural form points to Italian and the singular one to E, it is not easy to decide whether both languages are really involved and which is the primary form: see, e.g., the case of *siminaar*, pl. *siminaaryo*, where the sing. reminds E and the pl. I. There seem to be no major limitation to full derivational and inflectional productivity of loanwords. Whole derivative sets are already entered in the dictionary, as in the case of *barafuun* (← I *profumo* « perfume », *dimuqraadi* « democratic » or *buraash* (← *brush*).

7. Semantic Considerations

Even if loanwords have been sparingly entered into the *Dizionario Somalo-Italiano*, they cover many different fields of human experience and thus show the kind of impact Western civilization has had on Somalia. We might classify these fields as follows (figures put together variant forms):

— usual objects (tools, pieces of furniture, etc.):	37 items
— social and political organization:	26 items
— weights and measures:	25 items
— culture and science:	22 items
— health:	17 items
— food and drinks:	15 items
— vehicles and transportation:	13 items
— military:	12 items
— house and building:	10 items
— games and sports:	9 items
— techniques:	9 items
— clothing:	7 items
— substances:	6 items

8. Conclusion

The many problems involving loanwords in the Somali language have been reviewed here, though with special stress on phonology. Further study will give a wider orientation to the setting up of a consistent policy in adopting and adapting foreign words. Linguists are supposed to offer the tools which are necessary

for this purpose, even if they know well that the ultimate judges are the native speakers, who decide whether a certain loanword has to be kept or substituted with a native neologism or with another loan, or whether the most frequently used rules have to be applied to a certain word or not. If, however, a certain regularity in the pattern of adaptation of loanwords can be achieved, this will be a good service to the development of the Somali language.

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¹ The analysis of this alternation in terms of epenthesis is still provisional and disputable. It is easily acceptable when $V_1 = V_2$. There are, however, cases where $V_1 \neq V_2$, which are better explained in terms of V deletion (ex. among the nouns: *xárig* « rope », pl. *xárkó*; or among the verbs: *furan-/furm-* « to be open »). Other cases can be found in Banti 1985. So far for inflectional morphology. The deletion approach seems to be more likely in derivational morphology (Puglielli 1984).

Reflections on Derivation from Prefix-conjugated Verbs in Somali

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1. It is well known that Somali, like most other Omo-Tana languages, has a small group of so-called prefix verbs. While its other main classes of verbs are only inflected by means of suffixes — or have new compound forms such as the present tense of the C4 verbs, eg., *wuu óg-yahay* « he knows » with *óg* « know » plus *yahay* « he is » —, the verbs of this group have a number of tenses where subject concord is expressed by a set of prefixes and, in the 2p and 3p, also by suffixes. In addition to this, four of these verbs express tense and mood through vowel alternations in their root. A good example is the verb *yaal* « stay, lie », whose present and past tenses are shown in (1) below.

(1)	Present	Past
1s	<i>aal</i>	<i>iil</i>
2s	<i>t- aal</i>	<i>t- iil</i>
3m	<i>y- aal</i>	<i>y- iil</i>
3f	<i>t- aal</i>	<i>t- iil</i>
1p	<i>n- aal</i>	<i>n- iil</i>
2p	<i>t- aall- iin</i>	<i>t- iill- een</i>
3p	<i>y- aall- iin</i>	<i>y- iill- een</i>

Notice that the 1s can be viewed as having a prefix //, even though this is not usually spelt in the standard Somali orthography.

No Somali prefix verb has concord prefixes in the whole scatter of its tenses. Besides defective verbs such as *ye* and *yeen* « say » that occur only in their past tense, several verbs of this group have complex suppletion patterns with other stems inflected as verbs belonging to one of the major inflectional classes. For instance, « be » has prefix conjugation only in its present tense, eg., 3m *y-ahay*, 3p *y-ih-iin*, while its other tenses are C4 forms of the stem /ah/, eg., present restrictive *áh*, past *ah-aa*, *ah-ayd*, etc., negative present *ah-í*, *ah-íd*, etc., negative invariable *ah-áyn*, and so on like *óg*, *og-aa*, *og-ayd*, *og-í*, *og-íd*, *og-áyn*, etc., from *óg* « know ». These suppletion patterns are discussed in Andrzejewski (1975) and Banti (1985, pp. 88-93), and will not be repeated here. The attested stems, however, are listed in (2) together with the stems of the verbs that don't show this kind of suppletion. The prefix-conjugated stems listed below are the present

stem (Pr), the past stem (Pa) and the Jussive stem (Ju). The last one is identical with the present stem except in « stay, lie », which can also have *iil* like the past stem (cf. Reinisch, 1903, p. 84; Banti, 1985, p. 90; also Rendille has jussive forms like *y-iill-e*, *t-iill-e*, etc., from this verb, cf. Sasse, 1980, p. 165). The present stem with *aa* is used also in the 2p and 3p of the past, optionally, in *t/y-aqaann-eeen* ~ *t/y-aqiinn-eeen* and *t/y-aall-eeen* ~ *t/y-iill-eeen*, obligatorily in *t/y-imaadd-eeen* and *t/y-iraahd-eeen*.

(2) Stems of verbs with prefix conjugated forms in Somali

	Prefix-conj. stems		Suffix-conj. stems
a.	Pr { <i>ahay</i> <i>ah</i>	« be »	
	Pa —		<i>ah</i> C4
	Ju —		
b.	Pr <i>aqaan</i>	« know »	
	Pa { <i>aqaan</i> <i>aqiin</i>		<i>aqoot/aqoon</i> C3
	Ju <i>aqaan</i>		
c.	Pr <i>aal</i>	« stay, lie »	
	Pa { <i>aal</i> <i>iil</i>		{ <i>aal</i> C1 <i>ool</i> C1 <i>oollaat/oollaan</i> C3
	Ju { <i>aal</i> <i>iil</i>		
d.	Pr <i>imaad(d)</i>	« come »	
	Pa { <i>imid</i> <i>imi</i>		{ <i>imaat/imaan</i> C3 — / <i>iman</i> C3
	Ju <i>imaad(d)</i>		
e.	Pr { <i>iraah(d)</i> <i>iraa</i>	« say »	
	Pa <i>iri</i>		{ <i>dheh</i> C1 — / <i>oran</i> C3
	Ju { <i>iraah (d)</i> <i>iraa</i>		
f.	Pa { <i>e</i> <i>een</i>	« say »	
g.	Pr <i>uwaad</i>	« be able, can »	
	Pa <i>uwaad</i>		<i>awood</i> C1
	Ju <i>uwaad</i>		
h.	Pr <i>ammuud</i>	« die »	
	Pa <i>ammuud</i>		<i>ummaad</i> C1
	Ju <i>ammuud</i>		

Before pursuing further our argument, a few points should be made about the data in (2). First of all, C3 verbs alternate a stem in a dental stop with a stem in a dental nasal. This dental stop is underlyingly /t/, but always surfaces as *d* in word-final position; for this reason, eg., in (2.d) « *imaat/imaan* C3 » represents the C3 forms which alternate these stems. On the other hand, « — / *iman* C3 » indicates that only C3 forms in *-n* are attested from this stem, while their counterparts from the stem /*imat/ do not occur.¹

Secondly, « *imaad(d)* », and « *iraah(d)* » are shortened forms representing the stems that occur in *y-imaadd-aa* ~ *y-imaad* and, respectively, *y-iraahd-aa* ~ *y-iraah-aa*. Third, the verb *yiraahdaa* has *dh*, ie. /ɖ/, in the varieties that distinguish /ɖ/ from /r/ in postvocalic position, and consequently all the items in (2.e) are likely to contain the same root *ɖ-h. The phoneme /h/ probably disappeared in the stems *iraa*, *iri* and *oran* because it was preceded directly by *d: **idhaa*, **idhi*, **odhan* (cf. Saho-Afar present *adhe*, past *edhe* « say » with a similar stem shape *VɖhV*; see also Sasse, 1980, p. 161).

Fourth, the two stems *e* and *een* are listed together in (2.f.), even though the forms with *-n* still have to be explained properly.² These two stems are most fre-

¹ In the following pages the C3 verbs will be represented with their stem in dental stop, eg. /*imaat*/, for the sake of brevity. If there are only forms from the *n*-stem, the stem will be represented as, eg., /*imat/, that is the *t*-stem will be used throughout, but it will be preceded by « ° » when no actual form of it is attested.

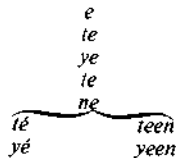
² This verb has two paradigms, with no apparent difference in semantic or syntactic usage:

(i)	a.	b.
1s	<i>e</i>	<i>een</i>
2s	<i>t-e</i>	<i>t-een</i>
3m	<i>y-e</i>	<i>y-een</i>
3f	<i>t-e</i>	<i>t-een</i>
1p	<i>n-e</i>	<i>n-een</i>
2p	<i>t-e</i>	<i>t-een</i>
3p	<i>y-e</i>	<i>y-een</i>

The 2p and 3p in (i.a) can be explained if they are seen to contain the same ending *-é* that occurs in the 3p of the so-called past independent and past comparative tenses, eg., *keen-é* « they brought it » and, respectively, *igá cǎqti roonaay-é* « they were wiser than I ». Past 3m *ye* and 3f *te* have parallels in Dasenech *yi/ǎi*, Saho *ye/te*, Afar (*iy-ye*/*in-je*), which all mean « he said/she said ». The root is probably *y, that occurs with suffix conjugation in Highland East Cushitic (eg., Burji *i-* « say » and Sidamo *y-* « say ») and Agaw (*y-* « say » in Bilin, Xamir, Quara and Kemant) as well as in Old Egyptian (eg. *y-sr* « they say »).

The stem /*een*/ may be due to analogy. The older paradigm may indeed have been the following one:

(ii)



This is justified by the facts that suffixes in *-VVn* are common in 2p and 3p forms of prefix-conjugated verbs in Somali, and that Saho-Afar has only forms with final *-n* (eg., 2p Saho *ten*, Afar (*in-ten*) in these forms of « say ». However, since Somali also had 2p *té* and 3p *yé*, apparently with the same stem /*e*/ as the other forms, analogy may have extended *-een* to the entire singular and the 1p, creating two parallel and synonymous paradigms. Yet until the phonology and history

quent in Mudug and its surrounding areas, while *yimaad*, *yuwaadaa* ~ *yuwaad* and *yammuudaa* are used mostly in Central and Southern varieties of Somali. Finally, it should be pointed out that only *yiraahdaa* and *yimaaddaa* always have *i*-vocalism in their past tense. In fact, on the one hand *yaqaan* and *yaal* may have past tenses like, eg., *y-aqaann-ay* « he knew » and *y-aall-ay* « he lay » with the same stem as their present tense, while on the other hand *yuwaadaa* and *yammuudaa* never change their stem in their past tense. (No present tense is attested in Somali for *ye* and *yeen*, but it can be seen that also these two defective past tenses do not have *i*-vocalism).

2. The verb « be » which, as shown above in (2), alternates the prefix-conjugated stems *ahay* and *ah* (only in the 2p and 3p) with the C4 stem *ah*, is the basis from which a number of nouns and verbs are derived. The derivatives of the C4 verb *óg* « know » listed in (3.b) show that « be » behaves like a C4 verb in this respect.

(3) a. Derivatives of *áh* « be »

ahaán n.f. « being »
ahaánsho n.f. « being,
 becoming »
aháw v. C3 « become »
ahaysíi v. C2 « cause to be »

ahaysiín n.f. « causing to be »

b. Derivatives of *óg* « know »

ogaán n.f. « knowing »
ogaánsho n.f. « knowing »
ogáw v. C3 « know, get knowledge
 of »
ogaysíi v. C2 « cause to know, in-
 form »
ogaysiín n.f. « causing to know,
 information »

Actually, as shown in Puglielli (1984a), most of the forms in (3) are part of the regular and productive derivational pattern of the C4 verbs. Also *ah-aysíi*, as a causative from a C4 verb, has good parallels in *jecl-aysíi* « cause to love » and *og-aysíi* « cause to know, inform », even though the more common causatives from C4 verbs are formed through *-ée*, ie. /ays/, rather than *-aysíi*, eg., *adk-ée* « cause to become hard », *bisl-ée* « cause to become ripe », *yar-ée* « cause to be small » (from *yár* « small », however, there is also *yar-aysíi* synonymous of *yar-ée*), etc.

The only fact which is totally isolated within Somali morphology is that a C4 verb should have a prefix-conjugated present tense. If the argument of Banti

of the Beja past tense of « say » listed in (iii) below have been properly understood, one cannot exclude that it may be connected to the Somali forms with *-een*.

(iii) Beja past tense of « say »

	Almkvist (1881, p. 221)	Roper (1928, p. 78)
1s	'an/'áne	áne
2m	téna/ténia	ténea
2f	—	ténr
3m	'en/'éne/jéne	éne
3f	—	téne
1p	ne/nén	nen
2p	tén/ten(n)a	tena
3p	en/enna	en(a)

(in print) is accepted, namely that the tense labelled as « present comparative » in Andrzejewski (1956, pp. 118, 129) is the older form of the present tense of the Somali C4 verbs, we actually come out with two different present-tense paradigms for « be », ie. (4.a) and (4.b), the former with prefix conjugation and the latter with C4 or « stative » conjugation. (The forms with the stem *-ih-*, are from underlying /ah/ through vowel assimilation; *t-ih-iin*, *ih-i*, etc., are thus properly from /t-ah-iin/, /áh-i/, etc.).

(4) Present tense paradigms of « be » in Somali.

a.	b.
<i>ahay</i>	<i>ih-i</i>
<i>t-ahay</i>	<i>ih-id</i>
<i>y-ahay</i>	<i>áh</i>
<i>t-ahay</i>	<i>áh</i>
<i>n-ahay</i>	<i>ih-in</i>
<i>t-ih-iin</i>	<i>ih-idín</i>
<i>y-ih-iin</i>	<i>áh</i>

A prefix-conjugated present tense corresponding to a « stative »-conjugated one occurs in at least 18 verbs in Afar, as shown in Hayward (1978, p. 27 f.). In all these cases the prefix-conjugated forms have an inchoative value and have to be regarded as derivatives rather than as alternatively inflected forms of one lexical item, whereas Somali *ahay* and *ih-i* are clearly parts of the paradigm of the same verb *áh* « be ». Four of these Afar prefix-conjugated inchoatives have a stem-final *y* that is absent in the stem of their cognate « stative » verbs:

(5) Prefix-conj. inchoative (past stem)	« Stative » verb
<i>*i^hilsiyē > i^hilsee</i> « be heavy »	<i>i^hilsa</i> « be heavy »
<i>u^hunḡuyē ~ u^hunḡdee</i> « become small »	<i>u^hunḡa</i> « be small »
<i>igibdiyē ~ igibdee</i> « be difficult »	<i>gibda</i> « be difficult »
<i>unuwwuyē ~ unuwwē</i> « be revived »	<i>nuwwa</i> « be alive »

Hayward (1978) suggests that *-y-* has been added to these inchoative prefix-conjugated verbs to give them « a “respectably” Semitic shape — similar to numerous other loans from Arabic and Ethiopian Semitic languages » (p. 31). This is possible, even though the fact that only four inchoatives are prefix verbs with a *y* extension, while the other 14 prefix-conjugated inchoatives show different derivational types (eg., *eede^he ~ eed^he* « be pregnant » from *id^ha* « be pregnant », *in^hibe* « be angry » from *ni^hba* « hate », *elle* « get » from *le* « have », etc.), and the most common and productive type of inchoatives from statives are suffix-conjugated verbs with *-oow-* (eg., *add-oow-e* « become white » from *ado* « be white »), may also indicate that the four inchoatives with *y* are relics of an older derivational type. It is safe to assume, however, that Somali *t-ahay ~ ih-id* « you are » has a cognate in Afar, eg., *t-anuwwuyē* « you are revived » ~ *nuww-ito* « you are alive ». Future research will have to show which was the original relationship between the prefix-conjugated forms with the *y* extension and the « stative »-conjugated forms.

As for the 2p and 3p forms *tihii* and *yihii*, rather than positing **t-ahay-n* and **y-ahay-n* as suggested by Reinisch (1903, p. 85), I regard **t-ahay-iin* and **y-ahay-iin* as more likely forms, which were subsequently shortened into the present ones. The prefix-conjugated present tense of « be » tends still now to be shortened in Somali; for instance, Andrzejewski (1969, p. 53) reports forms like 2p *tiin* and 3p *yiin* as « optional variants used in less deliberate style of pronunciation ». Reinisch's forms, instead, require a 2p/3p suffix **-n* that does not occur elsewhere in Somali, and the raising *ay* > *ii* that seems rather *ad hoc*.

3.1. The other prefix-conjugated verbs listed in (2) have stems that cannot be accounted for through the regular synchronic morphology not only in their inflectional paradigms but also in their derivation.

Starting from the verb *yaqaan* « know », the *oo* vocalism and the final dental stop of the C3 stem /aqoot/ that forms, eg., alternative forms of the past tense (*aqooday*, *aqootay*, etc.), the infinitive (*aqoón*), etc., are unusual. Neither is the feminine noun *aqoón* « knowledge » justified by the normal derivational patterns; the C3 stem /aqoot/ should have *aqoónsho* f. — which is attested — or **aqood* m. From *aqoón* the two synonyms *aqoonn-i* and *aqoónn-in* « known person » are formed, both derivationally irregular.

The verb *yaal* « lie, stay » has the two suppletive stems /ool/ C1 and /oollaat/ C3 which are strange. The noun *ool* m. « exterior part, surface » is regular from the C1 stem /ool/, even though it shows a considerable semantic specialization. The action noun *oollimáad* m. « lying » has the suffix /aad/ of a small group of feminine action nouns from C1 verbs (eg., *caddib-aád* f. « torturing », *kallah-aád* f. « walking early in the morning »), but this suffix has the wrong gender here and is added to *ooll-im-*, that recalls *aqoónn-in*. *Taállo* f. « pile of earth or stones, monument » seems to be the 3f of the present tense plus a final *-o*. Also *ii* m. « lateral niche where the corpse lies in the grave » may belong here, unless a better etymology is found for the C1 verb *ii* « incline, turn », which is connected with it. *Aál* f., used only adverbially with possessive suffixes — *aásháy*, *aáshaá*, etc., to men « slowly », looks like a derivative of *yaal*, if its original meaning could be something like « (as if I was) lying ». On the other hand, also the C1 stem /aal/ attested, eg., in the imperative *áal*, the infinitive *aáli*, etc., is of interest here.

Yimaaddaa « come » has a stem extension *d* like *y-iraah-d-aa* « say », that is absent in those more Central varieties that have 1s *imaad-a*, 2s *t-imaad-daa* with /aa/, /taa/, etc., of the suffix conjugation. This stem extension still lacks a wholly satisfying explanation, *pace* Zaborski (1975, p. 47 ff.) and Sasse (1980, p. 160 f.). The C3 stems /imaat/ and especially /^oimat/, the deverbal noun *imáad* m. « coming, comer », and the derivative *timaáddo* f. « future » — which looks as being of the same type as *taállo* — are to be considered.

It has already been said that *yiraahdaa* « say » has /d/ rather than /r/ in the varieties that preserve this distinction after vowels. Yet no productive process explains the alternation between *yiraahdaa* and *yiraa*, nor the C1 stem /dbeh/ or the C3 stem /^oorat/. The feminine nouns *oradh* « saying, word » and *oróh* « word » contain the same root with different vocalisations. Probably also *éray* m. « insolent answer, word » belongs here, but it has *r* even in varieties that preserve /d/ after a vowel. Since, as will be seen below, also the vowel *e* is strange here — *o* would be expected —, it is possible to think that this is a loan-word

from a dialect that already had **d* > *r*, and that the original shape of the word should have been **edh-ay* > **erh-ay*, where *-ay* is a singulative suffix attested also, eg., in Somali *haweén-ay* « woman », as well as in Beja, Burji, Yaaku and Southern Cushitic (cf. Zaborski, 1986, pp. 39, 57, 188, 225, 277). Interestingly, **edh* is the stem shape preserved in Saho-Afar *edh-e* « say », in Jiiddu *ed-aal* ~ *er-aal* « say », as well as in Southern Oromo *y-ed'* « say »-in other varieties of Oromo this vers is *jed'*, with *yj*.

It has already been pointed out that the verb *yuwaadaa* « be able » has prefix-conjugated forms only in Southern and some Central varieties, while the CI verb *awóod* is used in the North and in several areas of the Centre. Also here no normal derivational rule accounts for the *oo* vocalism. There is also the feminine noun *awóod* « strength, energy », which if derived from the verb *awóod* should have masculine gender like most stem nouns from CI verbs.

Finally, the verb *yammuudaa* « die » has several unusual derivatives. *Tammootí* « animal killed when it was going to die because of a wound or a disease » contains /t-ammood/ and the same suffix *-tí* of *gal-tí* « foreigners, persons who came from somewhere », *gashaan-tí* « unmarried girl », etc. *Ummáad* m. « death » and *ummaad* CI « die » — spelt with one *m* in the *Dizionario somalo-italiano* (1985, p. 594) — belong here as well as *tummaatí* « wound caused by a pointed weapon », that has the same vocalization /t-ummaad-tí/ and had as its original meaning something like « deadly (wound) ».

Móod m. « not alive » (in the phrase *móod iyo nóol* « not alive and living property », ie. « objects and livestock ») belongs here, but it may be a loan from Arabic *mawt* « death » — yet with a different history than Somali *mówd* « death » — or Harari *mot* ~ *mut* « dead, death ». The C4 verb *mootán* « be dead » clearly derives from *móod*. Its *t* is probably to be explained as underlying /tt/ with morphological gemination as in *cuk-án* /cukk-án/ « satiated with water » (cf. Boni *j-a'ak-a* « drink » with ' < ° as confirmed, eg., by Dullay 'uk- « drink »), *diidd-án* « be opposed », *ká caagg-án* « be totally averse to », *yaabb-án* « be astonished », etc. In addition to this, the two Arabic loanwords *mówd* « death » and *méyd* « corpse » (from Arabic *mayt* « dead ») originated the two derivatives *mowtí* and *meytí*, both meaning « the dead, spirits of the dead ».

(6) Main derivatives and suppletive stems of the other Somali prefix-conjugated verbs

- a. *Yaqaan* « know »
 /aqoot/ v. C3 « know »
aqoón n.f. « knowledge »
 { *aqoonn-tí* } n. mf. « known person »
 { *aqoónn-in* }
- b. *Yaal* « lie, stay »
 /aal/ v. CI « lie, stay »
 /ool/ v. CI « lie, stay »
 /oollaat/ v. C3 « lie, stay »
óol n.m. « exterior part, surface »
oollimáad n.m. « lying »
aál n.f. in *aásháy*, *aáshaa* etc. « slowly »

taállo n.f. « heap of earth or stones, monument »
ílil n.m. « lateral niche in the grave »

- c. *Yimaaddaa* « come »
/imaat/ v. C3 « come »
/°imat/ v. C3 « come »
imáad n.m. « coming, comer »
timaáddo n.f. « future »
- d. *Yiraahdaa* « say »
/iraa/ v. prefix-conj. « say »
/dheh/ v. C1 « say »
/°orat/ v. C3 « say »
oraáh n.f. « saying, word »
oróh n.f. « word »
érey n.m. « insolent answer, word » (loanword?)
- e. *Yuwaadaa* « be able, can »
/awood/ v. C1 « be able, can »
awoód n.f. « strenght, energy »
- f. *Yammuudaa* « die »
/ummaad/ v. C1 « die »
ummaad n.m. « death »
tummaatí n.f. « wound caused by a pointed weapon »
tammootí n.f. « animal killed when it was going to die because of a wound or a disease »
móod n.m. « not alive » (loanword?)
mootán v. C4 « be dead »
mówd n.m. « death » (Arabic loanword)
méyd n.m. « corpse » (Arabic loanword)

{	<i>mowtí</i>	} n.f. « the dead, spirits of the dead »
	<i>meytí</i>	

3.2. It is well-known that agent nouns are commonly formed in Somali through the suffixes m. *-e* and f. *-to*, eg., *dhegéyste* m. « male listener » and *dhegeysato* f. « female listener » or, collectively, « listeners » from */dhegeys-at/* « listen » (cf. Puglielli, 1984a, p. 21 ff.). Less common suffixes are m. *-áa* and *-eén*, eg., *dil-áa* « killer » and *dhul-mar-eén* « traveller » (from *dhul* « country » and *mar* « pass »). In compounds agent nouns are often masculine stem-nouns (for the notion of stem-noun in Somali, cf. Puglielli, 1984a, p. 14 ff.), like *ari-jír* m. « shepherd » (*ári* « sheep and goats » *jír* « stay with »), *waraaba-la-hádal* « person who is believed to be able to speak to hyaenas » (*waraábe* « hyaena », *lá* « with », *hádal* « speak »), etc., or from C2 verbs *af-céllis* « interpreter » (*áf* « language », *céli* « return »), *malab-máris* « honey cuckoo, *cuculus indicator* » (*málab* « honey », *máris* « show »), etc.

The compound noun *gadaal-ka-imáad* m. « newcomer » (*gadaal* « after », *ká* « from ») contains the masculine stem-noun *imáad* and is thus of the same type

as *ari-jír* and *af-célis*. But a number of compounds from *yaqaan* « know » and *yaal* « lie, stay » contain instead of a masculine stem-noun the forms m. *-yaqáan* and *-yáal*, as well as f. *-taál*, that look like the 3m and, respectively, the 3f of the present stem. In some cases there is even f. *-taállo*, ie., the 3f of the present stem with the suffix *-o*. A short list of these forms is given in (7) below, which is not to be regarded as exhaustive.

- (7) a. *af-yaqáan* m. « person who knows languages (*áf*) »
gar-yaqáan m. « judge, person who knows the law (*gár*) »
wax-yaqáan m. « expert, person who knows things (*wáx*) »
 b. *dambas-yáal* m. « that lies in the ash (*dámbas*) », ie., « stone for supporting pots while cooking » « piece of wood in the ash »
díbad-yáal m. « exposed, open; that lies outside (*díbad*) »
if-yáal m. « exposed, open; that lies in the light (*íf*) »
 c. *daran-ku-taál* f. « that lies on (*kú*) the *daran*-grass », kind of edible root
dhex-taál f. « that lies between (*dhéx*) », « refrain (in a poem) »
 d. *dhex-taállo* f. variant form of *dhextaál*

It is interesting that very similar forms are attested as a productive type of agent noun in Afar. Indeed, Parker and Hayward (1985) report several forms like m. *yaadigi* « male knower », f. *taadigi* « female knower », pl. *taadago* « knowers » from *eedege* « know ». Here the masculine and feminine singular are identical with the 3m and 3f of the present tense with a nominal suffix *-i*, cf. *y-aadig-e* « he knows » and, respectively, *t-aadig-e* « she knows ». The plural has the feminine *t-* prefix, *a*-vocalism in the whole stem if the root allows it in its jussive stem, and final *-o*; it is thus formally similar to Somali f. *t-aáll-o*. Other examples of this type for Afar are *yaaguri* « rinderpest » from *oogore* « beat, strike », and even *yasgalli* « conjunction (gramm.) » from *esgelle* « mix together ».

As a consequence, Somali *yaqáan* m. « knower », *yáal* m. « lie » — as well as f. *taál* and *taállo* —, and probably even *taállo* « heap of stones » (lit. « that which lies ») and *timaáddo* « future » (lit. « that which comes ») are to be seen as relics of an old type of agent noun.

4. Let us consider now the shapes of the stems in the different forms of the prefix verbs and of their derivatives that have been seen so far.

First of all, there is a group of stems with long *aa* between the first and the second stem consonant. Stems with one consonant only have this *aa* either before it like *aal* or after it like *iraa*, which was said in section 1 to derive from **iǧhaa*, ie., from a biconsonantal stem with no intervening vowel between the first and the second consonant. The feminine noun *oraáh* concords with this pattern, but its first vowel is *o*, while the present, past and jussive stems of the root **ǧ-h* « say » always have *i* as first vowel in Somali: *iraah(d)*, *iraa*, *iri*. Since *o* is the vowel that characterises a number of derived stems, as will be seen later in more detail, it is better to regard *oraáh* as being marked both as an *a*-stem and as an *o*-stem.

Ahay and *ah* are the only prefix-conjugated present stems with short *a* seen so far. If /ah/ in *t-ih-iin* is syncopated from an older **t-ahay-iin* as argued in section 2, we have that Somali present stems with prefix conjugation are of the types /aCaaC/, /iCaaC(d)/, /uCaaC/, /aaC/, /iCaa/ (only in *iraa*), and /aCaC/. (For /aCCuuC/ see below in this section).

Short *a* is attested also in the C4 forms of *áh* « be », as well as in the C3 forms of /°imat/ and /°orat/. Because of *iraa*, *iri* and the possible loanword *ér-ey*, /°orat/ should be seen as /°or-at/, i.e., as consisting in the stem /or/ and the middle root-extension /at/. By comparison with the stem /iraah(d)/, /or/ appears as a « reduced » stem. The same analysis can be made for /°im-at/, from *yimaaddaa* that has indeed the monoconsonantal past stem /imi/ like /iri/. In this manner, putting aside *áh* as the only C4 stem alternating with a prefix-conjugated stem, the short *a* in /°or-at/ and /°im-at/ actually belongs to their root-extension.³

The stems with *aa* and *a* are listed below in (8), distinguishing whether they occur in verbal forms (v) or in nouns (n).

(8) A-stems

i. Stems with long *aa*

- /aCaaC/: v *aqaan*
n *y-aqáan*
/iCaaC(d)/: v *imaad(d)*, /*imaat*/; *iraah(d)*
n *imáad*, *t-imaádd-o*
/uC(C)aaC/: v *uwaad*; *ummaad*
n *ummáad*, /*t-ummaad-ti*/
/aaC/: v *aal*
n *aál*, *y-áal*, *t-aál*, *t-aáll-o*
/iraa/: v *iraa*

ii. Stems with short *a*

- /aC/: v *ah*
/aCaC/: v *ahay*

iii. O/a-stem

- /oCaaC/: n *oraáh*

Another group of stems has *oo* corresponding to *aa* in the types /aCaaC/ and /aaC/. Notice that in two verbs the change is not just from *aa* to *oo*, but from the pattern /uC(C)aaC/ to /aC(C)ooC/. Three stems from the root **q-h* « say » have short *o* as their first stem vowel: *oraáh* and the « reduced » stem /°or-at/, which were seen above, and the feminine noun *oróh*. Since the second *o* of *oróh* can be an echo vowel as in *kóboc* « fat » vs. *kobc-íd* « fattening » or *erég* « what has been entrusted » vs. *erg-íd* « entrusting », etc., *oróh* may be seen as a development of an older stem **oqh*.

Móod and its derivative *mootán* are instances of a pattern /CooC(C)/ that could belong here. Yet it has already been stated that it could be a loanword from Arabic or another Semitic language like Harari. This suspicion is strengthen-

³ The stem /°im-at/, whose forms with *-n* only are attested in Somali (eg., infinitive *imán*, negative imperative plural *ha imannína*, etc.), would have in its forms with the dental stop the alternation **int-~*imat-~*imann-*. For instance, the past tense would be 3m **intay*, 3f **imatay*, etc. Interestingly, the stem *int-* is attested in two cognates of this verb, i.e., Burji *int-ay-* « come » and Awngi *int-* « come » (a prefix-conjugated verb, eg., perfect definite 3m *y-int-a*, 3f *t-int-a*). It is thus possible that Somali forms like the infinitive *imán* attest that in the past there were in the paradigm of « come » forms where the sequence **int-* could be interpreted as an alternant of the stem /°im-at/ in some varieties of Somali (on the problem of the verb « come » in East Cushitic see also Hayward, 1979).

ed by the fact that all the other stems from prefix-conjugated verbs that have been seen so far always have an initial vowel and not a consonant.

(9) O-stems

i. Stems with long *oo*

/aC(C)ooC/: v /aqoot/; *awood*
 n *aqóón, aqoonn-í, aqoónn-in; awóód; /t-ammod-tí/*
 /ooC/: v *ool, /ooll-aat/*
 n *óol, ool-im-dad*

ii. Stems with short *o*

/oCoC/: n *oróh*

iii. Possible loan-word

/CooC(C)/: v *moot-án*
 n *móod*

Stems with *ii* or *i* as characteristic vowel are attested in past stems and in the jussive stem of *yaal* « lie, stay ». If *íil* « lateral niche in the grave », is a derivative of this verb, it would be the only derivative noun from a prefix-conjugated verb that has *ii* as its stem vowel in Somali.

Also the feminine noun *yaqiín* « certainty » has *ii* in its stem, but it is a loan-word from Arabic *yaqiín* « certainty » (from the verb *yaqina*, imperfect *yayqanu* « be certain »). Its similarity with Somali *aqóón* « knowledge » and *y-aqaan* « he knows » is striking, and the fact that there are no clear cognates to this verb in the other Omo-Tana languages makes it tempting to regard Somali *yaqaan* as created analogically from the Arabic loanword *yaqiín* « certainty », reinterpreted as *y-aqiín*. Yet this verb has possible cognates in Yaaku *qeeno'* « know » (where the correspondence between Somali *q* and Yaaku *q* is regular, cf. Sasse, 1979, pp. 47 f., 54), and in a group of words in Highland East Cushitic (HEC), ie., Sidamo *egen-* (Gasparini, 1983, p. 179) or *eegen-* (Moreno, 1940, p. 213) « know », Timbaaro and Alaba *enkee'n-* « know », Qabena *inke'n-* « know ». Both Moreno (1940, p. 213) and Sasse (1982, p. 67), who spells *eegan*, do not mention the cognates of this Sidamo verb in the Northern HEC languages, ie., in Timbaaro, Alaba and Qabena, and connect it with Somali *eeg-* « look at », Oromo *eeg-* « guard, watch », etc. Yet even though the correspondence between Sidamo *g*, Northern HEC *nk* and *q* in Somali and Yaaku deserves an explanation, it seems clear that Somali *yaqaan* « know » has cognates within East Cushitic. As a consequence, one may speak at most of interference with Arabic *yaqiín*, eg., in helping to preserve an old verb that was otherwise lost in the other Omo-Tana languages.⁴

⁴ To establish a direct link between Somali *y-aqaan* « know » and the Somali C4 verb *óg* « know » as, eg., Ferrario (1923) does is wrong. Indeed, Somali *óg* has good cognates in Dasenech *og*, Elmolo *ogi* « know », Arbore **oq* in *mooq* < **ma-oq* « ignorant » (with Arbore *q* corresponding to *g* in other Omo-Tana languages, as in Arbore *meqé* « name » vs. Somali *mágac*, Rendille *mágaḥ*, etc.) and Oromo *og-eessa* « expert ». In this case, Omo-Tana and Oromo *g* may derive from **q*, because the counterparts of this verb are Awngi prefix-conjugated *aq* « know », Kemant suffix-conjugated *ax* « know » and possibly Bilin prefix-conjugated *'aq'* « know » (in *ta'aq'e* « you know », cf. Hetzron 1976, 33). Ethiopian Semitic borrowed this verb from Agaw (?) already in Ge'ez *oqā* « know » and there still are, eg., Amharic *awwāqā* « know » and Harari *aqā* « know ». But Somali usually

A small group of forms has *e* or *ee* as their characteristic vowel, but they all have a marginal status within Somali. Indeed, /e/ and /een/, that provide two past-tense paradigms of « say », have good cognates with *e* in other Cushitic languages (cf. note 2), but they are the only prefix-conjugated past tenses with *e/ee* in Somali. As a consequence, they can be regarded as relics. As for the stem /eC/ in *ér-ay* « insolent answer, word », it has already been said that it may be a loanword (cf. section 3.1.). *Dhéh*, imperative of *yiraahdaa*, which developed into a suffix-conjugated paradigm in Central and Southern varieties of Somali, eg., present tense 3m *dhah-aa*, 3f *dhah-daa*, infinitive *dhíh-i*, etc., is probably a very old form, besides being the only consonant initial stem from a prefix-conjugated verb with a clearly Cushitic tradition — all the other stems begin with vowels, but for *móod* and *moot-án* that may be loan words —. In fact, it has the shape *CVC* also in Afar (*in-)**đih* and Rendille *đah*, which both are irregular imperatives of « say ».

Finally, *y-ammuud-aa* « die » is the only instance of the type /aCCuuC/ in the set of stems connected with prefix-conjugated verbs in Somali. The stem /ammuud/ is isolated also in its being the only prefix-conjugated present tense that does not have *a* or *aa* between its first and second root consonant. Several Somali native speakers regard this verb as a loanword from Arabic, which indeed has *y-amuut-u*, imperfect of *maata* « die » — even though this verb is attested also in Ethiopian Semitic, eg., Harari *yimut~yimot*, imperfect of *mōta* « die » —. Yet **mwt* « die, death » is an old Afroasiatic root — cf., eg., Coptic *mowt* « be dead », Tuareg *ém̄mēt* « die », hausa *mútu* « die », etc. —, and it may have been preserved independently in Cushitic. Rendille, an Omo-Tana language closely related with Somali and spoken in Northern Kenya in an area where the influence of Arabic should be relatively insignificant, has indeed present 3m *y-amut*, 3p *y-amuut-in*, past 3m *y-umuy*, 3p *y-umaat-en*, jussive 3m *y-umaat-e* « die ». The Rendille jussive stem /umaat/ is the same as Somali /ummaad/ in *ummad* « death » and /t-ummaad-tí/, and this is the stem that one would expect to be used in the Somali prefix-conjugated present, cf. the Rendille jussive stems /imaat/, /iđaađ/, /ubaad/ vs. Somali /imaad(d)/, /iraah/, and, respectively, /uwaad/. Boni, that usually has the same vocalisation as Somali in its prefix-conjugated verbs, has this type /uC(C)aaC/ in its *j-uwaad-a* « he dies » (Past *j-uwud-i*), but the root is **w-d*, the same as Somali *wéd* m. « death » and *wéd* v. C1 « cause somebody's death ». Instead of the expected present tense **y-ummaad-aa*, Somali thus has *y-ammuud-aa* which, rather than being an unlikely retention of the type of present-tense formation attested in Rendille, should be regarded as a contamination of the autochthonous form **y-ummaad-aa* with a Semitic imperfect form of this root. The reason for this innovation may have been both the quasi-synonymy of **y-ummaad-aa* « he dies » and *y-imaad(d)-aa* « he comes » and the strong emotional value of this verb.

5.1. If one disregards the stems attested in forms like *ér-ay* « insolent answer, word », *móod* « not alive » and *y-ammuud-aa* « die » which, as argued in the preceding sections, may be loans or contaminations with foreign forms, the stems

keeps Omo-Tana **g* well apart from **q*. As a consequence, even though one cannot exclude that the two sets of cognates of Somali *óg* and *y-aqaan* may ultimately derive from the same root, they are clearly separated within Somali and Omo-Tana as well.

that occur in the derivatives and the suppletive forms of the Somali prefix verbs can be brought down to a few types.

First of all, there is a group of masculine and feminine nouns consisting in the bare *a*-stem: *imáad* m., *ummáad* m., *áal* f. Also m. *íl* « side niche » can be brought into this group if these nouns are seen as containing not the present stem, which is always an *a*-stem — with the only exception of the new form *y-ammuud-aa*, as seen in (2) above —, but rather the jussive stem which is usually an *a*-stem but can also be an *i*-stem in the case of *yaal* « lie, stay ». In compounds the *a*-stem — which generally speaking is /aCaaC/, /iCaaC(d)/, /uC(C)aaC/ or /aaC/ according to the root, the other types being irrelevant here — forms agent nouns with the 3m prefix like *y-aqáan* and *y-áal*, and even with the 3f prefix like *t-áal*. With the *t*- prefix and the suffixes *-o* or *-tí* it forms several derived nouns. (Yet nouns with both *t*- and *-o* are likely to be old agent nouns, cf. section 3.2.). It may be inflected as a suffix-conjugated CI verb like *ummáad* « die » and *áal* « lie, stay », or even as a C3 verb (/imaat/ « come »). The C3 forms of /imaat/, however, may also be analysed as /im-aat/, ie. as containing the same « reduced » stem as /°im-at/ and the C3 extension /aat/.

Most of the other derived and suppletive forms contain an *o*-stem — according to the root /aC(C)ooC/, /ooC/ and /oCoC/—. There are both masculine and feminine stem-nouns like m. *óol* and f. *aqoón*, *oróh*, etc. The *o*-stem forms nouns with the suffixes *-i* or *-in*, and with the prefix *t*- and the suffix *-tí*. In addition to this, there are forms inflected as CI verbs (*awóod*, *óol*) and as C3 verbs (/aqoot/).⁵ In one case, maybe through analogy with /im-aat/, there is /ooll-aat/, ie., an *o*-stem with the C3 suffix /aat/.

Finally, the f. noun *oraáh* was seen as an instance of the type /oCaaC/, a sort of blend of the *a*-stem *iraah(d)* and the *o*-stem of *oróh*. These types are listed in (10) below.

5.2. Having isolated these types of derivative and suppletive forms of prefix-conjugated verbs, it becomes possible to look whether other nouns and verbs of the same types may attest that other prefix-conjugated verbs existed in the past in Somali but are not alive as such any more in this language.

Consider first the masculine noun *órod* « running » and the CI verb *órod* (infinitive *órd-i*) « run ». They are respectively the masculine stem-noun and the CI verb from an *o*-stem; the type is the same as m. *óol* and CI *awóod*, *óol*, while the stem is /oCoC/ (~ /oCC/) as *oróh*. Rendille and Boni have prefix-conjugated cognates of this verb, respectively present *y-arid*, past *y-irid*, and present *j-iraad-a*, past *j-irid-i* « run » (cf. Sasse, 1980, p. 163). Interestingly, in Saho-Afar this verb is prefix-conjugated *erd-e* « run », with the same stem shape as *eqh-e* « say ». This similarity is preserved in Somali *órod* and *oróh*.

Several compound nouns have as their last element *-yáhan* « eater, person who is very familiar with » like, eg., *ceeriin-yáhan* « eater of raw meat », *aqoon-yáhan* « expert, scholar ». The form looks like an agent noun of the same type as *gar-*

⁵ The change from *n* to /t/ in the second root consonant is probably due to analogy here. The starting point may have been the invariable negative forms *má óol* « didn't lie, didn't stay » and *má aqoón* « didn't know », with Ø-ending like *má arág* « didn't see » and *má maqál* « didn't hear ». *Má óol* could only be a CI form, while *má aqoón* looked like the negative of a C3 verb in /oot/ such as *má riyóon* « he didn't dream ». The proportion was then *má riyóon*: /riyoot/ = *má aqoón*: x.

yaqaan « judge » or *if-yáal* « exposed », i.e., it implies a 3m *y-ahan* « he eats » with an *a*-stem of the same type /aCaC/ as *y-ahay* « he is ». Actually, this is the very stem of the present tense of the verb « eat » in all the other Omo-Tana languages with the only exception of Dasenech! It has suffix-conjugation in Maay *aam-* « eat » and Bayso *aam-* « eat », that anyhow are languages that lost almost entirely the old conjugation by prefixes. But it has prefix conjugation in Jiiddu 3m *y-aam-ë* « he eats », Boni 3m *j-aham-a*, Rendille 3m *y-aḥam*, 3p *y-amḥ-in*, Arbore 3m *y-áham-a*, Elmolo 3m *y-aam-a*. This verb is cognate with Saho-Afar *okom-e~okm-e* « eat » whose stem /akam/ is attested, eg., in the Afar jussive *t-akam-ay* « let her eat! » or the Afar agent noun *y-akam-i* m. « irritation of the skin » (cf. for this semantic shift the Somali iterative *cúncun* « eat » and « itch »); it is one of the clearest instances of *k > h / a—a in Omo-Tana.

The feminine action noun occurs in *gees-taán* « disease that causes heavy pains » (lit. « which eats the side »); its original form was **t-ahám*, but **m* gave *n* syllable-finally as in *-yáhan* — and more generally almost everywhere in Somali —, and *h* vanished between similar vowels (for other examples of *h* > \emptyset cf. Lamberti, 1983, p. 332 f.).

Somali preserves a considerable number of other nouns derived from this verb. *Oón* f. « food » is a feminine noun from the *o*-stem like *oróh* « word »; its reconstructible form many be **ohóm* with **h* > \emptyset as in *-t-aán*, but it should be pointed out that all the words with the *o*-stem of this root in Somali have *oom~oon* and never retain *h*. *Oom-i* f. « food » is an *o*-stem with the suffix *-i* like *aqoonn-i* « known person ». Interestingly, two *a*-stems are attested for this root: /**aham*/ and /**ahm*/. The first one occurs in *-yáhan*, **t-ahám* and *gees-tahányo* f., a variant form of *gees-taán*. Notice that nouns of the type *t*+ [*a*-stem]+*yo* such as *t-ahán-yo* had not been met so far. The stem /**ahm*/, that has an exact parallel in Rendille *-amḥ-* < **aḥm-* in, eg., *y-amḥ-in* « they eat », occurs in *af-táhmó* « ability of speaking well », where *t-áhm-o* is of the same type as *t-imaádd-o* and *t-aáll-o*. (This compound gave rise to *af-táhan* m. « person who knows how to speak well » through contamination with the type *aqoon-yáhan*; the occurrence of the feminine prefix *t-* in a masculine noun is otherwise inexplicable). Also *áhm-i* and *áhm-in* m. « fat animals to be killed and eaten » contain /**ahm*/ in two forms of a type [*a*-stem]+ { *i*, *in* } that had not been met till now. *Oomatí* f. « food » clearly contains the *o*-stem /**oom*/, but the final part *-atí* has to be explained.

Dhiig-yácab « blood-thirsty » (lit. « blood drinker ») contains the m. action noun *yácab* that should imply an old 3m **y-acab* « he drinks » with /aCaC/ like *y-ahay* and **y-ahan*. The same root occurs in Somali *cáb* « drink » as a suffix-conjugated CI verb, but it has prefix conjugation in Afar present *y-aáub-e*, past *y-ooob-e* « drink ». Rendille 3m *y-abḥub*, 3p *y-abḥuub-in*, past 3m *y-ubḥub*, 3p *y-ubḥaab-en* « drink ». Sasse (1980, p. 167) showed that this verb contains the same root, with **c* > *ḥ* as usually in Rendille and metathesis as in *y-amḥ-in* < **y-aḥm-in*. Rendille thus attests the three stems /**a^cbuub*/, /**u^cbub*/ and /**u^bbaab*/, and it is striking that the last one should not occur in Somali, since it has the same vocalisation type /uC(C)aaC/ in *uwaad* and *ummaad* at least. This, together with the fact that Somali lacks other derivatives from **y-acab* « drink » that conform to the patterns listed in (10) below, makes it likely that the isolated form *-yácab* « drinker » is a loan from Afar. The original action

noun *y-aa* 'ab-i could be easily remoulded into the more Somali-like *-y-ácab* that conforms to the morphological patterns of this language.

A small group of words attest the two stems /asooll/ and /osol/ ~ /osl/, that are typical of the derivation of a prefix-conjugated verb: *asoóll-i* v. C1 « mate (subj. ram) », *asoóll-án* and *osl-án*. v. C4 « be on heat (subj. sheep) », *ósol* n.m. « (sheep) at heat ». A prefix-conjugated verb with a root *s-l is attested in Rendille *y-asil* « lie down », Arbore *y-éssel-a* « cause to stand, stop », both old causatives of *yaal* « lie, stay » (cf. Sasse, 1980, p. 167). If *asoólli* and *oslán* are cognates of these two verbs, Somali would attest a semantic specialisation from « cause to lie, cause to stop », to « mate », maybe through the C4 derivatives *asoóll-án* and *osl-án* « be caused to stand still while mating (subj. ewe) ».

Finally, the two words *ugáas* m. « tribal chief » and *agaás-in* m. « orderly arrangement, government » may be seen as instances of the same type as m. *um-máad* and, respectively, *áhm-in*, i.e. as attesting two types of *a*-stems /ugaas/ and /agaas/ of an old prefix verb meaning « govern, direct » or something similar. Indeed, this verb had to be a loanword from Ethiopian Semitic, and particularly from Harari *gāza'a* « govern, own, posses » which has, eg., imperfect 3m *yigāz* that could easily be Somalized into **y-ugaas* or **y-agaas*. (Other Ethiopian Semitic languages have, eg., Amharic and Argobba *gāzza* « govern », Tigrinya *gāz'e* « govern » Ge'ez *gāz'ā* « govern » and 'igzi' « master ». This verb was also borrowed into Saho *igzi'e* or *igziye* « rule over » according to the dialect). The Somali forms, beside showing that it was fitted into the derivational pattern of the prefix-conjugated verbs, indicate also that the borrowing took place rather recently, most likely during the political hegemony of Harar over the North-Western Somalis in the XVIIth-XIXth centuries, when other titles of the Harari state such as *gārād* and *mālāq* were borrowed into Somali as titles of tribal chiefs. Indeed, Ethiopian Semitic *z* could not be preserved as *s* otherwise, but would have changed into *d* in Somali, like Omo-Tana **z* (eg., in *wádn-e* « heart » from **wazn-*) and the older Arabic loanwords (eg., *dágo* « first month in the year », « animals given each year as alms to the poor » vs. the more recent *sáko* « alms tax », « first month of the muslim year » from Arabic *zakaah*).⁶

In conclusion, it has been seen that by analysing the derived words and suppletive stems of the prefix-conjugated verbs in Somali it is possible to find a derivational system that involves internal ablaut, prefixes and suffixes in a manner that differs significantly from the productive derivational morphology of Somali (cf., eg., Puglielli, 1984a). In addition to this, words of derivational types characteristic of prefix-conjugated verbs make it possible to find traces in Somali of verbs that

⁶ Cerulli (1964: 57) connects Somali *ugáas* with Agaw: Bilin *gaš* « become old, be the first », Quara *gaš* « become big », Kemant *gaš* « become big ». I think that the Harari etymology is to be preferred, since it has an exact parallel in Saho. Interestingly, Somali lacks cognates to Boni Pr *j-igaas-a*, Pa *j-igis* « kill », Rendille Pr 3m *y-agis*, 3p *y-agis-in*, Pa 3m *y-igis*, 3p *y-igaas-en* « kill », even though this verb is attested in Southern Somali dialects like Garre *igaas*, Tunni *egees*, and Dabarre *igees* which all mean « kill ». If Somali borrowed from Harari **y-ugaas* or **y-agaas* « he rules over, he governs », its great similarity with the old **y-igaas* « he kills » may easily explain why this verb was replaced by the verb *dil* in Maay and all the Central and Northern varieties of Somali. Ironically the old Somali **y-igaas* « he kills » may survive in Harari *yägüssi* « malicious, bad, wicked », whose original meaning would thus be « killer » (even though Leslau, 1963, pp. 76, 163, explains this word differently). The final *-i* may be regarded as an internal development in Harari of this Somali loanword. The same old agent noun **y-igaas* « killer » may survive also in Somali *yaxaas* m. « crocodile », that could then have **g* > *h* as on irregular sound change in order to avoid the older *tatoo* word.

are inflected in this way in cognate languages, such as « run » and « eat », as well as to identify a few borrowings from other languages.

(10) Derivatives and suppletive stems of prefix-conjugated verbs. (Underlined forms lack an actually occurring verb of this type in Somali).

a. Nouns

i. Stem-nouns

[a-stem] m.:	<i>imáad</i> « coming, comer »; <i>ummáad</i> « death »; <i>ugáas</i> « tribal chief »
[a-stem] f.:	<i>aál</i> « lying (?) »
[i-stem] m.:	<i>iil</i> « side niche in a grave »
[o-stem] m.:	<i>óol</i> « surface »; <i>órod</i> « running »
[o-stem] f.:	<i>aqoón</i> « knowledge »; <i>awóod</i> « strength »; <i>oróh</i> « saying »; <i>oón</i> « food »
[o/a-stem] f.:	<i>oraáh</i> « saying »

ii. Nouns with prefixes and/or suffixes

[a-stem] + $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i \\ in \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ m.:	<i>áhm-i</i> , <i>áhm-in</i> « fat animal to be killed and eaten »; <i>agaás-in</i> « government, orderly arrangement »
[o-stem] + $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i \\ in \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ m./f.:	<i>aqoonn-i</i> , <i>aqoonn-in</i> « known person »; <i>ooll-im-áad</i> « lying »; <i>oom-i</i> « food »
[o-stem] + <i>atí</i> f.:	<i>oom-atí</i> « food »
y + [a-stem] m.:	<i>-y-aqáan</i> « knower »; <i>-y-áal</i> « lyer »; <i>-y-áhan</i> « eater »; <i>-y-ácab</i> « drinker »
t + [a-stem] f.:	<i>-t-áal</i> « lyer »; <i>-t-aán</i> < * <i>t-ahám</i> « eater »
t + [a-stem] + <i>o</i> f.:	<i>t-immaádd-o</i> « future »; <i>t-aáll-o</i> « heap of stones »; <i>-t-áhm-o</i> « expertise (?) »
t + [a-stem] + <i>yo</i> f.:	<i>-t-ahán-yo</i> « eater (?) »
t + [a-stem] + <i>tí</i> f.:	<i>tummaatí</i> ← /t-ummaad-tí/ « wound caused by a pointed weapon »
t + [o-stem] + <i>tí</i> f.:	<i>tammootí</i> ← /t-ammoood-tí/ « animal killed before it dies naturally »

b. Verbs

[a-stem] C1:	<i>ummáad</i> « die », <i>áal</i> « lie, stay »
[a-stem] C3:	/imaat/ (?) « come »

[o-stem] C1:	awóod « be able »; óol « lie, stay »; <u>órod</u> « run »; <u>ósol</u> « be in heat »
[o-stem] C3:	/aqoot/ « know »
[o-stem] + i C1:	<u>asoóll-i</u> « mate (subj. ram) »
[o-stem] + aat C3:	/ooll-aat/ « lie, stay »
[reduced stem] + at C3:	/°im-at/ « come »; /°or-at/ « say »
[reduced stem] + aat C3:	/im-aat/ (?) « come ».

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Notes on Somali Verbal Aspect

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe some phenomena concerning the category of verbal aspect in Somali. I am not presenting a systematic study but simply a number of facts that seem to be worthwhile discussing. The Somali data are examined in the framework of a model of verbal aspect applied to Polish, proposed by Antinucci & Gebert (1975-76 and 1977). Slavic languages are considered by linguists as « classic aspect languages » because no verbal form can exist in them without being morphologically and semantically marked either as perfective or as imperfective.

Our model is based on the assumption that the aspectual value of a verb is determined by its meaning. Specifically there is a fundamental difference in aspectual behaviour between stative verbs and verbs whose meaning involves a change of some kind. On the other hand the semantic values of STATE and CHANGE are present in aspectual functions themselves; namely, the perfective aspectual forms are the result of assertion bearing on the semantic component of CHANGE whereas the imperfective ones, at a very abstract level, realize the meaning of STATE.

1.1. *The imperfective form*

It should be specified that in Slavic and in many other languages the same imperfective form covers a range of meanings, such as: the durative meaning (which may be paraphrased by: « be doing something »), the repetitive meaning as well as habitual and potential/generic meaning.

The reasons of the formal identity for all these values is the common semantic denominator of STATE. Leaving aside all the details of such an analysis, presented in Antinucci and Gebert (1975-76), the main issues are as follows.

1.1.1. *The durative meaning.* The durative meaning is described in terms of a locative structure in which the event is treated like a material object. The object's INTERIOR coincides with the referent of the agent (or of the patient in non-agentive, processive verbs). Obviously, being located in the interior of something belongs to the category of STATE; it is neither a process, nor a change.

Such a description may appear excentric for Slavic languages, but a number of languages realize this semantic analysis overtly, starting from Italian:

(1) *Sto a lavorare* « I am working »

I-am at working.

Similarly, in archaic and dialectal English we have:

(2) *Fred's been a' singing.*

In the above example (reported by Comrie 1976: 99), the verbal noun is preceded by a locative preposition: *a'*. A number of data in this respect is offered by African languages as well, as for instance by Chadic (see E. Wolff 1979) or by Mande languages (see Heine and Reh 1984: 206) realizing the imperfective meaning by means of locative structures. In Ewe, Igbo and Yoruba analogous locative structures occur to express progressive (that is imperfective-durative value) (Heine and Reh 1984: 123; Comrie 1976).

1.1.2. *The iterative meaning.* Another semantic value realized by the imperfective forms is the iterative, covering the repetitive, habitual and potential/generic functions. In the model of aspect to which I am referring here, it has been described in terms of the semantic component of ADDITION. It corresponds to the notion of a sum, of a collection of objects (things) which may or may not be of the same type. In case of the material objects of the same type, the semantic component of ADDITION is represented as the category of plural in nouns. If such a collection of objects is of temporal kind, in other words, if they are not material objects, but events, the operation of ADDITION gives the iterative meaning as a result.

Both COINCIDENCE, responsible for the durative meaning and ADDITION, present in the whole range of iterative semantic values, can be realized formally in the same way, as in Slavic languages, by the imperfective form of the verb (or by the Italian imperfect: *mentre andavo, andavo sempre*), being semantic components of STATE.¹

2. The Imperfectives in Somali

I will now try to show that Somali and some of its variations (specifically its Central variation, Dabarre) offer evidence for this stative nature of imperfectives, in general. In fact each of the above listed meanings is realized in Somali by means of a stative marker.

2.1. Durative value

Let us consider the durative value. Somali uses the so called « progressive » form to realize it, which is for standard Somali:

(3) *Waan shaqeeynayaa/shaqeeynanay* « I am/was working »

F-I am-working was-working²

The verbal forms in these examples are derived from the following periphrastic construction:

(4) *shaqayn* (verbal noun) + *hayaa* (present)/*hayay* (past) (the auxiliary *have*).

The contracted form of standard Somali appears as fully periphrastic in the Mudug variation, where we have:

(5) *waan shaqayn hayaa*

¹ COINCIDENCE can be realized in English as the verb *to stay, to have* or *to be in a place*, undoubtedly stative verbs. On the other hand, ADDITION, expressing an abstract notion of a collection of events, does not imply any change or development and, at an abstract level, it belongs to the category of STATE too.

² F is used in glosses, denoting a focus marker.

or in Dabarre, a Central Somali variation:

(6) *sheqaashow heeshë/heeshtë/etc.*

(apparently in this Somali variation, the progressive form does not exist for the past).

Thus the durative meaning is expressed in Somali by a stative construction (similarly to English: *I am working* or to Italian: *sto lavorando*), since the verb *hay* (have/keep) is a stative verb.³

2.2. The iterative in Somali

The label of « iterative » in classic aspect languages covers a number of meanings, such as habitual, repetitive and potential/generic.

2.2.1. *Habitual function in Somali.* The first one is realized in Somali by a periphrastic construction;

(7) *Wuu keeni jiray* « He used to bring »

F-he bring stayed

with the past of the stative verb *jir* « stay » (the whole paradigm of which is: *jiray/jirtay/jiray/jirtay/jirnay/jirteen/jireen*) as auxiliary. The corresponding value in Dabarre is realized by the verb *can* which has been desemanticized as an auxiliary:

(8) *Un kerī* « He used to eat »

eat could

(9) *Waan woo dhan kerī*⁴ « He used to drink milk »

milk F drink could

Thus, the stative nature of the habitual meaning is realized overtly by the auxiliary verb occurring in these Somali constructions.⁵

2.2.2. *Repetitive function in Somali.* Let us consider now the repetitive event. In the model of the verbal aspect to which I am referring here, such value is considered as a realization of a collection of events seen as temporal objects. Thus, as said above, repetition for events is what plural is for material objects.

What is interesting for Somali (and according to Heine and Reh 1984 this is true also for a number of other African languages) is that such value is exhibited overtly by the reduplicated verbal forms. Reduplication is a device used by a number of languages to reflect physically the idea of repetition. In other words, it is a material realization of the mental operation of ADDITION, of a sum. Thus, one of the semantic values marked by reduplicated forms is the repetitive event. But, as it can be seen, reduplicated forms realize a range of meanings much broader than the repetitive function.

2.2.2.1. *Reduplication in Somali.* Heine and Reh (1984) observe that reduplicated forms in African languages mark either a quantity or an intensity. The quantity marking can refer either to the action or to its participant. If it refers to the action, it can have the following values: frequent (what I call repetitive), durative, habitual, stative. If it refers to the participant it can have a distributive or a plural meaning.

³ A. Zaborski (1975: 60), discussing its etymology, relates it to the verb « be », following Moreno (1955) who derives the form *hay* from *ak*.

⁴ The same verb is used in its primary meaning in the present tense: *mësë un kerë* « I cannot eat ».

⁵ In this respect, Heine and Reh (1984) observe that in African languages « Habitual aspects, similar to progressive aspects, tend to go back to “durative” verbs like “stay”, “live, exist” or “remain”. » (p. 128), offering thus a further evidence of the stative value of the habitual meaning.

Let us see now how the above listed meanings are realized concretely in Somali: ⁶

Frequent event

(10) *Wuu qurquriyay* « He drank one draught after another »

F-he drank-one-draught-after-another

(11) *Wuu cuncunay* « He ate it repeatedly by small bites »

F-he ate-many-times

as opposed to: *wuu cunay* « he ate »

(12) *Wuu daadegayaa* « he is going down repeatedly »

F-he is-going-down-repeatedly

as opposed to: *wuu degayaa* « he is going down ».

Durative event

(13) *Wuu laalaabayaa* « He keeps folding »

F-he keeps-folding

compare to: *wuu laabayaa* « he is folding ».

Apparently, this kind of « durative event » corresponds to the « progressive » value of the imperfective form. But in reality the durative meaning in this example (it is the only one I have found as far as Somali is concerned to illustrate Heine and Reh's classification; in fact, the authors themselves do not give any examples) is of a different kind. It refers to verbs that can be defined as « inherently iterative » (see Antinucci and Gebert 1976) which means that they denote internally structured events that can be seen as a repetition of an elementary single event. Thus « to keep folding » means « to fold many times » ⁷.

In conclusion, this « durative meaning » represented by reduplicated verbs is closer to the repetitive meaning rather than to the progressive one.

Habitual event

(14) *Wuu tegteгаа* « He goes usually »

F-he goes-usually

derived from: *wuu tegaa* « he goes ».

Stative event

As a result of reduplication, action verbs change into stative verbs; thus *xir* (« to close something »), the intransitive counterpart of which is *xiran* « to be closed or linked », reduplicated gives *xirxiran* meaning « to be closed (of character) ».

Heine and Reh (1984) give some more examples of this stativization process by means of reduplication in other African languages, i.e. in Ewe: *dzó* - « to leave »; *dzó-dzó* - « left ».

The facts offer further overt evidence for the existence of the common semantic denominator of STATE in the repetitive, habitual event and the stative event.

⁶ Reduplication in Somali has been studied by Roberto Ajello (1981).

⁷ Some other examples of this kind of verbs that have some precise syntactic properties in their aspectual behaviour in Slavic languages are the following: « to talk », « to cough », « to knock », « to cry », « to dance » and many, many others corresponding to the category of « activity verbs » described by Vendler (1967).

Quantity

When quantity concerns the participant, following Heine's and Reh's classification (1984), it can exhibit two functions represented by the semantic component of ADDITION. The first one is the distributive function illustrated by the following examples:

- (15) *qaybsan* « to be divided »
qaybqaybsan « to be divided in more than two parts »
- (16) *jeex* « to tear »
jeexjeex « to tear in small pieces »
- (17) *jaban* « broken »
wuu jabajanyahay « broken in several pieces » (also: « broken more than once » - repetitive function).

Thus the distributive meaning is realized by change of state verbs when the resultant state conveyed by the event is applied to a plurality of objects (it refers typically to events that require two participants - therefore to transitive verbs).

When the event is a STATE not resultant from a change (and this is typically the case of events requiring one participant), the reduplicated form can occur only with the plural of the subject. Thus we can have:

- (18) *Naaguhu waa yaryihiin* « Women are small »
women F small-are

or:

- (19) *Naaguhu waa yaryaryihiin* « Women are small »
women F small-small-are.

The meaning of (19) with reduplicated verb is: « they are small each » whereas (18) means generically « they are small » (Ajello 1981). The same relation occurs between the following two sentences:

- (20) *Niman way waaweynyihiin* « Men are big »
men F-they big(redupl.)-are
- (21) *Niman way weynyihiin*
men F-they big-are.

The two functions distinguished by Heine and Reh (1984), the distributive function and the plural of the participant function, both concerning the participant, could be thus reconducted to one which is the plural of the participant that undergoes a STATE. This unification is irrespective of the character of such STATE whether resulting from a change or not, but the distinction is not relevant for the Somali verbal aspect.⁸

In addition to that, it is interesting to note that reduplication in Somali is a marker of plural in a class of nouns (Puglielli and Ciise Mohamed Siyaad 1984), as the following examples show:

- (22) *af* « language, mouth »; plural: *afaf*
dab « fire »; plural: *dabab*
ur « smell »; plural: *urar*
bood « jump »; plural: *boodbood*.

These facts offer an evidence for the analysis of the iterative forms of verbs and of plurals in terms of a common semantic denominator of ADDITION.

⁸ It would be however, for the Slavic aspect since in the first case we have perfective verbs, whereas the second group of examples refers to stative, thus imperfective verbal forms.

2.2.3. *Generic/potential function in Somali.* The last function of the « iteratives » is the generic/potential one. Standard Somali realizes it with a simple present form of the verb, as in the following example:

- (23) *Cali kalluun waa cunaa* « Ali eats fish »
Ali fish F eats

compared to the equivalent present continuous for:

- (24) *Cali kalluun waa cunayaa* « Ali is eating fish »
Ali fish F is-eating.

It is interesting that the Dabarre variation of Somali uses a special particle *së* in front of the present form of the verb to mark the generic/potential meaning:

- (25) *Aleey intoo së kooyë* « Ali comes here »
Ali here-F part. comes

- (26) **Aleey intoo kooyë*
Ali here-F comes

- (27) *Dëbkë së hurë* « Fire burns »
fire-the part. burns

- (28) **Dëbkë hurë*
fire-the burns

- (29) *Innë biyë së waraabë* « I drink water »
I water part. drink

- (30) **Innë biyë waraabë*
I water drink

As the ungrammatical sentences above show, the marker *së* is obligatory in Dabarre, whenever the verb appears in a present non-continuous tense. There is however an exception to this rule concerning the stative verbs, which will be discussed in the next section. Notice that *së* occupies a fixed position within the verbal complex of the sentence, namely the initial one, before pronouns, prepositions, the impersonal marker and the partial-negative marker, that is in NP negation, as the following examples show:⁹

- (31) *Aleyoo sënë aragë* « Ali sees us »
Ali-F part.-us sees

- (32) *Diinsoroo sëlënkë kooyñë* « Somebody does not come from Diinsor »
Diinsor part.-imp.-neg.-from does-not-come.

It is preceded however by the negative marker if the negation bears on the whole sentence:

- (33) *Faadumë mësë kooytë* « Faduma does not come »
F. neg.-part. comes

Although the data at my disposal are very limited, it is reasonable to assume that the position occupied by *së* is normally reserved to adverbial elements, such as the adverbial deictic *saa* (corresponding to Standard Somali *soo*) of which I have only two examples:

- (34) *Kobaakii woo saa digsädi* « I put on my shoes »
shoes-my F adv. put-on

- (35) *Idee saaguun kalbaawi* « I got in love with you »¹⁰
you-F adv.-you-for/to got-in-love.

⁹ For the structure of the Dabarre sentence see Gebert and Cabdallah Cumar Mansuur (1984).

¹⁰ Notice that in Standard Somali the place occupied by the equivalent particle *soo* is different: *Xamar buu ka soo noqday*; it occurs in fact, after the preposition *ka*.

However, the origin and the exact value of this marker are obscure to me. If we accept its adverbial origin, *sē* appears as a desemanticised adverb developed into an aspect marker.¹¹

Now, Dabarre verbal forms with *sē* are slightly different semantically from Standard Somali present forms, such as the one illustrated in (24). The difference consists in the range of what I called a generic/potential value. Namely, one of the consequences of the generic meaning is the possibility that the event takes place in the future; therefore Dabarre sentences such as (25-27-29) can have also a future value, in accordance with the context, meaning, respectively: « Ali will come », « Fire will burn » and « I will drink water ». This value is absent in Standard Somali generic verbal forms.

3. Stative Verbs in Somali

Let us consider now the behaviour of stative verbs from the aspect point of view. One would expect that stative verbs need not occur with any of the mentioned syntactic and lexical markers; since such markers introduce stative meaning, their presence would appear redundant. This, in fact, is what really happens.

Let us see first examples of stative predicates in which explicit « be » occurs:

(36) *Warqaddaani waa cad-dahay* « This paper is white »
 paper-this-subj. F white is

(37) *Magaaladaani waa weyn tahay* « This town is big »
 town-this-subj. F big is.

As expected, other stative verbs do not use a progressive form to express an actual present event (unlike other semantic classes of Somali verbs), such as the following, classified by prof. Andrzejewski (personal communication):¹²

(38) *baallee* (to be beside), *bug* (to be ill), *buux* (to be full), *dambee* (to be behind, to be after), *dalool* (to have a hole or holes), *dhaan* (to be better than), *dhexee* (to be in the middle), *fadhi* (to be seated, to stay), *fooror* (to be stooping), *hay* (to hold, to have control over), *horree* (to be before, to be in front), *hoosee* (to be below), *hub* (to be sure), *hurud* (to be asleep), *janjeedh* (to lean, to list), *jeed* (to be facing from a particular direction), *jiif* (to be lying down), *jir* (to exist), *joog* (to be present at or in, to stay), *kadalloob* (to be sitting on the haunches), *kuduud* (to be crouching), *liido* (to be weak), *qab* (to have), *waar* (to last for ever, to last for a very long time).

The progressive form is possible if the change-of-state semantic value is introduced to the meaning of the stative verb, that is when the verb loses its stative status as in (39):

(39) *Magaaladaani waa weynaysaa* « This town is becoming big »
 town-this-subj. F becoming-big.

The form *weynaysaa* in this example is derived from *weynaw* « to become big », according to the derivative possibilities of Somali stative verbs.

¹¹ Heine and Reh (1984) list the desemanticisation of adverbs as one of the means of aspect marking. The others are: nominal periphrasis and serial periphrasis (p. 111). One of the examples they give is from Bari, an Eastern Nilotic language in which the adverb *dē* (« then, afterwards ») was desemanticised to a future marker.

¹² I am grateful to prof. B. Andrzejewski for precious remarks and for having put at my disposal his unpublished linguistic materials that I report partly in (38).

In some other cases, a possible progressive form has the immediate future meaning, due to the change-of-state semantic value:

- (40) *Waan joogayaa magaalada* « I am going to stay in the town »
 F-I am-staying town-the.

The same situation can be observed in Dabarre:

- (41) *Xaanshēday eddē* « This paper is white »
 paper-this white-is
 (42) *Shumburtē fududdē* « The bird is light »
 bird-the light-is.

Notice that in Dabarre the verb can never occur in the present simple tense without *sē* marker unless it is a stative verb. Compare the examples above (26-28-30) with:

- (43) *Aleey garēbkes bedē woo fēdhihē* « Ali is sitting on his left side »
 Ali side-his left F sits
 (44) *Innē ogē inee kuliil jērē* « I know it is hot ».
 I know that-F hot is.

Stative verbs, however, may occur with *sē* as well:

- (45) *Aleey sē fēdhihē* « Ali sits (always) »
 Ali part. sits

(to compare with (43)). The meaning of sentences such as (45) is the generic one. But among stative verbs the verb « to be » never occurs with the marker *sē* even if it expresses a generic meaning:

- (46) *Xaanshē eddē* « Paper is white »
 paper white-is
 (47) *Shumburaa fududyaan* « Birds are light »
 birds light-are
 (48) **Xaanshē sē eddē*
 paper part. white-is
 (49) **Shumburaa sē fududyaan*
 birds part. light-are.

This is probably related to the inherent permanent state nature of such predicates.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, Somali data demonstrate that stativity determines strictly the aspectual behaviour of the verb. This issue confirms what has been claimed in Antinucci and Gebert (1975-76 and 1977) with reference to Slavic languages that are « aspect languages » *par excellence*, since aspect category is extremely grammaticalized in them. A grammaticalized category is not transparent any more and that is why it is difficult to capture the exact semantic values of different aspectual forms. What is interesting about Somali is that such values are realized overtly thus offering evidence for the adequacy of the proposed model.

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Subject Marking in Somali

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Introduction

The subject-object opposition characteristic of other Cushitic languages with case marking is particularly well defined in Somali, especially in the Northern dialect. In this apparently very complex system, Nominative Case Marking (tonal and segmental markings) interferes with a number of other grammatical factors, mostly concerned with the syntactic organization of the sentence and the pragmatic functions syntactically marked in Somali, topic and focus.

The main purpose of the present paper is to define, though informally, some general principles we assume to be present in the Nominative Case Assignment and Case Marking mechanism. Starting from data that are especially well described in the literature, the analysis proper centers on *waa* and *má* structures, then on *baa* and *waxa* structures. It is supposed that the conclusions can be extended to all other structures involving nominative case marking, and it is hoped that they will provide a better understanding of Somali syntax.

Generalities about Data

To sum up well-known data, Somali as other East Cushitic languages has an unmarked objective (or absolutive) case and a marked nominative case. The manifestation of case marking on the subject essentially consists in lowering of morphological tone (Hyman 1981),¹ this morphological tone being predicted on the basis of gender and declension class (Andrzejewski 1964, 1979). In addition, several feminine nouns, as *doqón* in (1), suffix *-i* (non derived feminine nouns with a high (H) tone on the last syllable, those belonging to Andrzejewski's fourth declension or Hyman's class D1). Lowering of tone affects the definitives which suffix the noun, but the definite article *-ku/-tu* is exempt from accent reduction (2):

(1) *Doqoni sokeeyé má ahá*

[+ nom]

Fools are not relatives /Andrzejewski (1964: 56)

(2) *Soomalídu béen wáy sheegtaa*

[+ nom]

Somalis tell lies /Andrzejewski (1956: 112).

¹ More specifically, according to this author, in syntactic reduction of morphological accents which cannot receive any tonal specification.

As a general rule, a subject *out of focus* is marked nominative ([+nom]). Lowering of tone suffices to establish the subject/object differentiation as shown in (3) and (4):

- (3) a- *Nin wuu yimid*
 [+nom]
 A man came
 b- *Nín waan arkay*
 I saw a man
- (4) a- *Nínkii libāax má dílín*
 [+nom]
 The man did not kill a lion
 b- *Nínkū libaax má dílín*
 [+nom]

A lion did not kill the man /Andrzejewski (1964: 21)

There is no nominative agreement, between a subject and its attribute for example, as *sokeeyé* in (1). If the NP is a complex NP, a coordinate structure for example as in (5), *subject marking* applies only once on the rightmost element in the NP. If the NP is a relative clause, the subject antecedent is never marked [+nom], and subject marking applies at the end of the relative clause, what seems to be a marked property of Somali among other Cushitic languages. Example (6) shows tone alternation between a relative clause in subject position out of focus and a relative clause in focus position using the same paradigm of the verb. Infinitives are treated as Hyman's D1 feminine nouns and show a *-i* suffix as in (7):

- (5) a- *Āar iyo góol má qabteen?*
 Did they catch a male lion and a lioness?
 b- *Āar iyo gooli má qabteen?*
 [+nom]
 Did a male lion and a lioness catch him? /Andrzejewski (1975: 142)
- (6) [*Nín [béen yaqaan]*] *waa* [*nín [fál yaqáan]*]
 NP S [+nom] NP S
 A man who knows how to lie knows magic /Andrzejewski (1964: 62)
- (7) *Nín [aan wáayo barani] waxbá má barán*
 [+nom]

A man who has not learnt « why » has not learnt anything /Andrzejewski (1956: 117)

In fact, we find many alterations in the mechanism of subject marking, some of them being due to dialectal variations: as already observed by Antinucci and Puglielli (1984), subject marking applies less regularly in the Coastal dialect than in the Northern dialect. Saeed (1984: 205) observes that there is a tendency for long NPs not to be subject marked. Yet sentential *in*-complements when functioning as subjects are never marked for case, contrary to relative clause in the same position, as it can be observed from negative examples as (9):

- (9) a- *Ninkii [aan dhimani] wuu soo noqday*
 [+nom]
 The man who did not die came back
- b- [*Iinaanuu* { *dhiman* }] *waa hubàal*
 S { **dhimani* }
 [+nom]

It is certain that he did not die

In any case, the mechanism in its whole appears to obey extremely logic and rigorous principles, as illustrated in (10), where the most embedded relative clause *sácu daaqáy*, in spite of the fact that it contains a nominative subject and a verb in a fully inflected paradigm, is marked *objective* (H tone) according to the grammatical function of its antecedent *béerta*, while the less embedded relative clause is marked [+nom] as aspected:

- (10) *Márkaasáa nínkii [béerta [sácu daaqáy] lahaa] suldaankii ú sóo ashtakooday* [+nom]

Then the man who owned the garden which the cow had grazed complained to the Sultan /Andrzejewski (1964: 43)

Thus we can expect that those principles we want to precise and make generalizations about are simple ones.

The Notion of Subject

To define the general principle which is the basis for [+nom] Case Assignment, it is first necessary to ask how to define the notion of subject. In earlier generative works as in traditional grammar, it has been assumed that grammatical functions (as *subject of*) which serve as a basis for Case Assignment, are determined in terms of syntactic configuration: the subject is thus defined by its syntactic position in a sentence.² But there are languages where grammatical functions are not represented configurationally (Somali, which is usually called a « free word order language », is a possible candidate) and for a sake of generalization, Chomsky (1981, 1982) developed a theory of Case where the notion of *government* plays a central role: subjects are nominative when they agree with the matrix verb - more precisely, with its inflections. The tensed verb contains a complex of features called agreement (AGR), which is the governing element that assigns Case on subject NPs. Thus it could be said that in Somali, the so-called objective (or absolute) unmarked case is assigned under government both by transitive verbs and prepositional particles (among other possible « case assigners »), and that the [+nom] case is assigned under government by the agreement features contained in the tensed verb.

If the verb is untensed, « infinitive », the subject cannot be normally marked for case. What is called « infinitive » in Somali, however, has quite different properties. Infinitives, which occur only in negative contexts (past negative contexts in main sentences), do have [+nom] subjects, while being untensed forms. In negative examples (11-12), tensed forms in present context are opposed to untensed forms in past context:

- (11) *Maroodígu takárta kú joogta má arkó*
[+nom]

The elephant does not see the camel fly which sits on him ... /Andrzejewski (1964: 77)

- (12) *Anigu ma arag shilkii dayaaradda*
[+nom]

I didn't see the plane crash /Saeed (1984: 173)

² In standard generative-transformational grammar, the notion of subject is defined purely syntactically, with respect to a hierarchical position in a tree structure.

These facts suggest that the neutralization of the AGR features contained in the verb is a marked property of Somali (among other Cushitic languages) and at an earlier stage of the derivation the Somali infinitives do contain the AGR features responsible for [+nom] Case assignment. What actually may be compared to infinitive in most other languages is the so-called « restrictive paradigm », ³ which shares the same property of not having an overt subject in surface structure.

It is briefly argued in the present paper that in Somali main sentences, [+nom] Case is marked on the *topic* NP ⁴ (not the *subject* NP), and that in dependent clauses or parts of main sentences that are not in focus position, Case Marking is on the *subject* and can be assigned in terms of syntactic configuration. This is obviously due to the fact that in main sentences focus markers govern word order and may define grammatical functions, whereas in dependent clauses, which contain no grammatical marker of focus, grammatical relations depend on syntactic organization and fix order of elements as in configurational languages.

Waa and *mā* Structures

Consider the structures (13 to 16) where *waa* is assumed to be an assertive focus marker and *mā* some negation of it, in which the Case-assignment mechanism appears to be essentially the same:

- (13) *Ninku_i wuu_i shaqeynayaa*

[+nom]

The man is working /Saeed (1984: 46)

- (14) *Warqadi ma iman maanta*

[+nom]

A letter did not arrive today /Saeed (1984: 111)

- (15) *Way_i dhaadhèeryihiin daaráhaasu_i*

[+nom]

Those houses are high /Andrzejewski (1956: 119)

- (16) *Wax ma aqoon ninku*

[+nom]

That man was completely ignorant /Hassan (1974: 117)

It can be observed that the [+nom] Case can be assigned only to a NP which is external to the *waa* or *mā* sentence. If a [+nom] NP appears at the right of the VP, as in (15), the subject position is in most cases filled by a weak pronoun with the same index. As (17) shows, any [+nom] NP in this position should produce an agrammatical structure:

- (17) **Waa ninku shaqeynayaa*

**Ma warqadi iman*

³ On the origin of the « extensive » vs. « restrictive » distinction, see Andrzejewski (1956: 125). The Restrictive Paradigm is invariable, except for a feminine third singular and a first plural person feature specification.

⁴ *Topic* NP is to be understood here in a purely syntactic sense, independent of pragmatic notions, i.e. a NP in topic position, base generated (left or right dislocated) outside of the normal structure of the sentence (cf. Lecarme, 1984).

The subject position in *waa* (or *má*) sentences can be filled only by an element which cannot be tone bearing, as impersonal pronoun *la* in (18):

(18) *Ínankú yaráa na wàa la qabtay*

And the young boy was captured /Andrzejewski (1964: 81)

These facts suggest that the NP that is assigned the [+nom] Case is in topical position, i.e. left or right dislocated out of the structure of the sentence, and inherits the [+nom] Case from the pronoun, if marked coreferential with it at an earlier stage of the derivation (call it D (deep)-structure).

There are, however, many examples such as (19), where there is only one NP in the sentence, the one that is assumed here to be in topical position, without any coreferential pronoun:

(19) *Ninku waa tegay*

[+nom]

The man went

This must be related to a special property of Somali (among other languages as Italian or Arabic, but not English or French), which allow pronominal subjects to remain unexpressed, and is called the « null subject parameter » or « pro-drop parameter » (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1982). (As we shall see later, Somali has a mixed system, permitting the subject to drop in certain syntactic configurations, not in others). This property is usually connected with the richness of inflexion, but as it appears from many languages, this is not always the case. In Somali, there is no overt subject in the so-called « independent » paradigm (20), where the subject is in some sense contained in the verbal inflexion, but even in focus constructions as (21 to 25) subjects can be dropped even if the verb is negative and thus appears without any overt inflexion:

(20) *Garánnay*

We have understood /Andrzejewski (1956: 113)

(21) *Waa [] keenay*

NP

He brought it /Andrzejewski (1975: 158)

(22) *Má [] keenay?*

NP

Did he bring it? /Andrzejewski (1975: 158)

(23) *Má [] keenín*

NP

He did not bring it /Andrzejewski (1975: 158)

(24) *Xamar ma [] tago*

NP

I do not go to Mogadiscio

(25) *Waa [pro_i] yimid [Cali_i]*

NP

TOP [+nom]

Ali came

We may thus conclude from these examples that the subject must precede the verb in the structure, and, if we take as a general principle that any sentence must have a subject at every level of syntactic structure (Chomsky 1981: 198), that there is an empty pronominal (call it *pro*) in place of the subject as figured in (25) which is assigned [+nom] Case at D-Structure, and that the NP that is marked [+nom] at S (surface)-structure is in topic position (left or right dislocated) in (14, 16, 19, 25).

Baa and waxa Structures

Consider now structures with *baa* and *waxa*, which are assumed here to be grammatical pre- and post-verbal focus markers (often contrastive as for pragmatic function, but there is not necessarily close correlation). The general principle holds that a *subject out of focus* is marked [+nom]. The hypothesis that the [+nom] Case is marked on the topic, not the subject NP, also holds in a number of cases, those illustrated by examples (26-28 and 29-31), where the left-dislocated NP in topic position is obligatorily linked to a clitic pronoun of the same index, which fills the subject position:

- (26) [Ninkani
- _i
-] awr buu
- _i
- keenay

TOP [+nom]

This man brought a he-camel /Andrzejewski (1975: 163)

- (27) Awr buu
- _i
- keenay [ninkani
- _i
-]

TOP [+nom]

This man brought a he-camel /Andrzejewski (1975: 163)

- (28) Awr buu
- _i
- [ninkani
- _i
-] keenay

TOP [+nom]

This man brought a he-camel /Andrzejewski (1975: 164)

- (29) [Duqsigu
- _i
-] wuxuu
- _i
- ka mid yahay ...

TOP [+nom]

The fly is one of ... /Saeed (1984: 207)

- (30) [Wasirka warshadaha oo shir furay]
- _i
- wuxuu
- _i
- yiri ...

TOP [+nom]

Il ministro dell'Industria che ha aperto la riunione ha detto ... /Gebert (1981: 76)

- (31) Wuxuu
- _i
- yidhi [turjubaanku
- _i
-] « ... »

TOP [+nom]

The interpreter said « ... »

There are examples, however, that are never found in *waa* or *ma* structures, where the subject position can be filled by a [+nom] NP alone (without any pronoun):

- (32) Aad baa roobku u dhacay

[+nom]

Much rain fell

- (33) Súbixí baa ilaaládí yóo gaajaysani degmádí ká luudday

[+nom]

In the morning the scouts trudged hungry out of the village /
Andrzejewski (1960: 104)

Such examples seem to be less common in *waxa* structures than in *baa* structures. Yet (34b) is to be considered as grammatical as (34a):

- (34) a- [Naagtu
- _i
-] waxay
- _i
- keentay lacagtii

TOP [+nom]

b- Waxa naagtu keentay lacagtii

[+nom]

In those examples, it cannot be said that the NP marked [+nom] is topic. [+nom] Case Marking obey another principle we must define.

It can be observed that in the part of the sentence that is not in focus position (on the right of *baa*) the subject position *must* be occupied by an overt NP, and

correlation has been made on the basis of the [+nom] Case Assignment mechanism, between sentences or parts of sentences that share the common property not to be in focus position, it does not imply that they are the same structures, or that the part of the sentence that is on the right of *baa* is in some sense a relative clause.

As often emphasized in the literature, there is a close relation, which may have a diachronic explanation, between *baa* or *waxa* structures, and relative clauses. But as it seems to me, relative clauses are structurally much more constrained than focus structures in the sense that they must contain an element which is bound to the antecedent (subject or object) of the relative clause. *Baa* on the contrary may focus almost any category (as an adverbial clause in (42)), which is not necessarily bound to any element in the following sentence, and which develops freely in non-focus position:

- (42) *Márkii dákii kala wada seexseexday bàa afádii [ínanka galabnimáddii waraabisay] debéddii ú sóo baxday óo is tidhi, « ... »*
[+nom]

When the people all went to sleep, the woman who gave water to the boy in the evening came out into the open and said to herself « ... »
/Andrzejewski (1964: 82)

I don't know whether the analysis proposed in (36) for *baa*-structures is the right one (it would be the subject of another paper), but here I assume that there is no lexical NP source for *waxa* and that *baa* and *waxa* are grammatical Focus markers until there is a better explanation.

Conclusion

From the analysis of [+nom] Case Assignment and Case Marking, we have made the assumption that in some contexts the relevant notion is *topic*, while in other contexts the notion of *subject* is basic. One may thus conclude that the order of constituents is not free in Somali, that grammatical functions, where not constrained by grammatical focus or topic,⁵ are determined in part by syntactic configuration, and that the two systems coexist in the syntactic structure of Somali.

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⁵ « Grammatical » is opposed here to « pragmatic », though we assume that some elements that relate to pragmatics belong to this level of grammar called Logical Form (LF)-Representation.

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Theme Construction in Af Ashraaf and Standard Somali

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1. One of the main differences between Af Ashraaf (AA) and Standard Somali (StS) lies in the personal pronoun system; although both languages possess parallel series of personal pronouns, namely 3 series which sound similar in both languages, with only little formal differences, they differ in one main point: the 3rd person object pronoun. Here is the scheme:

Extensive form of subject pronoun in StS:

1 st sg.	<i>aniga</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>adiga</i>
3 rd sg.M.	<i>isaga</i>
3 rd sg.F.	<i>iyada</i>
1 st pl.incl.	<i>innaga</i>
2 st pl.excl.	<i>annaga</i>
2 nd pl.	<i>idinka</i>
3 rd pl.	<i>iyaga</i>

Extensive form of subject pronoun in AA:

1 st sg.	<i>an</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>at</i>
3 rd sg.M.	<i>as (us)</i>
3 rd sg.F.	<i>isha</i>
1 st pl.	<i>annuun</i>
2 nd pl.	<i>asiin</i>
3 rd pl.	<i>ishoon</i>

Restrictive form of subject pronoun in StS:

1 st sg.	<i>aan</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>aad</i>
3 rd sg.M.	<i>uu</i>
3 rd sg.F.	<i>ay</i>
1 st pl.	<i>aan</i>
2 nd pl.	<i>aad</i>
3 rd pl.	<i>ay</i>

Restrictive form of subject pronoun in AA:

1 st sg.	<i>an</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>at</i>
3 rd sg.M.	<i>as (us)</i>
3 rd sg.F.	<i>ay</i>
1 st pl.	<i>an</i>
2 nd pl.	<i>at</i>
3 rd pl.	<i>ay</i>

Object personal pronouns in StS:

1 st sg.	<i>i</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>ku</i>
3 rd sg.	\emptyset
1 st pl.incl.	<i>na</i>
1 st pl.excl.	<i>ina</i>
2 nd pl.	<i>idin</i>
3 rd pl.	\emptyset

Object personal pronouns in AA:

1 st sg.	<i>i</i>
2 nd sg.	<i>ku</i>
3 rd sg.M.	<i>su</i>
3 rd sg.F.	<i>sa</i>
1 st pl.	<i>noo</i>
2 nd pl.	<i>sii</i>
3 rd pl.	<i>soo</i>

As we can see from the above scheme, the difference between the two languages concerns the set of Object personal pronouns, and in particular the presence in AA of 3rd person pronouns, as opposed to the zero-form for 3rd person in StS: in AA the 3rd person Object pronoun distinguishes M from F in the singular, but has got one single form in the plural. Compare the following sentences:

- (1) AA *Ciise su deyti-waa? Ee, su deyi*
 Ciise him did (you) see? Yes him (I) saw
 « Did you see Ciise? Yes, I saw him »
- (1a) StS *Ma aragtay Ciise? Haa, waan arkay*
 Did (you) see Ciise Yes vF+I saw
 « Did you see Ciise? Yes I saw him »
- (2) AA *Fadumo sa deyti-waa? Ee, sa deyi*
 Faaduma her did (you) see? Yes her (I) saw
 « Did you see Faaduma? Yes I saw her »
- (2a) StS *Faadumo ma aragtay? Haa, waan arkay*
 Faaduma did (you) see? Yes vF+I saw
 « Did you see Faaduma? Yes I saw her »
- (3) AA *Naagaayta soo deyti-waa? Ee, soo deyi*
 Women-the them did (you) see? Yes them (I) saw
 « Did you see the women? Yes, I saw them »
- (3a) StS *Naagaha ma aragtay? Haa, waan arkay*
 Women-the did (you) see? Yes vF+I saw

- « Did you see the women? Yes, I saw them »
 (4) AA *Nimanaayta soo deyti-waa? Ee, soo deyi*
 Men-the them did (you) see? Yes them (I) saw
 « Did you see the men? Yes, I saw them »
 (4a) StS *Nimanka ma aragtay? Haa, waan arkay*
 Men-the did (you) see? Yes vF+I saw
 « Did you see the men? Yes, I saw them »
 (5) AA *Geela su deyti-waa? Ee, su deyi*
 Camel-the him did (you) see? Yes him (I) saw
 « Did you see the camel? Yes I saw him »
 (5a) StS *Geela ma aragtay? Haa, waan arkay*
 Camel-the did (you) see? Yes vF+I saw
 « Did you see the camel? Yes I saw him ».

As results evident from the comparison between the same answers in the two languages, AA has got pronouns for 3rd person-object with anaphoric value, i.e., pronouns which are able to recall a certain NP previously mentioned, while StS doesn't have such a possibility and is compelled to use Subject extensive pronouns when it wants to emphasize the object, as in:

- (6a) StS *Isagaan arkay*
 He nF+I saw
 « I have seen *him* » (not her)

where the aim may be for instance a contrastive one, as in a discourse context as the following one:

- (7a) StS *Ma aragtay Cali iyo xaaskiisa? Haa, isag(a ayjaan arkay ee*
 Did (you) see Cali and wife-his Yes he + nF + I saw but
iyada ma arkin
 she (I) didn't see
 « Did you see Cali and his wife? Yes, I saw *him*, but I didn't see *her* ».

The anaphoric value of 3rd person pronouns in StS is possessed on the contrary by the restrictive subject pronouns which accompany the Verbal Complex and thus constitute a double marking for the subject together with the verbal endings as can be seen in the examples (1a-7a). The situation presented by StS looks then exactly specular to that of AA, but there is a further difference: anaphoric 3rd person subject pronouns in StS co-refer with NPs of any kind without any restriction, while in AA there is a restriction for the coreference of 3rd person object pronouns. The restriction concerns the feature [+animate] of the nouns referred to. Thus the AA pronouns *su, sa, soo* are used only if they refer to nouns which are characterized by the feature [+animate]: if the coreferent noun is characterized as [-animate], it cannot be referred to by an object pronoun, as can be seen in the following example:

- (8) AA *Iibsati-waa meesita? Ee, iibsati*
 Did (you) buy table-the? Yes (I) bought
 « Did you buy the table? Yes I did »

while in StS the subject pronoun *uu* can refer also to [-animate] nouns, as in:

- (9a) StS *Maxaa ku dhacay miiska? Wuu jabay*
 What-Int. to happened table-the? vF+he broke
 « What happened to the table? It got broken »

In StS the form of the 3rd sg. subject pronoun follows the grammatical gender

of the coreferent noun, i.e. in (9a) it is masculine because the [-animate] noun is masculine, otherwise the agreement is different, as in:

- (10a) StS *Maxaa ku dhacay irrida? Way jabtay*
 What-Int. to happened door-the? vF+she broke
 « What happened to the door? It got broken ».

On the contrary, the possibility in StS to emphasize the extensive 3rd person subject pronoun, when it is used as object, is limited to [+animate] coreferent nouns, as is evident from the following example:

- (11a) StS * *Ma cuntay cambaha iyo mufada? Haa, iyad(a ay)aan cunay*
 Did (you) eat mango-the and bun-the Yes she + nF + I ate

In this case, it isn't possible to contrast one NP as opposed to the other one, using the extensive pronoun, because extensive subject pronouns refer only to [+animate] nouns, and so the only possibility here would be:

- (12a) StS *Ma cuntay cambaha iyo mufada? Haa, mufad(a ay)aan*
 Did (you) eat mango-the and bun-the Yes bun-the + nF + I
cunay
 ate
 « Did you eat the mango and the bun? Yes, I ate the bun ».

i.e. repeat the noun.

The difference between extensive and restrictive 3rd person subject pronouns in StS lies in the fact that extensive forms co-refer only to [+animate] nouns, while restrictive forms co-refer to all sorts of nouns.

In AA, as we have said, the 3rd person object pronoun is coreferent only of [+animate] nouns, but still, since there are [+animate] nouns whose grammatical gender does not coincide with the sex of the animate being expressed, a problem arises as to which 3rd sg. object pronoun is used. The cases of lack of overlapping of the categories of gender and sex are two:

a) common-gender nouns: i.e. nouns that may indicate both male and female referents, but possess only one grammatical gender, such as: *dumaashi (-ta)* which means both « brother-in-law » and « sister-in-law »

b) the phonological conditioning of grammatical gender: nouns ending in a vowel or diphthong get the definite article *-ta*, which is the form of the feminine (the masculine one sounds in most cases *-a*; it sounds *-ka* after nouns ending in *-n*), whatever the sex expressed by the referent noun is, p. ex., *beenlow* « liar » which has the ending *-ow*, typical of male referents and contrasting with the ending *-ey*, typical of female referents, gets the definite article *-ta*, which indicates feminine gender. Thus, both *beenlow*, literally « he-liar », and *beenley*, literally « she-liar », get the same feminine article *-ta*.

In the two cases above indicated as a) and b), the anaphoric 3rd sg. object pronoun used never agrees with the grammatical gender of the referent noun, but with the sex of the animate being, as in:

- (13) AA *Beenlow-tii su deyti-waa? Ee, su deyi*
 He-liar-that(F) him did (you) see? Yes him (I) saw
 « Have you seen that liar? Yes, I have seen him ».

This kind of agreement between referent noun and anaphoric object pronoun based upon the category of sex, not upon the category of gender, is perfectly in line with the agreement between subject and verb. Also in this latter case, since the 3rd person sg. of the verbs distinguishes between masculine and feminine, we are faced with a similar agreement problem when the subject is a noun belong-

ing to one of the categories indicated as a) and b). Agreement between singular subject noun of categories a), b) and verb does not follow grammatical gender but the category of the sex attributed to the referent expressed by the noun, as in:

- (14) AA *Cali dumaashitiis kooyi*
 Cali brother-in-law-his came (M)
 « Cali's brother-in-law has come »

as opposed to:

- (15) AA *Cali dumaashitiis kooyti*
 Cali sister-in-law-his came (F)
 « Cali's sister-in-law has come »

2. If we consider AA sentences (1-5) in their first parts, namely the interrogative parts of them, and we compare them with sentences (14-15), which differ in that (1-5) are two-argument sentences, while (14-15) have only one argument, we notice that 3rd person object pronouns are used in (1-5) although the object NP is overtly expressed. Other examples will confirm this syntactic construction:

- (16) AA *Beesatii waxa su sishi ninka oo at su deyow haasey*
 Money-that thing-that him (I) gave man-the who thou him see
 « I have given the money to the man you see »
- (17) AA *Ninka kan naagtii (oo) sa jacallay sa furyi*
 Man-the this woman-that (who) her (he)loved her divorced
 « This man has divorced the woman he loved »
- (18) AA *Gabar quraxbadan sa deyi*
 Girl beautiful her (I) saw
 « I have seen a beautiful girl »
- (19) AA *Gabar (oo) orodyatey sa deyi*
 Girl (who) ran her (I) saw
 « I have seen a girl who was running »
- (20) AA *Naagaay oo ooyaween soo deyi*
 Women who cried them (I) saw
 « I have seen women who were crying »
- (21) AA *Gabarta (oo) sa jacii sa deyi*
 Girl-the (who) her (I) love her (I) saw
 « I have seen the girl I love »
- (22) AA *Duqtii (oo) beesata in siitii sa deyi*
 Old-woman (who) money-the me-to gave her (I) saw
 « I have seen the old woman who gave me the money »
- (23) AA *Cali dumaashitiis su devi / Cali dumaashitiis sa deyi*
 Cali brother-in-law-his him (I) saw/C. sister-in-law-his her (I) saw
 « I have seen Cali's brother-in-law / I have seen Cali's sister-in-law »
- (24) AA *Cali dumaashiyaaytiis soo deyi*
 Cali brothers-in-law-his them (I) saw
 « I have seen Cali's brothers (or sisters)-in-law »
- (25) AA *Cali annuun noon deyi*
 Cali we us saw
 « Cali has seen us »
- (26) AA *Cali at ku deyi*
 Cali thou thee saw
 « Cali has seen you »
- (27) AA *Cali us su deyi*

- Cali he him saw
« Cali has seen him »
- (28) AA *Cali isha sa deyi*
Cali she her saw
« Cali has seen her »
- (29) AA *Cali asiin siin deyi*
Cali you(S) you(O) saw
« Cali has seen you »
- (30) AA *An asiin beesata siin sishi*
I you money-the you (I) gave
« I have given you the money »
- (31) AA *An beesata ishoon soo sishi*
I money-the they them (I) gave
« I have given them the money »
- (32) AA *Gabarta kee sa deyti?*
Girl-the which her did you see?
« Which girl have you seen? »
- (33) AA *Igaara kee su deyti?*
Boy-the which him did you see?
« Which boy have you seen? »
- (34) AA *Ninka kaas oo jiran su deyi*
Man-the that who sick him (I) saw
« I have seen that sick man ».
- (35) AA *Ninka kaas oo taajira ah su deyi*
Man-the that who merchant-the is him (I) saw
« I have seen that rich man »
- (36) AA *Ninkii taajira ahay su deyi*
Man-that merchant-the was him (I) saw
« I have seen that rich man (we know of) »

We desume from the above examples that the plain two-argument sentence in AA has got the following structure;

NP Subject - NP Object - Object Pronoun - Verb

Where NP Subject and NP Object may be substituted by subject personal pronoun, as can be seen by comparing:

- (37) AA *Cali gabarta sa deyi*
Cali girl-the her saw
« Cali has seen the girl »

with:

- (38) AA *Us isha sa deyi*
He she her saw
« He has seen her »

In the case then that the Object is represented by personal pronouns of 1st or 2nd person, singular or plural, two forms of personal pronouns will occur in the sentence: the personal pronoun in its extensive subject form and the object pronoun that indicates its syntactic relationship with the Verb, as in the already quoted examples:

- (25) AA *Cali annuun noon deyi*
Cali we us saw
« Cali has seen us »

- (26) AA *Cali at ku deyi*
 Cali thou the saw
 « Cali has seen you »
- (29) AA *Cali asiin siin deyi*
 Caly you (S) you (O) saw
 « Cali has seen you »

The structure of AA sentences then doesn't allow syntactic roles to be evidenced by NPs whose function seems to be simply that of providing a framework inside which the main predication is performed. The syntactic relationships are given in the Verbal Complex and precisely they are indicated by the occurrences of the anaphoric object pronouns, which have a fixed position inside the sentence, i.e. they occur immediately before the Verb.

When the relationship of the second argument to the Verb is one of Indirect Object or Adverbial, the Verb is preceded by a preposition linked to the Object pronoun; so we get the following structure:

NP Subject - NP Indirect Object (or NP Adverbial) - Object Pronoun + Preposition - Verb

as in:

- (39) AA *Sula hadley ninka (oo) qahwata gadow haasey*
 Him-with (I) spoke man-the (who) coffee-the sells
 « I spoke with the man who sells coffee »
- (40) AA *Ma ogi Cali ninkii sula cuney dooney*
 Not (I) know Cali man-that him-with eat will
 « I don't know whom Cali is going to eat with »
- (41) AA *Shineema in baxyewa, ka bacdi Cali sun tagyewa*
 Cinema to (I) go, afterwards Cali him-to (I) go
 « I am going to the cinema, then to (see) Cali »
- (42) AA *At Cali aad suku xoosanid (xoosan tihid)*
 Thou Cali more him-from fat-are
 « You are fatter than Cali »
- (43) AA *Cali Fadma (aad) saka taajirsan yehey*
 Cali Faduma (more) her-from rich is
 « Cali is richer than Faduma »

In sentences with more than two arguments, the « preposition », which should be rather called « preverb », although it is formally linked with the Object pronoun in preverbal position, may not be in syntactic relationship to the NP coreferent of the Object pronoun, but to another NP Adverbial in the sentence, as in:

- (44) AA *Gabarta kaas at jida saka deyow haasey*
 Girl-the that thou street her + in seeing are
 « You see that girl in the street »
- (45) AA *Ninka kan at jida suku deyow haasey*
 Man-the this thou street him + in seeing are
 « You see that man in the street »

where the preposition *ka* (or *ku* in (45), due to vowel harmony) refers to the NP *jida* « street » and not to the NP *gabarta kaas* (44) or *ninka kan* (45) which are coreferent of Object pronouns.

The Verbal Complex contains then all the syntactic indications of the sentence, while nominals, including extensive pronouns, are dislocated either on the left or on the right and, since they do not carry case marking but occur in an 'absolute

form', provide only the lexical meaning. The nominals then perform the function of « topic » or better of « theme » if we follow the indications of the functional grammar, i.e. « the function of specifying the relevant universe of discourse of its comment; the range of things with respect to which it makes sense to assert that comment » (Dik 1979: 140). The Theme construction in AA appears to have been grammaticalised to the extent of becoming the unmarked way of producing sentences. This means that the nominal functioning as Theme must be such that it could also appear in the place of the pronominal element, i.e. it must conform to the semantic selection restrictions imposed on the argument position marked by the pronominal element within the predication.

But there are further restrictions upon the Theme construction, which can be summarized as follows:

1) The Theme construction is feasible only if the object-nominal is characterized as [+animate]: as we have already seen, in AA the anaphoric Object pronoun can refer only to [+animate] nouns and consequently the Theme construction applies when the object-nominal is [+animate]. Compare (46) with (47), (48) with (49) and (50) with (51):

- (46) AA *Ninkii taajira ahay su deyi*
 Man-that merchant-the was him (I) saw
 « I have seen that rich man »
- (47) AA *Moosa kaas oo ceerinka ah cuni*
 Banana-the that which unripe-the is (I) ate
 « I have eaten that unripe banana »
- (48) AA *Eriyaay badan soo deyi*
 Goats many them (I) saw
 « I have seen many goats »
- (49) AA *Biyo badan dhammi*
 Water much (I) drank
 « I have drunk much water »
- (50) AA *Eriyaayta kan oo dhan an soo lihi*
 Goats-the these which all I them possess
 « All these goats are mine »
- (51) AA *Meesita (oo) at deyow haasey Xamar ka iibsati*
 Table-the (which) thou see Mogadisho in (I) bought
 « I have bought in Mogadisho the table you see »

In the above examples, (46), (48) and (50) have [+animate] object nominals which allow the Theme construction, while such a construction is not feasible in (47), (49) and (51) because the object nominal is characterized as [-animate].

2) Inside the category of [+animate] nominals, the Theme construction applies when the nominal is a proper noun or is determined, either by an article or a deictic element or any determinant whatsoever or is substituted by an extensive subject pronoun. In case of an undetermined nominal, the Theme construction doesn't apply. If we consider the following examples:

- (52) AA *An hal igaar qaba*
 I one son have
 « I have a son »
- (53) AA *Fadma hal eey qabta*
 Faduma one dog has
 « Faduma has a dog »

(54) AA *At hal naag quraxbadan sa qabtid*

Thou one wife beautiful her have
« You have a beautiful wife »

(55) AA *Nin (oo) qahwo gadyabey su deyi*

Man (who) coffee sells him (I) saw
« I have seen a man who sells coffee »

we see that the different structure of (52-53) compared to that of (54-55) consists in the presence of a determinant of the Theme in (54-55) which entails the occurrence of the anaphoric pronoun, while in (52-53) the object nominal is undetermined and cannot constitute the Theme of the sentence.

To sum up, we can conclude that AA more-than-one-argument sentences are characterised by the « theme » construction that involves either a Direct or Indirect Object NP or an Adverbial NP if this NP has got the feature [+animate] and is determined.

In a specular way, StS is also characterised by the « theme » construction, but in the case of Subject nominal. Moreover StS knows fewer restrictions than AA: the « theme » construction applies both with [+animate] and [-animate] nominal subjects, but the only indispensable condition is that the nominal be determined. While a sentence like:

(56a) StS *Cali gabar ayuu garaacay*

Cali girl nf + He beat
« Cali has beaten a girl »

is grammatical, because the anaphoric pronoun refers to the nominal « Cali » which is a proper noun, and thus inherently determined, the following sentence:

(57a) StS **Nin gabartaas ayuu garaacay*

Man, girl-that nF + He beat

is ungrammatical, because the anaphoric pronoun refers to an undetermined nominal; the simple addition of a determiner is sufficient to transform (57a) into a grammatical sentence:

(58a) StS *Ninka gabartaas ayuu garaacay*

Man-the girl-that nF + He beat
« The man has beaten that girl »

The distinction between Subject NP and Non-Subject NP in StS is marked by 2 different segmental items:

1) the Subject NP gets the nominative mark *-u, -i*

2) the Subject NP is either left- or right- dislocated, and its function is indicated by the anaphoric pronoun.

If we analyze all the theoretically possible combinations of the items that may be involved in the construction of a two-argument sentence in StS, namely: S = Subject, O = Object, V = Verb, in = indicator of nominal focus, iv = indicator of verbal focus, s = nominative mark, p = anaphoric pronoun, we get the following 72 combinations:

1 - <i>waranka libaaxa waa duray</i>	S	O	iv	V
2 - <i>waranka libaaxa wuu duray</i>	S	O	ivp	V
3 - <i>waranka waa duray libaaxa</i>	S	iv	V	O
4 - <i>waranka wuu duray libaaxa</i>	S	ivp	V	O
5 * <i>libaaxa waranka waa duray</i>	O	S	iv	V

6	<i>*libaaxa waranka wuu duray</i>	O	S	ivp	V
7	<i>*libaaxa waa duray waranka</i>	O	iv	V	S
8	<i>*libaaxa wuu duray waranka</i>	O	ivp	V	S
9	<i>*waa duray libaaxa waranka</i>	iv	V	O	S
10	<i>- waa duray waranka libaaxa</i>	iv	V	S	O
11	<i>*wuu duray libaaxa waranka</i>	ivp	V	O	S
12	<i>- wuu duray waranka libaaxa</i>	ivp	V	S	O
13	<i>*waranku libaaxa waa duray</i>	Ss	O	iv	V
14	<i>*waranku libaaxa wuu duray</i>	Ss	O	ivp	V
15	<i>- waranku waa duray libaaxa</i>	Ss	iv	V	O
16	<i>- waranku wuu duray libaaxa</i>	Ss	ivp	V	O
17	<i>*libaaxa waranku waa duray</i>	O	Ss	iv	V
18	<i>*libaaxa waranku wuu duray</i>	O	Ss	ivp	V
19	<i>*libaaxa waa duray waranku</i>	O	iv	V	Ss
20	<i>*libaaxa wuu duray waranku</i>	O	ivp	V	Ss
21	<i>*waa duray libaaxa waranku</i>	iv	V	O	Ss
22	<i>- waa duray waranku libaaxa</i>	iv	V	Ss	O
23	<i>*wuu duray libaaxa waranku</i>	ivp	V	O	Ss
24	<i>- wuu duray waranku libaaxa</i>	ivp	V	Ss	O
25	<i>- waranka ayaa libaaxa duray</i>	S	in	O	V
26	<i>*waranka ayuu libaaxa duray</i>	S	inp	O	V
27	<i>- waranka ayaa duray libaaxa</i>	S	in	V	O
28	<i>*waranka ayuu duray libaaxa</i>	S	inp	V	O
29	<i>*waranka libaaxa ayaa duray</i>	S	O	in	V
30	<i>- waranka libaaxa ayuu duray</i>	S	O	inp	V
31	<i>*waranka duray libaaxa ayaa</i>	S	V	O	in
32	<i>*waranka duray libaaxa ayuu</i>	S	V	O	inp
33	<i>*libaaxa ayaa waranka duray</i>	O	in	S	V
34	<i>- libaaxa ayuu waranka duray</i>	O	inp	S	V
35	<i>- libaaxa waranka ayaa duray</i>	O	S	in	V
36	<i>*libaaxa waranka ayuu duray</i>	O	S	inp	V
37	<i>*libaaxa ayaa duray waranka</i>	O	in	V	S
38	<i>- libaaxa ayuu duray waranka</i>	O	inp	V	S
39	<i>*libaaxa duray waranka ayaa</i>	O	V	S	in
40	<i>*libaaxa duray waranka ayuu</i>	O	V	S	inp
41	<i>*duray libaaxa ayaa waranka</i>	V	O	in	S
42	<i>*duray libaaxa ayuu waranka</i>	V	O	inp	S
43	<i>*duray libaaxa waranka ayaa</i>	V	O	S	in
44	<i>*duray libaaxa waranka ayuu</i>	V	O	S	inp
45	<i>*duray waranka ayaa libaaxa</i>	V	S	in	O
46	<i>*duray waranka ayuu libaaxa</i>	V	S	inp	O
47	<i>*duray waranka libaaxa ayaa</i>	V	S	O	in
48	<i>*duray waranka libaaxa ayuu</i>	V	S	O	inp

49 - waranku ayaa libaaxa duray	Ss	in	O	V
50 *waranku ayuu libaaxa duray	Ss	inp	O	V
51 - waranku ayaa duray libaaxa	Ss	in	V	O
52 *waranku ayuu duray libaaxa	Ss	inp	V	O
53 *waranku libaaxa ayaa duray	Ss	O	in	V
54 - waranku libaaxa ayuu duray	Ss	O	inp	V
55 *waranku duray libaaxa ayaa	Ss	V	O	in
56 *waranku duray libaaxa ayuu	Ss	V	O	inp
57 *libaaxa ayaa waranku duray	O	in	Ss	V
58 - libaaxa ayuu waranku duray	O	inp	Ss	V
59 - libaaxa waranku ayaa duray	O	Ss	in	V
60 *libaaxa waranku ayuu duray	O	Ss	inp	V
61 *libaaxa ayaa duray waranku	O	in	V	Ss
62 - libaaxa ayuu duray waranku	O	inp	V	Ss
63 *libaaxa duray waranku ayaa	O	V	Ss	in
64 *libaaxa duray waranku ayuu	O	V	Ss	inp
65 *duray libaaxa ayaa waranku	V	O	in	Ss
66 *duray libaaxa ayuu waranku	V	O	inp	Ss
67 *duray libaaxa waranku ayaa	V	O	Ss	in
68 *duray libaaxa waranku ayuu	V	O	Ss	inp
69 *duray waranku ayaa libaaxa	V	Ss	in	O
70 *duray waranku ayuu libaaxa	V	Ss	inp	O
71 *duray waranku libaaxa ayaa	V	Ss	O	In
72 *duray waranku libaaxa ayuu	V	Ss	O	inp

The grammatically acceptable sentences can be formalized in this way:

Focus upon the Subject:

- a) S(s) in O V
- b) S(s) in V O
- c) O S(s) in V

Focus upon the Object:

- d) S(s) O inp V
- e) O inp V S(s)
- f) O inp S(s) V

Focus upon the Verb:

- g) S O iv(p) V
- h) S(s) iv(p) V O
- i) iv(p) V S(s) O

From the above scheme we get the following conclusions:

- 1) the nominative mark is absolutely unnecessary and its usage is optional. In one case (g), its usage would even give an ungrammatical sentence.
- 2) The « theme » construction which consequent occurrence of anaphoric pronoun, is:
 - a) compulsory, when the Focus is upon the Object
 - b) ungrammatical, when the Focus is upon the Subject

c) unnecessary and optional, when the Focus is upon the Verb.

Since the nominative mark is optional, of the two segmental items that mark the Subject, the really effective one is the anaphoric Subject pronoun which entails the « theme » construction with shift of the Subject nominal. But the « theme » construction can apply, provided the Subject is not focalized, for the obvious reason that the very same NP cannot be in the meantime the « theme » and the « focus » of the sentence. This explains also the reason why the focalized Subject cannot be shifted to the right of the Verb, as happens in case of the s.c. « Tail » construction (Dik 1979:153), which is a subcategory of the « theme » construction, because simply the focalized Subject cannot be the « theme » of the sentence. The « theme » applies compulsorily when the focus is upon an NP other than the Subject, and this shows that in StS too the « theme » construction has been grammaticalised to the extent of becoming the neutral way of building a sentence. In this case the Subject can be displaced either to the left or to the right of the Verb, in this latter case (e) giving a construction which is more properly called a « tail » construction.

The verbal focus seems to make unnecessary both the segmental items that mark the Subject: the nominative mark is optional and even ungrammatical in (g), and optional is also the usage of the anaphoric pronoun. This means that, when the « new information » is represented by the Verb, the information conveyed by the NPs is less important and no particular need is felt of specifying which of the NPs constitutes the framework inside which the predication is carried out. The position of the various components of the sentence is sufficient to indicate which NP is the Subject, because the Subject either occurs in first position or immediately after the Verb, when the Verb is in first position.

As we have already pointed out, a further restriction for the usage of the « theme » construction is represented by the determinedness of the Subject nominal, while the feature [+animate], or [-animate] is not relevant.

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The Unity of the Somali Language Despite the Barrier of Regional Language Variants¹

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The Somali language possesses a tight structural unity that requires a further cross-fertilisation among language variants. The adoption of an official language should not hinder the involvement of the others in fashioning rich idioms that are more accessible to a larger public. Rather, it should work in favour of it.

The generosity of the Somali language overcomes and cancels out the sort of regional vernacular stereotypes that until now have perpetuated the mutual rejection of these language-variants. This is confirmed by the fact that the everyday speech of any Somali, of whatever region, includes some words that are not widely known.

I would hold, moreover, that an understanding of the language should spring from an osmosis of all the Somali language variants having everyday Somali as their melting-pot of origin. Despite the apparent contradictions and difficulties of assimilation, the language variants complement one another and are able to enrich themselves by drawing upon each other, in a process capable of forming a « Circular Somali », more complex and uninhibited, understandable in all its elements and gaining the position that it deserves.

The following examples, chosen especially for comparison, are intended to show the intrinsic limitation of the language-variants taken by themselves, a shortcoming resolved by adopting into the standard Somali all the lexical richness of language-variants presently denied it.

1. The Reciprocally Complementary Nature of Somali

1.1. Category of compound words whose parts are not found in their entirety in the standard language, whilst in a language-variant (in this particular case Maay) the two morphemes of the compound word are to be found. However, the same language-variant may not include the word as a constituent element.

¹ Because of the limited space allotted to this article in the proceedings the paper cannot appear in its original form. It should be consequently, noted that the important part of songs and poetry has been left out. A number of copies of the article, in its original form, was distributed at the SSIA Congress in Rome on May 1986, and I hope it will be possible to publish the entire article in specialized periodicals.

STANDARD SOMALI

1. *baadifad* + 1

- a. *baadi* = included
- b. *fad* = not included

2. *horseed* + 3

- a. *hor* = included
- b. *seed* = not included

3. *minfiiq* + 4

- a. *min* = not included
- b. *fiiq* = included

4. *minxiis* + 5

- a. *min* = not included
- b. *xiis* = included

+ 1 *baadifad*

+ 2 *fad* (Maay)

fadow (Maay), v.t.

+ 3 *horseed*

seedow (Maay), v.t.

+ 4 *minfiiq*

+ 5 *minxiis*

MAAY SOMALI

1. *baadëfad* + 2

- a. *baad* = included
- b. *fad* = included

2. *horseed*

- a. *hor* = included
- b. *seed* = included

3. *minfiiq*

- a. *min* = included
- b. *fiiq* = not included

4. *minxiis*

- a. *min* = included
- b. *xiis* (*hiis*) = included

= reward that is given to someone returning lost property or animals to their owner (universal usage).

= goods that the groom gives to the bride's family, generally before the wedding (*yarad* in the standard language).

= to want, to desire.

= person who goes before the group in transhumance, to find for them the best camping place (stand. language); in Maay the word is unknown, whilst the two parts of the compound word are found in the language-variant.

to go, to take oneself.

= brush, broom (stand. lang.), *Min* (Maay) = house, abode, thus part of the word is to be found in a dialect, whilst the other part in another. In Maay the word is unknown.

= person under whose direction and patronage the wedding feast takes place (probably in older times)

this person was a kind of « cheerleader », given that the institution is most archaic). The expression is not so well known in Maay. In any case, *minwayn* (first wife) and *minyaro* (second wife, inferior in status to the first), are common terms in all the language-variants.

1.2. Category of words which have an incomplete meaning in the standard language, whilst in the language variants attain fullness and vigour. From this category we have taken the following words: *ciriid*, *dhaashi*, *war (balli)*, *gudid*, *beel*, *so*, *gun*, *jamasho*, *shiid*, *muudaal*, *oogtid*, *tebin*.

STANDARD SOMALI

1. *ciriid* = the heat of sand made red-hot by the sun (an incomplete meaning and often confused).
2. *dhaashi* = cream or other ointment more or less scented which is spread over the face (a definition which may seem incomplete)
3. *war* (relatively recent) = basin, generally artificial, used for conserving rainwater.
4. *gudid* = circumcision (not inflected in the sense of cut).
5. *beel* = community or group of persons living in the same village.
6. *so* = almost unknown and sometimes used as comparative *so iyo sar* = flesh vs. skin.
7. *gun* = common people; rabble; inferior; belonging to the mass (in the way of the pejorative meaning

OTHER DIALECTS

1. *irë* (Maay) = sun.
2. *dhaaysë* (Maay) = clarified butter (standard language *subag*).
3. *warë* (Jiiddo) = water.
4. *godaal* (Jiiddo) = the cut. (*gudin* and *gudid* sound better together in this sense than with *goyn* and *go'id*).
5. *beel* (Garre) = friend. In the way of many neologisms, *beel* stands for the administrative or municipal level immediately below that of District (*degmo*).
6. *so* (Maay) = meat.
7. *gun* (in various Southern language variants) = people; tribe; the most representative part of the

- given to the word people in several modern European languages).
8. *jamasho* = to long for something (almost always referring to the whims of pregnant women).
9. *shiidid* = 1.v.t. to throw a stone at something or someone. 2. v.t. to grind; 3. v. int. to go to the bottom of; for other uses of the word one needs to search archaic literature², insofar as *shiid* for stone is not commonly used in the standard language.
10. *muudal* = adj. miserly; stingy; niggardly (used only in this sense).
11. *oogtid* = v.t. to light (fire); to set alight (used rarely and as a metaphor). The verb does not conjugate in the form 'to be alight'.
12. *tebin* = 1. v.t. to send
2. to jump (a cycle). The word that derives from *tegid* (go) appears to have distanced itself over time and describes a limited sphere of the same action.
- aristocratic group (the word has a connotation of solidarity and pride in the context of the specific group).
8. *jammë* (Jiiddo) = desire; *jajamaal* v.t. to want.
9. *shiid* = stone; pebble
1. *shiidooyow* = v.t. to throw a stone at something or someone.
2. *shiidow* = v.t. to grind
3. *shiidow* = v.t. to sink;.
10. *modaal* (Jiiddo) = v.t. to prohibit; to deny (standard language *reebid*).
11. *oogow* (Maay) = v.i. ref. to burn oneself; 2. *oojiyow* (Maay) = to light.
dabaa oogowhaaya = the fire continues to burn (here the verb conjugates).
12. *tabow* (Maay) = v.t. to go, leave.

2. The Dynamic of the Use of the Pharyngeals in Somali

Apart from what has been consolidated into the standard language in bygone times, the use of the pharyngeals the h in n and the a in c (*cayn*) is a process still under way; for example, the word *huluulasho* (to crouch under a low roof)

² *Shiidkiyo quruuruxa miyaad aniga ii sheegi* (you come to speak to me of rocks and pebbles?) is the answer of the poet Gabayhawle to a poetic riddle that begins with this cutting remark: *shahwo nimaan lahayn oo dhallaan shaaribbada haysto; haddaad gabay nin shaacira ku tahay, sheeg haddaad garato* = (to somebody without any sperm, with children that caress his moustache; if you are a real poet, tell me if you have understood). Yaasiin C. Keenadiid (1984).

can be pronounced *xuluulasho* also. The former pronunciation is found often in the language variants in Southern and Central Somalia and thus could have been the original form. Very recently the word *mahaysato* (property-less) was changed into *maxaysato* (which does not jar because the main morpheme is dropped). The x in general is a sound very much influenced by Arabic, and is part of the letters of the alphabet in which the Arabic content is considerable, such as: *xaaqin, xusuus, xin, xarraan, xayraamid, xeelad, xisaab, xoqid, xilo* etc.

As it may be recalled in the poetry of Cabdullahi Suldaan Timacadde³ it appears that the *Madawayn* plain has been rescued to changing into *Madaxwayn*. The same process may happen to the letter c (*cayn*), and in this regard let us recall the poetic riddle waged between Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xassan and Xaaji Gooni (Cabdi Xaaji) where the latter says: *wan cafuufanoo coobir wado, madaxna caal haysto ... caynkaasna aniga arkee cara e yaa sheega?*⁴ (swollen ram led by an old man, and another who pulls him along by its drooping chin, this I have seen and who knows how to solve it?). In this poetic riddle of the Sayid there is also the following: *caskar ulo leh oo geed cumbulan gobolna coon joogo ... oo qool cuddinayaan arkee, cara ee yaa sheega?* (soldiers armed with clubs, in a scrum under a spreading tree ... I saw them shake their clubs ... and who knows how to solve it?). Evidently the poet has changed the word *afuufan* into *cafuufan*, and *askar* into *caskar* for the purpose of alliteration. Thus *arlada* becomes *carrada* (earth), whilst *armal* (widow or divorced woman) and *iid* (feast) are transformed into *carmal* and *ciid*. The strange thing about this change in the sound is that *carro*, i.e. *carmal*, the origin of c in Arabic is a. Just as for x, the c is also among the letters that many Arab words have: *caabbiyid, caado, caal, coon, cabbid, caraf, caro, carbis, carbuun, ceejin, ceeb*, etc.

3. Affinity of Semantic Mould between the Language Variants

There is an extraordinary affinity of semantic form between the language variants of Somalia that bears upon the plasticity of thought. In certain cases the semantic affinity in question, more than the lexical structure, is complemented by phonological harmony, and thus there is not only a common meaning of the word, but also a vocal harmony of the same word found in two or more language-variants. Here are shown some examples of this in the following comparison:

STANDARD LANGUAGE

1. *mahaayommoog*, small child, lit. 'I an not unaware'.
Or rather for him who has to have milk, whenever and wherever

OTHER DIALECTS

1. *mataallë moog*⁵ (Maay), identical meaning, lit. 'there is nothing unaware'. The two expressions are so close even in modulation of

³ (The heat which the herd dies, and wonderment is the carcasses of the oxen, whilst lived at Madaxwayn and Muluclay, and no grass was to found at Meder ...). Boobe Yuusuf Ducaale (1983, p. 25). Madaxwayn is a plain in this district of Hargeisa.

⁴ Jaamac Cumar Ciise (1974, p.199).

⁵ *Mëtaallë moogtaa lëkiin maalee* ... (in Maay). This strophe is part of an *adar* of Maxamed Naasir (Akaakow), poet, songwriter and singer from Huddur, and is incorporated into the collection of poetry, songs and *adar* of the writer.

- he needs, who definitely does not ask if there's any.
2. *Afmiinshaar*⁶
Given over politically to opportunism; near to the center of power (orig. meaning). Spreader of false and tendentious rumour (current meaning).
 3. *Takhaantakhi* from verb *takhaantakhayn*: violent push given to someone shoving him by the hand on the nape of the neck, making him jump forward.
 4. *Tuulo*, village.
 5. *Coon*, person who seems younger than his actual age.
 2. *Afyaambo* (Lower Shabeelle)
Power broker and politician in rural societies.
 3. *Qedaanqedi* (Maay), from the verb *qedaanqediyyow* (identical meaning), only in this expression the nape (*qadaad*) is clearly the point of impact where the push comes from.
 4. *Buulo*, village in many language-variants.
 5. *Guun*, identical to *coon* in meaning, only that this word is Arabic in origin.

4. The Fusion of the Language-variants

Maay merges into the standard language and is pronounced almost identically as the latter in the case of the Arab letters in the *dugsi*⁷, or Koranic schools. This system of enunciation which commences with familiarising the student with Arabic letters, has the aim of making him learn firstly the distribution of the diacritical signs of the alphabet and the articulation of the sounds, and then the combination of the characters themselves. This didactic method is copied from Arabic and then adapted into Somali.

The oral tradition and recent historiography in Somali agree that Sharif Yuusuf Al-Kowneyn (also known as Aw-Barkhadle) (Cali Cabduraxmaan Xersi 1977: 126-127, and Mazamad Mukhtaar, manuscript) is the inventor of the method. The Somalisation of the method, which follows the Arabic form: *alif laa shay' loh, baa' nuuqa min tahtahaa* etc, is shown below in two linguistic forms:

⁶ This word has changed to take on a pejorative slant, insofar as at the time of its coining it meant simply « politician ». *Afyaambo*, instead refers to the same person, the « power brokers » of rural societies.

⁷ This fact is important for historical research, since the use of the method in Maay is not original, and one could deduce from this that the teaching of the Koran was established in the Maxaatiiri language-variants before it spread to the regions of the Maay language-variant.

⁸ It is an exception to the common rule in that it is pronounced *ku seiddexaale*.

STANDARD LANGUAGE	MAAY (ACTUAL)	NORMAL MAAY PRONUNCIATION
<i>alif wax maale</i>	<i>alif wah maale</i>	<i>alif wal melleh</i>
<i>ba hooskaale</i>	<i>ba hoos kaale</i>	<i>ba hoos kulleh</i>
<i>ta kor ku lammaale</i>	<i>ta kor ku lammaale</i>	<i>ta lamma kor ku leh</i>
<i>tha kor ku seddexaale</i>	<i>the kor ku seddiileh</i>	<i>tha kor ku seddiileh</i>
<i>jiin hooskaale</i>	<i>jiin hooskaale</i>	<i>jiin hoos kulleh</i>
<i>xa wax maale</i>	<i>xa wax maale</i>	<i>xa wal melleh</i>
<i>kha korkaale</i>	<i>kha korkaale</i>	<i>kha kor kulleh</i>
<i>deel wax maale</i>	<i>deel wax maale</i>	<i>del wal melleh</i>
<i>thaal korkaale</i>	<i>thaal korkaale</i>	<i>thaal kor kulleh</i>
<i>ra wax maale</i>	<i>ra wax maale</i>	<i>ra wal melleh</i>
<i>za korkaale</i>	<i>za korkaale</i>	<i>za kor kulleh</i>
<i>siin kor ku seddexaale</i>	<i>siin kor ku seddexaale</i>	<i>siin kor ku seddiileh</i>
<i>saad wax maale</i>	<i>saad wal melleh</i>	<i>saad wal melleh</i>
<i>lhaad korkaale</i>	<i>lhaad korkaale</i>	<i>lhaad kor kulleh</i>
<i>dha wax maale</i>	<i>dha wax maale</i>	<i>dha wax maale</i>
<i>tda korkaale</i>	<i>tda korkaale</i>	<i>tda kor kulleh</i>
<i>cayn wax maale</i>	<i>cayn wax maale</i>	<i>cayn wal melleh</i>
<i>ghayn korkaale</i>	<i>gheen korkaale</i>	<i>gheen kor kulleh</i>
<i>fa korkaale</i>	<i>fa korkaale</i>	<i>fa kor kulleh</i>
<i>qaaf kor ku labaale</i>	<i>qaaf kor ku lammaale</i>	<i>qaaf lamma kor ku leh</i>
<i>kaaf wax maale</i>	<i>kaaf wax maale</i>	<i>kaaf wal melleh</i>
<i>laam wax maale</i>	<i>laam wax maale</i>	<i>laam wal melleh</i>
<i>miim wax maale</i>	<i>miim wax maale</i>	<i>miim wal melleh</i>
<i>nuun korkaale</i>	<i>nuun korkaale</i>	<i>nuun kor kulleh</i>
<i>waaw (woow) wax maale</i>	<i>waaw wax maale</i>	<i>waaw wal melleh</i>
<i>ha wax maale</i>	<i>ha wax maale</i>	<i>ha wal melleh</i>
<i>ya hooskaale</i> ⁹	<i>ya hooskaale</i>	<i>ya hoos lamma ku leh</i>

As a rule virtually all the nomenclature regarding the organisation of the *dugsi*, the religious practice relating to them, and the teaching methods, are similar throughout Somalia.¹⁰

In the standard language there may be various forms of articulation, however I am not able here to give the exact number of the « readings ».

It is certain, though, that in the Togdheer region (Burao), the following forms of syllabification are in use, amongst other possible readings: *alif wax ma leh*; *ba hoos ku hal leh*, *ta kor ku laba leh*; *tha kor ku seddex leh*; *jiin hoos ku hal leh* ... *ya hoos ku labaley*.¹¹

⁹ Even though in Maay certain letters such as c and x are difficult to pronounce, the reader of the Koran tries his utmost to adhere to the regular pronunciation of Arabic characters.

¹⁰ Cf. Maxamed C. Casdul-Kanim et al. (1978).

¹¹ The diacritical points of *ya* have not been mentioned, and are an exception as regards the position of the other letters. According to the prevailing articulation *ya* should be read as *ya laba ku hoosaale*.

5. The Liturgical Value of Song and its Cross-regional Effect on Dialects¹²

As has been noted almost all the traditional dances, songs, and general poetic creativity are associated with supernatural powers and mysteries. Moreover there are forms of ritual dances in which the aesthetic takes precedence over the magic, and vice versa. In all those dances (and there are many of them) where nobody is required to fall into a mystic fit, or pretend to do so, the aesthetic element of the dance or the song has more room to be developed. In pastoral communities those forms of dance or song that are less mysterious or less expensive are somehow easily adopted, and thus easy to organise and to assimilate. In this respect, while the language-variants may seem to be shut in closed compartments, the dances and songs that accompany them are able to break through the barriers of vernacular and to mix and superimpose themselves upon the melodies and dances typical of another distant region. As we shall see below, in Maay and Jiiddo, songs from Maxaatiri have been assimilated, and are recited along with those that are clearly local in a seamless melange.

The capacity of the receiving language-variant to assimilate cannot be diminished, in my opinion, by the fact that in the process of mediation certain words are changed and others replaced by similar-sounding local ones.

As far as I recall in the Bokool region, especially in the areas adjacent to the provisional administrative border, along the Abeesaale-Dhuurreey-Goryaale line (north-east, north, north-west of Xuddur), adjoining the border lands with Hiiraan, the influence of Maxaatiri is considerable on the dances and the songs, particularly on the *saar*,¹³ *weerar*¹⁴ and *Jiib*.¹⁵ There may well have been similar adaptations in other districts of the former region of Upper Giuba or even in other Southern regions, either in the Democratic Republic of Somalia, or beyond the temporary border.

One form of *Jiib* that we shall call *Jiib-dooy* to distinguish it from other less

¹² We can here draw a distinction between on the one hand local dances and songs taken into the culture some considerable time ago, and whose means of communication is Somali, and on the other, forms of exorcism of recent introduction. Each of these two types of dance and song has its own ritual and the language of the ceremony, almost always incomprehensible to the listeners and quite often to the very celebrants. In the case of *Ugnukow*, the famous dance of propitiation of the Goshu (which is usually recited on moonless nights), the liturgy is a mixture from Yao, Makua and Magindo, peoples that live in the South of Tanzania and Malawi, land where the original inhabitants were the first settled community of the Goshu. (Harlow & Chiever, 1965, and Ingram, 1962). Zaylici and Mingis dances use ritual phrasing of uncertain origin, whilst the Sheikh Xuseen (Boorane) and Numbi (or Lumbi) dances the language of mediation is respectively Oromo and Kiswahili.

¹³ In general *saar* is divided (at least those forms known in Central Somalia) into *saar-mooy* (*moo*) and *saar-lugeed*. In the former as the term itself shows, the song is accompanied by a drum (a large wooden mortar whose cavity is covered by a half-tanned skin). Whilst the latter form is without musical instrument and the effect of the stamping of the feet, whence « *lugeed* », and the clapping of the hands that accompany the singing give a hypnotic rhythm to the dance. Apart from the magic content of the ceremony, *saar* expresses the strength and courage of its participants (for a fuller description see Cerulli, 1957).

¹⁴ It is a form of *shir* with various nuances and local features (the name itself implies the warlike character of the *weerar*).

¹⁵ It is recited at night by the young men in a special enclosure in the open *gamaas*, under the stars. It is a love song in which the young man exalts the virtue of his chosen maiden or else he rails against the « shrew » from which his pride has suffered, and so he describes her in terms of derision.

colourful types, seems to have had its origin in the Baardheere-Yaaq-Baraaway-Dinsoor triangle.

Jiib-dooy, despite maintaining the poetic Maay paradigm, draws freely from various Maxaatiri language-variants. However, the most versatile language-variant, possessing an intrinsic capacity to assimilate songs and dances from outside, is that of *Jiiddo*.

The strangest phenomenon of this language-variant, not being part of Maay, is in my opinion that it has taken in literally oral literature and folk traditions from other language-variants, yet still conserving their original lexical purity and basic aesthetic form.

What is remarkable here is that a single person or chorus can make up on the spot songs belonging to two, three or four language-variants and succeed in involving a large audience, who will appreciate and take in the songs with almost the same intensity as in their own language.

Thus the *gaar* or *geerar*¹⁶ and the *beeley*¹⁷ are sung in Jiiddoo; while *tugsi* (*tuugsi*)¹⁸ in maxaatiri (Benaadir): *beerey*¹⁹ and *gololow*²⁰ are sung in a mixture of language-variants (Jiiddo-Benaadir-Maay-Garre); whilst the *wegle*²¹ and the *waalo*²² are in Maay verses.²³

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¹⁶ Belongs to the epic type common in *Geerar* with local features.

¹⁷ Sung in chorus with the participation of soloists who ensure a continuity of verses, that are alternated in turn with the instant song composers.

¹⁸ This is a form of *shir* in the manner of Benaadir. As in *shir* the composers of *tugsi* are called *laashimiin* (sing. *laashin*) and the related *shrib* follows roughly the rhythm and metre of Benaadir.

¹⁹ This *beerey* of Qoryooley is different from the most famous *beerrey-waamo* (or *beerrey Jamaame*) in its rhythm and theatricality. This latter is perhaps one of the most beautiful folk dances of Somalia.

²⁰ This is a form of the *Beerrey-Waamo* in the metre of the singing, the rhythm of the dance and celebratory rules.

²¹ This is a song especially for the cattle, found widely in Central and Southern Somalia. It is generally felt that this sort of song pleases the cattle and helps to increase milk output and affection for the owner.

²² One of the youngmen's games most widely spread throughout Somalia with regional and local characteristics.

²³ These are forms heavily influenced by the Maxaatiri of Gedo and Bokool. There are many versions, especially in saar, in the afore mentioned regions that almost conserve the regional Maxaatiri linguistic purity.

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Part II

Literature and Folklore

Literary Texts in Somali School-books and their Importance for the Documentation of Somali Literature

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Introduction

In countries where there is an abundance of published materials, literary texts in school-books are of interest only to educationalists, or to teachers and their pupils. The situation is different, however, in Somalia where the total volume of published materials is still very small in relation to what is available in typescript or manuscript form or is recorded on tapes. The compilers of Somali school-books had to rely heavily on such unpublished sources and thus provided us with many printed texts which are not available anywhere else in published form. The value of these texts lies not only in their uniqueness but also in that they include works of some of the poets and playwrights who achieved nation-wide fame mainly or exclusively through radio broadcasts, cassette taperecordings, public and private recitals and stage productions.¹

The value of the literary texts in Somali school-books is further enhanced by the fact that their compilers provided many of them with introductions and annotations of a lexical, historical and biographical nature. Most of the information they give us is a result of research into oral or unpublished written materials and is thus unique among published sources. The compilers are well qualified for this task since they were selected on account of their specialist knowledge of Somali literature and include some prominent connoisseurs of the subject as well as creative writers.² They treat the texts they provide with care and reverence, adhering to high principles of fidelity to the original sources. Their work certainly merits to be chronicled as a significant achievement in the cultural history of modern Somalia.

Bibliographical Data

The bibliographical data given on the title pages of Somali school-books may not be fully meaningful for anyone unfamiliar with the Somali educational system and on account of this some brief explanations are provided here. All school-books published in 1972 state that their corporate author and publisher is

¹ An account of this « audio-literature » is given in Andrzejewski 1986.

² Biographical notes on some of them can be found in Andrzejewski 1985.

Jamhuriyadda Dimoqradiga Somaliya, Wasaradda Waxbarashada iyo Barbaarinta, Guddiga Af Somaliga (The Democratic Republic of Somalia, Ministry of Education and Youth Training, Somali Language Committee). This reflects the fact that all the school-books were prepared at that time by the members of the Somali Language Committee, which consisted of a group of scholars who implemented the government's decision to introduce a national orthography. The responsibility for preparing school-books was transferred, however, in 1973 to the *Xafiiska Manaahijta* (The Curriculum Department) of the Ministry of Education and Youth Training, also known sometimes as *Xarunta Horumarinta Manaahijta* (The Centre for Curriculum Development) and this Department has since then been given as the corporate publisher and author of all school-books.

It should be noted that there are differences in the forms of the names of the Ministry of Education and Youth Training and that of the Somali state as they appear on the title pages in 1972 and in the subsequent years. After 1972 we find the form *Wasaaradda Waxbarashada iyo Barbaarinta* instead of *Wasaradda Waxbarashada iyo Barbaarinta* and the name of the Somali state is given as either *Jamhuuriyadda Dimoqraadiga Soomaaliya* (The Democratic Republic of Somalia) or *Jamhuuriyadda Dimuqraadiga Soomaalida* (The Democratic Republic of the Somalis) instead of *Jamhuriyadda Dimoqradiga Somaliya*.

Some of these differences are due to the change in the spelling rules applied to proper names which took place on the 2nd July 1973. Before that date all vowels in proper names, irrespective of their length, were represented by single vowel letters, e.g. *Somaliya* instead of *Soomaaliya*. After that date proper names were accorded the same treatment as all the other words and long vowels were represented then by double letters. Other differences, however, can only be attributed to the lack of standardization.

Each school-book provides an indication of the level for which it is designed. In this connection it should be observed that the pre-university educational cycle in Somalia consists of twelve grades, each covering one school year. The twelve grades are divided into *Dugsiyada Hoose* (Elementary Schools), *Dugsiyada Dhexe* (Intermediate Schools) and *Dugsiyada Sare* (High Schools or Secondary Schools), sometimes also referred to in the singular as *Dugsiga Hoose*, *Dugsiga Dhexe* and *Dugsiga Sare*. Each of these three divisions is composed of four grades. The numbering of the grades requires special attention since the first eight grades, that is those of the *Dugsiyada Hoose* and *Dugsiyada Dhexe*, are numbered consecutively from 1 to 8 but the last four grades, that is those of the *Dugsiyada Sare*, are numbered separately from 1 to 4. The names of the first two divisions, *Dugsiyada Hoose* and *Dugsiyada Dhexe*, are sometimes omitted on the title pages but the name of the third division, *Dugsiyada Sare*, is always stated and this obviates any possible confusion which might arise from the overlapping way in which the grades are numbered. The grade for which the book is designed is indicated by either the word *fasalka* (the grade) or *buugga* (the book) followed by an ordinal numeral: *kowaad* or *koowaad* (first), *labaad* (second), *saddexaad* (third), *afraad* (fourth), *shanaad* (fifth), *lixaad* (sixth), *toddobaad* (seventh) and *siddeeddaad* (eight); it is sometimes also represented by figures followed by the affix *-aad* (-th). The place of publication is always the same, namely *Muqdishu* (Mogadishu) or *Xamar* which is the old name of the same town.

Literary materials are found in school-books which are designed to teach three subjects: Somali language, Somali literature and Somali history. On the title pages

the first of them is shown as *Afka* (The Language), *Af Soomaali* (Somali Language) or *Soomaali* (Somali) and the second as *Suugaanta* (The Literature) or *Suugaan* (Literature). The third is shown as *Taariikhda Soomaaliya* (The History of Somalia). One of the books used for teaching literature consists of the text of a play in alliterative verse and its name is given on the title page: *Aqoon iyo afgarad* (Knowledge and Mutual Understanding).

The school-books which contain literary materials are listed in Appendix 1 and are provided with codes which are used for reference purposes in Appendix 2 and 3.

The school-books published by the Curriculum Department were all compiled by teams of educationalists who had specialized knowledge in the relevant subjects. Although the Department is given as the corporate author on the title pages acknowledgments are made in the prefaces to the members of each compiling team. Their names are listed in Appendix 2 together with the codes of books which they compiled. The prefaces are signed by the directors of the Curriculum Department who held that office during the compilation of the particular books and who were thus responsible for the overall supervision of the work and the choice of the teams.

Representativeness of the Texts

Although no official statements are available concerning the educational policy in Somalia for the teaching of literature some of its aims can be readily inferred from the examination of the texts used. It is clear that one of its main aims is to present to school pupils a selection of texts which are representative of the whole literary culture of their country in all its main genres, themes and authors.³ Great emphasis is placed on poetry and all its main genres are represented by the texts, including the mega-genre called *silsilad* « chain », which consists of a series of poetic exchanges linked in a multicorned debate.⁴ The range of themes is also representative of what is found in Somali poetry and the only notable omissions are parodies of famous poems⁵ and current political dissent. The selection of poets whose texts are used is also highly representative and covers a large proportion of the best-known poets, ancient and modern.

Two whole plays and one dramatic sketch are selected as specimens of Somali drama. The two plays are in alliterative verse and are thus typical of the works of Somali playwrights designed for full stage production. The sketch represents a type of dramatic work in prose⁶ which is used as part of a show containing other, unconnected parts, or is broadcast as a short radio entertainment.

³ This can be ascertained by referring to the surveys of Somali literature or of its parts or aspects which are found in: Andrzejewski 1984, 1985, 1986, Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964, Antinucci and Axmed Faarax Cali « Idaajaa » 1986, Ciise M. Siyaad 1985, Johnson 1972, 1974, 1979 and 1984, Said S. Samatar 1982 and Yaasiin Cismaan Keenadiid 1984. Bibliographies relating to Somali literature can be found in Carboni 1983 and Lamberti 1986.

⁴ The example of a *silsilad* given in one of the school-books involved the participation of the following poets: Weerar Cali Geelle, Xirsi Cali Buraale, Maxamed Nuur Abokor, Aar Xandulle Nuur and Diiriye X. Guuleed. For references to their poems see Appendix 3, Section A. Other examples of this mega-genre are found in Andrzejewski and Musa H. I. Gaalaal 1963 and Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964: 110-114.

⁵ For an account of the thriving art of parody in Somali poetry see Said S. Samatar 1980.

⁶ Text SIH/89-102; see Appendix 3, Section F.

Most of Somali literary prose consists of traditional oral narratives, such as fables, tales, legends and historical stories and anecdotes. Narratives of this kind are well represented in school-books and apportioned to various grades according to the age of the pupils. For the younger of them there are fables and simple tales while for the older there are narratives of a more sophisticated type. It should be noted that since the advent of the official orthography when oral narratives are published they are adapted to the requirements of the printed page by the suppression of some of the repetitions characteristic of the oral style and by the use of punctuation and graphic space instead. Such changes do not affect, however, the contents of the narratives which are usually carefully preserved in their printed versions. In school-books the same method of presentation is used.

Modern written prose is less well represented but the texts selected are typical of what can be found in Somali modern prose fiction writing. In particular they are representative of the written prose style which developed since 1972.

In Somali society proverbs play an important role in public oratory and the art of conversation as well as in poetry, drama and prose narratives. Texts of proverbs are provided in school-books and in some of them they are accompanied by extensive annotations.

Authorship and Anonymity of the Texts

For the majority of poetic texts the names of their authors are given ⁷ and are often accompanied by biographical information. The texts where the names of the poets are left out are mainly modern poetry and are found in books for the lower grades of the schooling system.

It is possible that the compilers thought that such information is unnecessary for the younger pupils or assumed that the authorship of these modern poems was a matter of current general knowledge. Of the dramatic texts two are anonymous but one, S3H/65-134 (S3HR/97-224), can be readily identified as the well-known play by Xasan Sheekh Muumin, entitled *Shabeel naagood*.

Among the modern prose texts only five give the names of their authors and it is difficult to conjecture the reason for this omission. In the case of the written versions of oral prose narratives their anonymity conforms to the traditional view that no credits are due for individual authorship of this genre. The same applies to the texts of work songs and a lullaby, but credit is given by the compilers to the collector who transcribed them.⁸

Availability of Somali School-books

It seems self-evident that the literary texts provided in school-books are of considerable interest to anyone engaged in the study of Somali literature. It is difficult, however, to obtain copies of Somali school-books since they are supplied only to schools and are not on sale in bookshops. In Somalia the only way one can acquire them is through direct application to the Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education but this Department has no distribution network for

⁷ They are listed in Appendix 3, Section A.

⁸ See Appendix 3, Section D.

dealing with orders from abroad. To acquire them without going to Mogadishu one would have to rely on the help of someone who would be able to deal with the matter and with the task of packing, despatching and completing the customs formalities. The only alternative is to photocopy or microfilm the copies which may be found in some libraries outside Somalia, such as the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, or are in the possession of private individuals. The cost of this might be prohibitive for some researchers unless they are provided with grants to cover their expenses, but for a university department or a research institute it might represent a small fraction of their budget. It would certainly be money well spent if such a department or institute is concerned with the field of Somali studies.

APPENDIX 1

List of school-books which contain literary texts

In the list given below the following abbreviations are used:

GAS = Guddiga Af Somaliga; WWB = Wasaaradda Waxbarashada iyo Barbaarinta; WWB (a) = Wasaradda Waxbarashada iyo Barbaarinta; XM = Xafiiska Manaahijta; XM (a) = Xarunta Horumarinta Manaahijta.

- A2 *Af Soomaali: Fasalka labaad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1975.
A2L *Buugga labaad: Afka. Dugsiyada Hoose.* Muqdisho: GAS, WWB(a), 1972.
A3 *Af Soomaali: Fasalka saddexaad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1975.
A3L *Buugga saddexaad: Afka. Dugsiyada Hoose.* Muqdisho: GAS, WWB(a), 1972.
A4 *Af Soomaali: Fasalka afraad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1975.
A4L *Buugga afraad: Afka. Dugsiyada Hoose.* Muqdisho: GAS, WWB(a), 1972.
A5 *Soomaali: Fasalka shanaad. Dugsiga Dhexe.* Muqdisho: XM, WWB, 1983.
A6 *Af Soomaali: Fasalka lixaad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1977.
A7 *Af Soomaali: Fasalka 7aad.* Muqdisho: XM, WWB, 1980.
A8 *Af Soomaali: Fasalka 8aad.* Muqdisho: XM, WWB, 1980.
S4 *Suugaanta: Fasalka afraad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1976.
S5 *Suugaanta: Fasalka shanaad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1976.
S6 *Suugaanta: Fasalka lixaad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1976.
SIH *Suugaan: Dugsiga Sare. Fasalka koowaad.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1976.
S2H *Suugaan: Fasalka labaad. Dugsiyada Sare.* Muqdisho: XM, WWB, 1977.
S3H *Suugaan: Dugsiga Sare. Fasalka saddexaad.* Mogadishu: XM(a), WWB, n.d.
S3HR *Buugga suugaanta: Dugsiga Sare. Fasalka saddexaad.* Muqdisho: XM, WWB, 1978.
S4H *Suugaan: Dugsiga Sare. Fasalka afraad.* Muqdisho: XM(a), WWB, 1983.
S4HD *Aqoon iyo afgarad: Suugaanta. Fasalka afraad ee Dugsiga Sare.* Muqdisho: XM, WWB, 1980.
S4HR *Buugga suugaanta: Dugsiga Sare. Fasalka afraad.* N.p.: XM, WWB, n.d.
T3H *Taariikhda Soomaaliya: Fasalka saddexaad. Dugsiga Sare.* Xamar: XM, WWB, 1976.

APPENDIX 2

Compilers of school-books which contain literary texts

The codes composed of figures and letters refer to the books compiled and are explained in Appendix 1.

Aamina Xaaji Aadan: T3H. Axmed Cabdillaahi Boqorre: A2, A3, A5. Axmed Cali Cilmi: S4, S5, S6. Axmed Guure Cali: A2, A3. Axmed Maxamed Cabdiraxmaan: S4H, S4HR. Axmed Maxamed Qaaddi: A2, A3, A4, A6, A8, SIH, S2H, S3H, S3HR, S4H, S4HR. Caasha Xaaji Xaashi: T3H. Cabdi Xaaji Dooddi: A2, A3. Cabdillahi Cali Axmed: S4, S5, S6, SIH, S2H, S4H, S4HR. Cabdillaahi Diiriye: A8. Cabdillaahi Maydhane Warsame: S4, S5, S6, SIH, S2H, S3H, S3HR, S4H, S4HR. Cabdillaahi Xaaji Maxamed: S4, S6. Cabdiraxmaan Cartan Qaalib: T3H. Cabdiraxmaan Maxamad Xisaam: A2, A3. Cabdullaahi Xaaji Cali: S4, S5, S6. Cali Buraale Raage: S4, S5, S6. Cismaan Jaamac Aadan: A2, A3. Cismaan Sheekh Maxamed: S4, S5, S6. Cumar Aw Nuux: S4, S5, S6. Cumar Maxamed Saalim: S4, S5, S6. Daa'uud Daahir: S4, S5, S6. Faysal Xaaji Maxamuud: A8, S3H, S3HR. Ibraahim Cali Riyaale: S4, S5, S6. Ibraahim Faarax Jooj: A2, A3, A4. Ismaaciil Ducaale: S4, S5, S6. Ismaaciil Muuse Nuur: A2, A3, A4, A5, A6. Kinsi Caydiid Raage: S4, S5, S6. Maryan Weheliye Barre: A2, A3, A5. Maxamed Cabdi Jaamac: S4, S5, S6, S4H, S4HR. Maxamed Cabdillaahi Riiraash: A2, A3, A4. Maxamed Cabdiraxmaan: SIH, S2H, S3H, S3HR. Maxamed Haybe Kaahin: S3H, S3HR. Maxamed Xaaji Cabdi: A2, A3. Maxamuud Maxamed Faarax: S4, S5, S6. Muuse Axmed Saxar: S4HD. Muuse Nuur: A5. Muuse X.I. Galaal: S4H, S4HR. Saciid Saalax Axmed: A2, A3. Shamsa Yuusuf Ismaaciil: S4, S5, S6. Xasan Aw Daahir Qaalib: S1H, S2H, S3H, S3HR, S4H, S4HR. Xasan Sheekh Muumin: S4, S5, S6. Yuusuf Aadan Suleymaan: A2, A3, A4, A6.

APPENDIX 3

Lists of authors and texts

In the lists given below school-books are identified by the codes assigned to them in Appendix 1. Figures after oblique strokes refer to pages.

A. Authors of poetic texts

Aadan « Afqalloo », Xaaji: A5/63-64; A7/72-73 (S5/75-76); A7-97-99; A7/109; A7/148-149 (S5/78-79); A8/51-53 (S6/62-63); S4/56-57; S6/19-20; S2H/28-29; S4H/51-52; S4HR/44-45); T3H/78-79.

Aadan Carab: A8/95-96.

Aar Xandulle Nuur: A8/31.

Aweys Geedow: A5/93-94 (S4/22-22).

Axmed Cabdillaahi Qaalib: A3L/10-11; A4L/98/99; A7/116-117 (S6/28).

Axmed « Gabyow », Sheekh: A5/79.

Axmed-Guray Maxamed Cabdille: S2H/6-8.

- Axmed Ismaaciil Diiriye « Qaasim »: A8/1-2; A8/2-3 (S6/57-58); S3H/8-10 (S3HR/6-9); S3H/23-24 (S3HR/28-29); S4H/31-34; (S4HR/24-27); S4H/45-47 (S4HR/38-41); T3/131-132.
- Amed Maxamed « Qaaddi »: S3H/43-44 (S3HR/59-60); S4H/35-36; (S4HR/28-29); S4H/41-44 (S4HR/33-37).
- Axmed-Nuur Gamaje: S4H/13-14 (S4HR/8-10).
- Axmed Nuur Yuusuf: A7/83-85 (S5/58).
- Axmed Suleymaan Bidde: S6/12-13 (S3H/41-42; S3HR/57-58).
- Axmed Yoonis Habbane: A7/118-119.
- Baashe Muuse Jaamac: A7/125-127.
- Cabdalla Maxamed « Sagsaag »: A7/56-58 (S5/65).
- Cabdi Cabdillaahi Muuse: A7/1-2 (S5/6).
- Cabdi Gahayr: A7/45-46 (S5/52); S2H/41-42.
- Cabdi Muxumed: A3L/93 (A5/101-102; S4/29-30).
- Cabdillaahi Cabdi Shube: A7/37-38 (S5/40); S4/43-44.
- Cabdillaahi Macallin Axmed: S5/71-72.
- Cabdillaahi Muuse: A8/46.
- Cabdillaahi Suldaan « Timacadde »: A5/69-71 (S4/9-11; T3H/128-130); A7/12-14 (S5/11-12); A7/140; S3H/5-6 (S3HR/1-3); S3H/7 (S3HR/4-5); S4H/23-25 (S4HR/18-20); S4H/27-29 (S4HR/21-23).
- Cabdiraxmaan Allamagan, Sheekh (also known as « Sheekh Cabdi Shaacir »: SIH/59-60.
- Cabdulqaadir Xirsi « Yamyam »: A5/103 (S4/31); A5/111 (S4/38-39); A7/86 (S6/5); A8/65-66; S4/60-63.
- Cali Bacul: S2H/31-34.
- Cali Cilmi « Afyare »: A7/20-21 (S5/20-21); A7/51-54 (S5/45-46); S3H/14-16 (S3HR/14-18).
- Cali Diiriye (also known as « Cali Gaab »): A5/59 (S4/1).
- Cali Jaamac Haabiil: SIH/22-26.
- Cali Maxamed Oday (also known as « Cali Eydh »): A8/107-108.
- Cali Mire Cawaale: S3H/19-20 (S3HR/22-23).
- Cali Sugulle: A5/74 (S4/14).
- Cali Xuseen: S2H/16-19.
- Cibaado Maxammed Cadduur: A5/95 (S4/24); S4/42.
- Cige: A8/63 (S6/36).
- Ciise Maxamed Faarax: S4/40-41; S5/69-70.
- Ciise Maxamuud Faarax: A8/13-14 (S6/40-41).
- Cilmi Boodhari: A8/75-76 (S6/49-50); SIH/53-56.
- Cumar Cabdiraxmaan: T3H/79.
- Cumar Carte Qaalib: S4H/17-22 (S4HR/12-17); T3H/79-80.
- Cumar Maxamed Warsame (also known as « Cumar Xiinwaal »): S3H/30-33 (S3HR/41-46).
- Cumar Xuseen « Ostreliye »: A4L/52-53; A5/89 (S4/18); S2H/12-16.
- Dahabo Barkhadle: A5/97 (S4/25).
- Diiriye X. Guuleed Warsame: A8/33.
- Faarax Cilmi « Geydh »: A7/134-135.
- Faarax Maxamed Cawl: S3H/21-22 (S3HR/25-27).
- Faarax Nuur: SIH/30-32 (T3H/124-125); SIH/57-58.
- Faarax Shuuriye: A3L/40.

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- Feetin: SIH/13.
Gabay-Xaddi, Xaaji: A8/8-9.
Ismaaciil, Sheekh: S2H/30-31.
Ismaaciil Axmed Barre: S2H/26-27.
Ismaaciil Mire: A4/58-59 (T3H/126); A7/29-30; S5/30-31; SIH/18-21; SIH/33-38;
S2H/20-23; S4H/57-59 (S4HR/50-52).
Ismaaciil Sheekh Axmed: A5/67 (S4/7).
Ismaaciil Xirsi Ciise Farxaan: A7/25-26.
Kaahin Feedhoole: S3H/11-13 (S3HR/10-13).
Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan: A4L/54; A4L/79; A5/12; SIH/14-17; SIH/27-29;
SIH/39-42; S2H/23-25.
Maxamed Cali Kaariye: A7/113-114 (S6/23-24).
Maxamed Cumar: S3H/45-46 (S3HR/62-63).
Maxamed Cumar « Huuryo »: A7/34-35 (S5/50).
Maxamed Ibraahim Warsame « Hadraawi »: A7/94-95 (S5/73); A7/155-157
(S6/1-2); A8/54-56; S2H/37-39; S3H/47-49 (S3HR/64-67); S4H/49-50
(S4HR/42-43); S4H/61-62 (S4HR/53-55); S4H/65-67 (S4HR/56-58).
Maxamed Ismaaciil Axmed: S4/49-51.
Maxamed Ismaaciil « Barkhad Cas »: A7/138-139.
Maxamed Ismaaciil « Belaayo Cas »: A7/131-133.
Maxamed Ismaaciil Bullaale: A8/98-100.
Maxamed Kaahin Feedhoole: S2H/8-11; S3H/11-13 (S3HR/10-13).
Maxamed Nuur Abokor « Huube »: A8/29.
Maxamed Nuur Fadal: A6/4-6; S2H/35-37.
Maxamed Nuur Laangadhe: S2H/42-43.
Maxamed Sheekh Cabdiraxmaan: S3H/25-27 (S3HR/31-34); S4H/7-9 (S4HR/1-3).
Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac « Gaariye »: A8/38-39; A8/86-87..
Maxamuud Cabdillaahi « Sangub »: A7/75-76 (S5/63-64).
Maxamuud Cali Beenaale: S4H/37-39 (S4HR/30-32).
Nuur Ugaas Rooble, Ugaas: SIH/10-11.
Qamaan Bulxan: S3H/37-38 (S3HR/51-53).
Qowdhan Ducaale: SIH/45-49.
Raage Ugaas: A3L/82; A7/92 (S6/9); A8/69-71 (S6/42-44); SIH/8-9.
Saahid Qamaan: SIH/12-13; S3H/28-29 (S3HR/36-39).
Salaan Carrabey: S2H/6-8; S3H/34-36 (S3HR/47-50); S3H/39-40 (S3HR/54-58).
Sicid Xarawo: A3L/40.
Weerar Cali Geelle: A8/27.
« Wiilwaal » (i.e. Garaad Faarax Garaad Xirsi Garaad Hantun): A5/77.
Xaliimo Khayre: S5/42.
Xaliimo Soofe: A7/36 (S5/35); S4/64-65.
Xasan Cabdi Nuur: A7/43-44 (S5/25); A7/63-64 (S5-36).
Xasan Kayd Cabdille « Walanwal »: S4H/11-12 (S4HR/6-7); T3H/133-134.
Xasan Sheekh Muumin: A5/107 (S4/36); A8/24-25 (S6/32-33).
Xirsi Cali Buraale: A8/28.
Xuseen Dhiqle: SIH/50-52.
Xuseen Xasan: SIH/43-44.
Yuusuf Cabdulle Muuse: S3H/17-18 (S3HR/19-21).
Yuusuf Cali Xirsi, Aw: S2H/1-4.

B. Authors of dramatic texts

Maxamed Ibraahim Warsame « Hadraawi », Maxemed Xaashi Dhamac « Garriye », Muuse Cabdi Cilmi and Saciid Saalax Axmed [joint authors]: S4HD/1-88.

C. Authors of modern prose

Axmed Maxamed « Qaaddi »: S3H/50-51 (S3HR/68-71); S3H/59-60 (S3HR/84-87).
Ibraahim Cali Riyaale: S3H/52-54 (S3RH/73-76); S3H/56-57 (S3HR/79-86).
« Qaali » [? Axmed Maxamed Qaaddi »] S3H/61-65 (S3RH/88-95).

D. Editor of poetic texts of anonymous work songs

Cumar Aw Nuux: S4/46-48; S4/54-55; S4/58-59; S5/1-2.

E. Anonymous poetical texts

A2/1/7/39-40/46-47. A3/3/35/76-77. A3L/22-23/75/85-86/107.
A4/10-11/48-49. A4L/23. A5/75-76/81/83. A7/78-79/103-105.
A8/84-85. S2H/40-41. S4H/53-55 (S4HR/46-49).

F. Anonymous dramatic texts

SIH/89-102. S3H/65-134 (S3HR/97-224).

G. Anonymous modern prose texts

A5/21-22 and 51/52/87. A8/15-18, 19-20 and 22-23/41-44/101-102.
S2H/49-54/56-58/59-63. S4H/69-76 (S4HR/59-66)/79-86 (S4HR/68-75)/87-93
(S4HR/76-82)/95-100 (S4HR/84-90)/102-118 (S4HR/91-108)/119-121
(S4HR/109-111).

H. Anonymous adaptations of traditional prose narratives

A2/54/57-58/60-61. A2L/51-52. A3/14-15/23/27-28/44-45/47-48. A3L/25-26/69-71.
A4/19-20/22-23/29-30. A4L/19-20/43-44/57/70/71/72-73/76-78/92/93/96-97.
A5/17/27/31/33/53-55/61/68/91/99/105. A6/19-20. A7/16-18/32-33/40-41/49-
50/61/68-71/80-81/90/100-101/110-111/121-123/136-137/142-143/144-145.
A8/10-12/34-36/48-49/57-59/60-62/67-68/77-80/81-83/112-113.
S4/8-9/12-13/16-17/20-21/27-28/32-35/44-45/52-53.
S5/3-4/8-9/14-17/27/38/48/54-56/60/67-68.
S6/7/17-18/25-26/38-39/52-55/60-61/65-66. SIH/61-64/66-68/70-73/75-76.

I. Proverbs

A3L/47. A7/62/71/82/101/112. A8/80. S4/28. S5/17/48/57. S6/7/18/39/48/68.
SIH/82-88. S2H/43-47. S4/123-127 (S4HR/113-118).

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Corrispondenza epistolare in osmania (II)

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Bello è tornare ai vecchi amori. E forse ancor più bello, ma certamente anche di lieta soddisfazione, se quelli rimasero a mezzo, in attesa di un compimento che, a botta calda, si intravedeva già a portata sicura di mano, nello spazio di tempo del roseo domani, come suole apparire quanto i nostri desideri appena concedono di procrastinare alle ore tutte prossime, anzi quasi già possedute, presenti, ma in realtà ineluttabilmente intaccate dalla perenne condizione dell'incerto divenire di ogni istante. E così l'attesa e la speranza si sono tramutate in lontananza trentennale.

Nel riprendere in mano questi documenti epistolari, esili e frusti nella loro consistenza materiale, « aerogrammi » o semplici foglietti di carta purchessia, segnati dall'usura propria delle nostre cose quotidiane, ed effimere, sono colto da un senso di riverente rispetto. Mentre poi, per altro verso, non posso non tornare a rallegrarmi con me stesso per la fortuna e l'avvedutezza che ebbi nel ricercare e conservare queste umili carte, salvandole dalla sparizione e distruzione irreparabili, ed inevitabili, a cui simili scritti sono regolarmente destinati.

Riveduti nella prospettiva del lungo tempo trascorso, risalta, in questi documenti, ancor più che allora, il carattere della unicità di un cimelio, e gli aspetti peculiari della loro importanza si delineano con più netti contorni e si impongono con decisione maggiore di quanto già a me non parve a suo tempo.¹ A) Anzitutto-

¹ Vd. « Rassegna di Studi Etiopici » (*RSE*), vol. XIV (1955-1958), Roma, 1959, p. 113 sgg. (a p. 115, 4a r. dall'alto, fra parentesi, correggasi « n. 3 » in « n. 2 »). Fruendo della presente citazione di quel mio articolo, credo opportuno di rendere nota una circostanza editoriale, ovviamente taciuta a suo tempo, e cioè che alcuni passi di esso furono soppressi, sulle terze bozze a stampa specialmente, dall'allora direttore del periodico, (M.M. Moreno), per motivi di prudenza politica del momento. Ciò spiega, ad es., come in principio dell'articolo, alla nota 2 (p. [108]), si trovi un rinvio a « *Rapport cit.* », senza che la detta pubblicazione sia poi reperibile nel testo che precede: la sua menzione era caduta a causa appunto di quella soppressione, sulle terze bozze, né io successivamente mi preoccupai di rettificare debitamente il rimando, o forse non ne ebbi il tempo. Infatti la citazione bibliografica completa del *Rapport* compariva nella originaria nota 2, eliminata: *Rapport du Gouvernement italien à l'assemblée générale des Nations Unies, 1952*. — Sebbene non indispensabile, poi, ritengo utile rammentare che le lettere tutte mi furono procurate dal Yāsīn ʿEsmān Kēnadīd, che mi autorizzò a renderle di pubblica ragione, naturalmente con i dovuti accorgimenti, provenendo esse da persone tuttora membri attivi della società somala. E con la cooperazione del Yāsīn le lessi, le trascrissi (letteralmente e foneticamente) e le commentai, cosicché la trascrizione fonetica riproduce la lettura datane dal Yāsīn, da me ascoltata prima e poi registrata su nastro magnetico, e il commento racchiude le osservazioni, sia linguistiche che di varia informazione, via via da lui suggerite. E per la sua infaticabile e paziente partecipazione al mio lavoro amo ripetere ancora una volta il mio grandissimo ringraziamento.

to, essi rappresentano un tipo di prodotto scritto che, in qualunque società, suole restare oscuro, per la sua natura contingente e caduca, come lo sono le vicende quotidiane dell'individuo qualunque che lo crea per suoi fini tutti personali. Tanto più evidente questo aspetto, quando si consideri che essi sono il portato di una società affatto nuova alla scrittura della propria lingua, nel cui uso essa riconosceva un semplice trovato, sia pure sorprendente ed eccitante, anche, per il suo carattere, assai acconcio ad agevolare la comunicazione a distanza, affidata, di regola, fino a quel momento, ai messaggi orali. Documenti scritti di argomento occasionale e destinazione privata esclusivamente, non studiati, dunque, e privi di pretesa letteraria o linguistica, preoccupandosi i loro autori di osservare solamente le norme elementari di scuola per la correttezza del dettato, ciascuno secondo la sua preparazione e le sue capacità. Un dettato che risulta, in tal modo, assolutamente spontaneo, sgorgante dal non sorvegliato dire dell'immediatezza della conversazione confidenziale sul più e sul meno del caleidoscopio degli accadimenti giornalieri e ravvivato qua e là dalla freschezza genuina di una espressività stilistica incisiva. B) Essi, in più rivestono la qualità di poter essere annoverati fra le prime testimonianze della nascita di una scrittura, messa a disposizione dell'impiego di tutti, per una lingua rimasta fino ad allora allo stato della oralità. Ogni tentativo precedente in questo senso, oltre ad essere stato del tutto circoscritto al ristrettissimo ambiente in cui si muoveva il singolo autore, restava limitato alla sfera dotta delle rare personalità di studio tradizionali, religiose, già abituate all'uso della scrittura araba, impiegata con identici fini e con più autorità. C) Si deve poi aggiungere, per tali documenti, la circostanza, conseguente alla loro natura, di presentare nella loro grafia le peculiarità della mano dei singoli scriventi, offrendo così tanti esemplari diversi di scrittura individuale, che vorremmo chiamare corsiva, atti ad offrire un quadro delle variazioni ortografiche e degli sviluppi cui la scrittura doveva soggiacere attraverso l'impiego comune (vedasi anche quanto osservato alla p. 115 del voll. XIV di *RSE* citata alla nota 1, qui). E ciò in contrapposto ai pochissimi documenti a stampa, o piuttosto a riproduzione in ciclostile, di quella scrittura medesima, redatti in una grafia che aveva i connotati di una canonicità ufficiale, rigorosamente controllata dai depositari di essa, che erano in pari tempo gli epigoni e discendenti, in linea agnaticia, del suo inventore. D) Va sempre tenuto presente, infatti, che quella scrittura era una creazione intimamente legata alla cerchia sociale genealogica di quest'ultimo, della quale rappresentava un titolo di merito vistosissimo, alla luce soprattutto della nuova era politica di influenza « occidentale » e nell'ambito dei conseguenti sviluppi della società somala culta. Una creazione rimasta essenzialmente proprietà morale e quasi emblema di quella cerchia agnaticia, e venuta meno, nella sua funzione sociale generale, estesa a tutte le genti del paese, dopo che per la lingua somala fu sancita una scrittura ufficiale basata sui caratteri latini, con un atto di imperio politico del novello stato somalo, di struttura « occidentale ». Cosicché, da quel momento, la scrittura di questi documenti epistolari, e cioè la scrittura osmania, è passata ad essere un episodio storicamente concluso, di cui essi costituiscono oggi una delle attestazioni superstiti di quella funzione di ieri, caduta oramai inesorabilmente

mento al Yāsīn, dopo quanto già scrissi a p. 121 dell'articolo della *RSE* richiamato in principio di questa nota. Quanto alla altissima personalità di letterato e di studioso del yāsīn potrei ricordare quanto avvertito a p. [139], nota 1 (dove, nel rimando bibliografico fra parentesi, la p. « 18 » va corretta in « 156 ») del vol. XXIX (1982-1983) della *RSE*, Roma-Napoli [1984].

te in perenzione. Come già avvertito altrove (p. 141 del vol. XXIX della *RSE*, citato alla nota 1, qui), attualmente la scrittura osmania sopravvive ancora in alcune sue sporadiche manifestazioni di comunicazione sociale, epistolari esattamente, ma tutte ricadenti entro l'esclusivo suo alveo familiare, proprio dei suoi creatori e propagatori insieme da cui essa aveva preso con slancio il via per diventare un mezzo di espressione nazionale, venendo così ad assumere, di fatto, una connotazione quasi di criptografia, in questa sua nuova condizione di oggi. E) E ancora un altro notevole aspetto di questi documenti epistolari non può essere passato sotto silenzio. Un discreto gruppetto dei loro autori è costituito da giovani donne. Ora, in tutte le società (o quasi), e più e meno intellettualmente consapevoli, la presenza femminile, nei vari campi delle attività sociali ufficiali, è restata, e resta ancora, a tutt'oggi, in ombra, anche quando essa si rivela poi preminente sul terreno dell'operare concreto in ogni momento del vivere sociale. E ciò, in maniera ben nota, accade anche nell'ambito dell'attività letteraria. Tanto più sorprendente, dunque, è questa manifestazione epistolare muliebre che ci cade sotto gli occhi, dal momento che essa serve a far affiorare, mercè un mezzo inatteso e quasi insospettato, da una parte, la effettiva tradizionale vivacissima personalità che la donna somala svela entro il vario e intenso pulsare della vita quotidiana, cui lei partecipa come elemento creativo fondamentale, e, dall'altra, la sua capacità, proprio in grazia di quella partecipante personalità, di farsi avanti prepotentemente e con pienezza di intenti nel nuovo tessuto culturale in formazione sotto l'alitare incalzante delle influenze dell'« occidentale ».

* * *

Le lettere da me raccolte sono sedici in tutto, e di esse solo tre hanno avuto la ventura di essere state già pubblicate nel mio articolo ricordato qui sopra, alla nota 1. Come epoca, furono tutte scritte nel periodo degli anni 1955-57, e furono inviate in Italia, di regola, dalla Somalia, e più precisamente da Mogadiscio (Ḥamar in denominazione locale, scritto Xamar nella grafia somala ufficiale di oggi). Una sola proviene dal Cairo. Le tre già pubblicate erano dovute a giovani uomini, originari del nord della Somalia (Mudug, Migiurtinia), che è la zona geografica di appartenenza etnica del creatore della scrittura osmania, in cui tali lettere sono redatte. Delle inedite rimanenti, delle quali si fornirà soltanto qualche ragguaglio e qualche stralcio nelle righe che seguono, sette sono dovute a giovani donne (ancora ragazze oppure già andate a marito), e sono quelle da me contrassegnate in successione con i numeri 7-8-9-11-12-15-16; le altre, in numero di sei, appartengono a giovani uomini anch'esse, come le tre già pubblicate (costituenti le prime della serie). La maggior parte degli autori di questo gruppo inedito è originaria pur essa della Somalia settentrionale, e specialmente del Mudug, la regione donde proviene il creatore dell'osmania; e ciò è un indice significativo di quella mai rinunciata appartenenza etnico-regionale della scrittura impiegata, alla quale si accennava sopra.

Lettera n. 4. — Senza data, ma certamente scritta fra il 1955 e inizi del 1956 (da me letta e chiosata il 02 aprile 1956). Proveniente senza dubbio da Mogadiscio. Scritta da un giovane particolarmente dedito alla attività della *Gōsanka Afka iyo Sūgānta Sōmāliyēd* (per cui vd. p. 111 del vol. XIV della *RSE* cit. alla nota

1, qui). Egli riferisce notizie circa quell'associazione e altri contingenti del momento, di interesse per i due corrispondenti.

Lettera n. 5. — Da me letta e chiosata il 02 aprile 1956. Scritta a Ḥamar il « 31/11/55 » (in cifre osmania), per conto della Associazione di cui alla precedente lettera n. 4, indicata con le iniziali « G.A.S.S. », messe in testa al foglio, prima del nome Ḥamar (nella citazione abbreviata è caduta la congiunzione *yo* e l'ultima parola di essa fu letta dal Yāsīn come « Sōmālida », e non « Sōmāliy-ēd » sostituendo, cioè, il sostantivo all'aggettivo). L'autore, anch'egli un giovane, dà notizie su questioni concernenti la gestione dell'Associazione. Sul retro dell'aerogramma contenente la lettera vi è un poscritto, ma senza alcuna indicazione che lo denoti come tale; esso riguarda fatti spiccioli. La sua grafia rivela una mano assai esperta e sicura, che già tende ai legamenti di un corsivo rapido.

Lettera n. 6. — Datata « 23-9-55 », « Cairo » (in cifre arabe e nome del luogo in caratteri latini). Sul retro del foglietto (celest) è aggiunto, in lingua inglese: « My address is: 16, Mohamed Riad[?] Pasha Street, Abidin, Cairo ». Da me letta e chiosata nel maggio 1959. È di un giovane, che così principia: « Oh+++! ³ Ecco, la malattia che ho io è la stessa che hai tu! Pigrizia. Chi di noi troverà prima la medicina, lui deve darne notizia all'altro. D'accordo? Senonché io ho qualche cosa in più, oltre alla malattia che abbiamo in comune. È la mancanza di denaro con cui la lettera dovrebbe essere spedita. Il modo di procurarsi gli scellini ⁴ costituisce una difficoltà molto grande, quale tu non immagini. Ecco, notizie interessanti non ho ... ».

Stesso tipo di grafia della lettera n. 5.

Lettera n. 7. — Datata a Ḥamar il « 27/4/56 » (in cifre osmania). Da me letta e chiosata il 20.05.1956. Scritta da una giovane donna, di circa 22 anni, che si firma con le iniziali (osmania, ovviamente) del nome personale e del patronimico, moglie di un amico del destinatario, e appartenente al gruppo etnico degli Hawiye Habar Gidīr, dalla cui regione proviene. Dice così: *Dumāsi*,⁵ ho ricevuto la tua ambasciata. Grazie a te, molto molto. Ho dimenticato la scrittura,⁶ poiché *fūllān wā faro ku hāyn*.⁷ Tale essendo la situazione, tu puoi comprendere che in me non c'è trascuratezza, dal momento che io non ho vergogna di questa mia scrittura davanti a te. Tu avresti meritato che io ti mandassi lettere senza che tu me lo rammentassi. Non è avvenuto. Però ciò non significa avversione da parte mia. Delle notizie che ti do la migliore, per me, è che in Somalia è caduta la pioggia e lo stupore di ammirazione si manifesta in ogni parte. Ora sono le tre di sera, e resti sorpreso per i lampi e i fulmini. Che mai vociar confuso si ode da 'El Gāb? ⁸ L'acqua l'ha riempito! E tu, dimmi di te. Come vai con i reumatismi? ... »

² Nome del destinatario.

³ I punti esclamativi, o interrogativi, si trovano nel testo osmania.

⁴ Per questa denominazione della moneta vd. più avanti, n. 20.

⁵ = « cognato », appellativo usato con valore familiare, e lusingo anche; il marito della scrivente era lontano cugino, in sesto grado, del destinatario della lettera.

⁶ sc. quella osmania.

⁷ = « l'andare a cavallo significa averci la mano », vuole cioè, la pratica del maneggio. In realtà, la scrittura della corrispondente è pressoché compitata e incerta nella sua regolarità, quasi di sillabario, rivela una assenza di esercizio continuo e rapido.

⁸ Quartiere di Mogadiscio, sito in una conca fra colline, dove confluiscono tutte le acque durante le piogge.

Lettera n. 8. — Data del timbro postale di Mogadiscio: 23.10.1956. È di una ragazza alle sue amiche che si trovavano in Italia (a Napoli) per compiere gli studi. Eccone un tratto: « Sorella, noi abbiamo benessere. Noi tutti siamo in buona salute, e così Dio, altrettanto, faccia avere benessere a te. Cara⁺⁺⁺, dunque dammi notizie di te. Come stai? Partita che sei, non ho avuto notizia alcuna da te. Dunque dimmi: come è l'Italia? Dunque, il freddo di cui dicevano, come vi ci trovate? Avete imparato ad essere assuefatte ad esso? La scuola, l'avete cominciata? Come foste poi suddivise, e quali dormite nello stesso luogo? Sorella,⁺⁺⁺⁹ sta bene. Ha avuto la tua lettera e il bambino le sta in buona salute. Ella ha portato il bambino al Villaggio (*bilāgo*)¹⁰ e lo tiene⁺⁺⁺⁹. Sorella, dunque, fammi sapere: raccontami tutto quello che hai veduto. Sorella, quando ho perso te, ciò a cui si è ridotta la città è il deserto.⁺⁺⁺⁹ e ⁺⁺⁺⁹ hanno smesso ciò a cui erano use in Somalia oppure hanno peggiorato?¹¹ Mi saluterai ... Ti manda saluti mia madre ... ».

Forse questa lettera fu dettata dalla mittente a un'altra persona, che la stendeva per iscritto. La grafia mostra sicurezza di tratto, anche se non appare molto regolare. La sintassi del testo lascia piuttosto a desiderare, e ciò fece supporre al Yāsīn che la mittente fosse persona diversa da quella della lettera precedente (n. 7), pur portando lo stesso nome.

Lettera n. 9. — Data del timbro postale di Mogadiscio: 14.11.1956. Destinataria la stessa della lettera n. 8, mittente, una sua sorella, giovane donna, probabilmente già nominata nella lettera ora citata, dove sembra dirsi che essa avesse un bambino. Comincia: « Dolce sorella⁺⁺⁺ ». Ecco un brano: « Oh sorella⁺⁺⁺, io marito non voglio, quel che voglio è diventare mercante, avere denaro e voglio che noi si costruisca case, se Dio lo dica. Quel che desidero è di farmi presto il passaporto. Se riceverò 400,¹² che si trovano a Qallāfo per mio conto, presto uscirò [dal paese]; diretta a Nairobi, penso. Sorella, quel che vorrei farmi sapere è se a voi si dà denaro oppure no e la quantità del suo ammontare. Sorella⁺⁺⁺, ciò di cui ti do notizie è Mogadiscio e i nostri. Quella tale⁺⁺⁺ ha sposato e poi è impazzita stando con lui, ma adesso sta bene. ⁺⁺⁺⁹ ha detto che ⁺⁺⁺⁹ ha stregato la ragazza, e adesso noi siamo apparecchiate alla zuffa per questo motivo dovuto a lei. Sorella⁺⁺⁺, tu mi farai sapere della guerra.¹³ La Russia è vicino a voi? Provate paura? ... Buona notte. La tua sorella, che ti ama, ⁺⁺⁺.

Scrittura disinvolta, ma trascurata, « brutta », come la disse Yāsīn.

Lettera n. 11. — Datata 27.10.1956 (timbro postale di Mogadiscio). Di una giovane donna, abitante a Mogadiscio ma di probabile origine del Mudug. Impiegata negli uffici della « Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia » (AFIS).

⁹ Nome di donna.

¹⁰ È la ben nota località più compiutamente chiamata Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi, a circa 90 km. a N di Mogadiscio.

¹¹ E cioè, cattive abitudini. Da questo passo si potrebbe arguire che la mittente fosse persona piuttosto anziana, in disaccordo con quanto avvertito all'inizio della lettera, qua sopra. Oppure forse la scrivente era solo legata all'etica sociale tradizionale, o che se ne faceva eco che considerava riprovevole per una ragazza andare a spasso e interessarsi e partecipare alle varie distrazioni ed attrazioni proprie di una sua pari « occidentale », tra cui anche il bere alcolici e frequentare ragazzi.

¹² Scellini somali. Per questa denominazione della moneta locale, vd. più avanti, nota 20.

¹³ Deve trattarsi della crisi e delle conseguenti operazioni belliche connesse con la nazionalizzazione egiziana del Canale di Suez sul finire del 1956.

Destinataria: un'altra ragazza. La missiva contiene in realtà due lettere, di cui la seconda è della madre (ma scritta dalla stessa mano della prima), la quale chiama « mamma » la destinataria, sua figlia, secondo un ben noto uso familiare somalo. Così inizia questa seconda lettera: « Mamma, ti saluto, un saluto profumato che si stacca dal fegato e dal cuore e che il mio Dio (* *ilāh*) tale renda su di te. Amen. Mamma, ho ricevuto la tua bella lettera e mi sono rallegrata per i saluti di bene e di bontà; e, mamma, io prego il mio Dio (* *ilāh*) che ti dia benessere; così sia, oh Dio (* *ilāh*) ... + + +¹⁴ dopo di te, è caduta un giorno ammalata e lo è anche adesso; e a essere colpiti sono i reni, il fegato e lo stomaco. E, mamma, l'affezione ai reni è molto violenta, e per causa di essa non può camminare e non può arrivare fino a casa della famiglia di + + +¹⁵; sono i reni e la parte sinistra dello stomaco. La lettera ¹⁶ perciò ha scritto con pena, e lo ha fatto perché ti vuol bene ».

Lettera n. 16. — Data del timbro postale di Mogadiscio: 27.10.1956. Come avvertito qui sopra, alla nota 16, questa deve essere la lettera scritta con amore dalla sorella malata della destinataria. Per tal motivo viene menzionata qui, in deroga all'ordine numerico di successione. Le due lettere, la n. 11 e la n. 16, appartengono quindi allo stesso ambito familiare e furono scritte nello stesso momento. E poiché anche l'autrice di questa lettera n. 16. indica come recapito l'AFIS si deve dedurre che, come quella della lettera 11 (zia materna della destinataria) era impiegata nello stesso luogo o aveva rapporti con esso. Ecco ora qualche brano: « Sorella, allorché vidi la tua lettera provai gioia allo stesso modo che se tu ti trovassi con me ... Sorella, mi dicesti di comperarti le scarpe e la cintura. Sorella, scarpe e cintura ti sono state comperate, quindi le riceverai con l'aeroplano prossimo. Sorella, tu avevi detto: non occuparti più delle scarpe. Sorella, le avevo comperate la settimana (*sitimān*) precedente ma, sorella, non trovai tempo per inviartele, poiché sono stata seriamente ammalata e, sorella, da giovedì non sono andata a scuola (*iskōff*). Ora, poi, desidero, la settimana prossima, raccontarti la situazione che c'è ora in giro, se starò bene; tu anche, sorella, prega Dio (*ēbbe*) per me. Le cose da dirti da parte mia sono tutte qui e saluti cari. Sorella, tutti in famiglia stanno in salute ... ».

Linguisticamente, il dettato di questa lettera presenta il mescolarsi di forme lessicali e morfo-sintattiche del Nord (Mudug) e del Centro (Benadir). Come interpunzione, usa solo il nostro punto fermo, il che si ripete in quasi tutte le altre lettere del gruppo.

Lettera n. 12. — Datata: Hamar « 17.5.1957 », cifre arabe, ripetute, più sotto, in grafia osmania (dove però il gruppo « 5 57 » — senza tratti di separazione — non appare chiaro, anche dal punto di vista della giustezza dei segni). Da me letta e chiosata nell'agosto 1959. Fu inviata da una giovane donna a un giovane, in Italia per studio. Comincia e prosegue: « È una lettera che va in luogo lontano,¹⁷ che non è questo paese, è paese dell'Europa (*orōba*), che si trova in

¹⁴ Nome della sorella della destinataria.

¹⁵ Nome di uomo.

¹⁶ Deve riferirsi alla lettera n. 16 (vd. qui appresso), che reca la stessa data del timbro postale di Mogadiscio di quella qui in esame.

¹⁷ Questo modo di sentire sembra riecheggiare un modulo epistolare espressivo, esteso anche attraverso il tempo, che si ritrova in altri ambienti di questa ampia area culturale dell'Africa Orientale, dove si riscontrano anche contatti o influenze arabo-islamiche. Così, torna a mente l'inciso « lettera mandata da paese lontano », letto all'inizio di un testo etiopico, in lingua ge'ez, di esegesi teologica

alto. Un buon ricordo raggiunga la mano del mio caro fratello + + +. Fratello, noi stiamo benissimo e ci troviamo nella bianca¹⁸ Ḥamar; è il paese della Somalia [= è la Somalia], se tu non hai dimenticato. Fratello, come tu sai, tutte le persone di famiglia godono assai buona salute. Fratello, caro, da te desidero che tu mi mandi notizie sulle condizioni della tua persona e sul vostro profittevole studio. Noi, poi, ciò, che preghiamo da Dio (*ēbbe*) per te è che egli ti ponga in alto e dia a te molta salute. Amen. Fratello, io per lungo tempo non ti ho mandato notizie; il fatto che io mancai di inviarne non prendere per cattiveria. Infatti, come tu sai, l'anno passato mi sopravvennero molte cose, che tu non puoi immaginare. Fratello, morti da me non ve ne sono stati, però le difficoltà per me non furono piccole. Fratello, la nostra casa, che si trovava al centro della città, adesso sta nella zona dove atterrano gli aeroplani, che è chiamata *afasyon* [= it. aviazione]. Cosa mai udita né vista.¹⁹ Quel che per me ha un aspetto ancora peggiore è che per la distruzione della casa mi hanno dato ottocento, e cioè 800.²⁰ Alla costruzione mi ci son voluti due mesi interi. Allora a causa di quella situazione non siamo riusciti a inviarti una lettera, e tu, fratello, devi essere condiscendente mille volte con noi ...

Vorrai rimettermi le lettere alla casa della lega (*lēga*) S.Y.L. 252 [in lettere e cifre latine] ».²¹

Nella lettera, alla fine della prima facciata del foglio, per indicare la continuazione del testo sulla facciata del retro è stato aggiunto, in somalo, « volta, tu che lo vuoi », evidente riproduzione dell'usuale inglese « please, turn over », nonostante che la scrivente non conoscesse l'inglese. La grafia della lettera è sicura ma non esperta, e il testo presenta deficienze grafiche e linguistiche. L'interpunzione è costituita dal punto fermo, quasi sempre sotto forma di un trattino, e da qualche rarissima virgola.

Lettera n. 13. — Datata: Ḥamar « 3.11.1957 » (in cifre osmania). A me consegnata dal Yāsīn il 6 dicembre 1957. Letta e chiosata nell'agosto-settembre 1959. Lettera di un giovane al suo amico, in Italia per ragioni di studio.

Comincia e prosegue: « Caro + + +, quanto a salute e ogni altra cosa, io sto bene: questo ringraziamento spetta a Dio (*ēbbe*). Come va? Dimmi dunque di te stesso, come tu stia quanto a salute. Forse, per quel che ti riguarda, non stai bene, in caso che Dio (*ēbbe*) lo permetta. Passando a altro. Ho avuto la tua bella lettera e ne sono stato assai contento, specialmente per la notizia che tu mi hai dato circa la luna artificiale che la Russia ha lanciato nel cielo.²² La si

cristiana, attribuito cronologicamente al principio del XVII secolo (vd. E. Cerulli, *Scritti teologici etiopici del secolo XVI-XVII*, Città del Vaticano, 1960, pp. [105] (testo), [121] (traduz.)). Il paese lontano, in questo caso, era l'Egitto, arabofono.

¹⁸ Per il biancheggiare delle sue case.

¹⁹ Per questa usuale espressione di meraviglia vd. anche più avanti, lettera n. 13, dove essa ricorre ancora, ma con variante.

²⁰ Sc. somali. Somalo era il nome della moneta corrente sotto il governo dell'AFIS. In altri casi lo si vede chiamato « scellino », retaggio dell'uso della moneta inglese prima della costituzione dell'Amministrazione fiduciaria italiana. D'altronde sotto di questa era stata sancita la parità di cambio fra somalo e scellino dell'Africa Orientale inglese.

²¹ « Casa della lega » = sede della « Lega dei Giovani Somali », e cioè la « Somali Youth League », le cui iniziali si vedono figurare qui nella lettera, in scrittura latina, insieme al numero « 252 », che deve essere quello della casella postale. Per la Lega e l'impiego della sua denominazione inglese vd. *RSE* vol. XIV (p. 109 n. 1), cit. alla nota 1, qua sopra.

²² Si riferisce evidentemente allo « Sputnik » 1.

è vista in molti paesi e si è udito pure il suo segnale. Ma nel nostro paese non si è vista, invece ci ha raggiunto il suo segnale. È un fatto di quelli per cui si usava dire « non si era visto, non si era udito né se ne era raccontato ». ²³ Tutti stanno bene nelle città che si trovano nelle varie parti della Somalia. Però quel che ancora esiste sono le cose a cui eravamo soliti, e cioè il dire male l'un dell'altro. ²⁴ Ma non fare caso; quando usciremo dalla custodia, ²⁵ esso arretrerà. E ancora. Ti faccio sapere che io ho sposato una ragazza, cui mi si è unito in matrimonio nel mese di *sōnful*, ²⁶ e che mi si portò a casa al dodici del mese detto *mawhud*. E per quel che riguarda questi giorni, si sta reciprocamente in uno stato di nuova bellezza rigogliosa e di grande trasporto per la cosa nuova, e noi ci troviamo in mezzo a baci fitti e in gran numero. ²⁷ A causa di questa congiuntura la risposta alla tua lettera l'hai con ritardo; che tu dunque non ne sia scontento. ²⁸ Se Dio (*ēbbe*) ti riporterà in salute a Ḥamar, io vi farò conoscere l'un l'altro. Ma prima ancora Dio (*ēbbe*) ti dia salute e longevità. Tutto qui e saluti. E che il tuo ritorno sia con vittoria ». ²⁹

La firma è in forma di sigla (= *M^cali*, come pare), chiusa fra due punti fermi (forse anche questa un'eco di uso inglese). Grafia sicura e nettamente distinta nei suoi elementi alfabetici. Interpunzione: uso del solo punto fermo.

Lettera n. 14. — Da Mogadiscio, come pare certo. Datata: « 15.2.57 » (in cifre/latine o arabe). L'autore era originario del Mudug e non scriveva né leggeva inglese, per quanto constasse a Yāsīn. Letta e chiosata da me nel maggio 1960.

Inizia e continua così: « Caro + + +, mi è giunta la tua gradita lettera. Fa una settimana dacché sono tornato dalla Migiurtinia. ³⁰ Una imbarcazione ³¹ si è sfasciata, ma la gente non ci ha rimesso la vita. Cinquanta ovini sono andati perduti ... È vero, + + + ³² è andata all'ospedale (*isbitāl*). Dunque, un pomeriggio, mentre lei stava nel suo negozio, entrò una, chiamata + + +, appartenente agli ^cI-smān Maḥamūd, inseguita da donne Abgāl. Essa subito disse: Ehi donne, statemi lontane dal negozio. Senonché quelle scambiarono ciò per favoreggiamento e presero a darle a + + + fintanto che la stesero a terra; in seguito però negarono. Adesso lei sta a Gāika^{cyo}. + + + ³² e + + + ³³ pure stanno bene. + + + ³³ ancora non ho trovato lavoro. + + + ³³ sta bene. + + + ³³ sta in Uganda. Il rimanente della famiglia c'è tutto e sta bene. C'è una delegazione arrivata da Hargaysa. Essi hanno come scopo il modo con cui i Somali possano affratellarsi: va bene se è cosa

²³ E cioè, un fatto inconcepibile. Cf. analoga espressione nella lettera n. 12, (e nota 19).

²⁴ Allude alle discordie e agli attacchi malevoli correnti fra gruppo e gruppo etnico, il che li conduceva a diurne lotte intestine.

²⁵ E cioè, dalla Amministrazione fiduciaria italiana, cui la Somalia era stata assoggettata per un decennio.

²⁶ = « scioglimento del digiuno », mese che segue a quello di *ramadān*, detto in somalo *sōnqād* « portatore del digiuno ».

²⁷ L'intera espressione vuol equivalere al nostro « luna di miele ».

²⁸ Il testo ha esattamente: « e che tu sia soddisfatto [sc. di questa spiegazione motivata] », e cioè, scusami.

²⁹ Vale a dire, dopo aver avuto successo negli studi (che il destinatario stava compiendo in Italia).

³⁰ Nel testo: « *Maḡertīn ya* », che vuol riprodurre l'*it.* Migiurtinia, in cui la -ia finale è stato sentito come un suffisso, dacché il somalo conosce soltanto *maḡertīn* « migiurtino, migiurtini » e *ḡalka maḡ*. « la regione dei Migiurtini », da noi detta appunto Migiurtinia.

³¹ A vela, locale, detta correntemente « sambuco » da noi, con termine gergale largamente diffuso.

³² Nome di donna.

³³ Nome di uomo.

seria da parte loro, però non siamo sicuri. Ne fanno parte + + + e sua moglie, ...

In Somalia non ci sono notizie di cui una non sia buona.

Da Gàlka^{yo} ho saputo che + + + ho sposato Maryan ...: hai avuto questa notizia?

Che cosa in Italia è a buon prezzo? Cento somali³⁴ che cosa comprano? ».

Anche in questa lettera, in fondo alla prima facciata del foglio, si fa rinvio a quella sul retro, dove il testo continua, per mezzo della sigla « *kd.* », seguita dall'espressione in chiaro *ku wad* « continua » (la sigla, come si vede, si compone della prima e dell'ultima consonante del nesso espressivo). Senonché tale rinvio è tracciato a matita sul margine estremo destro della facciata: esso non deve essere stato apposto dall'autore della lettera (che scriveva a penna stilografica), ma dal Yāsīn, di cui mi pare riconoscere senza esitazione la scrittura. Invece il rinvio è stato sì indicato anche dallo scrivente della lettera, ma mediante il nostro segno burocratico « /./ », vergato a penna (la stessa usata per il resto della lettera) sulla fine della facciata. È allora probabile che l'aggiunta del Yāsīn abbia voluto avere il valore di una chiosa esplicativa, in chiave somala, di quel segno.

La scrittura della lettera è senz'altro calligrafica. Punteggiatura: punto fermo e qualche sporadica virgola (per separare nomi propri di persona elencati in successione nel contesto), punti interrogativi. Il mittente indica come recapito della sua corrispondenza l'ente « Locust Control », Mogadiscio. Il che farebbe supporre che egli fosse a contatto, almeno, con elementi anglofoni, oppure usanti l'inglese come mezzo di comunicazione.

Lettera n. 15. — Senza data. Probabilmente risalente al 1957. Da me letta e chiosata nel 1962. Di una (giovane) donna, che proveniva dal nord della Somalia, probabilmente dal Mudug. Le sue espressioni e il suo modo di vedere richiamano l'ambiente della campagna, o vita nomade, non quello del vivere urbanizzato. Ecco qualche brano. « Giunga nella mano del caro + + +. Noi tutti quanti stiamo bene e a te, anche, Dio (*ēbbe*) conceda benessere e salute; e Dio (**ale*) allunghi la tua vita e il tuo difetto ricopra Iddio (**ale*). Amen. Ho ricevuto la tua gradita lettera e ne ho gioito ... + + + e + + + sono ragazze fatte; presto frutteranno cammelli,³⁵ se Dio (**ale*) vorrà; che Dio (**ale*) faccia avverare ciò. Amen.

Esse, poi, sono andate a Ganbarrē il 23 del mese dei musulmani,³⁶ che Dio (**ale*) le protegga.

Io sono quale tu mi sapevi, e, come è vero, non ho subito cambiamenti ... ».

La grafia della lettera è molto sicura, esperta. Tuttavia essa presenta alquanto deviazioni rispetto alle norme dell'osmania. Non usa maiuscole, salvo forse, saltuariamente, con i nomi di persona, ma l'andamento della scrittura non permette di esserne sicuri.

Non usa alcuna interpunzione. Sotto il profilo della lingua, si fanno notare i frequenti arabismi lessicali e fraseologici.

³⁴ Vd. nota 20, più sopra.

³⁵ Andranno, cioè, a marito, portando alla famiglia paterna cammelli, vale a dire un appetibile lucro, quale prezzo di acquisto da parte del marito.

³⁶ Non specifica quale sia il mese.

* * *

Ho forse abbondato nella riproduzione di brani delle lettere. Ma ho preferito lasciare ad essi il limitato spazio concesso a questo articolo (altri, egualmente degni di nota, ho tralasciato, ovviamente), piuttosto che rubarlo per fare posto al pur necessario, e sempre ampio, commento grafico (osmania), linguistico, stilistico, esegetico del contenuto, che vengono quindi rimandati alla futura pubblicazione integrale di queste lettere. Il lettore non troverà quindi alcuna traccia neanche delle magre e saltuarie osservazioni, di lingua e di stile, su cui richiamai l'attenzione dell'uditorio nella mia esposizione verbale al Congresso. Qua e là, come si è costatato, mi sono lasciato andare ad aggiungere, alla fine della citazione dei brani, qualche nota riguardante la punteggiatura. Come già accennai a p. 116 del vol. XIV della *RSE* cit. qui, alla nota 1, l'osmania ha adottato l'uso della interpunzione « occidentale » ma con molte oscillazioni, come si può dedurre anche dal già detto nelle pagine precedenti, a cui si può far seguire qualche altro esempio. Così la lettera n. 4, dovuta a uno dei più noti giovani somali impegnati nella vita culturale e politica del risveglio « modernista » del suo paese, oltre a presentare una scrittura sicura, precisa nelle sue forme, rapida, come quella delle seguenti lettere n. 5 e n. 6, per segni di interpunzione impiega: il punto fermo, qualche virgola, il punto interrogativo. Lo scrivente indica come suo recapito il consolato britannico a Mogadiscio. La lettera n. 5, impiega il punto fermo, qualche virgola, e un solo punto e virgola. La lettera n. 6, oltre ai segni indicati alla nota n. 3, usa il punto fermo e qualche virgola. Tutte e tre gli autori di tali lettere erano esperti di contatti sociali con l'« occidente ». ³⁷ Pertanto, la interpunzione che si vede nelle traduzioni date nelle pagine precedenti è dovuta a me. Non ho neanche tenuto conto, ogni volta, dei capoversi, quando essi esistevano negli originali, per non sottrarre troppo spazio all'articolo. Essi saranno rispettati nella futura pubblicazione integrale a cui si è accennato poco sopra.

³⁷ Resterebbe da verificare se nel modo di usare l'interpunzione « occidentale » da parte degli scriventi osmania si sia fatta sentire anche l'influenza della consuetudine con la grafia araba.

Set Theory in Somali Poetics: Structures and Implications

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One of the difficulties Westerner scholars have had to face in their study of African poetry has been in trying to avoid the ethnocentric assumption that the structure of all the poetry of the world would resemble Western metrics. In an article entitled « A Survey of African Prosodic Systems », published in 1960, for example, the renowned linguist Joseph Greenberg, stated that:

« It appears safe to conclude that except for possible recent influences of European rhymed poetry, the vast majority of African peoples south of the Sahara, including here the non-Moslem peoples of West Africa and all the Bantu peoples except the Islamized Swahili, do not possess prosodic systems (p. 928) ».

Interestingly, in the same article, Greenberg, went on to state that « ... there are two exceptions ..., the occurrence of tone riddles among the Efik in Nigeria, and the ... system of alliteration among the Somali ». But even here, he thought Somalis had been influenced by Arabic poetry and that « ... the prosodic system of the Somali is about the minimum conceivable ». Using texts published by Reinisch (1900), Kirk (1905), and Cerulli (1913), in which the graphemes for long vowels were not doubled to provide an important clue to the overall scansion system, Greenberg based his suspicion solely on the obvious trait of unified Somali alliteration, one of many rules now known concerning Somali metrics.

Least I appear myself to be possessed of self-righteous hindsight in this matter, let me plead guilty to my own charge. I attempted off and on for fifteen years to uncover the rules of Somali prosody, but alas, to no avail. It took a Somali, Cabdullaahi Diiriye Guuleed, to discover the key to Somali poetics, the *mora* which is a temporal unit equivalent to a short vowel in colloquial Somali. I have described how this happened in an earlier essay (Johnson 1980).

If we are ever to solve all the problems of African systems of prosody including the Somali, and we have only just begun Somali poetics, we must look closely at the structure of the indigenous languages involved and at their relationships to the music employable in their actual recitation. Key concepts from the study of Western poetry can help, but only to a certain degree. Metrics in the Somali case may be viewed as a language which has a minimum of three constraints placed upon it: first the grammatical, second the prosodic, and third the musical. Then having solved the structural problems, we must look to the relationship between poetry and its actual use in real performance situations in Somali.

And finally, as I have often contended, there are very significant theoretical implications of Somali metrics upon a general theory of oral literature and the sociology of literature.

This essay will deal with the first and third of these issues and conclude with a statement about much needed research on the second issue.

* * *

The Somali classical genres of *gabay*, *jiifto*, *geeraar*, and *buraambur* are governed by the temporal unit of the *mora*, Somali prosodics depends upon a relationship between syllables and the *mora*. It is not merely how many syllables to a line, but rather theoretically the amount of literal time it takes to sound out the vowels on a line which determines its length. Thus, short vowels fill half the amount of time that long vowels do, and if one counts short vowels once and long vowels twice, a consistent number of *moras* per line are characteristic of each genre in question.

Although *moras* are a key part of the constraints of Somali poetry, they belong to the set of grammatical constraints from colloquial language mentioned above. How they relate to each other in poetry, however, becomes a part of the prosodic constraints which constitute, if you will, the « grammar of poetry ». This brings up another key concept of Somali classical prosody.

Moras from the colloquial language fit into metric slots which are called *semes*, and which come in a variety of forms. To understand how classical poems scan, one must have a clear picture of these *semic* patterns, for they are more important in the scansion of poetry than any other unit. As the *foot* can be considered the key to many a Western poem, it is the combination and configuration of *semes* which are the key to Somali classical metrics, some of which do not exhibit combinations which may be classified as a foot. This *semic* distribution is governed by a system, which I propose to call *set theory*.

So the temporal unit of the *mora* and the prosodic slot into which it fits, the *seme*, are key pairs in Somali metrics. In order to round off a complete understanding of set-theory, it is important to understand that syllables also play a role in some of the genres or internal parts of them. Indeed, in set theory there exists a relationship between *moras* and syllables, which Cabdullaahi and I have termed the *moro-syllabic relationship*.

Now, there are two things to understand here. First, in all classical genres and apparently in a few other genres we have not yet fully investigated, *semic* configurations and moro-syllabic relationships are fixed. Moreover, three varieties of *semes* exist. There are *monosemes*, into which a short vowel governing only one syllable may fit; there are *disemes*, into which a long vowel governing one syllable, or two short vowels governing two syllables, may fit; and there is at least one case of a *triseme* into which a long and a short vowel governing two syllables, or three short vowels governing three syllables may fit. Each genre ties specific *semes* together in different configurations, and I will describe each of the four classical generic *semic* patterns below. It is these configurations, and the moro-syllabic relationships which govern them, that determine the uniqueness of each classical genre.

The second thing to understand is that there are three varieties or sets in moro-

syllabic relationships, and there may be four: open, closed, semi-closed, and semi-open sets. (We are not yet sure of the fourth pattern at the present state of our research.) Set theory attempts to account for these relationships and their meaning in Somali classical scansion.

Let me state a few absolute rules as a jumping off place to understanding set theory. The boundaries between *semes* of any variety may not be crossed by long vowels. While the *mora* count remains fixed in all sets and is not affected by *semic* boundaries, the moro-syllabic relationships are determined by each genre.

What may fill the *diseme* and *triseme* depends on the moro-syllabic relationship. Strangely enough, the same is true of the *monoseme*, though in all but the closed set moro-syllabic relationship, a *monoseme* is a slot into which only a short vowel may fit. Note that regular colloquial vowel length must be honored in the open set. In the closed set, a long vowel may fit into a *monoseme*, thereby violating the grammatical constraint, but not violating the prosodic constraint. This phenomenon is an example of what may be termed « poetic license ».

In the closed set, the *monosemic* occurrence may be symbolized by a *micron superimposed on a macron*, an either/or situation in which a long or a short vowel from colloquial speech may fill the *seme*, but it will always be considered a short vowel in metrics. Note here that regular vowel length may be manipulated by the poet. A long vowel be « shortened » if necessary without regard to colloquial practice.

In the open set, any *diseme* may be filled with a long vowel or two short ones anywhere the *diseme* occurs. In other words, a maximum to minimum syllable count is the rule. Note that regular colloquial vowel length must be honored in the open set. For all intents and purposes, the open set may be considered to have no moro-syllabic constraint, and the *diseme* may be symbolized by a pair of *microns* superimposed on a *macron*.

In the closed set, again a *diseme* may be filled with either a short vowel or a long but is always symbolized by a lone *macron*. I might just add that in the closed set, most often it is the case that short vowels fill *monosemes* and long vowels fill *disemes*. The poet simply has the license to lengthen short vowels and shorten long vowels if he or she needs to do so, in order to get the message across at the semantic level of the poem. A fixed syllable count is characteristic of this set and will be identical to the *mora* count.

With the *semi-closed set*, both *mora* and syllable count are again fixed, but on the line or half-line, no specific *diseme* is designated to receive the long vowel. Only one example of a semi-closed set has so-far been found, and that is the *gabay-hooris*, or second half-line of the *gabay*, in which 8 *moras* and 6 syllables must occur. This means that, within the restrictions of the half-line where three *disemes* occur, two must be filled with long vowels and the third must be filled with two short vowels, but which pair contain the long vowels is not specified. Again note that regular colloquial vowel length in Somali must be honored.

The importance of understanding and fully describing set theory in Somali metrics cannot be overstressed, for it appears to be the manipulation of these *semic* configurations and moro-syllabic relationships that may actually account for how Somali genres of this type evolve over time. When *semic* patterns change new genres are created, and Somalis seem to enjoy the intellectual exercise of manipulating these patterns to coin new genres. It must be an ambition among

Somali poets to become known as the innovator of a new genre, a point worth checking first hand in Somalia.

Let me turn now to a description of each of the four classical genres by describing the *semic* configurations and the particular metric sets involved with each genre. I will not describe all the rules of these poems, but only the ones which relate to set theory.

In the following analysis, *microns* are used to symbolize short vowels, while *macrons* are used for long vowels. *Double vertical lines* are employed for foot boundaries and *single vertical lines* for *semic* boundaries. They mark *monosemes* when only one *mora* may occur between them; *disemes* when two *moras* may occur between them; and *trisemes* when three *moras* may occur between them. *Single vertical dots* divide *disemes* in which either a long vowel or two short ones may occur. *Double spaces with no dots* dividing the *diseme* must be filled only with long vowels (closed set trait). *A large mid-line space* represents the caesura, or half-line pause, in appropriate genres.

Now, if I am to take my own advice and look at Somali poetry from the point of view of Somali linguistics and not Western preconceived units of scansion, we must adopt a guiding rule to successfully uncover all the rules of Somali metrics. Let that guiding rule be the following. Let us start with the smallest unit of recurrent pattern and proceed to the next largest unit. This rule will take us from the *mora*, the smallest unit, all the way to the *strophe* or *stanza* or the poem as a whole if there is only one *strophe*.

First, the *gabay* may be defined as a genre whose foot pattern may be described as *diseme-diseme-monoseme* (|| || || ||). There are four feet per line, thus:

|| || || || ||

There are 20 *moras* per line, but an « up-beat » at the front of the line is permissible, allowing for 21. Twelve *moras* occur in the first half-line, while 8 occur in the second. The open-set moro-syllabic relationship applies to the first hemistich rendering a maximum of 12 syllables possible and a minimum of 7. The semi-closed set occurs in the second hemistich where 6 syllables and 8 *moras* always occur. The caesura occurs between the 12th and 13th *moras*, after the first *diseme* and before the second *diseme*, of the third foot, a trait unique to the *gabay*. An example of a *gabay* line is as follows:

|| || || || ||

Ilaah baa dabkoodiyo sandahay, danabbadoodii ye

God has put out their fire, and has dampened [the valor of their heroes].¹

With the *jiipto* there are no discernible feet shorter than the line. The *semic* configuration for this genre is *diseme-diseme-monoseme-diseme-diseme*, thus:

|| || || || || || ||

¹ This line of *gabay* is reprinted from Andrzejewski and Musa H. I. Galaal, 1963.

The *jiifto* exhibits an open-set moro-syllabic relationship with a maximum of 9 syllables possible and a minimum of 5 per line. There are always 9 *moras* and only one alliteration per line. Because *jiifto* are most commonly composed in couplets (sometimes triplet lines can also be found in a poem), *enjambement* is common. For this reason, scholars of the past have incorrectly transcribed two *jiifto* lines as one. The fact that they are couplets explains what was commonly thought to be the unusual phenomenon of line-and-a-half type *jiifto* lines, which are in reality triplets. No triplet *jiiftos* as such occur, but triplet lines sometimes occur within normal couplet *jiiftos*. An example of a *jiifto* couplet is as follows:

Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ

Waxaan Kaa dalbahayaa,

Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ

Duunkaagu wuxuu qabo,

What I claim from you,
Is only what you yourself owe me.²

The *geeraar* may be defined as a poem with a foot pattern of *monoseme-monoseme-diseme* (Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ), Two feet occur per line and it is common to add a *monoseme* at the end of the second foot, giving a sort of syncopation to its rhythm. Thus, there are 8 or 9 *moras* per line:

Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ (Ḳ)

Because the *geeraar* exhibits a closed-set moro-syllabic relationship, there are always 6 or 7 syllables on the line, depending on whether or not the optional *monoseme* occurs. An example of a *geeraar* line is as follows:

Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ

Waar tolow, colka jooja!

Oh clansmen, stop the war! ³

The *semic* configuration of the *buraambur* is very complex and may be described as *triseme-diseme-diseme-monoseme-diseme-caesura-diseme-monoseme-diseme-monoseme-diseme*, thus:

Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ | Ḳ Ḳ Ḳ

The *triseme* contains three *moras* and one initial or terminal long vowel is possible there, though three short vowels may occur. There are 18 *moras* per line, with 10 in the first half-line and 8 in the second. The moro-syllabic relationship is open, rendering a maximum number of syllables identical to the *mora* count

² This line of *jiifto* is reprinted from Andrzejewski and Lewis, 1964: 74-77.

³ This line of *geeraar* is reprinted from Andrzejewski and Lewis, 1964: 130-31.

and a minimum number of 11. An example of a *burambuur* line is as follows:


Dalkeenniyo reer Caloo, deyr La kala marshow,

You were the fence standing between our land, and the descendants of Ali.⁴

* * *

I stated at the beginning of this paper that I would address the larger issue of the theoretical implications of Somali metrics upon a general theory of oral literature.⁵ What I would like to do here is to give a lightning survey of what folklorists have thought of as significant in the *texts* they have studied over the last century or so. Over the decades, folklorists have maintained a consistent interest in the text, and the discipline may be described as a text-centered endeavor. Thus I may be able to put into perspective the potential contribution of the study of Somali poetics in this progression of theory in the history of ideas and schools of thought.

To begin, let me state that folkloristics is a discipline which attempts a formal study of what academics and many peoples of the world call *tradition*. Whatever it may be in the real world, a point I will address below, *tradition* is an academic construct with which scholars seek to explain major segments of human behavior and some of the reasons groups of people act in the way they do in specific culturally defined situations. Students of *performance theory* in and out of the discipline also argue that tradition is a process and not merely the product or products of that process. I will have more to say about performance theory in the final section of this essay.

Tradition is also a construct among the people who practice it as well as among the scholars who study it. In a word, it is the *lore* of the *folk*, the latter being defined by the American folklorist Alan Dundes (1980) as « ... any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor ». It has been a long time since American folklorists have defined the *folk* as the peasant class of society, a view more common in Europe. In American academics, the *folk* can be any segment of society, any group of people who define themselves as a group by practicing tradition together. If we were to give a new name to the discipline of folklore today, we might call it *group-lore*, or even *group-tradition*.

Returning to my earlier point, the *folk* who practice the *lore* may not call it *tradition*. They may call it *inheritance* or something else, but there is often a word to represent the concept in the metalanguage the group uses for describing its own culture. In this sense, tradition is often thought of by its users — as it indeed has been by many folklorists — as an inherited body of knowledge from which the group may, but does not necessarily have to, draw models for its cultural institutions and ways of behavior.

⁴ This line of *burambuur* is reprinted from Andrzejewski and Lewis, 1964: 138-39.

⁵ I am indebted to a number of my colleagues and students at the Folklore Institute, Indiana University, particularly Roger Janeli and Sandra Dolby-Stahl, who have participated in a seminar I conduct on the topic of the concept of *tradition* in folklore. These friends have called my attention to many of the ideas and readings which form the background to this part of my paper.

To be more precise, this body of knowledge is stored in the memory until it is needed. But in the real world, groups do not have memories. Only individuals have memories. The social process of tradition, thus results from each member relying upon his or her own memory and discussing and debating each given situation as it arises. This process constitutes the process of tradition and the resulting products produced by it. In the real world, then, tradition represents not so much an actual body of knowledge, but instead a form of group behavior, including not only its members' agreements but also their disagreements and the resulting compromises. This process invariably leads to an unstandardized multiple variation in the products produced by the process of tradition. It is during the performance of folklore (or its rehearsal) ⁶ that these debates and agreements take place, but I am getting ahead of myself. I will have more to say about performance theory at the conclusion of this essay.

An important part of this thesis is that tradition exhibits two major characteristics, those of continuity and change. In much of academic thought in the past, scholarly studies concentrated on continuity and sometimes completely ignored change. Indeed, older views of tradition in the Historical-Geographical School of folkloristics considered change to be a negative and corrupting influence on tradition, the deterioration of an older, purer form. Continuity was seen not only as the most important aspect of tradition but the only legitimate aspect of it. Change was described with negative concepts, such as forgetfulness and misunderstanding during the diffusion of tradition.

The dominant view of human creative abilities at the time held that people were not very creative. They were only capable of carrying on, not creating, traditions. Any change which occurred was the result of deterioration in the original text. The text was seen as a once-created, often-repeated, and above all *old* form. If these conditions were not met by the text, it was considered recent and not a part of the authentic traditional lore of the group.

From ballad scholarship within the discipline came an idea first proposed by Philips Barry and later perfected by Gordon Gerould. These scholars proposed the *theory of communal recreation*,⁷ stating that a ballad text did indeed have a single origin but was « recomposed », and thereby possibly changed, even if only slightly, by each singer who became involved in its diffusion. What the folklorist collected at any point in the life of a ballad was a composite text of communal composition up to that point in time, a collective product of the folk. While the folk were not all that creative, they were considered at least a bit more creative than had been earlier postulated by the Historical-Geographical scholars.

An early challenge to the view that change was negative came from Carl von Sydow, whose theory of the *oikotyping* of folktales argued that, although there might be single origins of folk tales, change was not so much negative as it was a reconstruction for local cultural consumption.⁸ Germans might tell the story of Cinderella in a way more meaningful to a German audience, and the French and others would do likewise. A quick example is the contention that the French,

⁶ For an interesting discussion on the role of rehearsal on the interpretation of the past with regard to the nature of performance in tradition, see: Schechner, especially chapter two.

⁷ For a description of this theory, see: Gerould 1932.

⁸ The concept of oikotype (also spelled oicotype) was first described by the Swedish folklorist Carl W. von Sydow. For a full description of the idea, see his two articles, 1948a and 1948b.

who apparently had great difficulties in the Middle Ages feeding themselves, might reward the heroes and heroines at the end of a tale with a great feast, while the German variant of the same *marchen* might end in a wedding, where the lowly peasant gets the royal prince or princess as a reward for valor.⁹ Von Sydow's view, then, was one of cultural retranslation, but he still agreed that these regional types would maintain their continuity once they had been conditioned to the regional culture.

What has become known as the *Parry/Lord thesis*, or the *oral-formulaic thesis* is the next important concept contributing to this century long debate over the nature of the text and its human creator. Milman Parry and later Albert Lord, dealing with the recorded epic poetry of Homer and the living epic of southern Yugoslavia, postulated that each time the poem was sung, even by the same bard, it was completely recreated.¹⁰ Texts were never merely passed on. They were always recreated. Using a complex methodology of morpheme by morpheme and line by line comparison of variants of the same poem composed by the same bard at different times and by different bards singing the same poem, these scholars have shown that epic poetry is indeed recreated each time it is recited.

Scholars through the years, then, have changed their minds about the nature of the text and its reciter in folklore. A shift has occurred beginning with the theory that the text is created once and diffused to others in the same society, to other societies, and to other generations, in basically the same form. More recent views hold that the text is recreated each time it is recited and that change is due not so much to the negative reasons of forgetfulness and misunderstanding but to new situations in which the text is recited. Change is seen as a deliberate way of making the text more relevant to the audience for which it is intended. It is here that studies of Somali poetry can contribute very significantly to the progression of these theories in oral literary composition, because the Somali case is somewhat of an enigma in the progression of these theories over the decades.

Somalis and Somalists have claimed for years that Somalis memorize their poetry verbatim. Over the years more and more evidence has accumulated to support this hypothesis. The fact that poet and reciter are separate skills in Somalia indicate that single origins in creativity occur. In oral formulaic poetry, poet and reciter are represented by a single skill. Studies on the structure of Somali prosody which have led to such theories as the *set theory* presented earlier in this paper further support the *possibility* of verbatim memorization because of the extreme complexity of its metrics. A specific study which Cabdullaahi and I conducted on variants of one poem, namely the *gabay Koofil* by the Sayid Maxammed Cabdille Xasan, indicates that verbatim memorization is no idle claim. Other studies by Andrzejewski describing how and why verbatim memorization is praised and prized in Somalia point to social reasons for this practice (Andrzejewski 1981).

The important theoretical question here is this: is the Somali poem a once-created, often-repeated text, or is it recreated each time it is recited? All the evidence points to the former view, a view which is not only out-of-date in folkloristics, but extremely unpopular. Obviously, each time a Somali poem is recited, it is physically recreated, but the seminal question is this: *is it recomposed?* Our study

⁹ For a full discussion of the contention that the French often ended their folk tales with great feasts, see: Darnton, 1984, especially chapter one.

¹⁰ For a thorough description of the oral-formulaic thesis, see, Lord, 1971.

of *Koofil* indicates that portions of that poem have indeed been changed. Dialect differences exist, but are not important to our question of recomposition. Some differences in grammatical use exist. Minor morphological differences exist, but all changes which are made scan within the extremely tight rules of Somali metrics. Conclusions to date may be represented by Andrzejewski's theory of the *goal of verbatim memorization*, which again clearly argues for the intent of reproduction and not of recomposition. I put it to you that this problem is not yet solved.

* * *

I should like to conclude this essay with a brief look at the second issue mentioned at the beginning, namely the relationship between the structure of Somali poetry and its actual use in real performance situations. Performance theory, one of the current schools of thought both inside and outside of folkloristics, is concerned with the performance context of artistic forms. It is a departure from some of the earlier theories and methodologies, in that interest swings from the text as the central focus to the performance of the text. This is not to say that the text is or should be neglected. What is important in this approach is that there are many aspects of any society that influence the structure, content, and function of a text, and performance theory attempts to take into account all of this information to arrive at a more holistic view of continuity and change in tradition.

To determine the actual abilities and practice of verbatim memorization of poetry in Somalia, I would propose two methodologies suggested to me by Professor Albert Lord. One would involve tests on the abilities of reciters to memorize poetry, the other would involve the observing of actual performances of Somali poetry in their natural contexts. First, a laboratory test situation will enable the researcher to determine if Somalis are capable of verbatim memorization. A collection of the entire repertoire of several reciters in the company of each other could be attempted. Later one could attempt to get a reciter who did not know one of the poems recited by one of the other reciters to attempt to sing it into a tape recorder. In this manner a test can be made of the Somali claim that some reciters can repeat a poem they have heard only once. After some months these tests can be repeated and a comparison made of the same poems sung by the same reciters with a time depth allowed for possible forgetfulness. It is important that some of these repertoires be overlapping, so that a comparison of the same poems recited by different reciters can be made. In this manner, Somali claims can be tested under controlled conditions.

It is one thing to be able to memorize poems. But it is another thing to recite them word for word in actual performance situations. The other method I propose is to attempt to collect as much poetry in actual performance situations as possible, hopefully coming across some of the same poems encountered in the laboratory situation. A comparison of poems collected from actual performance contexts and those from controlled contexts should reveal some interesting insights into Somali claims and actual practices. The ultimate goal of these twin methodologies is eventually to answer the question, is Somali poetry merely repeated or is it actually recomposed? The answer should have significant impact on text-centered and performance-centered folklore theory.

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The Literary Treatment of History in Nuruddin Farah's *Close Sesame*

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Close Sesame is the third novel in a trilogy started with *Sweet and Sour Milk* and *Sardines*. This time, Farah has attempted a novel centred on history, the history of Somalia, with dates, and known facts and texts, yet a novel which is properly a historical novel since the central characters are entirely fictitious. The plot shows that the book encompasses two perceptions of time. On one hand, we have a few days in the life of Deeriye, an old man, ailing with asthma. Most of the action takes place within the house of his son Mursal and is very static: talks with family and friends, who try to understand the current turn of events, as his son's friends, then his son, come to tragic ends. A tense few days, but very little action from the main character, who seems to be a passive or powerless witness to outside events. But as a counterpoint to the static core of the plot, the reader is made to explore the history of Somalia from the remote past of King Wiil-Waal, to the days of the Dervish movement, from the Italian fascist occupation to the present time, with references both to the history of the African continent at large, and to the early years of Islam and the Caliphate. This massive use of real facts could easily unbalance any novel. We shall see how these known data are interwoven in the reflexion and dreams of the imaginary characters, how the apparently timeless waiting inside the household is examined and given meaning by the vast panorama of facts, myths and memories through which the protagonists try to understand the present and decide for a course of future action.

To give coherence to various perceptions of time, the whole narrative is focused on the point of view of the old Deeriye. From the first lines, we are immersed in his subjective vision of things, which in itself is an experience of displacement for the reader: this kind, pious muslim patriarch as seen from the inside, is very new to fiction. So, modestly we share his experience of physical time, time as dictated by the rhythm of the body, with the difficulty breathing, the naps and dreams that punctuate the day of an old man. But this man is no slave to natural time and his day is ordered and regulated by prayer. The cycle of each day, from dawn to sunset, takes into account both the natural law of ageing and the religious ordering of each moment. This frame is important, because there will be the same search for meaning and ordering on a wider time scale, the scale of centuries.

The first chapter also establishes another scale by which to measure time: that of a lifetime as seen by an old man at the close of his days. This vision of human

life from a religious and philosophical distance is not shared by all the characters, especially the young ones, and it is not necessarily the vision of the book as a whole, but it serves as a frame of reference from which the tensions and agitations of his modern children who « never have the time » can be seen. The acute consciousness Deeriye has of being at the sunset of his days gives both urgency and serenity to his final attempt at understanding and acting.

The long life of the protagonist also gives unity to the novel through the various moments of meditation when he looks back on his past. Especially his « twelve to fourteen years imprisonment » in the days of Italian Somalia, then in the days when Somalia was a UN Mandate Territory, and again « a couple of years ago », have made him paradoxically a privileged observer, through the clarity of vision given by this displacement, just as when Medina in *Sardines* moved house to find herself. The memories of the old man underline the theme of the importance of action: is one passively carried by the flux of history, or are there choices to be made that could alter its course? Deeriye was first thrown in jail for opposing the Italians, not in violent fighting, but by his refusal to betray in giving the name they wanted. Can this action, praised as heroic by the new generation, provide him with a reference for future decisions? For him, the incentive to act or resist does not stem from abstract political theories, but from strong moral issues, from a personal code of honour and from faithfulness to one's past deeds and commitments. Will his past heroic act be a guide? In the novel, a choice once made seems to live with you for ever, and even lives through one's descendants. The concept of free choice, of the momentous historical decision to be made seems at times to be contradicted in the fiction by the more ancient notion of the curse determining men's lives from one generation to another.

Deeriye is the memory of the novel, comparing independent Somalia and Colonial days, always aware of the long history of his nation as he is driven through the streets of Mogadiscio, a town which to him is like an open history book. His life is also used in an allegorical manner. In the same way as Ebla's journey to Mogadiscio and freedom in *From a Crooked Rib* can be seen as an evocation of the various stages of Somalia's independence. Deeriye's life is deliberately conceived in symbolic terms: he was born in 1912, the year when the Dervish movement of the Sayid defeated the British, and when the ANC was formed in South Africa. Under such auspicious beginnings, he is clearly meant to be remote from the mere politics of clan or tribe: he stands for nationalism and Pan-Africanism. His life history can be paralleled to the fate of the nation, as he was jailed by the Italians, released by the British in 1943, jailed again by the Italians. This invites the reader possibly to see a similar allegorical meaning in his recent term of detention, his present sickness, but here he is not guided so firmly in his decoding.

Though space and time are restricted to a few days in a house, suspense builds up as Mursal, the son, and his friends seem involved in mysterious doings and as one after the other, characters are reported missing, with no clear indication as to their fate. This dramatic waiting helps to underline another dimension of history: the meaninglessness and confusion of history in the making for the direct participants. Texts, legends, and collective knowledge make sense of the past century, and by contrast the hours lived now seem totally formless. It is impossible to establish clear links between events, what is more, it is impossible to be certain of the events themselves. Characters are shown trying to decode the news bulletin and to deduce from what is said, not said, or implied. Witnesses are not reliable

or speak with innuendoes and hints which are not easy to decypher. There are several versions of the same incident, none of which is attested or refuted within the text. Up to the last page, as in *Sweet and Sour Milk*, there are contradictory reports on the deaths of the protagonists, Mursal and Deeriye. The reader, like the characters, is left to grope and infer, left to the responsibility of the plot he thus traces and the conclusions he comes to. The certainty of history books and national heroic myths is not for the present.

If much of present history is pieced together with difficulty by the characters and reader alike, the comments on past history are given explicitly, mainly in the long debates Deeriye has with the generation of his children, and chiefly with his son Mursal. From the first pages, it is clear their discussion will revolve around the justification or not of violent action, with examples taken from the history of the Caliphate being compared to modern egalitarian ideologies. For Deeriye, an action must be in agreement with the fundamental tenets of Islam if it is to be justified and to represent the culture and nation it sets out to protect. The debate about the right to violence and the justification of *lex talionis* is saved from being too abstract by the constant interplay between historical references and fictional events.

If the relationship between Deeriye and his son helps to establish two widely separated ideological starting points, which in their attempted convergence provide an intellectual frame to the issues in the novel, the bond between Deeriye and his grandson Samawade is of a very different nature. Here the warmth of the old man, and to a great extent, the warm tone of the novel, is established mainly through Deeriye's caring relationship with his family and old friends: the daughter, the Jewish daughter-in-law, the brother-in-law Rooble, the old friend from another clan. The daily contact with the young Samawade, promise for the future, also helps to introduce another vision of history: at the end of his days, the old patriarch feels he has to transmit the culture of his people to the very young. This is why he narrates traditional tales and fragments of history. This oral storytelling is as much an expression of his love, in the warm closeness of their daily contact, as of his concern for Samawade's future life. In that way the novel can integrate two full length texts about King Wiil-Waal. They function within the plot as indirect moral lessons to the young boy, in the same way as the long tale about the blind man, also quoted in italics. But they also fit the general pattern of the book by extending the time-span of Somali identity and showing at least ten centuries of national pride.

In the exchanges between grandfather and grandson, history is repeatedly referred to through another device, the cassettes the old man listens to. Cassettes here are symbolic, belonging both to the oral modes of transmitting and feeling, but also to modern technology. The earphones isolate Deeriye from the everyday bustle around him and connect him, in an immediate manner, to the Egyptian who reads his favourite Sourah or to the rhythm and beauty of the poem he is most fond of, « The Death of Corfield », by Sayyid Muhammad 'Habdille Hassan, the « Mad Mullah ». Cassettes are not too dissimilar to the voices he hears in his dreams, especially that of his dead wife, but they are also material objects: he nearly throws them like stones at Khaalif, the mad man — can one lapidate with revered texts? Deeriye has read widely in prison, and the mention of the biographies echoes again the whole issue of leadership: the lives of the Sudanese Mahdi, Shaka Zulu, Ataturk, Garibaldi or Napoleon. Yet somehow, paradoxical-

ly, books are dismissed as sources within the novel, maybe because they were once given to him by his jailers.

Cassettes can be listened to collectively and listening to them is an action that involves one physically and emotionally as when Deeriye listens again and again to « The Death of Corfield » in the company of his son. The emotion is evoked within the novel for the Somali reader by an extract of eleven lines, untranslated. All readers are reminded of the way this poem acts as a fundamental intertext for the whole of *Close Sesame*. The heroic deeds of the Sayyid, his nationalist courage, the beauty of the text itself act as touchstones to all that occurs in past and present history. The third book of the trilogy, in contrast to the more cosmopolitan flavour of the others, is thus entirely centered on this seminal national text, as if any relevant understanding had to be looked for essentially in Somali values.

As a touchstone, this poem gives rise to whole series of parallels between past and present events. The most important is established by the old man who listens alternately to the Koran and the poem, historical Islam and Somali nationalism being to him the two solid stones on which to found the judgment of current events. The story of the « Mad Mullah » and the sourah of Yassin help him to ponder on the general theme of madness: does history consider as « mad » the heroes who succeed? There are many parallels dealing with the problem of traitors, or the prerogatives of a ruler. Some parallels are drawn when the whole issue of madness is raised by Khaalif, the mad man, and his rantings in the streets: is he inspired in his raving accusations like the « mad Mullah » was? The acts of Mursal and his friends Mahad and Mukhtaar are also weighed according to this criterion: is Mahad's action « a premeditated act of madness », like the « courageous charge of the guns of the Somali nationalist dervishes »? Yet, the Sayyid's British-termed « madness » was not the lunacy of a man alone. Mukhtaar's act, the placing of a bomb, if it was mad, is not in the Sayyid's tradition, being too isolated, « which means that Mukhtaar had crossed the frontier Khaalif had crossed before him, a frontier Deeriye hadn't gone beyond, or the Sayyid or Wiil-Waal, for that matter » (p. 109).

This last example is typical in the way it blends history and fictional characters, adding verisimilitude and a sense of urgency to the debate. Again, it shows the exploratory nature of the whole narrative: from the same premises, young men feel justified to resort to violence, — sane or mad —, whereas to the last Deeriye finds his strength in connecting the Sayyid with resistance, but a resistance which is not necessarily the shedding of blood — Ghandi is among the figures he takes as a guide.

As we have seen, if the history of Somalia is essential to the novel, it is presented in a very complex manner, lit from many different angles. The most obvious effect is to make the history of the Somali people better known to the English-reading public, in Africa and elsewhere, who had read Farah's previous novels. Not only are the facts mentioned but also the way in which history is perceived by the people and to an extent fashions their lives. As we have seen, it is made not only of the scholarly reporting of facts, as in the erudite books mentioned in the postface, but also in the well-known texts that belong to oral culture: tales, epic narrative, verse by famous poets. History is thus shown to be not the prerogative of specialists confined within the pages of serious books, but as the fruit of a collective effort at memorizing, commenting, choosing what is to be

remembered and what is to be forgotten in genealogies, past conflicts and heroic deeds.

Close Sesame is not however a historical novel, in the way there are ethnological novels about Africa. History is questioned for the answers it may give for the present. Underlining the book, as with the other works of the trilogy, is the certainty that there is a meaning in human lives which has to be decyphered. History here is not an absurd sequence of chance occurrences, as it is with pessimistic philosophers, nor is it a rigid concatenation of cause and effect which would leave no freedom of action and render moral decisions irrelevant. The novel underlines the idea that there is a latent meaning to history by pointing repeatedly at coincidences, parallels, echoes, facts that through decades seem to refer to one another. One may feel at times that the writer, playing the part of the omnipotent Creator, accumulates too many coincidences. There are several such occurrences direct similitude between past and present incidents, but they do not seem contrived because the writer, in his freedom to invent, only gives expression to a feature often found in his culture, as in some others, the propensity to look for meaning or signs in the echoes and coincidences of real life.

Farah creates a fictional world which is also an image or a metaphor for the real one: there is meaning for those who try hard to make sense out of fragmented experience, especially by interpreting cycles and situations which are repeated across the years. In a way, in this search for meaning, past and present are coexistent. The quest for knowledge or even revelation of the old man is like that of the blind man with his stick in the last tale, who tries to understand both the world made by the creator and the mound of earth made by the minute *aboor* insect. If the writer seems to mimic in his fiction the powers of the Creator, allotting names and destinies to the creatures of his brain, he is also in the text, humbly, the blind man of the fable, or possibly even the lonely madman, or the isolated detainee who *names* the world to attempt understanding and just to keep sane: « The very old and the very small: they keep sane by constantly naming the objects and things they come into contact with lest they lose touch with the reality they know » (p. 116). The protagonist at times, seems to stand for the writer himself, « displaced » for many years. « To speak of that about which others are silent and to remain sane at the same time is a very difficult task » (p. 200).

Close Sesame can thus be said to dramatize a cognitive quest, an old man's attempt at reading the world. Yet this quest is not a gratuitous, dispassionate philosophical exercise. On the contrary, the book imparts a feeling of the urgency of this understanding. Page after page, people have to make dramatic choices; they suffer, they love: « We are not only ourselves, we are others too, those whom we love, those who have influenced our lives, who have made us what we are » (p. 202). They are goaded by this sense of their interdependence. Their collective future is at stake in each decision made, and that is why an understanding of history is so essential to read the present, which in contrast to the mythical past is confused, painful: « Is there no avoiding that one should belong in one camp or another? Is there no avoiding belonging on the *inside* or *outside* of this camp? » (p. 167).

One of the merits of *Close Sesame* is to make one feel how a reference to history, far from being an imaginary escape into the more tolerable past is part of the life and blood of men confronted daily with difficult and urgent choices. History in such a novel steeped in emotion, is made flesh, and its understanding

is shown to be a task in which all members of society are involved - elders, but also young men, women, children even.

The feeling of urgency in other situations has led novelists to a more and more militant tone. Here a space is created for the reader to analyse and decide, by the function the central character plays in the novel: Deeriye is a positive centre, yet he is not the only holder of truth in the book, no mere « spokesman » for the writer. He is a complex character; in all the serenity of his faith, he is tortured: « It is the prerogative of God alone to be sure of anything. / ... / I am only a human. And therefore I am in doubt » (p. 202). The uncertainty about the cause and meaning of his death at the end — did he finally attempt to shoot at the President when his gun was found entangled in his prayer beads? — does not let us know if his prayer has been answered: « ... Help us, a God. The ways of the soul are mysterious and so are Yours. Make us wiser, make us understand, o God, the contradictions in which we find ourselves » (p. 165). In its treatment of history, *Close Sesame* is committed, but not didactic. The novel gives us too much a sense of the complexity of human interaction for that.

The book, with its direct historical reference, far from being a pamphlet, is more a meditation on time and history. The subject in Somalia, but the scope can be extended to the whole of post-colonial Africa. It can be read also, more generally, as a dramatisation of the human consciousness of the past and of the fleeing of time. The subject is ambitious, but in presenting a protagonist who was a national hero and is a mystic, the book presents us with both a sense of eternity as felt in the repeated moments of prayer and of the sequences of human conflicts and achievements. Some of the best passages, blending the awareness of the minutiae of daily life and the feeling that there is an overall meaning to human endeavour, as there is for the *aboor* « constructing an ant-hill with her own saliva after nightfall », are passages of poetry, close to the poetical vision and rhythm of the great texts of the Somali tradition taken as models:

« ... / Time was also the abyss with the open door; it was human for it had hands: one for seconds to give the minute and another for minutes to tell the hour, fingers praying deferentially to the God who created the hands that are in motion, like a clock's, losing; gaining time; eyes of quartz in the darkness of a room; ears of ticking time, adding a second only to take the same from the life who have experienced it, who have lived through it. Time was also the rest of sleep, a cat-nap, the night-cap, the uncounted heads of cattle chewing the cud in peace and quiet, the prayerless screams, the absent father-husband and the loved wife. / ... / Time was history; and history consisted of these illuminated prints - not truths; ... » (p. 86).

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Modern Somali Prose Fiction: an Overview

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This essay attempts to analyse some structural (in the old sense of the term) aspects of modern Somali prose fiction. These include: the type and role of narrators in the works to be discussed,¹ the question of time (what period does it cover and how straight forward narration, flashback, stream of conscience); and characterization. Finally, on the basis of the above structural aspects, what social and political conclusions can be drawn from reading these works.

Narrative art is not and has never been the monopoly of any one culture. It is an art form which is as old as the human language and which has different forms in different countries. Saying this, however, we must not be taken to deny the existence of universal characteristics; rather, these characteristics « need not conform to the criteria accepted in Europe and America ».² We all agree that narrative art, worldwide, « consists of making the narration attractive, stimulating and maintaining interest and using the language in such a way that it gives pleasure to the reader or the listener ».³

Having said that much, let us go directly to the works under scrutiny. These are Faarah M.J. Cawl's *Aqoondarro waa u nacab jacayl*, Shire J. Ahmed's *Rooxaan*, and Hussein Sh. Ahmed Kaddare's *Waasuge iyo Warsame*. The choice is not accidental. Cawl and Kaddare can be grouped under « transmuters ». They « transmute what belonged to the oral literature and adapt it to the new needs of written literature » (Andrzejewski 1975: 9). Moreover, the three stories are held together by some similarity in some aspects of their themes.

We discern in these stories, for example, a replica of a perennial problem: town life versus country life.

Waasuge iyo Warsame (« Waasuge and Warsame ») is based on the experiences of the eponymous heroes whose difference in perceptions sustains the whole nar-

¹ Xuseen Sh. Axmed « Kaddare », *Waasuge iyo Warsame*, (n.d. Mogadishu: Akadeemiyaha Cilmiga iyo Fanka). Shire J. Axmed, *Rooxaan*, (Mogadishu: WH iyo Ts, 1983). Faarah M.J. Cawl, *Aqoondarro Waa u Nacab Jacayl* (Mogadishu: WH iyo Ts, 1974). This book has been translated into English by Prof. Andrzejewski and published by Zed Press.

² Communicated in writing to the author by Prof. Andrzejewski, when I visited him in London, Jan. 1986.

³ See note 2.

rative. Waasuge is a farmer from Middle Shabelle region, while Warsame, the other hero, is a camel herder from Mudug.

These two men meet on a coach bound for Mogadishu; each is going there to visit his kinsmen. The sharp difference in their understanding of life shows itself early in the journey, while the rest of the passengers are enthusiastically drawn to their (the heroes') duel over oratory, articulation and poetic recitation.

Once in town, each one accumulates an interesting experience in his own way. But Waasuge seems to have enjoyed the strangest of experiences as he confronts an alien culture in the person of his daughter-in-law, Maria. Warsame, on the other hand, had a good welcome in the hands of his brother, Dirir, and his wife, Deeqa. The two old men were, however, invariably seen by townspeople as rustics and nomads devoid of civilization.

Again, on their homebound journey, the two protagonists auspiciously meet on a coach. Warsame stays with Waasuge for a few days before he continues his journey to Mudug. Waasuge, too, visits Mudug at a later time. Each one of them gains a better understanding of the social reality which shapes the other's thinking.

The story ends with Waasuge's remembrance of a meeting of a homestead council in Mudug. He vividly remembers a poem about a pus not well suppured which had been used by one of the defendants at the meeting. The poem states that it is pusillanimous to wishfully think that problems wither away unsolved. It also warns us not to settle for palliative measures for a cure. And with that ends the interesting story of Waasuge and Warsame.

The author, Kaddare, acknowledges in the body of the text the many poets he borrows from. The story also contains more than 20 proverbs. The narrator is a third person omniscient who pretends to be objective but who makes subtle remarks about his characters and their actions. The author makes use of narrative analysis rather than interior monologue. The story moves from a rural setting to an urban one and then back to a rural setting.

The poetic insertions in the works of Somali authors in the new medium of the novel reveals the importance of poetry in traditional Somali society. Through poetry, a poet can instigate people to action. This « magical efficacy » of the word is extinct in Western narrative. In the works under discussion, for example, the eponymous heroes Waasuge and Warsame, are described as men who are well versed in the traditions of their people. The protagonists can either recite an old poem or compose a new one.

The same is true about *Agoondarro* ... (« Ignorance is the Enemy of love »), a true history recounted in fictionalized form. The hero is a dervish returning from a spy mission he has successfully carried out against the British in Aden. Cawrala, the heroine, is on the same boat that Calimaax (the hero) is on. A strong love relationship develops between them. But their love ends in tragedy as Cawrala dies of unrequited love and the effects of a forced marriage to a despotic husband. Calimaax dies within two years of Cawrala's death. Poetic insertions in this truly moving story, therefore, add credence to the authenticity of the real characters and events.

Shire Jaamac's *Rooxaan* (« The spirits »), on the other hand, does not contain poetic insertions or character poets, nor does the narrative prepare us for such a possibility. *Rooxaan* is the story of a 15 year old lad who because of his inquisitive mind finds it difficult to find someone who could furnish answers to

ontological questions which torment his young mind. With no answer forthcoming, Guhaad wastes no time but leaves his village for Mogadishu.

After 5 years in Mogadishu, Guhaad gets a job as a cashier at a restaurant. Things were going smoothly for him till one day a client steals 50 Shillings from the till while Guhaad was out for something. The owner, suspecting the young man to be a thief, sacks him there and then. Once out of a job, Guhaad goes through many hardships. At last, he is advised to consult with a seance. It takes him a lot of time and effort before he is able to bring out in the open the fraudulent methods of the charlatan. And the story ends with a proverb: where light enters, darkness dissipates into thin air.

In reading this story, one is reminded of oral narratives, especially didactic ones which have a proverb as a core-*cliche*. Like other stories under discussion, the influence from the oral tradition is quite conspicuous in *Rooxaan*. There is nothing abstruse about this, as every trend in literature contains two kinds of genres — the one that the new form violates and wants to surpass, and the one that it endeavors to create.

And now a word or two about characterization in these stories.

The question of characterization in African literature in European languages has engendered a lively discussion with no definite answers thus far. It is fair to assume, I believe, that a similar debate will center on characterization in African language literatures. Taban Loliyong, a controversial African writer, contends that African traditions restrict the author in his attempt to give a complete description of characters in his works, considering the fact that characterization is a cardinal element in the European novel (Taban: 1964). Taban's argument is, no doubt, triggered off by Henry James':

« What is a character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character? What is either a picture or a novel that is not of character? What else do we seek in it or find in it? » (James 1984).

While one can hardly find fault with James' implication that there is no character devoid of action and no action, in its turn, is independent of character, yet one can decipher the deceptive nature of the above quote. Character which is more important than action is perhaps found only in present-day European narrative. Here, we are dealing with psychological narrative which « regards each action as a means of access to the personality in question, as an expression if not a symptom » (Todorov 1984: 67). For James, narrative action is transitive in the sense that the subject of the action is more important than its object. But this is not true of the Somali stories under scrutiny.

In these stories, character is sub-ordinate to action, and a character trait only provokes an immediate action. Guhaad in *Rooxaan*, for example, is inquisitive, therefore he asks questions; and when his questions are not answered, he goes to Mogadishu in search of answers. Inquisitiveness which is a character trait provokes the act of asking questions: his questions are not answered — dissatisfaction is a character trait and it provokes the act of going to Mogadishu.

It is also interesting to mention, and this is perhaps in contradistinction to James' conception of characterization, that characters in Somali stories are described physically. This is the « external approach to characterization ». The quack in *Rooxaan*, we are told, has two wives. Two of his front teeth have gold fillings. He has a large sideburn and he never laughs before the public. He also wears a loin cloth of the *Sabarhindi* type (imported from the far east and once a symbol

of status). His hands are unlike sandpaper, and his face is always anointed with an oily substance. The charlatan is never nippy, but he saunters. Knowing these physical descriptions about the seance will, no doubt, make it easy for us to understand his social status, mental state and will shed some light on why he does what he does. It would, therefore, be presumptuous on the part of anyone to assume that these stories « lack internal analysis of the characters, that there is no description of psychological states » (Todorov 1984). The existence of an inner life is taken for granted and not mentioned in the stories. And that is « neither a defect nor a limitation. It is simply a characteristic » (Scholes and Kellogg 1968: 166). What is more, it is asinine to believe that characterization is stacked along a vertical line, that one order of characterization is better than another. « To recognize that differences exist is the beginning of wisdom » (Scholes and Kellogg 1968: 161).

Finally, each character in our stories under discussion is an embodiment of his society; he or she is a representative. This is true, for example, of the eponymous heroes Waasuge and Warsame who not only « serve as an axis of reference to one and the other » (Todorov 1984: 12), but also serve as an axis of reference to the kind of sub-culture each of them represents.

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Sulla letteratura per l'infanzia in Somalia

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Il mio interesse per la letteratura infantile è nato dalla impellente necessità di soddisfare le continue richieste dei miei figli. Ascoltare dei racconti da qualcuno era un bisogno pressante che essi sentivano nei momenti di libertà e soprattutto prima di addormentarsi. Quei momenti dovevano essere riempiti a tutti i costi ... La domanda « mamma raccontaci una novella » non mancava quasi mai e talora quando io ero meno disposta a soddisfarla.

Spesso reagivo negativamente con un netto rifiuto, giustificandomi con la stanchezza oppure dicendo la verità: in quel momento non ricordavo nessuna novella da poter raccontare. Allora, i bambini mi suggerivano di ripeterne qualcuna di quelle già raccontate diverse altre volte e che essi sapevano ormai a memoria, oppure prendevano un libro di racconti stranieri dallo scaffale: ho una collezione di novelle italiane, francesi, tedesche, danesi, ecc., nata proprio dalla necessità di far fronte alle continue e pressanti richieste delle figlie maggiori ed in seguito, quando esse furono ormai cresciute ed occupate da ben altri compiti (lo studio, momenti di socializzazione con coetanei, ecc.), utilizzata a vantaggio del figlio minore (Jibriil), che all'inizio noi credevamo non capisse granché di quello che avveniva mentre si succhiava il pollice e sbirciava con l'occhio. E invece registrava tutto come in seguito avemmo modo di constatare. Anche lui ereditò l'abitudine e il desiderio di voler ascoltare storielle, richiedendole insistentemente come a dire che, dopo tutto, non era stato lui a desiderare di nascere.

Nel contesto culturale somalo i bambini, oltre ad essere la proiezione e la continuità nel futuro di chi li genera, costituiscono un serio investimento per i genitori e conseguentemente per la tribù.

— *Tubtaas ha yaallo intuu tagoogadaada ku jiri lahaa.*

(Meglio bambini abbandonati che non generati affatto).

dice un antico detto somalo.

Ora, se fossi stata più informata — come è accaduto molto tempo dopo che i miei figli erano ormai cresciuti e non mi chiedevano più novelle — avrei saputo che il nostro popolo possiede un vasto repertorio di letteratura per l'infanzia e per i fanciulli, che fa parte del patrimonio culturale orale somalo. Si tratta di un corpus trasmesso di generazione in generazione, ricco di ammaestramenti utili a forgiare la personalità e l'identità del bambino somalo (un esempio viene fornito in appendice).

Le novelle, infatti, non servono soltanto ad intrattenere i bambini dilettrandoli, né costituiscono soltanto un utilissimo veicolo per l'insegnamento linguistico: gra-

zie ad esse il bambino acquisisce capacità espressive, arricchisce il suo patrimonio lessicale, affina il suo senso estetico. Ma esse trasmettono soprattutto un complesso di valori morali e sociali e si rivelano profonde lezioni sui misteri della natura umana e il legame che intercorre tra l'uomo e il mondo dell'invisibile, inculcando — mediante l'evocazione delle azioni e delle gesta dei grandi uomini — il senso della continuità e della storia, e con essi il senso dell'unità e del nazionalismo propri del Somalo.

Alle novelle si affiancano le canzoni ninna-nanna, che la madre canta al figlio sin dalla nascita e che sono spesso degli autentici componimenti poetici con una precisa collocazione nella letteratura infantile: esprimono il primo contatto tra madre e figlio, contatto tenero, delicato ed intimo, che si trasforma in una fusione di sentimenti teneri ed armoniosi, espressi dalle due anime coinvolte (madre e figlio).

Oltre ad esprimere amore e tenerezza, le canzoni ninna-nanna trasmettono messaggi accorati, carichi di tutta la filosofia dell'uomo nel suo ambiente ecologico, i suoi problemi quotidiani, le sue peregrinazioni, le sue vicissitudini. Una o due canzoni sono sufficienti a focalizzare la tematica affrontata da questi componimenti poetici:

Markaan qaadaan qoslaayoo
Qalbigu ii faaraxaaye
Quwiilow ha iga qaadin

Quando lo piglio in braccio
una gioia irrefrenabile mi pervade.
Che una forza divina non me lo tolga mai.

Per una madre che esprime tutta la sua gioia di fronte alla sua creatura, eccone un'altra che la guarda con rammarico e la considera quasi all'origine della sua infelicità:

Maxaa Fududey ku keenay
Maxaad fiid iigu dhalatay?
Mar baa lay furi lahaa
Fariid baa dhalan lahaa
Wan baa fooriri lahaa
Tolkaa faarixi lahaa
Anaa faan heli lahaa

O Fudud perché sei venuta,
In una sera perché mi sei nata?
A causa tua stavo per essere ripudiata
Se fosse nato il maschio atteso,
Un grosso montone sarebbe stato sgozzato
Tutto il clan ne sarebbe stato felice
Ed io ne sarei stata elogiata.

La madre si rivolge alla figlia appena nata, che, a causa del suo sesso femminile, è destinata a rivivere il suo dramma, e le trasmette un messaggio filosofico primordiale per affermare il suo ruolo storico denigrato dal maschilismo rivoltante

da una parte e piangere sulla battaglia ormai perduta contro la supremazia del maschio dall'altra.

Per concludere, non possiamo dimenticare i proverbi, i detti e le massime, i quiz o gli indovinelli, che servono a sviluppare le capacità creative ed immaginative del fanciullo, e ad affinare il suo senso estetico e le sue capacità critiche ed analitiche.

A causa della trasformazione radicale che la nostra società sta subendo, questo patrimonio letterario rischia di disperdersi, perché quasi interamente orale: è impressionante, a questo proposito, la carenza di materiale a stampa destinato all'infanzia o comunque alla parte più giovane della nostra popolazione.

Non sono una specialista né pretendo di essere in grado di offrire soluzioni: mi preme tuttavia segnalare la gravità del problema alla cortese attenzione degli studiosi presenti a questo convegno dedicato agli studi Somali.

Appendice

L'amicizia tra il serpente ed il digdig¹

Figliolo lascia che ti narri una fiaba di tanti tanti anni fa. Si tratta della storia di un digdig ed un serpente ambedue rimaste vedove e con cuccioli. A quei tempi l'armonia regnava sovrana e non vi erano motivi di diffidenza e di timore alcuno fra le creature. Il concetto di ingiustizia era del tutto sconosciuto, tanto è vero che a quei tempi il leone pascolava e custodiva i camelli, li conduceva ai pascoli migliori e alle fresche fonti. Lo stesso faceva la iena con le greggi e il leopardo con gli armenti. Tra tutte le creature c'era spirito di collaborazione, cameratismo, pace e beni in comune, per cui nessuno sentiva la necessità di arricchirsi ai danni degli altri.

Tali regole erano bene accette e rispettate da tutte le creature. Ma se accadeva talvolta che qualcuno le trasgredisse, unanimamente veniva punito in maniera esemplare.

Sai figliolo che l'inganno, la frode e l'invidia sono figli della cupidigia e dell'avidità? E sai quando nacque la cupidigia? E chi credi che l'abbia iniziata per primo? È una lunga storia che ha bisogno della tua attenzione perché ti si possa svelare la verità.

Tanti, tanti e tanti anni fa c'erano, come abbiamo accennato prima, un digdig ed un serpente che vivevano insieme ed erano amici e procuravano di che vivere ai loro cuccioli. L'uno aveva un cucciolo femmina e l'altro un serpentello splendido. Di solito il compito di procurare cibo toccava al digdig mentre il serpente accudiva ai cucciolotti, i quali crescevano bene non però alla stessa maniera. L'uno era ben pasciuto e paffutello mentre l'altro appariva graciletto ed esile (quello del digdig).

Allora mamma digdig propose un temporaneo scambio di ruoli asserendo di essere affaticata dalla continua caccia. Mamma serpente però si mostrò riluttante, e così continuarono a svolgere i rispettivi ruoli. Allora nella mente del digdig s'insinuò il dubbio: un giorno accadde che il digdig riuscisse a riempire la sua sporta in breve tempo e tornasse anzi tempo a casa. E allora cosa accadde?

¹ Specie di antilope nana.

Il digdig vide il suo cucciolotto affamato e senza la forza di correrle incontro mentre quello del serpente saltellava qua e là felice e pieno d'energia e con la bocca unta di grasso. Di solito però il serpente invertiva i ruoli ossia ungeva di grasso la bocca del cucciolotto dell'amico digdig per fargli credere che fosse sazio e ben pasciuto, ma questa volta però s'era dimenticato del suo inganno abituale. Il giorno dopo il serpente che s'era accorto del sospetto del digdig cercò di far finta che niente d'insolito fosse accaduto e disse: « Ehi, digdig, perché non vai a raccogliere frutta per noi e i nostri cucciolotti perché la provvista si sta esaurendo. Io come al solito, mi prenderò cura dei nostri cucciolotti capricciosi ».

Il digdig preoccupato e pieno di rabbia accettò l'ordine portando con sé la sua sporta e quella del serpente. Però dalla rabbia che gli bolliva dentro, riempì la sua sporta di frutti maturi, pronti ad essere consumati sull'istante e mise invece dei frutti acerbi in quella del serpente mettendone in bella mostra qualcuno maturo. Quando però il serpente s'accorse dell'inganno del digdig andò su tutte le furie e decise allora di mettere in pratica un proposito che da tempo accarezzava: con un sol boccone ingoiò il cucciolotto dell'amico e contemporaneamente lanciò uno sguardo avido verso il digdig stesso.

Il digdig quando s'accorse che oltre al suo cucciolotto il serpente era desideroso di farlo fuori, corse via all'impazzata e d'improvviso vide un corvo che si costruiva un nido il quale disse: « Chi sarà mai colui che proietta la sua ombra sul mio nido? ». « Sono il digdig del salto alto, vergognoso di lasciare scoperti i suoi escrementi, che è desolato per la perdita della sua pupilla », rispose il digdig.

Il corvo: « E chi ti ha portato via la tua promogenita? ».

Il digdig: « È stato il serpente occhialuto ».

Il corvo: « Via da me che non ti posso essere d'aiuto ».

Il digdig corse ancora senza una meta precisa per la desolazione e l'infelicità. Ed in seguito vide un avvoltoio che cercava insetti negli escrementi di animali.

Allora l'avvoltoio disse: « Chi mi sta facendo ombra? ». « Sono il digdig che si vergogna di lasciare scoperti i suoi escrementi, desolato ed infelice per la figlia perduta », fu la risposta del digdig. « Via da me che non posso esserti d'aiuto », rispose l'avvoltoio. Disperato e sconcolato il digdig scappò via. Ad un tratto vide un leone che pascolava dei cammelli il quale chiese: « Chi è costei che si è cacciata nei guai impaurendo i miei camelli? ». Il digdig rispose come al solito. « Chi mai si permise di trasgredire l'ordine ristabilito fra le creature? », riprese il leone. « Si tratta del serpente occhialuto », intervenne il digdig.

« Portami da costei che osa trasgredire il patto convenuto », sentenziò il leone che si mise a cavalcare un cammello giovane. Il digdig portò dal serpente il leone che gli parlò così: « Serpe se vuoi salva la tua vita ridai al digdig il suo cucciolotto ». « Se non mi lasci in pace, giuro che affonderò nella tua carne i miei denti affilati come una lama », fu la risposta data dal serpente. Il leone dalla paura voltò la schiena e disse: « Portami via da costei, via da costei ... ».

Dopo aver constatato che persino il leone aveva paura del serpente il digdig corse via senza una meta precisa, rassegnata. Alla fine vide una iena che pascolava una mandria. La iena alzando la testa disse: « Chi è costei disgraziata che impaurisce la mia tranquilla mandria? ».

Il digdig rispose con le stesse parole di prima: « Sono il digdig del salto alto che si vergogna di lasciare scoperti i suoi escrementi, desolato per la sua pupilla rubata ». « Chi è costei che osa rompere il patto convenuto tra gli animali? », chiese la iena. « Si tratta del serpente occhialuto ».

La iena che cavalcava uno stallone disse: « Portami da costei ».

Dopo che fu portata dal serpente disse: « Serpe se vuoi salva la tua pancia gonfia ridai al digdig il suo cucciolotto rubato ». « Iena dalla bocca puzzolente, se non mi lasci in pace giuro che lacererò la tua pelle con i miei aguzzi ed affilati denti », fu la risposta del serpente.

« Portami via da costei, portami via da costei, via da costei », eran le ultime parole dette dalla iena.

Il digdig, triste ed addolorato corse all'impazzata assai pentito dell'amicizia che lo legava con il serpente senza riuscire a darsi ragione del fatto di aver scoperto tutto d'un tratto l'inganno e la cupidigia impuniti. E chi d'altra parte era in grado di prevenire o punire tale inganno che il serpente adottava nei confronti degli altri animali, infrangendo il patto convenuto tra di loro?

Con la mente assillata da tali pensieri, il digdig trovò un leopardo che pascolava un gregge. Allora si ricordò del cattivo temperamento che è caratteristico del leopardo. E ciò le diede un barlume di speranza di poter recuperare la figlia perduta.

« Chi si permette di impaurire la mia gregge? », chiese il leopardo irato.

« Oh zio, sono il digdig dal salto alto che ha vergogna di lasciare i suoi escrementi scoperti e la cui figlia è stata presa in ostaggio », gli rispose il digdig.

« Portami da costei che osa trasgredire il patto convenuto tra gli esseri animali », ordinò il leopardo che cavalcava un caprone castrato. Quando arrivò presso il serpente, il leopardo si esprese così: « Serpe, creatura infame, ridai al digdig la sua primogenita prima che io perda la pazienza e sventoli per aria il tuo grasso immondo ».

« Giuro di addentarti coi miei denti aguzzi ed affilati se non mi lasci in pace », rispose il serpente rivolgendogli uno sguardo baldanzoso.

Il leopardo rimasto atterrito dal suo sguardo senza paura disse: « Portami via da costei, via da costei ».

Addolorato e pieno di frustrazione il digdig si rassegnò alla sua sorte disgraziata. Ad un tratto si sentì chiedere: « Chi è costei che osa sporcare di sabbia la mia frutta ». Era uno scoiattolo che sbucciava un rametto di acacia.

« Sono il digdig dal salto alto, che si vergogna di lasciare scoperti i suoi escrementi, la cui figlia è stata presa in ostaggio ».

Lo scoiattolo si rizzò sulle gambe posteriori e non riuscendo a digerire ciò che sentivano i suoi orecchi chiese chi fosse colui che si permetteva di infrangere l'accordo convenuto tra gli animali.

« È il serpente occhialuto », gli rispose il digdig.

« Portami da costei, portami da costei », ordinò lo scoiattolo mettendosi un ramo di acacia (*quulle*) tra le zampe a mo' di cavalcatura. Arrivati dal serpente lo scoiattolo si rivolse a lui dicendo: « Serpente occhialuto, se non vuoi essere castigato per la trasgressione della legge stipulata tra gli animali, ridai al povero digdig il suo cucciolotto rubato ».

« Si è visto prima di te il leone ed il leopardo andarsene dalla paura, cosa sei tu in confronto? Via da me prima che io ti laceri con i miei denti aguzzi ed affilati » si esprese il serpente, che non nascondeva il suo disprezzo nei riguardi dello scoiattolo.

« Giuro di abbatterti con le mie robuste zampe se non obbedisci all'ordine di ridare al digdig il cucciolotto che gli hai rubato », disse lo scoiattolo fissandolo negli occhi senza indietreggiare e venendogli molto vicino per dimostrare che non desisteva dal suo proposito.

Il serpente atterrito dallo sguardo baldanzoso dello scoiattolo, vomitò tutto d'un tratto la figlia del digdig, poi cominciò ad indietreggiare e a ritirarsi dalla paura.

Primi ragguagli sulla *maanyo*: genesi e struttura dei canti per la caccia. Traduzione di un *corpus* tipologico

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L'insieme delle attività legate alla caccia e allo scambio della selvaggina con altri generi di sussistenza costituisce certamente un sistema socio-economico più antico di quello legato alla coltivazione della terra e all'allevamento del bestiame. In Somalia, varie comunità sparse su tutto il territorio vivono ancora oggi solo di selvaggina e di frutti selvatici.

La cattura della selvaggina viene attuata in diversi modi, con sistemi diversi. I cacciatori si distinguono in *gabraarato* e *dabato*. I primi sono cacciatori che usano l'arco e le frecce avvelenate per catturare la selvaggina. I *dabato* invece usano la trappola. Di solito i *gabraarato* vanno a caccia di selvaggina grossa, mentre i *dabato* accettano volentieri ciò che manda loro il destino.

I cacciatori sono nomadi poveri senza bestiame, che si spostano continuamente seguendo gli itinerari della selvaggina, che a sua volta si muove generalmente su percorsi in cerca di pascoli e d'acqua. Sia le comunità di cacciatori che quelle di pastori sono nomadi e mantengono lontane le zone che scelgono per i loro temporanei insediamenti, anche quando si incontrano per lo scambio dei loro prodotti, e cioè la carne di selvaggina e il latte. Come si può capire facilmente, essi non possono risiedere in luoghi contigui perché la selvaggina sarebbe messa in fuga dai rumori provocati dal bestiame e dalla presenza dell'uomo.

Da quando l'uso dell'arma da fuoco si è diffuso nel paese, i pastori hanno cominciato essi stessi a cacciare. A loro volta gli antichi cacciatori hanno gettato via l'arco, le frecce e la trappola ed hanno imbracciato il fucile. La conseguenza è stata che l'uso del fucile ha provocato uno sterminio indiscriminato di selvaggina. Oggi, in molte regioni questa corre il rischio di estinguersi: animali come la giraffa e il damalisco sono spariti nelle regioni del nord, in quella di Bari (est) e in quelle centrali.

Prima dell'introduzione del fucile il cacciatore si procurava a stento il fabbisogno per la sua famiglia, perché il tipo di arma che adoperava, arco, frecce e trappole, non gli permetteva di uccidere molta selvaggina in una giornata. Il fucile ha reso possibile anche ad un cacciatore dilettante di uccidere nello stesso luogo molti capi di selvaggina a volte anche senza un motivo preciso. Un vecchio cacciatore su quest'aspetto è stato chiaro: « Quando si ha in mano un fucile, non si uccide solo per procurarsi cibo per la famiglia, ma si prova una indefinibile sensazione dinanzi alla selvaggina che cade ai tuoi colpi. Quando invece cacciavo con

l'arco e le frecce uccidevo solo quel poco che serviva a sfamare la mia famiglia ».

Succedeva raramente che un pastore prendesse l'abitudine di andare a caccia di selvaggina. Chi si dedicava a questa attività era considerato un povero che non aveva altro per sfamarsi. Disgraziatamente, con l'introduzione del fucile, a questa regola non corrisponde più la realtà, perché tutti, poveri e ricchi, hanno preso a inseguire i liberi animali della boscaglia. Così la selvaggina ha cominciato a cadere come le foglie in autunno. Le regioni dove ancora abbonda sono quelle in cui il fucile non si è ancora diffuso e dove il cacciatore adopera ancora le armi tradizionali.

In questo quadro di rapporti socio-ambientali i vari momenti organizzativi e rituali della caccia hanno offerto occasione di sviluppo d'una ricca produzione poetica che ha movenze lessicali e prosodiche arcaiche ed è di conseguenza poco nota nella stessa Somalia. Si tratta dunque di un ricchissimo *corpus* di canti propiziatori e rituali che hanno una tradizione essenzialmente orale e che costituisce un vero e proprio « genere » letterario che gli stessi cacciatori chiamano *maanyo*.

Si sa poco sull'origine e sulle ragioni che hanno portato all'adozione di questo termine per denominare questo tipo di canto. In varie lingue locali cuscitiche dell'interno, in Etiopia per esempio, *maanyo* è usata a indicare in genere ogni *specchio d'acqua*. Nella lingua somala attuale *maanyo* vuol dire fondamentalmente *mare*, ma è anche una pianta che si trova in boscaglia e di cui si cibano alcuni animali.

Nel nostro caso però l'uso di *maanyo* è legato probabilmente alla componente lessicale *mare*, poiché con lo stesso termine è denominato un tipo simile di canto dei marinai e dei pescatori.

Oltre a *maanyo* è d'uso corrente presso i cacciatori il verbo *maanyeyn* che indica l'azione di *cantare la maanyo*, ma anche quella di *creare la maanyo*, e la ragione dell'unificazione delle due operazioni in un unico lessema va anche cercata nel fatto che i due momenti spesso si confondono, quando l'occasione di canto è direttamente produttrice del testo o quando l'occasione di canto è produttrice di variazioni da parte del cantatore su una base più arcaica. Questi processi sono d'altra parte tipici di molta letteratura orale.

La struttura della *maanyo* risponde ad uno schema che, salvo alcune variazioni marcate da una vocalizzazione melodica priva di alcun referente concettuale, rimane sostanzialmente fisso: il primo verso, che è in genere ripetuto come ritornello e reca l'invocazione, è seguito da un secondo, e qualche volta da un terzo verso (rari sono i canti più lunghi) che esaltano il carattere del canto che può essere propiziatorio o prescrittivo, descrittivo o rituale.

I versi sono brevi, allitterati, e, il secondo, spesso in rima imperfetta.

Al contrario di altri generi di canti somali accompagnati dai battiti dei piedi e/o delle mani, o con accompagnamento strumentale, la *maanyo* è canto puramente vocale, spesso univocale, con modi musicali soavi e dolci, a volte accorati e malinconici, in un dialogo continuo della comunità nomade dei cacciatori con gli animali: lo struzzo, l'orice, la gazzella, l'asino selvatico, considerati antropomorficamente partecipi consapevoli della sopravvivenza e del piacere del cacciatore. Si canta, la *maanyo*, la notte che precede la battuta di caccia, o sul cammino verso il luogo della posta, o al ritorno, quando la delusione del fallimento diventa lamento sulla propria condizione:

« O voi, non m'ha avuto
o voi, non ha potuto.

Ai tuoi cammelli sia sventura ».

È il grido di vittoria e la maledizione dello struzzo che si esprime per bocca del cacciatore che torna sconfitto. Oppure la vergogna esprime l'uomo rivolto alla gazzella che lo ha giocato:

« Dorso peloso

oh, dorso peloso

dietro il campo d'una famiglia digiunai ».

Va sottolineato, a questo punto, un altro aspetto della lingua della *maanyo*, del cui lessico arcaico abbiamo già detto. E si tratta di una dichiarata, da parte dei cacciatori stessi, parte di « linguaggio segreto » che essi userebbero nella *maanyo* per non svelare agli altri, e ai nomadi pastori in particolare, l'intera identità del loro messaggio, del loro diverso essere nel mondo, del loro diverso rapporto con la natura, quindi del loro modo diverso di nominarla.

Questa diversità affiora evidente in tutto un lessico specifico della caccia prodotto e usato dai soli cacciatori e ignoto al vocabolario comune. Arduo perciò è il lavoro che rimane da fare in questa operazione di recupero e di sistemazione d'una produzione che sempre più arricchisce il panorama letterario somalo.

La sera dunque, nell'accampamento, si accende il fuoco davanti alla capanna del cacciatore più anziano e più esperto, e tutti i maschi, compresi i giovani iniziati, danno voce al canto della veglia.

I migliori conoscitori dell'arte di *maanyeyn* danno l'intonazione e il gruppo ripete il ritornello. Oppure i canti vengono intonati nella notte dopo il riposo della sera e possono essere cantati non dal gruppo, ma dinanzi alla capanna d'una singola famiglia, o dal cacciatore, solo, che invoca il successo dell'impresa, per sé stesso e per la sua famiglia che rimane in attesa.

Il rito del canto è fondamentale per la buona riuscita della battuta: chi lo trascura rischia di vagare tutto il giorno nella boscaglia inutilmente. E il buon cacciatore eviterà anche qualsiasi occasione di contrasto con la moglie, il cui viatico gli è ugualmente necessario per non tornare a mani vuote. Se non ha moglie, sarà la madre a benedire la sua missione: chi è solo è dispensato da quest'obbligo.

E il cacciatore parte con immagini di animali puri e veloci, di figure pacifiche ma vigilanti, con gli orecchi tesi alle voci divine della boscaglia da cui dipende il suo futuro e il futuro del gruppo, da cui dipende il suo onore e la sua maestà. E a Dio infine chiederà di vederlo, almeno, l'oggetto delle sue speranze:

« Anche se lo mancherò, Dio,

anche se lo mancherò, Dio,

fa che passi davanti a me ».

La caccia diventa visione, creazione d'un mondo in cui si esprimono tutti: i cacciatori con i loro bisogni, gli animali ugualmente fieri d'un loro successo sull'antagonista, mai « nemico », la divinità che è legge che regola i ritmi di quel mondo e diventa verbo della possibile comunicazione tra gli esseri, forma della *maanyo*, creatrice in quanto sistematrice della realtà.

Nota ai testi e alla traduzione

Vengono presentati qui i testi poetici privi dei gruppi di vocali che fungono da melismi che variano e che possono precedere e seguire il testo. Si sono conservati quelli che collegano un verso all'altro: per esempio *hooy* e *heey*, che naturalmente nella traduzione non sono presenti.

La tipologia dei canti tradotti non è completa ma abbastanza rappresentativa. Gli animali, che costituiscono l'occasione dei canti, spesso non sono nominati. Allo *struzzo* sono dedicati i canti 1-11; all'*asino selvatico* il 12; dal 13° al 24° l'animale è l'*orice*; il 22° e il 23° canto potrebbero essere dedicati ad altri animali; il 25° e il 26° interessano la *gazzella di Speke*; il 27° è dedicato al *dik-dik*; i canti 28, 29 e 30 sono dei lamenti.

Nella traduzione volutamente si è ridotta al minimo indispensabile la punteggiatura ed è stato spontaneo eliminare alcuni elementi connettivi, e, per quanto è stato possibile, si è tentato di rispettare alcuni arcaismi, nel lessico e nello stile, con l'orecchio volto a certa poesia greca classica.

1. *Wardaflee doonistaadaa*
Wardaflee doonistaadaa
Dalkey baraayeyy

Passo lesto, a cercare te
passo lesto, a cercare te
m'ha insegnato il paese.

2. *Hooy, madax yare ma muuqdee, heey*
Hooy, madax yare ma muuqduee
Ma mood baa yeey, heey?

La piccola testa non vedo
la piccola testa non vedo:
che sia già morta?

3. *Allow kulaan halleeyana, heey*
Allow kulaan halleeyana
Hortey mariyeey, hayeey

Anche se lo mancherò, Dio,
anche se lo mancherò, Dio,
fa che passi davanti a me.

4. *Waar waa laba lugoodoo, heey*
Waar waa laba lugoodoo
Laxaad simaaneey, heey

O voi, due gambe ha lui
o voi, due gambe ha lui
armoniche uguali.

5. *Hooy, waar i gaari waayaye*
Waar i gaari waayaye
Geelaa hoogyeey

O voi, non m'ha avuto
o voi, non ha potuto.
Ai tuoi cammelli sia sventura.

6. *Waar garab iiga gooyoo, heey*
Waar garab iiga gooyoo
Geed ii saareey, hooy

O voi, una sua ala staccate per me,
o voi, una sua ala staccate per me,
per me mettetela su un albero.

7. *Waar ood khayr ma gooyow*
Ood khayr ma gooyow
Ajaa raraayeeey

O voi, mai più ramaglia spezzerai bene-
detta
o voi, mai più ramaglia spezzerai bene-
detta
Nomade pastore l'ha fatto fuggire.

8. *Dhudhun goray nin dhuuxaa, heey*
Alla dhudhun goray nin dhuuxaa
Ma dhinto oo ma dhega beelo, heey

Di zampa di struzzo chi prende il midollo
oh di zampa di struzzo chi prende il mi-
dollo
non muore e non diventa sordo.

9. *Yalax yalax u rooryow*
Yalax yalax u rooryow
Alla yal roobaadow

Grazia, grazia che corre
grazia, grazia che corre
sei vento profumato prima di pioggia.

10. *Shanshadii qorrayd iyo*
Alla shanshadii qorrayd iyo
Qorroor subaglow, heey

Gambe slanciate sei
oh gambe slanciate sei
sei gocce di grasso fine.

11. *Waar aaway wiilashii*
Waar aaway wiilashii
Wagaad u weerraayeeey, heey?

O voi, dove sono i giovani
o voi, dove sono i giovani
dello struzzo tesi alla caccia?

12. *Baydaraan gaadineey, heey*
Baydaraan gaadin
Guud balawooy, heey

Gran cacciatore non teme
gran cacciatore non teme
lunga criniera in corsa.

13. *Hooy, siin Ilaahiyoo*
Hooy, siin Ilaahiyoo
Ayrow sartiisaa
Lagu sabaayeey

Dono divino
dono divino
miro, nella sua pelle
è il nostro inganno

14. *Hooy, xayow aabbahay baa*
Xayow aabbahay baa
Xayiri jiraayeey, heey
Oo aniguna xusuus baan, heey
Oo aniguna xusuus baan
Xaska u galaayeey

Padre mio grande
padre mio grande
gli facevi la posta
secondo il ricordo anch'io
secondo il ricordo anch'io
nel pieno cespuglio mi celo.

15. *Hooy, waar beylow beeta geeddiya*
Waar beylow beeta geeddiya
Ka buubaalyow

O tu dal grigio colore, da nomadi in cam-
mino
o tu dal grigio colore, da nomadi in cam-
mino
terrorizzato fuggi.

16. *Hooy, doogsin hortiyoo*
Doogsin hortiyoo
Ayrow darduuro
Wow daba lulaayeey

Inizio di prime piogge
inizio di prime piogge
miro, a nuova abbeverata
scodinzola di soddisfazione.

17. *Hooy, suube solan iyoo*
Suube solan iyo
Ayrow, sanuun saryan
yaa ii uraysooy

Lacerti arrostiti
lacerti arrostiti
miro, arrosto da orice
sento già odore.

18. *Wiil u baashanuyeeey*
Alla wiil u baashanu
Bariisaba, beer ka dubayeeey

Giovane valente
ah giovane valente
il fegato arrostitisce già all'alba.

19. *Haddaan saru ii dhisnayneey*
Haddaan saru ii dhisnayn
Amaan solay ii jarrayneey
Sallaadayoo, seexammayo, ooy
Alla sallaadayoo, seexammaayo, ooy

Senza pelle stesa a seccare
senza pelle stesa a seccare
o senza pezzi d'arrosto tagliati
m'infurio, non dormo,
ah m'infurio, non dormo.

20. *Nimaan dili aqoon iyoo*
Nimaan dili aqoon iyo
Alla dabayluhu way didshaaneey

Uomo incapace a cacciare
uomo incapace a cacciare
mette in fuga, e i venti.

21. *Biciidow suniyaalow*
Biciidow suniyaalow
Sacaygiyow, suniyaalow
Alla ma sool buu iga jiraayeeey, heey?

Bei sopraccigli, Orice,
bei sopraccigli, Orice,
mia mucca dai bei sopraccigli
ah in terre aride è andato lontano?

22. *Jeeniga dheeriyoo*
Jigleeyeeey
Oo sin u dhac
Hadba sabar caddeeyeeey
Oo samadoo siigayn
Dhextaalleeyeeey

La tua lunga zampa
agitare
e tu crolli di lato
ogni volta ti rivoiti sui fianchi
e nell'aria polverosa
fluttuante vederti.

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23. *Jeeni niriglow jawaran*
Jawaraneey
Alla jeeni niriglow jawaraneey
- Muori, gambe di cammellina
muori
ah, gambe di cammellina, muori.
24. *Hurgufow haraggaa jiljilay*
Jiljilayeey
Waar hurgufow haraggaa jiljilayeey
- Ch'io stenda la tua pelle, orice,
ch'io stenda,
orice, la tua pelle io stenda.
25. *Dulla haarufleeyey, heey*
Alla dulla haarufleeyey
Duleed reer baan ku qadayeey
- Dorso peloso
oh dorso peloso
dietro il campo d'una famiglia digiunai.
26. *Deero waa laba dulloodoo, heey*
Alla deero waa laba dulloodoo
Wiil kastoo raga ma deeqdo, heey
- Solo due muscoli in dorso la gazzella
solo due muscoli in dorso la gazzella
e non sazia un giovane.
27. *Madarooy manka u kaalay*
Madarooy manka u kaalay
Alla waa milic kaliileed ee
Yaan maqashu kaa cuniney
- Tu dal bel verso, vieni per il *man* *
tu dal bel verso, vieni per il *man*
ah, calura è della stagione calda
fa che le caprette non te lo mangino.
28. *Hooy, marbaan waaga dayayoo*
Hooy, marbaan waaga dayayoo
Alla wisiisiyayeey
- Trepido attesi l'alba
trepido attesi l'alba
ah, ho patito il ritardo.

* Nell'avanzata stagione calda, quando i pascoli sono aridi, il *man*, mucchio di foglie secche, è l'unico cibo possibile per il dik-dik.

29. *Allow waagu dheeraayey*
Alla waagu dheeraa
Ma dhowr baa yeey?

Oh, Dio, com'è l'alba lontana
oh com'è l'alba lontana
non è sempre la stessa?

30. *Waar aji ciir ka dhuudow*
Waar aji ciir ka dhuudow
Ciil ku waareey.

O tu che latte scremato attendi dal pastore
o tu che latte scremato attendi dal pastore
nel malcontento, eterno

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- Kirk, W.C. 1905, *A grammarr of the somali language with examples and verse and an account of the Yibirr and Midgan dialects*, London, Cambridge University Press.
Cerulli, E. 1959, *Somalia*, Vol. II, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
Grottanelli, V.L. 1976, *Gerarchie etniche e conflitto culturale*, Milano, Franco Angeli Editore.

Cacciatori anziani consultati

Nome	Erà	Regione
1: Hiirad Qalyayax	87	R. centrali e Bari
2: Maxamad Diirye Bowne	86	Nugaal
3: Faaqid Diirriye Cali	53	Galguduud
4: Aadan Ibrow Cabdi	60	B/Giuba
5: Maxamad Caliyow Isaaq	48	Baay

The Study of Somali Music: Present State

FRANCESCO GIANNATTASIO

Roma

This is the first time that at an international meeting a paper on Somali music, fruit of specific and extensive fieldwork, is presented. This will necessarily be a broad introduction attempting to give a general picture of the present state of research into this particular field.

There are several reasons why Somali music has not been examined before: Somalia's peculiar history and the fragmentary and often circumstantial character (especially during the colonial period) of anthropological studies in this country; to these may be added, as far as the Italian contribution is concerned, the fact that ethnomusicology as a specific discipline has only emerged very recently in Italy (in the fifties) and that it privileged for a long period research on national territory rather than abroad. The lack of some documentation on Somali music, even after the important African ethnomusicological surveys of the fifties/seventies led many, including ethnomusicologists, to the misconception that Somalia is essentially a non-musical country.

The only note on Somali music published to date by an ethnomusicologist, the late Klaus Wachsmann — the entry « Somali » in the German musical encyclopedia *M.G.G.* (1965) — frequently uses expressions like « it is said », « it seems », « one may presume », as it was based essentially upon the testimonies and observations of travellers and explorers of the last century (like Swayne or Powell-Cotton), of ethnologists (from Burton and Paulitschke to Grottanelli and Lewis) and of some European musicologist or music-lover (such as Barblan or Pesenti, as far as Italy is concerned): all data gathered more or less incidentally and in any case the outcome of observations that did not aim at strictly ethnomusicological goals.

The entry « Somalia » drawn up more recently for *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) by the folklorist John W. Johnson, an eminent scholar on Somali poetry, deserves credit for the wealth of first-hand documentation it offers concerning the various genres of sung poetry, even if, unfortunately it is devoid of any kind of reference to the musical patterns and structure. Nevertheless, although Johnson has been among the first to foresee an ethnomusicological study of the melodies and rhythms of Somali poetry (Johnson 1974: xv-xvi), he ends up in *Grove* by sustaining the idea of a « secondary role of music » on account of « the paucity of musical instruments in Somali culture ». The fact that he adds that « in the period just after World War II, Somali musical life underwent a drastic change » only further amplifies the misconception, which is

shared also by many Somalis themselves, according to which music appeared in the country only as recently as the forties, with the birth of the national song (the introduction of the Yemenite lute and the spread of the new poetical-musical genre *heello*). What about traditional songs, instruments and dances of the Somali postoralists and peasants?

On the whole, texts giving more or less detailed information about traditional Somali music are very few¹ and in those texts extremely rare — and often questionable — are the staff transcription available.² As regards to recorded sound material this is limited to very few recordings carried out during the Colonial Expo of Paris in 1931,³ some recordings of two possession cult rites (*Mingis and Nuumbi*) I made during my first survey in 1982, as well as one sole LP published to consecrate two interpreters of the new *heello* song genre (Cabdullaahi Qarshe and Axmed Shariif).⁴

In November 1984 I began a systematic research on Somali music within the framework of the « Language Development Project » promoted by the Linguistic Technical Committee for the Somali National University in co-operation with the Somali Arts and Science Academy. For six months, with Aweys Maxamed « Waasuge », a theatrical director of the National Theatre who helped me in the work, I carried out numerous surveys, interviews and recordings of traditional music, both within its actual context (feasts, gatherings and domestic or village ceremonies) as well as in set up meetings (with musicians, singers and other informants). The aim, at this stage, was to create a basic picture as reference for the data collected along the way and to establish an initial classification of genres, forms, and styles, both vocal and/or instrumental, in connection with the various functions and occasions.

Our starting point were the musicians and folklorists who work for, or centre about, the National Theatre, such as Cabdullaahi Qarshe, Maclow Nuur, Aweys Khamiis Cabdalla, Axmadey Cabdi Gashaan, and the poet and singer Xaji Baalbaal, an endless source of knowledge regarding vocal techniques and repertoires of the Northern regions. Muqdisho turned out to be an important observation point for the definition of an overall musical picture of the country as it allowed us to come into contact simultaneously with informants from different regions. For instance, it was possible, by means of a questionnaire handed out to the students at the University, to gather a first idea of the regional distribution of musical instruments, dances and about the chief occasions in which music plays an important role. Naturally, it was necessary to keep in mind a certain degree of decontextualisation and therefore of transformation of data, implicit and inevitable in an urban context, substantially different from the areas of origin. For example, the « camel songs » become the « bricklayer working songs » in the city. So, the important work of reunification and reproposal of the various musical and choreutic

¹ The *References* include just texts which are not mentioned in the bibliographies of the two encyclopaedia entries by Wachsmann and Johnson and in the « Folklore » and « Musica » sections of *Bibliografia Somala* by Fabio Carboni (1985).

² Cfr., for example, Berghold 1899, Pesenti (4540-4542 in Carboni 1985) and Revoil 1982: 34.

³ These recordings are kept on 78 rpm not-on-sale records (n. 3448/9 and 3450/51) at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. One of these, a camel-song, also takes place in the LP record *French Africa II*, edited by André Scaeffner and Gilbert Rouget, Columbia KL 205.

⁴ *The Freedom Songs of the Somali Republic*, collected by Chet Williams with Hassan Hussein and Mussa Galaal, Folkways Records FD 5433.

repertoires carried out by the artists of the National Theatre hypostatizes and inevitably transforms, in their function and use, the expressive forms and contents of musical performance belonging to the villages and camps. At this stage of the research, the verification and the comparison with the original models has only been carried out in part (especially in a number of localities along the coast in the Banaadir region and the agricultural area of Shabelle), but it is clear that future investigation must be oriented towards a deeper analysis of the different local musical realities. However, today it is possible to draw a general outline of Somali music, whose outline, I hope, may constitute a framework for further research.

General Outline of Somali Music

The variety of musical tradition to be found in Somalia reflects the cultural and geographical reality of the country. The music of the nomadic sheperds is essentially vocal in character and, apart from those songs dealing with every day life and travel, the repertoires are connected with the poetry and dance that mark the most important social and ceremonial occasions characterizing the moments when the communities stop to rest.

The sedentary nature of the communities living in the agricultural areas and along the coast has, on the other hand, favoured a greater development of instrumental music and the consolidation of musical traditions that in part derive from interaction with other cultures from the inner regions of Eastern Africa as well as from contact with overseas cultures.

The following types of music can be distinguished within the present day Somali musical picture:

1. Purely Somali traditional music — which for many aspects may be compared to that of other contact Cushitic cultures such as the Oromo culture, for example — including:

- a) sung poetry treating lyrical or social subjects;
- b) monodic and multivocal songs connected with the nomadic life cycle (camel songs, songs for the construction of the *aqal*, etc.);
- c) celebration, ritual, and ritual-therapeutical songs (such as those of the various *saar* cults) linked with the dance.

These songs are multivocal and often accompanied by some kind of underlining of the rhythmical aspect (clapping, stamping, drums and/or other percussion instruments).

2. Traditional music from the coastal urban areas (for instance the music of the Reer Xamar in Muqdisho) with various specific innovative traits and a variety of influences (Arabic, Azanian culture, and Asiatic cultures).

3. Music from the agricultural regions with noticeable Bantu influence, used on specific occasions, with a variety of repertoires and musical instruments including the *shareero*, the Somali version of the lyre widespread throughout Eastern Africa.

4. Islamic religious « music » of Arabian influence, especially that of the *sufi* religious orders; it is a multivocal music and in some cases there is a simple instrumental accompaniment (drums).

5. Music of particular ethnic and/or social minority groups (for example that of the Bajuni fishermen).

6. National-traditional music which has developed after the 1969 Revolution. This music derives from the re-elaboration of different traditional forms and genres carried out by musicians from the National Theatre; it is re-transmitted throughout the country by means of public performances, radio broadcasts, and music cassettes.

7. New urban music using modern instruments and with a notable presence of Arab, Indian and European influence, which is principally produced and spread by the National Theatre and by the radio. This music owes much to the adoption of the Yemenite keyboard lute (*kaban*) which gave a new musical structure to the metrical pattern of some « minor » poetical genres (*hirwo*, *dhaanto*, *wiglo*, *belwo*) and thus gave birth to a new genre called *heello*. The new Somali song has evolved from the *heello*.

Several distinctive traits of the Somali musical system should be viewed within this framework, such as:

— a scalar system that is mostly *anemitonic pentatonic* (the melodies are constructed on a scale of five tones which lack semitones, for example C-D-F-G-A);

— predominance of binary rhythm in the pastoral repertoires and of ternary and cross-rhythm in the peasant context;

— predominance of antiphonal (in alternative chorus) or responsorial (enunciation of the theme by a soloist vs. choral response) multivocality.

There are many instances of interaction between Somali music and that of the nearby Cushitic, Arab and Bantu cultures, and also evidence of possible influence of Asian cultures across the Indian Ocean from Somalia. This fact appears to be confirmed by several types and names of musical instruments.

For a detailed photographic description of the Somali instruments I here refer to the imminent catalogue of the exhibition « Aspects of artistic expression in Somalia » set up as part of the present meeting.

Somali Musical Terms and Taxonomies

About 350 terms relating to music were gathered in the research: from those used to indicate repertoires and instruments, to those connected with the modalities and techniques of performance and enjoyment. This lexical repertoire, besides representing a deepening of the knowledge of the Somali language, allows us to penetrate into some of the musical conceptions proper to the Somali culture. According to the recent « ethnoscientific » methodology it is possible to infer from linguistic data some implicit criteria of classification of genres, performing modalities and musical instruments: criteria which, after discussion and confrontation with various musicians, prove to be peculiar to the Somali culture, and different from those of Western musical thinking.

Musical genres

In Somalia, as in great part of those cultures which are based upon the oral tradition without an explicit musical theory, the omnicomprehensive concept, however ambiguous, of music is a rather recent one. It is no mere case that the term *muusika* refers principally to modern musical production performed with imported instruments (*kaban*, saxophone, guitar etc.).⁵ Poetry (*gabay*) is tradi-

⁵ The idea that Somali music was born in the forties might well depend therefore upon a linguistic misunderstanding.

tionally considered as a creative form completely distinct from the « musical » ones, even if a very particular value is attributed to its sung form.⁶ As far as the vocal and instrumental accompaniment of the dance is concerned, it is difficult to conceive it separately from the overall action of *ciyaarid* (to play, to dance). Completely extraneous from the idea of music are the chants of the *digri*, i.e. the intoned and rhythmically cadenced (and accompanied by the movement of the body) recitation of prayers that characterize the religious ceremonies of the Islamic orders: for these chants (*qasiidooyin*) it would be inappropriate to use verbs such as *qaadid* (to sing) or *heesid* (to sing).⁷

To obtain an overall picture of those activities and behaviours that might be called « musical » it is necessary, therefore, to refer to three distinct performing practices: *gabyid* (to compose and perform poetry), *heesid* (to sing songs) and *ciyaarid* (to play-dance). As Fig. 1 shows, the whole of Somali musical practice can be collocated into these three categories, even if the lists given here do not claim to be exhaustive, but aim only at making the principle of classification clear.⁸

Gabay indicates the chief type of Somali poetry, but also, by extension, the various traditional poetical genres: from *gabay* to *buraanbur* (female poetry) to *masafo* (religious poetry).

By *hees* (song) are meant the different folk-songs connected with the life cycle (lullabies, *hoobeeya*; working songs, *heeso howleed*; etc.), all forms of minor poetry (*wiglo*, *hirwo*, *dhaanto* and *belwo*) that, on account of their short form and their circumstantial and often frivolous content, Johnson (1974: 11) has defined « the Family of Miniature Genres », and finally the new national song (*heello*) which is a modern rendering of the minor genres (see Johnson 1974).⁹

Under the definition *ciyaar* (dance) fall all those different kinds of vocal and/or instrumental music accompanying dances, both of the ludic-community kind (*beerrey*, *bullo* etc.) and of possession ritual type (belonging to the different « spiritual » cults and by extension classified as *Saar*).¹⁰

A special place apart is occupied by the chants of *digri*, considered « non-musical »; in the figure, the arrow placed in the top right side of the word indicates a certain attraction that the practices of the *sufi* order have for those of the possession, as an indication of their gradual « Islamisation » (take for example some forms of *boorane* and of *xayaad*).

The classification according to genres given in Fig. 1 is not rigidly normative. The two-way arrows indicate a partial osmosis between contiguous classes (for

⁶ The expression « *shimbirtu waa gabyaysaa* » (« the bird is singing ») is meaningful.

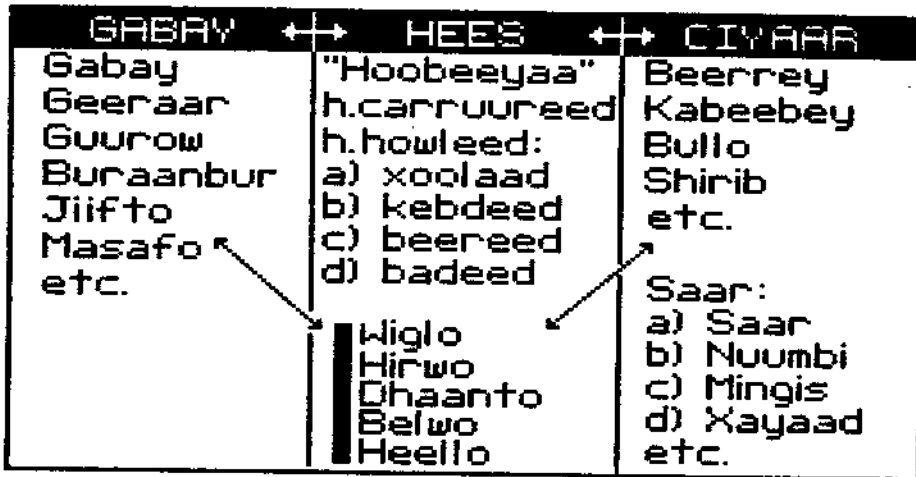
⁷ *Quadid*, more than « to sing », means « to perform a song » (an already known piece).

⁸ At present, the only type of piece that is difficult to collocate in this classification is the « musical riddle » with the *shareero*, given by Aweys Khamis, as typical of the riverine areas. The game consists in hiding an object that the persons present must find, guided by the different sounds of the instrument.

⁹ The « Miniature Genres » are in reality astride of two classes, the *gabay* and the *hees*. The prevalent use of the second term with reference to this type of composition, and the importance given to the musical structure, have been decisive to their collocation. In particular, as far as *heello* is concerned, the doubt as to whether they are songs or poems (expressed by Johnson *ibid*: XVI) seems to be definitively solved.

¹⁰ The English adjective « spiritual » is used by the Somali with the meaning of « spiritual » and concerns the presence of spirits (*jiinniyo*).

instance, it is not totally inadmissible to speak of *heeso ciyaareed*, that is of dance songs). It must be pointed out, besides, that there is a certain tendency to include « hierarchically » (or in order of seniority?) the secondary in the principal (evident in the extensive use of *gabay* and *saar*).



QIGRI

Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Performing Techniques and Musical Instruments

The taxonomical criteria for Western organology (the study of musical instruments) are based primarily upon the modality of sound production and the acoustic principles they imply, thus dividing all musical instruments into four great families: aerophones (wind instruments), membranophones (instruments using membranes), chordophones (strings) and idiophones (instruments whose sound is produced by the vibration of the instrument itself).

As Fig. 2 shows, the implicit criterion of classification of the instruments in Somali music seems essentially based on the modality of performance.

The general term for « to play » is *yeerin*; this term may be used with reference to all musical instruments, but only with the meaning of making the instrument « emit its own sound », « to give voice to »: for example « *organka yeeri* » means « let the sound of the organ be heard ». As « to perform by playing », *yeerin* may be used appropriately only in the case of a few types of instrument, such as wind instruments (*buun*, shell trumpet; *simbaar*, a kind of trumpet; *malkad*, horn etc.), where manual action is not involved in the production of sound but only in its possible modulation (*luuq*). The organ, on the other hand, does not produce sound unless its keys are pressed by the fingers. If one wants to say « play that song on the organ » one must use another verb, *tumid* (beat, strike) and say « *heeskan organka ku tun* ». ¹¹

Tumid is used for string instruments (*shareero*, lyre; *kaban*, lute; etc.), for membrane instruments (*durbanno*, drums), for mechanical aerophones (like the accordion and the organ), for the clapping of hands (*sacab*) or the stamping of feet (*jaan*), and for idiophones (*shanbal*, wood-clappers; *sharaq*, metal-clappers; etc.). Among this latter category the wooden bell (*koor*) is an exception: it plays hung around the camel's neck, but it may also be « given voice to » by shaking it (and in any case not by striking it).

Thus all instruments fall into two classes only. In order to complete the picture of the sound sources, one might add that of « singing » (*heesid*) to which the voice (*cod*) and the whistle (*foori*), both of men and birds (*shimbiro*), belong. One must note, besides, that from the musical practice of the nomads the terms *jiiib* (multivocal singing) and *jaan* (stamping) have been transferred even to modern instrumental groups to distinguish the melodic from the rhythmic sections.

Prospects and Aims of the Study of Somali Music

A few months of field research were sufficient to show the inconsistency of the theories about the scarcity of musicality among the Somali's. The collection of documents gathered would already make it possible to give a first systematic panorama of traditional Somali music, while the sound material, although not at all exhaustive, would testify the variety of form and style: from lullabies to funeral commemoration chants, from the monodies to the more complex multivocal and instrumental performances. While awaiting the publication of all this in one of the forthcoming numbers of *Studi Somali*, I should like to conclude by concentrating briefly upon some questions concerning the prospects and the methods of research.

¹¹ Sometimes the verb *garaacid* is used instead of *tumid*.

One might well ask, and rightly so, what role a deep study of music may have at the present state of development of Somali culture. I think that the answer is easy if we refer:

1) to the specific characteristics of its culture, that has been entirely traditional and oral in its « outlook » up to a few years ago;

2) to the present process of formation and consolidation in the country of didactic and scientific structures and institutions.

1. With regard to the first point, a systematic and comparative study of the musical forms and structures as well as a study of the instruments (their etymology, organology, modality of construction and performance, regional distribution) might lead to the identification of particular procedures of the tradition and of specific traits of the Somali culture, as well as setting down the relations and interconnections with other cultures (especially those of the Cushitic family) of East Africa. To give a concrete example, an integrated analysis of the verbal and musical structures of poetry might lead to the individuation of those metrical models and « rules of scansion » that still resist a purely linguistic examination (see Johnson 1974: xv). As it has been widely demonstrated in several ethnomusicological studies on traditional poetry, the musical structures are not simple containers of the verbal ones, but they interact with them on various levels: rhythm, intonation, accent, segmentation etc. This can be clearly seen in a musical fragment for dance from the Ceerigaabo region (example 1):

Tuma dheh, taa cusub dheh
Beat, that new one (dance),
taan aqiin dheh, taageney rax (dheh)
the one that I know, you standing up, turn and stop.
Tuma dheh, talada lama waayee
Beat, there is always something to be done,
tanu waa taayadii Bari
this one belongs us from Bari.

Example 1

The musical notation consists of two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a tempo marking of quarter note = 205 ca. The melody is written on a five-line staff. Below the staff, the lyrics are written in all caps: TU-MA DHEH TAA CU-SUB DHEH TAAAN. The second staff continues the melody, also on a five-line staff with a treble clef and one flat. Below it, the lyrics are: A-QIIN DHEH TAA — GA-NEY RAX (DHEH).

TU-MA DHEH TA-LA-DA LA-MA WAAYEE

TA-NU WAA TAA — YA-DII BA — RI

Equally indicative of the relations existing between the verbal and musical texts is the variety of realisations (both phonic and phonological) that can be found in three salutation couplets that, according to the poet Xaji Baalbaal, are specific of three different singers of *dhaanto* of the Jigjiiga area (example 2):

- Dhugdhugley:* *Sidii dhugdhugley dhul dheer mari baa*
 Like a motorbike that passes in the distance
Na dhawaaqayga loo dhegeystaayee
 my shout is heard.
- Meytinaar:* *Middii magaceyga dooneysaa-y*
 Oh you who want to know my name
malyuun dile Meytinaar i dheh-eeey
 call me Meytinaar, who kills millions.
- Cawdubille:* *Cayar anan joogin, Cawdubilla-hee*
 A dance I don't take part in, « God, preserve us
 from it »
miyaay carfiyoo hoodo leedahay-eeey
 can it have savor and success?

Example 2

SI-DII DHUG-DHUG-LEY DHUL DHEER MA-RI BAA

NA DHA-WAA-QAY-GA LO-O DHE-GEY-STAA — YEE

MID-DII MAGACEY-GA DOO — NAY — SA-A — Y

MAL-YUUN DI-LE MĒ — Y—TI-NAAR I DHEH—E—EY

CAY-AAR AN-AN JOO-GIN CA-W-DU-BIL-LA-HEE

MI-YAA-Y CAR-FI-YOO HOO-DO LEE—DA—HA—Y-E—EY

From these examples one gets an idea of the importance that an integrated analysis of linguistic and musicological aspects could have in the study of traditional poetry.

But many other aspects might become the subject of specific and multidisciplinary studies. Among others: the dances, that are an important expression of Somali sociality and ritual (of which, for example, a basic audiovisual documentation is lacking); the music and dance of the possession cults, connected with the therapeutical-ritual trance (*burur*) phenomenon and therefore a relevant element of traditional therapeutical practice; the liturgical chants of the *digri*, that, besides giving rise to some of the most interesting Somali multivocal performances, play an indispensable supporting role in the manifestation of mystical ecstasy (*jibdo*).

2. Somalia is still lacking in any institutional form of study or teaching of music. This question would require a deeper treatment. Hoping to re-examine this point as soon as possible, I would like just to state that, if on the one hand this problem must be faced fairly urgently, on the other hand there is a danger of importing in an acritical fashion foreign music-practice and music-teaching models, thus giving a neocolonial and ethnocentric solution to the problem. It is only through the development of a field of Somali musical studies that this can be avoided.

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Individuality as Mysticism: on the Concept of *Burji*

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The purpose of this paper is to analyse briefly some of the culturally standardized ways of expressing individual identity in southern Somalia. Although research on aspects of individual identity is a big field of interest in anthropological discourse (e.g. Mauss 1938, CNRS 1973, Beattie 1980, Jacobson-Widding 1983, Carrithers et al. 1985), we lack an understanding of such matters in the Somali culture.

Somalis are sometimes described as a « proud » people, though such descriptions usually miss the point that « pride » has to have a reason. The other side of the alleged pride then, is that the Somali culture recognizes a strong position for the individual, apart from whatever social functions he or she may fulfil.

To demonstrate this and some further points, I will limit myself here to a discussion of a single concept, which in Somali is called *burji*. I will show how this concept covers a central dimension in the ideas about what an individual is. I also want to show how this concept, by possessing a certain obscurity, can be made to contain and express a number of different experiences in daily discourse. In fact, this « obscurity » is central for a proper understanding of *burji*, because this property is in sharp contrast to properties of other aspects of personal identity.¹ Because of this, the term is difficult to define. It may be helpful, though, to say that to the layman at least, *burji* is thought of as a mystical force or power, which is innate to individuals and which directly influences their success in everyday life.²

Apart from the use of the term *burji* in daily discourse, there are also experts who have a more elaborate understanding of the concept. These are the religious specialists, the *wadaado* or *culmadda*. *Burji* is seen as a part of the area of competence of these men; i.e. the *cilmi* or religious knowledge. *Cilmi*, in turn, is

The field research on which this paper is based was conducted in Somali Democratic Republic in 1983 and 1984-1985, and was funded by The Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences, SAREC and the Axson Johnson Foundation. I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance provided by SOMAC. Thanks are also due to Hugh Breach, Per Brandström, Anita Jacobson-Widding and Monica Udvardy for their comments on a draft of this paper.

¹ The property of obscurity may be seen as a semantically particularly powerful one. It can only be identified as such, however, when consciously contrasted with other, and non-obscure, categories.

² Cf. the definition given by Keenadiid (1976: 43): « to be born in a good star ». I should add, however, that in the interriver area at least, *burji* is not by necessity « good ».

conceived of as distinct from knowledge of worldly matters, *kasmo* or *caqli*.³ *Cilmi* and *kasmo*, religious and mundane knowledge, belong to entirely separate spheres of thought and action. In two papers, Lewis has analysed this dualism within the contexts of notions of power and of role stereotypes (Lewis 1963, 1965).

In that part of the interriver area of southern Somalia where I worked,⁴ people attach great importance to the ideology of patrilineal descent (*tol*). While « in reality » they are organized through a system of largely unrelated lineages and families, this organisation is conceptualized and expressed in terms of common descent from lineal ancestors.⁵ According to the values of this system, the prestige of an agnatic line depends on its numerical strength and upon the length of the genealogy that connects any particular segment to the eponymic clan ancestor.⁶ This is also reflected at the level of personal prestige or honour, as a man from such a group will be referred to as *magac dheer* - « with a long name ». This expression is a direct reference to the fact that the genealogy of a numerically strong and politically important segment is usually longer than that of minor sections.

It is important to mention that in daily life nobody pretends to be descended from a particular clan if this is not so. On the contrary, there is a strong awareness of the fictitious dimension of clanship in this area, at the the same time there are many contexts where clanship has virtually no importance whatsoever. Nevertheless there are other contexts for which the segmentary model is « practical » and, not least, it serves to unify the clan and its constituent lineages vis-à-vis other groups. Such a unity is relatively easily maintained, because genealogical knowledge, or knowing the affiliation of those one interacts with, is overt, common knowledge. Knowledge of individual character, however, is not considered to be within the domain of lineal collectivity, and the notions of *burji* in particular, reveal the complexity that such knowledge is thought to entail.

I am suggesting, then, that the category of the person is culturally constructed by drawing upon two opposed aspects of the wider society and culture. One of them relates the person to his group of patri-kin, the other emphasizes individual uniqueness by the use of values that contrast with the ideology of agnation.

* * *

My own first acquaintance with the concept of *burji* was in overhearing a discussion concerning a public quarrel that had taken place. The quarrel had been quite animated and neither of the two contestants was thought to have « won » it. The way this was expressed was by saying that the two men « *waa isku burji* »,

³ *Cilmi* itself is of course far from uniform; as pointed out by Cassanelli (1975) there exist in the history of Somali Islam a distinct contrast between what he calls a mystical and a theocratic tradition. We will here only be concerned with the mystical tradition (see also Lewis 1955/56). For a brief but informative discussion of « rural » and « urban » Islamic versions, see Thomas (1982).

⁴ An area locally known as Ooflaawe, the largest part of which lies in the Qansaxdheere district.

⁵ These aspects of interriver social structure have been described by e.g. Colucci (1924), Helander (1986a), Lewis (1969) and Luling (1971).

⁶ The connections between length of genealogies, lineage numerical strength and political power have been analysed in detail by Lewis (1961). The fact that genealogical alterations occur in the interriver area does not diminish the role they hold ideologically. It does, however, restrict this role to certain contexts (see Helander 1986a).

that they had the same or similar *burji*. At another occasion it was jokingly said to a man who had failed to kill an insect, that the *burji* of the insect was bigger than his.

Such expressions triggered my curiosity and I began to ask questions about this strange concept. I found that people had difficulty in explaining the term other than by relating examples of it. It was said: « when a boy falls in love with a girl but feels that something stops him from approaching her, then it is her *burji* that is bigger than his ». Similarly, I was told that « the one who can always persuade others to agree with his propositions, it is his *burji* that helps him ».

Apart from such examples, there did seem to be some general properties of *burji* that most people agreed about. These were that everybody has a *burji*, and that knowledge of the character of one's *burji* could be gained through procedures known by the shaikhs. It was also pointed out that one's *burji* is not liable to change although it was observed that to beget children could alter the strength of one's *burji*. This latter idea was exemplified by mentioning how some men and women seem to grow in personal ability and maturity as a result of having children. However, it was also stressed that the fact of having children does not necessarily contribute to the strength of one's *burji*. It might just as well mean that people are « eaten up » by the problems caused by their children.

This relationship of *burji* to the consequences of parenthood is significant. It illustrates that *burji* is conceived of as separate from the prestige or status that falls upon a person by virtue of his position within the kinship system. As I have mentioned, the ideology of patrilineal descent and its associated values hold a firm position in Somali thought. According to those values, however, it would be inconceivable to suggest that a person could be *weakened* by the birth of children. On the contrary barrenness — *goblan* is a state that people fear, partly because it may imply that « one's name is forgotten ».

It was claimed that coming of age may affect one's *burji*. Yet, old age would not automatically imply a stronger *burji*, rather it was believed that for a man, the height of his *burji* is reached when he is in his thirties. In other words definitely long before he could be regarded as an « elder ». This is again in contrast to the values of the kinship system, because according to those, a man's power and ability ideally increase with his age.

This discussion makes clear that if we want to understand what *burji* is thought to be, and see how it is connected to other ideas, we must search outside the realm of the ideology of kinship. The brief examples indicate that apart from whatever external attributes a person may possess, there are also some things which are believed to be internal to the individual and which may be revealed in what this person is capable of doing.

Such internal traits of individuals are entirely unrelated to the prestige or honour as defined by the kinship system. Actually, rather than using the kinship-related term *magac* (name) for talking about honour in these contexts, people will use the term *sharaf*. Since it is borrowed from Arabic, this word is thought to be intimately linked to the religion. One well-known derivation of the term is in the word *Ashraf*, the name of a clan believed to be direct descendants of the Prophet's lineage. Members of this clan are sometimes nicknamed *shariif*. It may also become a nickname for anybody else who is said to « respect himself and others ». The same explanation is also given for the meaning of the concept of *sharaf* itself. It is sometimes said that *sharaf* is the same thing as respect (*ix-*

tiraan). This is important because respect is not held to be unilateral in a relationship, but is seen as a reciprocal or « mutualistic » quality. It would seem then, that the type of honour represented by *sharaf* is focused on a level of individual conduct, rather than that of group membership. Further support for this interpretation is that *sharaf* is often confused with the terms *daacad* and *lillahi* which mean « honouring an agreement », « honesty » or « sincerity ».

One approach to examining the above examples is to focus on the dualism of values that the Somali notion of the person is framed in. It may be argued that, for instance, the expected submissive behaviour of youths vis-à-vis elders emphasizes primarily values linked to their roles in the kinship system, whereas interaction that falls outside the kinship domain draws upon characteristics of the actual individuals involved. This is not to say that determinants of such interaction are entirely contextual or situational. Rather, what should be observed is that the notion of these individual criteria seems composed of values different from those that define the person as a member of his group of patri-kin, family and lineage. Even within kinship contexts, however, the recognition given to individual characteristics seems to influence the nature of the interaction taking place.⁷

* * *

There is a distinctly religious element to the notions of the individual. Not only is individual honour directly associated with religious values, but when asking questions about *burji* itself, most of my informants directed me to the religious experts. I was told that *burji* is a large and complicated concept but that those men who possess astrological knowledge (*xiddigis*), secret religious knowledge (*asraar*) and religious knowledge in general (*cilmi*), also have holy books where the secrets of *burji* are revealed.

The books referred to were the fragments and excerpts of works by medieval Muslim mystics that many rural Sufi experts possess.⁸ These documents play a prominent role in the practices of religious experts, and their reliability is sanctioned by the fact that they are written in Arabic.⁹ Indeed, it is considered blasphemous to speak about them as « books » (*buug*). Instead the Arabic word *kitaab* should be used. Since this word in Somali is used for the Koran, it gives to these documents an air of « holy book ».

The knowledge of *burji* possessed by the religious experts is indeed much more specialized and technical than that possessed by laymen. According to them there are twelve different, named *burji*. To find out which *burji* a person has, his name is written with Arabic characters and the position numbers assigned to each one of the characters within the Arabic alphabet are then added together. The sum reached is by further calculations made to correspond with the number of a *burji*.

Each of the twelve *burji* are believed to be distinct, and the qualities of each

⁷ It is thus not enough, as La Fontaine (1985) seems to argue, to seek for the cultural grounds of a « concept of person » within a social structural context alone. Clearly, as the southern Somali case indicates, such concepts may also emerge in conscious reflection upon, and opposition to, social structural variables.

⁸ One of the documents was that by Al-Ḥalbi (1931-32).

⁹ This point has also been demonstrated for the Merina of Madagascar by Bloch (1968).

one are determined by how it is correlated with other factors. Half of them are said to be « male » while the other half are « female ». There is also a link to the four elements so that, in sets of three, the different *burji* can be grouped as « fire », « water », « wind » or « sand ». Within each one of these categories, different strengths are assigned to the element in question. For instance, within the category of *burji* that is « fire » there are subdivisions of embers, small flames and big flames. There are similar subdivisions within the other categories.

Burji is also connected to what was called « the small stars ». In Arabic they are known as *manaazil* and there are twenty-eight of them. Each one of these stars is linked to one of the characters of the Arabic alphabet, and through this link it was claimed that another connection between the name of a person and his *burji* could be established. The « small stars » are dependants to, or « soldiers of », the seven « big stars » (in Arabic *kawaakib*). These, in turn, are related to each one of the seven heavens, and they are also related to different prophets. Because of this latter link, a person can be informed about which one of the prophets is « his ».

The twenty-eight small stars can be further rearranged into four groups with seven stars in each. Each one of these four groups is related to one of the four seasons and, therefore, the different *burji* are linked to the seasons too. In addition, some of the experts are able to establish a connection between the *burji* of a person and a day of the week. Such days may be said to be the proper day to pursue various difficult tasks.

This system, then, is enormously complex. It should be stressed, however, that none of the experts I consulted with, knew other than fragmentary bits of it by heart. Throughout the interviews they had to consult their documents and notes on the subject, and even so, many questions remained unanswered. Furthermore, the answers I got from one expert frequently contradicted the answers of another. I should also mention that there were tendencies among the experts to make the subject even more « mystical » than it already appeared. For instance, all names of the stars and of the different *burji* etc., were consequently given in Arabic even for those that have Somali names.¹⁰ It should also be observed that several aspects of this system, like « the four elements », are normally not a part of Somali symbolism.

It is important to mention that in the procedures where the name of a person is used as a basis to determine the *burji* this is not the normal, patrilineally transmitted name. Instead, to the first name is added that of the mother of the person. In this area of Somalia I know of only one other context where a matrilineal name is given to a person. That is during a short period of time during the funerary rite. In that context, as well as here, it serves to emphasize the uniqueness of the individual and to cut him off, as it were, from the group of patri-kin (see Helander 1986b).

One of the many uses that scholarly knowledge of *burji* has, is to determine whether it is appropriate to marry a specific person. In such contexts one can observe how the fluidity of the system gives rise to a big variation of the interpretations offered. Sometimes the name of the potential wife will be used to derive a specific *burji*. It may be shown that this *burji* is related to *jilaal*, the dry-season,

¹⁰ This appears, by the way, to be one important difference between this southern system and the northern one, so thoroughly described by Muusa Galaal (1968).

and thus indicative of her possible infertility. In other cases, the sum of the wife's name is subtracted from that of her husband. The result may be a « female » *burji* which may be taken to mean that the marriage, if it should come about, will only be blessed with daughters. On the other hand, the same *burji* may be related to the star *qalbi*, heart, a possible sign that the wife will love her husband dearly. I have also witnessed how the same basic facts are given a different interpretation at another occasion.

These brief examples show that there are generous margins within this system of beliefs and the number of possible interpretations appear to be infinite. This applies not only to contexts of marriage, but one can note the very same tendencies of a « looseness » in the interpretations within every possible area of application.

I am not alone in making such observations. Many ordinary informants admitted that what the experts said did not always seem to be internally consistent. However, to them this fact underscored that *burji* is a big and complicated thing. Someone might also take this opportunity to deliver a cautious criticism of the local experts by calling them *kitaab gablow* or *Yaasiinleh*, terms that imply that these men have only been taught a tiny fraction of the Koran. It is true that some experts I consulted did not enjoy a generous reputation for their learning. However, many of them were regionally recognized shaikhs, trained in Baardheere or in other reputable institutes of religious learning. The fact remains that detected inconsistencies only seem to amplify the beliefs in that the system of knowledge concerning *burji* has the nature of obscure, hidden truths.

* * *

To conclude, I would like to emphasize the contrast that has been demonstrated in this paper. The ease by which personal identity, prestige and status is determined within the framework of the kinship system, is in sharp contrast to the obscurity and mysticism that characterizes ideas surrounding the individual and her internal characteristics. I believe that this contrast has to be seen in relation to the more general contrast between, on one hand, the emphasis of patrilineal ideology and, on the other, the acknowledgement that this ideology cannot sufficiently account for individual variation.

There are many daily situations where clanship norms only insufficiently provide guidelines for behaviour. This is especially true for the interriver area where, due to long-standing processes of genealogical accomodation of stranger groups, clanship has turned into something of a « collective fiction ». To strut in borrowed plumes in the shape of more or less prestigious genealogies is simply not enough. Maybe as a consequence of this, a strong position for the individual is defined, completely independent of roles within the kinship system. However, in the same way as kinship roles have to be expressed in a formalised system of genealogies, these notions of the individual have to be formalised in some way in order to persist. The solution seems to be that the explanations for individuality are « mystified », for instance by being tied up to Sufism or through the use of Arabic terminology. As we have seen, even the matrilineal ties of a person find a place in this process.

The point made here is that mysticism itself seems instrumental for defining

the particular status of an individual. Since the concept of *burji* is thought to belong to the realm of « religious knowledge », it is thereby also set free of any connection with mundane clanship-ties and genealogical prestige. Rather, it is seen as linked to eternal values of religion and other-worldliness. It would seem that through the acquisition of a cognitive status of obscurity and mysticism, the value given to the individual can be maintained and symbolically perpetuated as separate from that of official roles.

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Danze folkloristiche somale

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Il folklore rappresenta l'aspetto più genuino e proprio della cultura di un popolo. Essa deriva direttamente dalla sua organizzazione sociale e dalle sue regole di vita.

Per meglio conoscere e capire il folklore somalo è necessario dividerlo in tre parti, corrispondenti alle tre grandi regioni in cui è diviso il paese: quello del Nord, del Centro e del Sud. Chi non accetta questo tipo di divisione, non sarà in grado di capire le differenze presenti nel folklore somalo. Queste differenze, seppure ad una prima analisi non molto estese, generano, come conseguenza, un arricchimento del patrimonio culturale di questo paese, che si avvale così della compenetrazione di vari contributi culturali.

Inoltre, al momento di analizzare il folklore somalo, si notano evidenti le influenze derivanti da culture straniere, che contribuiscono e contribuiscono alla formazione delle differenze suddette.

Tali influenze sono derivate sia dalle dominazioni che si sono susseguite, sia dagli intensi commerci al centro dei quali la Somalia si è sempre trovata, quali quello delle spezie con l'Oriente.

Ad esempio, cominciando a parlare delle regioni del Nord, notiamo in particolare delle influenze di origine asiatica; è stupefacente l'interesse per il canto e, in generale, per tutto ciò che è legato alla melodia, e come vengano apprezzate le parole delle poesie presso questa gente. Le loro danze sono praticamente prive di accompagnamento di strumenti musicali, e vengono invece usati battimani, battipiedi e canti, rispondenti a precise forme poetiche. È per questo motivo che, quando si mette a confronto questa cultura con altre di origine asiatica, particolari appaiono le influenze arabe e nomadi.

D'altra parte, questa tradizione nomade rappresenta il carattere dominante della cultura somala, essendo il popolo somalo composto per circa il 60% da popolazioni che conducono una vita nomade e pastorale. C'è da ricordare che il nomadismo non è una professione ma una cultura. Soprattutto del Nord e Centro, tale stile di vita è particolarmente diffuso; purtroppo, la mancanza di scrittura e il carattere nomade di queste popolazioni hanno fortemente contribuito alla scarsità di materiale che possiamo raccogliere sulla loro tradizione culturale.

Nella Somalia centrale ci sono differenze, ma non sostanziali, con la regione precedente, perché anche qui fin dal principio le principali relazioni culturali sono state con popolazioni asiatiche, come l'India, la Cina e, soprattutto, l'Arabia.

È nella regione del Sud che incontriamo una cultura a carattere misto, in parte

di contadini e in parte di pastori. Ciò mostra l'incontro di due culture completamente diverse; quella sedentaria e rurale, confinata nella vita del villaggio, a carattere più duraturo, e quella nomade, più libera, ma le cui tracce vanno spesso perdute. La zona a carattere rurale è geograficamente situata tra i due maggiori fiumi della Somalia, il Giuba e lo Scebeli. La popolazione pastorale vive invece generalmente nei dintorni della regione dei fiumi e non è soggetta a grandi spostamenti. Tuttavia i due modi di vita in parte si compenetrano: i nomadi pastori hanno alcune ridotte coltivazioni, e i contadini allevano spesso del bestiame. Questo genera un tipo di cultura mista, che arricchisce il folklore locale. Ecco che diventa più pressante il bisogno di strumenti musicali, e la stessa cultura nomade si adatta e ricerca forme di espressione più regolare. Appaiono numerosi strumenti musicali che accompagnano i canti e le danze: in primo luogo tamburi di forma diversa per produrre suoni particolari, e poi lo *shambali*, strumento di legno, scavato, lo *sharero*, simile alla chitarra, la *malkad*, una grossa tromba, i *birò*, ferri che si battono per produrre il suono, l'*arog*, un altro tipo di strumento a fiato, il *buun*, fatto da una grossa conchiglia oppure ricavato dal corno di un animale, solitamente un bue, e il *simbaar*, che ha la forma di una piccola chitarra. In generale, le danze di questa regione sono basate molto sul ritmo degli strumenti musicali. Questa è la differenza principale con la musica e il folklore delle due precedenti regioni: là è predominante la melodia e la poesia, qui invece il ritmo rappresenta la parte principale dell'espressione musicale. Le parole del poeta del Sud chiamato « *lashin* » in somalo, servono più per accompagnare i ritmi musicali, e perdono un poco la poetica che è caratteristica del Nord. Le sue parole, anche se non sono così ricche di poesia, servono bene per creare una atmosfera di teatralità. In tutto ciò è anche evidente la differente influenza esercitata questa volta dalle popolazioni dell'Africa dell'Est, per esempio il confinante Kenya.

Al momento di iniziare la ricerca sulla strutturazione, sullo sviluppo e sui cambiamenti del teatro somalo, emerge chiaramente che il teatro attuale è direttamente legato al folklore somalo, per cui non si può comprendere l'uno se non si è studiato l'altro. Il folklore è la matrice primaria del teatro somalo, perché il teatro spesso non è altro che la trasposizione diretta del folklore, come del resto è accaduto all'origine di altri tipi di teatro nel mondo.

Tornando alle danze popolari, è necessario dividerle in due gruppi: quelle a carattere religioso e quelle a carattere profano. Per esempio, il *Digri* è una rappresentazione a sfondo religioso, nella quale l'attore enfatizza il suo ruolo, sia nell'atteggiamento che nel vestire fino a formare una forma di teatro. Naturalmente per rappresentare o anche solo per capire il *Digri* è necessaria una conoscenza profonda della religione islamica.

Invece la rappresentazione profana ha radici nella tradizione pagana, animistica e più propriamente africana. Spesso queste rappresentazioni coincidono o sono in relazione con una cura da parte del medico tradizionale o « *wadaad* ». Durante il rito, la persona malata viene posseduta da uno spirito demoniaco ed inizia un dialogo in una lingua straniera, quale arabo, swahili o amarico, ecc. di cui egli non era stato mai a conoscenza. Si presume che attraverso il malato parli direttamente il « *jeniu* in somalo », dando le indicazioni necessarie per la cura della malattia. Il curatore, abile psicologo, deve essere in grado di mantenere il colloquio e dialogare con il malato nelle varie lingue. In questo modo, seppure il malato non sarà in grado di ricordare quanto ha detto né la lingua nella quale fino a poco prima ha parlato, il medico ricorderà quanto accaduto e spiegherà cosa

fare per ottenere la guarigione. Spesso il jinni demonio chiede il sacrificio di un animale, che a volte il malato non è in condizioni di poter comperare, e quindi è costretto a chiedere aiuto ad altri o ad indebitarsi pur di poter ottenere la completa guarigione.

In molti casi interviene la comunità del malato, lo sostiene così che esso non si senta solo, emarginato, abbandonato di fronte al suo male e nel partecipare al rituale terapeutico, la comunità si riconosce attorno al malato esorcizzando il male che colpendolo in uno dei suoi membri, lo colpisce nella sua integrità e totalità.

È interessante notare che tali riti sono particolarmente diffusi nelle donne, che molto spesso ricorrono a tali cure. Inoltre con l'uso progressivo della medicina occidentale, questi riti vanno lentamente scomparendo nei centri urbani, mentre nelle zone rurali sono tuttora largamente utilizzati. Il rito magico è inoltre preferito nelle popolazioni rurali perché legato alla cultura e alle tradizioni popolari.

A volte la « ricetta » è molto dettagliata, includendo particolari precisi, quali il colore dell'animale o l'ora più propizia per il sacrificio. La possessione inoltre cambia il carattere del malato, che è in grado durante il rito di mangiare anche carbone ardente, senza apparentemente risentirne. Oppure si procura dei tagli con le armi, senza mostrare dolore o danni. Sempre però alla fine del rito, l'ammalato non ricorderà ciò che ha fatto o detto. Queste danze rituali, ricche di suoni, ritmi e canti, sono chiamate *Anyagaw*, *Beebe*, *Mingis*, *Boorane*, *Numbi*, *Massunga* e sono state individuate dagli studiosi come l'origine primaria del teatro « movimentato » attuale. Le danze usate in questi riti hanno delle regole precise che è necessario rispettare; esse sono ballate sia dagli uomini che dalle donne anche se queste ultime sono di solito in maggioranza.

Esistono molte altre danze popolari: alcune richiamano momenti della vita comune, il lavoro nei campi, la costruzione di una casa, l'abbeverata del bestiame. Altre sono legate a momenti e ad occasioni particolari: uno spozalizio, la celebrazione di un buon raccolto, una festa religiosa o civile. In queste danze è possibile per i ragazzi conoscersi e allacciare dei rapporti, in base a rapporti legati alla tradizione. Queste tradizioni rispondono ad usanze antiche e rispettate. Dice un detto somalo: « *xeer bar baar waa xiriiraa e ma xintamo* » (Regole dei giovani avranno continuità e non creeranno invidia). Queste regole tradizionali non corrispondono a leggi scritte, ma hanno radici profonde nella storia e nelle abitudini di questi popoli. Chi osa trasgredire o disturbare, viene punito con l'isolamento ed il rifiuto da parte degli altri membri della comunità. Per essere riammesso, il trasgressore dovrà offrire agli altri un pranzo di riappacificazione.

Queste danze, così varie e numerose, che hanno ereditato dai loro antenati sono materiale degno di ricerche serie e profonde, al fine anche di non disperderne il valore culturale. E lo stesso vale naturalmente anche per le altre forme di espressione popolare, come la letteratura, le arti figurative, etc.

Le danze della regione del Sud, usate in periodi di festa, sono chiamate: *Bee-rey*, *Gabley shimbir*, *Walasaqo*, *Wil Wilo*, *Saar Moye*, *Saar Lugeed*, *Gambaraale*, *Shabay*, *Instunka-Afgooye*, e *Diisaw*. Ad esempio, il *diisaw* è molto popolare ed è legato particolarmente alla cultura delle popolazioni del Sud (*Jamaama*, *Jilib* ed *Afmadow*). Questa danza è usata a fini di propiziare la fertilità di una coppia. I due coniugi si siedono davanti alla soglia della loro casa ed assistono al rituale. La danza, in questo caso, non usa strumenti musicali, ma è ritmata da battimani. I ballerini saltano e corrono, infilzando le loro lance nel fieno della capanna,

il *mudul* in somalo, e li passano sopra le teste. Finito il rito, lo sposo offre un pranzo di ringraziamento ai danzatori e tutti si scambiano oggetti portafortuna. Una seconda danza il *walasaqo*, sempre in uso nelle zone rurali, imita i movimenti e la vita dello struzzo. Essa viene danzata nei giorni festivi, specialmente da giovani, che si muovono come lo struzzo. Spesso la danza viene danzata di sera, in modo da servire di approccio per i giovani, che possono così, tramite il rito, allacciare nuove amicizie. Per questa danza, non viene usato nessuno strumento musicale ma è accompagnata da ricchi battimani, stupende canzoni e battipiedi.

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Part III

Medicine and Traditional Medicine

Substance Abuse in Somalia

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Introduction

In the Somali Democratic Republic there are 23 Regional Hospitals and 52 District Hospitals. The available beds are roughly 4500. The total number of physicians practicing in the country is around 500.

Development of Primary Health Care (PHC) is a major strategy in the health care policy of the Government. There is a national PHC office in Mogadishu. This has to supervise and coordinate PHC activities at all levels. The Regional PHC Coordinator supervises the District PHC Coordinators who supervise the first level of health facilities. The PHC unit serves 5-10,000 persons while the health post serves 3-4,000 people.

Hospitals at regional and district levels contribute to PHC as referral units for medical care.

By law all the needed drugs which cannot be produced in the country should be imported by the State Agency for the Importation and Manufacturing of Drugs (ASPIMA). Part of imported drugs are channeled to the public sector Government Central Medical Store (DCMS) and main hospitals of Mogadishu. Requisitions for pharmaceuticals and sanitary equipments come from hospitals all over the country to DCMS. Expedition of supplies are directly provided. These drugs are intended for hospitalized patients and are given free of charge.

In the private sector, pharmacies are organized in cooperatives. A presidential law in 1972 abolished the sole ownership of pharmacies. Drugs intended for this sector are directly purchased by pharmacies from ASPIMA Mogadishu or its regional branches.

In 1965 there were in Mogadishu two private pharmacies with qualified expatriates in charge and several retail drug stores operated by laymen (Orphanides 1965). Today no distinction is made among pharmacies. The number of licenced pharmacies in Mogadishu is approximately 300. Only 10% of these are operated by qualified pharmacists, the rest being in the hands of laymen. This causes serious constraints. All drugs, from antibiotics to psychotropic substances can be dispensed without medical prescription at the patient's request or following the advice of the unqualified dispenser. This is source of serious health and social problems.

Substance Abuse

The Somali population being prevalently nomadic and almost 100% of Islamic faith, has been for centuries almost untouched by widespread and serious problems of alcoholism and drug dependence. Even the use of stimulants such as tea and coffee, which today are widely used throughout the country, were limited to particular areas mostly on the coast.

a. Tobacco

Smoking and other forms of tobacco use were once limited to some coastal communities. Tobacco consumption has steadily increased in the last decades. Cigarette smoking is at alarmingly high levels in all settled communities. The habit is strongly growing among children who are also heavily involved in the retail trade of cigarettes.

b. Khat

Khat is a stimulant with great social and medical effects. This drug consists of the leaves of *Catha edulis Forsk* which are chewed. Khat chewing started and for centuries remained confined in the north western part of the peninsula. The widespread use of the drug is a phenomenon of the last few decades.

The problems of khat in Somalia have been thoroughly described (Abdullahi S. Elmi 1983, 1984).

In consideration of these serious problems, on the 18th of March 1983, the Government of Somalia passed a law prohibiting the cultivation, importation, marketing and use of khat in its territory.

The 22nd WHO Expert Committee on Drug Dependence which met in Geneva in April 1985, found that cathinone and cathine, the two main compounds of khat, met the criteria for control under the Convention on Psychotropic Substances 1972 and recommended their control (WHO Technical Report Series 729).

The Economic and Social Council of the U.N. in its meeting of February 1986 endorsed this recommendation and definitely placed the two compounds under international control.

c. Sniffing glues

Glue sniffing is increasing among adolescents of cities and towns. The phenomenon is notably growing in Mogadishu. It involves mainly children of poor families and the homeless. The continuous increase of glue sniffing is due to the rapid and disorderly urbanization which is typical of many developing countries. This poses a serious problem. The abused substances are plastic cement glue, spray liquid, gasoline, nail polish etc. No epidemiological studies have been carried out, therefore the extent of the problem is not accurately defined.

d. Cannabis

Cannabis has a relatively low prevalence in Somalia. Its use is traditional among certain communities of coastal cities. Today's consumers are often young people. The drug is prohibited but it is introduced illegally. Small plantations of cannabis are from time to time discovered by the police and destroyed. After khat cannabis

is the drug most seized by the police especially in the form of marijuana. The increasing seizures of the drug in the last years, is probably a sign of its growing prevalence.

e. *Alcohol*

Alcohol is not illegal in Somalia. Some alcoholic beverages (spirits), are also produced in the country. Most of the consumed alcohol is however imported. Alcohol consumption is not yet a serious problem because of some limiting factors. First of all the large majority of the population being observant muslims regard alcohol drinking as highly despicable. Secondly, alcohol prices are so high with respect to the average income of the population, that it is a luxury that only few can afford. However, because of changes in society, alcoholism may be a problem of the future. Alcohol consumption seems to have slightly increased after khat prohibition (Abdullahi S. Elmi 1984).

f. *Other drugs*

In the last few years, the use of some dependence inducing drugs has markedly increased. Prominent among these are the benzodiazepines especially *diazepam*. The use of *diazepam* is increasing among the young generation. Unfortunately there are no restrictions in dispensing these drugs. Many people consider and call them « sleeping pills » and make daily use of high doses. The use of these drugs is encouraged by their easy availability and cheap prices in the pharmacies. *Ephedrine* is also highly abused and easily obtained in the pharmacies.

Some people, especially in the southern part of the country smoke *Datura metel*. Another traditional substance of abuse is a fermented liquid obtained from a palm tree. It is used in the Juba Valley and locally known as « *shalabow* ».

Some episodes of *opium* and *cocaine* seizures have also occurred. The general belief is that these drugs were not for use in Somalia but were in transit to Europe and the Middle East.

Existing Laws and their Enforcement

Currently there are two laws for the control and regulation of dependence forming drugs.

The first law enacted in March 1970 regulates the production, use, and trade of narcotics. This law provides for the punishment of all those who without having the necessary authorization buy, sell, transfer, import, export, produce, transform or keep the substances or preparations included in the list of narcotic drugs. Recent amendments give the right to judge on cases on narcotics to the Security Court.

This law needs some improvements and better enforcement.

The second law is the khat law. This law provides for heavy punishments which go up to 10 years imprisonment and heavy fines. This law is strongly enforced.

Suggestions for Prevention and Control of Substance Abuse

In many developing countries there is not sufficient awareness of the gravity of drug related problems.

As in all health problems prevention is the best weapon to tackle drug abuse problems. In some countries, including Somalia, the problem has not the seriousness reached in countries of other geographic areas. Nevertheless it has a growing trend. In such countries the problem should be prevented by bringing to the attention of the population the hazards of drug abuse and dependence.

In Somalia stronger and more specifically oriented interventions relating to change in life style and certain behavioural attitudes are necessary. This could be achieved by:

1) incorporating information on drug related problems in the curricula of intermediate and secondary schools. Since drug dependence is more a problem of adolescence and young people, better knowledge and greater awareness of hazards of drug abuse will certainly help to avoid drug problems;

2) using properly the mass media to promote community awareness and understanding of the health and social dangers of drug dependence;

3) training CHWs and other health personnel to recognize drug related problems in the community and advising concerned people or refer them to proper centres. CHWs should know how to cope with certain situations and how to get community involvement to help toxic-dependents;

4) improving prescription and delivery systems of psychoactive drugs. Education of physicians, pharmacists and other health personnel on the optimal use and management of these substances is essential. In Mogadishu for example, less than 10% of the pharmacies are run by pharmacists. No record of delivered drugs is kept; physicians very often neglect to limit prescriptions of psychoactive substances to appropriate conditions. All kinds of drugs are dispensed without prescription and by non qualified people. All this calls for immediate reformation;

5) limiting the quantity of imported narcotic and psychotropic drugs to the minimum essential;

6) enhancing the recreational activities by potentiating sport facilities and competitions, encouraging artistic activities and increasing social events. This has shown to be efficacious in Somalia. In fact after the banishing of khat in Somalia, sport grounds and entertainment places were overwhelmed with people;

7) limiting the accessibility to alcohol and certain drugs by reducing the availability and increasing the relative prices. Also punishments for driving under drug and alcohol effects should be made more severe;

8) undertaking research on motivations towards certain behaviours in the community and identifying the risk groups. Combined interventions of health workers, community and religious leaders may help overcome the spread of such behaviour.

Some of the above described measures require action at national level. Nevertheless local communities can organize themselves against drug abuse provided there is sufficient awareness of the seriousness of the problem and its impact on health and social productivity.

Conclusion

Somalia underwent an interesting experience by heavily suffering the problem

of khat chewing and subsequently trying to overcome it by banishing its use, trade and cultivation.

The existing law against khat and the supporting structure of control are successfully meeting their objectives. Khat consumption dropped by at least 70% especially in the southern regions. The reasons of success are due to:

a) strong enforcement;

b) mass education and increased awareness of the health, social and economic hazards of khat;

c) the high prices due to the collapse of khat supplies following its prohibition.

The use of other drugs is heavily on the increase.

It is highly desirable at this moment to start research aiming at specification of the motivations for use of drugs and identification of the risk groups.

The prevailing trend of increase of drug related problems should be opposed by prevention.

Coordinated actions of health workers, community and religious leaders can get positive results.

The profession of pharmacists should be reevaluated and strict regulations for the dispensing of all the non-OTC drugs in accordance with international standards should be introduced.

Education of pharmacists, physicians and other health personnel, enhancement of creative and recreational activities, enforcement of the existing laws, keeping high the community awareness through mass media, teaching the problem of drugs at schools are crucial steps for the prevention of drug dependence problems.

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Aftermaths of Khat Prohibition in Somalia

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Khat (*Catha edulis*, Family Celastraceae) is a plant whose shoots and tender leaves are chewed for attaining stimulation and euphoria in several countries of Eastern Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. Its use is a remote habit and initially it was limited to religious groups in Western Somalia to keep themselves alert during the night to study the Koran.

Gradually, the habit reached the northern regions of the country where only few people adopted it. Drivers and musicians were the first groups to grasp the habit due to their need to be alert for long periods. However, khat chewing has increased during the last twenty years and has interested nearly all social groups of the country. Khat consumption among women was considered shameful, but later they consumed it as men did.

The rapid increase of khat chewing may be due to different factors such as the increase of internal and external communications and the high rate of urbanization with its social and cultural effects.

Since khat is prone to abuse, researchers and international organisms began to investigate its chemistry and pharmacology. Cathine (nor-pseudoephedrine) and recently cathinone (alpha-aminopropiophenone) were isolated from it (Szendrei, 1980). Both compounds are phenylalkylamines, structurally similar to amphetamines. The available pharmacological data confirm that both compounds are amphetamine-like and are responsible for the psychostimulation and insomnia obtained after khat consumption (Zelger et alii, 1980).

Similarly, administration of khat to volunteers showed amphetamine-like effects. In fact, khat activated the sympathetic tone and produced endocrine effects like those of amphetamines. Incretion of ACTH and growth hormone was observed whereas prolactin was not affected by either of them. The psychological effects of khat chewing consisted of elation and euphoria in a group of consumers and dysphoria in others. This type of response was also seen in the amphetamines. Furthermore, we have observed that tolerance develops to the sympathetic and endocrine effects of khat in humans (Nencini et alii 1984 and Nencini et alii 1983).

From the analogy of structure and pharmacological activities between khat components and amphetamines, we can conclude that khat is a natural amphetamine.

Many social, economic and medical problems were related to khat chewing. Among the social problems were family disintegration, increase of delinquency among children, encouragement of prostitution, decline in educational level and

deterioration of public administration. The economic damage can be understood from the fact that Somalia had imported khat from Ethiopia in 1982 with U.S. \$ 57,000,000 which represents 5.7% of the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) (Saman-tar and Bullaleh 1984). Some of the health problems of khat can be malnutrition possibly due to the anorectic effects of phenylalkylamine compounds, indigestion and hepatic injuries that can be related to the tannins present in the plant and encouragement of sexually transmitted disease. Psychosis due to khat chewing has been reported in different areas.

In Somalia, the use of such a plant has increased widely and its problems were felt by everyone. Consequently, the Somali government prohibited consumption, cultivation and commerce of khat in the Somali territory in March 1983. Many people welcomed this less enthusiastically with mass demonstrations. Sudden improvement of some social and economic problems related to khat were reported.

The law is vigorously applied and recently the imprisonment and the fine against its transgressors were increased. However, there is still a considerable quantity of smuggling. Actually, the National Committee for Khat Eradication has reported in the third anniversary of khat prohibition that in three years time 255,580 kg of khat and 5374 persons involved in the crime were captured.

Moreover, abuse of psychoactive drugs such as ephedrine and benzodiazepines among young children is a new emerging phenomenon.

The use of marijuana was for a long time limited to Lower Juba areas like Kismayo and Bajuni Islands. It was imported from the neighbouring countries such as Kenya and Tanzania. In the last decade, the use spread to other regions, especially Benadir, Lower and Upper Shabelle and Bay. Previously, the use of marijuana was limited to some labourers and jobless people, but now it has covered more social groups, even young students. Sometimes, cultivations of small quantities of marijuana are seized.

Recently, small amounts of opium and cocaine were captured by the police although it was reported that the merce was in transit to other countries.

Besides the above known drugs, some people are abusing psychoactive traditional products. The use of these products was limited to certain zones for therapeutic purposes. In a recent research on the traditional psychoactive products, more than 90% of the interviewed people said that the use of these products is increasing. Among the products commonly abused are SHALABOW (CAANO BAAR), latex of a palm tree and GEED JINNI (BELJI), *Datura Stramonio*.

SHALABOW (CAANO BAAR): It is the latex of a palm tree. Its traditional use was to cure anemia in pregnant women and gonorrhoea in men. In order to gain a sense of drunkenness, the latex is fermented for a week. It is then sold at high prices. Initially, the use of Shalabow was limited in areas along the Juba River, but now it is reported that it is also spreading along the Shabelle River where palm trees grow.

GEED JINNI or BELJI (*Datura Stramonio*): Traditionally asthmatic patients smoke the flowers and obtain a quick relief because of antispastic activity. But the youngsters add the fried and powdered seed to their drinks. The children experience euphoria and later hallucinations.

Discussion

Since the isolation of cathinone from khat, the scientific data on it has increased. There is evidence for the similarity of khat and amphetamines from chemical and pharmacological points of view. Moreover, the international organisms have focused their attention on this abused plant. In fact, in 1985, a WHO Expert Committee on Drug Dependence discussed the assessment of 28 phenethylamines, including cathine and cathinone, two active principles from khat. The Committee stated that both compounds met the criteria in article 2, paragraph 4, for control under the Convention on Psychotropic Substances. They proposed cathinone to be placed in Schedule I and cathine in Schedule II of the Convention (WHO Technical Report 1985).

Therefore, the prohibition of khat in Somalia was a sound decision. But once a drug consumed for centuries is legally banned, certain deviations to other drugs may occur. In such a way we only change the pattern of the drug abuse.

We have pointed out that during the last few years abuse of other drugs like marijuana, synthetic and natural psychoactive drugs is increasing. Besides the khat prohibition, other factors may participate in this phenomenon such as:

- urbanization: many young people are continuously coming to big cities and wandering without jobs;
- increase of tourists and expatriates;
- young Somalis with the habit returning from abroad.

In conclusion, we know that legal prohibition of a drug is not enough to eradicate the habit. It is necessary to study and solve the basic social and economic factors connected with drug abuse. Also much attention should be given to the underhand spread of illicit drugs in our country.

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Programmes of Primary Health Care in Somalia

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The Primary Health Care (PHC) programme, as it is reported in the Declaration of Alma Ata of 1978, is essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology made universally accessible to individuals and families in the community through their full participation and at a cost that the community and country can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination. It forms an integral part both of the country's health system, of which it is the central function and main focus, and of the overall social and economic development of the community.

Its main components include:

1. Education about prevailing health problems;
2. Prevention and controlling of commonly endemic diseases;
3. An adequate food supply and proper nutrition;
4. An adequate supply of safe water and basic sanitation;
5. Maternal and child care including family planning;
6. Immunization against the major infectious disease;
7. Appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries;
8. Provision of essential drugs.

The actual putting into effect of the PHC programme in Somalia has drawn upon different documents from the Somali Ministry of Health. From them, we learn that the Democratic Republic of Somalia is situated in the north eastern corner of Africa (the horn). The total area of the land is 638,000 sq. kms. It has a coastline that stretches about 3,380 kms along the Gulf of Aden in the north and the Indian Ocean in the east. On the west, it is bounded by Ethiopia, in the north-west by the Republic of Djibouti, and in the South-west by the Republic of Kenya.

The total population of Somalia, exclusive of refugees living in the country, is 5.3 million of which 51% are nomads, 23% are rural-settled farmers, and the rest, 26%, are urbans.

The crude birth rate is 44 per 1,000, while the crude death rate is 13 per thousand, giving an average of population growth rate of 31 per thousand. The infant mortality rate is estimated to be 140-180 per 1,000 live births and the life expectancy at birth is 43 years (45 years in urban areas and 40 in rural areas). Morbidity and mortality rates by cause, are very sparse and inaccurate. However, all available

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evidence suggests that tuberculosis is a major problem with perhaps one-in-three children aged 5-9 years being naturally affected.

The figures on the distribution of health facilities are taken from the development plan of 1982-86. Eighty hospitals and 308 Basic Health Units have so far been established in the capital, incorporating regional and district levels for the population of 5 million. There are few facilities at the subdistrict *beel* or village level and it is estimated that 85-90% of the rural and nomadic population do not have reasonable access to adequate health services. The distribution of health facilities is shown in the following table.

Distribution of Health Facilities by Region, 1979

	Population (1980)	Number of hospitals	Hospital beds 1/	Population per bed	Basic units 2/	Population/ units
Benadir	520,103	8	2,034	256	20	26,000
North-West	654,990	10	941	696	24	27,291
Togdher	383,867	3	288	1,333	14	27,419
Sanag	216,539	3	98	2,210	6	36,090
Bari	222,287	6	77	2,887	21	10,585
Nugal	112,162	3	132	850	9	12,462
Mudugh	311,230	1	60	5,187	14	22,230
Galgadud	255,856	5	80	3,198	9	28,428
Hiran	219,328	5	261	840	14	15,666
Middle Shebelle	352,040	4	132	2,667	22	16,002
Lower Shebelle	570,649	10	682	837	56	10,190
Bay	450,986	4	169	2,669	20	22,549
Gedo	235,061	5	69	3,407	19	12,372
Bakol	148,724	4	146	1,019	11	13,520
Lower Juba	272,368	5	310	879	25	10,895
Middle Juba	147,810	4	232	637	24	6,159
TOTAL	5,047,000	80	5,711	888	308	16,474

1/ Including beds in tuberculosis and mental hospitals.

2/ Basic health units include dispensaries, health centres and maternal and child health clinics.

Source: Ministry of Health, Health and Health-Related Information 1978 - 1979, February 1980.

The National Health Plan 1980-85 is carefully prepared according to the global strategy for « Health for all by the Year 2000 » (HFA/2000) forecasting one primary health care post for every 450-1,500 inhabitants, staffed by one community health worker (CHW) and one locally recruited traditional birth attendant (TBA). At the zonal level (1,500 to 10,000 inhabitants), primary health care units will be established, each with a complement of two CHWs and two TBAs. Finally, in each district (40,000 to 60,000 inhabitants), a primary health care centre will be constructed to be staffed by one medical officer, two public health nurses, two midwives, one sanitarian, one pharmacist and one logistics support officer. The hospital system will be designed to support the PHC programme and a central PHC unit is being established in the Ministry of Health together with a Central Coordination Committee.

The primary health care programme will cater for the essential health care

needs of the population, including maternal and child health care, the provision of safe drinking water and adequate sanitation, the prevention and control of endemic diseases and the treatment of common diseases and injuries which include:

1. Tuberculosis,
2. Common communicable diseases of children,
3. Diarrhoeal diseases,
4. Malaria,
5. Schistosomiasis,
6. Malnutrition,
7. Sexually transmitted diseases,
8. Respiratory infections,
9. Accidents,
10. Common obstetric problems,
11. Anemia,
12. Leprosy,

and receive support from a number of external sources.

The programme will gradually extend to the entire country. Areas not yet covered by the PHC system will be served by independent health care activities, in particular, communicable disease control campaigns, until such times as the PHC infrastructure has been sufficiently developed to allow for complete integration. The PHC system, particularly at village level, will rely heavily on community participation.

The regions where the PHC programme was implemented and sponsored, and their agencies, are as follows:

1. North-West Region and Awdal	UNICEF	Sept. 1982
2. Sanag Region Community Aid Abroad	C.A.A.	Sept. 1982
3. Togdheer Region	USAID	Sept. 1981.
4. Bay Region	USAID	Sept. 1981
5. Middle Shabelle (JNSP)	UNICEF	Sept. 1982
6. Lower Shabelle (JNSP)	WHO	Sept. 1982
7. Gedo Region	AMREF	1986 (Negotiation)
8. Middle Juba	SCR/WC/CISP	Jan. 1984
9. Lower Juba (Project Concern Inter.)	PCI	1986 (Negotiation)
10. Hiran Region (Italian Medical Team)	IMT	1984
11. Sol Region	BOCD	1986 (Negotiation)
12. Galgaduud Region (Italian Medical Team)	IMT	1986 (Negotiation)

Achievements in Summary

1. Training of PHC Staff

316 health staff have been trained in the PHC training centres in Baidoa and Burao. This includes 92 nurses, 96 midwives, 85 sanitarians, and 43 laboratory technicians during the period October 1981 to June 1985.

These on return to their respective posts, have trained 363 traditional attendants and 359 community health workers.

2. Infrastructure and Health Manpower

The following infrastructure was put into place or renovated: seven health centres were renovated and equipped; 20 dispensaries were similarly renovated and equipped and 16 PHC units were completely built and equipped. Five PHC teams are working in temporary houses provided by the communities in Bay and Togdheer until the above-mentioned constructions are entirely completed and equipped. Equipment and supplies were distributed to 27 districts. The following health personnel were assigned in 1981-85;

- * 9 Regional medical PHC co-ordinators,
- * 31 District medical officers and PHC co-ordinators,
- * 7 Training officers,
- * 92 Public health nurses,
- * 96 Midwives
- * 85 Sanitarians,
- * 43 Laboratory technicians,
- * 363 TBAs and 359 CHWs at the community level.

3. Output

To estimate the actual performance of the programmes, a monthly return was requested from the district and regional PHC co-ordinators which should include:

- a) information about outpatients and the number of patients per disease,
- b) information about MCH activities,
- c) information about community sessions,
- d) information about health education,
- e) information about community assessments and sanitation,
- f) information about vaccinations,
- g) information about laboratory analysis.

Problems

1. Delay in the progress foreseen in the health plan

a) Building and renovation at district and PHC Unit levels; the health centres existing need to be renovated and some of the districts need to have health centres constructed.

b) Supplies — there are some supplies for the programme but there are not enough at present. Essential drug supplies need to be increased.

c) To distribute at the regional and district levels, suitable vehicles, which the programme is presently lacking.

The main factors, responsible for the low health standards, are inadequate supplies of safe water, lack of proper water disposal in rural areas, poor food hygiene, and chronic nutritional deficiencies in rural areas. There is a lack of resources to provide health care facilities at the grassroots level, a lack of technically qualified health care personnel, and a serious shortage of essential drugs, medicines, and equipment.

The Department of Community Health within the Faculty of Medicine at the Somali National University is concerned about getting the PHC intervention under way in order to provide operational support for its implementation by the Faculty

of Medicine in this field. Such activities deal with the control carried out in the rural and urban communities whether it be at the community diagnoses or at the environmental levels. The information derived from such studies, with knowledge of the socio-economic, anthropological, demographic and therapeutic levels, have been at the basis of the finalised intervention/s to control the more common pathology, and at the same time, promote a system of health education as fundamental support of primary health care.

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Bisogni e risorse sanitarie di alcune comunità rurali in Somalia

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Premessa

Secondo stime derivate dal censimento del 1975, la popolazione somala ammonta a circa 5 milioni di abitanti, distribuiti su un territorio di 640 mila Km².

La distribuzione territoriale della popolazione è molto ineguale. Circa il 40% degli abitanti è concentrato nel 20% del territorio. Le zone più densamente abitate sono rappresentate dall'area urbana e da quelle agricole situate lungo il decorso dei due grandi fiumi: lo Uebi Shabeelle e il Jubba.

Il 44.3% della popolazione è rappresentato da nomadi dediti alla pastorizia; gli addetti all'agricoltura comprendono circa il 31.3% degli abitanti, il rimanente 24.3% della popolazione è concentrato nelle aree urbane ed impiegato prevalentemente nei servizi e nel commercio.

Non esistono rilevazioni sistematiche riguardanti il movimento della popolazione e i principali indici demografici, al riguardo il Ministero della Sanità fornisce stime secondo le quali l'indice di natalità è del 48‰ e quello di mortalità generale del 19‰. La mortalità infantile è stimata intorno al 160‰.

Il tasso di incremento annuo della popolazione è valutato al 3%. Fatta eccezione per alcune aree urbane le condizioni abitative e dell'igiene ambientale sono ancora notevolmente arretrate.

È stato rilevato che soltanto il 58% della popolazione urbana e il 20% di quella rurale possono fruire di acqua potabile. La sfera sanitaria pubblica impegna circa il 7% del bilancio dello Stato. A quest'impegno finanziario bisogna aggiungere i contributi delle Agenzie internazionali e nazionali operanti in regime di cooperazione bilaterale e multilaterale.

La situazione nosologica del Paese è caratterizzata, come del resto accade in tutta la regione africana, dalla diffusione e dalla pericolosità della patologia di tipo « esogena » rappresentata dalle malattie infettivo-parassitarie e dalla malnutrizione.

Malaria e schistosomiasi nelle regioni non aride e particolarmente lungo i corsi dei fiumi raggiungono indici di prevalenza particolarmente elevati. Tetano neonatale e diarree rappresentano le principali cause di morte durante la prima infanzia.

La malnutrizione costituisce, sempre nell'infanzia, una grave minaccia special-

mente per la popolazione rurale e nomadica. Le parassitosi intestinali hanno indici di prevalenza altissimi specialmente nei territori agricoli.

Le malattie sessualmente trasmesse rappresentano un'importante problema nosologico, specie nelle città. Si rilevano inoltre nuovi casi di tracoma e di lebbra. Tra le malattie di natura non infettiva assumono particolare rilievo le anemie ferropive diffuse in modo particolare tra le popolazioni femminili.

Metodologia

Come si è già osservato all'interno della popolazione somala possono essere distinte tre diverse grandi realtà economico-sociali: quella urbana, caratterizzata negli ultimi anni da una fase di grande espansione; quella rurale localizzata prevalentemente lungo il corso dei due grandi fiumi; quella infine di tipo nomadico legata alla pastorizia tradizionale.

Nell'ambito delle attività di Medicina Comunitaria realizzate dalla Facoltà Medica di Mogadiscio, la più studiata di queste realtà è stata quella di tipo rurale. È sembrato pertanto interessante riferire in sintesi sulle ricerche effettuate nel corso degli ultimi tre anni nell'ambito di questa realtà per quanto attiene alle caratteristiche dei bisogni sanitari e alle risorse utilizzabili dalle popolazioni per far fronte a questi bisogni.

Relativamente ai « bisogni sanitari » i metodi di rilevazione utilizzati nelle ricerche prese in esame riguardano:

- La descrizione della situazione ambientale per i problemi d'ordine igienico generale;
- Il censimento o il campionamento rappresentativo della popolazione per la rilevazione delle fondamentali informazioni di demografia sanitaria;
- L'osservazione clinica presso gli ambulatori di villaggio per ciò che concerne i dati sulla morbosità;
- L'indagine di opinione campionaria per quanto riguarda la percezione dei bisogni sanitari effettivi da parte della popolazione;
- Il censimento e la descrizione dei servizi sanitari operanti all'interno delle singole comunità;
- La valutazione mediante ricerche campionarie del livello di utilizzazione delle due medicine da parte della popolazione.

Il bisogno sanitario in ambiente rurale

Le condizioni di salute della popolazione residente nei villaggi presi in esame sono notevolmente influenzate dalla situazione dell'igiene ambientale che si presenta con caratteristiche abbastanza omogenee in tutta la realtà rurale della Somalia.

Le abitazioni sono costruite, nella grande maggioranza dei casi da *mundul* o da *arish* e da *aqal*.

Il *mundul* è una capanna di pianta circolare — dal diametro di circa 3-4 metri — con il tetto conico. La capanna è costruita con legno e sterpi raccolti in bosaglia, intrecciati tra loro e impastati con fango e sterco bovino. L'*arish* ha la stessa struttura del *mundul* e differisce solo per la forma che è rettangolare con il tetto spiovente. L'*aqal* è una piccola capanna precaria costruita con sterpi ricoperti

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da erbe intrecciate e rappresenta la tipica abitazione del nomade in quanto può essere rapidamente smontata e trasportata.

In genere uno stesso nucleo familiare utilizza un compound, *xarun*, costituito da più *mundul* o *arish* circondati da uno steccato. Nel compound vengono spesso custoditi anche gli animali domestici (galline, bovini, ecc.) di proprietà della famiglia. Nessuna abitazione dispone di luce elettrica e di acqua potabile corrente. La maggior parte dei compounds non dispone di servizi igienici. Quando questi esistono sono rappresentati da latrine molto elementari con pozzo nero a perdere.

La defecazione avviene in genere all'aperto nella boscaglia circostante, dove vengono dispersi anche i rifiuti solidi.

La situazione dell'approvvigionamento idrico varia nei diversi villaggi. L'approvvigionamento idrico della cittadina di Belet-Weyne, capoluogo della regione dell'Hiran, è realizzato mediante pozzi a pompa elettrica.

Nei rimanenti villaggi la popolazione utilizza direttamente l'acqua del fiume senza alcun trattamento. A Boodhley, villaggio situato nel nord della Somalia — e quindi lontano dai fiumi — l'approvvigionamento idrico è realizzato da una riserva (*berked*) di cemento nel quale si raccoglie l'acqua piovana.

Nel corso delle rilevazioni effettuate nei villaggi studiati sono state raccolte le informazioni demografiche ritenute fondamentali.

Tabella 1
Distribuzione percentuale secondo le classi di età nei villaggi studiati

	Beled Aamin	Mareerey	B. Weyne	Matabaan	Suugow	Barrey	Dhakran	Dhogor	Bartire	Kulan *	Boodhley*
0 - 10	39,9	37,4	31,1	42,2	34,0	31,5	31,2	24,7	35,8	33,0	41,0
11 - 20	17,1	21,1	32,3	26,2	26,7	26,9	33,8	27,7	19,8	15,4	20,0
21 - 30	16,1	13,0	13,6	11,2	15,6	16,3	13,7	25,7	15,1	22,0	11,5
31 - 40	10,9	9,3	10,3	10,1	9,4	10,6	5,6	6,0	10,9	11,0	11,5
41 - 50	7,4	7,5	4,7	5,3	5,7	8,7	8,1	6,0	8,1	10,4	8,5
51 - 60	4,7	6,2	3,4	3,3	3,3	3,0	3,8	8,9	4,9	8,2	7,5
> 60	3,9	5,5	2,2	1,7	1,6	3,0	3,8	1,0	5,4		
TOT.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Le classi di età di 51-60 e > 60 elaborate unitamente.

Tabella 2
Indici di mascolinità nei villaggi studiati

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 *	11 *
0 - 10	105,9	86,3	117,8	131,3	118,4	93,0	85,2	100,0	97,3	122,2	86,4
11 - 20	57,2	90,9	99,5	69,0	80,5	121,8	134,7	55,5	92,3	56,6	81,8
21 - 30	52,7	70,8	83,9	48,7	100,0	72,0	83,3	100,0	72,3	66,6	35,3
31 - 40	85,3	89,4	136,3	61,8	76,9	100,0	28,6	100,0	99,1	81,8	53,3
41 - 50	101,9	89,1	115,2	222,2	75,0	109,0	116,6	100,0	132,8	90,0	54,5
51 - 60	200,0	95,5	82,1	200,0	166,6	300,0	200,0	200,0	138,0		
> 60	129,1	150,0	65,0	125,0	33,3	33,3	200,0	200,0	96,4	150,0	150,0

* Le classi di età 51-60 e > 60 elaborate unitamente.

Tabella 3
Età media, indice di mascolinità, natalità, mortalità, mortalità infantile in alcuni villaggi studiati

Elenco dei villaggi	Età Media	Indice di mascolin.	Natalità ‰	Mortalità ‰	Mortal. Infan. ‰
Beled-Aamin	21.0	86.5	66.5	36.4	295.4
Mareerey	22.1	88.7	64.4	27.9	176.9
Bariire	23.1	96.2	1.5	20.3	152.8
Belet-Weyne	20.2	103.9	55.5	16.5	130.9

Come si può osservare la situazione è a questo riguardo notevolmente omogenea e si caratterizza per i seguenti elementi:

- età media della popolazione molto bassa;
- complessiva prevalenza della popolazione femminile rispetto a quella maschile;
- indici di natalità notevolmente elevati ed in ogni caso superiore alla stima nazionale;
- indice di mortalità generale e mortalità infantile molto elevati.

Utili indicazioni sulla natura del bisogno sanitario possono essere desunte dalla conoscenza delle cause di morte. Un'indagine a questo riguardo è stata effettuata retrospettivamente nei villaggi di Beled-Aamin e Mareerey (Tabella 4).

Tabella 4
Distribuzione dei morti in due villaggi secondo la causa di morte (lista minima della causa di morte) *

CAUSE	N° morti in un anno		
	Beled-Aamin	Mareerey	in complesso
Morbillo	4	4	8
Febbre n.d.d.	4	8	12
Diarrea n.d.d.	12	7	19
Addome Acuto	1	—	1
Tubercolosi	—	6	6
Polmonite	2	2	4
Cardiopatìa	2	1	3
Blocco renale	—	2	2
Tetano	14	18	32
Puerperio	1	1	2
Senilità	—	1	1
Trauma	—	1	1
Causa non specifica	6	2	8
Causa sconosciuta	5	6	11

* Sono riportate soltanto le voci della lista per le quali, nel periodo considerato, si è verificato almeno un decesso.

Le cause di morte relative ad un anno solare (da Ramadan a Ramadan) sono state rilevate con il sistema anamnestico e classificate secondo la lista minima di 22 voci codificate dal WHO. Le cause più importanti sono rappresentate dal tetano (in prevalenza neonatale) dalle diarreie e dalla « febbre di natura non determinata ». Nonostante i metodi grossolani di rilevazione appare evidente sia l'im-

portanza della patologia di carattere esogeno sia la rilevanza che assumono in termini di diffusione e di letalità, il tetano neonatale e diarree. Tetano e diaree si ripropongono ovviamente come principali cause di mortalità infantile.

Le forme morbose più gravi e diffuse nella popolazione studiata quali si rilevano dall'osservazione clinica negli ambulatori sono rappresentate da tubercolosi, malaria, schistosomiasi, diarree infantili, parassitosi intestinali, malnutrizione e anemie. Allo scopo di valutare il livello di percezione della problematica sanitaria reale da parte della popolazione si è provveduto ad effettuare in alcuni villaggi, un'apposita indagine chiedendo ad un campione di popolazione di citare le malattie ritenute più diffuse e di indicare le relative cause. I risultati sono riportati nella Tabella 5.

Tabella 5

<i>Forma Patologica</i>	<i>Cause</i>
Gandho (febbre)	Dio, maledizione, zanzara, dispepsie, altre.
Hargab (sindrome influenzale)	Dio, bere acqua piovana, altre.
Madax xanuun (cefalea)	Dio, sindrome influenzale, esposizione al caldo, altre.
Shuban (diarrea)	Dio, cibo inquinato, altre.
Jadeeco (morbillo)	Dio, febbre, altre.
Calool xanuun (dolore addominale)	Dio, cibo incongruo, altre.
Xiqleey (pertosse)	Dio, sindrome influenzale, altre.
Wareento (bronchite)	Dio, caldo eccessivo.
Goryaan (parossitosi intestinali)	Dio, cibo incongruo.
Kaneeco (malaria)	Zanzara, altre.
Waraboow (sifilide)	Dio, altre.
Moxog xanuun (lombalgia)	Sforzo fisico, altre.
Afoow (stomatite)	Dio, altre.
Xabad xanuun (dolore toracico)	Portare pesi, altre.
Matag (vomito)	Dio, dispepsie, altre.
Qaras (dispepsie)	Cibo incongruo, altre.

Nella grande maggioranza dei casi non sono state indicate vere e proprie malattie, bensì dei sintomi. Le sole malattie individuate come tali (complesso di sintomi tra loro collegati in un'unica forma morbosa) sembrano essere la malaria e la tubercolosi. Sifilide e lebbra vengono individuati come tali, anche se talvolta in maniera imprecisa, in base alla loro sintomatologia di tipo dermatologico. Per il resto si attribuisce importanza ai sintomi senza collegamenti tra loro.

È da notare che la patologia citata dagli intervistati non è quella che la rilevazione epidemiologica costantemente indica come particolarmente grave e diffusa tra la popolazione rurale somala. Basterà a questo proposito notare che le malattie la cui elevata prevalenza è epidemiologicamente nota e accertata — come la schistosomiasi e la tubercolosi — non sono comprese nella lista delle malattie più citate.

I bisogni sanitari avvertiti dagli intervistati riguardano quindi in genere una patologia « minore » (cefalee, lombalgie, etc.). Rappresentano un'eccezione a questa regola le diarree, la malaria, la sifilide e le parassitosi intestinali che vengono avvertiti dagli intervistati come problemi tali e diffusi. Per quanto riguarda le cause indicate, il frequente riferimento all'intervento divino è legato probabilmente alla mancanza di ogni diversa ipotesi relativa ad altri agenti causali.

Infatti quando queste ipotesi esistono — come nel caso delle malarie (zanzara), della bronchite (caldo eccessivo) e della parassitosi intestinale (cibo incongruo)

— gli intervistati vi fanno riferimento e non ricorrono all'indicazione della causa trascendente. In conclusione relativamente al bisogno sanitario della popolazione rurale studiate si può affermare che:

— la patologia di tipo infettivo-parassitario rappresenta di gran lunga il fattore di rischio di maggior importanza;

— tale patologia è notevolmente influenzata da fattori d'ordine ambientale e culturale;

— la percezione del bisogno sanitario effettivo da parte della popolazione è limitato ed improprio, vaghe ed elementari sono le conoscenze sulle cause di malattie.

Le risorse sanitarie in ambiente rurale

La diffusione territoriale dei servizi di assistenza sanitaria è tuttora molto insufficiente in Somalia, di conseguenza buona parte delle comunità rurali prive di servizi sanitari appositamente istituiti continuano a fruire, in caso di bisogno, delle pratiche della medicina tradizionale.

Negli ultimi anni il Ministero della Sanità, con la collaborazione del WHO e dell'UNICEF e di diverse agenzie internazionali, ha adottato una politica di diffusione dei servizi di Primary Health Care (PHC) nell'ambiente rurale.

Il modello operativo del PHC può essere schematicamente sintetizzato:

— sensibilizzazione del comitato di villaggio sulle finalità dell'intervento sanitario;

— addestramento del Community Health Worker (CHW) e cioè di un operatore, scelto nello stesso villaggio, da addestrare in breve tempo (non più di sei mesi) sulle pratiche sanitarie fondamentali da realizzare per la assistenza di base alla popolazione;

— aggiornamento delle ostetriche tradizionali operanti nel villaggio;

— istituzione di un centro sanitario all'interno del quale possano lavorare il CHW e le ostetriche tradizionali (TBA) sotto il controllo periodico di un medico o di personale paramedico;

— realizzazione della attività tipiche del PHC rappresenta da:

• profilassi specifica mediante vaccinazione nei confronti di alcune malattie infettive particolarmente minacciose (tetano, polio, pertosse etc.);

• educazione sanitaria; visita domiciliare;

• attività di risanamento ambientale;

• pronto soccorso;

• diagnosi e terapia nei riguardi della patologia minore e delle malattie più comunemente diffuse;

• distribuzione di farmaci essenziali;

• raccolta sistematica di informazioni demografiche e nosologiche.

— collegamento del centro sanitario con un Ospedale di riferimento per il trattamento dei casi più gravi e complessi;

— controllo sistematico e periodico delle attività del Centro da parte di un Team (medici-paramedici) operanti a livello distrettuale.

Si è già notato che questo modello organizzativo opera soltanto in una parte dei villaggi rurali somali. Anche dove è presente esso convive con pratiche della medicina tradizionale ancora largamente usate dalla popolazione.

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Prevalence of Communicable and Non-communicable Disease in a Village of Jilib District, in the Framework of a Primary Health Care Programme

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1. Introduction

The present report is based on the work of a team of Italian physicians and biologists, working in collaboration with their Somali colleagues, who are implementing a Primary Health Care programme in the Jilib district in southern Somalia. In 1983, and again in 1985, demographic, socio-economic and health care data were collected for the purpose of identifying the population's needs and to serve as guidelines for strategy and action priority. Together with an analysis of the social structure and the observation of the community's life habits, the study has pointed to the advisability of drawing up a programme covering the various aspects of local culture.

The work represents the first stage of a process in which the rural community is collaborating in the planning of the action to be taken, evaluating its impact and directing the subsequent action (Bennet 1979:7).

In particular, the report contains results of an epidemiological survey carried out on a sample of healthy subjects ranging in age from 0 to 14 years belonging to the village of Mareerey.

2. Description of the Area

The Jilib district lies in the southern part of the Middle Juba region, almost 350 km south of Mogadishu; crossed for all its length by the river Juba and its minor branch, the little Juba.

The village of Mareerey, situated on the right bank of the Juba river, is among the biggest of the area. It is the capital (*beel*) of an administrative district in which is located a plant for the manufacture and processing of sugar cane which provides permanent and seasonal jobs for about 10,000 persons.

The demographic survey carried out by CISP in July 1985 revealed the population of the Mareerey village to be 1918 persons, belonging to 420 households. The breakdown by sex and age is shown in Fig. 1. As well as having the « wide-

based » appearance common to many developing countries, the age pyramid is characterized by an apparent reduction in the number of subjects in the 10 to 19 year age range. This is due to the migration of subjects between the ages of 20 and 29 years of both sexes, who thus fill the corresponding sectors of the pyramid.

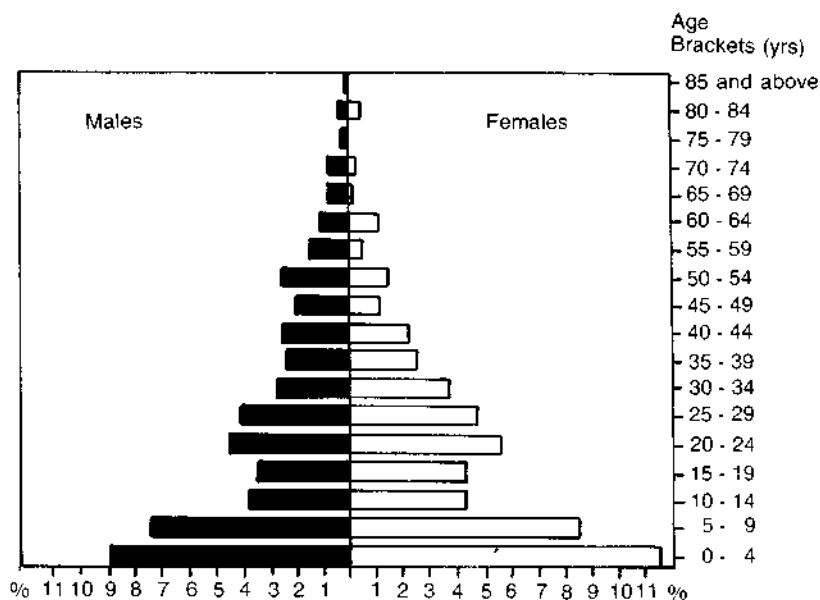


Fig. 1 - Age pyramid of Mareerey (1985 census, C.I.S.P.)

The population below the age of 15 represents 44.5% of the total, and corresponds to the national average of 44% (S.D.R., 1985).

The average age of the Mareerey population is 21 years. A comparison is made in Table 1 between some national figures and those of Mareerey and other rural

Table 1
Comparison of vital indicators in Mareerey and other areas of Somalia

	National Values (1)	Benadir. Bay and. L. Shebeli (2)	2 villages L. Shebeli (3)	Mareerey (M. Juba) (4)
Crude Birth Rate (per 1,000)	48.1	—	65.3	59.0
Crude Death Rate (per 1,000)	19.1	—	31.3	40.1
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	165	184	225	190

(1) SDR - Ministry of National Planning, 1985

(2) University of North Carolina, 1981

(3) Cappelli A. et alii, 1985

(4) CISP, 1985

areas (University of North Carolina 1981; Cappelli A. et al. 1985: 60). It is immediately apparent that the mortality rates at Mareerey are among the highest. In particular, the high rate of infant mortality is an immediate indicator of the area's health needs.

3. Material and Methods

The data referred to in the present communication involve 141 individuals, 69 of whom males and 72 females. The majority of subjects are in the lowest age group (0-23 months), as shown in Table 2. The subjects examined were randomly selected from among individuals who were apparently healthy, in August 1985. Each baby was accompanied by one of his parents. Clinical examination and the main anthropometric measurements (Jelliffe 1966: 64-78) were performed. For 100 subjects aged 2-14, morning stool and urine samples were also collected for laboratory analysis.

Table 2
*Study population: age distribution
Mareerey Child Health Survey, 1985*

Age brackets (months)	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
0-23	34	24.11	31	21.99	65	46.10
24-59	15	10.64	14	9.93	29	20.57
60 and above	20	14.18	27	19.15	47	33.33
Total	69	48.93	72	51.07	141	100.00

4. Results

We shall now report the more significant public health data emerging from our work regarding the prevalence of intestinal helminthiasis and vesical schistosomiasis and the state of nutrition.

4.1 Intestinal helminthiasis

Intestinal helminthiasis is a particularly common disease in tropical countries, in areas with poor sanitation. Furthermore, hot damp climates favour the eggs' survival and make health measures more difficult (Trowell and Jelliffe 1958: 402).

In Somalia simple and multiple infestation is quite common among all age groups.

The 1982 National Morbidity Survey indicated, for the Middle Juba region, a prevalence of ascariasis of 221 per thousand, expressed as the mean of all age groups (WHO 1984: 49).

Seventy-three out of the 100 subjects examined by us had one or more intestinal parasites (Table 3). Faeces analysis revealed the presence of *Ascaris Lumbricoides* eggs in 69% of cases, of *Trichurus Trichiura* eggs in 16% and of *Ascylostoma Duodenale*. Polyparasites accounted for 21%.

We found no serious complications due to ascariasis, although it is com-

monplace to find children with swollen abdomen, colic-type abdominal pain, constipation and anorexia.

4.2 Vescical schistosomiasis

Areas in Africa with abundant water, like those covered by our survey, are a constant source of *Schistosoma*. When the water is channelled through irrigation canals, as in the case of the Mareerey area, the possibility of transmission increases considerably and there is a significant rise in prevalence (Arfaa 1975: 280-283).

Our survey revealed 44 positive cases out of a total of 100 taken from different age groups. A Department of Community Medicine Study carried out at Samey-Samey in 1976 on the banks of the Shebeli river showed, for the same age groups, a prevalence of 54% (Tresalti et al. 1981: 62). Another study carried out in 1980 at Homboy, in the Jilib district, where the Shebeli river peters out in a swampy zone, revealed 98.8% positive cases (Cahill 1980: 65).

The big relevance of the problem for public health is connected to the medium and long term consequences of the disease: stenosis and dilatation of ureters, vescical fibrosis, until mono and bilateral hydronephrosis, with later uremia.

4.3 State of nutrition

The state of nutrition is an essential parameter for defining the state of health of the population and for determining the higher risk groups.

In Somalia the problem of protein-calorie malnutrition occurred in an acute form during the 1974-75 drought, and even persists today, especially among the rural and nomadic communities (Panatta 1984: 11).

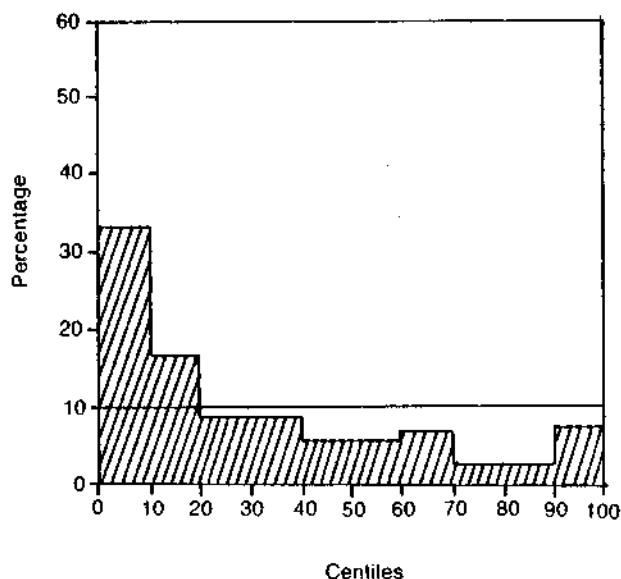


Fig. 2

According to the National Health Plan (1980-85), 26% of the children below the age of 5 years are 75% under the standard weight for their age (2nd and 3rd degree malnutrition according to Gomez) (S.D.R., 1980: 140).

A study carried out in Mogadishu and Hargheisa MCH centers showed respectively 19 and 30% of mild and severe malnutrition (Abbas 1975: 197).

At Mareerey, the survey of the state of nutrition of children, boys and girls, up to the age of 14 showed an overall drop in the auxological indices compared with WHO standards (WHO 1983: 61-101).

Fig. 2 shows the percentage distribution of the individuals examined according to weight by height measurements. 50% of the population lays below the twentieth centile.

A comparative analysis of three age groups — the first between 0 and 23 months, the second between 24 and 59 months and the third from 5 years on reveals a greater drop in the nutritional indicators in the 2-5 years-old group. This figure emerges from a calculation of the S.D. score for the weight by height distribution (Fig. 3). It may also be pointed out that 60% of the children lay 1 S.D. below the international standard.

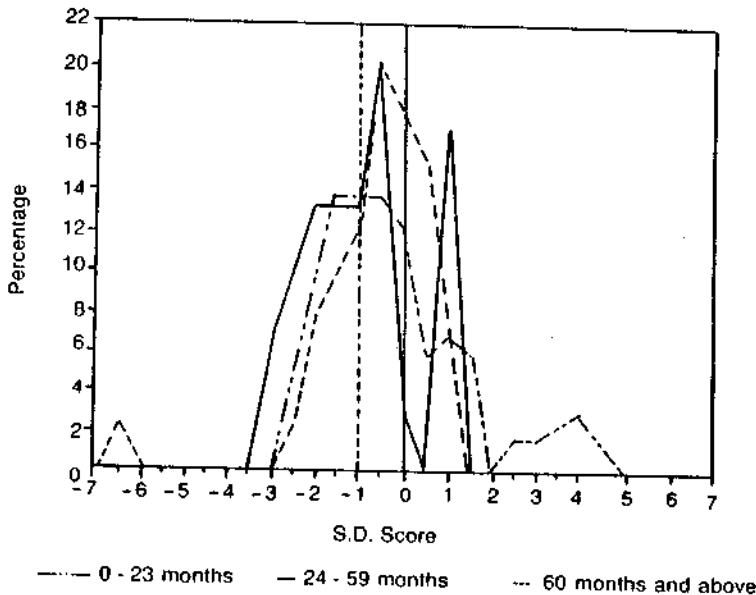


Fig. 3

Adopting Gomez' classification for the definition of malnutrition, we find that 8.51% of the subjects are grade III, 29.08% are grade II and 35.46% are grade I, while only 26.95% are normal (Table 3). A comparative examination of the three age classes, set out in Table 3 shows a fairly constant percentage of grade II and III malnutrition, while a peak occurs in the slightly malnourished of the 2-5 year old age group. The normal nourished children decrease to a minimum in the same 2-5 years old group.

Table 3
Prevalence of malnutrition (Gomez method)
Children aged 0-14 years
Mareerey Child Health Survey, 1985

Degree of Malnutrition	No. of Individuals	%
Normal (above 89% of std. W/A)	38	26.95
Grade I (75-89%)	50	35.46
Grade II (60-74%)	41	29.08
Grade III (below 60%)	12	8.51
Total	141	100.00

Tentative explanations may be weaning patterns and infections or infestations, to which the child becomes more exposed after the age of 2 years.

Clinical cases of marasmus, kwashiorkor and mixed forms have been observed, above all in children aged from 2 to 4 years.

The interruption of breast-feeding, which occurs between 18 and 24 months, often as a result of the mother's subsequent pregnancy, is not always accompanied by transition to a suitable diet.

The food traditionally given to children both during breast-feeding and after weaning is « mashari », a kind of highly diluted maize flour porridge. However, no other semi-solids are included in the « mashari » to facilitate the transition to an adult diet.

Therefore, the sample examined displays nutritional characteristics similar to those of other children in rural areas with a farming economy. A study carried out by the Department of Community Medicine of the National Somali University in 1981 - 82 on a sample of children aged from 0 to 5 years showed an average value of weight per age of 80% of the WHO standard and an average value of length per age of 91% of the standard. The values we found for the same age group are, respectively, 81% and 94% (Hassan et alii 1985: 6).

With respect to subjects living in urban areas, whose size has been reported by Grassivaro Gallo and Franceschetti Mestriner (1980: 550), the mean value of weight for age is 86% for males and 91% for females (89% sexes combined).

Despite variations in the indicators and the reference standards, malnutrition always seems to be a significant problem in the Mareerey village.

5. Conclusions

The high degree of community involvement in the identification of the needs and in the management of the action programme augurs well for a possible solution to some problems.

In co-operation with the village committee, CIPS has thus been able to promote works of environmental improvement such as latrines, solid and liquid waste disposal systems, land improvement at village level. It has also provided a convenient drinking water supply system by digging a well. Furthermore, it has implemented food and health education programmes.

This has been part of the more general PCH programme carried out in the

area in agreement with the Ministry of Health of Somalia, which included also the setting up of a mother-child health care service and an outpatients' service, together with the performance of analyses and free distribution of essential drugs, and linked with a Community Health Workers and Traditional Birth Attendants network, also set up as part of the programme.

It will now be necessary to make a careful evaluation of the parameters observed and to further investigate several hitherto incompletely clarified relationships between the population's living habits, its social structure and its state of health.

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Impact of Urbanization on Health

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Introduction

Among the significant demographic trends that have taken place in the world during the past thirty years we can consider increasing levels of urbanization.

In 1950, the proportion of total world population of 2.5 billion that lived in urban areas was 29.4%; by 1980, this proportion had reached 39.9%. According to the estimate of the United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs slightly more than half on the world expected population of 6.1 billion by the year 2000, will be residing in urban areas and this proportion will reach nearly 2/3 of the projected world population of almost 8.2 billion by the year 2025.

Of course we should agree on the definition of urban areas and on the term of urbanization. The United Nations has recommended that countries regard all places with more than 20.000 inhabitants living close together as urban. In fact, nations compile the statistics on the basis of many different standards. For instance the United States uses « urban place » to mean any locality where more than 2,500 people live.

Whatever the numerical definition, it is clear that the course of human history has been marked by a process of accelerated urbanization. Although the Australian Archaeologist V. Gordon Childe equated civilisation with urbanism, other social scientists distinguished between the cultural phenomena characteristic of urban areas and those of the most civilised society.

Tyde identified the formal criteria that, according to his system, indicate the arrival of urban civilization: increase of settlements size, concentration of wealth, large scale public works, writing, representation art, knowledge of exact sciences, foreign trade, full time specialist in nonsubsistence activities, class stratified society, and political organization based on residence rather than kinship.

He thought the underlined causes of the urban revolution as the cumulative growth of technology, and increasing availability of food surpluses as capital.

Other scientists suggested different criteria, but there is a general agreement among scholars that one of the necessary, but not sufficient, preconditions for the urban revolution is the potential for production of storable food surpluses.

Urbanization in Somalia

As far as Somalia is concerned, following the previous cited sources, the percentage of the urban population which was 12.7% in 1950 will be 63.9% in the year 2025. Today Somali urban population represent 34.1% of the total population. The cities of Somalia are not large. Mogadishu the capital city has a population of about 700,000.

Other major cities are Hargeiza, Kisimayu and Merca.

All of them are very old cities; this is characteristic of Somalia.

Truly most of the cities of the other surrounding countries, like Kenya whose capital city Nairobi grew to serve primarily european and governmental interests, only later became the target of cultural and political migrations. Until fairly recently the majority of African town dwellers were but temporarily migrants who after a period of employment returned to their rural homes and their favourite way of life.

Many towns are originally arab inspired coastal towns which have been during the centuries important trading centres.

But they grew only recently, very quickly, and to some extent, very irregularly, and this is especially true for the capital city Mogadishu.

The population density in Somalia is about 9/sqkm. But actually in urban areas and especially in the capital city, this density is much higher because of the shortage of houses and this is one of the most important aspects of urbanization that has a great impact on health.

We can see all the different types of Somali houses: *aqal*, *mundul*, *harish*, *baraks*, *bloketi* (brick houses).

About the in-house density I have no figures, but the impression is that it is higher than in rural areas.

Life and Morbidity Measures

In order to measure the impact of urbanization on health we have to take some indicators.

Longevity and mortality figures are good indicators of health status. Life expectancy at birth in Somalia is estimated to be 43 years: the breakdown shows the following figures: 45 years in urban population and 40 years in rural population.

In 1977 infant mortality rate was 192.5‰ in rural communities and 138.3‰ in urban populations with a significant difference in favour of the latter.

A study of crude mortality rate carried out some years ago in Pakistan showed a significantly higher mortality rate among rural populations in comparison with urban ones.

Similar studies conducted in some european countries (e.g. United Kingdom, Holland, Denmark) give a quite different picture. Mortality rates are higher in urban population than in rural communities.

According to a study carried on among the Rotterdam (urban) population in 1976 the crude mortality rate is directly related to migrations and density and especially in-house density.

Morbidity data. Unfortunately other useful indicators are not sufficiently and adequately available but we can consider some very well known situations that could give us some good information.

Malaria is still a big health problem in Somalia. Since some years it can be considered practically eradicated from the capital city of Mogadishu.

This seems to be the result of a joint effort both of preventive and curative levels by Health Authorities and on the other hand of a lack of adequate breeding sites of the vectors. There is not enough clean water in the city for an adequate growth of mosquitos.

Schistosomiasis which is one of the major health problems is practically absent from Mogadishu for understandable reasons.

The access to health service is obviously much easier for the urban population.

After some time, on the other hand, we have seen in a few years, entirely new villages growing up in suburban areas.

The problems of safe water supply and excreta disposal are becoming bigger and bigger.

There are some indications that urban areas, very large cities in particular, tend to promote the development of schizophrenia and industrial societies seem to spawn this disorder more than do agricultural settings. We have no figures as far as Somalia is concerned, but we have to be aware of the problem. Actually mental patients are usually better cared for in rural settlements than in urban areas.

Food Supplies and Nutrition

Combined surveys of household which have been done in different years in some Mogadishu districts about food consumption and anthropometric measurements of children under five, put in evidence similar results in the different districts which can be summarized as follows;

- daily protein intake sufficient
- fat intake very high (38% of total calories intake)
- vitamin A very deficient
- vitamin B very deficient (50% of the normal requirements)
- vitamin C satisfactory only in the high educated groups
- calcium: adequate only in the highest income group
- caloric intake: sufficient.

In the urban population in Mogadishu the diet, although sufficient in calorie values, is very unbalanced. Education does have effect on the intake of vitamin C and Calcium, reflecting more use of fruits and milk. The higher income levels are mainly characterized by a higher protein consumption, reflecting that they can afford to buy more meat.

Protein deficiency doesn't seem to be an acute problem either for urban or rural areas. However an adequate procapite protein intake as a whole does not mean that there is no problem of protein consumption in the population. And especially in younger age groups protein malnutrition is widespread. Support for this clinical impression may be given by additional observation of the growth and development of children from 0 to 3 years.

According to different surveys and different authors too, curves of weight for-age are normal or nearly normal according to Harvard standards up to 6 or 8 months and they show a marked drop in growth, between 80th and 90th percentile of Harvard standards, after 8 months up to 22 to 26 months.

These results are very similar to those found in rural population.

Attitude toward Health Problems

Studies carried out on the impact on health of the urbanization, from the point of view of the attitudes toward mutual interactions between modern medicine and traditional health care, by different authors, have given similar results.

Health problems, expressed as psychiatric or psychosomatic ones represented almost half of the disease treated in the villages by traditional healers as compared to 20% in Mogadishu. Treatment of various organic symptoms was more frequent in the city than in the villages.

Treatment with religious acts represented almost half of all treatments in the city while the corresponding figure was less than 30% in the villages.

Traditional dancing and herbal medicine were more practised as treatment in the villages than in the city.

Knowledge about isolation for common infections was higher in city than in the villages. People in the city had more often experienced patients isolated for common infections than people living in the villages.

Attitudes toward the practices of the healer were also explored in some studies. The results revealed that 96% of the population in the villages had positive attitudes toward the traditional healer. While 72% was the corresponding figure in the city. Only a few of the interviewed in the villages classified the activities of the healer as useless while 13% of the city respondents thought it was useless and even dangerous.

Khat and alcohol consumption show a significant difference between urban and rural population.

Conclusion

Urbanization, in modern terms, in Somalia is very recent. It is still an ongoing phenomenon.

Actually there is a very close and strict relation between urban and rural people and interchange is the rule. Somali are basically nomads and even urban people can be considered still nomadic and not yet settled down people.

As it happens in many developing countries, urbanization in Somalia seems so far to have a positive impact on health. This was the rule also for European countries after the industrial revolution until a few decades ago.

Problems of overcrowding and urbanization in general have to be approached. Problems of environmental hygiene (water supply, excreta and waste disposal, adequate housing) have to be studied and their solution has to be planned in view of a very near future.

But another aspect cannot be neglected. I am mentioning the chemical pollution both at the domestic and industrial level. That is a big problem which so far has not been sufficiently taken into account. Research both at the environmental and human level on these aspects should be carried out, in order to prevent new diseases and to promote human health.

Urban air pollution is the most noticeable one. We have no figures about Mogadishu's atmosphere pollution; but according to our personal experience it is relatively higher than it is in London or Rome at the moment.

As I mentioned above, today in Europe we have the opposite situation. Can the European experience be used in order to prevent the negative aspects of urbanization in Somalia?

The Historical Development of the Health System of Third World Countries

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London

Health is an expression of the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions in the respective society.

In a society in which various interest groups are diametrically opposed, poverty as a condition, arises as a result of the unequal division of the products produced by activity in the society. Health is not a personal condition bestowed on the individual but rather the condition of a person in social, cultural, psychic and physical respects.

The cause of most of the diseases in the Third World and in industrial culture are man-made social conditions. They are the result of the prevailing socio-economic relationship of a society. The micro-organisms that may cause diseases are naturally part of our nature, but to suffer under the infection of these micro-organisms is a cultural factor. It is cultural because our reaction to micro-organisms and our methods of prevention have failed.

The primary aim of a health policy of a society should be to create adequate conditions for the human being to get sufficient food, clean water, better housing, appropriate work and working conditions, intellectual and cultural freedom of an individual. An important step to improve the life quality is the increase in the income and the productivity of the people. The health policy is the foundation of all other sectors of the state policy in that given society. But in the western world and naturally in the neo-colonial world the health policy is considered as a process that deals with the state sickness, in other words, its focus is the curative medicine. Curative medicine is an economic branch privately conducted and its main aim is profit, like all other productive branches of a capitalistic economic system. That branch produces means of treatment of diseases and their research works concentrate also mainly on the technical methods to overcome or relieve the diseases. The social character of diseases is not considered important because that may demand the reorganization of the production activity of the society. Preventive medicine is primarily a social method whose activity is aimed at creating conditions which make the development of a disease or health damage superfluous and includes, naturally, its treatment. It demands that the production activity of that society should have to be carried in harmony with its nature, it demands the correction of the social and economic inequality which worsens the life quality of the people. It demands the democratization of the society so that the individual may use his energy to the benefit of all.

The development of capital accumulation which England needed to change its productive means from manufacture to machine production was mainly absorbed through the slave trade triangle. An egg develops into a hen if energy is supplied to it, but energy cannot change every substance to a hen. The determining force in the development of the eggs is an internal force but without external supplement the manifestation of internal factor cannot happen. So the industrial revolution of England didn't develop without the external supplement — the development aid squeezed from the Third World.

The diseases which the Europeans didn't have sufficient resistance to, caused them a lot of health damages in the colonial countries. The trade companies of England came to claim that many of their British overseas employers show a significantly higher mortality rate than their colleagues in England. The yearly rate of the British soldiers in Jamaica was 15%, 10 times more than those stationed in England. In the Gold Coast, it was 67% which gave the name 'Grave of the white man'.

When Joseph Chamberlain became the minister for the colony in 1895, he forced an active colonial policy aimed at increasing the productivity of the colony. He came to realize that health damages of their colonial pioneers might limit his ambitions.

The development of bacteriology and parasitology showed a high promise to eradicate the tropical diseases. In 1899, the school for tropical medicine was founded in London and Liverpool. In 1885 the East India Company was given responsibility for the health administration in India. At the beginning of colonization the health service of the colonies was carried out by the British trade companies who engaged a few doctors for the interest of their white employers. At the turn of the century the health service was carried on more or less by the colonial state, but nevertheless public health service remained for many years significantly low.

In 1903 the East African Medical Department was ordered to take care of the health of the European population primarily and secondly for the African and Asian labor forces needed for the colonial interests. In 1903 the whole European medical staff in Kenya and Uganda was 26 doctors, 6 nurses and 7 pharmaceutical chemists. The health service for Europeans was facilitated because they settled in geographically better areas (like the Kenian Highlands). They concentrated in towns, economic, military and administrative centres. Most of the public health expenditure was then spent on the hospitals, which were located in the white settler areas. The settled white population had clean water supply, canalization, electricity and better housing conditions. Only where the labor forces of the colonised people were considered important, minimal health service was given.

As the construction of the Ugandan train line became economically important, Indian labor force was imported and was given better health service than the Africans although the Indians in India didn't receive better colonial health service.

Instead of taking adequate measures to prevent epidemic diseases, the colonial administration considered the racial segregation as an adequate step. The Africans, Indians and Europeans were each limited to geographically defined areas. The town segregation shows clearly the material advantages given to the white population: water, electricity, roads, canalization and social establishments. The Europeans called their area « hygienic quarter ». The colonial administration compelled the African population through different methods to give up their food pro-

duction system and introduced the export oriented food production. The white settlers occupied the fertile land; many African people served now either as land and mine workers or in the colonial administration. The urbanization process developed, but nevertheless the Africans in the towns were not allowed to make use of the colonial health establishments. Ironically the Europeans considered the high rate of sickness among the Africans to be due to the unhygienic African living habits.

In 1897 Ronald Ross discovered that the *Anopheles* mosquito is the carrier of malaria disease, in 1903 Castellani and Bruce discovered that the Tse Tse is the carrier of sleeping sickness. For the African population the carriers of malaria and sleeping sickness were not only already known, but preventive methods were developed and conducted. Instead of further development of the already existing preventive measures the colonial administration tried to solve the struggle against such diseases with the help of its laboratory results, which naturally gave impulse to their pharmaceutical industries to launch research work for profit greediness. There were different opinions concerning the appropriate strategies for the struggle against such diseases among the colonial doctors and colonial administrators, which was the reflexion of the struggle between the colonial scientific ideology of the laboratory medicine, carried out in the tropical school of England and the practical oriented colonial doctors, who recognised the importance of preventive medicine. Where as the school of tropical diseases received fund for their research works, Mr. Ross didn't succeed in getting minimum financial help for his public health campaign. For sure both doctor groups were serving, the colonial British interest but their approach to the interest of the colonized people were different.

In the 30's the colonial doctors and the administrators confessed that the clinical treatment of such infectious diseases like malaria and sleeping sickness was not the appropriate method and was only a loss of energy and money. Dr. J. L. Gilks, the director of the health administration in Kenya, came to this conclusion in 1929: it is generally recognized that malaria is a social disease and that the endemic areas are characterized with low living standards. Between 1928-1938 there were many reports emphasizing the relationship between poverty and bad health conditions which were the result of the colonial destruction of the traditional society with its traditional production system and social relationships. It became clearer that the infectious diseases which were till then predominant in the industrialising cultures, became more and more the health hazard of Third World people, whose treatments could only be effectively carried out if the social structure of the society is changed, but social change was prevented by the colonial system. The main characteristics of colonialism is to undermine the primary human right, the right of a society to fulfil its own needs through its social activities.

In 20th century the British colonial administration launched coercive resettlements of the African population who was considered to be endangered by the Tse Tse fly. The people were taken away from their traditional villages, their lands and from their communities. In short, the right to feed themselves was taken away from the people. Ironically this intention which was considered as a necessary preventive step, turned out to be a concentration camp for cheap labor force for the colonial investment capital. The missionary service played an important role for the popularisation of the western medicine among the African people. Most of the missionary hospitals and dispensaries are built in the country side,

far away from the colonial administration centres. The missionary service was considered by the colonial administration as an important social factor for their colonial interest. The colonial administration was considered by the African population as a repressive system which provokes resistance and just on this point was the focus of the missionary activities, the psychological and moral disarming of the Africans.

In short, the colonial administration had the whip and the missionaries had the sweetness of morality. Both are the methods which a repressive system applies. The colonial development and welfare declaration which was considered by the British colonialism as an important step for the well being of the colonized people in the British colonial empire, must be considered in the context of the social and political development in England between the two world wars. England was characterized by high unemployment and serious social riots. The government considered the colonial people as the savior of the motherland in the critical situation, as we have always done. When the severe famine happened in England in the years 1876-1879 in which 6 million people died from hunger, the country received from India almost 4 millions tons of grain.

The colonial development act of 1929 was formulated by the previous minister for the colony, Mr. Lord Passfield, as follows: « the important factor for the act is to reduce our unemployment and increase our export ». This was only possible through the increase of the colonial raw material supply and the stimulation of the colonial market to absorb British export goods. Therefore the British administration increased its welfare activities in the colony and limited health oriented projects were established.

After the 2nd World War the industrial capitalistic states were characterized by the intensive engagement of the states in the economic activities in order to rebuild after the damages of the war. The so-called colonial development and welfare act is now modified to the so-called development aid policy. Here in the colony the colonial state had intensified its economic engagement and organised infra-structure improvement projects in order to increase the export capacity which their industries badly needed.

This economic infra-structure laid down by colonialism served the starting point of the new born governments in Africa after the 2nd World War.

The unhealthy condition of our people is the result of colonially developed economic structures. A true independent state of the Third World must therefore gain the right of its society to fulfil primarily its material, spiritual and cultural needs.

Frantz Fanon defined the new born bourgeoisie of the Third World as follows: « This bourgeoisie is not characterized by its economic power but by its privileged position as intermedia in the process of capital accumulation. The university and trade elite who control the power of the new born states, are few in number and are concentrated in the capital, whose engagements are in trade, agricultural enterprises and in free profession. It is a bourgeoisie without an industrial and financial boss. The national bourgeoisie of the Third World is not engaged in production, discovery, construction and work, she is only interested in an intermediary role. This national bourgeoisie has the psychology of a small business man, not that of an industrial captain.

The transfer of the western medical professionalism and health care structures damages the improvement of the health situation in the Third World. The so

called medical modernization programmes carried out with the help of industrial countries, concentrates mainly on the development of hospitals with high technological and capital input in the big towns. This medical service is costly and consumes a large portion of the state health expenditure. Only 20% of the Third World people are reached by the western medicine. The focus of the health system in the industrial culture is the high technified hospital. The substantial weapon with which they fight against the diseases is not to keep the balance of the relation between woman/man and their natural environment, in which the state of healthy and unhealthy develops, but their weapon is the understanding of the pathophysiology of the diseases and consequently their methods of treatments are pharmaceutical, immunological or surgical means. This health system is planned in such a way that only centralized institutions like hospitals can effectively carry it out. But the truth is that most killer diseases of the children in the Third World cannot be effectively treated by western medical treatment methods. These treatment methods can be shortly summarized as: prevention of death without improvement of the life quality.

In 1972 there were 2.2 million doctors world wide, of whom 120,000 were working in foreign countries, mostly in the industrial countries. Most of these doctors came from the Third World countries. The emigration of Latin American doctors to the USA costs their countries yearly 200 million US dollars, equivalent to the amount of medical development aid given by the USA to the Latin American countries during the decade of the 60's. The brain drainage (6400 engineers, 2211 doctors, 2625 scientists) of the Third World to the USA was in 1970, 3.66 billion US dollars more than the USA non military aid at the same period. A Chilian economist came to the result that each dollar spent in the Third World on the highly specialized hospital service kills hundreds of lives. If that amount was spent on clear drinking water and on food production, hundreds of lives could be saved.

Although the colonial and neo-colonial states concentrated on the management of the so-called tropical diseases, the epidemiological studies show clearly that the main cause of diseases is the living conditions in which the people live. The diseases of poverty like infections of respiratory system, gastro-intestinal tract and diarrhoea, undernourishment, measles, anemia, whooping cough and tetanus are the predominant diseases. If we exclude malaria, 70-80% of these diseases are responsible for the high infant death rate in the Third World.

In 1976 I experienced in Hargeisa/Somalia in a medical ward, that 18 female patients out of 22 were hospitalized due to iron deficiency anemia. Somalia is one of the countries with the highest infant death rate (145 deaths out of 1000 born infants). Between 1972-1980 Somalia has spent per capita 2 US dollars for education and health service and 7 US dollars for military expenses (62% of the GNP and 23,3% of the whole state expenditure).

Most of these diseases can be managed through improvement of nutrition hygiene, vaccination, clean drinking water, energy supply, better housing and health education.

But the present institutions are undemocratic to fulfil these social demands.

One of the solutions is the decentralization of the health service and institutions accompanied by the development of self relying economic structures in order to regain the elementary right of each society to produce all its elementary needs before it gets economic contacts with the outside world.

The centre of this strategy is the motivation and development of the initiative

of the people. The health institutes have to create the conditions which improve the life quality of the people, instead of managing the outbreak of diseases.

The primary health care is primarily developed in the People's Republic of China, which became famous under the name of « bare-foot doctors », its main instrument is the development of the people's initiative to carry out preventive medicine. The 8 necessary points of primary health care are:

1) balanced diet: 2/3 of the children of the Third World are undernourished. The community health service secures that the people must get a sufficient balanced diet;

2) water and sanitary facilities: 80% of the diseases of the whole world depends on the lack of clean water supply and adequate sanitary facilities; both must be supplied;

3) maternity and child care: more than half a million mothers die during delivery and 10% of the infants die before they reach the age of 1 year. Proper education for midwives, better child care and family planning are necessary;

4) vaccination and adequate treatment of children's diseases: 5 million children die each year from diarrhoea; another 5 million children die each year from children's diseases;

5) medical drugs: in many of Third World countries more than 50% of the state's health expenditure is spent for medical drugs, which are imported mostly from the industrial countries. 240 medical drugs are necessary; in West Germany there are more than 70.000 medical drugs on the market. The necessary drugs must be cheap enough for everybody and should be necessarily produced in each country;

6) adequate treatment of the patients: 33% of the World population suffer from the hookworm, yearly 1 billion people suffer from acute diarrhoea, 200 million people suffer from schistosomiasis, 500 million people suffer from trachome and 160 million suffer from malaria etc. The community health workers should be in a position to understand the causes of the diseases and be able to launch preventive methods and treatments of these common diseases in his community;

7) health education: prevention of diseases depends, among other factors, on the social habits of each society. The primary health service should educate the people concerning the cause and prevention of these diseases originating from the traditional habits;

8) traditional medicine; 60-80% of the deliveries in the Third World are carried out by the traditional midwives. The midwives should be given appropriate education and traditional medicine must be given consideration.

Primary health care principally prohibits foreign intervention in its essence. It is a national affair, logistical help can be accepted.

The Somali government propagates primary health care, but that system cannot give the minimal prerequisite needed for the success of such a programme.

The primary health care programme is conducted mostly by the World Health Organization. Its activities concentrate on immunization and educational programmes. Such programmes are important, but they are not the substantial roots of the primary health care. As I have already mentioned, primary health care begins with the satisfaction of the elementary human demands: food, clean water and adequate housing. The amount of the health expenditure out of the whole state expenditure was reduced from 1970-1982 from 6% to 3,5%. The health invest-

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ment during the development plan of 1982-1986 is considered to be only 2.1% of the whole state investment volume. In 1983 the state expenditure for health was 130 milion So. Shilin, while the expenses for defence was 1324.8 million So. Shilin, 10 times more than the health expenditure! The expenditure for police and interior was 204.5 millions So. Shilin. Somalia has more guns than bread. This statistics clearly shows the priority of the Somali state: defend yourself from the hungry people.

A Programme of Information in Italian Schools, Concerning Health and the Implementation of Primary Health Care in Somalia

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Introduction

The present paper reports the activities of the programme of education to development promoted by the International Committee for the Development of Peoples (CISP) on « Health education and nutrition: two topics for peoples' "development" », addressed in 1985-86 to almost 57,000 students of Italian schools. The programme was based on an EEC supported Primary Health Care (PHC) Project implemented by CISP in Southern Somalia.

Description of the Programme

Educational material concerning international cooperation, the health situation in Africa and Somali culture and history have been supplied to the schools. Meetings with teachers have been held in order to integrate the topics of the programme in the main curricula. Finally, lectures and group meetings using audiovisual materials were held in seventy schools. The programme has been addressed to three target groups: students, teachers and some institutions involved in international cooperation. The programme aimed at: (1) performing a baseline assessment of the student' perception of the problems of development; (2) presenting a structured set of information concerning one developing country in particular; (3) evaluating the impact of the information on the target groups. The final objective is experiencing a methodology of disseminating a « culture of cooperation » through a big mass medium, that is, school. First of all, the students' perception of development and underdevelopment was investigated by means of group discussions. Most of their attention has been focused on starvation, high infant mortality rates, the need for structures and services. The students difficulty in setting the problems into their proper historical framework was noticed. Therefore the programme contents were conceived as mainly aimed at informing the target group of the origin and the causes of the problems discussed, as well as the possible

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strategies which ought to solve them. Subsequently, seven educational units were identified and proposed to the students. The last two units specifically concerning health are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
The educational units concerning health

UNIT	SUB-UNIT	CONTENT	EDUCATIONAL TARGET	CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES
6. The National PHC Plan in Somalia	The Alma Ata Declaration	Planning for health management; optimization of resources in relation to needs; role of international organizations	Awareness of the difference in the approach to health between North and South	Study of WHO documentation; study of the Alma Ata Declaration
	Social and health indicators in Somalia	Assessment of the health status by means of indicators at a country level; use of indicators in monitoring health programmes	Awareness of the need of a scientific approach to the management of health	Practical use of health indicators: personal clinical history and epidemiological records
	PHC in Somalia	Structure of the health care system; role of national and international institutions; role of local institutions	Awareness of the need of an integrated and multisectoral approach	Meeting with PHC experts; presentation of Somali PHC educational materials
7. The PHC Programme implemented by CISP in Somalia	Community diagnosis	Social, economic, cultural and environmental features of the area; people's health status	Awareness of the importance of social and cultural factors	Projection of slides concerning the project area; analysis of information about the project area
	Planning of health action	Coordination with national strategies; discussion with community leaders; establishing priorities; allocation of resources; set of timing	Awareness of the need of community participation in the planning stage	Meetings with programme staff; classroom simulations on establishing priorities
	Implementation	Dispensary; MCH service; training of CHWs and TBAs; health education; sanitation; water	Perception of the effectiveness of a good organization of work in the implementation stage	Projection of audiovisuals on the programme; analysis of programme educational materials; meetings with programme staff

Evaluation of the Response to the Programme

As a last stage of the programme, the students were asked to write a composition or make drawings, the best of which had been awarded a prize delivered by the Under-Secretary of State for the Emergency Italian Aid Fund (FAI) during a ceremony held in Rome in May 1985 attended by representatives of the FAO, the UNCHR, the Provincial Education Office of Rome, the Health Care Councilor's Office of the Province of Rome. In order to evaluate the impact of the educational messages on the students, different techniques were applied. A sample was selected of 73 works, 37 from intermediate and 36 from high schools. A two stage qualitative analysis of such works was performed. We first analyzed the content of the compositions, identifying all the statements referring to four conceptual areas: (1) historical and present responsibilities of Northern countries with regard to the South; (2) development as inter-sectoral and integrated development;

(3) health as physical, mental and social welfare and the importance of prevention; (4) training and education of staff in developing countries as a means of self-centered development. The percentage of occurrence was respectively 42.42% of the compositions of the intermediate schools and 43.24% of the compositions of the high schools (concept 1); 72.73% and 59.46% (concept 2); 51.52% and 56.76% (concept 3); 69.70% and 51.35% (concept 4). As can be seen, the most recurrent idea centers on integrated projects (concept 2). Training and education are also regarded as capital means for people's involvement in the development process. Intermediate school children seem to be more sensitive to these more modern cooperation ideas, as shown in the Fig. 1.

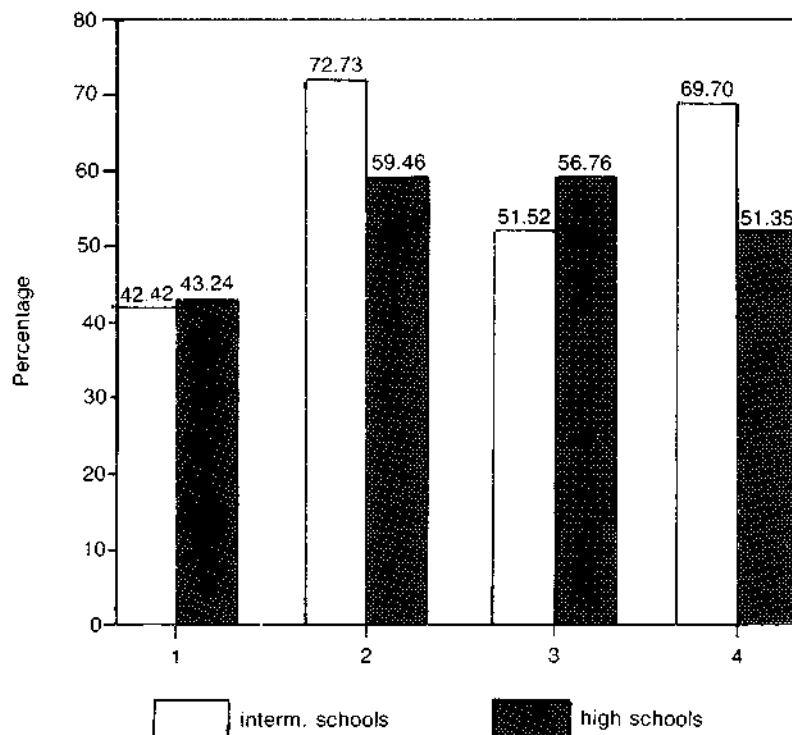


Fig. 1

As far as the image of Italian cooperation is concerned, the health and the training sectors are more frequently quoted by the students. Many subjects stressed the need to intensify the training of technicians and social practitioners in Italy so as to implement cooperation programmes in developing countries. In order to complete the qualitative analysis, a socio-linguistic analysis was also carried out. By means of a preliminary analysis of the compositions dealing with the same topic, 40 words were selected. We calculated the frequency of every such words in each composition and subsequently ranked them. Some of the words belong to what could be defined as the semantic field of cooperation; some of

the words had ambiguous connotations as they were often used in an ethnocentric context. Several keywords belonging to the semantic field of cooperation (e.g. « cooperation » rank 20; « to intervene » rank 20; « training » rank 36.5) have a lower ranking than such ambiguous terms as « underdeveloped » (rank 3 - often used with reference to « industrialized » — rank 13.5 — and implying a judgement of the « backward/advanced » type).

Also significant is the fact that terms like « progress » have been used with a positive connotation on several occasions. Its rank is 23. The terms ranked 1 to 20 are shown in Table 2. In order to test the homogeneity of the language used by the students a coefficient of dispersion (D) was applied to each of the 40 keywords, with respect to the school-class. Index D ranged between 0 and 1 according to the degree of diffusion of the word. The result obtained was highly significant in that as many as 28 keywords have an index of dispersion value exceeding a standard value which was established at 0.40.

Table 2
Rank and dispersion coefficient « D »
*Words * ranked up to 20*

Words	Rank	Dispersion Coefficient « D »
Paese	1	1.00
Fame	2	0.70
Sottosviluppato	3	0.80
Economico	4.5	0.90
Educazione	4.5	0.60
Stato	6	0.80
Sociale	7	0.80
Politico	8.5	0.50
Sviluppo	8.5	0.70
Sottosviluppo	10	0.70
Aiutare	11	0.50
Insegnare	12	0.60
Diritto	13.5	0.40
Industrializzato	13.5	0.60
Assistenza	15.5	0.40
Causare	15.5	0.50
Istruzione	17	0.50
Bisogno	20	0.70
Cooperazione	20	0.30
Guerra	20	0.40
Intervenire	20	0.60
Prevenire	20	0.50

* The correspondent terms in English are: Country, Hunger, Underdeveloped, Economic, Education, State, Social, Political, Development, Underdevelopment, To help, To teach, Right, Industrialized, Assistance, To cause, Education (synonymous), Need, Cooperation, War, To intervene, To cooperate.

Conclusions

In our views these data indicate that the efforts made by the students to express the contents of our programme ran up against a lexicon which is for many reasons inadequate insofar as it is linked to a conception of development distorted

by out-of-date models that are no longer used in international cooperation programmes, particularly in the Italian ones. The limitations of the students' lexicon point to the need for a more comprehensive dissemination programme including refresher training for the teachers involved in the activities related to the topics, the concepts and the more recent trends in international cooperation. Besides, the involvement of local institutions in developing countries in the organization of joint educational activities is envisaged, so that parallel programmes could be carried out in both cooperating countries. CISP is moving in this direction in order to implement other EEC-financed dissemination programmes in the schools.

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Validità e limiti di un approccio psicanalitico in psichiatria transculturale

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Per chi si occupa di psicoanalisi la psichiatria transculturale è un terreno ricco di suggestioni e risonanze, ma anche di facili analogie e richiami al sapere psicoanalitico ed alle proprie esperienze cliniche. Col procedere dell'esperienza ci si rende conto di come molte omologazioni, inizialmente dettate dal « fascino » delle esperienze transculturali, siano semplificazioni che colgono solamente aspetti parziali delle situazioni.

Le analogie esistenti si situano a livelli molto profondi e richiedono quindi analisi approfondite ed accurate. Esse sono cioè sempre da riferire al costruito di « unità psichica » intorno al quale si interrogano le scienze umane. È questo un concetto difficilmente definibile ed in qualche modo sfuggente in quanto attiene alle strutture primordiali per cui viene spontaneo il richiamo alla dimensione « inconscio ».

In questa sede cercherò di esporre in forma sistematica una serie di riflessioni che scaturiscono dal mio lavoro clinico-terapeutico con pazienti somali e dalla elaborazione del materiale raccolto unitamente con i miei collaboratori. Mi rifarò anche alla vecchia e nuova bibliografia sull'argomento, alle mie convinzioni sulla unitarietà del vivere e del sapere dell'uomo nelle sue varie esplicazioni che comprendono anche il vissuto della malattia e quello dell'« agire terapeutico ». Vorrei iniziare il mio discorso partendo, per così dire, da lontano, esaminando alcune tematiche fondamentali del vivere collettivo ed individuale.

Ogni popolazione ha strutturato, nel corso della sua storia, dei miti e delle leggende di fondazione, attraverso cui viene spiegata l'origine dell'universo, della vita, delle istituzioni e dei rapporti sociali. In un tempo mitico aurorale, esseri divini o sovrumani (essere supremo, primo uomo, antenato mitico, ecc.) hanno organizzato e regolamentato la realtà, categorizzandola sulla base di coppie di significanti opposti (uomo-donna, sacro-profano, endogamico-esogamico, lecito-illecito).

In un recente articolo sulla rivista « Prometeo », Laternari (1979), ha trattato molto bene questi argomenti, sottolineando come ogni mito sulle origini si incentri su di un elemento strutturato soprannaturale che organizza il caos primordiale, costituendo entità differenziate e relazioni tra tali entità come momento riunificatore e riaggregante.

La differenziazione e la separazione, la conseguente composizione dialettica

degli opposti, danno origine a delle reti di significanti in base alle quali la realtà viene codificata e decodificata, gli accadimenti vengono saturati di senso e si trasformano in eventi mentali interrelati o correlati.

L'*ordo rerum* socio-culturale fornisce il quadro generale all'interno del quale si vengono a costituire le categorie del pensiero familiare ed individuale (mai come duplicazione meccanica, ma sempre con un certo gradiente di disomogeneità). Possiamo concettualizzare quest'ordine come momento fondante e costitutivo in contrapposizione ad un disordine « entropico » che minaccia di metterne in crisi la coerenza. La dialettica ordine-disordine viene assorbita all'interno di altre polarità dialettiche: conservazione-cambiamento, cambiamento graduale-cambiamento catastrofico, conservazione-distruzione.

Di conseguenza il disordine può essere immaginato come uno stato primigenio da cui si è usciti, oppure come un pericolo al quale si andrebbe incontro se venisse modificato lo *status quo*. Scrive E. Enriquez « Se l'umanità non hai mai vissuto in uno stato informe, ciò non impedisce che il fantasma del caos primordiale e la paura di un ritorno a tale stato esista davvero e che essa sia all'origine di tutti i tentativi di messa in ordine, di strutturazione, di potere » (1979: 78).

Un'angolazione differente, come riporta Masud Khan, è assunta da Levy-Strauss il quale commentando « Totem e tabù » ha rilevato che: « Il desiderio per la madre e la sorella, l'assassinio del padre ed il pentimento dei figli non trovano senza dubbio alcuna corrispondenza nella storia. Ma forse traducono sotto forma di simbolo un sogno duraturo ed antico insieme. Il prestigio di questo sogno, il suo potere di dare forma, a loro insaputa, ai pensieri degli uomini, provengono precisamente dal fatto che le azioni evocate non sono mai state commesse, perché la civiltà vi si è opposta ovunque è sempre » (Khan 1979: 244-245).

Tali impulsi rappresentano infatti « l'espressione permanente di un desiderio di disordine, o piuttosto di contrordine » (*ibidem*). I due passaggi citati identificano l'attitudine ambivalente, di paura frammista ad attrazione, da parte della collettività e dei singoli nei confronti di ciò che si contrappone all'ordine costituito.

Alla luce di tali riflessioni dobbiamo considerare le reazioni di fronte al fenomeno della follia (e a fenomeni connessi come la morte, la malattia fisica, la violenza intragruppale). La follia infrange la coerenza dell'universo psicologico e socioculturale, ne mette drammaticamente in rilievo i limiti e la staticità, proponendosi come espressione di una dimensione « aliena » (in senso antropoanalitico).

Nel vissuto della persona malata (che sente il mondo progressivamente perdere di significato), nel vissuto nel suo gruppo familiare e dell'intera collettività, la follia provoca un impatto emotivo profondo ed attiva una serie di angosce catastrofiche. Come afferma Collomb, è necessario riconoscere la follia quale « dimensione antropologica fondamentale » della quale bisogna occuparsi, « pena l'esplosione individuale e sociale » (Collomb 1978: 5).

Nelle culture africane tradizionali (quella somala nella fattispecie) la presa in carico e la gestione del disturbo psichico impegnano l'intera collettività: il gruppo familiare ed il clan si incaricano di scegliere, programmare e seguire tutte le fasi dell'iter diagnostico-terapeutico finalizzato al conseguimento della « guarigione ». Ciò che ritengo importante sottolineare è il tentativo (che trova concordi il gruppo ed il malato), di impedire che la follia perturbi l'*ordo rerum*, facendo sì che essa venga depotenziata, incanalata, assorbita nell'ordine familiare, culturale, cosmologico esistente.

In uno stimolante articolo sull'« Evolution Psychiatrique », Zeldine sottolinea

come la tolleranza verso il malato mentale esista solo quando ci si sente protetti. È possibile dialogare, per così dire, con la follia solamente se un diaframma si è frapposto tra la vita normale ed essa. Perché chi parla di follia, parla di « morte dello spirito », di non umanità, di violenza distruttiva. Parlando della clinica di Fann, Zeldine nota come il terapeuta tradizionale e quello occidentale operino incessantemente « al fine di ridurre assolutamente l'altro che è folle allo statuto rassicurante di malato mentale, o di vittima degli altri, o di posseduto da Dio » (Zeldine 1981: 141). Dal canto suo il paziente, nel corso delle sedute collettive, si trova « à jour le fou à lui-même et aux autres », conformandosi in qualche modo alle aspettative ed ai modelli di « cattiva condotta » del gruppo. Il malato utilizza i codici espressivi che la cultura gli mette a disposizione per esprimere la propria sofferenza ed in questo modo riuscire ad imbrigliare, in comportamenti-sintomi riconoscibili, il caos incoercibile dentro di sé. « È un tentativo — prosegue Zeldine — sia di espellere la follia della malattia mentale reale e dolorosamente vissuta, sia di incorporarla impadronendosene » (1981: 140). Nel corso del processo comunicativo che si instaura nell'ambito della triade paziente-terapista-gruppo, il disagio del malato viene ripreso e reso comprensibile, gli stati interni confusi e disarticolati vengono riconnessi in una struttura globale significativa. Tale struttura d'insieme è il risultato del rapporto dialettico tra i codici terapeuta-rituali della tradizione e la problematica psicopatologica del singolo.

Nel corso degli incontri che ho avuto con i medici tradizionali somali, ho potuto rilevare come il loro modo di condurre i riti terapeutici variasse significativamente da un paziente all'altro e come ci fosse sempre un aggiustamento tra idioma rituale e problematica del singolo. La vicenda esistenziale del paziente viene infatti progressivamente ricomposta e riarticolata e diventa simbolo di una vicenda più generale che concerne il destino del gruppo nel suo rapporto con il mondo naturale e soprannaturale. Tutto questo si realizza attraverso l'evocazione, drammatizzazione, lo scambio di contenuti simbolici a referente multiplo. I contenuti simbolici si declinano infatti secondo piani di realtà differenti senza essere saturati da nessuno di questi: corpo, mente, relazioni familiari e gruppalì, mondo naturale, livelli cosmici e religiosi, confluiscono nei simboli e sono da essi rappresentati. La pluralità di significati dei contenuti simbolici di un rituale può spiegarne la molteplicità di lettura e di effetti terapeutici.

Ogni partecipante può « captare » (a diversi livelli di coscienza) un determinato aspetto del rituale ed accoglierlo dentro di sé. Un culto di possessione, come quello del *Minghis*, a cui ho potuto assistere varie volte in Somalia può allo stesso tempo: avere un valore psicoterapico per il paziente, cementare l'unione tra i membri della sua famiglia, rafforzare lo status sociale dei partecipanti alla sessione (per la maggior parte donne), confermare i buoni rapporti con il mondo degli spiriti Jinni.

In questa prospettiva di plurivocità dei simboli, diventa più comprensibile il tema dell'adattamento « ad personam » dei rituali terapeutici. La funzione psicoterapeutica che essi svolgono può essere definita riportando un passaggio di S. Resnik sulla terapia analitica degli stati autistici: « la funzione terapeutica in psicoanalisi si collegherebbe alla possibilità di restituire alla tragedia la sua scena, un suo spazio, una « skéné » dove tra soggetto autista e soggetto psicoanalista si apre uno spazio in cui il linguaggio interiore disarticolato (...) avrà modo di essere rappresentato. Ma per questo occorre che il linguaggio interno dell'analista

si risvegli sintonicamente e si confronti interiormente con la propria tragedia » (1984: 12).

La scena del rituale terapeutico permette quindi il dispiegarsi del dramma esistenziale del paziente, fino allora inespresso e dei corrispettivi drammi di tutti i partecipanti. È una situazione quasi di « festa », dove le regole della vita quotidiana sono sospese e si rende fruibile una dimensione più piena del vivere. In una condizione protetta, salvaguardata dalle regole minuziosamente codificate del quadro, della cornice terapeutico-rituale, si rende di conseguenza possibile il dialogo con la parte di follia che ogni uomo si porta dentro. Il disordine viene a contatto con l'*ordo rerum*, in maniera filtrata, mediata, si inserisce in esso arricchendolo e vivificandolo con la propria carica trasformatrice. Dobbiamo adesso fare una pausa di riflessione. Quanto ho appena detto si può applicare ugualmente bene ad una terapia tradizionale africana o ad una psicoterapia analitica occidentale.

Il problema centrale concerne la costruzione di una cornice spazio-temporale nella quale il disturbo psichico si possa palesare in una situazione protetta, trovando una opportunità di pensabilità e di espressione. Se ci poniamo in una prospettiva psicoterapeutica tutto questo risulta ben chiaro, indipendentemente dal termine (quadro, cornice, setting, contenitore etc.) che decidiamo di utilizzare.

Ogni processo terapeutico ha luogo all'interno di un quadro spazio-temporale reale e metaforico, all'interno del quale vengono depositate le parti simbiotiche, confusive, « psicotiche » dei partecipanti. È stato bene indicato dalla letteratura analitica come il quadro svolga una funzione di « holding », costituendosi come parte del Non-Io che consente all'Io di esistere e di poter sperimentare stati di transitoria dissociazione.

Come ha osservato Nathan nel suo intervento al congresso sulla riabilitazione psichiatrica la nozione di quadro è comparabile a quella di « schermo del sogno » introdotta da Lewin, ed, aggiungerei, al concetto di « skéné » di cui parla Resnik. Un aspetto importante del quale ha ben trattato Nathan concerne il problema dei referenti teorici che sottendono il quadro di una psicoanalisi rispetto a quelli di un rituale terapeutico africano. Nathan scrive che l'inconscio è sempre « dentro »: « ... dentro i neuroni, dentro la testa, dentro il sesso, dentro il corpo, dentro la storia familiare o qualsiasi altra cosa » (1985 b: 51). L'origine del disturbo psichico del malato africano rimanda sempre, viceversa, ad un « fuori » da cui proviene la negatività che colpisce il malato. Sempre riguardo a quest'ordine di problemi, Masud Khan ha distinto un quadro « sociale » nel quale si collocano le terapie africane ed un quadro « terapeutico » inventato da Freud ed alquanto distinto dal sociale. Questa strutturazione su doppio versante, dentro-fuori, privato-sociale, costituisce un preciso limite per ogni intervento psicoterapico che uno psichiatra voglia compiere in un contesto africano.

In questa sede non vorrei comunque addentrarmi troppo in una analisi critica di tali problemi, vorrei piuttosto impegnarmi in una riflessione su alcuni concetti basilari della psicoanalisi che possono rivelarsi molto utili per quanto riguarda una definizione delle possibilità di intervento psicoterapeutico nel campo della psichiatria transculturale.

Nella parte finale di questo mio intervento cercherò di fare alcune riflessioni sulla teoria psicoanalitica in modo da estrapolare quegli elementi che possono essere utilizzati in psichiatria transculturale.

È indubbio che la tecnica psicoanalitica non è commensurabile, nel senso letterale del termine, con le varie terapie africane, ma forse è possibile riflettere su

alcuni fondamenti basilari della « situazione analitica »: il paziente, l'analista, il loro rapporto (Khan 1979).

Il paziente è una persona sconosciuta di fronte alla quale lo psicoanalista scopre ed inventa un « modo per vedere » e comprendere l'altra persona, il paziente appunto. Nel momento in cui uno psicoanalista inizia un trattamento si impegna ad accogliere il paziente ed accompagnarlo nel corso del suo cammino. Il paziente, d'altra parte, spera di riuscire a trovare nell'analista una persona che lo ascolti, lo comprenda e allevii la sua sofferenza.

Il nucleo centrale del lavoro analitico è rappresentato dalla coppia analista-paziente e dalla relazione che si instaura tra i due. Tale relazione ha delle peculiari prerogative che la rendono diversa da qualsiasi altro tipo di rapporto. Winnicott e Bion hanno dato contributi rilevanti per una psicoanalisi basata sulla ricerca e sulla scoperta della relazione con l'altro. A Winnicott dobbiamo i concetti di « holding » di « preoccupazione materna primaria », di « madre sufficientemente buona », a Bion il concetto di « rêverie ». In questa ottica l'analista farebbe con il paziente quello che la madre fa con il bambino. Ciò comporta per l'analista la capacità di imparare dal paziente come la madre impara dal bambino. Se l'analista assume questo atteggiamento si lascia trovare dal paziente e si lascia penetrare dal messaggio che da lui proviene.

Il dialogo analitico sembra assumere un andamento a spirale: si inizia con una comunicazione, segue un intervento e poi una nuova comunicazione. In questa atmosfera si crea uno spazio in cui il paziente e l'analista possono scambiare vissuti, emozioni, contenuti e significati.

L'analista attraverso il suo assetto interno ricerca l'inconsueto e l'inquietante piuttosto che il conosciuto ed il familiare, il suo intervento è basato sull'empatia e sul coinvolgimento personale; per il paziente egli è un compagno di strada insieme al quale condividere un tratto della propria esistenza, un compagno con profonde capacità di contenimento e di pensiero. Freud diceva che è importante essere capaci di prestare attenzione al paziente, di osservare, ascoltare ed udire quello che avviene fino a quando non emerge un significato. Bion ha scritto: « L'analista deve essere in grado di tollerare l'ignoranza, la propria ignoranza, e il fatto di trovarsi davanti ad un mistero, ad una mezza verità » (1976: 82).

Abbiamo a questo punto sufficienti elementi per discutere circa l'incontro dello psichiatra con il paziente africano.

Nella letteratura vi è un acceso dibattito sulla possibilità di omologare o meno le nostre tecniche psicoterapeutiche a quelle dei guaritori africani. In un intervento al « Workshop di psicoterapia transculturale » (Roma, giugno 1985, II Clinica psichiatrica), ho presentato una casistica clinica raccolta in Somalia ed ho fatto riferimento alle modalità di intervento psicoterapeutico da me utilizzate, notando come esse richiamassero alla memoria alcune tecniche terapeutiche occidentali.

Vorrei ulteriormente approfondire la tematica dell'atteggiamento di base da me proposto, sul quale credo si possa sviluppare qualsiasi tipo di tecnica se utilizzata in maniera congruente all'atteggiamento stesso.

Possiamo richiamare la nota distinzione di Fornari tra il modello di cura « fallico » (nel quale la malattia è considerata un'alterazione, un elemento estraneo da combattere) ed il modello di cura « onfalocentrico » (« aver cura di » nel senso letterale di « aver pena, sollecitudine, simpatia »).

Una differenza sostanziale che mi sembra di riscontrare nella situazione terapeutica in occidente rispetto al contesto africano è che in quest'ultima i confini

della dimensione non nota sembrano dilatarsi ed includere l'intero universo del paziente, individuale e culturale.

In un articolo del 1919 (« Il perturbante »), Freud esprimeva alcune riflessioni sul concetto di « perturbante »: « la parola tedesca *unheimlich* (perturbante) è evidentemente l'antitesi di *heimlich* (confortevole, tranquillo, da *heim* - casa), *heimisch* (patrio, nativo), e quindi familiare, abituale, ed è ovvio dedurne che se qualcosa suscita spavento è proprio perché non è noto e familiare » (1977, 82).

Dopo aver esaminato alcune situazioni nelle quali il non familiare si trasforma in perturbante (ad esempio: la morte, i cadaveri, gli spiriti, la follia, il mal caduco), Freud rileva come esse rimandino ad aspetti oscuri ed ignoti della personalità che si riattivano producendo dei derivati che emergono alla coscienza. In questa prospettiva possiamo dire che la dimensione ignota che il paziente africano porta con se esercita un grande fascino ed una grande attrazione per lo psicoterapeuta. Come ho avuto occasione di scrivere in un precedente lavoro, questo « fascino » può divenire un elemento di confusione, di fraintendimento e di disturbo per lo psicoterapeuta precludendogli una corretta percezione del paziente.

Numerosi autori (Devereux e Nathan tra gli altri) hanno messo in guardia contro il rischio di sintonizzarsi in modo unilaterale sui materiali culturali più appariscenti che il paziente porta, giungendo a considerarlo quasi esclusivamente un informatore e tralasciando gli elementi psicologici e psicopatologici che egli comunica. Bisogna aggiungere, ad ogni buon conto, che questa distinzione tra dati psicologici e dati culturali è alquanto artificiale e non trova riscontro nella realtà clinica. Al di là del « perturbante » e del « fascino » (da utilizzare quest'ultimo come base emotivo-affettiva di conoscenza da raggiungere e mantenere), è necessario predisporre a trovare un atteggiamento di accettazione; nel senso di sviluppare una disponibilità a farsi « penetrare » da questo mondo e dargli uno spazio conveniente dentro di sé. Questi elementi portati dal paziente e conservati più a lungo possibile senza manipolazioni ed inquinamenti, potranno entrare in gioco in un secondo momento per cercare una composizione ed un assetto; si potrà così ottenere una condizione che costituisca la base imprescindibile per un intervento proficuo.

Ora possiamo dire, concludendo, che i passaggi delineati rimandano, con le relative validità e limiti, a quei punti di riferimento e di analogia precedentemente indicati. Naturalmente « il riferimento e l'analogia » evidenti nell'intervento terapeutico transculturale, si inseriscono nel rapporto globale dei due mondi culturali del paziente e del terapeuta.

A questo riguardo sembra molto pertinente l'osservazione di D. Fischer: « la psicanalisi restituisce all'uomo moderno la comprensione soggettiva che egli scopriva una volta nelle credenze religiose, le superstizioni, i riti » (1981: 393).

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Medical and Anthropological Observations on Traditional Therapy of Hydrocephalus in Somalia

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Dab iyo cudur meel ma wada galaan
(Somali proverb)

It is well known that in Somalia, as in many other African regions, many diseases are treated by burns (*ab*) variously distributed on the skin. In this study — carried out at Mogadishu General Hospital DEG-FER — eleven cases of children with hydrocephalus and « therapeutic » cephalic burns are considered.

Ospedale Generale DEG-FER
UNS 1° Semestre 1983
Mogadishu

11 cases of hydrocephalus with burns
(children from 3 mths to 7 yrs)

METHODOLOGY

MEDICAL LINE

- Anamnesis and C.E.
- Carotidogram (1 case)
- Ventriculogram (3 cases)

- Neurosurgical operation:
CSF VP shunting with Hakim
valve (6 cases)

Photograph
Clinical interview

ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINE

- Further interview with
relatives: life story and
tales
- Meeting and interview with
3 traditional doctors recor-
dings, pictures,
participating observation
of some *dab* therapies

Actually in Somali traditional medicine burns on the scalp are considered to be curative for hydrocephalus. They cause permanent scars on the scalp, but sometimes they can also produce local infections or other complications.

These eleven cases were selected because in all of them the diagnosis was confirmed and all were considered for surgical therapy which consists in shunting the cerebrospinal fluid from the cerebral ventricles to the peritoneum by the insertion of a specific valve system device.

It was possible to operate only on six cases. However, all the young patients were admitted to the hospital for a certain length of time and were carefully observed. All children — mostly breast fed babies — arrived at the hospital with signs of hydrocephalus and with several scars in different evolution stages, sometimes even with local septic signs (Fig. 1). Burns appeared as round shaped scars, as large as a coin, varying from ten to twelve in number, scattered on the scalp. It was not possible to identify any particular arrangement of the distribution of these signs. The clinical situation dealing with hydrocephalus was always advanced so that its more characteristic feature, an increase in head size, was very obvious and dated from a relatively long time. This situation implied severe damage of the encephalic structures.



Fig. 1

The children who underwent surgical shunting showed a very good post-operative evolution (Fig. 2). However the procedures of neurosurgical operations in some way were made more problematic by the presence of « therapeutic » scars, particularly by those which were infected.



Fig. 2

It seems interesting to consider this particular use of traditional Somali medicine in hydrocephalus from an anthropological, ethnoiatric and medical point of view. Therefore we will here report some content of the interviews with relatives of our young patients and with some « traditional doctors ».

In all cases the child starting signs of hydrocephalus was firstly taken to a « religion man » (*wadad*) who is the depository of the Holy Books and who uses « medical procedures » based on some Islamic teaching. Among these procedures it is frequent the use of « *xersi* » (amulets) (Fig. 3) and of « *tahlil* » (water where some ink used to write coranic lines is dissolved). After this first religious step a « magic » one follows: hydrocephalus (*madaxwein* = big head) is included in the category of Evil that fire chases away (*dab iyo cudur meel ma wada galaan*).

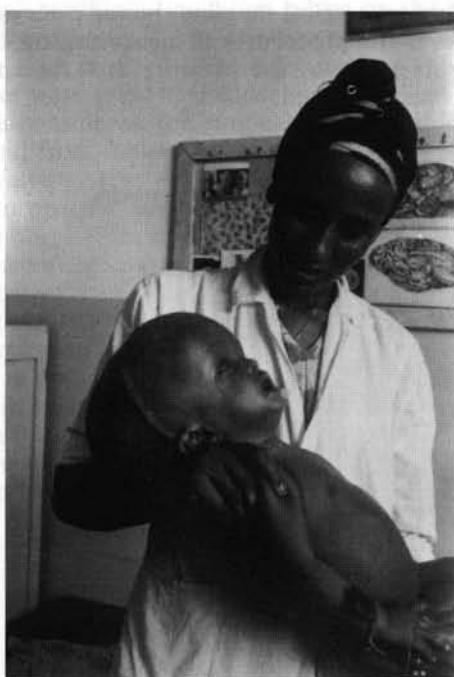


Fig. 3

The « *sancole* » (traditional Somali doctor), therefore, uses red-hot wooden sticks to produce burns on the child scalp. Sometimes even a relative such as the grandmother may use fire to produce burnings. The *sancole* doesn't seem to have any knowledge of clinical implications and biological meaning of the hydrocephalus. He is only able to explain this disease giving assessments of this kind: fire is effective because it contrasts *dabel* (wind, spirit, evil) or the disease is caused by the flight of *shimbir* (bird) who passes at night on the house of the pregnant woman from whom the baby with hydrocephalus would be born. A consequence of this last belief can be found in the application of some herbs mixed with *shimbir* stool on the head of the child.

In all cases observed we were confirmed that the steps mentioned above had been followed: first koranic procedures and then « traditional » therapy. Only as a last step the child was taken to the hospital, often in preterminal conditions. God's will always is dominant.

What we have just reported can lead to some short conclusion on the anthropological ethnoiatric and medical point of view.

From the first point of view we can notice that the group culture centralizes Allah's will and the results are exclusively represented by religious and magic development. From the ethnoiatric point of view *dab* (fire, burns) is a technique largely used in different various cultures but not specific as far as hydrocephalus is concerned. We are not in the position of affirming that there is something

analogous to acupuncture or at least to an empirical development on a basis of any kind of control or check.

From the medical point of view we have to emphasize the damage that young patients undergo during the long period of time preceding admission to the hospital and the local complication of *dab* with dangerous or annoying interference in the surgical technique.

Improving the Perspectives of Safe and Effective Use of herbs in Health Care

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Introduction

The use of plants for the cure of human and animal diseases goes back to the dawn of mankind. For thousands of years, in all parts of the world man has turned to the plants in order to get relief for his physical and mental discomforts.

The last 150 years have recorded many successes in the development of important drugs and remedies from plants. In today's world therapeutic armamentarium plant products are well represented. N.R. Farnsworth points out that one quarter of the total prescription drugs in industrialized countries contain one or more components derived from plants.

Considering the extensive research which is in course all over the world, this situation is likely to persist or the ratio of drugs obtained from plants may even increase in world pharmacopoeias.

These facts should not however lead one to believe that research into medical plants is always and everywhere a success story. The rose of medicinal plants research is quite thorny; these thorns are unfortunately abundant in developing countries.

In fact, despite the good potential offered by herbs, development of medical plants especially in poor countries has known many setbacks.

The majority of developing countries have enthusiastically engaged part of their human and material resources in studies oriented towards scientific evaluation and development of drugs used in their traditional medicine. The reason for embarking in this kind of research is mainly dictated by the need for cheap and easily available medicines. A certain national pride in utilizing home remedies also accounts for part of the logic behind the interest in this research.

One important factor is that expectations for the outcome of these studies varies between developing and industrialized countries.

People in economically developed countries enjoy a proper health care system. All needed drugs are readily accessible to nearly all members of the community. For many people of these countries, plant derived drugs are associated with good old days; nostalgia for grandmother's remedies are an inducement for many to try these drugs. Some people are convinced that natural products have great efficacy while being devoid of toxic effects. Pharmaceutical companies press on

these expectations and flood the market with many drugs the usefulness of which is quite dubious.

In developing countries only a minority has good access to suitable health care facilities. People still have faith and greatly depend on the plant products which for ages had been utilized in traditional medicine. For a sizeable part of the people, medicinal plants are the only drugs which are available for them. Large amounts of these are used daily despite the fact that the therapeutic usefulness of most of these remedies has not been scientifically evaluated.

The great expectation of health authorities in these countries is that the credits of these be examined and a better use accomplished in the easiest and less time consuming way.

Every research of this type which is undertaken in a developing country must take these factors into due consideration. The research approach chosen by national institutions should be designed so as to accomplish these goals.

Experience in Developing Countries

There is no doubt that plants are a considerable source of valuable drugs. The numerous and essential medicines of plant origin used by physicians is a good demonstration for that. Moreover, it is important to mention that only a small percentage of plant species of the world flora has so far been investigated.

Attracted by the wave of the successful discoveries of some therapeutically important compounds, many scientists and research institutions especially in developing countries decided to jump on the boat of medicinal plants research.

Unfortunately, the extensive research carried out in recent years has not returned the expected results.

The classical approach used for the evaluation of traditional remedies is probably an important reason why the results have been so disappointing.

In this approach, plants which are normally used by humans in the fresh state are collected, dried, stored for some time, subjected to different types of extractions and tested on laboratory animals for evaluating potential activities. At the end of the experimental phase, the drug passes to clinical evaluation. This model has been introduced by pharmaceutical companies for the testing of pure chemical substances. It is now largely recognized that this approach is inappropriate. While it has resulted in the development of new drugs, it has not been very successful when applied to plant substances.

What is worse is that it doesn't absolutely match the requirements of developing countries. This approach neglects the most important and immediate objectives of poor countries: the safe utilization of these plants in primary health care.

There are several problems inherent with this approach. First of all many plants may be active in the fresh form and lose such activity during the drying and storage process. Therefore biological as well as chemical studies should be carried out on fresh plants. Secondly, the classical approach does not take into account that several plants may be acting together. In traditional medicine it is very common that several plants be administered together. There must be some important reason for doing that. There are evidences that often combinations of plants result in increased efficacy and decreased toxicity than single plants. In these combinations, it happens that one plant potentiates the activity of a second one and that

a third plant counters the toxicity of one of the plants and so on. In traditional medicine many common substances are used as catalytic or potentiating agents. All these factors are neglected by the classical model.

Determination of total activity as prescribed by folkore medicine is not possible with this approach.

Also in the case of a single plant it is not true that the activity will always increase with further fractionations with one fraction being more active. Sometimes the fractionation results in decrease of activity with respect to total activity (e.g. antifertility activity of *Butea monosperma*).

In this approach, undue importance is given to isolation of pure active compounds from medicinal plants. While isolation and identification of single active compounds is interesting for studies of structure-activity relationships and may be stimulating for the scientist, it will not contribute to any significant extent to the solution of health problems of developing countries. In fact many countries in Africa and Asia have shifted to other models.

Past Experience in Somalia

When the Programme of research into plants used in Traditional Medicine started in 1978, it was strongly based on the classical approach which was then the prevailing model. The phases of the project were designed according to this approach.

Considering the previous experience of researchers in the field of drug research, it was almost unavoidable that the study would start in this way. Researchers gradually became aware of the lack of consistency of this way of tackling the problem.

In subsequent years, gradually and through discussions research activities were to a certain extent made more respondent to the principles of traditional medicine and to improved objectives. However the introduced revisions are still unsatisfactory.

In absolute terms the research has produced a lot of results. But unfortunately most of these results don't have the practical usefulness that the country needs.

At this stage it is essential that strong and positive changes be introduced.

Proposed Approach

In developing countries, traditional medicine has still greater prevalence and better accessibility than modern medicine. There is no doubt that this will still remain so for many years to come.

The immediate, useful and most important contribution of scientists in this field is how to make this medicine safer and confirm or disprove the efficacy of the preparations which it makes use of. A research which is oriented towards these goals could be carried out in an easier, quicker and cheaper way than the classical approach.

One important factor is that total extract or combinations of plants be administered in exactly the same way as it is used in traditional medicine. Studies should be carried out on fresh plants as very often traditional medical practitioners do.

The proposed approach is as follows:

- a) Toxicological study in two species of animal for acute and subacute toxicity;
- b) Experimental evaluation of the activity for which the plant or combination of plants is used;
- c) Clinical evaluation for efficacy in humans.

Before starting clinical evaluation of any plant, the results of all the pharmacological and toxicological investigations should be presented to an ethical committee.

The advantage of this model is that the costly, sophisticated and time consuming chemical studies of separations, subsequent fractionations and structure elucidation is avoided. These steps in fact are not necessary for the needed progress towards a better use of medicinal plants in health care. This approach takes into account the concepts of traditional and folklore medicine. No one can expect that traditional medical practitioners make use of pure extracts or fractions of the plants they use.

With the proposed approach, the already widely used herbs are evaluated in an easier, quicker and less expensive way and the community will be the first to benefit from it. This is also the best system to accelerate the regulation of healers' activity in Somalia.

In short the best strategy is to translate folklore into scientific application.

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Somali Traditional Healers: Role and Status

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More than half of the Somali population live in rural areas and refer their health problems to traditional healers. In some areas where the two medicines coexist, people may prefer the traditional system because of their belief and the satisfaction they gain from it.

The Somalis have their own concepts of the causes and curing of diseases. Like other African societies, the ancestors play a great role in the lives of the individuals. Still many diseases and natural calamities are attributed to not satisfying the ancestors enough. Moreover, Somali had contacts with Asian countries, like the Arabs, Indians and Persians, from which they imported healing systems.

Some causes of disease in Somalia are considered to be evil eye, envy, sin or a mistake against someone in the society, or super natural causes such as spirits or Jinni.

The Islamic religion arrived in Somalia with its own concepts of disease and therapy which has intermingled with the pre-islamic concepts.

In this communication, we will look over the healing systems, types of healers and their roles in the society.

Types of Healing Systems

There are different types of healing systems that can be categorized as follows:

1. Cauterization:

Nearly all Somalis are cauterized either in their childhood or as adults. As it is well known, the Somalis believe that « disease and fire can not stay together in the same place ». The diseases that are always burned are hepatitis, facial paralysis, parotitis and rachitism. The instruments commonly used for cauterization are a piece of wood, a piece of palm or sometimes nails.

2. Traditional Bone-setting:

The bone-setting is the most advanced traditional healing system. They cure both simple and complex fractures using very elementary materials like wood and the cortex of certain plants. Many people prefer traditional bone-setting because of the simpler immobilization and the periodic controls and massages of the fractured zone. During the convalescence, the patients are adviced to sexual abstinence and to certain food.

3. Scarification:

Scarification is performing superficial cuts to draw out the spoiled blood from the body. They retain that the sedentary life brings about the formation of spoiled blood stored in certain parts of the body, especially the joints.

Another method of blood-letting is « *toobin* ». A piece of cloth is burned in a cow's horn and suddenly attached to the body so that it can create vacuum and suck more blood. After some minutes, the horn is removed, small cuts are practiced and the « spoiled » blood is sucked. Many children are victims of scarification for different disorders such as diarrhea and delay of deambulation.

4. Traditional Surgery:

Using very simple instruments, they sometimes perform difficult operations. They sterilize their instruments with fire. The common operations are the frenectomy, tonsillectomy.

5. Exorcism and Magical rites:

Exorcistic rites differ with the life pattern of the people. The nomads have *zars* that do not need drums or other heavy instruments because of their continuous movements from a place to another in search of water and grazing lands. On the other hand, the farmers and the fishermen are settled people and they can have rites that may need big drums, traditional guitars and different metals for producing noises.

Some of the rites have spread from their place of origin to the whole country like the *Mingis* from Bari region, while others are still confined in their original places like the *Anyagow* in the Gosha along the Juba River. This phenomenon is the result of the continuous immigration of nomads and fishermen into the inter-river areas bringing with them their cultures.

Some of the magical rites practiced in Somalia are:

- *Mingis*
- *Boorane*
- *Wadaaddo (Ardooyin)*
- *Saar Lugeed*
- *Saar Mooye*
- *Baar Cadde*
- *Nuumbi*
- *Xayaat*
- *Anyagow*
- *Bebbe*
- *Barkiin (Baacalwaan)*

6. Medicinal Plants:

Use of medicinal plants is common all over the country. Healers have herbal remedies for all disorders. The plants used are mostly local, but sometimes imported from abroad. Herbal medicine is well developed and heartily believed in the inter-river areas.

Until now, we have registered about 500 plants used in Somali traditional medicine of which about 200 are botanically classified. Testing for the pharmacological activities of some plants is in progress.

7. Religion (Quran):

All Somalis believe that the Quran cures disease and this comes from the fact that the Quran by itself says that it has been revealed to cure Moslems. All psychiatric disorders are initially treated with the Quran and later people try

hospitals. Even in physical diseases such as fractures, the medical therapy is integrated with the Quran.

Religious therapy is common even in hospitals. In the afternoon, visitors read verses of the Quran to the patients. Sometimes, the family of the patient invites a group of Sheikhs into the hospital to read the Quran to the sick. Sometimes, permission is requested to take the patient home to read long verses of the Quran and make animal sacrifices.

Traditional Healers

The above mentioned healing systems are practiced by different healers. Sometimes a healer may practice different systems.

The different healers are as follows:

1. *Sancoole (practitioners):*

They are able to conduct different operations like surgery, cauterization, scarification, blood-letting, extraction of teeth from children etc. They generally study this *sanca* (techniques) from their parents. Some of them have small knowledge of herbal medicine like laxatives and herbs for healing wounds.

2. *Astrologists and Faallow:*

Astrologists have certain knowledge of the « stars ». They are generally consulted during chronic disorders. *Faallow* is a person who diagnoses diseases by making special signs on clean earth and from the figures that come out, he reads the causes and sometimes the therapy of the disease.

The use of playing cards, throwing shells and reading the bottom of a cup of coffee are all increasing as methods in diagnosing diseases.

3. *Herbalists:*

The herbalists have good knowledge of the local and imported plants used as remedies. Herbalists along the rivers have more knowledge of plants than the nomads.

4. *Baxaar:*

Baxaar is a herbalist who can prevent harmful animals in the river. Every village along the river has its own *Baxaar* who prevents the villagers and their animals from crocodiles. Moreover, he manages the boats for crossing the river.

5. *Exorcists:*

The exorcists differ according to the type of *zar* they practice. For instance, the master of *mingis* is called *Calaqad*, while in the case of *Boorane* he/she is called *Macallin* or teacher.

They cure patients possessed by spirits (*Jinni*, *Zar*) with traditional dances and animal sacrifices.

6. *Religious healers:*

They cure with the Quran in different ways:

a) by reading the Quran in front of the patient and blowing it on him

b) *Tahliil* which can be prepared in two ways:

i) by writing verses of the Quran on a plate or a board, washing with water and giving the solution to the patient. The ink is commonly saffron solution or milk blackened with charcoal.

ii) by reading the verses of the Quran and blowing directly to the water.

c) *Amulet*: Some verses of the Quran are written on a piece of paper and

protected with leather or copper plate. Amulets are hung on the neck, arm, leg or hips. There are other types of amulets prepared by herbalist, *Baxaar* or others. Instead of the Quran, they use plants or other materials like animal nails or beads. This type of amulets is used for preventing evil eyes.

The religious healers claim to have supernatural powers for understanding the disease very quickly. Some of the them have *tibb* books, imported from Arabian and oriental countries, written in Arabic. They ask their patients the name, mothers name, date and day of birth, they make calculations and find out the *burji* (horoscope). Then, they consult with their books and find out the cause and the therapy which is frequently the Quran and natural products imported from Arabian and Oriental countries (Abdullahi M. Ahmed 1979).

Besides the above mentioned healers, there are charlatans who make different tricks. Some pretend to pick out larvae from the nose (in case of allergic rhinitis), or from the ear in case of purulent otitis. Others make very superficial cuts with razor blades on the abdomen to suck out evil-eyed food in case of epigastric pain.

Training of Healers

Traditional healers are selected in different ways. In Somalia, most frequently, parents pass their knowledge to their children. If someone wants to learn the art from another healer, it is possible but it requires a very hard internship and obedience to the teacher. We will see the trainings of three traditional healers, namely a *Baxaar*, a *Sheikh* and a *Calaqad*.

1. *Baxaar Mohamed*.

He was born at a village near Marka. His father, grandfather and grandmother were all healers. At the age of 10 he was sent to Koranic school. After one year, he refused to continue the school, claiming that he wanted to study plants. But his parents refused because he was very young to keep plants' secrets.

Dissatisfied with his parents, Mohamed fled to Kaytoy near Jilib along the Juba River where he met Mayow, his grandmother's brother. Mayow entrusted his grandson to the hands of *Baxaar Nasiis Yaasiin* who firstly tested Mohamed's knowledge about the plants.

Mohamed and a guide were sent to the forest to collect plants. But before sending him, a cock was sacrificed to prevent him from the harm of the Jinni, wood, snakes and the wild animals in the forest. The guide taught him the conditions for collecting medicinal plants. He was ordered to keep away his shadow from the plant to be collected, throw some sand on it and recite the ancestors, who had taught them the plants. When these conditions are met, the plants can be collected without any fear from its spirits, and its therapeutic effects will be complete.

In that evening *yuunge* (a ceremony in which a cock is sacrificed and porridge is prepared) was performed. *Pampa* (porridge fermented for two days) and *dha-naanto* (unripe maize ear fermented for a week) were put in a big *leebo* (a traditional recipient made of red clay).

All ate the *Yuunge* and drank *Pampa* and *Dhanaanto* from the *Leebo*. Mohamed refers that the minds of all became perfect. After this drink one becomes proud and feels that no one can harm him.

The same night, he was vaccinated on different parts of the body. Small cuts were made and a powdered plant (*Mafuumbo*) was put into the cuts. The vaccinated areas are the big joints, abdomen, head and the back. The vaccinations help

- not to be afraid of anyone,
- not to remember parents, so that one can devote himself to plants only,
- to have confidence in the teacher,
- to keep the art of healing very secret.

From that night, Mohamed was one of the students of the *Baxaar*. He used to help the teacher in the farm and passed many difficulties and trials. He studied the medicinal plants very carefully and he learned how to deal with the animals in the river.

After 13 years of training, a great feast was organized by the teacher. As before, *yuunge*, *paampa* and *dhannanto* were prepared. The great ceremony was concluded by announcing that Mohamed was a *baxaar* and as recognition he was given a necklace and a horn. *Baxaar* Mohamed returned back to his family and became a famous *baxaar* of his village.

2. *Sheikh Aden.*

He was born at a village in the Western Somaliland. He went to Koranic school and helped his father. One day he decided to abandon his father in search of advanced religious studies, but his father requested him not to do so while he was alive. This request of the father affected him and he decided to stay with his old father until his death.

At last the father died and Sheikh Aden buried him. He sacrificed animals on the tomb of his father.

At the age of 21, he went to Mogadishu where he met Sheikh Mohamed Farah who became his teacher. Later, he moved with his teacher to El Bur of Galgadud Region.

Aden became one of the *xer* (students) and he refers that he worked for the teacher very hard. He collected water and wood for the whole camp, served all the students and at night, participated in studying sessions. He used to accompany the teacher when coming to Mogadishu.

On one trip, the teacher and many students came to Mogadishu. The teacher organized a great ceremony in which he invited all the famous Sheikhs of the city and many government senior officials. No one knew the purpose of the ceremony. In one corner, there was a decorated empty chair.

After reading some verses of the Quran, the teacher, unexpectedly, ordered Sheikh Aden to sit on the chair. The teacher announced that Sheikh Aden was his representative in Mogadishu.

After 13 years of training, Sheikh Aden sat on the chair and still represents his teacher, leading the largest religious therapeutic community in Mogadishu.

3. *Calaqad Isa.*

He was born in the Bari Region. His father and grandfather were very famous *Calaqad* in that region where the *Mingis* originated. From childhood, he used to help his father when curing patients. At the age of 14, Isa was possessed by the spirits of *Mingis* and got sick. He had undergone all therapeutic phases of the *Mingis* which are:

— diagnostic phase in which the patient goes to a *Calaqad* and the diagnoses is established,

— incense phase, only different types of incense are fumed for the patient and the spirits are given a later appointment,

— *Samradayn*, a ceremony characterized by dancing and donating fish and rice to the spirits,

— *Muul* or *Mingis* phase where sheep, clothes and perfumes are donated to the spirits.

With these four phases the patient completes the therapy and visits the *Gole* (where *Mingis* is danced) periodically. But Isa continued to the last ceremony which is becoming *Calaqad*. A great feast was performed where there was dancing for seven days. Goats and sheep were sacrificed, perfumes and beautiful clothes were also donated to the spirits. On the last day of the ceremony, the title *Calaqad* was awarded to Isa and as a certificate he was given a drum, a ring and *Shaaruq* (a coin special for the *Calaqad*). He continued to help his father for some more years.

Calaqad Isa came to Mogadishu where he is one of the most famous *Calaqad* practicing the *Mingis* in the outskirts of the city.

If we consider the internship of the above three healers, although their field are quite different, we can observe that the familiarity of the art and the long and hard training are common. In the case of spiritual rites healers, they should be initially possessed by the spirits. After curing themselves from the spirits, they can become healers.

The end of the training is decided by the teachers and ceremony is performed in which a kind of recognition is awarded to the new graduate. This initiation resembles the graduation sessions of modern universities where the graduates are given recognitions and proclaimed to be specialists in certain fields.

Another characteristics that the traditional healers study during their training is keeping the art of healing very secret and being loyal to the teachers.

Role and Status of Healers

Early anthropologists who made contacts with the traditional healers gave them bad names such as quacks, charlatans, magicians and others. But recently, with the advancement of medical anthropology, the attitudes towards traditional healers have completely changed. It was noticed that healers in their communities represented an intermediary of the common people and the spiritual world. Sometimes, the healers do not only cure diseases, but they are diviners who can bring about rain, make women give a male baby and solve many social problems (Landy 1977: 415).

The traditional healers are self-confident and have the power to convince sick people. They show great sympathy to the patients and have enough patience to listen to their problems.

The price of a healer's treatment is neither fixed nor anticipated. He treats the patient and generally when he gets better, the family of the patient gives him something as reward.

The relationship between the healer and the community depends on the type

of healing system he practices. The religious healers are greatly respected. They lead their communities in many ceremonies like religious holidays and commemorating ancestors which is an integral part in the lives of the Somalis. The common people believe that God has donated a supernatural power to the Sheikh which helps him to diagnose and cure diseases.

The herbalist and the *Baxaar* are respected by the people in villages. Besides curing disease, the *Baxaar* protects villagers and their animals from crocodiles and he is paid for this function. The outsiders who come to give water to their cattle should give gifts to him so that they are safe from crocodiles. People avoid disputing with the *Baxaar*. They think that he might order his crocodiles to kill anyone who creates conflict with him.

The herbalist and the *Baxaar* are the only ones who can cut plants for therapeutic purposes, because they know the conditions for collecting medicinal plants. It is believed that if others try to cut medicinal plants, they may harm themselves or they do not gain the therapeutic effects needed from the plant.

The practitioners (*Sancoole*) are a desired group and are considered beneficial to the society. They conduct their normal activities like farming or animal herding and assist patients when they are called.

The exorcists and *Fallow* are generally feared and the common people try to avoid them. For instance, if someone disputes with a *Calaqad*, the latter is able to send his spirits on that person so he will be possessed by the *Mingis*. On the other side, if a *Calaqad* or a possessed person loves someone, they may transfer their spirits to the loved person. In this way many mothers transfer their Jinni to their sons or daughters. That is the reason people try to keep as far as possible from exorcists, magicians and even possessed people.

The possessed patients show great dependence and obedience to their teachers. They visit regularly the ceremonies and donate gifts to the teachers.

Influences on the Traditional Healers

The Somali villages are not genuine and intact as they were twenty years ago. The villages are explored by government personnel. In a small village, we can see a village committee, school teachers, policemen and tax collectors.

Since the healers are part of the village elders, they participate in the political organizations of the village like the Party and the Women's Association. This membership enables them to go to the town and sometimes to the capital city. A huge influx of healers in Mogadishu occurred in 1974 when the Ministry of Health invited them to sit for an evaluation test. Certificates were awarded to those who succeeded. Some of them were assumed as government personnel and integrated into the health services of the country. Others returned to their towns and villages with certificates. They opened small drug shops in Mogadishu and other towns where they sell natural remedies.

At the same time the oral Somali language was written. Literacy campaigns were carried out all over the country where hundreds of thousands studied how to read and write the Somali language. The healers were among those who studied and this influenced their practice. Now some healers are able to prescribe medicinal plants.

Another great influence on healers is « modern » medicine. The healers, especial-

ly those assumed by the government, have studied and adapted many techniques from « modern » medicine. For instance, the bone-setter now uses cotton and bandage instead of the cortex of a plant. About the measurements, a healer may say to mix his remedy with a liter of water or use a drop counter. Some have learned how to inject and utilize surgical instruments. In the field of traditional obstetrics, the TBA may use gloves and sutures the epitomy with synthetic fibres. The TBA sometimes demand that the girl to be infibulated should be injected with tetanus antiserum.

The traditional healers not only gained benefits from the « modern » medicine, but the latter has absorbed some clients from them.

The political and security influences on the traditional healers have limited their powers. Previously, the *Baxaar* or the exorcist were able to take revenge on anyone who disputed with them. But now, if a crocodile kills a person in a village, the *Baxaar* may be questioned about the matter by the police or the village committee.

In conclusion, the traditional healers have still an important role in healing and solving the problems of their communities. As other classes of the society, they are evolving and adapting knowledge and experiences from different disciplines and generally utilize them positively.

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Part IV

History, Anthropology and Archeology

Effects of Sixteenth Century Upheavals on the History of the Horn

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Islam as we know, is a religion that found its most complete expression in an urban setting, but at the same time was spread by nomads in the course of their vast movements; while peasants, because of the religion's Arabian background, were just strangers to it at the beginning. Therefore, when Islam rose in Arabia, its triumph was the Prophet's success in uniting the Arab desert tribes, hitherto fragmented, under the Islamic banner which centered in an urban setting.

Thus Islam brought about one of the greatest urbanizing processes in the world prior to the European Industrial Revolution from the eighteenth century onwards. As a result of this, many different pastoral tribes such as the Turks and the Moguls found expression in Islam by using its influence in building great empires. The effects of Islam on the tribal organizations in the Horn of Africa was not less significant than those in the other parts of the world.¹

It's no wonder that the first Islamic State was established in Shoa by members of the Mukhzumite, an Arab migrant tribe in the 9th century, in 1289. It was overthrown by another kingdom, Ifat, whose effects on political, economical and social lives of the peoples of the area were greater and more durable.²

It was that kingdom, Ifat, which extended its rule from Shoa to the coastal lowlands down to Zeila. We can attribute its success, longevity and influence, to the fact that the founders of the dynasty of Walasma were native of the area they controlled. Umar Walasma, the first to reign, according to the Harari historian, Sheikh Abibakr Ba-Alawi Ashanbali, was a descendent of Sheikh Yussuf Al-Kowneyn. If we accept this, then, we can confidently say, that the Walasma Family, unlike the Mukhzumites, were accepted because of their native and family background.³

After a period of consolidation and expansion, that emergent Islamic state evolved into the most dynamic and powerful Muslim State in the Horn of Africa. It was with the emergence of Ifat, that the Christian-Muslim confrontation began.

1. Holt P.M., K.S. Lambton and B. Lewis, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol 2 B, London and New York, 1980, pp. 443-468.

2. Pankhurst (ed.), *Travellers in Ethiopia*, London, 1965, pp. 1-3.

The passage is taken from the famous, though of unknown authorship, the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*.

3. Fathi Quath, *Islam Walhabasha Cabra Taarikh* - (Islam and Abyssinia through the ages), Cairo.

It was natural, though the two communities co-existed in peace for a long period, as a result of religious and economic considerations, animosity between the two sides reigned in the area for the three centuries that followed its establishment. It was under Ifat that Muslims started to consolidate their control of most of the trade routes. On the other hand, the Christian kings were to try to exact more tributes which in turn created an atmosphere of resentment and bitterness within the Muslim ranks and in the end it evolved into a Jihad.⁴

It was during the reign of the Christian king, Ishaq (1414-29), after his army was trained and equipped by members of the Mamluks who fled from Egypt, as a result of a power struggle within the Mamluk ranks, in about 1418, that the Muslims, under Sultan Sa'addudin, were decisively defeated. In addition to that, they were followed to Zeila where the Christians killed the Sultan himself to be buried at an Island off Zeila which still bears his name. To the Muslims, Sa'addudin was a martyr and a saint who is still venerated by the Zeilis. It appears then, that Sa'addudin was one of the greatest Muslim leaders who succeeded in mobilizing a great army comprising many sections of the Muslim society. In commemoration of this resounding victory, Christians composed an epic song in which, for the first time, the name Somali, was mentioned.⁵

Why historians failed to account properly for the exact meaning of the word, Somali, must be due to their failure to look into the etymology of the word « SOOMAAL ».

Prior to this event, many writers and geographers, mostly of Arab origin, did not use this name, Somali, in relation to any ethnic group in the Horn of Africa. The name Berber, which had been in use form early times persisted well into the 14th century when Ibn Batuta visited both Zeila and Mogadishu.

There is no doubt, that the Somalis as an ethnic group, like their Afar and Saho brethren were the first of the Kushitic stock to reach the lowlands along the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden coast. For that reason, we can accept the fact that their presence in the area must have antedated Islam, but why this name escaped those writers notice is a question only a few of present day historians tried to answer. To come up with a convincingly logical answer, we must make use of the etymological side of the Somali language.

In those early days, writers on the area of our subject, Arabs or otherwise, depended on travellers or merchants, whose knowledge about the cultures, languages and ethnic composition was very limited. Besides, those merchants and travellers made their contacts briefly at the coastal towns about which they made their impressions in vague. Because of that, their reports were either fragmented or exaggerated, lacking both details and insight into the lives of the inhabitants about whom they were trying to write. Only Ibn Batuta who visited the coastal area

4. Sheikh Ahmed Abdillahi Rirash, *Kashful sudduul can taarik A-Soomaal* (Lifting the curtain of the Somali History), Mogadishu 1974.

There is a photocopy of the Harari Historian's manuscript at the end of the book. The genealogy of Umar Walashma, the founder of the Muslim State of Ifat is given as follows.

Umar Bin Dunyahur, Bin Hamud, Bin Mohamed, Bin Sheikh Yusuf, Bavaktle (Baratle) (Aw Barkhadle).

Sheikh Yusuf's tomb at a place twenty miles east of Hargeysa is annually visited by many Muslims, for an annual service.

The same manuscript has been annotated and translated into Italian by the Italian Scholar, E. Cerrulli.

5. Fathi Qayth, *op. cit.*

gave us a first hand information, of some detail and insight, about the coastal towns he visited. But his stay in Zeila was very brief; and of its population he said nothing of importance. His impressions about the inhabitants of the town were confined to their complexions of which he said were black, their religion, he tells us was a Shafite Sect of Islam. But he failed to say anything about their ethnicity, culture and language. At the same time, there is no doubt that both the Somalis and Afars were dominant in the area.

Therefore, we can speculate on the fact that these names were occupational ones rather than being used for ethnicities. The composer of the Christian epic song in commemoration of their victory over Muslims who mentioned the name, Somali, in early fifteenth century and Shahabudin, the chronicler of the Imam Ahmed in the sixteenth century, who often referred to the Somalis as a major component of the Imams army, were, unlike their predecessor writers, insiders and had greater knowledge about the societies they wrote about.

Therefore, they could refer to a certain group by their ethnic, occupational or tribal names. As result of this, we can conclude that both the name Afar and Somali were local names.

Still in Somali, a group of people are referred to by their occupational names. Peasants or farmers are known as *Qotto* or *Qudaal*, while hunters are known as *Dabatto*. In this connection the Somali word, *Maal*, is used as a component of compound noun, for words to refer to a group's profession or mode of life. If we take the word *tum*, (to beat ... Iron for example) and *Maal* together, we have compound name *tum-maal* (*tumaal*) for the letter « m » in the first word *tum*, has been eliminated. Then we have, *Tumaal*, a blacksmith or a man whose profession is to do all metal works.

In line with this hypothesis, the name *Soomaal* is having the word *Maal*, as component showing that it originated as an occupational name for a group or a reference to their mode of life. If we accept the notion that the word *Maal* is used with that connection then we have to solve the riddle of the first part, *Soo*. Keeping in mind that the mode of life of the Somalis is predominantly *Pastoral*, then, we can speculate on the fact that the part, *Soo*, could come from *So'* (Meat) or *Soof* (herding or herds). If we combine the word *So'* (meat) with *Maal* we have a compound name *So'maal* which could refer to a group whose main diet is meat, but there is nothing professional about it for a hunter can have meat for his meals every-day.

For that reason we must fall back to the second word for an explanation. The word *Soof* is used when a herder takes his herds out for grazing and sometimes a herd is known as *Soof*. Therefore, if we combine the two words *Soof* and *Maal* together, we can come up with a new compound name, « *Soofmaal* » which can give us a wider sense — a *Soofmaal*: which can mean a professional herdsman or a group of people whose mode of life is to rear, bread and live on livestock, and if we assume that the letter « f » could disappear as time went for convenience, we have the word *Soomaal/Somal*. This is more appropriate because in the first combinations we have *So'* with a short vowel and *Maal* with a long vowel, while actually the word, *Soomal/Somal*, is made up of two parts with two long vowels oo/aa: therefore, *Soofmaal* can be more suitable for our hypothesis as to the etymology of the name « Somali ».⁶

6. The two words *So'* (meat) and *Soof* (herding or herds) are not often used in the common Somali;

The post-Sa'addudin period saw a gradual revival of the Muslim power. His two sons, Sabrudin (1418-1425) and Mansur (1426-1436), after their successful return from Yemen, rekindled the spirit of Jihad against their Christian enemies. Though their fortunes in the struggle had their ups and downs, they never suffered from the same humiliating defeats that resulted from the death of Sa'addudin. The area under their control was renamed after the martyr Sultan to be called Barro Sa'addudin and the Sultanate's seat was moved from Zeila to Dakar and then to Harar further inland.⁷

It was during that period, in about 1430, when came from Hadramaut, a group of forty-four religious leaders or missionaries and met at a place called Siyaro or Awliyo Kombo. Among them, was Sheikh Ibrahim Abu Zarbay who found his way to Harar where he established a center for Islamic learning and propagation. The rest of the group found their ways to different points within the Islamic State and founded their own centers for the same ends.⁸

It is possible, therefore, that this group revived and promoted Islamic teachings in such a way that its impact was to be felt in the early part of the sixteenth century, when a religious movement succeeded in changing the course of history in the Horn of Africa region by producing the great Jihadist, Ahmed Ibrahim El-Ghazi (1506-1543). The one hundred years that followed the death of Sa'addudin (1418-1518), saw a period of growth, prosperity, political and dynastical stability. But in about 1518, two events that caused a great instability befell the Muslim state. It was the effects of those events that paved the way for the great events that shocked the Horn of Africa.

One of these calamities happened when the Portuguese pirate, Saldnah, raided Zeila, burned it down and took five hundred, who survived their massacre, to be sold as slaves, while at the same time the Muslim army who were out for a Jihad against the Christians were badly defeated.

As result of this double calamities, there started revolts in which the traditional power holders of the Sultanate were undermined. In the process Ahmed Ibrahim, Ahmed Guray, emerged as the undisputed leader of the Muslim state. He went out for a decisive showdown with the Christian kingdom. He won brilliant victory against them. But his victory was turned into a disastrous defeat.⁹

The countdown to the disaster began when a Portuguese expeditionary force of four hundred, lead by Christopher de Gama arrived in Tigre.

Galawdewos who knew of de Gama's arrival came out of his hiding and joined what forces he could raise with the incoming Portuguese one. Initially, Muslims were beaten, but the Imam who after being wounded, miraculously escaped captivity succeeded in defeating the Christian alliance by killing two hundred of the

the following two verses taken from a long poem of Mohamed Abdille Hassan, can give us the best illustration as to their meaning (a) « Ma sabaan ka sabaan baan, So' yaqaanka dugaagiyo, haadda aanu sabaynayoo — soominoo qadinno »

(For a long time we have starved the carnivora and kept the birds of prey unfed).

(b) « ma sabaan ka sabaanbaa, raggaygii la sadqeeyoo, Soofkaygii la xaraashoo — Sed yaa iiga cesha aan subax noolba lahaa » (For a long time my men were being slaughtered and my animal were being auctioned, begged for compensation but to no avail). For the complete poem, see Sheikh Jaamac Cumar Ciise, Diiwaankii Gabayadii Sayid Maxamed Cabdille Xasan, Mogadhisu - 1973 Collection of the poems of Mohamed Abdille Hassan pp. 146-160.

7. Lewis I.M., *A modern history of Somalia*, London, 1980, p. 25.

8. Sh. Ahmed A. Rirash, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

9. *Ibid.*

Portuguese soldiers including their commander, Christopher de Gama. He thought that he rode out of the storm and wrongly sent the Turkish force back to Yemen. This unwise decision caused him his life and that of his movement. Shortly after the Turkish troops departed, the Portuguese regrouped and a sniper among them succeeded in slaying the Imam.¹⁰

Amir Nur Bin-Mujahid who succeeded the Imam, in 1551, succeeded in regrouping and bringing back some sort of stability. After a period of consolidation he undertook an invasion against the Christian Kingdom in which he killed, Galwadewos, the king, in 1559.

But other fatal problems in the form of famines, epidemics and the Oromo (Galla) invasion appeared on the horizon.

In the end we have a social pattern very different from what we have before the sixteenth century upheavals. Since all other modes of life were brought to an end, pastoralism became the pre-dominant one. As a result, the name, Somali, which was only an occupational name prior to Jihad, evolved into an ethnic name.

As we have already mentioned, the whole social set up which we described earlier was put upside down by the disastrous effects of the sixteenth century upheavals which decimated whole groups and tribes and effected a major regrouping and the emergence of new ones out of the ruins of previous ones. The two groups referred to by Shahabudin, constituted a major component of the Muslim society, (the Harla and the Al-Malasay), and ceased to exist as independent entities, but some groups that still bear their names constitute parts of the other clans. The remnants of the clans of the Somali group who took part in the Jihad are all represented within the Harar Province, but most of them either remained minorities or even got assimilated by the Oromo Qotto.¹¹

Of all the disastrous upheavals that brought about these social and economic disruption to the Muslim state in the sixteenth century, the Oromo invasion proved to be the worst. For a long period they dominated the Muslim traditional territory from Berbera to Aussa driving what remained of the Muslims either to the extreme east in the case of the Somalis or to the extreme north in the case of the Adal's (Afar). As it happened, when the Islamic religious centers had been destroyed, Islam remained just nominal. There were no longer, the Fuqahaa to whom all legal problems were referred. The vacuum created by their disappearance was to be filled in one way or the other.

What we have to assume, then, is that, the « Xeer » customary law, emerged or re-emerged. We can speculate on the fact that the « Xeer » which took its main themes from the Islamic Sharia, began its growth and development after the Oromos were defeated.

The Ali-Kalageeye - Aale Boore episode and the victory of the former on the latter, marked a historical turning point in concluding the Oromo predominance.¹² As a result, the west-bound push, triggered by Ali-Kalageey's victory have been sustained ever since, therefore, that psychological frontier and the memory of the Oromo devastations, necessitated a close cohesiveness within the Issa pastoralists.¹³

10. *Ibid.*

11. Sh. Ahmed A. Rirash, *op. cit.* See the photocopy at the end of the book.

12. Abi Ishaq Ibrahim Bin Ali, *Al Muhathab fi fiqih e shafi*, Vol I Surabaya, pp. 195-217.

13. Sh. Ahmed A. Rirash *op. cit.*, pp. 36-68.

A long passage written by Sheikh Ali El Qaduni, has been quoted here intact. It depicts, though

What made their particularism more distinct is the uniqueness of their « Xeer », which, unlike, those of the other Somali clans, have been codified in an oral text with a beautiful alteration, a factor that ensured its survival and continuity as a living legal code with all its extremely democratic ideals.¹⁴

fragmented, the events that lead to the defeat of the Oromos and the death of their leader, Aale Boore. He wrote it out of his memory about the Oromo invasion. In fact, it gives a very good picture of how the Muslim of the area lost in touch with their past, for the author brought together Sa'addudin who was killed in Zeila in early 15th century and Aale Boore who definitely belonged to the post-16th century era.

14. An Issa clansman takes pride in his *Xeer*. He is convinced of the fact that his existence would have been meaningless without the *Xeer*, which gave his clan a sense of direction. This quotation, « Eebahayna xugunbuu iga abuuray aabahayna Xeer buu iidhigay », (Allah created me from sperms, and my father formulated for me a *Xeer*, gives the best illustration to that effect).

Documenti sulla Somalia nell'archivio storico della Società Africana d'Italia (Napoli, 1880-1960 c.)

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Scopo del presente intervento è fornire una prima parziale illustrazione dei risultati cui è pervenuta sinora una ricerca in corso di svolgimento sull'archivio storico della Società Africana d'Italia (SAI, 1880-1960) con particolare riguardo ai documenti emersi relativi alla Somalia.

La Società Africana d'Italia, inizialmente « Club Africano di Napoli » (1880-82), fu un sodalizio d'interesse geografico-commerciale che sorse ed operò a Napoli a partire dagli ultimi due decenni del secolo scorso. L'archivio della SAI fu danneggiato dal crollo della sede sociale nel 1952 (Napoli: frana del monte Echia), ed è rimasto in pratica da allora inaccessibile agli studiosi anche a causa poi della serie di trasferimenti più o meno forzati che esso ha subito sino a giungere all'attuale sede, anch'essa provvisoria presso la Biblioteca M. Ripa di Napoli. L'archivio SAI costituisce dunque un patrimonio di documenti e testimonianze per molti versi ancora non interamente valorizzato che la ricerca attualmente in corso, condotta nell'ambito del progetto d'interesse nazionale sulle « Fonti italiane per la Storia dell'Africa »¹ intende appunto restituire all'attenzione degli studiosi, attraverso la produzione di un catalogo d'inventario. Dal punto di vista dei contenuti, in particolare, la ingente quantità di documenti che tuttora fanno parte di questo archivio, costituisce una interessante fonte di documentazione non solo dei singoli episodi, circostanze o contributi forniti da questo sodalizio² ma anche, e prevalentemente, come testimonianza complessa del clima culturale e politico nel quale si sviluppa, sul finire del secolo, la « questione coloniale » in Italia.³

¹ La ricerca « Fonti italiane » per la Storia dell'Africa ha beneficiato del finanziamento del M.P.I. (quota 40%) interessando per il triennio 1982-'85 gli atenei di Bologna, Pavia, Perugia, Pisa, Siena, Urbino, Napoli e l'I.U.O. di Napoli. La produzione di un primo risultato scientifico è rappresentata da Luciani, S. e Taddia, I.: *Fonti comboniane per la storia dell'Africa Nord Orientale*, Univ. degli Studi Bologna, Dip. di Politica, Istituzioni Storia, Bologna, 1986.

² Per le altre due maggiori associazioni di carattere geografico-commerciale attive in Italia alla fine del secolo, la Società Geografica Italiana (Firenze-Roma) e la Società d'Esplorazione commerciale in Africa (Milano), si vedano rispettivamente i contributi di Carazzi, M.: *La Società Geografica Italiana e l'esplorazione coloniale in Africa (1867-1900)*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1972; e di Milanini Kemény, A.: *La Società d'Esplorazione commerciale in Africa e la politica coloniale (1879-1914)*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1973.

³ L'ambito culturale nel quale si esplica, tra gli altri, l'azione della SAI è tratteggiato da F. Surdich nella introduzione al volume da lui curato: *L'Esplorazione italiana dell'Africa*, Il Saggiatore, Firenze, 1982; sui prolegomeni del colonialismo italiano si vedano, tra gli altri, Naitza, G.B., *Il colo-*

Lo spaccato di società che l'analisi dei documenti in esame ci offre, va dunque posto in evidenza anche come strumento di lettura di un periodo storico che tuttora richiede approfondimento degli studi.⁴

Per un altro verso, l'archivio SAI rimane un'utile fonte e strumento di ricerca più dettagliata, atto a contribuire alla ricostruzione dei molti episodi e delle varie microstorie delle quali il fenomeno più generale del primo colonialismo italiano si compose. Non è dunque senza attenzione per le esigenze della ricerca che questo lavoro si viene svolgendo.⁵

Il presente contributo fornisce una descrizione solo indicativa dei contenuti dell'archivio e dei documenti sinora emersi durante la ricerca con riguardo alla Somalia. I risultati qui presentati, ancora provvisori, sono dunque suscettibili di essere integrati con eventuali nuovi elementi scaturiti a ricerca conclusa. Va inoltre anticipato che la documentazione descritta qui di seguito attiene unicamente ai primi tre decenni di attività del sodalizio napoletano (periodo 1880-1910) e di essa fanno parte anche alcuni documenti inediti o poco noti che vengono opportunamente segnalati.

La Società Africana d'Italia, (periodo 1880-1910)

Nell'introdurre i documenti riguardanti la Somalia reperiti nell'archivio SAI, pare utile soffermarsi brevemente sul ruolo e la natura di questa associazione. Con tutta probabilità, la prolungata inaccessibilità dell'archivio SAI è anche la causa delle limitate ricerche condotte su questa associazione, la meno studiata⁶ tra i sodalizi d'interesse geografico-commerciale operanti in Italia nell'ultimo quarto dell'ottocento.⁷ In gran parte, la ricerca sulla Società Africana d'Italia è difatti ancora da farsi. Solo recentemente alcuni contributi sono stati forniti tendenti in particolare a focalizzare l'attenzione sul ruolo di divulgazione svolto dalla SAI attraverso il Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia (BSAI, 1882-1940), con particolare riguardo al contributo da esso dato alla conoscenza geografica dell'Africa in Italia alla fine del secolo XIX.⁸ La tendenza a porre l'accento sul Bollettino

nalismo nella storia d'Italia (1882-1949), La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1975; Rainero, R.H., *L'anticolonialismo italiano da Assab ad Adua*, Ed. Comunità, Milano, 1971, e RoCHAT, G., *Il colonialismo italiano*, Loescher, Torino, 1973.

⁴ Sui ritardi e le lacune della storiografia del colonialismo italiano si rimanda al recente intervento di R.H. Rainero al Convegno su « Gli studi africanistici in Italia dagli anni '60 ad oggi » (Roma, 25-27 giugno 1985): v. degli « Atti », Roma, Istituto Italo-Africano, 1986, pp. 95-101.

⁵ Scaramella C., Intartaglia, C., « L'archivio della Società Africana d'Italia, Napoli. Primo contributo all'inventario: periodo 1880-1905 », in *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Collana M. Ripa, I.U.O., Napoli, vol. III (in stampa). A questo contributo si rimanda anche per ulteriori riferimenti bio-bibliografici e altri dettagli non sviluppati in questa sede.

⁶ Alcune notizie sulla SAI sono in Bruno, A., « La Società Africana d'Italia e la sua opera di affermazione coloniale », estratto da *L'Africa Italiana*, BSAI, Napoli, 1932; e in Fenin, G., « La società Africana d'Italia », estratto da *Africa Italiana*, (Milano), n. 6, giugno 1941, XIX. Altri brevi cenni sono in Battaglia, R., *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Einaudi, Torino, 1958, in part. pp. 101-110; e in Milanini Kemény, A., *op. cit.*, p. 133 passim.

⁷ V. nota 2.

⁸ Diglio, S., « Il contributo del Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia alla conoscenza geografica dell'Africa in Italia negli ultimi diciotto anni del XIX secolo », in Marazzi U. (a cura di), *La Conoscenza ...*, cit., Vol. I, Tomo I., Napoli, 1984, pp. 155-68. Meno analitica è Raeli, P., *La Società Africana d'Italia (1880-1940)*, Tesi di Laurea, I.U.O., Napoli, anno acc. 1982-3, con in app. un indice dei nomi ed un elenco (non esaustivo) degli articoli comparsi in BSAI riguardo l'Africa.

della SAI si spiega in larga misura, sul piano della ricerca, con il fatto che questa rivista è stata a lungo l'unica testimonianza accessibile dell'operato della SAI. È auspicabile tuttavia che con l'apertura alla ricerca dell'archivio della Società, nuovi contributi possano essere forniti utili a precisare e definire meglio natura e finalità di questo sodalizio.

Il Bollettino della SAI fu in effetti lo strumento divulgativo per eccellenza attraverso il quale si venne svolgendo l'azione della associazione napoletana. Questa azione fu in parte ispirata all'ampliamento delle conoscenze geografiche sull'Africa e in particolare, come si è sottolineato,⁹ ormai su chiudersi dell'epoca delle grandi esplorazioni, riguardò quasi esclusivamente le regioni dell'Africa Orientale. Tuttavia, il tratto largamente predominante nell'azione SAI fu, in generale, squisitamente politico, così come politico nella sua essenza fu il contributo particolare fornito dalla SAI nei prolegomeni del colonialismo italiano:

« Portare il problema dell'espansione italiana in Africa dal mondo dell'accademia in quello della vita », fu questo « per anni, il solo scopo della Società Africana d'Italia » (Carerj, 1890);

e in questa medesima luce, la stessa SAI non fu altro che:

« un sodalizio di agitazione per richiamare, stimolare l'azione dello Stato nell'interesse del Paese verso l'Africa » (Carerj, 1894).

È proprio di questa azione incessante di stimolo e propagazione dell'idea colonialista che il Bollettino costituisce dunque una fonte inesauribile di testimonianze. La stessa dominante politica aiuta inoltre a spiegare in larga misura i limiti scientifici così sovente riscontrabili, in maniera talvolta anche appariscente, in alcuni dei contributi comparsi su questa rivista nel corso del tempo.¹⁰ E non sorprende infine che, su queste direttive, l'apporto più originale del sodalizio napoletano alla causa coloniale italiana si venga esaurendo di pari passo al prendere piede, in Africa, di una politica di occupazione effettiva dei territori.

Si è in presenza, in breve, di un sodalizio che, nel contesto anche politico dell'Italia di fine ottocento, rappresenta un caso del tutto singolare di proselitismo colonialista, a fronte delle incertezze e contraddizioni che distinguono l'operato dello Stato e dei privati capitalisti¹¹ ed il cui limitato apporto scientifico riflette esso stesso, d'altronde, ritardi e lacune più o meno generalizzate proprie dell'impianto accademico italiano del tempo, con riguardo agli studi « orientalistici » o rivolti all'Africa.¹² Sullo sfondo di un colonialismo appena in gestazione, la

⁹ Diglio S., *cit.*

¹⁰ Sul problema della « pretesa scientificità » caratteristico di molti dei contributi italiani del tempo riguardo l'Africa, si sofferma Surdich F., *op. cit.*, Introduzione.

¹¹ A questi ultimi, oltre che allo stato, si rivolge costantemente la SAI, e raramente con successo. Si è in un'epoca, come osservava G.B. Licata sulle pagine del Bollettino, in cui « ... si giunge a questo deplorabile fatto, che non si trova in tutta Italia chi senta di spendere centomila lire per Assab ... » (Licata, 1882, p. 20). Sul'atteggiamento degli ambienti imprenditoriali e capitalisti italiani riguardo alla questione coloniale, si veda anche Naitza G.B., *op. cit.*, Introduzione.

¹² La inadeguatezza dell'impianto accademico e dell'istruzione superiore in Italia, in materia coloniale e commerciale, è argomento ricorrente di dibattito nella storia della SAI. Gli studi « orientalistici » in Italia alla fine del secolo sono sinteticamente illustrati in Gabrieli G., *Bibliografia degli*

SAI svolse dunque un ruolo per alcuni versi eccentrico, tentando di compendiare al suo interno, malgrado l'esiguità di mezzi, tutte o quasi le funzioni di un'azione colonialista che, in assenza di un valido interlocutore nel governo, era costretta ad avocare a sé. Di qui, allora, affianco alla preminente azione divulgativa del pensiero coloniale, e politica, nei confronti dello stato e dei privati, anche un interesse ad intraprendere in prima persona esplorazioni o ricognizioni commerciali (Robecchi Bricchetti ad Obbia, 1890; Candeo al Lasta, 1893; Sylos-Sersale al Capo Guardafui ed Alula, 1902; Cufino nel Mar Rosso, 1913-14); a contribuire a dar vita a più società intese alla valorizzazione commerciale delle colonie (a cominciare dalla « Società Commerciale Colonizzatrice per Assab », 1882); e, infine, un interesse a promuovere sul piano didattico (con la istituzione di una Scuola coloniale sin dal 1885), e museologico (con la creazione fin dai primi anni di un proprio fondo privato)¹³ l'affermarsi nella nazione di un più stretto e generale interessamento per le colonie africane.

In questo complesso di attività, che si viene articolando in un ambito culturale e politico nazionale che ancora mostra riluttanza verso le imprese coloniali, va colto dunque il contributo più originale della SAI.

Né va dimenticata, infine, da un altro punto di vista, l'influenza che altri fattori, segnatamente l'ambiente di origine e gli interessi che ruotarono almeno inizialmente attorno a questa associazione, poterono avere sullo sviluppo di una sua identità. Sorta per iniziativa di una ristretta cerchia di persone appartenenti perlomeno ai ceti abbienti e commerciali della città di Napoli, la SAI inevitabilmente riprese alcuni dei suoi argomenti dallo stesso scenario dal quale muoveva, ad esempio invocando la creazione di « colonie di popolamento » che potessero risolvere, almeno in parte, i mali endemici dell'emigrazione del mezzogiorno d'Italia; o, anche, cercando di attuare, nelle pieghe del processo coloniale, un'operazione di sviluppo industriale che avesse nel sud e nel porto di Napoli in particolare un polo essenziale di realizzazione.¹⁴

Il Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia e l'azione della SAI per la Somalia (1880-1910)

L'accendersi di un interesse della SAI per i territori somali, gradualmente nel corso degli anni ottanta, è ben documentato dal Bollettino della Società. Una serie di brevi notizie pubblicate a partire dal 1883, nella sezione « Cronaca » e « Rassegna Africana », reca informazioni sulle spedizioni europee che interessano

Studi Orientalistici in Italia dal 1912 al 1934, AGIL, Roma, 1935, in part. l'introduzione. Per un più completo quadro dell'orientamento di questi studi, si veda inoltre: Gabrielli F., « Gli studi arabo-islamici a Napoli fra Otto e Novecento », in Marazzi U., *op. cit.*, vol. I, tomo I, pp. 3-12; e Rosi, S., « Gli studi di orientalistica a Firenze nella seconda metà dell'ottocento », in *ivi*, pp. 103-20. Per quel che riguarda l'africanistica: l'attività della SAI si colloca in quella che viene cronologicamente considerata la prima fase di sviluppo della disciplina in Italia. Sui più recenti sviluppi del dibattito storiografico sull'Africa in ambito italiano, si rimanda agli interventi di Bernardi B., Filesi T., Triulzi S. e Raniero R.H. nei già citati « Atti del Convegno » su « Gli studi africanistici ... », Roma, 1986.

¹³ La istituzione di un Museo Commerciale Coloniale è un altro argomento di dibattito nell'ambito della SAI nei primi due decenni del novecento. Sul Museo, si vedano i due opuscoli: *La Società Africana d'Italia ed il Museo commerciale coloniale in Napoli*, Tip. F. Golia, Napoli, 1914; e *Per il Museo Commerciale di Napoli*, Tip. « La Nuova Rivista », Napoli, 1918.

¹⁴ Anche Diglio, S., *cit.*

la regione (Revoil, 1883; Hardegger e Paulitschke, e Hunter ed Heath, 1884), o su avvenimenti particolari di cronaca (Missione della « Castelfidardo » nelle acque di Zeila; occupazione di Berbera da parte della Gran Bretagna, 1884). Nel gennaio 1886, poi, il Bollettino informa i lettori della partecipazione SAI, con uno dei suoi più illustri esponenti, G.B. Licata, alla spedizione Porro « all'Araar ed ai Paesi somali ». L'interesse per l'Harar è anche documentato ed alimentato in questi anni da una serie di contributi forniti dal Paulitschke a partire dal 1886 sulle pagine del Bollettino (v. *BSAI*, 1886-89). Tuttavia lo sfortunato esito della missione Porro (Gildessa, 1886), che doveva costituire una prima presa di contatto diretta con la regione somala ed il sud-est etiopico, induce a posporre di qualche anno ogni nuovo proponimento.

È solo in pratica all'indomani della firma dei trattati con i Sultani di Obbia e Migiurtina (8 febbraio e 7 aprile 1889) che l'attenzione della SAI, sino ad allora prevalentemente rivolta alle colonie del Mar Rosso ed ai problemi connessi ad una esatta ricognizione geografica di quelle regioni, si rivolge nuovamente alla Somalia come obiettivo d'interesse coloniale.¹⁵ Una serie di contributi riportati sul Bollettino di quell'anno assieme con una carta geografica (« Paese dei somali ed esplorazione dei territori »), mira a fare il punto sulle conoscenze della regione (Farina; Dal Verme; Pennazzi, 1889).

Tra il 1889 ed il 1890, la SAI programma quindi il sostegno a due esplorazioni in territorio somalo (Baudi di Vesme; Robecchi Bricchetti), partecipando poi di fatto solo alla seconda di esse (Robecchi Bricchetti, « Esplorazione del Sultanato di Opia », 1890), ma godendo, a partire da quel momento, di una fitta serie di corrispondenze e contributi che sono puntualmente pubblicati sul Bollettino (Baudi di Vesme, 1890-91; Robecchi Bricchetti, 1890, 1892; Carerj, 1890; Riola, 1891; Ferrandi, 1892; e, più tardi, anche Ruspoli, Dundas, Grixoni, Bottego, 1893; Bottego, Sylos-Sersale, 1894).

A partire dal 1888, seguendo l'evolversi dei negoziati in corso tra Italia e Gran Bretagna riguardo le reciproche sfere d'influenza nella regione, il sodalizio napoletano aveva intanto iniziato a sollevare l'attenzione attorno alla « questione di Zeila », visto come naturale sbocco commerciale dell'Harar, ed assieme a questo considerata meta legittima di aspirazioni d'espansione coloniale. Di qui, in coincidenza con gli accordi del '91 e del '94, ma anche dopo, in periodo immediatamente successivo, una serie di interventi estremamente critici nei confronti del governo e della diplomazia italiana (Buonomo, 1891, 1894; Paulitschke, Baudi di Vesme, Candeo, 1894; Carerj, 1895-6).

Anche a seguito dell'ampliarsi delle conoscenze sui territori somali, e sulla scorta dei resoconti che si hanno di questi ultimi, delle coste e dei porti, nonché di probabili ricchezze interne, fin dal 1896 viene poi prospettata la possibilità di contribuire in prima persona alla valorizzazione dei territori sino ad allora amministrati dalla Compagnia Filonardi (1893-96). In particolare, la SAI propone la creazione di uno scalo commerciale sulla costa del Benadir che divenga punto

¹⁵ In realtà, come non si mancherà di rimarcare in seguito, l'utilità di acquistare allo stato italiano un approdo nel nord della Somalia è al centro di un dibattito che si sviluppa tra l'altro intorno alla rivista « L'Esploratore », già tra il 1878 ed il '79: « Tutto e tutti dimenticati, e l'influenza sulla regione Migiurtina fu mostrata al pubblico come un vago acquisto ex novo, anziché come l'esaudimento di un ardente desiderio che uomini valorosi contrapponevano all'acquisto di Assab » (Blessich, 1900, p. 9).

di riferimento oltreché per le rotte commerciali di navigazione tra oceano indiano e Mar Rosso, anche per l'interno del paese:

Ora noi dovremmo dar prova di incurabile inettitudine se anche sulla costa dei Somali, pur rispettando i trattati, non agissimo tenendo di mira il nostro tornaconto (...). Il nostro interesse ci consiglia di creare sulla costa del Benadir una stazione nettamente italiana, colà concentrare tutta la nostra attività e col tempo farne la sede della Compagnia italiana, il centro di irraggiamento, lo sbarco economico di tutta la plaga del Benadir » (Buonomo, 1896).

Attorno a questa proposta ed alla ricerca di un sito commerciale sulla costa del paese, si raccolgono gli interventi successivi, tra gli altri, di Filonardi (1898), Blessich (1898-1900), Tommaso di Savoia, Dulio (1900), Pestalozza (1901) e dello stesso Buonomo (1902). A distanza di alcuni anni dal suo avvio, questo dibattito si concretizza nella missione compiuta da Sylos-Sersale ad Alula ed al Capo Guardafui (v. *BSAI*, 1902). Cosa non marginale, dopo due anni di attesa, questo progetto viene realizzato malgrado il veto opposto dal governo italiano, ed in particolare dal Ministro degli A.E. Prinetti, più propenso, per ragioni di sicurezza ed opportunità politica, a procrastinare ancora.

Nella prima decade del novecento, l'apporto diretto della SAI al processo coloniale in Somalia comincia a indebolirsi. Certo, il prendere piede di una amministrazione diretta italiana nei territori costieri del Benadir e l'incedere dell'occupazione all'interno del paese, sono argomenti seguiti con attenzione. Così ad esempio, la minaccia portata dall'azione di Mohamed Cabdille Asan a quei territori costituisce circostanza nella quale il sodalizio non manca di prendere posizione.¹⁶ Nuovi contributi scientifici inoltre non mancano di essere ospitati sul Bollettino (v. ad es., Fornari, 1906, con ampia bibliografia). Interessante per altri versi è segnalare che fin dal 1904 si ha traccia nell'archivio della Società della richiesta di attivazione presso l'Istituto Orientale di Napoli di un corso di lingua somala, nel quadro delle attività didattiche che la SAI andava svolgendo in accordo con questo Istituto. Infine, non va omissso di sottolineare, proprio sul finire del decennio, la elaborazione di un progetto che mira alla costruzione di una ferrovia Mogadiscio-Lugh, « un mezzo eroico per paralizzare l'invadenza inglese » (Buonomo, 1910), progetto presentato e discusso anche l'anno seguente, in occasione del II° Congresso degli Italiani all'Estero, e tuttavia rimasto senza esito.

Nonostante ciò, il progressivo estendersi e consolidarsi dell'occupazione italiana dei territori somali, con il nuovo più alto profilo che assume la questione coloniale contribuiscono, nel periodo che precede il primo conflitto mondiale, ad un primo esaurimento delle capacità e delle potenzialità del sodalizio napoletano, ciò che sta in parte a segnalare l'esaurirsi di un suo ruolo originale. L'unificazione con l'Istituto Coloniale Fascista, avvenuta nel '29, sanzionerà poi, ad anni di distanza, lo snaturamento definitivo del ruolo di un collettivo che pure, nelle sue fasi iniziali, aveva contribuito in misura non indifferente a postulare i termini della questione coloniale italiana.

¹⁶ « L'Italia deve avere interesse che laggiù le cose non si complicino e che gli inglesi vincano e debellino completamente le orde del Mahdi » (Falzone, 1902, p. 170). L'azione di Mohamed Cabdille Xasan è anche alla base di un'interrogazione presentata al Ministro degli Esteri dal presidente della SAI Spirito, nel febbraio 1903 (v. Spirito, 1903).

I documenti

I documenti sinora emersi nel corso della ricerca nell'archivio della SAI e qui presentati, sono stati raccolti nei seguenti gruppi: 1) Esplorazioni e ricognizioni commerciali; 2) Corrispondenze e relazioni; 3) Incartamenti vari; 4) Fototeca.

1) Esplorazioni e ricognizioni commerciali

Un primo gruppo di documenti riguarda le esplorazioni promosse dalla SAI in territorio somalo. Si tratta in particolare di fascicoli relativi a Baudi di Vesme, Robecchi Bricchetti e Sylos-Sersale.

Il fascicolo Baudi di Vesme riunisce un progetto d'esplorazione del 1889 ed una serie di corrispondenze che Baudi scambiò con la SAI tra il 1889 ed il 1891.

In particolare si è recuperata copia del *Progetto di esplorazione scientifico commerciale da eseguirsi nelle regioni africane del grande triangolo orientale*. Esso fu sottoposto alla SAI ed alle altre associazioni geografico-commerciali del tempo¹⁷ sul finire del 1889. Copia del progetto è anche presso gli archivi ASMAI di Roma.¹⁸ Benché mai interamente realizzata, questa prima proposta di esplorazione di Baudi di Vesme fu poi alla base delle sue successive esplorazioni in territorio somalo.¹⁹ Il progetto illustra l'esigenza di organizzare una ricognizione al "grande triangolo gallo-somalico", con l'intento di giungere alla risoluzione di uno dei quesiti nodali dell'esplorazione geografica del tempo nella regione, la localizzazione del corso e delle sorgenti dei fiumi Omo e Uebi Scebelli. Il progetto, accanto alla firma del Baudi, reca anche quelle di altri due militari, il tenente Costi Ermenegildo e il capitano Hiesteur Francesco.

Accluse a questo sono poi una serie di corrispondenze che Baudi inviò alla SAI dall'Italia e da Aden tra il 14 febbraio 1890 ed il 4 febbraio dell'anno seguente (quest'ultima, da Aden, è in *BSAI*, 1891: 48-9). In particolare le due lettere da Novara in data 30 giugno e 3 agosto 1890, oltre ad offrire descrizione particolareggiata dell'itinerario Berbera-Burao appena percorso, illustrano i progetti futuri e le possibili varianti da apportare alla nuova spedizione in preparazione (il percorso Berbera-Obbia in alternativa a quello previsto, Berbera-Uebi Scebelli).

Il secondo fascicolo rinvenuto riguarda Robecchi Bricchetti e il viaggio di esplorazione da questi compiuto, tra il marzo e l'ottobre 1890, « nei paesi dei Somali, nel Sultanato di Opia ». La SAI contribuì a questo viaggio fornendo l'equipaggiamento ed un ricco campionario di prodotti ed articoli commerciali (trentotto casse spedite ad Aden) che accompagnarono il Robecchi Bricchetti nella sua escursione in territorio somalo. I documenti reperiti constano di alcune corrispondenze e di materiali amministrativi riguardanti l'organizzazione del viaggio. Tra le corrispondenze, sono da segnalare, oltre a quella « da Opia » in data 12 aprile 1900 (in *BSAI*, 1890: 124-130), anche quelle inviate dallo stesso Robecchi da Pavia (19 e 25 febbraio) e da Brindisi (3 marzo), tutte relative alla imminente partenza.

Altri documenti di corrispondenza varia, con note della Navigazione Generale

¹⁷ La Società Geografica Italiana e la Società d'Esplorazione Commerciale in Africa. V. nota 2.

¹⁸ Posiz. 70/1, fasc. I. Cfr.: Capacci A. « Il contributo di Enrico Baudi di Vesme alla conoscenza della Somalia », in *Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni*, IV (1982) pp. 143-90, dove viene ampiamente discusso il progetto: in part. p. 155 passim.

¹⁹ Capacci A., cit.

Italiana, dei Ministeri dell'Istr. Pubblica e della Guerra, etc., sono inoltre acclusi all'incartamento.

Il materiale amministrativo consiste, tra le altre cose, di un « Elenco del materiale necessario ... » stilato dallo stesso Robecchi, nonché di una « Distinta spese sostenute ... », 1890.

Più voluminoso e completo è il fascicolo riguardante la ricognizione al Capo Guardafui e ad Alula compiuta da Francesco Sylos-Sersale per conto della SAI nel 1902. Esso raccoglie documenti che interessano un arco di tempo di cinque anni a cavallo del secolo, tra il 1899 ed il 1903.

Oltre ai documenti amministrativi (corredo campionario; contratto), il fascicolo comprende:

— corrispondenze Guido Moltedo-SAI, circa un trentina tra lettere e note facenti parte del fascicolo Moltedo, e precisamente quelle relative al periodo 29 settembre 1899 - 23 aprile 1901, dall'Italia;²⁰

— corrispondenza Sylos-Sersale - SAI, tra cui un telegramma e due lettere da Aden (rispettivamente 17 e 26 febbraio, e 14 maggio 1902), ed alcune brevi note spedite dall'Italia al rientro dalla missione;

— corrispondenza SAI - autorità governative, con una serie di documenti che illustrano le esitazioni del governo italiano nei confronti dell'iniziativa fino al declinare di ogni responsabilità da parte del Ministro degli Esteri Prinetti (lettera e telegramma da Roma, 29 dicembre 1901, 20 gennaio 1902).

Tra gli altri documenti sono anche:

— il *Progetto al riguardo del Sultanato dei Migiurtini* ad opera di Sylos-Sersale redatto in data Napoli, 20 novembre 1901, e sottoposto al parere della SAI. Articolato in tre punti (Esame delle potenzialità commerciali della regione; Studio della pesca, in part. delle perle, madreperle e pescecane; Studio della fattibilità commerciale di un impianto di saline nella regione. All.: tre cartine della costa di Migiurtinia ad inchiostro, ed uno schizzo a matita, apparentemente della foce del Giuba), e inedito, esso fu alla base dell'accordo poi intercorso con la Società;

— l'incartamento riguardante le Saline di Zeila: in part., *Contratto stipulato tra il sig. Sylos-Sersale e Yusuf Ali, Sultano di Obbia*, riguardante la concessione di saline tra Zeila e Ras Hafun, (copia); e, anche, lettera di Sylos-Sersale al Presidente della SAI (Spirito), in data 1 marzo 1903, circa la costituenda Società per la Somalia intesa alla valorizzazione commerciale della regione ed allo sfruttamento delle saline.

2) *Corrispondenze e relazioni*

Un secondo raggruppamento di documenti si compone di corrispondenze e relazioni. Un certo numero di relazioni riguardanti la Somalia, a noi già note in quanto pubblicate in *BSAI* (ad es.: Robecchi Bricchetti, 1890 e 1895-96; Baudi di Vesme, 1891; Filonardi, 1898, 1899; Oliva, 1898), è stato reperito. Accanto a queste, una notevole quantità di corrispondenze dall'Italia, e sulle quali non ci si può soffermare in questa sede nel dettaglio sta a testimoniare il copioso lavoro di tessitura e di scambio d'informazioni, suggerimenti e idee intercorso tra

²⁰ Militare di carriera, Moltedo, in un primo tempo designato dalla SAI a guidare la ricognizione, dopo lunga attesa accettò poi un incarico presso il Governo del Congo quale « Commissaire du District du Kuango Oriental ». V. anche Scaramella C., Intartaglia C., cit.

la SAI ed alcuni dei protagonisti dell'esperienza coloniale del tempo, ad esempio Robecchi Bricchetti, Filonardi e Sorrentino, per citare solo i maggiori. Più interessanti per certi versi le corrispondenze dall'estero ed in particolare dall'Africa, poche delle quali, tuttavia, tra quelle sinora emerse nel corso della ricerca provengono dalla Somalia o interessano direttamente la regione.

Tra queste vanno segnalate, oltre alle già citate del Baudi, di Robecchi e di Sylos-Sersale, anche:

— alcune corrispondenze di Luigi Pennazzi, in particolare sei tra lettere e note da Berbera e Aden (1889), inedite, nelle quali è tra le altre cose discusso sia un progetto d'esplorazione al Giuba, sia l'ipotesi d'impianto di una attività agricola-commerciale in Somalia (in part. la lettera del 27 novembre da Aden, nella quale si forniscono dettagli e preventivi);

— e, tra le altre, quelle posteriori di dieci anni provenienti dai due residenti italiani di Merca e Giumbo, Igino Badolo (in part., lettera del 5 giugno da Mogadiscio), e Enrico Perducchi (3 dicembre 1898 da Giumbo; 31 agosto 1899 da Kismayo). Inedite e tutte indirizzate al com. Giorgio Sorrentino, queste testimonianze sullo stato della colonia fornendo anche, talora, notizie indirette sul clima culturale e politico nel quale la prima colonizzazione italiana della Somalia viene esplicandosi. Esse integrano informazioni su questo paese fornite da altre corrispondenze comparse in *B.SAI* nello stesso periodo.

3) Incartamenti vari

Alcuni documenti furono donati alla SAI. Tra quelli riguardanti la Somalia, spiccano per interesse quelli relativi alla missione compiuta dal Com. Giorgio Sorrentino al Benadir in qualità di Regio Commissario Straordinario per il Benadir e Comandante Superiore delle R. Navi sulla Costa Orientale d'Africa (1897), assieme ad alcuni altri documenti relativi alla R. Nave « Staffetta » negli anni immediatamente precedenti.

L'incartamento G. Sorrentino, in particolare, raccoglie: il *Giornale di viaggio* di G. Sorrentino (ms., 2 voll., dal 24 gennaio al 26 maggio 1897); Corrispondenze in arrivo, (cinque fasc., dal dispaccio n. 1 da Aden, 5 gennaio, al disp. n. 1289 da Merka, 14 novembre), e in partenza (cinque fasc., dal disp. n. 13, Aden, 14 gennaio, al n. 1317, Port Said, 12 dicembre); Ordini del giorno (1 fasc. dal n. 1, 25 gennaio, al n. 54, 24 aprile 1897). Questi documenti sono in parte già noti: in particolare, il *Giornale di viaggio* di G. Sorrentino fu pubblicato in estratti prima sul *B.SAI* tra il 1907 ed il 1911, e poi in volume (Sorrentino G., *Ricordi del Benadir*, Napoli, Tip. A. Trani, 1912).

Meno noto è forse l'incartamento « Pratiche riservate », R. Nave « Staffetta », attinente agli anni 1891-2 (da Zanzibar a Port Said), del quale si è riperta copia; del tutto inedito risulta poi il *Giornale particolare* di Francesco Sorrentino, Sottotenente di Vascello, R. Nave « Staffetta »: Campagna sulla Costa de' Somali, 1893-4. Si tratta di un documento di 44 pagine (r^o-v^o, ms. ril.), con in appendice una « Piccola collezione fotografica sul Benadir » (14 fotografie grande formato), e suddiviso nei seguenti paragrafi: Campagna Costa de' Somali, 1893-4; Considerazioni generali ed alcuni cenni idrografici sopra Itala o Adala; Cenni dei lavori idrografici eseguiti ad Itala; Considerazioni generali su Mogadiscio.

4) Fototeca

Un discorso a parte va infine fatto per la ricca documentazione fotografica parte del fondo SAI. La fototeca della SAI, costituita sia attraverso donazioni sia attraverso un prolungato e paziente lavoro di raccolta e commissione di documenti fotografici presso esploratori, viaggiatori o anche fotografi dell'epoca, costituisce in sé un documento di eccezionale valore. Essa si compone di oltre settanta albums che raccolgono, assieme ad una collezione di ritratti, un ingentissimo numero di documenti fotografici (e cartoline) dedicati a varie regioni africane. Oltre la metà di questi albums (40) sono dedicati ai paesi dell'Africa Orientale (Etiopia, Eritrea e Somalia), e sette in particolare riguardano la Somalia e la Somalia italiana, uno la Somalia francese. Essi raccolgono nell'ordine, foto delle collezioni Bottego, Incoronato, Sorrentino, Cufino, Baldacci, Ghirelli, Piazza, Vicinanza, Ferrandi, Sylos-Sersale, Bruno, Cecchi, Lezzi: in totale, oltre 550 fotografie.

Conclusioni

L'interesse nella ricostruzione dell'archivio storico della SAI è duplice: da un lato essa mira, attraverso un recupero sistematico del materiale esistente, a fornire dettagli e notizie che possano contribuire a chiarire l'esperienza del sodalizio napoletano sullo sfondo di un doppio scenario locale e nazionale; dall'altro, a valorizzare una serie di documenti inediti o poco conosciuti che contribuiscano ad ampliare il campo delle nostre conoscenze su una stagione cruciale del colonialismo italiano. La opportunità di segnalare agli studiosi la presenza di tali documenti ai quali, con l'inventario generale, se ne aggiungeranno eventualmente degli altri, va interpretata in questo senso.

È auspicabile a questo punto che si proceda anche al recupero urgente sia del fondo Biblioteca della SAI, che ammonterebbe ad oltre ventimila volumi ed è oggi inaccessibile, sia dei materiali facenti parte della sezione museologica della SAI anch'essi inaccessibili, in pratica, da trentacinque anni.

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The End of Slavery and the « Problem » of Farm Labor in Colonial Somalia

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Although farmers today make up only slightly more than one-fifth of Somalia's population, they have had an important role in the history of the southern Horn of Africa. From early precolonial times, the irrigated lands along the lower Shabeelle river provided grain and vegetables that helped feed the coastal populations of Muqdisho, Marka, and Baraawe. Dry-land farmers in the zone between the Juba and Shabeelle exchanged their crops with the pastoral people of the region in order to help solidify alliances and create a mixed agro-pastoral economy that provided considerable economic security for the partners involved. From time to time in the past, ambitious clan leaders sought to control the labor of Somalia's farmers and to appropriate agricultural surpluses to build up or sustain political power. With the coming of Italian colonial rule at the end of the nineteenth century, the agricultural sector assumed special importance as it became the foundation of the new colonial economy. Renewed efforts to mobilize the rural work force culminated in the Fascist era with an extensive regime of forced labor and irrigation construction. Since World War II, a succession of caretaker and independent Somali governments tried to develop the country's agriculture but have enjoyed very limited success.

This paper represents the first part of a larger study on social and economic change in rural Somalia during the twentieth century. It is concerned with the history of agricultural labor from the time of the abolition of slavery at the start of the Italian colonial period up to the 1950s. Further research is being done on the period since Somali independence, though I believe that some of the issues raised in this historical presentation are relevant to contemporary debates about Somalia's agricultural development, notably with regard to the issue of labor availability. In this regard, I call your attention to the recent work of Dr. Mohamed Said Samantar of the Somali National University, who has independently raised some of the same questions about the seasonal shortages of rural labor in several development projects in the Juba valley (Samantar, 1986).

In surveying the history of farm labor, it is important to keep in mind that agriculture in Somalia has been practiced by individuals and families who have a variety of relationships to the land they work and to other groups around them. There are subsistence farmers and agro-pastoralists who own their own land (or enjoy rights to it by virtue of their membership in a community) as well as those

who cultivate for others on land that is not their own. Of those farmers who worked for « others », Somali history provides us with a wide range of examples. During the nineteenth century, many farmers along the Shabeelle river were slaves recently imported from East Africa. Others were clients or dependents of powerful individuals or lineages whose major economic activity frequently was pastoralism. With the coming of colonial rule, outright slavery was ended, though other forms of dependent rural labor persisted and, as we shall see, new types of agricultural labor began to emerge. The point here is that there were many categories of farm labor besides slaves and free wage workers, and in the colonial years from 1900 to 1950, the transformation of the rural work force went through several phases:

1. The Agricultural Work Force in Precolonial Times

Prior to the colonial period, farming in Somalia was done by one of three categories of workers: 1) free farmers, 2) client farmers, and 3) slaves. The first category, free farmers, included most of those agropastoralists who lived in the interriver plains of southern Somalia and who planted sorghum as a supplement to their livestock production. They sowed grain on cultivable patches of rain-fed land just before the onset of the *gu* or *dayr* seasons and left some members of the family to weed and tend the young crops while others moved off with the herds. These dryland farmers enjoyed rights to cultivable land by virtue of their membership in a « noble » lineage or clan whose elders confirmed their claims and helped resolve whatever disputes might arise. There were also a few communities of independent farmers living along the Shabeelle (and perhaps also the Juba) river where they relied on seasonal inundation or irrigation. However, by the nineteenth century, most of the riverine farmers would have belonged to the second category of agriculturalists, the client farmers.

Client farmers were those who were attached in some way to more powerful individuals or groups in the areas where they were settled. While a « noble » pastoralist who had lost his livestock in war or drought might occasionally attach himself as a client to a wealthy landholder, most client farmers in the riverine area were considered (by local Somalis) to be hereditarily of low status. Some were considered to be descendants of very early communities of non-Somali (probably Bantu-speaking) farmers; others were presumed by the dominant groups in society to have servile origins. In any case, their perceived lowly origins combined with their role as sedentary cultivators in an essentially pastoral society gave them a subordinate status in southern Somali life, even while they performed most of the essential agricultural work.

Whatever the origins of this sizable segment of client farmers, by the nineteenth century most of them belonged to their own lineage groups with certain rights to blood compensation and to (limited) representation in the *shir* (assembly) of the local Somali clan to which they owed allegiance (Cucinotta 1921: 493 ff.). It is also important to note that these client farmer usually enjoyed uncontested rights to the land which they cultivated. Such rights were subordinated partly because their Somali patrons were more interested in herding than in farming and needed the labor of their clients, and probably also because many of the riverine farmers were believed to possess secret supernatural powers that gave them control over the behavior of such river creatures as crocodiles.

The client farmers thus formed part of a division of labor in southern Somalia that left their patrons free to manage livestock, engage in raiding and warfare, and practice trade. Unlike the situation in the rain-fed areas of the south, where members of the same family shared out the tasks of a mixed herding and farming economy, the agro-pastoral system of production along the rivers rested on a division of society into dominant and subordinate groups, with an ideology of social superiority/inferiority to reinforce it. At the same time, a common Islamic faith, community rituals, and a sharing of the risks and spoils of warfare with neighboring confederations strengthened those elements of mutual interest that bound patrons and clients as individuals and as corporate groups.

The third category of farm labor in the precolonial period were slaves. By definition, slaves and their labor were totally at the disposition of their owners. When they purchased slaves, Somali owners obtained a type of dependent labor whose deployment was not constrained by custom or convention. Unlike client farmers, slaves had neither legal nor political rights. Even if their owners allotted them a piece of land to work during their free hours, the slaves had no claim to it. They could be sold to another owner and transferred from one locale to another (and frequently were, according to later nineteenth century sources). Most significantly, the slaves labor could be controlled directly. Slaves could be consigned to plantation work without threatening subsistence production (client farmers took care of that) or disrupting the social relations that bound patrons to their clients. The ability to acquire slaves thus made it possible for owners to produce an agricultural surplus, and this is precisely what happened in southern Somalia during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Elsewhere I have described the growth of the slave trade from East Africa to Somaliland in the nineteenth century and its consequences for agriculture along the lower Shabeelle (Cassanelli, 1982). Basically, the importation into southern Somalia of some 50,000 or more slaves from 1800 to 1890 made possible an unprecedented expansion of agricultural production along the river. Grain began to be exported from Somalia to Arabia and Zanzibar in quantities that impressed several nineteenth-century travellers. The Shabeelle region also began to yield quantities of grain, cotton, and orchella (a lichen that was used to make dyes for the textile industry) for export. For the first and only time in its recorded history, Somalia was an exporter of farm products for an external market.

Later in the twentieth century, Italian colonial authorities would argue that agricultural productivity would never reach the heights that it did in the later nineteenth century until some form of labor discipline was established in the colony. Clearly slavery was no longer conscionable under the civilizing mission, but many authorities did assert that slaveowners had not only provided their slaves with the necessary food and shelter to keep them healthy and productive, but had also gotten the most out of the productive potential of the land for commercial crops. What these commentators overlooked was the fact that the first generations of slaves had no or only small families to feed; that foodstuffs in all likelihood continued to be provided by client farmer communities that inhabited the very same riverine zones where plantation slavery was being established; that the capital for commercial agriculture was being provided by networks of coastal Indian, Arab, and Somali merchant families with long-standing ties to landholders along the Shabeelle; and that the Middle Eastern and Zanzibar markets which fed the demand for Somali grain in the second half of the nineteenth century would find

other sources of supply once colonial rule and its corresponding choking of regional trade networks was consolidated. In other words, economic and political conditions would never again be the same for southern Somalia as they were in the later nineteenth century, however much the Italians wished it. The abolition of slavery by the colonial regime was an important step in the transformation of the rural work force in Somalia, but it was only part of a larger complex of social and economic changes that the twentieth century heralded.

2. The Abolition of Slavery and Its Consequences

The official ending of slavery in Italian Somalia came with three ordinances promulgated by the authorities in 1904, which outlawed the slave trade in towns and interior and provided for the immediate emancipation of all slaves born after 1890 (Perricone-Viola, 1936; Hess 1966: 64-84). However, since Italian military forces did not move into the Shabeelle valley until the second half of 1908, the major slaveholding clans of the Somali interior were not subjected to direct colonial control for four years, and at least some of the anticolonial resistance mounted by southern Somalis during these years was motivated by opposition to the ending of slavery. Nevertheless, there is little question that the imminent abolition of slavery prompted both slaveowners and slaves to take initiatives to secure their interests, even before colonial administration was effectively established.

Slaveowners naturally wanted to keep control of the labor that had provided them with power and profits during the heyday of the Shabeelle valley plantation system. To prevent their slaves from fleeing to the sanctuary of colonial Residents or to the rapidly growing freed-slave settlements along the Jubba (see below), the masters could increase their vigilance and increase the punishments for attempted escapes (which some did for a short period just before the Italian occupation — see Cassanelli 1987); or they could free their slaves as acts of Muslim piety, grant them parcels of land, and hope to turn them into grateful but still dependent client farmers. In fact, the years around abolition witnessed the movement of large numbers of former slaves into that category that we have called client farmers, to the point that early Italian administrators frequently found it impossible to distinguish between the two, calling them all *liberti*, « freedmen ».

This process whereby slaves were assimilated into the client population had almost certainly been going on well before abolition, since both groups tilled the land and frequently intermarried. However, Italian policy in the early years after abolition seemed to reinforce the process. Fearful that complete liberation of slaves would provoke armed Somali resistance and disrupt the agricultural economy (fears which Somali spokesmen were not slow to play upon), the first administrators urged gradualism in the implementation of the emancipation decrees. What this meant was to encourage freed slaves to work out some kind of accommodation with their former masters — in other words, to become clients or « domestic servants ». The rationale for this policy of gradualism was both political and economic: slaves given complete liberty would soon become unemployed vagrants, and a threat to public order. Moreover, one official argued, it would take some time for the idea of salaried labor to replace the system of slavery in Somali rural society:

to free all the slaves at once would force the free Somalis, unaccustomed

to working their own field, to abandon them and resume the pastoral way of life ... and for reasons of public security as well as for commercial ones, it is preferable that the nomadic tribes become sedentary rather than the reverse (Casali 1910: 13-14).

With arguments such as these, the early colonial regime sided with the slaves' former masters in an effort to keep farm labor under the discipline of traditional authority. As shall be seen, this policy ran counter to the objective of the early European concessionary farmers who needed a source of cheap farm labor. Nonetheless, the contradiction between the desire for security and the need to encourage a free labor market was resolved by the early colonial state in favor of the former, and this may go a long way in explaining why most of the early European plantations failed. It was, moreover, the beginning of the colonial « labor problem » in rural Somali.

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of former slaveholders to retain the services of their ex-slaves under some form of clientship, the consequences of abolition were to open new opportunities for rural workers outside the direct control of their former patrons. This was especially true along the two river valleys of Somalia, where most of the best cultivable land was located. One alternative for freed slaves was to join an independent village of farmers, such as could be found in the vicinity of Jowhar, along the middle Shabeelle, or near Golweyn, inland from Marka on the lower Shabeelle (Gasparini 1912: 51; Maino 1959: 75, 117). Here former slaves could work their own farms and enjoy the protection that membership in a corporate lineage offered. However, there was one major disadvantage in joining such a community, and that was the constant threat of conscription into public works projects that the early colonial government initiated. For despite legal emancipation from slavery, it is quite apparent that ex-slaves were still considered to be low status citizens and those best suited to undertake the tasks of bush clearing, road building, and canal construction. Though under early Italian rule all Somali subjects were in theory equally subject to corvée labor, local custom and the prejudices of colonial officials and Somali headmen conspired to insure that former slaves and client farmers were the first to be taken.

For this reason, many freed slaves chose instead to seek refuge in one of the more distant farming settlements along the lower Jubba or Shabeelle rivers, where runaway slaves had begun to settle from as early as the 1840s. The best known of these sanctuaries was located along the lower Jubba in the region known as Gosha, where by 1910 there were some 20,000 farmers settled in over sixty villages and hamlets strung out along the valley from Gobweyn to Dujuma (Ferrari 1910; Cassanelli 1986). Another small cluster of freed slave villages grew up in the swampy lands of the lower Shabeelle at Avai. Some of the farmers from these communities eventually sought employment on Italian farms and banana plantations in the 1920s and 1930s, but the majority continued as independent farmers throughout the colonial period. Cultivating small irrigated plots or *desheks*, these communities of former slaves and free farmers were the nearest thing to a free peasantry that existed in twentieth-century Somalia.

Another option to farmers in the early decades of the twentieth century — and one which has not received the scholarly study it deserves — was to join one of the numerous Islamic religious settlements (*jamaacooyiin*) that had begun to spring up throughout the Somalilands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. Virtually all of these settlements were affiliated with one of the major Islamic Orders—Axmediya, Salixiya, or Qadiriya. Some ninety-three were reported to be in existence in Italian Somalia in 1920 (Cerulli 1964: 171). The settlements were usually established in cultivable zones near the two rivers or alongside springs under the guidance of the head shaykh, each member or family in the settlement cultivated their own plots and donated a percentage of their harvest to the leader. These religious farming settlements frequently took in uprooted or marginal elements of Somali rural society — « individuals without kin, small groups forced out of their clans, slaves without masters and clients without protectors » (Colucci 1924: 82). Whatever their social backgrounds, the members of the communities enjoyed the protection of Islamic law and a voice in the decision-making process. Some of the settlements attracted members from several different clans and thus represented a new form of multi-clan association (Cerulli 1957: 200-204 and 1964: 169-74; Colucci 1924: 262-71).

Ironically, the growth of these independent farming settlements was initially promoted by Italian colonial policy. During the first two decades of colonial rule, the Italian government viewed the *jamaacooyiin* as potential allies in its efforts to pacify the country and to avoid a militant dervish movement in the south. To achieve this goal, colonial administrators recognized and sometimes gave stipends to the settlement shaykhs; they also supported them in the occasional disputes that arose over questions of land rights and of personal claims by individuals who had fled from clan law to seek refuge in the religious communities (Guadagnoli 1981: 57-58; Cerulli 1964: 169). It also appears that members of the *jamaacooyiin* were initially exempt from corvée labor (Cerulli 1957: 203), which must have made the religious settlements attractive to those groups in rural society most susceptible to conscription.

While there is remarkably little information on the economic organization of the religious settlements during the colonial period, a survey done in the 1950s reveals that many of them were still in operation, with communities ranging in size on the average from 50 to 500 members. Most of the settlements had between five and fifteen hectares of land under cultivation, with additional land allocated for grazing livestock. More recent studies have suggested that some religious farming settlements are considerably larger, though conclusive data is not available (Putman 1982). It appears that agricultural productivity in the *jamaacooyiin* was usually sufficient to meet the subsistence requirements of the members and occasionally to provide small surpluses for sale in neighboring local markets. They are rather remarkable examples of what we might consider early self-help schemes in the agricultural sectors.

To sum up, the abolition of slavery in southern Somalia resulted in a transformation of the rural work force but did not create a substantial pool of free wage laborers. Rather freed slaves preferred the security of independent farming in villages along the Jubba, the sanctuary of religious settlements, or even clientship with former patrons to the uncertainties of wage labor on European farms. Though hard statistics are not available, we might reasonably estimate that the *jamaacooyiin* took in somewhere between fifteen and twenty thousand farmers through the first half of the twentieth century; together with the villages of the lower Jubba, where another twenty to thirty thousand cultivators lived, nearly a third of the country's sedentary agricultural population was represented. The remainder were either client farmers or dryland agropastoralists. Given this range of alternatives available to

the agricultural work force, it is hardly surprising that private European planters found it difficult to secure a steady supply of wage labor. The colonial regime was thus forced to experiment with different techniques of labor recruitment, and it is to these efforts of state intervention that we now turn.

3. The Colonial Regime: Recruiting Farm Labor

The colonial regime assumed from the beginning that there was considerable agricultural potential in Somali. The climate was excellent and there was plenty of still unoccupied cultivable land along the rivers. What was required to make the colony prosper was to mobilize capital (for irrigation works, roads, and port development) and labor. Neither factor of production ever materialized to the extent that the early optimists hoped, but it was the « labor problem » that occupied colonial planners most. From the earliest days of colonial rule until Independence, the published and archival documents are full of discussions about the reasons for the shortage of rural labor and proposals to remedy the problem. In this section, I want to outline very briefly the history of colonial efforts to recruit agricultural labor. In the concluding section of the paper, I will summarize the historical arguments given for the presumed shortage of farm labor in Somalia and suggest some of the implications for contemporary agricultural planning.

In seeking to promote agricultural development in Somalia, there were several possible courses that the new colonial government could have taken. One was to encourage small Somali farmers to grow for the market (cotton, rice, and tobacco for export; sorghum, maize, and vegetables for domestic consumption) and to provide them with the necessary extension services. A second option was to provide incentives to Somali landholders for large scale commercial farming, using ex-slave and client labor and thus essentially continuing the nineteenth century plantation regime with salaried rather than slave labor. Neither of these options was seriously considered.

Rather two other agricultural planning models came to dominate colonial thinking from the period of De Martino's governorship (1910-12) on to the end of Italian colonial rule. One, favored by De Martino and most of the subsequent Governors of the colony, looked to European plantation owners as the economic focus of agricultural development. Expatriate farmers would be given large concessions of land under long-term leases and use hired Somali labor to clear land, plant and harvest commercial crops. Food for domestic Somali consumption would be grown by local farmers in the « traditional » farming sector.

The second model, first proposed by the brilliant and ill-fated agricultural economist Romolo Onor, involved what the Italians called « compartecipazione ». Here the state itself, or the state in cooperation with private investors, would create estates on which Somali farmers would grow both commercial crops and subsistence ones. In lieu of wages, the estate would provide local farmers with sufficient land to support their families, with a range of medical, social, and agricultural services, and with a secure market for the commercial crops they grew.

Onor explained the reasoning behind the *compartecipazione* model in a book-length study that was published by his widow eight years after his suicide in 1917. After studying the household economy of « traditional » Somali farmers, Onor had concluded that a multitude of European plantations could never succeed in

Somalia because the rural labor force was too small to provide an adequate year-round supply of wage workers, that the wage rate necessary to attract even the minimal number of laborers would make expatriate farming uneconomic, and that Somali farmers in any event preferred to work their own farms (Onor 1925). He urged the government instead to promote well-capitalized, well-managed model farms on the *compartecipazione* system and to let the « natural operation of economic forces » demonstrate to Somalis the benefits of modernized agriculture.

Onor's views were systematically ignored by Governor De Martino, who opted instead for a policy that relied on development by means of expatriate agricultural concessions. Only in the 1920s was an attempt made to implement the *compartecipazione* model, and this was the famous estate of the Società Agricola Italo-Somala (SAIS) at Jowhar. But by then, Fascist administration had come to Somalia and new and harsher methods to mobilize labor for rural development were being implemented. Despite the earlier failures of European plantations, Fascist Governors from De Vecchi onward were determined that Italian agricultural colonization would succeed and that the labor shortage identified by Onor and countless other observers could be overcome.

The first Fascist Governor of Somalia, C.M. De Vecchi (1923-28) attacked the problem head on. For the first time, the colonial state assumed a leading role in recruiting labor for private as well as public enterprises. It did this by imposing the first direct tax on the rural Somali population (in the form of an annual hut tax), by expanding the *corvée* system, by energetically seeking capital for new agricultural ventures, and by building an infrastructure of roads that extended economic and military control to the inland borders of the colony (and, as it turned out, beyond them into Ethiopia!). In 1920, only four agricultural concessions were in active operation in the colony. By June 1933, the government had granted 115 new concessions with nearly 30,000 hectares under actual cultivation. (Hess 1966: 149 ff.; Conforti 1970: 177 ff.).

State techniques for obtaining labor for the expanded agricultural ventures ranged from the meticulously planned and carefully managed system of worker incentives at SAIS Jowhar estates to the use of armed coercion at Jenaale, along the Shabeelle behind Marka. Because many observers considered SAIS the most successful agricultural enterprise undertaken in colonial Somalia, it is worth reviewing briefly its most important features. SAIS was launched in 1920, after an exploratory trip by the Duca degli Abruzzi, with an initial capital investment of 24 million (later increased to 35 million) lire. Some 25,000 hectares of land along the Shabeelle river near Jowhar were leased by the Society through direct negotiations with elders of the local clans in the area. Over the next decade, more than 420 miles of primary and secondary irrigation canals were dug. The colonial government played its part by subsidizing capital equipment purchases, low-interest loans, and a railway line from Jowhar to Muqdisho. The major commercial crops that were tried were cotton, sugar cane, maize, coconut palms, and (briefly) bananas (Scassellati-Sforzolini 1926; Maino 1959).

The SAIS experiment drew considerable attention for its innovative approaches to labor recruitment and management. Local farmers living in the Jowhar district were encouraged to settle directly on the estate. Each family upon signing a contract received a hectare of land, half of which was given over to a designated commercial crop (initially cotton) and the other half to whatever staples the farmer chose. The harvested cotton was sold to SAIS at a price fixed annually by a

board made up of local headmen and community leaders, while the produce of the remaining half-hectare was at the farmer's disposal. The Society also provided its workers with housing, tools, well water, seeds, and medical care. In effect, this was the « *compartecipazione* » system which Onor had proposed several years earlier. It was a paternalistic system where the working and living arrangements of participating families were carefully contracted and supervised, even to the point where time off for kinsfolks' marriages and funerals were written into the farmers' contracts. At the same time, local advisory councils were set up to insure that the rights and obligations of both workers and supervisors were recognized. The scale of the SAIS operation — some 2600 families were contracted in 1934 — and its close attention to employer/employee relations made it something of a model project in colonial Somalia.

However, other concessions set up during the Fascist era did not fare as well as the regime hoped. Scarcity of unskilled farm labor proved once again to be a major obstacle to large-scale agricultural development. The « *compartecipazione* » model implemented at Jowhar did not produce the rural worker response in locales such as Jenaale or in the Jubba valley where Somali farmers were already engaged in farming their own plots and where the benefits of plantation life were not as well-subsidized as they were at SAIS. In fact, even SAIS did not escape the chronic problem of seasonal outmigration by farm workers. As early as 1924, the combination of an epidemic of plague at Jowhar and the flooding of the Shabeelle pushed Somali workers off the estate to plant fields further up the valley. Many apparently had family plots in addition to their allocated farms on the estate. As a result, SAIS was forced to seek state intervention to keep its operations going: declaring SAIS' work to be a vital « *public service* », the government directed each nearby village to furnish a certain number of workers to the Society — a form, it appears, of paid *corvee* (cf. Maino 1959: 99-100, 122-23; Del Boca 1979: 83-84).

To meet the continued labor shortages at SAIS, Jenaale, and on the other concessions, the authorities experimented with a number of « *incentives* ». SAIS again offered the most imaginative. Recognizing that even among the workers living on the estate there were many who continued to divide their time between SAIS and their own off-scheme farms, the Society offered additional daily wages (3.5 lire for men, 2.5 lire for women) for labor performed on other parts of the estate during the farmers' free time. (Casual day labor hired from off the estate, usually during harvest time, was paid at the rate of 3 lire for men, 2.5 lire for women, and 2 lire for children in 1934) (Rapetti 1934). Even more striking were the bonuses offered to farmers to marry, to take second wives (a special premium of 50 lire if the second wife worked on the estate), for having more than three children living on the estate, and for children marrying the children of other estate residents (Rapetti 1935: 5-9).

Other recruitment techniques were less savory. Many appear to have been initiated after 1925 in efforts to develop the concession at Jenaale, where there were more European plantation owners competing for labor and where labor practices were not as uniform. For example, one practice seems to have been to pay hired workers a week's or a month's advance. The planters claimed that this was an incentive for recruiting workers and was in fact the only way that some laborers would sign on. In fact, paying workers in advance had the effect of making them liable for breach of contract should they abandon the plantations and thus brought

the force of law behind efforts to compel their return (For a concessionaire's point of view, see Beltramini 1933; for a critique, see I.L.O. 1951: 11-13).

As the Fascist administration increased the pace of economic activity in the late 1920s, two forms of « contract » came to dominate labor relations in the agricultural concessions. One involved a rotating system of service, where each village in the vicinity of the European plantations had to provide workers for a six-month « turn » (Somalis recall this as the « teen »). When the regime realized that the riverine areas simply were unable to supply the necessary manpower, they looked to recruit local « colonists » from further upcountry, chiefly in the Buur Hakaba/Baydhaabo region. The colonists were expected to sign contracts to work on the concessions for renewable four-year terms, and work contracts stipulated their obligations for excavating and repairing canals and constructing dikes and dams (Conforti 1970: 139-143; I.L.O. 1951: 13-15). This was the infamous *colonya* (as Somalis recall it), and as recently as 1971 I heard Somalis recollect the period of the *colonya* as one when families were broken up, workers suffered fatal accidents, and coercion was regularly employed to ensure that they lived up to the terms of their contracts.

The story of forced labor under the Fascist regime has still not been completely told and we may never be able to document it fully. There is (not surprisingly) little direct evidence in the colonial records of deaths and injuries suffered by agricultural workers under these policies of forced labor. However, there is considerable circumstantial evidence in the correspondence of colonial authorities responding to the International Convention of 1930 on forced labor in the African colonies; in the report of the special I.L.O. Mission headed by Robert Gavin sent to examine working conditions in Somalia in 1951; in the interviews with Somalis recorded by members of the Four Power Commission set up after World War II to ascertain Somali sentiments about the disposition of the ex-Italian colonies; and in the oral testimonies of Somalis in the riverine regions whom I interviewed in 1970-71. These sources reveal that forced labor was the one abuse most frequently associated with the later years of Italian Fascist rule in Somalia, and that experience has remained strong in the collective memory of southern Somalis until modern times.

Somali farm workers were not passive in the face of labor abuses, and in their record of resistance one finds further confirmation of the existence in late colonial times of forced labor. To illustrate, we can look at the uprisings led by two Somali shaykhs in the mid-1920s. Sometime shortly after the advent of Fascist rule in the colony, it appears that the administration had second thoughts about its earlier decision to exempt members of Islamic farming settlements (*jamaacooyiin*) from the corvee. Though I could find in the records no explicit formulation of this shift in policy, it seems that the state began to refuse potential laborers the right of sanctuary in the religious settlements. I am nearly certain that the uprisings of Shaykh Fareg in 1924 and Shaykh Axmed Nuur « Ceel Xaa-ji » in 1926 were linked to these new labor policies. Colonial records portray both of these Muslim leaders as religious fanatics. But in the case of Axmed Nuur, the official history acknowledges that his « seditious ideas » found fertile ground particularly among the local manual laborers at Jenaale (Ufficio Storico 1960: 177-78; cf. Del Boca 1979: 64-67) and Shaykh Fareg acquired a sizable following precisely in those districts of the lower Shabeelle that recruited workers for the « teen » at Jenaale (cf. Cerulli 1964: 166-68).

While there is no need to dwell on the abuses in the recruitment of labor which the historical record clearly reveals, they are a good indication of the extent to which the Fascist administration of Somalia was prepared to go to overcome the problems of securing farm labor. Throughout the 1930s, the concessions continued to experience critical manpower shortages, shortages which were only exacerbated by the colony's buildup of the military and transport sectors in preparation for the war with Ethiopia. Farm labor was most scarce during the planting seasons, when workers were preparing their own fields or helping with those of relatives. Only in exceptionally dry years did the riverine plantations attract Somalis in sufficient numbers to meet all their needs. During the severe drought of 1933, for example, agropastoralists from the Bay region migrated in large numbers to the Shabeelle valley; the local inhabitants recall the year as « Isniin Eelay-daad », (literally, the « Monday year of the Eelay flood », referring to the major clan group that « inundated » the area looking for food and work). The following year the colonial government transferred one hundred and fifty orphaned children from drought relief camps to the agricultural concessions at Jenaale (MAE Somalia 3/ f. 3. « Notizarii 1934 »).

But despite these occasional crisis-inspired surpluses of casual labor, the plantations on the eve of the Second World War were suffering from an acute shortage of workers (Viviani 1946: 6). Part of the problem seems to have been competition from the higher wages paid to urban laborers and those involved in public works, a discrepancy which the government sought to eliminate in its decree of 26 March 1938. In addition, the demands of a war-time economy were forcing concessionaires to retain their laborers beyond the duration of their contracted terms, which produced worker resentment and a decline in new recruits. A commission set up in 1939 to reexamine the labor question had its work cut short by the outbreak of hostilities between Italy and Great Britain and by the subsequent defeat of the Italians in Northeast Africa (Bigi 1954: 376).

Labor policies during the British Military Administration (1941-49) reflected the economic uncertainties of the time. All previous Italian legislation was voided, and the system of « colonist contracts » (the *colonya*) was abolished. While Italian officials and planters complained that the British were deliberately trying to destroy the planters' rapport with their workers by declaring the previous contract system a form of slavery, it is clear that many workers readily abandoned the concessions when British military forces occupied Somalia (Viviani 1946; Brilli 1947; Risso 1949). One writer claimed that only a sixth of the acreage cultivated before the war could be maintained with the labor that came forward under the « liberal » British regime (Bigi 1954: 377). However, the BMA did reinstitute a form of rotating contract labor for public works and essential agricultural activities, and the Proclamation of 1947 established prison sentences for breach of contract (Ibid.).

In concluding our survey of farm labor in the colonial period, it is worth calling attention to some of the trends of the late 1940s noted in the report of the 1951 I.L.O. Mission to Somalia. The Mission recognized that the chronic scarcity of labor on the large estates, especially during the rainy seasons, was exacerbated by the fact that Somali landholders were themselves hiring labor during the planting season, paying (in 1951) So. 2.50 per day plus food, in comparison with a minimum wage of So. 1.30 on European farms. During the dry season, in contrast, the daily wage for hired labor on Somali farms was So. .30-.40 (I.L.O. 1951: 9). Although in all probability only well-to-do farmers could afford to pay

hired help at these rates, it seems clear that at the start of the Trusteeship period, Somali farmers were beginning to compete with European farmers in recruiting seasonal workers.

Another trend that was evident by 1950 was the influx of rural Somalis into the towns of the coast. This movement occurred in spite of seemingly high levels of urban unemployment. The BMA estimated that in Muqdisho alone in 1947 there were at least 5000 unemployed Somali workers, or more than one-fifth of the town's total estimated work force (U.N. Four Power Commission 1948: 91).

The same Four Power Commission Report adds:

It should be observed that unemployment exists in the towns simultaneously with a shortage of manual labour in rural areas. Thus in 1947 the Italian concessions at Genale and Villagio could have absorbed four fifths of the natives unemployed in Mogadishu. In spite of the fact that, according to the British Military Administration, conditions of life are better in rural areas, the wages paid to agricultural workers are not high enough to attract the urban unemployed, who prefer to remain in towns in the hope of obtaining work.

This observation, made in 1948, could apply to the labor situation in Somalia right up to the present.

Concluding Considerations

This brief history of colonial efforts to mobilize workers for their agricultural projects shows that the present-day « problem » of rural labor in Somalia is not just a post-Independence phenomenon. The Italians assumed that by ending slavery in Somalia they would be creating a pool of rural workers who could readily be recruited as wage laborers on European farms.

However, the ex-slaves and clients had other ideas; seeing that they were the first group to be conscripted into colonial work gangs, many sought refuge in the runaway slave villages along the Jubba or in the *jamaacooyiin*. Others stayed on as « domestic servants » or clients of their former masters, who were only too glad to retain their services rather than hand them over to the plantations. As a result, most of the sedentary rural population became small independent farmers or joined communal religious or corporate clan communities. These options combined with the relative abundance of unoccupied cultivable land clearly retarded the emergence of a wage labor force in colonial Somalia. Not until the rapid mobilization of colonial subjects for the Italian war effort against Ethiopia and the concurrent growth of towns during and after World War II did a substantial free labor market appear on the Somali scene.

The early colonial state in Somalia, concerned with security and limited in finances, was slow to formulate and implement a consistent labor policy, which helps explain why it lost out to other « recruiters » of rural labor before 1920. Only with the Fascist regime do we see the state resorting to the classical colonial techniques of labor recruitment: the alienation of native land, a hut tax, and finally a resort to coercive measures, which were typically veiled in the language of labor « contracts » of various kinds. Despite these efforts, the European concessions suffered from a chronic shortage of manual workers.

In summarizing the reasons given for this labor shortage, we must bear in mind that most of the evidence I have reviewed comes from the colonial side, from plantation owners or officials. They tended to blame the Somali farmers' unwillingness to work beyond the point of meeting their subsistence needs, or their sense of Islamic « fatalism ». Most colonialists felt that because agricultural work had been associated with slavery in the past, twentieth-century Somalis were reluctant to work on plantations even for pay. More astute observers noted that there may have been sound economic reasons for rural Somalis' reluctance to sell their labor. Onor, for example, calculated that an independent farm family had to invest 344 work days (husband and wife combined) to produce 2100 Kg of maize, an amount sufficient for their family's annual needs plus a small surplus to exchange for other necessities. Moreover, because the critical planting and harvesting seasons overlapped for most plantation and staple crops, Somali farmers simply could not maintain their own farms while working for a concessionaire.

To be sure, many colonialists observed that in times of drought or poor local harvests Somalis from hundreds of kilometers away would turn up seeking work on the irrigated farms along the rivers. Most of these seasonal workers, however, tended to come from Somali communities living in the districts between the rivers, where agriculture depended exclusively on rainfall. In hard times, poorer families would send one or more of their members in search of wage work. But as the Italians soon learned, as soon as the rains returned with the promise of good planting, the migrants just as quickly abandoned the plantations and returned to their own plots (cf. Maugini 1961: 42-46). Throughout the colonial period, the concessions drew most of their voluntary labor from populations living in the marginal agriculture zones, not from the stable farming communities of the riverine zones.

Finally, it seems clear that most Somali farmers, whatever their wealth or social status, preferred to have their own plot of ground even when they lived and worked most of the year on colonial estates. Bigi (1954) reported that an « extensive » survey conducted at SAIS among Somali farm workers and machine operators showed that 100% of the farm workers held and cultivated their own « shambas » to which they devoted from 45% to 90% of their own or their family's labor time; while 64% of machine operators (who were better paid and might be presumed to derive most of their income from wages) had their own farms, and that 79% of these cultivated them with family labor alone (the remainder employing their own salaried workers in addition). This pattern continues to hold, it appears, for contemporary Somali laborers on most of the Jubba valley agricultural projects (cf. Abyan 1986), and suggests that for many rural Somalis, paid labor is regarded as a supplement to, and not a substitute for, their own agricultural enterprises.

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Abbreviations

ASMAI = Archivio Storico dell'ex-Ministero dell'Africa Italiana
CDI = Centro di Documentazione dell'Istituto Agronomico

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Il passaggio dell'Oltregiuba all'Italia e i suoi effetti per l'unità nazionale somala

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I patteggiamenti diplomatici fra le nazioni europee negli anni della prima guerra mondiale e gli stessi eventi bellici determinano importanti modifiche negli assetti territoriali dell'Africa orientale. Quasi un supplemento della « spartizione » avvenuta alla fine del XIX secolo. Ne fu interessata parzialmente anche la Somalia, benché i mutamenti di « sovranità » risultarono più limitati rispetto a quanto avesse sperato l'Italia, che aveva negoziato il suo ingresso in guerra a fianco delle potenze dell'Intesa chiedendo anche compensi coloniali in Africa.

Le rivendicazioni italiane per la sistemazione postbellica dei suoi possedimenti coloniali erano contenute in un piano organico che riguardava tutta l'Africa.¹ La premessa, sancita dal Patto di Londra sottoscritto nel 1915,² era l'aumento dei possedimenti coloniali da parte di Francia e Gran Bretagna a spese della Germania, come puntualmente si verificò a seguito della sconfitta degli imperi centrali. Il piano italiano — a parte gli aggiustamenti in Libia e certe proiezioni solo immaginarie ancora più lontane — era concentrato sul Corno d'Africa, dove da sempre si erano appuntate le mire imperiali di Roma e dove c'era da « vendicare » la sconfitta di Adua, risentita come un'onta dal nazionalismo di tipo espansionistico, che non a caso interpretò la guerra come la « condizione necessaria » per realizzare i « fini ultimi, mediterranei e coloniali ».³

Questo saggio tiene conto delle ricerche per lo studio « L'annessione dell'Oltregiuba nella politica coloniale italiana », Roma, 1985, a cui si rimanda per una più ampia bibliografia, condotte fra l'altro all'Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Esteri italiano (Asmai e Asmae), al Public Record Office per i documenti inglesi (Pro) e all'archivio del Ministero degli Esteri francese (Amaef), etc., e si avvale in più di ricerche successive presso i Kenya National Archives (Kna) di Nairobi.

¹ Ministero delle Colonie, Africa italiana. Programma massimo e programma minimo di sistemazione dei possedimenti italiani nell'Africa orientale e settentrionale, edizione segreta in cinquanta esemplari, Roma, 1917-1920, 4 volumi. Il programma fu trasmesso dal ministero delle Colonie agli Esteri con lettera in data 15 novembre 1916 (Asmai, 161/2 f. 2).

² V. Mario Toscano, *Il Patto di Londra*, Bologna, 1934. Le richieste coloniali erano richiamate nell'art. 13. Sull'esatto significato di tale disposizione v. Giuseppe A. Costanzo, *La politica italiana per l'Africa orientale*, Roma, 1957, pp. 13-18. Sulle rivendicazioni italiane in Africa, v. Mario Toscano, « Il problema coloniale italiano alla Conferenza della pace », *Rivista di Studi politici internazionali*, luglio-dicembre 1937, pp. 263-96 e Robert L. Hess, « Italy and Africa: Colonial Ambitions in the First World War », *Journal of African History*, IV, 1 (1963), pp. 105-26.

³ Così, fra gli altri, Giuseppe Piazza, *La nostra pace coloniale*, Roma, 1917, p. 6. V. anche

Le prime stesure del programma coloniale risalivano al 1914 e per la parte riguardante l'Etiopia addirittura al 1913. Decisivo però fu soprattutto il contributo di Gaspare Colosimo,⁴ che divenne ministro delle Colonie nel giugno 1916 e che, come scrive G.A. Costanzo, dai primi giorni della sua assunzione di responsabilità di governo « aveva sempre tenacemente lavorato per preparare e sostenere le richieste coloniali dell'Italia per il dopo guerra ».⁵ Le richieste erano così estese da discostarsi notevolmente dalla lettera e forse dallo spirito dell'art. 13 del Patto di Londra, che parlava di « qualche equo compenso, specialmente nel regolamento a suo (dell'Italia) favore delle questioni concernenti le frontiere delle colonie italiane dell'Eritrea, della Somalia e della Libia e delle colonie vicine della Francia e della Gran Bretagna ». Le ambizioni italiane andavano molto al di là di semplici rettifiche confinarie. Gli interlocutori degli italiani, alla Conferenza della pace, non avrebbero mancato di farlo rilevare, mostrandosi tutt'altro che inclini a compiacere l'Italia,⁶ che riteneva di essere legittimata ad alzare la posta delle enormi acquisizioni coloniali di Francia e Gran Bretagna. In conclusione, così, l'Italia dovette accontentarsi del solo Jubaland (Oltregiuba),⁷ la provincia più settentrionale del protettorato inglese dell'East Africa, e di spostamenti minori dei confini in Libia.

Originariamente, il « pacchetto » era ampio e — appunto per materializzare l'obiettivo di circondare l'Etiopia con tutti possedimenti italiani in modo da poter stabilire sull'impero abissino un'influenza esclusiva che potesse prima o poi portare all'esercizio di una forma di egemonia assoluta o di protettorato — riguardava varie parti dello spazio somalo, allora soggetto in varia misura e con diversa intensità al controllo delle varie potenze coloniali. La rivendicazione più pressante era rivolta alla Costa francese dei somali, che in un documento italiano veniva definita la « chiave » dell'Etiopia:⁸ Gibuti contava di per sé, perché avrebbe dovuto permettere di estromettere l'influsso francese che da qui si estendeva fino al cuore dell'Etiopia grazie alla ferrovia che collegava Addis Abeba al mare, ed era necessario per trascinare con sé anche il Somaliland britannico.⁹ Il programma massimamente formulato nel 1916 prevedeva in effetti di chiedere agli alleati Gibuti, il Soma-

Oreste Pedrazzi, *L'Africa dopo la guerra e l'Italia*, Firenze, 1917; G.A. Rosso, *I diritti d'Italia di oltremare*, Roma, 1916; Savino Acquaviva, *L'avvenire coloniale d'Italia e la guerra*, Roma, 1917 (che parla di « guerra imperiale », p. 47). Sul pensiero nazionalista si veda G.A. Costanzo, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

⁴ Si veda *Opera tratta dagli scritti di Gaspare Colosimo (1916-1919)*, Pompei, 1959. Le Carte Colosimo sono conservate presso l'Archivio di Stato di Catanzaro e in parte presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli. V. Carlo Gasbarri, « La politica africana dell'Italia nelle Carte di Colosimo », *Africa*, n. 3, 1973, pp. 439-60 e Pietro Pastorelli, « Le carte Colosimo », *Storia e politica*, n. 2, 1976, pp. 363-78.

⁵ G.A. Costanzo, op. cit., p. 11.

⁶ I resoconti ufficiali e il comunicato finale delle quattro sessioni dell'apposita Commissione coloniale sono stati pubblicati in *Programma*, cit., II, III, e nel volume di Francesco Salata, *Il nodo di Gibuti*, Milano, 1939. Versioni italiane sull'andamento delle sessioni in Asmai, 158/2 f. 9. V. anche le Carte di Colosimo conservate all'Archivio di Stato di Catanzaro, IV/9.

⁷ V. Corrado Zoli, *Relazione generale dell'alto commissario per l'Oltregiuba a S.E. il principe Pietro Lanze di Scalea, ministro delle Colonie*, Roma, 1926 (riservata).

⁸ Ministero delle Colonie, 18 aprile 1917 (Asmai, 161/1 f. 3). G.A. Rosso (op. cit., p. 75) parla di « mortifero gomito di Gibuti ». Anche M. Toscano inquadra la richiesta di Gibuti nel « nostro programma di espansione politico-economica internazionale » (*Il problema coloniale*, cit., p. 272). Su Gibuti, oltre al volume citato di F. Salata, v. Angelo Piccoli, « Gibuti, la freccia nel fianco », *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, gennaio-febbraio 1934.

⁹ In data 5 gennaio 1919, probabilmente su base unilaterale, era stata preparata dall'Italia una bozza di trattato di cessione di Gibuti (Asmai, 161/2 f. 9), ma la Francia non diede mai segni di essere disponibile a una trattativa su questo punto.

liland e il Jubaland, sollecitando inoltre l'abrogazione del trattato tripartito anglo-franco-italiano del 1906 relativo all'Etiopia. Il programma minimo era analogo, ma, mentre insisteva su Gibuti, ammetteva una opzione reciproca fra Italia e Inghilterra rispettivamente sul Somaliland britannico e sulla Somalia settentrionale italiana e nel Jubaland si limitava a pretendere la cessione di una piccola area attorno a Chisimaio.

Se l'Italia avesse ottenuto piena soddisfazione, sulla base del programma minimo e tanto più di quello massimo, ci sarebbe stata fin dagli anni '20 una riunificazione (in termini coloniali) di quasi tutto il mondo abitato da gente di lingua somala. Sarebbe finita in particolare la classica « tripartizione » fra Somalia italiana, inglese e francese. Considerate a posteriori le modalità in cui sarebbe avvenuta la decolonizzazione, la storia della nazione somala poteva uscire profondamente mutata. Ma Francia e Gran Bretagna resistettero, temendo, come dichiararono i loro delegati alla Conferenza del 1919, che il successo dell'operazione di « accerchiamento » dell'Etiopia creasse una situazione nuova a favore dell'Italia in tutto il Corno.¹⁰ Su Gibuti — ritenuto indispensabile al suo sistema di comunicazioni fra il Mediterraneo, il Madagascar e l'Asia sud-orientale¹¹ — la Francia si era detta inflessibile fin da quando era stato negoziato il Patto di Londra, in cui l'Italia avrebbe voluto che si citasse esplicitamente il piccolo territorio francese. Senza Gibuti la richiesta sul Somaliland diventava impraticabile. A parte le frustrazioni sul tema etiopico, conseguenza della debolezza oggettiva della sua forza contrattuale,¹² l'Italia dovette comunque accontentarsi della regione oltre il fiume Giuba, che sarebbe stata annessa alla sua colonia della Somalia.

Le trattative fra Italia e Gran Bretagna per il Jubaland si trascinarono per cinque anni con alterne vicende.¹³ Iniziate subito dopo la fine della guerra e giunte a un punto fermo con una lettera di Milner a Tittoni del 13 settembre 1919, si conclusero a tutti gli effetti solo il 15 luglio 1924 con la forma di una convenzione in 12 articoli.¹⁴ Le lungaggini si spiegano con la difficoltà di trovare un'intesa sulla delimitazione del territorio da trasferire all'Italia e sull'esatta attribuzione delle popolazioni, per lo più dedite al nomadismo con le loro mandrie. L'Italia

¹⁰ Nella prima seduta della Commissione coloniale Milner disse che le richieste italiane avrebbero portato a « un accerchiamento completo dell'Etiopia » e nella seconda il delegato francese disse di no su Gibuti per non rinunciare ai diritti che Parigi aveva sull'Etiopia in virtù del trattato del 1906. Sul significato effettivo delle rivendicazioni italiane concordano sia M. Toscano, *Il problema coloniale*, cit., p. 295, che l'americano G.L. Beer, diplomatico e storico (*African Questions at the Paris Conference*, New York, 1923, p. 398).

¹¹ Tommaso Tittoni e Vittorio Scialoja, *L'Italia alla Conferenza della pace*, Roma, 1921, p. 33, considerano la mancata citazione di Gibuti nel Patto di Londra un segno premonitore a nostro danno, ma Colosimo pensava che la questione fosse rimasta impregiudicata (Opera cit., p. 143).

¹² L'Italia dava per acquisito l'aiuto diplomatico di Londra, come lasciavano pensare certe dichiarazioni tra gli altri, di Rennel Rodd (si vedano i resoconti di due colloqui con Agnesa in Programma, I, n. 68-69), ma la Gran Bretagna era ben attenta a non scoprirsi sull'Etiopia (v. il memorandum di Archer del 25 gennaio 1919 in Pro, Fo 371/3468 e la nota del Foreign Office, ivi, Fo 371/4392). Dal canto suo, la Francia nutriva qualche timore su una possibile intesa fra Italia e Gran Bretagna (dispaccio da Addis Abeba del 22 gennaio 1919, Amaef, K - 82 - 12) vedendo con dispiacere la generosità inglese verso l'Italia (rapporto di Duchène del 29 aprile 1924, ivi, Z 398/1, Italia 192).

¹³ Furono diversi i pretesti (fra cui la pretesa di Londra che l'Italia rinunciasse al Dodecanneso), ma le autorità inglesi addussero sempre come giustificazione l'esorbitanza delle richieste italiane (v. l'intervento di Mac Donald ai Comuni il 3 marzo 1924, in 170 H.C. Debates, 5 S col. 955).

¹⁴ Il testo della Convenzione italo-inglese del 15 luglio 1924 è pubblicato insieme al R.D.L. di approvazione del 15 agosto 1924, n. 1547, sulla Gazzetta Ufficiale n. 239 dell'11 ottobre 1924, e si può trovare in M. Toscano, *Il Patto di Londra*, cit., pp. 221-26.

si accanì in modo speciale per ottenere il triangolo con Lorian e Moyale,¹⁵ che avrebbe assicurato una riserva d'acqua e di pascolo maggiore, ma che era utile anche in funzione della penetrazione in Etiopia.¹⁶ Di fatto ne derivò la sistemazione del confine fra la Somalia (italiana) e il Kenya, secondo criteri che naturalmente rispondevano più agli interessi degli Stati europei che a quelli delle popolazioni locali. In questo senso, la Gran Bretagna fece di tutto per « disfarsi » delle tribù somale considerate irrequiete e non compatibili con i suoi piani coloniali e l'Italia subordinò tutto agli equilibri che si sarebbero venuti a creare nella « grande Somalia » che proprio in quegli anni il regime fascista (a Mogadiscio il governatore era Cesare Maria De Vecchi) stava costruendo assemblando più rigidamente i suoi possedimenti nel Benadir e i protettorati settentrionali.

Il sistema coloniale inglese nell'Africa orientale si reggeva su una terra, il Kenya, abitata prevalentemente da popolazioni contadine stanziali di ceppo Bantu. Per Londra i somali non erano un obiettivo primario. Il suo controllo del Jubaland era stato sempre abbastanza incerto. Dubbi sulla lealtà dei somali erano stati sollevati ripetutamente durante la guerra.¹⁷ Una rivolta era avvenuta nel febbraio del 1916, contro la postazione amministrativa di Serenli, ad opera del capo di una tribù Aulihan (parte degli Ogaden), Abdurrahman Mursala, influenzato dalla propaganda antieuropea e anticristiana del Mullah.¹⁸ Mursala aveva combattuto la Gran Bretagna già nel 1898. Altri incidenti si verificarono nel febbraio-marzo 1925, alla vigilia del trapasso: per gli inglesi si trattava di uno dei tanti scontri intertribali,¹⁹ ma certamente c'erano anche spinte irredentiste.²⁰ La Gran Bretagna non si impegnò troppo a fondo nella « pacificazione » perché ormai si sentiva estranea alle vicende del Jubaland e perché non era contraria a favorire l'esodo dei somali verso altre terre. Una volta decisa la consegna all'Italia delle

¹⁵ Gli inglesi sostenevano che non facevano parte del Jubaland. In effetti i documenti inglesi attribuiscono il Lorian piuttosto al Northern Frontier District (così in Jubaland and the Northern Frontier District, Nairobi, 1917, pp. 4 e 6). D'altro canto i confini erano incerti (« mal definiti e largamente inesplorati », dice H. Moyses-Bartlett, *The King's African Rifles*, Aldershot, 1965, p. 111) e nei tempi in cui si discuteva il trapasso del Jubaland era in corso una riorganizzazione. Gli inglesi approfittarono anzi della cessione del Jubaland all'Italia per ritoccare a proprio vantaggio il confine con l'Etiopia. Nel dicembre 1927 si svolse una conferenza fra Gran Bretagna e Etiopia per sistemare tutte le questioni relative alla frontiera (in Kna, Pc/Nfd4/3/6).

¹⁶ Nella lettera di Colosimo a Sonnino, n. 5923, 29 maggio 1919, si descrive l'acquisto di Moyale « come mezzo per poter svolgere quella influenza economica (in Etiopia) che fu già prevista dall'Accordo a tre del 13 dicembre 1906 » (Asmai, 158/2 f. 14). V. anche la nota riassuntiva sui negoziati del 10 dicembre 1923 (Asmae, 1579/7239).

¹⁷ La Gran Bretagna si augurava che i somali non avrebbero approfittato della guerra con la Germania per organizzare una « insurrezione combinata » (V. *Jubaland and the Northern Frontier District*, cit., p. 56) ed in effetti nel settembre 1914 arrivò un memorandum delle tribù del Jubaland con un atto di lealtà per le autorità inglesi (ibidem).

¹⁸ V. il rapporto dell'autorità coloniale in data 1 maggio 1916 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/6/1). L'attacco a Serenli è descritto anche nel volume Jubaland, cit., pp. 59 e ss. e in H. Moyses-Bartlett, op. cit., pp. 434-35. Si veda inoltre G. Calchi Novati, op. cit., pp. 21-24: le prime notizie sull'incidente vennero proprio da fonti italiane (il primo dispaccio da Mogadiscio è del 4 febbraio 1916, in Asmai, 89/5 f. 13).

¹⁹ Dai documenti inglesi traspare la preoccupazione che gli incidenti da intertribali (così per gli scontri fra Mohammed Zubier e Harti del febbraio-marzo 1925) potessero diventare antigovernativi (telegramma da Nairobi al Colonial Office, 7 marzo 1925, in Pro. Fo 371/10789).

²⁰ La versione italiana (per la penna di Zoli) è che nel 1925 « la tranquillità del territorio, nelle zone centrale e meridionale, era ben più apparente che sostanziale » (Oltre Giuba, Roma, 1927, p. 167) e che, oltre alla solita turbolenza somala, ci fosse la volontà di farsi giustizia nelle more del « lungo periodo di transizione » (telegramma da Mogadiscio, n. 2213, 11 giugno 1925, in Asmai, 89/6 f. 18).

regione di Chisimaio, a ovest del fiume Giuba, la politica britannica si attenne all'obiettivo di fare del Jubaland una specie di « cuscinetto » fra il Kenya e le terre abitate da popolazioni che — agli occhi delle autorità inglesi, dei *settlers* del Kenya e degli stessi africani stabilizzati — apparivano dei « predatori », avessero le loro sedi in Somalia o in Etiopia.²¹ I somali erano « trattentuti » dal deserto, ma il deserto non era una barriera sufficiente. Nel 1916 e fino al 1918, quando non era ancora noto il trasferimento del Jubaland all'Italia, si era pensato di ricavare una « riserva » somala del Northern Frontier District,²² per dare ai somali una zona garantita a pascolo per una profondità di 100-150 miglia lungo il Giuba, o, alternativamente arrivare a « un aggiustamento delle frontiere fra noi e l'Italia, dando all'Italia le due rive del fiume Giuba e tutti i somali ». ²³ Per quanto riguarda l'Italia, che non condivideva i pregiudizi antisomali degli inglesi, in tutti gli anni dell'interludio cercò da un lato di trattare con condiscendenza le tribù, risparmiandosi per quanto possibile il ricorso alla forza, e dall'altro di predisporre le condizioni per una migliore valorizzazione del territorio, nella convinzione, non del tutto infondata, di poter far meglio della Gran Bretagna, la cui logica imperiale era troppo vasta per prestare la dovuta attenzione a un territorio trascurabile come il Jubaland, abitato per di più da una popolazione, i somali, che non rientravano nelle priorità di Londra.

Partendo da prospettive diverse, il negoziato italo-inglese fu caratterizzato da una profonda e persistita incomprensione. I territori contavano meno delle popolazioni, salvo che per i pozzi, che non a caso furono oggetto di dure contestazioni, e anche se gli inglesi puntavano a discriminare le tribù a seconda della loro disponibilità e delle loro risorse. Da qui le polemiche sulle vere o presunte dislocazioni di popolazioni nell'imminenza del trasferimento del Jubaland. Di fatto, la Gran Bretagna gestì la cessione come un'operazione di « semplificazione » dei suoi possedimenti d'Africa orientale incoraggiando il distacco dei « turbolenti » somali per dare più garanzie e più manodopera ai *farmers* delle terre alte,²⁴ attirando piuttosto popolazioni dell'Etiopia. Così, nel 1910 ci si rammaricava che l'« insicurezza » spingeva i Garre (Gurreh), popolo contadino, musulmani ma non somali, ad emigrare.²⁵ I Merehan furono oggetto di una « espulsione » più o meno velata, mentre furono indotti a restare o a spostarsi al di qua del futuro confine con l'Italia quelle porzioni di Aulihan e Mohammed Zubier, penetrati di recente

²¹ Tutto lascia credere che una manipolazione delle popolazioni ci fu. Si veda per la parte inglese il memorandum, senza data, allegato alla lettera del Colonial Office al Foreign Office del 7 dicembre 1922 (Pro, Fo 371/7156). L'Italia sollevò formalmente il problema nell'agosto del 1922 (ibidem), ma tracce si trovano anche nei verbali del colloquio a Londra fra Baccari e Sperling in data 6 luglio di quello stesso anno (Asmai, 89/6 f. 15).

²² Sulla questione della « riserva somala », fra i molti documenti presenti nelle carte ufficiali del Kenya, v. il memorandum in data 25 novembre 1918, n. 1154/1 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/1/4) e il rapporto da Nairobi di tali Ainsworth e Hollis in data 15 novembre 1922 (ibidem), nonché Jubaland, cit., pp. 55 e 168-170.

²³ V. il documento del 25 novembre 1918 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/1/4) già citato.

²⁴ Dai documenti raccolti nella busta Pc/Nfd4/1/3 dei Kenya National Archives risulta chiaro che le autorità inglesi di Nairobi erano preoccupate per le pressioni dei somali e preferivano attirare i Boran, più quieti e laboriosi, sostenendo in particolare che i somali occupavano terre non loro. In un rapporto in data 3 settembre 1911, E.F. Elliot cercò, non si sa con quali risultati, di smontare i pregiudizi antisomali (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/6/1).

²⁵ Lettera del 17 ottobre 1910 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/1/3) e rapporto da Morabit della commissione distrettuale in data 12 giugno 1910 (ibidem). Sull'opposizione al « rientro » dei Merehan v. la nota del Colonial Office del 9 novembre 1921 in Pro, Fo 371/8413).

nel Northern Frontier District, che disponevano di cammelli, molto richiesti in Kenya come mezzi di trasporto. Le autorità inglesi si servivano a questo scopo anche di imposte selettive. La Gran Bretagna era risoluta a non lasciare dubbi sul tracciato del confine, per impedire passaggi incontrollati e incontrollabili dei nomadi,²⁶ e per evitare che una stessa popolazione vantasse dei diritti sui due lati della frontiera che si veniva a stabilire con la firma dell'accordo.²⁷

Per reazione, l'Italia si appoggiò alle tribù che la Gran Bretagna aveva emarginato, pensando alla « politica indigena » nella « grande Somalia ». Gli abitanti dell'Oltregiuba erano in grandissima maggioranza somali musulmani di rito sciafeita.²⁸ Le autorità italiane incominciarono a farsi propaganda anche prima dell'occupazione, incontrando i capi di alcune tribù Merehan e Aulihan.²⁹ La Gran Bretagna protestò e il ministro degli Esteri italiano convinse i colleghi delle Colonie a far desistere dall'iniziativa l'alto commissario designato per l'Oltregiuba, Corrado Zoli. Appunto Zoli riferì che i capi « non senza alterigia » avevano chiesto il loro « previo accordo » e che dal canto suo si era limitato a promettere di convocare un'assemblea prima dell'annessione ma solo per « agevolare trasferimento truppe ». L'Italia non voleva dare l'impressione di trattare con i somali. Questi invece tentavano di inserirsi nel negoziato fra Londra e Roma. Lo scopo dei sondaggi, dal punto di vista degli italiani, era di farsi conoscere dai futuri sudditi e di contrastare le voci messe in giro dagli inglesi circa gli svantaggi per le popolazioni del subingresso dell'Italia, una nazione più debole della Gran Bretagna, che avrebbe posto « tasse esorbitanti » e avrebbe penalizzato il Jubaland inserendolo in un complesso economico-commerciale meno prestigioso. Un documento di fonte inglese attestava una « forte agitazione contro la proposta cessione all'Italia, la proposta registrazione e possibili tributi ».³⁰ I somali sarebbero stati contrari alla cessione per tre motivi principali: la diversità dei metodi amministrativi dei due governi, la povertà del commercio nella Somalia italiana, la possibile abolizione del sistema dei capi. Le preoccupazioni potevano valere soprattutto per i gruppi più evoluti e più inseriti nel mercato, come gli Harti, ma la popolazione, stanca delle repressioni attuate dagli inglesi e dalle relative incertezze, poteva aspettarsi un po' più di tranquillità dall'amministrazione italiana, che avrebbe an-

²⁶ Rapporto del cap. Erskine in data 1 novembre 1926 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/2/2).

²⁷ Lettera confidenziale del 20 novembre 1926 e successiva del 1 novembre 1926 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/7/1).

²⁸ Fra i molti saggi e articoli si citano: R. Cani, *Il Giubaland*, Napoli, 1921; Agostino Martini, *Il Giubaland*, Firenze, 1921; Achille Dardano, *Aerometria dell'Oltre Giuba* (Giubaland italiano), Roma, 1924; Luigi Cufino, « La cessione all'Italia della provincia del Giubaland », *L'Africa italiana*, luglio-agosto 1920; G. Ferrari, « Il Basso Giuba italiano e le concessioni agricole della Goscia », *Bolettino della Società geografica italiana*, serie IV, col. V, n. 9-10-11; Nallo Mazzocchi-Alemanni, « I nostri grandi problemi coloniali. Lo sbarramento del Giuba », *Agricoltura coloniale*, n. 10, 1919; Id., « La regione del Giuba », *Rivista coloniale*, n. 5-6, 1920; G. Mangano, « Cosa vale il Giubaland », *Rassegna italiana*, marzo 1924; G. Piazza, « L'acquisto dell'Oltre Giuba: il suo valore, il nostro dovere », *Rivista coloniale*, luglio-agosto 1924; E. Coronaro, « L'Oltre Giuba sotto la dominazione inglese », *Rivista coloniale*, marzo-aprile 1925; Nello Puccioni, *Giuba e Oltregiuba*, Firenze 1937. L'Istituto agricolo coloniale italiano espresse le sue riserve sulla preparazione scientifica, ma le sue critiche non sono del tutto attendibili perché rispecchiano la delusione di chi voleva gestire in proprio missioni e studi. V.M. Pompeo Gorini, « L'Oltre Giuba com'è e come potrà essere », in AA.VV., *Per le nostre colonie*, Firenze, 1927, pp. 213-36.

²⁹ Gli incontri avvennero nel gennaio 1925 in territorio italiano (a Lugh e Bardera) ma con esponenti di tribù residenti sull'altra sponda (telegramma di Zoli al ministro delle Colonie, n. 578, 3 febbraio 1925, in Asmai, 89/6 f. 18).

³⁰ Rapporto del 31 dicembre 1923 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/1/4).

che avuto l'effetto di unificare sotto un unico potere « quasi tutte le genti somale ». Un rapporto dell'*intelligence* coloniale da Chisimaio non registrava « lamentele » fra gli indigeni e continuava: « È impossibile dire in modo definitivo che attitudine adotteranno ». ³¹

Come era logico, i maggiori successi l'Italia li poté annoverare fra gli Ogaden e i Merehan. È difficile stabilire fin dove certi atti di lealismo o addirittura gli atteggiamenti riferiti dai nostri amministratori corrispondessero a verità e a convincimento profondi. Comunque, è chiaro che chi aveva patito ingiustizie sotto gli inglesi si attendeva una situazione più propizia con gli italiani. Rivelatrice è la lettera inviata ancora prima dell'occupazione alle autorità italiane da Osman Ghele Maghen, del gruppo dei Mohammed Zubier, che si fregiava del titolo di sultano di tutti i somali « Ugaden », in cui, accanto a scontate espressioni di deferenza per l'Italia, c'è una dichiarazione di fede nell'unità di tutte le popolazioni Ogaden, con un'esortazione a non dividere il territorio da Chisimaio a Lorian, Uager e Serenli. ³² Atti di sottomissione vennero compiuti anche da altri capi. Ritorna in molte dichiarazioni la richiesta di non spezzare l'unità territoriale delle tribù: l'Italia se ne giovò, benché con pochi risultati, per pretendere l'inclusione della zona di Lorian (chiesta dai Mohammed Zubier) e comunque per spostare verso ovest il confine dell'Oltregiuba, senza mai precludersi peraltro il diritto di decidere per i somali, cui venne negato ogni titolo autonomo di sovranità. ³³ Qua e là, fra i somali che possono far arrivare la loro voce, affiora un senso di frustrazione per una politica che viene condotta all'insaputa delle popolazioni locali, ³⁴ tanto che ancora alla vigilia della successione non si sa quando essa sarà attuata e quali territori (e popolazioni) esattamente riguarderà. Tutto lascia credere che la consultazione che il governo inglese asseriva di aver svolto prima del trapasso (« pochi commenti sul trattato sono stati fatti dai somali, a molti capi dei quali sono stati riferiti i termini »), ³⁵ fosse stata discriminatoria e verticistica. A danno dei somali giocavano le rivalità interclaniche. Anche in occasione della rivolta del 1916 Mursala aveva fatto pace con i Merehan e aveva preso contatto con i Mohammed Zubier ma senza riuscire a unire le loro forze contro gli inglesi, come gli stessi inglesi avevano fortemente temuto. D'altra parte, le simpatie per l'Italia erano offuscate dalla politica aggressiva dell'Italia nel Nord contro i migiurtini di Osman Yusuf, che provocò tanto sconcerto da far pensare agli inglesi che fosse imminente una fuga in massa degli Harti verso il Nfd. ³⁶

Non esistono tuttavia in questa fase tracce apprezzabili di manifestazioni o aspirazioni di tipo politico in direzione di uno Stato o di una nazione. C'erano state le rivolte contro gli inglesi e c'era il contagio che l'azione del Mad Mullah aveva diffuso in tutto il distesissimo universo somalo. Ma nel frangente della sottomis-

³¹ Rapporto del 30 giugno 1924 (Kna, Pc/Nfd3/1/1).

³² La lettera è del 24 novembre 1920 (Asmai, 89/5 f. 13).

³³ Anche nella risposta al sultano dei Mohammed Zubier l'Italia evitò accuratamente di impegnarsi dichiarando l'estensione dei territori che rientravano nella competenza dei governi di Londra e di Roma e affermando che pertanto sarebbe stato prematuro esaminare le aspirazioni degli Ogaden (così in una lettera di Rivieri al commissario di Brava, 18 febbraio 1921, in Asmai 89/5 f. 13).

³⁴ Il « Notiziario politico della Somalia » (7 giugno 1921) dà conto anche di una protesta diffusa fra Harti e Ogaden perché « i governi non possono trattare la cessione di un territorio che appartiene a noi ».

³⁵ Rapporto del 25 ottobre 1924 (Kna, Pc/Nfd3/1/1).

³⁶ Lettera confidenziale del 1 dicembre 1925 (Kna, Pc/Nfd4/7/1).

sione del Jubaland all'Italia non ci furono espressioni nuove imputabili direttamente alla sovrapposizione del potere italiano. La « resistenza » contro cui si sarebbe imbattuto De Vecchi aveva i suoi epicentri nelle entità dotate di una propria autonomia, come il Nojal, mentre il Jubaland era un insieme di tribù fluide, in alcuni casi acefale, prive di un senso d'identità a sé, e poterono essere evitate crisi gravi nonostante il mancato coordinamento fra l'occupazione dell'Oltrejuba e l'azione di De Vecchi. Da parte somala si tentò solo come nella lettera citata di Osman Ghele Maghen, di aumentare lo « spazio » delle aggregazioni territoriali o etniche, assecondando l'obiettivo maggiore riunificazione delle popolazioni somale, sia pure entro un sistema coloniale.

Per un anno dopo la cessione il Jubaland fu amministrato a sé e nel 1926 fu annesso alla Somalia. L'alto commissario Zoli si adoperò per garantire il massimo di sicurezza nel territorio. Le tribù furono disarmate,³⁷ (anche se dopo l'annessione alla Somalia De Vecchi sosterrà che erano rimaste molte armi non consegnate),³⁸ e gli antichi nemici furono riconciliati. Anche gli Harti,³⁹ ex-protetti della Gran Bretagna e i più sospettosi nei confronti dell'Italia, garantirono la loro collaborazione grazie all'accorta politica di Zoli, che si meritò per questo gli elogi del governo.⁴⁰ Tutti gli studi etnografici effettuati in Italia in vista dell'occupazione del Jubaland si preoccupavano di trovare una strada che conciliasse la politica « indigena » del territorio con quella a più vasto raggio che stava conducendo De Vecchi, l'artefice della « grande Somalia ». Nel complesso, i capi vennero inglobati in un sistema che lasciava loro ben poca autonomia.⁴¹ Deludente fu l'opera di valorizzazione economica.⁴² Con il 1926, comunque, l'Oltregiuba entrò a far parte a tutti gli effetti della Somalia e si porrà se mai, in prospettiva, il problema del suo collegamento con le terre dei Northern Frontier District abitate da somali che dopo l'indipendenza erano rimaste nel Kenya.

³⁷ C. Zoli, *Relazione*, cit., p. 114.

³⁸ Telegramma di De Vecchi n. 2983, 23 luglio 1926, in Asmai, 89/6 f. 18. Il tono critico di De Vecchi nei confronti di Zoli è trasparente nella sua opera *Orizzonti d'impero*, Milano, 1935, pp. 232-33.

³⁹ Un rapporto del 31 maggio 1926 parla di incidenti fra italiani e Harti nel dicembre 1925 e nel gennaio 1926 (Kna, Pc/Nfd3/1/1).

⁴⁰ Fra Harti e Mohammed Zubier fu stipulato un accordo in piena regola. V. il testo in Corrado Zoli, *Relazione*, cit., pp. 106-107 e in Cesare Cesari, *La Somalia italiana*, Roma, 1935, pp. 163-164. V. anche i documenti in Archivio centrale dello Stato, Presidenza del Consiglio, 17-7-1710. Il capo degli Harti, Mohammed Aden Gaba, beniamino degli inglesi e indicato come italofobo, era stato ricondotto a una politica di collaborazione dopo che si era riconciliato con Ahmed Mohammed Ali Scirua, che Giuseppe Rollini, *Appunti e note sull'Oltre Giuba al momento della cessione*, 1925, p. 6 (in Asmai, 89/6 f. 21) includeva fra gli esponenti del « partito italofilo ». Gli elogi per il « tatto » di Zoli nella « velina » per l'agenzia Stefani del 1 luglio 1926 (in Asmai, 89/6 f. 20). Dubbi sull'autonomia reale dei capi scelti dall'Italia sono espressi fra gli altri da I.M. Lewis, *A Modern History of Somalia*, Londra, 1980, pp. 98-99.

⁴¹ V. Notizie sul territorio di riva destra del Giuba, Mogadiscio, 1925, p. 101.

⁴² Tutti i commentatori concordano nella delusione per i benefici ricavati dall'Oltre Giuba, sia i critici del sistema che gli esaltatori dell'« italianità » della Somalia e dell'opera coloniale. Si vedano ad esempio Bernardo B. Vecchi, *Benadir*, Milano, 1930, p. 224 e il rapporto del 1931 raccolto nell'archivio dell'Istituto agronomico per l'oltremare (f. 1833). Anche per Chisimaio gli sforzi furono scarsi (relazione di A. Biondo, 1935, ivi, f. 1870).

Sul primo decennio dell'era fascista in Somalia

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Gli esordi del colonialismo italiano possono essere collocati nella seconda metà del secolo scorso, quando cominciano le prime esplorazioni promosse dalle Società Geografiche.¹ Si sviluppano i primi poli di neomercantilismo, come ad esempio l'acquisto della baia di Assab nel 1869 da parte della Società Florio e Rubattino,² e l'Italia viene coinvolta nel gioco della penetrazione nel continente africano da parte delle grandi potenze europee.

Occorre precisare il rapporto ambiguo, complesso e contraddittorio che l'Africa, o meglio l'idea dell'Africa, ha nella coscienza degli intellettuali organici del XIX secolo: da un lato, l'Africa è avvertita come il naturale prolungamento dell'Italia meridionale, perché già Africa Romana; si guarda perciò soprattutto all'Africa Settentrionale, e in modo particolare alla Tunisia, in cui si trova una forte concentrazione di immigrati dalla Sicilia. Dall'altro si fa strada l'idea del « Continente nero », identificato soprattutto con l'insieme dei territori della fascia equatoriale e tropicale, che si presta a un possibile sviluppo dell'imperialismo.

Questo spiega perché quando nel 1878, durante il primo Congresso di Berlino, Disraeli invita l'Italia, nella persona di Benedetto Cairoli, a partecipare alla spedizione nel Sudan, si sente rispondere che l'Italia fa la politica delle « mani nette »: il colonialismo non viene accettato ancora neppure dalla classe dirigente del Paese perché ritenuto contraddittorio con le origini dello Stato Italiano. Gli storici italiani hanno molto discusso e criticato questo atteggiamento della Sinistra Storica, in parte a ragione perché non si poteva avere la Tunisia senza coinvolgersi nel gioco duro delle grandi potenze. In parte però a torto perché la politica delle mani nette non solo dimostrava una forte consapevolezza dell'autentica identità nazionale, ma anche una precisa coscienza di che cosa volesse dire, in termini politici, economici e culturali, essere un paese coloniale. L'Italia non lo era e in un certo senso non lo sarebbe mai stata.

Dopo la grande delusione del 1881 (acquisizione francese del protettorato sulla Tunisia e conseguente formazione della Triplice Alleanza nel 1891) l'Italia della Sinistra Storica sembra accettare le regole del gioco coloniale. Tacitamente d'accordo con l'Inghilterra, concentra la sua attenzione sulla vasta zona compresa

¹ L'importanza delle Società geografiche nel creare una coscienza coloniale nel popolo italiano è illustrata nelle opere di Carazi (1972) e Surdich (1980).

² Per l'acquisto della baia di Assab da parte della società Rubattino cfr. Giglio (1958) e Rainero (1971).

fra l'acrocoro etiopico e il Corno d'Africa. Naturalmente la contraddizione di fondo non è però risolta: dopo il 1882 l'Italia fa una politica coloniale senza averne la forza politica e militare e soprattutto senza una reale e autentica convinzione, anzi con cattiva coscienza, il che tra l'altro rese forse più dure del necessario le linee di condotta di dirigenti militari e politici almeno fino alla Prima Guerra Mondiale. Non è un caso che il protagonista del lungo e talora tragico conten-zioso italo-etioopico fra il 1889 e il 1896 sia stato Francesco Crispi, un tipico esponente della vecchia sinistra repubblicana e garibaldina.

Al fondo della complessiva condotta coloniale degli italiani in Africa c'è, come abbiamo accennato, la cattiva coscienza. Oggettivamente il dirigente italiano sa che la presenza italiana in Africa è di fatto causata dalla logica interna dell'imperialismo, che vede l'Africa come campo di slittamento e ricomposizione delle contraddizioni del capitalismo, ma soggettivamente non è disposto ad accettare questa semplice e brutale verità, che perciò nasconde e mistifica di fronte a se stesso con l'idea di una missione superiore. Il paradosso di questo atteggiamento è il maggiore senso di rabbia e più forte atteggiamento di vendetta che esso, a differenza di quanto accade tra le genti delle colonie inglesi e francesi, suscita nel colonizzato. Il colonizzato da un lato si sente trattato ancora più ingiustamente, dall'altro si sente spesso tradito.

In questo intreccio di contraddizioni s'inserisce la storia dei rapporti fra l'Italia e la Somalia (1893-1960).

Il primo passo nell'acquisizione della nuova colonia è la vendita da parte del Sultano di Zanzibar del Territorio del Benadir,³ seguito dal protettorato sui sultanati di Obbia e Migiurtinia. Nel maggio 1893 la gestione amministrativa del Benadir viene affidata alla Compagnia Filonardi. L'iniziativa fallisce in parte per mancanza di capitali, in parte per la mancanza di risorse da sfruttare.

Ad una concreta se pur relativa pacificazione delle genti del Benadir si giunge però solo tra il 1905,⁴ dopo l'accordo di Illig con il Mullah, e il 1908. Nel 1908 viene pubblicato sulla Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia il documento che decreta la sovranità italiana su Obbia e Migiurtinia.

Sotto l'amministrazione del Governatore De Martino (1910-1916) viene approvato un ordinamento politico-amministrativo per la valorizzazione e lo sfruttamento del territorio del Benadir. L'agronomo Romolo Onor,⁵ invitato da De Martino, scelse il comprensorio di Genale per impiantare la prima azienda sperimentale per la coltivazione di piante tropicali. Nello stesso periodo viene incoraggiata l'immigrazione di coloni dall'Italia. Ma lo scoppio della 1ª guerra mondiale ebbe ripercussioni negative in Somalia.

Nella sua relazione al Ministro delle Colonie, il Governatore Riveri (ottobre 1921)⁶ denuncia anzitutto un disordine amministrativo impressionante: assoluta deficienza quantitativa e qualitativa di personale, errori di gestione del bilancio, irrazionale organizzazione degli Uffici di Governo, mancanza di controllo sugli

³ Riguardo all'acquisto del Benadir dal Sultano di Zanzibar cfr. Finazzo (1966) e il più recente contributo di Grassi (1980).

⁴ Secondo numerosi autori, con la rivolta del Mullah ha inizio il nazionalismo somalo, cfr. ad es. Jardine (1920-23) e Samantar (1982).

⁵ Gli studi per la valorizzazione agricola in Somalia di Onor (1925), sono basilari per la colonizzazione italiana e attuali per i programmi di sviluppo somalo.

⁶ La relazione del Governatore Riveri (1922) ci fa comprendere lo scarso interesse dell'Italia per il colonialismo in generale e per la colonia somala in particolare.

organi periferici, e infine insufficienza del bilancio stesso; tutte circostanze che avevano portato la colonia sull'orlo del collasso e della disgregazione sociale. Alle carenze gestionali del resto si aggiungevano da un lato il declino dell'antica economia locale (il bestiame, unica ricchezza della Somalia, era stato decimato da epidemie), dall'altro lo squilibrio economico-sociale della manodopera servile, che aveva messo in crisi la produzione dei cereali e creato una massa di disoccupati che si riversavano sulle città costiere.

La richiesta di fondi coltivabili di coloni italiani raggiungeva appena i 3000 ha distribuiti in 12 appezzamenti. Ed il programma del resto era destinato a fallire per gli scarsi capitali investiti, la pessima conoscenza delle caratteristiche ambientali, l'assenza di studi sul regime idrico dei due maggiori fiumi, l'insufficienza delle comunicazioni interne e non ultimi gli errori provocati dal miraggio di facili guadagni.

Questa situazione era aggravata dalla totale mancanza di scuole sia per gli italiani che per i somali; l'organizzazione sanitaria, a sua volta, era assolutamente carente, come lo era quella giudiziaria, per mancanza di personale qualificato e di mezzi.

Il principe-contadino ⁷

In questo contesto s'inserisce la vicenda del Principe Luigi di Savoia, Duca degli Abruzzi, singolare personaggio venuto in Somalia dopo la Grande Guerra, in parte anche per sfuggire all'antagonismo con il Re d'Italia. Il Duca è un « principe-contadino »; sposa una principessa somala, seguendo l'antica costumanza europea del matrimonio morganatico; nel 1920 impianta a Jowhar (Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi) l'azienda SAIS e studia i costumi e le tradizioni locali.

È quello del « principe-contadino » un caso *sui generis*: con tutte le sue contraddizioni, egli vede Jowhar, e in senso lato la Somalia, come un vecchio feudatario piemontese che vuole il bene della sua gente, riuscendo peraltro a porre in termini moderni i rapporti fra SAIS e piccoli proprietari terrieri locali. Il caso del Duca è quello, si può dire esemplare, dell'italiano animato da un'intenzione soggettiva nobilissima ma calante la sua azione nell'oggettivo intreccio dell'imperialismo e del colonialismo.

C.M. De Vecchi di Val Cismon ⁸

Dopo l'avvento del fascismo la situazione resta immutata in Colonia, perché il nuovo regime non ha maturato programmi ed elaborato strategie in materia. Nell'ottobre 1923 il gerarca C.M. De Vecchi di Val Cismon, ras di Torino, viene dal Duce nominato Governatore della Somalia. In una sua relazione al Ministro delle Colonie, Principe Lanza di Scalea, De Vecchi espone il suo programma, incentrato quanto all'amministrazione interna sulla bonifica umana e terriera, quanto all'ordine esterno sul mantenimento di rapporti di buon vicinato con l'Abissinia

⁷ Scarsellati (1926) e Maiano (1959), con ottica diversa, illustrano l'opera del Duca degli Abruzzi che ancor oggi è di vitale importanza per l'economia somala.

⁸ Sull'operato del primo Governatore fascista in Somalia cfr. Del Boca (1979: vol. II, p. 51-93) e De Felice (1974). Da questi autori De Vecchi è considerato come il fondatore della Somalia.

e le confinanti colonie inglesi e sulla dignitosa affermazione della volontà e della podestà di governo.

La situazione interna dopo la morte del Mullah (1920) è tranquilla. La colonia propriamente detta era circoscritta al Benadir, ma comprendeva politicamente anche la Somalia settentrionale sotto il regime di protettorato, governato dai sultani Ali Yusuf a Obbia e Osman Mohamed in Migiurtinia.

De Vecchi è un combattente decorato con sei medaglie, da Mussolini ha avuto l'incoraggiamento a farsi valere come uomo d'armi ed è sua intenzione estendere il dominio diretto al nord del Paese. A questo scopo egli costituisce il corpo Zapiti della Somalia, rinnovando nei quadri e nel sistema d'arruolamento il vecchio Corpo di Polizia. Allo stesso tempo vengono rinforzate le bande di confine. De Vecchi denuncia la presenza in Somalia di 16.000 fucili contro i 2500 delle forze coloniali e ordina che le armi vengano consegnate alle autorità italiane. Nelle località sotto diretto dominio italiano il disarmo avviene senza gravi contrasti, anche perché per lo più si trattava di armi obsolete e in molti casi fuori uso, portate solo per prestigio. Nell'Alto Shebeli (regione Hiran) s'incontrano le prime resistenze, represses con ferocia. L'ordine di disarmo dei sultanati di Obbia e Migiurtinia provoca una lunga campagna militare che metterà a ferro e fuoco la Somalia per quasi tutta la durata del mandato De Vecchi e si concluderà con l'occupazione dei territori già sotto protettorato.⁹

Così il territorio sotto diretto controllo italiano, dopo la cessione dell'Oltregiuba da parte degli inglesi (1° luglio 1925), va da Capo Guardafui a Ras Chiambone al confine con il Kenya. Ma le mire espansionistiche di De Vecchi, di creare la « Grande Somalia », vanno oltre gli incerti confini stabiliti dalla Convenzione Italo-etiope del 1908.

La bonifica terriera

In mancanza di studi sulla valorizzazione del territorio somalo, De Vecchi fa cadere la sua scelta sul comprensorio di Genale e si limita ad ampliare l'azienda governativa fondata da Onor. La zona è molto fertile; per la sua posizione altimetrica può ricevere acqua dall'Uebi Shebeli senza necessità di costosi impianti d'irrigazione; è vicina al porto di Merca; e la manodopera è fornita dal vicino sultano di Bulu Mererta. I lavori, iniziati nel novembre 1924, vengono conclusi nel 1928 con la costruzione di una diga, lo scavo di 7 canali con uno sviluppo complessivo di 55 km e la sistemazione di una superficie di 20.000 ha. Il comprensorio viene frazionato in 83 concessioni varianti da 75 a più di 1000 ha e assegnato al Gruppo Pionieri Fascisti di Torino che hanno seguito De Vecchi in Somalia. Ai coloni il governo concede la terra, l'acqua, la manodopera locale (33 lavoratori ogni 100 ha), l'assistenza tecnica, gli sgravi fiscali e prestiti.

Nello stesso periodo, 90 km a nord di Mogadiscio, il Duca degli Abruzzi porta a termine la grande azienda della SAIS. I lavori, iniziati nel 1920, portarono alla costruzione della diga sull'Uebi Shebeli, allo scavo di 761 km di canali, alla bonifica di 4.300 ha e alla costruzione del Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi.

⁹ Con De Vecchi ha inizio la colonizzazione diretta della Somalia, ottenuta con una lunga guerra ai sultani migiurtini, come riferisce il Caroselli (1931). Per un'analisi più critica dei fatti cfr. Del Boca (1979, p. 55).

De Vecchi e Luigi di Savoia sono in polemica sull'esistenza o meno della proprietà privata in Somalia. Il primo sostiene che tutta la terra appartiene allo Stato e che gli indigeni non possono che averla in uso. Il principe-contadino invece nel 1921 aveva stretto un patto con gli abitanti del Medio Shebeli: per esso la SAIS, mentre riconosceva loro la proprietà della terra, otteneva di poterla sfruttare per 99 anni su 25 ha lungo il fiume. Nel tentativo di insediare stabilmente 5-6 mila contadini sulle terre del comprensorio, egli migliora il contratto di lavoro con la SAIS e offre ai lavoratori una qualche forma di assistenza sociale.

Nel comprensorio di Genale la manodopera veniva fornita dal Governo sotto forma di lavoro coatto appena mascherato da un contratto che i lavoratori dovevano sottoscrivere ma non rompere. Così 10.000 contadini erano alla mercè dei coloni che li facevano lavorare dall'alba al tramonto e ricorrevano alla frusta per ogni minima infrazione. Tutta la produzione era incentrata sulla monocultura del cotone.

Guido Corni e Maurizio Rava ¹⁰

Nel 1928 a De Vecchi, che rientra in patria, subentra il Governatore Corni, con il compito di mettere ordine nella Colonia, sconvolta da anni di guerriglia e con le case vuote. Nel tentativo di venire incontro ai coloni in crisi dopo la caduta del prezzo del cotone sul mercato, introduce la monocultura delle banane, delibera sgravi fiscali e prestiti, ed attua il miglioramento delle strade e il completamento delle opere idrauliche. La bananicoltura raggiungerà, nel 1934, una produzione di circa 150 quintali quasi interamente esportati in Italia. Il monopolio delle banane favorisce solo i coloni del comprensorio di Genale e danneggia il consumatore italiano che paga il doppio un prodotto non competitivo sul mercato europeo; ma soprattutto danneggia i somali perché non favorisce lo sviluppo dell'economia locale.

Dal 1931 fino alla vigilia del conflitto con l'Etiopia a Corni subentra Maurizio Rava nella duplice veste di Governatore e Segretario Federale. Anch'egli cede alle pressioni dei concessionari e riduce del 50% i dazi d'esportazione ed elargisce premi di produzione. Rava, definito da Mussolini « fascista di fede adamantina », riorganizza le sedi fasciste e tenta la fascistizzazione dei somali.

Il regime fascista ha ormai ottenuto il consenso delle masse in Italia e punta sull'espansione imperialistica e sull'annessione dell'Etiopia. Rava, nell'ambito della logica coloniale, gioca la carta dell'odio dei Somali per gli Abissini.

Più che l'ordine interno, ormai assicurato, Corni e Rava portano avanti la politica di penetrazione in Etiopia, iniziata da De Vecchi con l'occupazione della « linea d'acqua ». Corni fa occupare la località di Ual-Ual, che passerà alla storia come il *casus belli* per la guerra di occupazione dell'Etiopia.

Morte del principe-contadino ¹¹

Nel 1930 l'azienda della SAIS conosce la sua ultima crisi, provocata dalle piene dell'Uebi Shebeli e dal prezzo del cotone. Se l'azienda si salva, lo si deve all'intui-

¹⁰ Negli scritti di Corni (1937) e Rava (1935), si nota l'incomprensione per la cultura e le tradizioni locali e la pretesa di italianizzare e ancor peggio fascistizzare i somali.

¹¹ Cfr. Del Boca (1979: vol. II, p. 214).

zione di Luigi di Savoia, che ha visto in tempo il pericolo della monocoltura e ha dato il massimo incremento alla produzione di canna da zucchero, banane, sesamo e arachidi. Il principe aveva installato uno zuccherificio per la lavorazione della canna da zucchero e un impianto per la lavorazione dei semi oleosi. Alla fine del 1932 parte per esplorare la sorgente dell'Uebi Shebeli, anche se le sue condizioni di salute non sono più buone: infatti gli scoprono un carcinoma. Dopo un periodo trascorso in patria, il 7 febbraio 1933 s'imbarca a Napoli per il suo ultimo viaggio in Somalia. Si spegne la notte del 15 marzo nel Villaggio, assistito dalla sua fedele moglie. Al Villaggio il principe ha speso quasi 15 anni della sua vita. La sua reputazione cresce con le fortune della SAIS, la sola in Somalia ad uscire indenne dalla Seconda Guerra Mondiale e dall'occupazione inglese. Il ricordo di Luigi di Savoia resta legato alla sola azienda moderna e vitale che il colonialismo italiano sia riuscito a creare in Somalia.

Conclusioni

La presente relazione pone soprattutto l'accento su due figure di rilievo della colonizzazione in Somalia fra le due guerre: Il Duca degli Abruzzi e il Governatore De Vecchi. Senza voler demonizzare il fascista e per contro esaltare il principe-contadino, sembra però giusto osservare come questi due personaggi, entrambi piemontesi, siano talmente diversi da rappresentare in modo esemplare i due poli della contraddizione con cui la classe dirigente italiana gestì il problema coloniale in Somalia. Da un lato un'autentica tensione morale che vede nella lontana terra d'Africa l'occasione per ripensare le proprie radici e per rivivere in qualche maniera i modi dell'antichissima tradizione contadina italiana; dall'altro la Somalia come occasione per una politica imperialistica e di brutale sfruttamento economico, per di più gestito in termini mercantilistici più che capitalistici.

Certamente se l'azione di governo di De Vecchi è stata del tutto negativa, anche la funzione svolta dal Duca degli Abruzzi risente di evidenti limiti culturali e ideologici, dovuti al fatto che lo stesso Duca non si rese, né si poteva rendere conto della complessità della società somala, della coesistenza in essa di una struttura pastorale e di una stratificazione contadina; soprattutto non comprese di trovarsi di fronte ad una società nel suo complesso non primitiva, ma arretrata. Di qui, per esempio, un eccesso di paternalismo feudale nel rapporto con i contadini, come anche la contraddizione vistosa fra riconoscimento della piccola proprietà e ricorso al lavoro forzato.

In realtà questa opposizione De Vecchi-Duca degli Abruzzi riflette e ripropone in modo esemplare proprio l'antica contraddizione del colonialismo italiano: il contrasto fra un'intenzione soggettiva buona (ma non meditata e soprattutto incapace di affrontare la realtà sconosciuta di una nazione islamica in terra d'Africa) e un'azione di governo miope e fondamentalmente prevaricatrice.

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Un lager del fascismo: Danane

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Il campo di concentramento di Danane, situato a quaranta chilometri da Mogadiscio, in riva all'Oceano Indiano, viene costruito sul finire del 1935, a poche settimane dall'inizio del conflitto italo-etiopeico. Secondo gli intendimenti del generale Rodolfo Graziani, che all'epoca è governatore della Somalia e comandante delle truppe del fronte sud, esso dovrebbe accogliere i combattenti delle armate di ras Destà Damtèu e del degiac Nasibù Zamanuel che cadessero prigionieri. Ma l'andamento della guerra (massiccio impiego di armi chimiche, grandi battaglie di annientamento, tacito consenso ai reparti libici di non fare prigionieri),¹ fa sì che il campo di Danane resti praticamente deserto. Comincia invece a popolarsi nella seconda metà del 1936, a guerra conclusa, allorché Graziani, diventato viceré dell'AOL, intraprende la liquidazione dei resti dell'esercito imperiale etiopico e delle formazioni partigiane di recente costituzione con una serie di grandi operazioni di polizia coloniale.²

In poco più di un anno confluirono a Danane circa 1800 fra etiopici e somali, che Graziani definisce « elementi di scarsa importanza, ma comunque nocivi ».³ Si tratta di notabili e di funzionari di medio e basso rango (quelli di rango elevato, circa 400, sono stati deportati in Italia), di ex ufficiali di ras Immirù e di ras Destà, di monaci copti scampati alla drastica liquidazione dei conventi di Debrà Libanòs, Assabot e Zuqualà,⁴ di partigiani dei fratelli Cassa,⁵ di indovini e cantastorie, rei soltanto di aver predetto l'imminente tramonto del dominio italiano in Etiopia,⁶ di somali che hanno manifestato, in diverse maniere, la loro opposizione all'Italia.

Sin dal momento in cui comincia a funzionare, il campo di Danane, come l'altro lager di Nocra in Eritrea,⁷ gode di una sinistra reputazione. Secondo Mi-

¹ Per i metodi usati dal generale Graziani nelle sue offensive sul fronte sud si veda: Angelo Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. La conquista dell'impero*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1979.

² Cfr. A. Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. La caduta dell'impero*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1981.

³ Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *Fondo Graziani*, b. 34. Graziani e Santini. teleg. 20650 del 21 dicembre 1937.

⁴ Cfr. A. Del Boca, *La caduta dell'impero*, cit., pp. 88-106.

⁵ Ivi, pp. 51-68.

⁶ Ivi, pp. 98-100.

⁷ A Nocra, una delle isole Dàhalac che fronteggiano Massaua, le condizioni di vita dei prigionieri, che oscillano fra i 500 e i 1500, furono ancora peggiori che a Danane. Situata in una delle

cael Tesemma, un alto funzionario del ministero degli Esteri etiopico, il quale trascorre a Danane tre anni e mezzo, dei 6500 etiopici e somali che si avvicendano nel campo tra il 1936 e il 1941, 3175 vi perdono la vita per la cattiva o scarsa alimentazione, la malaria e l'enterocolite, la mancanza di igiene, il clima malsano e l'acqua salmastra dei pozzi.⁸ Un altro recluso, il giudice dell'alta corte di giustizia Bekele Hapte Micael, dichiara sotto giuramento: « Il cibo che gli italiani ci davano era veramente nocivo per la nostra salute. Consisteva principalmente in gallette rotte infestate da vermi ».⁹

È probabile che le cifre relative ai decessi, fornite da Micael Tesemma, siano alquanto esagerate, ma che Danane sia una sorta di bolgia dantesca lo conferma, come vedremo più avanti, lo stesso comandante del campo, colonnello Eugenio Mazzucchetti, nel suo *Diario segreto*.¹⁰ Le altre fonti italiane, peraltro incomplete, reticenti e spesso contraddittorie, offrono un quadro della situazione nel campo che è diverso, meno allarmante, e in qualche caso addirittura positivo. Scrive, ad esempio, il segretario generale del governo della Somalia, Canero Medici, in un rapporto a Graziani: « Nel mese di agosto i confinati a Danane hanno denunciato una morbilità del 7 per cento e una mortalità dell'1,8. Tali coefficienti si devono attribuire per la massima parte a malattie preesistenti l'arrivo nel campo: deperimento organico, malaria cronica, cachessia e disagi del viaggio. La quota è anche dovuta alle forme bronchiali legate al clima umido e incostante del periodo monsonico. Ho disposto un sopralluogo per accertare le condizioni sanitarie ».¹¹

Anche se la località di Danane è particolarmente isolata (vi si accede soltanto attraverso una pessima pista tracciata fra le dune della costa),¹² qualcosa finisce tuttavia per trapelare sulle dure condizioni di vita nel campo. Viene aperta un'inchiesta e Roma chiede con urgenza ad Addis Abeba un rapporto. Di stendere questo rapporto si incarica il colonnello Azolino Hazon, il quale, come comandante dei carabinieri in Etiopia, ha anche la responsabilità di ciò che accade nelle case di pena e nei lager. « La mortalità dei confinati nel campo di concentramento di Danane — si legge nel documento —, come ha constatato e anche dichiarato il prof. Tedeschi, ispettore del servizio sanitario della Somalia, in una recentissima

regioni più torride del mondo, dove la temperatura raggiunge spesso i 50 gradi e dove l'acqua scarseggia, Nocra era il regno della malaria e della dissenteria. Non bastassero le cattive condizioni climatiche, a Nocra i detenuti erano, ancora più che a Danane, costretti al lavoro forzato, in cave di pietra. Per cui, nell'inferno di Nocra, si moriva anche per la fatica e per i colpi di sole.

⁸ *Documents on Italian War Crimes Submitted to the United Nations War Crimes Commission*, dal Governo imperiale etiopico, Ministero della Giustizia, Addis Abeba 1949, voll. I e II, doc. 15 e 56.

⁹ Ivi, vol. II, doc. 18. Secondo un altro detenuto, la razione giornaliera a Danane era costituita da due scodelle di riso di qualità scadente, da due scodelle di fagioli, da circa 30 grammi di zucchero e da 10 grammi di tè. Carne due volte alla settimana, ma non sempre.

¹⁰ Dobbiamo l'utilizzo di questo straordinario documento inedito all'innegabile coraggio di Enrico Mazzucchetti, figlio del colonnello Eugenio, al quale va tutta la nostra gratitudine. Si tratta di un *Diario* di quasi 2 mila pagine, vergate a mano con una calligrafia chiara e vigorosa, che coprono il periodo che va dal 31 ottobre 1935 al 23 giugno 1941, e che ci affidano, giorno per giorno, i pensieri, i sentimenti, i dubbi, le angosce e le proteste di un uomo che ha avuto la ventura (o la sventura) di dirigere il campo di concentramento per politici di Danane.

¹¹ ACS, *Fondo Graziani*, b. 34. Telegr. 20050 del 21 settembre 1937.

¹² La località di Danane, per quanto di scarsa importanza sotto il profilo economico, era invece molto nota per la furiosa battaglia che si era accesa nella notte del 9 febbraio 1907 tra reparti italiani e somali Bimal, particolarmente insofferenti del dominio italiano. Cfr. Gustavo Pesenti, *Danane. Nella Somalia Italiana*, L'Eroica, Milano, 1932.

visita, non può destare allarme e va considerata normale. I decessi, dovuti a malaria, sifilide, enterocolite e qualche caso di scorbutto, si sono verificati in individui anziani, donne e bambini in tenera età, giunti al campo già ammalati e, si può dire, esausti per il lungo e disagiata viaggio da Addis Abeba a Danane. Vitto giornaliero distribuito: 650 grammi di ottimo pane; 1 pasto di riso o pasta con condimento di salsa di pomodoro, cipolle e olio; 2 distribuzioni di té con zucchero; acqua dei pozzi locali. Due volte alla settimana viene distribuita carne fresca in ragione di 200 grammi per individuo. Giornalmente un limone e una cipolla cruda a testa. Ai più deboli latte condensato oppure farina e olio. A parere del prof. Tedeschi, il vitto distribuito contiene circa 1800 calorie, sufficienti alla nutrizione normale ».¹³

Ancora più soddisfatto si rivela il direttore sanitario del campo, Antonino Niosi, di cui Hazon allega una relazione tanto bugiarda quanto sgrammaticata. Essa dice, fra l'altro: « Il sottoscritto opina che la salute dei confinati è ottima, l'alimentazione è perfetta, l'assistenza morale e sanitaria è scrupolosa e il morale di questi è ottimo ».¹⁴ In realtà, dietro a questi rapporti ipocriti e difensivi, c'è, per le migliaia di detenuti, il più assoluto disinteresse e disprezzo. Su di una lettera del colonnello Hazon, che comunica il decesso a Danane di due internati, il capo di gabinetto di Graziani, Alberto Mazzi, annota a penna: « Due di meno da mantenere ».¹⁵

A Danane, intanto, il 15 agosto 1937 si verifica un avvicendamento al vertice. Il capitano Gaetano Grasso passa le consegne al colonnello Mazzucchetti, che è in Somalia dal 15 novembre 1936. Il lombardo Mazzucchetti ha 48 anni quando entra nel lager di Danane, e le sue note caratteristiche, stilate dai generali Santini e Olearo, lo dicono « entusiasta, animato da grande buona volontà, disciplinatissimo, di modi distinti, colto ».¹⁶ Eppure Mazzucchetti non è soddisfatto di sé. Ciò che l'angoscia, nel silenzio di Danane, è il ricordo di Ada, la moglie lontana, una donna che definisce « buona, retta », ma anche « fredda e chiusa », e che teme di aver perso per sempre. È venuto in Africa per giocare la sua ultima carta. Se riuscirà a dimostrare ad Ada che egli non è un fallito, ma un uomo capace di grandi imprese, allora forse ne potrà ricuperare la stima e l'affetto. È con questa speranza che, come vedremo, egli si getta a capofitto nell'impresa, quasi disperata, di trasformare Danane, squallido simbolo dell'imperialismo straccione fascista.

Per Mazzucchetti, il primo impatto con la realtà del lager di Danane è brusco, traumatizzante. La stessa sera del 15 agosto confida al suo *Diario*: « Il campo mi viene mostrato dal capitano Grasso. Come mi era stato detto, ci sono tre campi uomini ed uno donne, circondati da mura alte almeno quattro metri. Gli uomini sono intasati in tucul cadenti e le donne in tende "Leonardo da Vinci", strac-

¹³ ACS, *Fondo Graziani*, b. 34, f. 66. Teleg. 122/80-1 del 20 settembre 1937.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*. Fra le accuse mosse da Micael Tesemma, nella testimonianza già citata, una, gravissima, era rivolta proprio al dottor Niosi. Egli avrebbe accelerato la fine di alcuni detenuti con iniezioni di arsenico e stricnina. Nel campo si avvicenderanno anche altri medici, come i dottori Pagato e Romiti.

¹⁵ ACS, *Fondo Graziani*, b. 34. Lettera del 20 maggio 1937.

¹⁶ *Diario Mazzucchetti*, 16 marzo 1937. Agli ordini del colonnello Mazzucchetti c'erano il capitano Rossini, il tenente Cusumano, il sottotenente Benedetti, i marescialli dei carabinieri Perrini e Bonaduce, i soldati Molina, D'Ambrosio, Fracassi, Collovita, il carabiniere Pampanelli. Molti dei lavori a Danane furono eseguiti dalle camicie nere del IX Battaglione al comando del capo manipolo Manzi.

ciate e scosse dal vento. Uomini e donne sono poi luridi, con gli indumenti stracciati, e sono lasciati nella completa inazione tutto il giorno. (...) Appena entrato nel campo uomini, mi si è presentata la scena di un cadavere nudo e scheletrico, rigido come un baccalà, che stavano lavando per poi seppellirlo. Le donne e qualche uomo mi si sono fatti incontro mostrandomi delle pagnotte con l'interno verde come del gorgonzola. Altri mi dicono che non possono mangiare il rancio perché danno sempre riso e cattivo ». Mazzucchetti conclude queste note con un lapidario: « Ci sarà molto da fare qui ».¹⁷ Intanto, per prima cosa, abbiamo da Mazzucchetti la conferma che tanto il colonnello Hazon che il medico Niosi hanno dichiarato il falso nei loro rapporti. Il vitto non è ottimo e abbondante, come hanno scritto, ma scarso e repellente. Quanto alle condizioni igieniche e sanitarie, esse sono semplicemente disastrose.

Turbato da ciò che ha visto, Mazzucchetti prende con se stesso un impegno, che così precisa nel *Diario*: « Voglio trasformare completamente il campo e dargli un'impronta mia personale. Si inizia così un nuovo periodo della mia vita ».¹⁸ Il suo primo provvedimento riguarda il pane: « Sono stato a Mogadiscio, alla sussistenza, e mi sono raccomandato al tenente colonnello Catalano di non adoperare farina avariata. Ciò ha fatto buona impressione al campo ».¹⁹ Nei giorni successivi porta avanti le sue ispezioni al campo, sempre più sconvolto dalle deficienze che ovunque incontra. E alla sera, chiuso nella sua palazzina, che è l'unica costruzione in muratura del lager, affida al *Diario* le sue riflessioni: « Ho visitato minuziosamente il campo per quanto riguarda specialmente gli alloggi e gli impianti sanitari. Bisogna sostituire i tucul e le tende con costruzioni stabili, possibilmente in muratura, impiegando la pietra locale e mattoni. (...) Ho cambiato in tutti i campi il capo-campo e ho istituito la carica di capo-campo principale nella persona di Asfau Ali, già capitano pilota del Negus.²⁰ Ho pure visitato il 4° e 5° campo sulla duna ove sono ricoverati, sotto tende mimetiche, circa 800 individui, fra i quali molti preti copti. Anche qui bisognerà costruire baracche o case in pietra e mattoni. Alla sera vado a letto stanco, ma soddisfatto della mia giornata ».²¹

Tra la fine di agosto e i primi giorni di settembre Mazzucchetti comincia a realizzare il suo piano di rinnovamenti dando inizio ai lavori di costruzione della casa del sanitario e degli ambulatori per uomini e donne. Provvede inoltre a costruire una cucina per le donne, dopo aver prelevato nei magazzini di Mogadiscio pentole, gavette, cucchiari e altro materiale. Per migliorare l'atmosfera del campo decide anche di aprirvi uno spaccio-bar e ne affida la gestione ad un commerciante di Addis Abeba, il recluso Mescescià. Mazzucchetti si rende tuttavia conto che ciò che ha fatto è praticamente nulla dinanzi alle tremende carenze del lager. Tanto più che, in coincidenza con le ultime offensive sferrate da Graziani contro le formazioni partigiane etiopiche, continuano ad arrivare al campo altri reclusi: 125 il 7 settembre, 285 il 29 novembre. E poi ci sono gli imprevisti: « Questa notte è stato un vero disastro. Un altro violento acquazzone ha allagato il campo

¹⁷ Ivi, 15 agosto 1937.

¹⁸ Ivi, 20 agosto 1937.

¹⁹ Ivi, 21 agosto 1937.

²⁰ Cfr. A. Del Boca, *La conquista dell'impero*, cit., p. 192. Fu uno dei due primi piloti etiopici a conseguire il brevetto nel 1930.

²¹ *Diario*, 23 agosto 1937.

donne. Le donne e i bimbi piangevano e urlavano ed erano completamente zuppi. Nel campo uomini sono crollati tre tucul ».²²

All'inizio di dicembre del 1937 Danane scoppia. Vi sono intasati più di 2500 prigionieri. Una torma famelica, avvilita, disorientata. Poveri esseri sradicati dalle loro terre salubri sull'altipiano. Soldati di professione e contadini diventati partigiani per difendere le loro case. Funzionari e commercianti. Preti e indovini. Donne e bimbi. Tutti colpevoli di essersi opposti ai disegni imperiali di Mussolini. Dinanzi al loro afflusso costante, anziché diminuire, i problemi al campo crescono. Mazzucchetti chiede al governo della Somalia la somma di 180 mila lire per i provvedimenti più urgenti. Ma ottiene soltanto 8857 lire per completare la casa del dottore e per comprare della stoffa per le recluse. Annota nel *Diario*: « Sono andato a Mogadiscio e ho acquistato da Hendel ben 4 mila metri di stoffa per vestire le donne; penseranno loro stesse a confezionarsi gli abiti ».²³ Il 31 dicembre 1937 stila il primo bilancio della propria attività: « Oggi si chiude l'anno e sono ormai quattro mesi che sono al comando del Campo. Se mi guardo indietro e considero quello che ho fatto, posso dire con orgoglio che qui, in quattro mesi, si è fatto ciò che non era stato fatto in due anni, da quando il campo esiste. Molto però vi è ancora da fare. Voglio trasformare l'attuale caotico e lurido complesso di tucul cadenti e di tende stracciate in un ordinato paesino di baracche pulite ed igieniche. I soldi me li devono dare ed io insisterò fino a tanto che non potranno fare a meno di darmeli, dovessi, poco disciplinatamente, scrivere a Sua Altezza ».²⁴

Ha così inizio la sua lotta, paziente e tenace, contro i burocrati di Mogadiscio e di Addis Abeba, che egli definisce inetti, meschini, senza una vera « mentalità imperiale ». Ma i soldi non arrivano e ancora una volta affida al *Diario* le sue amarezze: « Sono sette mesi che faccio presente, sia per iscritto che a voce, le condizioni attuali di inabilità del campo ».²⁵ Qualche giorno dopo, proprio mentre è in visita a Danane una commissione sanitaria, che condivide le preoccupazioni di Mazzucchetti, muore, di stenti, una bimba di sette mesi, nipote dell'ex ministro degli Esteri etiopico, Heruy Walda Sellasie.²⁶ Nonostante questo e altri episodi analoghi, passerà ancora un mese prima che Addis Abeba autorizzi i lavori più urgenti. Il 31 maggio, finalmente, Mazzucchetti può scrivere: « Oggi abbiamo iniziato il basamento della prima baracca al campo donne. Si sta avverando il mio sogno: avere un villaggio invece di un lurido ammasso di tuguri ».²⁷

²² Ivi, 7 settembre 1937. Un altro problema che Mazzucchetti fu costretto ad affrontare con la massima urgenza fu quello dei cimiteri Amhara, che erano stati costruiti proprio a ridosso di uno dei pozzi d'acqua. Per evitare l'inquinamento delle acque, fece recingere con filo spinato i vecchi cimiteri e stabili che le sepolture venissero fatte in luoghi più adatti, lontani dalle riserve idriche.

²³ Ivi, 7 dicembre 1937.

²⁴ Ivi, 31 dicembre 1937. Alludeva al nuovo viceré, Amedeo di Savoia, duca d'Aosta.

²⁵ Ivi, 25 aprile 1938.

²⁶ Il 30 aprile annotava nel *Diario*: « Oggi abbiamo avuto la visita di una commissione sanitaria composta dal prof. Guidetti e dai dottori Barnabei-Morra e De Macianis, che visitano gli ammalati. Prendono foto sia dei più interessanti che delle tende a brandelli. Riconoscono la necessità assoluta della costruzione delle baracche ». Mazzucchetti registrava nel *Diario*, il 9 dicembre 1937, un altro episodio particolarmente doloroso: « Ho fatto ricoverare alla Missione i due bambini Elsa e Giuseppe, figli del confinato Uolde Gheorghis, cattolico. La moglie, mulatta, figlia riconosciuta di un italiano, è morta al campo di parto. L'hanno fatta venire da Addis Abeba in camion, che era in stato interessante di sette mesi ».

²⁷ *Diario*, 31 maggio 1938. Il 21 luglio otteneva anche che venissero proiettati ai detenuti alcuni documentari, come *Il viaggio del Duce in Libia* e *Il Fuhrer in Italia*, e un filmato dal titolo *La ragazza*

L'arrivo di fondi, tanto a lungo sollecitati, si può attribuire quasi certamente al fatto che ad Addis Abeba, alla fine del 1937, lo spietato Graziani è stato sostituito nella carica di viceré dell'AOI dal più umano e tollerante Amedeo di Savoia.²⁸ Anche a Mogadiscio c'è stato un cambio al vertice del governo. Al generale Santini, generalmente chiamato « il grande assente » oppure « il generale trombeta », è subentrato un civile, Francesco Saverio Caroselli, considerato come il più brillante, acuto e dotto fra i burocrati del ministero dell'Africa Italiana. Con i fondi, giunge da Addis Abeba anche l'ordine di sfoltire il campo. Il 22 gennaio 1938 vengono graziati mille confinati e subito rispediti in camion ad Harar e ad Addis Abeba. Il 12 marzo sono rimessi in libertà altri 26 reclusi. Trentotto il 17 maggio. Trentanove il 4 luglio. Ottantacinque l'8 ottobre. Anche nella periferica Danane si avverte così, dopo i venti mesi della gestione Graziani, contrassegnati dalle repressioni più brutali e dal tentativo di mettere a segno il genocidio di intere popolazioni, che nella capitale dell'impero regna ora un nuovo clima, anche se Amedeo di Savoia non farà in tempo, per la guerra mondiale incombente, ad imprimere una svolta significativa alla politica coloniale praticata in Africa Orientale.

Alla fine del 1938, il colonnello Mazzucchetti può stendere perciò un bilancio più positivo: « Ora Danane è un paesino, non dico grazioso, ma passabile, e forse uno dei migliori della Somalia. Ho costruito 16 baracche in legname, una casa in muratura di tre vani, due ambulatori e due latrine in muratura, due pozzi neri. Ho portato al campo la luce elettrica e costruito un serbatoio di cemento, per acqua, di 30 mila litri. Ho impiantato un'officina da fabbro, una falegnameria, una fabbrica di laterizi e una di vasi. Ho istituito la scuola per i confinati, riparato la moschea, aperto un bar ».²⁹ Ma vuol fare di più e mette in preventivo, per il 1939, un lazzaretto per 40 letti, uno stabilimento di tessitura, un forno per il pane e un distillatore che renda l'acqua dei pozzi, troppo salmastra, più sopportabile.³⁰

Tuttavia, anche se il campo è meno congestionato di prima, in seguito alla liberazione di oltre 1200 detenuti, e alcuni dei problemi più assillanti sono stati in parte risolti, per Mazzucchetti le apprensioni non sono ancora finite. Un fatto che lo angustia, ad esempio, e che lo porterà a scontrarsi bruscamente con i suoi superiori, sono le precarie condizioni in cui versano i 360 confinati che gli hanno sottratto per inviarli, come lavoratori coatti, nelle vicine concessioni agricole del comprensorio di bonifica di Genale.³¹ È andato più volte a visitarli e ha scoper-

dal livido azzurro. La sera annotava nel *Diario*: « La confinata Zaghiè ha però osservato che le donne portavano vestiti di tre-quattro anni prima. È evoluta perché è stata allevata in Polonia e poi anche a Parigi ». Il 1° settembre veniva inaugurata la centrale elettrica che dava l'illuminazione al campo. Grande meraviglia dei somali del vicino villaggio e di molti confinati che non avevano mai visto la luce.

²⁸ Cfr. A. Del Boca, *La caduta dell'impero*, cit., pp. 128-36.

²⁹ *Diario*, 31 dicembre 1938.

³⁰ Impegnato a fondo nel suo lavoro, Mazzucchetti cercava di non pensare più ad Ada, all'Italia, al giorno del ritorno. Il 30 dicembre 1938 scriveva nel *Diario*: « Ormai qui ho ricostituito una seconda famiglia, (senza moglie, però), e mi trovo bene (...). Il lavoro mi piace e mi impedisce di pensare. Ho il terrore di pensare ai casi miei ». Tornerà in Italia, in licenza, una sola volta, nel gennaio del 1939. Il 17 scriveva nel *Diario*: « Salutato dai confinati, che temono solo che io non ritorni. Discorso dei fitaurari Ambau ed infinite strette di mano. Mi sembrano sinceri nell'esprimermi il loro rincrescimento per la mia partenza ». Ma non si fermerà molto in Italia. L'8 marzo confidava al *Diario*: « In casa, poi, per Ada, sono un estraneo, completamente. È angosciato per me, che non ho mutato i miei sentimenti a suo riguardo ». L'indomani si imbarcava per Mogadiscio. Meglio l'inferno di Danane che il gelo nella casa di Milano.

³¹ Il primo scaglione, di circa 100 detenuti, era partito da Danane l'8 marzo 1938, diretto alle

to che per il 40 per cento sono ammalati, che il loro vitto è insufficiente, che non godono di alcuna assistenza sanitaria e che « ne muoiono troppi di malaria ». ³² Più volte, dopo queste ispezioni, invia rapporti al governo della Somalia denunciando l'egoismo dei concessionari e i loro abusi, ma senza ottenere alcun risultato. Fallisce anche nel tentativo di far corrispondere ai reclusi una giusta mercede per il lavoro prestato. ³³ Per le sue attenzioni nei confronti di questi malcapitati, che risultano puniti due volte, con la prigionia e con il lavoro forzato, Mazzucchetti finisce per entrare in collisione con il generale De Simone, il quale, non soltanto lo incolpa di « trattare troppo bene » i confinati, ma lo accusa di provocare, con le sue ispezioni alle aziende agricole di Genale, la loro fuga dal comprensorio di bonifica. « Dopo averlo lasciato parlare per un pezzo, — scrive Mazzucchetti nel *Diario* — ho replicato che le ragioni per le quali i confinati scappavano dalle concessioni sono il vitto scarso e la quasi nulla assistenza sanitaria. Gli ho detto in quale stato tornavano i confinati da Genale ». ³⁴

Lo incolpavano anche di concedere ai detenuti di Danane troppe libertà. Di prendere spesso le loro difese, al punto di rinviare al suo reparto, con una punizione di rigore, l'autiere Antonino Aiello, perché manesco con i confinati. Mazzucchetti non si arrende. Sa di avere un valido sostegno nel governatore Caroselli. Quando, il 28 aprile 1939, fugge dal campo il somalo Mohamed Averisc Ugaz Soliman, annota nel *Diario*: « Spero di non avere noie. D'altra parte, lasciandoli relativamente liberi, non faccio che ottemperare agli ordini datimi da Sua Eccellenza in occasione della sua visita qui ». ³⁵

Il comportamento di Mazzucchetti è tanto più insolito e degno di attenzione in quanto egli non ama affatto gli etiopici, anzi li considera « il popolo più sporco dell'Africa Orientale » e non risparmia loro, così come ai somali, nei casi previsti da una legge coloniale non scritta, la « giusta » razione di curbasciate. ³⁶ Il suo comportamento è dettato da un senso profondo della giustizia; dall'impulso di riparare i guasti provocati da un'amministrazione coloniale, che giudica inefficiente, pigra, spesso inutilmente crudele; dall'ambizione di misurare le proprie forze sul metro, assolutamente inconsueto, di un universo concentrazionario; dalla concezione nobile che si è fatto della missione imperiale dell'Italia in Africa. Il 3

concessioni del capitano Falcone e dei coniugi Elia. A quella data, Mazzucchetti scriveva nel *Diario*: « In fondo mi dispiace veder partire questa gente. Spero li trattino bene come sono trattati qui ». Altri 31 confinati venivano assegnati alla concessione Giuriati il 21 marzo. Il 12 aprile ne partivano altri 112 diretti alle proprietà dei coloni Annovazzi e Tassinari. Il 14 ottobre partiva un altro scaglione, di 74 detenuti.

³² *Diario*, 18 ottobre 1940.

³³ Ivi, 21 novembre 1940. Da quando, nel 1924, erano calati in Somalia al seguito del quadrumviro De Vecchi di Val Cismon, i concessionari di Genale avevano sempre sfruttato la mano d'opera locale compiendo ogni sorta di abuso. Questa pagina d'infamia era stata denunciata a Mussolini dallo stesso federale della Somalia, Marcello Serrazanetti. Cfr. M. Serrazanetti, *Considerazioni sulla nostra attività agricola in Somalia*, 1933; *La politica indigena in Somalia*, 1934.

³⁴ Ivi, 3 febbraio 1941.

³⁵ Ivi, 28 aprile 1939. Il governatore della Somalia Caroselli aveva visitato Danane il 21 novembre 1938. Nel redigere le note caratteristiche di Mazzucchetti, per il 1938, Caroselli aveva scritto: « Ufficiale colto e intelligente, che ha pienamente risposto all'incarico affidatogli ».

³⁶ Generalmente questa punizione veniva inflitta quando un detenuto cercava di fuggire. Nel *Diario* si fa cenno a molti tentativi di fuga. Alcuni riuscirono, altri fallirono. Almeno due detenuti persero la vita nel tentativo. Il 4 ottobre 1937 Gabremariam Uollama fuggiva dal campo gettandosi in mare, ma annegava. Il 22 gennaio 1940 Bacchelè Ali cercava di eclissarsi mentre era in un bosco a tagliare legna, ma la scorta di zaptiè lo abbatté a fucilate.

ottobre 1939, nell'annotare nel *Diario* che sono giunti da Harar dieci nuovi confinati, « vecchi ed ammalati, dei veri detriti umani », così commenta l'episodio: « Ma che pericolo possono costoro rappresentare per la sicurezza dello Stato? ». ³⁷ E pochi giorni dopo, con due alti funzionari del governo centrale di Addis Abeba in visita al campo, insiste perché siano liberati i 500 detenuti che sono a Danane da oltre due anni e che definisce « i migliori e più disciplinati ». ³⁸

I 500 verranno liberati il 20 novembre 1939, ma il campo non si svuota perché, con l'avvicinarsi della guerra mondiale e con l'intensificarsi delle azioni etiopiche di guerriglia, Addis Abeba prende ad inviare a Danane, a getto continuo, nuovi confinati. Trentuno il 26 luglio 1939. Dieci il 3 ottobre. Centoventisette il 17 ottobre. Centotrentacinque il 27 ottobre. A questa data Mazzucchetti annota: « Anche oggi sono improvvisamente giunti nuovi confinati da Addis Abeba. Male in arnese e malandati di salute, come al solito. Li ho fatti pernottare sui camion e domani li sistemerò nei campi vari. Dovrebbero però finirli, quei signori della capitale, di mandare gente senza preavviso ». ³⁹ Tre settimane dopo ne arrivano altri 69 e Mazzucchetti commenta: « Sono in pessime condizioni di salute. Partiti in 74 da Addis Abeba, hanno avuto un morto durante il viaggio e quattro sono spediti a Mogadiscio in condizioni gravi. Anche questi sono giunti senza preavviso ». ⁴⁰

Il 16 dicembre ne giungono altri 39. Il 27 febbraio 1940 un gruppo di 37. Il 18 aprile Mazzucchetti appunta nel *Diario*: « Ieri e oggi sono giunti complessivamente 35 uomini e 75 fra donne e bambini. Sono ribelli di Abebè Aregai, con le loro famiglie. Mancano di tutto e io non sono in grado di dare loro né vestiario, né stuoie, né recipienti per mangiare. Faccio distribuire vecchie latte da olio, come gavette. Che vergogna! Bella figura per il campo e l'Impero! ». ⁴¹ Il lager, ormai stracolmo, scoppia. Ma il peggio deve ancora arrivare, perché il governatore Caroselli ha preannunciato la venuta di altri 2 mila detenuti. « Dove li metto? — si chiede Mazzucchetti — Che cosa dò loro da mangiare? ». ⁴² Il 12 maggio giungono infatti altri 60 partigiani di Abebè Aregai, il capo della resistenza etiopica. Il 25 maggio altri 59. « Uno è armeno, quindi un bianco. — precisa Mazzucchetti — È il primo bianco che viene qui. Era suddito del Negus e pare che se la intendesse con i ribelli ». ⁴³

Con lo scoppio della seconda guerra mondiale, il completo isolamento in cui

³⁷ *Diario*, 3 ottobre 1939.

³⁸ *Ivi*, 10 ottobre 1939. Si trattava del dottor Gerace, dell'Ufficio Politico, e del dottor Ballardore.

³⁹ *Ivi*, 27 ottobre 1939.

⁴⁰ *Ivi*, 17 novembre 1939. Il giorno prima era giunto in visita al campo, accompagnato dal giovane figlio, ras Sejum Mangascià, uno dei più illustri dignitari del Negus, passato al servizio degli italiani alla fine del conflitto italo-etiopeo. Mazzucchetti così lo descriveva: « È un bell'uomo, sulla cinquantina, dall'aria sorniona e che non guarda mai direttamente in faccia (...). Dopo i convenevoli, abbiamo visitato il campo. I confinati lo hanno ricevuto con dignitoso rispetto, ma quasi con apatia. Solo qualcuno dei suoi ex sudditi del Tigray si è precipitato a baciargli le scarpe. Il Ras non si sbilancia e molto diplomaticamente, a chi gli chiede la liberazione, risponde che la saggezza del Governo italiano e la sua clemenza sono grandi: quando sarà il momento verranno tutti liberati ». Nel 1941, mentre gli inglesi scatenavano la loro offensiva contro l'Eritrea, ras Sejum si univa, con i suoi uomini, al movimento di resistenza e partecipava all'assedio dell'Amba Alagi, dove Amedeo di Savoia si era asserragliato.

⁴¹ *Ivi*, 28 aprile 1940.

⁴² *Ivi*, 2 aprile 1940.

⁴³ *Ivi*, 25 maggio 1940.

viene a trovarsi l'Africa Orientale Italiana,⁴⁴ e la partenza di Caroselli, sostituito da un governatore militare, la situazione a Danane si fa ancora più precaria. Per quanto la pista fra Danane e Mogadiscio sia un autentico inferno e quasi ad ogni viaggio l'autocarro di Mazzucchetti finisce per insabbiarsi, l'ufficiale va quasi ogni giorno nella capitale per « far presente la situazione insostenibile al campo per mancanza di fondi. Da tempo non si può più dare la carne ai confinati, perché bisogna pagare il bestiame in contanti e non vi sono soldi. Tutti gli altri generi alimentari li prendo a credito dai fornitori. È esasperante! E dire che questa situazione è creata probabilmente dall'ignoranza di qualche funzionario che se ne frega ». ⁴⁵ La sua amarezza è grande come la sua delusione. Aveva pensato all'Impero come ad una costruzione nuova e perfetta, da delegare ai più audaci e ai migliori, e invece non incontra che italiani inetti od opportunisti, sfruttatori od ignoranti. « Gli ufficiali — scrive nel *Diario* — sono per il novanta per cento di complemento. Quasi tutti meridionali, professionisti, piccoli proprietari, negozianti ai quali gli affari sono andati male. Fanno il loro dovere, ma senza entusiasmo. Per loro l'Africa non è che un modo di mettere da parte dei soldi. (...) Ho visto dei soldati e dei militi farsi leggere la lettera da casa da qualche graduato di colore! No, decisamente, non abbiamo ancora la mentalità imperiale ». ⁴⁶

Il 23 ottobre 1940 apprende che « ad Addis Abeba si sono rimangiati l'ordine di dare al campo le 350 mila lire » che da tempo ha chiesto per completare il suo piano. Così, mentre vede interrotto il suo progetto di fare di Danane un luogo meno atroce, comincia a prendere in considerazione l'ipotesi di lasciare l'esercito, a guerra finita, e briga per ottenere in concessione un fondo di 200 ettari sulle rive del Giuba. Anche questa carta la vuol giocare per Ada e per « i parenti di Varese »: « Sarebbe una bella rivincita per me sulla poca considerazione nella quale essi mi tengono ». ⁴⁷ Ma non è tempo di progetti. La guerra va male per gli italiani in Africa Orientale. Anche se il generale De Simone ha coniato il motto « Dal Giuba non si arretra », ⁴⁸ gli inglesi avanzano invece rapidamente e, liquidata la scarsa resistenza intorno a Chisimaio, puntano su Mogadiscio e l'occupano il 25 febbraio 1941.

Nel campo di Danane, però, gli inglesi non metteranno piede che il 18 marzo, per cui toccherà ancora al colonnello Mazzucchetti, per quasi un mese, fare la spola tra il lager e Mogadiscio alla ricerca di cibo per i confinati, che sono ancora 1300, mille etiopici e 300 somali. Tutto questo mentre il campo ribolle, gli zaptiè e le guardie carcerarie somale disertano e i confinati sono stufo di ascoltare gli inviti alla pazienza rivolti loro dal capitano Douglas e vogliono essere rimessi subito in libertà. « Alle 3.30 un gruppo di confinati ha tentato di fuggire. — annota

⁴⁴ A. Del Boca, *La caduta dell'impero*, cit., pp. 343-55.

⁴⁵ *Diario*, 31 marzo 1940. Pochi giorni dopo, il 22 aprile, confidava al *Diario*: « Messa e comunione degli ufficiali e delle camicie nere. Non mi sono sentito di comunicarmi. Non ho più fede, purtroppo ». In genere, al campo, celebrava la messa padre Daniele.

⁴⁶ *Diario*, 10 luglio 1940.

⁴⁷ *Ivi*, 31 gennaio 1940. Da tempo accarezzava questa idea. Anche il 1° gennaio 1940 scriveva: « Se il mio sogno di diventare concessionario si avvererà, nulla chiederò più alla vita. Buby (il figlio) sarà il mio successore e godrà del mio lavoro ».

⁴⁸ Mazzucchetti era molto severo nei confronti dei generali che avevano preparato le difese della Somalia, soprattutto lungo il fiume Giuba. Il 28 gennaio 1941 scriveva: « In qualche tratto di fronte l'organizzazione difensiva, durante i sette mesi di guerra già trascorsi, è stata allestita con tale rudimentalità di concezione da richiamare al ricordo l'arte militare dell'esercito negussita. Ciò testimonia l'incapacità, l'indolenza e, peggio ancora, l'incoscienza dei comandanti responsabili ».

Mazzucchetti il 14 marzo — Spari, collutazioni. Portato all'infermeria, malgrado le cure, un detenuto spira poco dopo. Al campo gran fermento. Reclamano lo zaptiè che ha ucciso il loro compagno ».⁴⁹

Il 18 marzo 1941, finalmente, gli inglesi mandano a presidiare il campo di Danane il capitano Stacey dei *King African Rifles*. L'indomani Mazzucchetti appunta nel *Diario*: « Il capitano ha preso possesso del mio ufficio pregandomi di togliere il ritratto del Duce ».⁵⁰ Cinque giorni dopo, passate le consegne agli inglesi, Mazzucchetti lascia per sempre Danane, questo carcere del fascismo che, per merito suo, è stato per molti anni meno crudele, meno letale. Trasferito sotto scorta al « Campo Locatelli » di Mogadiscio, dove sono stati raccolti tutti i militari italiani che sono rimasti intrappolati nella capitale somala, il 23 giugno viene imbarcato su di una nave e condotto in India. Il suo *Diario* si chiude con queste parole: « Lascio senza rimpianti la Somalia di adesso. Ci tornerò quando saremo ancora padroni noi. Da domani incomincia la vera prigionia ».⁵¹ Un giorno, nel 1946, rivedrà Ada, ma non avrà trofei da deporle ai piedi. Soltanto gli anni vuoti della lunga reclusione in India.

⁴⁹ *Diario*, 14 marzo 1941.

⁵⁰ *Ivi*, 19 marzo 1941.

⁵¹ *Ivi*, 23 giugno 1941.

The Emergence and Role of Political Parties in the Inter-river Region of Somalia from 1947 to 1960 (Independence)

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Somalia has enjoyed a unique role in the history of African nationalism. As the only country in Africa whose population is virtually homogeneous, most of the people speak a common language, all are Muslims and claim to be related to a common (or several common) distant ancestors. One might therefore expect that its independence movement would have been more unified than those of other African territories where tribal and regional differences came to be reflected in political party groupings after World War II. Also Somalia was the only country to be partitioned several times: once at the end of the 19th century during the scramble for Africa and again in the 1940's following the break-up of the Italian East African Empire. This would seem to have been another factor that unified Somalis in a sense of common nationalism.

However, the drive for Somali independence gave rise to not just one but several political parties. Were these parties based on regional or « tribal » differences of a particular Somali sort? Did they have different views of Somali nationalism and self-government? These questions are difficult to answer, not only because source materials are limited but also because one Somali party, the Somali Youth League (SYL), came to dominate the political scene in the 1950's and was the majority party at the time of Somali independence in 1960. As a result of the SYL's success most of the literature on Somali nationalism has focused on its organization, its leaders and its political platform. Scholars who have written on Somali parties in the pre-independence period have mentioned the existence of other parties and briefly described them¹ but very little is known of their leadership, their supporters, and their goals.

This paper as presented at the III International Conference of Somali Studies was substantially longer and detailed, and has been edited for this publication.

¹ A number of scholars have written on the issue: Castagno A.A. « Somali Republic » in James S. Colman and Carl G. Rosberg (eds.), *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964, pp. 519-59; Lewis I.M., « Modern Political Movements in Somaliland I & II », *Africa*, Journal of the International African Institute, Oxford University Press, Nos. 3 and 4, 1958; Touval S., *Somali Nationalism*, Howard University Press, 1963; Punkhurst S., *Ex-Italian Somaliland*, London, 1951; Bullotta A., *La Somalia sotto due bandiere*, Milano, 1949.

This paper examines the emergence and history of one of these other parties the Hizb al-Dastur Mustaqil al-Somal (HDMS)² which was the most important opposition party to the dominant SYL through most of the 1950's in the trust territory of Somaliland, as well as in the 1960's after independence and unification, and which can be considered an important political movement in itself. Very little has been written on the HDMS, in part because of the scarcity of sources mentioned above, and in part because those who come in second rarely attract much scholarly attention.

Background

When the UN General Assembly adopted its Resolution 289 on November 21 - 1949, placing Italian Somaliland under the international trusteeship system with Italy as the administering authority, it ended a period of great agitation among Somali political parties and began an era in which various parties and cliques jockeyed for power under the new trusteeship government.

Between 1946 and 1948 the British Military Administration (BMA) in Somalia (1941-1950) supported the SYL and gave it valuable assistance. One of the ways it did this was by providing SYL members with jobs and administrative experience. The majority of Somalis who were employed in the BMA administration, whether in military service or civilian administration, came from SYL.³

This policy of favoring SYL members as employees naturally created antagonism and resentment among members of other political organizations and factions and led to the formation of anti-British administration cells.

The Emergence of Hizbia Dighil Mirifle (HDM)

Before 1947 the Somali organizations had limited political objectives, and were principally concerned with cultural and social questions. Only when the arrival of the Four Power Commission⁴ was imminent did parties and organizations begin to formulate more explicit economic and political demands. The HDM was constituted on March 25, 1947. The party aimed at practical measures for improving the general welfare of the country, which included the encouragement of agriculture and trade, raising the standard of education and guaranteeing the peace.⁵

To « Hizbia » the country of Somaliland was divided into two major regions: north of the Shabelle river and south of it, speaking two noticeably different

² Hizb al-Dastur Mustaqil al-Somal (Somalia Independent Constitutional Party), locally known as « Hasbia », emerged first as Hasbia Dighil Mirifle (HDM) the party of Dighil Mirifle. For further details on the formation of Somali political parties see Mukhtar M.H., *Italian Somaliland From Trusteeship to Independence*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of al-Azhar, Cairo, 1983, pp. 87-106.

³ Four Power Commission of Investigation of the former Italian colonies, vol. II. « Report on ex-Italian Somaliland », 1948, p. 21, 107 and Castagno A.A., *op cit.*, p. 525.

⁴ The four Power Commission (FPC) was a product of long discussions between the allies, composed of the representatives of UK, USA, USSR and France. Designed to investigate the conditions and the future of former Italian colonies.

⁵ Petition from HDM to the President of UN Visiting Mission to the trust territory of Somaliland. T/pet. 11/109, Oct. 2nd 1951.

dialects « Maai » in the south, « Mahaatiri » in the north. The « Hizbia » people practice mixed farming and pastoralism in the most fertile and prosperous region of Somalia. Thus there are important economic, cultural and linguistic differences between the southern population and the predominantly nomadic people of the north.

Party Politics in the Early Trusteeship Period

When the return of Italy was imminent as the administering authority under UN trusteeship system, the political stability of the trust territory of Somalia was greater than expected. Neither the pro nor the anti-Italian organizations expressed their feelings towards the events. The SYL did not participate in the reception which the first Chief Administrator Giovanni Fornari held to meet the leaders of Somali political parties on April 15, 1950, though their leaders did lead a delegation to the tribal reception which followed two days later.⁶

However, several incidents did occur in Mogadishu and Baidoa between the Conferenza Party and SYL in the first instance (March 6, 1950)⁷ and HDM and SYL in the second (April 17, 1950)⁸ which could be interpreted as clashes between the pro and anti-Italian factions in Somalia. Both were trying to gain the support of the new Italian administration in one way or another. In the case of Conferenza and HDM they wanted to demonstrate their loyalty and allegiance to the administration, and the SYL hoped to gain publicity and sympathy and to pressure the authorities into regarding the party more favorably. But it was evident that none of the clashes had any ideological basis; they were merely matters rooted in tribal differences and the influence of colonial policies in the region, and also the tensions and insecurities that prevailed at the time of the transfer to the Italian administration.⁹

SYL Rapprochement with the Italian Administration

The problem which Italy faced at the beginning of its administration clearly influenced policy in later years. Whether or not it opposed the influence of the SYL in the early days of trusteeship, it is apparent that by the mid-1950's the Italian government had achieved a rapprochement with the SYL. At the same time, during the years 1951-53, the SYL appears to have softened its attitude toward Italian authority and even established a positive working relationship with it.¹⁰ How can we account for this seemingly dramatic reversal of SYL policies,

⁶ « His Excellency the Administrator received the tribal chiefs, and other noble figures ..., Sharif Ali Zeno, ..., Herzi Farah, ... Haji Muse Bogor,, Haji Dirie Hersi », see *Corriere della Somalia*, issues 1710, 1711 of April 17-18, 1950.

⁷ See telg. from Mr. Gamble, the Chief Administrator of Somalia to the Foreign Office, March 6, 1950. In FO 371/80886.

⁸ See FO 371/80887, Appendix No. 2.

⁹ Mukhtar M.H., op. cit., pp. 203-209.

¹⁰ The second UN Visiting Mission to Somalia pointed in their report: « the party has taken a more conciliatory attitude towards the trusteeship administration, and is less concerned with the past » see T/1143. Useful information about Italo/SYL rapprochement see Martino E., *Due anni in Somalia*, Mogadiscio, 1955.

from an uncompromising anti-colonial, anti-Italian stance to a friendly working alliance with the Italian government? Was the new pro-Italian policy simply political, or did it reflect a new perception that the Italian trusteeship government was committed to goals shared by SYL? And what was the effect of the new cooperative attitude with Italy on first in the proliferation of parties, and later their eventual disappearance during the trusteeship period?

It could be argued that the policy of rapprochement with Italy was the only way SYL leaders perceived they could maintain the party's dominant position in the country. Having seen how the support of the BMA had contributed to its influence in the 1940's, they might have recognized the Italian support for another party could easily undermine its position. On the other hand, if the SYL genuinely represented the sentiments and aspiration of the majority of the Somali people, then it is difficult to see how compromise with the Italian authorities could have added significantly either to their prestige or influence in the country.

Ironically, it was at this same time that the HDM party, which is often seen as the most pro-Italian organization in the period of party formation, became the leading opposition to the SYL and to the Italian trusteeship.¹¹ The relationship of the SYL and HDM to the Italian government and to each other is reflected in the results of the various local and territorial elections that were held during the trusteeship years where HDM maintained the second position after SYL, which always took the leading position.¹²

The Question of Decentralization

While there is a common and deeply-rooted belief in Somali society that all Somalis are descended from a single ancestor, there is little doubt that geography and history have created several distinct sub-cultures within Somalia. Scholars have shown how the deep-seated clan and lineage system of the northern pastoralists has been modified to include loyalties based on territorial proximity in the more settled communities of the inter-river plateau.¹³

Along these real differences in social organization were local prejudices which one finds in every society of the world. The northern nomads showed a scarcely disguised contempt for any occupation other than pastoralism, and they have traditionally looked down upon the southern cultivators as inferior. The southerners in their turn regarded the nomads as hot-headed and undisciplined, incapable of managing affairs other than their herds.

It is obvious that these social and regional stereotypes have played an important role in the formation of Somali political parties even though the most prominent Somali political leaders of all parties made efforts to eliminate tribalism and the preoccupation of the people with it.

¹¹ UN Visiting Mission, T/1143, and UN Advisory Council T/947.

¹² In the first Municipal Elections of 1954 more than 20 parties competed for 281 seats, HDM won 57 seats coming second to SYL which won 141 seats, the rest of the seats were divided between 9 other parties. In the first political elections of 1956, the competition was for 60 seats, HDM won 13 after SYL which won 43. In the second Municipal elections of 1958 HDMS won 175 out of 663 when SYL won 416. In 1959 HDMS boycotted the general elections, but allegedly won 5 seats out of 90 where SYL won 83 and Somali Liberal Party won the rest two.

¹³ Lewis I.M., *op. cit.*, p. 253, and Virginia Luling, *The Social Structure of Southern Somali Tribes*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1971.

As an example of the persistence of tribal and regional sentiments we can look at the aftermath of the political elections of 1956. Four parties won seats in those elections: SYL, HDM, SDP and Marehan Union, with 43, 13, 3 and 1 seat respectively. Of the four, one of them had a distinctly regional following (HDM), one was distinctly tribal (Marehan Union), and one had just recently changed its name from the Mijertein Progressive League to the Somali Democratic Party. The fourth, of course, was the SYL, which never made strictly tribal or regional appeal but which in the minds of many Somalis it can be argued, represented tribal alliance of sorts under the banner of patriotism and national unity.

In addition, the formation of the first Somali Cabinet by the victorious SYL showed that the leaders were extremely conscious of ethnic-group composition, but almost totally ignored the Dighil-Mirifle portion of the population.¹⁴ The Prime Minister (Hawiye) formed a Cabinet consisting of three Hawiye Ministers, two Darood, and one Dir. The Dighil-Mirifle received not a single ministerial portfolio. Moreover, when Parliamentary groups were formed, the three deputies of the SDP and the one of Marehan Union crossed the aisle to join the SYL as a gesture of group solidarity, leaving the HDM as the sole opposition in Parliament. This confirmed the northern tribal orientation of the first government.

These actions prompted the HDM to undertake a major campaign of criticism against both the SYL and the Italian administration. At the same time the party produced a new programme reflecting its future policy and changed its name to Hizb al-Dasuur Mustaqil al-Somal (HDMS).¹⁵ The HDMS's campaigns and its more aggressive attitude to the governing party contributed to a growing misunderstanding between the Administration and the SYL on the one hand and HDMS members on the other. The later alleged discrimination against Dighil-Mirifle citizens in the Somalization process and in the allocation of educational scholarships for study abroad.¹⁶ Tensions increased to the point where bloody confrontations occurred in various southern towns and villages inhabited by HDMS supporters following government attempts to impose heavy taxes on their farms.¹⁷

All these incidents contributed to a call from the HDMS for the decentralization of administration. Party spokesmen claimed that this was the only way to overcome the social and economic discrimination against inter-river inhabitants that they saw being practiced by the government.¹⁸ Equally important, though, were the results of the first Somali census of 1957. While the census failed to obtain accurate results in the largely nomadic regions of Mijertinia, Mudug and Lower Juba, it had considerable success in estimating the population of Benadir,

¹⁴ It was suggested to form a multi-party Cabinet so that other parties could gain experience in executive responsibility; see Castagno AA., *op. cit.*, p. 532.

¹⁵ Touval S., *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁶ Petition from the Central Committee of HDM to the head of Italian Government on July 24, 1955. In addition to the Central Committee, this petition was signed by other Dighil Mirifle councillors in the Territorial Council who belong to other parties. Copies of the petition were also given to the Administrator of Somalia, the Italian under Secretary of Foreign Affairs and UN Advisory Council; see UNTC T/Pet. 11/583.

¹⁷ For more details about these incidents see United Nations advisory Council Report. AC T/1311, 1957, p. 21, and also UNTC 20th Session. 795th Meeting 20/5/57, p. 7. And also AC T/1372, 1958.

¹⁸ Moreover, the party demanded that the Somali Constitution should be based on decentralization of administration. For more on this issue, see the inaugural speech of the party for its 11th anniversary March 25, 1958. See also T/Pet. 11/583, and UNAC T/1372, 1957-1957 par. 61, and also Touval S., *op. cit.*, pp. 36-97.

Hiran and Upper Juba regions. The results suggested that the population of these last three regions was greater than the other three, with obvious implications for representation in Parliament. However, both the Administration and the Government refused to conduct another census before the coming general elections, even though this course of action had been recommended by the Legislative Assembly.¹⁹

It is also highly probable that HDMS was encouraged to advocate a policy of decentralization by the inclusion in the Technical Committee for the elaboration of the Somali Constitution 1957 of a sub-committee assigned to study the possibilities of a decentralized federal structure for Somali.²⁰ Thus the party declared its intention to establish a Somali Federal Government, believing that a federal system was the only way to lead the entire Somali people to progress and prosperity.

The call for decentralization received support from the Somali Liberal Party and from the Somali National Union. The latter in fact advocated the postponement of the general election for the constituent assembly until 1960 and, in the event that such a postponement was not granted, they requested that a new constitution be prepared by the UN itself as a temporary framework for the elections.²¹

Conclusion

The paper highlighted the longly unstudied political history of the southern population of Somalia. It tries to reveal the neglected role of the inter-river societies in the development of Somali political maturity and demonstrate how they shared in the formation of the important Somali political parties. Abdulqadir Sakhaweddin, the founding father of SYL, Sheikh Abdullahi Bogodi the founder of HDM and Haji Muhamed Hussein the founder of GSL were all from the region. The HDMS was accused of being a tribal party, though they, in fact, represented for more than 20 years (1947-1969) the sole opposition party, especially in the period preceding independence. They raised important issues in Somali political development, such as: the necessity of undertaking a census of the Somali population as a basic step of development, the vitality of « al-Datuur » (the Constitution) as a sole way to a democratic political entity and the adoption of a federal system of government as the only way that Somaliland could be developed economically and socially. Finally it was the aim of the paper also to highlight the manipulation of the foreign powers, particularly the two retreating colonial administrations of Great Britain and Italy and their influence on the political development of the region.

¹⁹ « ... in three regions Benadir, Upper Juba and Hiran there was a considerable degree of success; in the other three: Mijertinia, Mudug and Lower Juba there was a failure to obtain accurate results ... » see UNAC T/1372, 1957, p. 29.

²⁰ See T/1344, 1958, pp. 6-7.

²¹ United Nations Visiting Mission to trust territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration T/1344, 1958, pp. 6-7.

Trade Union Movement in Somalia 1960-1969

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The beginning of Trade Union's Movement in Somalia coincides with the emergence of wage labour during the colonial days. The first portion of this study from 1940 to 1960 was presented in the 2nd Congress of the Somali Studies International Association (SSIA) held at Hamburg 1983, and this portion from 1960 to 1969 is just a continuation of that effort.

The year 1960 marks when the Somalis under the British and Italian colonies took their destinies in their own hands and achieved independence and subsequently united into a single nation. The programmes of the Somali Youth League (SYL) and the Somali National League (SNL) parties being the two major political parties that succeeded in the independence of the two respective colonies were confined in the limits of the political independence, hence the infiltration of reactionary and opportunist elements in the power appeared as an odd concrete example for the struggled masses that expected proper and just mobility. The Somali Government that followed the Colonial Administration unfortunately was unable to cement solid foundations for the Somali people that had lust for all round emancipation from the inherent socio-economic evils. No vital steps were taken in the field of employment and no strategic occupation were created for the idle working forces. Even the payments for the workers of certain development projects and the routine services were not paid for months. Job assurance, labour insurance and other terminal rights suffered drawbacks as there were no effective local labour organs for the improvement of those factors. The International Labour bodies proposals such as those of the International Labour Organization (ILO) for an extension of workers' rights were not taken seriously. Besides this, the Somali Trade Unions Movement is honored to have remained firmly in its class position and to have cooperated with the masses even when the principles upon which the political independence was achieved were abandoned and as a consequence clan based interest group appeared in the ruling circles.

The 2nd portion of the Somali Trade Unions Movement which covers the post independence era between 1960 and 1969, is an attempt to study that period in which two National Centres existed: the Confederazione Somala dei Lavoratori (CSL) and the Somali Federation of Labour (SFL) based in Mogadishu and Hargeisa respectively. Discussions for merger began by the 1960s. Each federation though struggled separately with the post independence regime and achieved separate gains. Both Federations had also independent international relations.

Trade unionism in Somalia was developed in this period by the general unrest

in the post independence era in almost all aspects of life. Moreover, a number of trade unions existed at the time of independence of the Somali Republic such as CSL, an affiliate of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) that offered CSL financial subsidiary and political support. Other trade unions operated along side CSL in both the South and North of Somalia. The remnants of the cold war are observed even today within the African trade union movement as those who favour Pan-Africanism and those left and right or in between WAFU and ICFTU.

In the North the post independence development projects and organs saw the growing labour force engaged in the construction, services and commercial enterprises. As a result the following trade unions were opened at Hargeisa in the year 1963:

- Commercial and allied Workers' Union
- Electric Energy and Water Workers Union
- Hotels and Bars Workers Union
- Teachers Union.

(By this time the Somali Youth Union (SYU) having close relations with the trade unions was also opened in Hargeisa).

In 1964, the Somali Workers' Union (SWU) was formed in Burao, that affiliated to WFTU. SWU drew support from the workers of Laskorei Fish Factory, Berbera dock-workers and building and construction workers from various parties of the former northern regions. SFL with its headquarters in Hargeisa was opened as a centralizing body for all unions in the north. A West German Federation of labour promptly decided to extend financial support to SFL which was a loose affiliate of CSL in Mogadishu. SFL had even once quarreled with CSL about its share of the financial subsidiary from ICFTU. SFL received about 2000/-shillings as house-rent from the ICFTU offer to CSL and later, when its leadership requested for a better share, the two labour organizations severed their relations and dealt their problems separately.

In 1964 the workers of the Grindlays' Bank Ltd. staged a strike demanding an increase in their salaries. This strike had lasted for a month when the bank authorities accepted an increase of hundred shillings for the clerks and fifty shillings for the subordinate staff. The Commercial and Allied Workers Union was responsible for this strike and had also the support of SFL. In 1965, the SWU called a strike due to the ordinary salaries of the Berbera port workers which had not been paid for 7 months.

In 1969 the SFL and its affiliate Trade Unions reached an agreement to call a general strike all over the northern regions of Somalia. In reaction to this general strike by the ruling regime, the Secretary General of SFL and other unions' officers were sentenced to 9 months on the 23rd of September 1969, without taking them to Court under an emergency law issued during the Somalis-Ethiopian War of 1964. Another 86 Workers were sentenced to one month imprisonment or 200/-shillings fine under that same law at 11.30 pm the same date without taking them to court either. Though these workers had been unpaid for over 6 months, they paid the fine through arrangements by relatives who were persuaded by other local elements. The General Secretary of SFL was released after a serious lobbying on the 9th of October 1969.

In 1962 with the advice of WFTU and the Italian Communist party, different Somaly Workers Union attempted to unite and form the General Confederation

of Somali Workers (GCSW). Affiliates of this newly organized GCSW included the USAS (Unione Sindacato Africano della Somalia), SFL, The Somali Teachers' Union, Union of Taxi-drivers, Health Services' Employees, Post and Telecommunication Workers etc. The GCSW was formally founded on the 16th of April, 1961 in Mogadishu on progressive lines and principles. The structure of GCSW has its congress as the highest organ in which the Central Council and the Executive Committee were elected by the representatives (two each) of the affiliate member unions. The Executive Committee of the Confederation, that was tough and serious in conforming with the contents of the Confederation documents and the defence of the workers' rights and affairs, consisted of:

1. The president of the confederation
2. Vice president of the confederation
3. General Secretary of the confederation
4. Assistant General Secretary
5. Secretary for foreign relations
6. Secretary of finance
7. Secretary of information
8. Two members of the Inspection Committee

The activities initiated by this Confederation were intensified when GCSW organized a major national strike in 1964 after which the offices of the Confederation were closed and its leaders were labelled communist-inspired and imprisoned. However, this government reaction only raised the popularity of the Confederation. The Confederation soon recovered and organized other strikes and demonstrations between 1965 and 1968.

The support and confidence that the Confederation enjoyed at home reflected also abroad as the officers of the Confederation participated in international and regional conferences on labour and workers' affairs. Despite the refusal and resistance of the Government, the Confederation succeeded in attaining membership in ILO in 1967. It also sent some unionists and other active workers to seminars and scholarships, mostly to the Socialist countries. The Confederation established good relations with the national labour bodies and attracted their staffs to its support.

The strike movement and other forms of struggle waged by this Confederation at last compelled the Government to come to terms. However, the Government failed to abide by its promises and to fulfill the contents of the jointly drawn up agreements. This naturally precipitated the reaction of the working class in the form of a general strike in 1968. In this general strike 18 of the 22 unions affiliate to GCSW participated in full scale for four days. Their demands were betterment in the standard of living, insurance, workers' health, compensation of pension benefits etc. Government reactions were immediately translated into practical vindicative actions such as:

1. GCSW office to be closed
2. GCSW leaders to be arrested
3. 36 government employees to be suspended
4. Active government employees in GCSW to be given compulsory transfer to remote regions.

But due to the militancy and organizational position of this Confederation

the workers' voice was heard by the Government which repealed those actions and accepted most of the workers' demands. This Confederation continued its struggle and was operational until the 21st of October, 1969, when the new Revolutionary Government came to power.

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The Arabic Sources on Somalia

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In recent years scholars of different nationalities (including Somalis) have devoted much time and effort to acquiring information about the Somali past using various means and through the available sources on the region. However, the Arabic written sources of information on Somalia have long been neglected.

The purpose of this paper is to call attention to the need for a more comprehensive reading of Arabic sources, and to show that Arabic sources have much to contribute to the knowledge about Somalia.

It is quite impossible to cover this issue in one paper, therefore, I will try to put the emphasis on the Arabic sources related to Somalia which are written by Somali nationals, and to point out the importance of Arabic language and its impact to the Somali culture and heritage.

The Role of Somalis in Writing their Heritage

The Somalis share with the Arabs common ancestors, common physical features, a common geographical region, a common nomadic heritage, and above all a common religion. Islam is considered the most important factor in the close links between Somalis and the Arabs. Since the adoption of Islam Somalis began recording their affairs in the Arabic language, and for centuries Arabic was the only language that Somalis could write. This is very clear from Somali business contracts, inheritances, waqfis, etc.

The *Duksi* (Koranic schools) prepared many *Ma'allimis* (Koranic teachers) who played a significant role in diminishing the ratio of illiteracy, as well as in the diffusion of Islam throughout the region. The development of the schools was followed by the gradual formation of many Somali Muslim centers, such as Mogadishu, Merca, Barawa, Bardhera, Bali, Harar, etc. Islam has a strong belief in education, supported by many Hadiths where the Prophet enjoins the faithful to search for knowledge from the cradle to the grave, even if it entails travelling to the furthest place imaginable. Following this tradition, Somalis often travelled considerable distances from one Islamic center to another, and even joined a *Rir* for immigrant students in centers outside Somalia, such as those in Mecca, Medina, Baghdad and Damascus. A *Riwaq* (portico) in Al-Azhar Mosque and a section of the mosque of the Umayyads at Damascus were reserved specifically for students from Zeila.¹

¹ Muslim scholars use « Zeilais » sometimes to refer to all the Muslims of East of Africa, just

Knowledge in Somalia was obtained largely in the context of Islamic studies, subjects such as theology, philosophy, Arabic grammar, the traditions of the Prophet and history. The sole authoritative book on the Hanafi school of thought of Islam, called *Tabyin al-Ḥaḡā'iq li-Sharḥ Kanz al-Daḡā'iq* (On the Hanafi Theology) is a work written by a well-known Somali theologian of the Eighth Century of Islam, Shaykh Uthman bin 'Ali al-Zayla'ī (d. 743 A.H.). This work is in eight volumes and was printed in Cairo.²

Of the Traditions of the Prophet Mohamed, called *Ḥaddith*, 'Abd Allāh bin Yūsuf bin Muḡammad al-Zeila'ī is one of the best editors. He was a Somali student of the above-mentioned Shaykh Uthmān bin 'Ali al-Zeyla'ī. His book is called *Naṣb al-Rāyah fī Takhrīj Aḡādith al-Hidāyah* (On the Traditions of the Prophet), and comprises four volumes, printed by Dā al-Ma'mūm, Shubra in Cairo in 1938. This was sponsored and edited by the Bureau of Scientific Council, Dabhill, India.³

Jabarti was a nickname given to the students from East Africa, and among those who left outstanding works are Shaykh 'Ali al-Jabartī (1492 A.D.) who served the Egyptian Mamluk government in different administrative and religious positions, and also Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḡman al-Jabartī, the great-grandfather of the famous Egyptian historian al-Jabartī, who served as a judge in Cairo, and was also the President of the « Riwaq al-Jabartī » in al-Azhar.⁴

In the field of literature Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḡman al-Zeila'ī was considered the man of his age (1299 A.H.).⁵ His works were numerous but unfortunately

as they use « Abyssinia » for the same region or « Sudan » for all of the black Africa. However, since the majority of the Muslims of the region are predominantly Somalis and the city of Zeila itself is located in the Somali territory, the majority of « Zeilai » students would be Somalis. See Mukhtar M.H. about the Riwaqs, in his *Habka Cilniga ee Baarista Taariikhda*. (Methodology of writing history - the case of Somalia), Lafoole College: 1978, pp. 50-51. And also Tiringham J.S., *Islam in Ethiopia*, F. Cass, third impression, London 1976. p. 62.

² Details about the biography of Shaykh Uthman al-Zayla'ī are well preserved in Ibn Hajar al-'Asqallani's *al-Durar al-Kamīnah fī Akḡbar al-Mtyah al-Thāminah* (A Biographical Dictionary of the noted men of the Eighth Century of Islam), IV vols., Haydar Abad: Matba'at Dā'irat al-Ma'arif al-Uthmaniyyah bi-al-Hind, 1348 A.H., Vol. III. Tarjumah No. 2596, pp. 61-62. And also see Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawi *al-Fawa'id al-Bahiyyah fī Tarajum al-Hanafīyyah* (the Biographies of Hanafi Sheikhs), Cairo: Matba'at al-Sa'adah, 1324 A.H. pp. 115-116. For more specific accounts on Zeilai figures see Shaykh Abi Muhammad al-Tayyib bin 'Abd Allah. *Qiladat al-Nahr fī Wafayāt A'yan al-Dahr* (the remembrance of noted men), VI vols. MS. Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, No 167 (Tarikh).

³ See Ibn Hajar, *ibid.* pp. 310-311, Tarjumah No. 2250, Vol. II. and also al-Suyuti. *Husn al-Muhadarah* Vol. I. p. 151. And also Taqiyyu al-Din Abu Bakr al-Tamīmi. *al-Tabaqat al-Sunniyyah* (the Biography of Sunni Men) IV. Vols. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, MS. No. 540 (Tarikh).

⁴ For more details about Jabartis see Muhammad Qandīl. *Tarikh al-Jabartī* (the history of al-Jabartī), Cairo: Matabi al-Sha b, 1958. And also Muhammad Muhamud al-Sayid. *Jabrah Wa Jabart* (Article on the life of Abdurahman al-Jabati the Historian), Cairo: 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabartī Dirāsah wa Buhūth, 1976. It seems that Riwaq al-Jabartī was exclusively for the Somali students rather than Riwaq al-Zeilai, for they were representing the majority as we mentioned above in note no. 1 of this paper, or may be the two Riwaqs were integrated some time before the 19th century under Riwaq al-Jabartī, as the Jabartī family dominated the presidency of this Riwaq. For further details see 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabartī. *'Ajā'ib al-Aḡār fī al-Tarajum wa-al-Akḡbār*, known as *Tarikh al-Jabartī* (history of Jabartī), Cairo: 1905. The name of this Riwaq was then changed into « Riwaq al-Sumāliyy in » and its chairmanship eventually was given to a Somali national from the beginning of this century. For other details about this issue see *Dā'irat al-Ma'arif al-Islamiyyah* (Encyclopedia of Islam), Vol. VI. pp. 278-280, and the English edition of 1983 see Vol. II pp. 355-357, and Vol. IV. Of 1934 edition pp. 483-488.

⁵ Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman Ahmad Nurow Roobow known Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Zayla'ī.

most of them have been lost. The few which have been published concern Arabic language, grammar, syntax and morphology. *Faḥ al-Latīf Sharḥ Ḥadiqat al-Taṣrīf* (The Syntax of Arabic Language) is one of the best books in this field. It was printed in Cairo by Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥalabī, 1938. In addition, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a poet, and has numerous collections on Islamic issues, most of which have come together in one volume, *Majmūʿah Mushtamalah* (A Complete Collection), published in Cairo by Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥalabī. The last edition was in 1959.

The writings of Shaykh ʿAbd Allah al-Qutbī (1879-1952), are well known in the fields of theology and philosophy. His book *al-Majmūʿah al-Mubārakah*, known as *Nasr al-Muʾminīn fī al-Raddi ʿAlā al-Maradah wa-al-Mulḥidīn* (Victory of the Believers over the Rebellion of the Heretics), was written in response to the appearance of new Western ideologies, and new religious orders and sects within the Muslim World, among them the Wahhabiyyah and Salīhiyyah. This book is in two volumes, and was printed in Cairo by Maṭbaʿat al-Mashhad al-Husaynī (n.d.).

In the field of Tarājum (biographies), Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Shaykh ʿUmar (1313-c1401) is a major author, with his biographies of the Qadiriyyah Saints. He collected the Sirah (the life) of Shaykh Aways al-Qadiri in a book called *al-Jawhar al-Nafīs fī Khawās al-Shaykh Aways* (The Precious Jewel about the Distinctive Characters of Shaykh Aways). This not only describes the life and times of Shaykh Aways, but gives detailed accounts of how Qadiriyyah spread throughout Somalia, as well as into other parts of East Africa. It was published in Cairo by Maktabat al-Mashhad al-Husayni, in 1964. A similar collection of information, written as a biography of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī was also written by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān under the title *Rāhat al-Qalb al-Mutawallīʿ fī Manāqib al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad al-Zaylaʿī* (On the Biography of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī). His best collections on two prominent Shaykhs of Qadiriyyah, Shaykh Aways al-Barawī and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī come together in one volume *Jalaʿu al-ʿAynayn fī Manāqib al-Shaykhayn; al-Shaykh al-Waliyyi Ḥāji Aways al-Qādirī wa-al-Shaykh al-Kāmil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī* (On the Deeds of the Two Shaykhs: Shaykh Aways al-Qadiri and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī). This book was printed in Cairo by Maṭbaʿat al-Mashhad al-Husayni (n.d.), but we know that Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān finished his manuscript for this book in 1374 A.H.⁶

Shaykh Aways's life and poems are also treated in a valuable book called *Majmūʿat al-Qasāʾid* (a collection of poems) by Shaykh Aways al-Qādirī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāshi, and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī in praise of Allah, of the prophets, and of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilāni, edited by Shaykh Qāsim bin Muhyī al-dīn al-Barawī, printed in Cairo by Maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī in 1949. Besides the poems that Shaykh Aways wrote in Arabic, he also

born at Godlevillage in the region of Bakool (formerly Alto Giuba) Somalia. For the purposes of al-Haj (Pilgrimage) he went to and from Hijaz via Harar. He remained there teaching Islam, and moved to the south-west preaching and teaching, undertaking Qulunquul as his Headquarters. He died there in 1879 (5th Rabi al-Awwal 1299). His students and followers continued spreading his gospel for the Qadiriyyah Order under a branch named after him « al-Zeilaiyah ».

⁶ See Shaykh ʿAbdī ʿIli, *Rāhat al-Qalb al-Mutawallīʿ*, *ibid.* p. 87.

composed many poems in the Mai dialect of the Somali language, five of which were written with an Arabic script.⁷

Kifāh al-Ḥayāt (The Struggle), by Ibrāhīm Hāshī Mahamūd (d. 1973), is an account of the author's life and his own views on the vital issues of pre-independence Somalia, e.g. how to put the Somali language into a written form, the idea of a Greater Somalia, the power struggle in the Horn, etc. The book was published by the Somali Government Printing Agency in Mogadishu in 1961. Mr. Hashī also published another book called *al-Ṣūmāliyyah bi-Lughat al-Qur'an* (Somali in the Language of Quran) in which he advocated the possibility of writing Somali using an Arabic script. This was published in Cairo by Dār al-Ṭabā'ah al-Ḥadīthah in 1963.

A collection of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān Sūfi's (1245-1323 A.H.) poems in Arabic on many different issues and covering his life story is gathered by his grandson Muḥammad Sūfi in a book known as *Dafīl al-'Ibād Ilā Sabīl al-Rashād* (The Guide to the Straight Path) or *Murshid al-Ahbāb Ilā Rab al-Arbāb* (The Guide to Allah), published in Cairo by Matba'at al-Kaylani al-Saghīr (n.d.).

The biography of Shaykh Nūr Husayn, known as « Shaykh Husayn Bāliya » is collected and edited by Hāy Yūsuf 'Abd al-Rahmān in a volume called *Kitāb Rabi' al-Qulūb fī Dhikr Munāqib wa-Fadā' il Sayidna al Shaykh Nūr Husayn* (The Life Story of Shaykh Nur Husayn). This book is bound together with another book entitled *Nuzhat al-Asrār wa-Ṭahārat al-Aqdār fī Manaqibihī wa-Fadā'ilihī* (On the Miracles of Shaykh Nur Husayn), printed in Cairo by 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabī Wa Shurakāh, 1368 A.H.

A remarkable discussion of the possibilities of writing the Somali language using an Arabic script was produced by al-Sheikh Muhammad 'Abdi Makāhīl in a book entitled *Insha' al-Mukātābāt al-'Asriyyah fī al-Lughah al-Ṣūmāliyyah* (Somali Correspondence Through Arabic Script) published in Bombay in 1353 A.H. by al-Matba'ah al-Karīmīyyah.

A similar study was conducted by Sa'īd 'Uthman Gūlayd in *Alfaz 'Arabiyyah fī al-Lughah al-Ṣūmāliyyah « Baḥth Maydānī »* (Arabic Words in the Somali Language: A Field Study) published in Aden by Maṭābi' al-Thawrī, 1973. In addition, Sa'īd has another work entitled *Yawmiyyāt Ṣūmāliyyah* (A Somali Diary) in which he discussed the crucial problems facing the Somali people, such as tribalism, which he felt was a major obstacle to development. This work was also printed in Aden by Dār al-Jamāhīr li-al-Tibā'ah wa-al-Nashr in 1389 A.H. (1969).

In the field of history there is Sharif 'Aydarus (1311-c1380 AD) the author of *Bughyat al-Amāl fī Tārīkh al-Sūmāl* (The History of Somalia). This book contains information about the ancient Somali kingdoms and the Somali institutions in the Eighth Century before Islam. It was published in Mogadishu by the Italian Trusteeship Administration (AFIS) Printing Agency, 12 Shawal 1374 (January 4, 1955).

Aw Jāma' 'Umar 'Issa then published a book entitled *Tārīkh al-Sūmāl fī al-'Usūr al-Wusṭā wa-al-Ḥadītha* (The Medieval and Modern History of Somalia). It is a fine book on the general history of Somalia with a special emphasis on the history of the Dervish movement. The book is published by Matba'at al-Imām bi-al-Qal'a, Cairo, 1965. In the same year Aw Jāma' published another book

⁷ The Encyclopedia of Islam. Vol IV. S-Z, p. 487.

called *Tarīkh Zuʿamāʾ al-Ḥarakah al-Siyāsiyah fī al-Ṣūmāl* (History of the Founders of the Somali Political Movements: The SYL Case), printed in Mogadishu by the Somali State Printing Agency. The following year, 1966, he published a book on the life of General Daud Abdulla Hirsi, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Somali army who died in 1964, entitled *Tarīkh al-LiwāʾDāʾud*, printed by the Somali State Printing Agency also. After the military took over in 1969 he wrote a book entitled *Thawrat 21 Oktobar, Asbhābuhā, Ahdāfuhā wa-Munjazātuhā* (Causes, Objectives and Achievements of the October 21 Revolution), printed in Mogadishu by the Somali State Printing Agency in 1972. Aw Jāmaʿs latest work on Somali history was *Madīnat Muqdisho Maḍihā wa-Ḥādirihā* (History of Mogadishu), printed by the Somali State Printing Agency in Mogadishu in 1982.

On the historical background of the Somali-Ethiopian dispute there is a detailed account by ʿAli Ahmad Nūr, who was known as « Trabulsi », entitled *al-Nizāʿ al-Ṣūmālī al-Ithyūbī al-Judhūr al-Tarīkhiyyah* (The Historical background of the Somali-Ethiopian Dispute). The most important part of this study is that which deals with the 1977/78 Ogaden War. It was published in Cairo by Maṭbaʿat al-Aṭlas in 1978.

Dr. Muhamūd ʿAli, known as « Tūryare », has published a book, *Qaḍyyat al-Qarn al-Ifrīqī* (The Case of the Horn of Africa), which looks at the Somalo-Ethiopian boundary problems as well as the Somali-Kenya dispute from the legal side. This study, printed in Cairo by al Hayʾah al-Misriyah al ʿAmmah Li al-Kuttāb, was published in 1979.⁸

In 1974 the Somali government published a book by Shaykh Ahmad ʿAbad Allah Rirāsh called *Kashf al-Sudūl ʿAn Tarīkh al-Ṣūmāl wa-Mamālikihim al-Sabʿah* (A History of Somalia and its Seven Kingdoms) which discusses the medieval Muslim kingdoms of the Horn, and especially those in the interior of the region.

Another good record of the 1977/78 Ogaden War between Somalia and Ethiopia is presented by Ibrahim ʿAbd Allah Muhammad, nicknamed « Māh », in his book called *al-Hazimah al-Thālithah al-Kifāh al-Tarīkhī Li al-Ṣūmāl al-Gharbī* (The Third Defeat: The Historical Struggle of Western Somalia). This study was published in Cairo by Maktabat Al Nahḍah al-Miṣriyah in 1982.

The writings of Ahmad Shaykh Mūsā are very important on the economic issues of Somalia. In his book *al-Tharwāt al-Dayfah fī al-Ṣūmāl* (Livestock in Somalia) he discusses the great potential of livestock for the Somali economy. This book was published in Cairo in 1959. Another book by the same author, *al-Qutn fī al-Ṣūmāl* (Cotton in Somalia) focuses on agriculture as another significant resource, and puts special emphasis on the potential of cotton as a prime product. This book was also published in Cairo (c. 1960). In the field of politics the above-mentioned Ahmed Shaykh Musā also left us a valuable book with his *Ḥizb Allāh Am Hizb al-Shayṭān* (The Party of God or of the Devil), published in Cairo in 1960.

Throughout history, Somalia's official contact with the outside world was long conducted in the Arabic language. Foreigners were able to contact Somalia solely through the use of Arabic. The best example of this can be found in the fact that all colonial agreements between Somalis and foreigners had an Arabic text

⁸ Dr. Tuuryare has published another valuable book. *al-Sūmāl wa-al-Hiyād al-ʿIjābī*. (Somalia and non-Aligned Movement), (n.d.)

beside the colonial language, be it Italian, English, French, etc., depending on the colonial power involved. The Somali officials or leaders either signed or put their seal on the Arabic version, and this was considered as the original if any misunderstanding later occurred regarding any clause of the Agreement.⁹ In addition, Arabic was the language of correspondence between the leaders of the Somali militant movements, fighting colonial occupation, and the colonial officials (civil or military),¹⁰ as well as between the Somali shaykhs of the different « tariqa » orders. And until three decades ago all normal family or friendship letters between Somalis were conducted almost exclusively in Arabic, and the trees of Somali genealogy, births and deaths as well as any other significant dates or issues were all recorded in Arabic.

The importance of Arabic to the Somalis appears in that the colonial media always used Arabic beside the colonial language. The official newspapers of the colonial period such as *Corriere della Somalia* and *Il Popolo* in the former Italian colony always used both Italian and Arabic, with a similar set-up in British Somaliland, *akhbār al-ṣumāl* (the Somaliland News), where both English and Arabic were used.

Arabic is also used in the records of the Somali political parties. Their constitutions, by-laws, and petitions were written in Arabic, and even their emblems and names were associated with Arab political organizations and Muslim movements. The Young Somali Movement (SYM) which emerged in Somalia during the early 1940's developed along the same lines as the emergence of the young Arabs' « Al Fata » during the 1920s. The sword, crescent and star used in the Hizbiyah (H.D.M.S.) flag are also typical emblems of Arab and Muslim movements. Both the Somali Muslim League and the Somali National League were political movements drawing on Muslim reformists ideology all over the Muslim world reacting against colonialism and Christianization.¹¹ Moreover, the party anthems of these groups were all sung in Arabic, such as « Ya Ayyuhā Ṣumāliyun » of the Somali Youth League (SYL), and « Salām ʿAlaykum Yá Sayfu al-Islām » of the HDMS.

The newspapers of the Somali political parties were also in Arabic, e.g. « al-Wahdah » of the SYL, « al-Shaʿb » of the SDU and « al-Qarn al-Ifriqī » of the SNL. Almost all of these papers were popular and appeared regularly until political parties were banned in 1969 by the Supreme Revolutionary Council after the military take-over. Many of the private papers in Somalia were also in Arabic, e.g. « al-Taliʿa », « Ittiḥād al-Shaʿb » and « al-Haqīqah ».

⁹ For further information and models of these agreements see Mukhtar M.H. *Tārīkh al-Istīḥmār al-Ṭīālī fī al-Ṣumāl Ḥattā 1908* (Italian Colonialism in Somalia until 1908). Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Cairo: University of al-Azhar, 1973, pp. 55-58.

¹⁰ See Caroselli F.S., *Ferro e fuoco in Somalia* (Sword and fire in Somalia), Rome: Sindacato Italiano Arti Grafiche, 1931. And Douglas Jardine, *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland*, New York: Nigro University Press., 1969, p. 43. Also Cerulli E., *Somalia Scritti Vari Editi ed Inediti* (Somalia various edited and non edited writings), III. Vols. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1957, Vol. III. pp. 117-151.

¹¹ The Rabitah Movements are well known in many parts of the Muslim World, e.g. India, Pakistan and Eritrea etc. About the formation of early Somali social and cultural associations see Mukhtar M.H., *al-Ṣumāl al-Ṭīālī fī Fatrat al-Wisāyah Ḥattā al-Istiqlāl* (Italian Somaliland from the trusteeship to independence), unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Cairo: University of al-Azhar 1983, pp. 87-106, and also the Official Records of UN Trusteeship Council: one finds that most petitions and presentations from the Trust Territory of Somalia were presented to the UN in Arabic Language.

When the Somalis of the former Italian Somaliland were first consulted about the future of their official language and the medium of instruction in their schools they overwhelmingly chose Arabic.¹² During the colonial period official documents came to be written in both Arabic and the colonial language, and even after independence the tradition continued, with both Arabic and Italian being used in all official documents. The use of Arabic as an official language gradually diminished and it was overtaken by English for a period, though it was used together with English until 1972. But once again it has come back to being the only other official language in Somalia today.¹³

In general, most Somali government publications (if not all) appear in Arabic and in one, or sometimes more, European language as well as in Somali since the advent of a Somali script in 1972. Therefore, if a Somali wrote anything, whether privately or officially, it was normally written in Arabic. Only in the late 1970s did Somali writings in non-Arabic languages start to appear.¹⁴

¹² See the Proceedings of the first Somali Territorial Council 1951, where in February 1951 the Council adopted a resolution that Arabic Language should be the official language of the territory as well as the media of instruction in the schools. For details about this see Mukhtar M.H., *Ibid.*, p. 222.

¹³ On February 14, 1974, the Somali Democratic Republic joined the Arab League. As a result the revised Somali Constitution completed after the military takeover clarified that both Somali and Arabic are the official languages of the Republic.

¹⁴ Again literary writings dominate. Mohamed S. Samantar compiled a collection of poems in Italian and French under the title *La Pioggia è Caduta: Il a Plu* published in Rome: Tipografia Editrice, in 1973. Nuruddin Farah brought out the following novels: *From a Crooked Rib*, London: Heinemann 1970, and *A Naked Needle*, London: Heinemann 1976. These were followed by his trilogy: *Sweet and Sour Milk, Sardines, and Close Sesame*, published in 1979, 1981 and 1983 respectively, and lastly his *Maps* published by Picador in 1985. William Siad's collections of poems in French are also significant: there are *Khamsine, Cantiques* and *Harmoniques*. The first published in Paris by Presence Africaine, 1959, and others in Dakar-Abdijan by Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1976. Then there are Said Sh. Samatar's *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism*, London: Cambridge University Press., 1982, and Yasin Cisman Keenadiid's *Ina Cabdille Xassan e la sua Attività Letteraria*, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1984, and Omar O. Robleh's *Le Cercle et la Spirale*, Paris: Les Lettres Libres, 1984. In addition, the non-literary work by Raqiya H. Dualeh *Sisters in Affliction*, London: Zed Press, 1982, and Yusuf Dhuhul's *The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon*, Djibuti: Avicenna Press, 1982. To my knowledge, the above are the only books authored by Somalis which have appeared in languages other than Arabic.

Keeping the Birds at Bay in the Bay Area of Somalia

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I

Although as indicated in previous publications (Lewis 1966; 1969), the southern agro-pastoral Somali apply the pervasive Somali distinction between men of god and (warrior) laity (*wadaaddo iyo waranleh*) less rigorously than their northern pastoral countrymen, this nevertheless remains a fundamental principle of role attribution (usually rendered in the Bay region as *warshidde iyo waranshidde*).

Here, as elsewhere in Somalia, men of god are essentially viewed as mediators and intercessors in domestic, socio-political and religious contexts. Both among the pastoral nomads and among the Bay cultivators, their duties may include rain-making (*roob-doon*). But, as reported previously (Lewis 1966; 1969) throughout the southern Somali tribes with their heterogeneous clan composition, the most regular occasion for rain-making ritual is the annual clan (or tribal) collective solidarity ceremony, typically led by the « first-born » segment (rather than by a man of god) which is the structural equivalent amongst the northern nomads of the annual commemorative ritual (*siyaaro*) in honour of an eponymous lineage ancestor. This is usually held at a traditional sacred centre, often the site at which the tribal founders are said to have assembled to form the original alliance establishing the tribe.

A more specialised local Bay region religious role, reflecting the predominantly agricultural economy, is that of demarcating and blessing plots of arable land by reciting chapters of the Quran — usually Suras 36 and 57 (the « *Yaasiin* » and « *Tabaarak* » — cf. Helander, 1986, 6)

A further specialisation, directly linked to cultivation, is that of protecting the crops from bird molestation (principally quelloes). In the Bay region, this is actually a monopoly exercised by the Reer Sheikh Muumin, a lineage of saints based at Bur Hacaba.

II

Sheikh Muumin's shrine lies a little to the south-east of Bur Hacaba, just off the old Bur Hacaba/Baidoa road near a large baobab tree. The shrine which has been reconstructed at various times consists (at least in 1962) of two buildings. One contains the tomb of Sheikh Haran Madare; the other that of our eponymous saint, Sheikh Muumin and the grave of his son Sheikh Nuur. This is a significant

religious assemblage since the Reer Sheikh Muumin seem to have supplanted the Haran Madare as preeminent religious figures in the Bay region about the time of the famous Ajuraan sultanate which dominated the lower Shebelle region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Haran Madare are represented in all the Somali oral traditions known to me as a branch of the saintly Walamogge lineage descended, according to the same resources, from the famous Sheikh Hus-seyn Baliale — the patron saint of the Islamic population of Ethiopia (Andrzejewski 1975; Braukamper 1977; Lewis 1980). Local tradition associates the expansion of the Elai clan confederacy with its three main divisions (the « three stools ») from Baidoa to Bur Hacaba with the active support of Sheikh Haran Madare and his sons, Sheikhs Nuuriye and Adan (buried beside Haran Madare). The latter are credited with having outwitted the tyrannical (Oromo) local ruler, « Geedi Babo », whose infamous deeds and final overthrow figures so prominently in Bay Oral tradition (cf. Bono, 1930; Cassanelli 1982, 123). The latter appears in some traditional accounts as the local agent of the Ajuraan sultan.

However this may be, the transfer from Haran Madare's religious hegemony to that of the Reer Sheikh Muumin would appear to coincide (perhaps fortuitously) with the collapse of the Ajuraan sultanate. Whatever the actual historical circumstances (possibly involving religious rivalry), the transition between the two religious regimes is represented as a smooth, harmonious process. Haran Madare, himself, is said to have prophesied the coming of Sheikh Muumin who, I was told, was in comparison to other saints « as the moon is to the stars ». In common with many other saints, Sheikh Muumin had the capacity to fly. His origins, however, remain more obscure than those provided for Haran Madare. The most impressive account is that reported by Eugenio Bono (1930) who describes Sheikh Muumin as the (patron) « saint of the Elai ». According to this the saint's mother (Asha Osman, of the Iska Shatto clan) was impregnated by a divine spirit and nine months later gave birth in Mogadishu to Sheikh Muumin 'Abdille' (« God's slave »). After studying the Quran and completing his religious studies in Mogadishu, the saint was transformed into a bird and flew off to the land of the Rahanwin. He flew first to Bur Heibi where he was chased away as a bird of ill-omen and encountered the same hostile reception at his second port of call, Bur Jejis among the Helledda. He then flew to Bur Hacaba where in contrast, he was warmly received as the saint whose coming had been foretold by Haran Madare. The saint then resumed his human form and received abundant gifts of livestock and cloth, promising, in return, to help the Elai with his divine grace. Three specific requests were made: to achieve victory over the Wardai (Oromo) to desalinise wells and to drive away the birds which molested the ripening crops. All these he successfully accomplished. After other prodigious feats in Lugh and Mogadishu, Sheikh Muumin returned to Bur Hacaba where he died at the age of forty-seven years in 1773 according to Bono's informants. The same source gives the nineteenth day of Shaban as the annual commemoration festival (I was told the ritual was held on the 18th day of that month).

III

As far as I know, the earliest contemporary European reports on the Reer Sheikh Muumin are those of the Italian explorer Robecchi-Bricchetti (1899) and

the pioneer explorer-official Ugo Ferrandi (1903). The latter describes them as exerting powerful influence in the Bay area, extending to Lugh, based on their reputation for sorcery and the evil-eye. By these means, according to Ferrandi, they exacted tribute, exploiting their ancestor's sanctity to impress ignorant people. In the same vein, Ferrandi also reports a derogatory myth of origin (frequently used by the Somali to discredit groups) according to which the Reer Sheikh Muumin descend from Hawiye holy men who disgraced themselves by eating fish during a famine!

Ferrandi's negative view is consistent with his attachment to the people of Lugh whose religious settlement at Bardera had been under attack (unsuccessful it seems) by the Reer Sheikh Muumin.

In any event, Bono's more favourable account (1930) tallies with what I found at Bur Hacaba some thirty years later. The Reer Sheikh Muumin, marrying endogamously and split into three sections, were dispersed in small settlements at Mogadishu, Lugh and Bur Hacaba with a total population of about a thousand souls. According to Sheikh Muhammad Amin, the lineage's « *Capo-Qabiila* », the Reer Sheikh Muumin as a whole were adherents of the Qadiriya' *tariga* and the eponymous saint had lived twelve generations previously (this is consistent with Bono's 1930 report of eleven generations).

The specialised crop protection rituals are conducted as follows. Each year, the head of the lineage posts an individual member of the group to sit in a small house (*aqal*) beside the Baobab tree, close to Sheikh Muumin's tomb, to read the Quran from beginning to end to prevent birds attacking the crops. When the new spring growth is a few inches high, the *Capo-Qabiila* visits the Elai chiefs and tells them whom he has designated to read the Quran in that season. The nomadic tent (*aqal*) is built by the Elai, each of the three Elai sections (or « stools ») taking it in turn to provide this facility (in 1962 when I was there it was the turn of the Geedafadde). The duty Sheikh stays for three months in the hut reading the Quran and Elai farmers bring him supplies as *siyaarro*.

On the day that construction of the reading house begins, an ox and a sheep are sacrificed. When the building is complete but before the saintly reader takes up his position, each of the seven Elai chiefs — so I was told — produces an ox for slaughtering. When the Sheikh enters his house to commence his work he is given three cows as a personal reward — one from each of the three Elai « seats » (i.e. clan sections) as well as being supplied on a daily basis with milk and or ghee. The Quran is then read, according to my informants, twice for each of the three Elai « seats » and once more (a seventh time) for the clan section responsible for building the house in a particular year. In keeping with the myth of the saint's initially hostile reception by the neighbouring Helleda and Eyle, although these clans come « for blessing » the Quran is not read for their fields: this is a privilege accorded only to the three Elai « seats ». The seven readings correspond, of course, to the general value of the figure seven in Islamic cultures (as for example in the duration of the marital « honeymoon » rather than honeymoon) and more specifically to seven-day rain-making ceremonies conducted by Sheikh Muumin (cf. Helander, 1984).¹

¹ Helander's discussion centres on the legendary rain-making expertise of Sheikh Muumin whom he describes as a Sufi saint of the « Salihya Order » who died some twenty years ago. Muumin is locally and understandably popular name, and it may thus be that Helander is referring to some

IV

Thus, in this southern cultivating region in addition to the routine intercessory and mystically productive roles of saints (including rain-making) elsewhere in Somalia, we find a regional specialisation — crop protection — reflecting the requirements of the local economy. Although they appear to remain unreported in the literature, it would seem likely that other saintly families must be expected to provide similar protective services in other cultivating districts and I have heard of at least one instance of this in the north-west (Borama District) where cultivation is, of course, much more recent (Ahmad Farrah, personal communication). It seems logically consistent with their reputation as mystical « scare-crows », that the farmers of the Bay area should also look to the Reer Sheikh Muumin to control the time of harvest. According to my informants, the crops should not be cut until farmers have reported to the incumbent sheikh that the grain is ripe, and he has authorised that the harvest should proceed. Thus, through blessing the earth and those who labour on it, facilitating the rains, protecting the growing crop, and regulating the time of harvesting, in mystical terms the Reer Sheikh Muumin certainly seem to control production and reproduction in the Bay Region. According to the local ideology, the mystical efficacy of the Reer Sheikh Muumin depends directly on the *baraka* of the saintly eponym (virgin-born according to the myth recorded by Bono) which is tangibly displayed in the votive-offering strewn shrine and tomb itself juxtaposed with that of the earlier mystically charged Haran Madare. Since celibacy is not a pre-condition for fecund mystical power in this context, and indeed the sexuality of saints is extremely highly charged, I am not convinced by Bernard Helander's (1984) ingenious structuralist argument that sexual abstinence releases mystically charged energy to fructify the crops whereas human growth is promoted by sexual activity in the absence of religion. In the local view again, whether through the grace of Sheikh Muumin or other mediators, religious blessing is ultimately a precondition for successful human reproduction. Infertility and other reproductive disorders are amongst the commonest motives which bring people to Sheikh Muumin's shrine in search of blessing. No wonder the tomb is so festooned with votive-offerings — promissory strings, threads, pieces of cloth and even (when I visited it) two razor blades symbolising the supplicant's intention to kill an ox for the saint once his petition for fertility had been granted. Of course, at a more abstract level, I would argue that, universally, human sexuality provides a powerful prototype for the release of transcendent mystical energy (cf. Lewis 1971, 1977).

other personage than the founder of the saintly Reer Sheikh Muumin. Indeed in 1962 I met a widely respected religious figure living in Wafdai village, near Bur Hacaba, called Sheikh Muumin Abdarahman who described himself as a member of the (Salihya-related) Ahmadiya/Rashidiya order.

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The Man in the Tree

A Note on a Somali Myth

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The Somali people, living at the junction of the Islamic world with that of Africa, participate in both. Their tradition is formed by their Islamic inheritance, and yet it is generally recognised that pre-Islamic elements survive within it. To trace these elements can be of value for our knowledge both of Somali religious beliefs and culture in early times, and of the connections between the Somali and the other peoples of northeast Africa.

The Somali have traditionally symbolised their adherence to the Islamic faith in legends which trace their descent to ancestors coming from Arabia, and deriving from the lineage of the Prophet. Particular traditions of various clans and clan families tell of charismatic Sheikhs who converted the local people, and became their forefathers.

The Somali Stories

One well known legend is that which tells how the holy man is found in a tree, and of the people's efforts to induce him to come down, and become their ally and affine. The story is told in both northern and southern Somalia. The main versions of the legend available in published form are as follows:

(a) This version of the story comes from southern Somalia. The son (or the six sons) of the local leader discover a stranger — in one version identified as an immigrant Arab — in the branches of a tree. He refuses to come down, even though offered first a chair and then a horse, until one of the brothers allows him to descend onto his own shoulders. He takes him home and gives him his daughter in marriage; or she is promised before he will consent to descend.¹

(b) Another version gives no name or origin to the stranger. He is found by

¹ Cerulli 1957, p. 62; Colucci 1924, p. 106. In the text I have not used the names of the persons in the story, since the spectre of « tribalism » can only distract attention from my actual point. I believe that the myth of the man in the tree *could* have become attached to any clan-ancestor. In fact, in version (a) and (b), the man is found by the sons of Hawiye. By Colucci he is identified as the Arab Balcad, who marries Faduma daughter of Jambele, son of Hawiye, and becomes the ancestor of the « five Balcad » clans, among whom the Ajuran are the most famous.

the girl herself as she grazes her flocks, sitting in « a tall tree like a sycamore ». He refuses to come down until she calls for her brothers and the other men of her clan. He then asks for three things; a hundred camels, a slave, and the girl herself in marriage. Moreover he must climb down onto the back of a man and her brother accepts this office.

« This man, who knows who he was? He was seen in a tree ».

*Ninkaas nimaas yehay ya og? Geed korkiisii aa lagu arkay.*²

(c) The Sheikh, while still a young man in Arabia, has already showed marks of divine favour. He is exiled from his home by a jealous uncle, and arrives on the Somali coast, but at first meets no human beings. He digs himself a well beside a large tree. Here he is discovered by the daughter of the leading man of that country, who is pasturing her father's flocks; he waters the animals at his well, and thereafter she comes there regularly.

Her father, noticing that the stock have been watered, follows her with a party of warriors, and discovers the young man. The latter takes refuge in the branches of the tree, after covering the well with a large stone. The chieftain and his men try to lift the stone, but in vain. They plead with the young man to come down from the tree, but he refuses to do so until the chieftain promises him his daughter in marriage, and then allows him to climb down by taking him on his own shoulders. From this marriage springs one of the principle branches of the Somali people.³

Version (a) and (b) of the story have some unexplained features. Why was the stranger in the tree, and why was he so unwilling to descend to earth? Moreover, since he had not shown any sign of special powers, why were the local people so eager to form an alliance with him? The teller of (b) explained that « the men of those days were very few - what they needed was support », but they still seem to go to disproportionate lengths to gain a single supporter.

These questions are answered in version (c), in which the Skeikh climbs into the tree in order to protect himself from the girl's father and his party of armed men; while the latter are motivated to gain his friendship by his miraculous command over the well. Are these details then part of an original story, of which versions (a) and (b) are confused reminiscences, or do they rather represent a rationalisation of an older tradition which had come to seem bizarre?

In this context it is worth looking at certain myths of the southern Oromo, neighbours and culturally and linguistically related to the Somali.

Heaven, Earth and Ancestors

The Qallus, the great priest figures of the southern Oromo, to whom many supernatural powers are attributed, form hereditary dynasties. The ancestors of these dynasties are all held to be of supernatural origin. One of the two Qallus of the Boran, the Qallu Karayu, is said to have fallen from the clouds, on a

² Cerulli 1959, pp. 251-252. This version is given as a recorded text.

³ The hero in this version is Sheikh Daarood, and his bride is Dombiro, daughter of Dir. (Drake-Brockman 1912, p. 72; Lewis 1955, pp. 18-19; Laurence 1954, pp. 134-138). Sheikh Daarood is also called Cabderrahman Isma'il, and sometimes identified as the son of the Arabian Saint, 'Isma'il Jabarti (Lewis, op. cit., p. 131n; Cerulli 1957, pp. 60-61). Cerulli comments that this identification probably represents the fusion of an « ancient Somali legend » about Daarood and Dombiro, with a more recent « Arabizing » tradition.

day when they hung so low that they nearly touched the earth, and he descended with the rain, bringing with him cattle, and various sacred objects.⁴

The other Boran Qallu, the Qallu Oditu, is similarly said to have fallen from the sky.⁵ Similarly, the Qallu of the Arsi is associated with an ancestor from the above — *Wayu Waqa bue*, « Wayu who fell from the sky », or « from God » — God and the sky being more or less identified with one another. Wayu is said to have returned to the sky — i.e. to God — after his death, and is now prayed to for help,⁶ (or was, until recently).

The first Qallu of the Guji Oromo is said to have fallen from the sky, bringing with him things necessary for life, such as barley and coffee, as well as the principal ritual objects. He remained silent, and all efforts to get him to speak were useless, until he was approached by a beautiful girl belonging to the Galalcha clan, who are said to have magical powers. When she smiled and spoke to him, he smiled back, took her by the wrist (since then the Guji take their brides by the wrist during the marriage ceremony) and spoke: « I am the son of God, and come from the sky; ⁷ I am the Qallu whom seven peoples, the Uruga, Alabdu, Mati, Hoky, Shelo, Otu and Darassa, must venerate ».⁸

The story of a king or leader from the sky is not confined to the Oromo, but is a common one among Ethiopian peoples.⁹ A myth of the Baka people of southwest Ethiopia, for instance, describes how the first two Baka priests were walking through the forest when they saw a person of strange appearance sitting in a tree. After much persuasion they finally induced him to come down, and he became their king, Serser, after the former ruler had willingly resigned his place to him. Beka informants emphasized that the two priests did not know « whether he came from Earth or Heaven, from the water or from the tree »; but other traditions suggest that an origin from the sky was considered essential for a true king.¹⁰ Serser's descent was followed by that of the divine maiden, Gila, who came down in the lightning and the rain, bringing with her the bamboo plant, culturally very important to the Baka. In this story it is she who cannot be brought to speak, until Serser himself speaks to her. She later returns to the sky.

The ancestor of the chief priest of the Ubamer people, according to one account, emerged from the Kaki tree. By another, he descended from the sky on a spider's thread, and sat under the Kaki tree, where he lit a fire. When the people, attracted by the smoke, discovered him they said, « God has sent you from heaven; therefore you shall be our priest ».¹¹ Other instances of the idea that the original king, priest or clan ancestor made the passage from heaven to

⁴ Haberland 1956, p. 159.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 443, 472.

⁷ Quoted in German by Haberland. « God » and « the sky » were presumably the same in the original text.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 302. This story, in which the supernatural stranger can only be induced to communicate with human beings by a girl, has a parallel among another branch of the Oromo, further north, in the origin legend of the Adami dynasty of the Kingdom of Guma. Here Adamo, the wild man of the woods, a being of superhuman strength, is tamed by the princess of Guma, the only person who dares to approach his cave. In her embrace, he loses much of his strength and all his ferocity. He marries her and founds the new dynasty. (Cerulli 1922, pp. 152-3; 1933, p. 145).

⁹ Haberland 1965, p. 285.

¹⁰ Jensen 1959, pp. 35-37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

earth are found among the Janjero,¹² and the Sidamo.¹³ They are part of the whole complex of ideas to do with the separation of the sky (God) from earth, and the special identification of certain persons with the sky-God, which form a constant mythical theme in the traditional religions of this part of the world.

Conclusion - The Man who Fell to Earth

The Somali stories fit neatly into this group of ancestor myths, in which the theme of the tree, descent from the sky, and the bringing of an alien being into human society by the offer of a bride, are combined in various ways. They belong to a mythic tradition in which sacred persons or objects come physically from the sky, because the sky is not so much God's dwelling place as God himself. The tree, as well as being often sacred in its own right, is a suitable ladder between Heaven, or God, and the earth.

If the Somali legends are seen within this framework, they appear as variants of a significant and dramatically satisfying myth. The importance attached to getting the stranger to come down from the tree, and the lengthy negotiations before he consents, which in the existing versions seem excessive, are entirely appropriate if in the original story he came from Heaven rather than from Arabia. The descent then represents the first contact with the earth of a being from another world, and with it, his incorporation into the realm of human relations — both the emotional and domestic (the bride) and the public and political (the father- and brothers-in-law).

The lengths to which the people go to gain the stranger's alliance are also comprehensible, if he is evidently an extraordinary being, rather than a mere son of Adam.

Such traditions, as well as being interesting historically, need not be dismissed by modern people as merely trivial or « primitive ». The theme with which they deal — the relationship of the human with the more-than-human — is of universal significance. And to imagine this concretely as the physical passage of a being or a thing is as characteristic of 20th century industrial society as of any other; as the persistent speculation about UFOs and extra-terrestrials shows, though in the context of a modern cosmology.

It is, however, incompatible with Islam, with its emphasis on the total otherness of God. With conversion, the divine becomes radically removed from the human sphere, and it is no longer admissible to attribute to the ancestor such a direct relationship with heaven. Arabia is now the realm in which the divine has touched the human, and from where all blessing originates; so the charismatic ancestor now comes from over the sea. The old myths are fitted into the new belief system — but sometimes the join is a little awkward.

If this is correct, then the myth of the man in the tree shows the fusing of the two sides of the Somali tradition, the African, and that of Islam.

¹² Straube 1963, p. 309.

¹³ Brøgge 1986, p. 32.

¹⁴ Haberland, loc. cit.; Lange 1981, pp. 18-20; Bartels 1983, p. 141; Straube 1963, pp. 45, 105.

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The Mainland Creeks of Southern Somalia: an Archaeological Appraisal

HILARY COSTA SANSEVERINO

Roma

This paper continues to discuss the coastal survey work carried out in southern Somalia during a period of three years from 1981 to 1984. This would not have been possible without the generous assistance of the Somali National Academy and the help and encouragement of the director of the British Institute in Eastern Africa, the late Dr. Neville Chittick. I am particularly indebted to Janet Haymen who took the photographs at Kudai and also to Dr. Antonello Angelucci who has given me invaluable geological advice.

Very little attention has been paid to the coastal sites and only passing reference has been made by travellers to the sites along the mainland creeks. These creeks, of which there are three, are located south of Kisimayu and are known as the Chovai creek, the Anole creek and the Meno wa Hori creek at Bur Gavo. They originate in the vast marshy region that extends westwards and form drainage channels to the sea. All three penetrate the interior to a considerable length and subsidiary channels branch off the main creeks, especially near the marshy sources. The impact of the tides extends many kilometres inland, exposing the claw-like roots of the mangrove trees at low tide. When the creeks meet the open sea, the mouths are wide, but after several kilometres of navigation, the area takes on a forbidding air with little sign of life and the banks become monotonous with the thick lining of the mangrove trees. Because of these trees, landings are difficult and wells infrequent.

The prosperity of the coastal settlements depended on the rarities that came from the interior, such as animal skins, aromatic woods and ivory and a lively trade followed the rhythm of the monsoons. It is also important to remember that a much older economic and commercial system, dealing with subsistence items (significantly salt in this area) had already been in existence for generations.

The inlets were, and still are, frequently navigated by small, flat bottomed boats which have no difficulty negotiating the shallow waters. Two previous travellers in this area (Brenner 1868 and Elliot 1926) have left a bewildering and often confusing account of various sites in the vicinity of the inlets and Brenner also suggested that further ruins exist along the banks of the Anole Creek of which, now, there are no signs.

It would seem unlikely that there are major sites at any great distance from the sea, despite, in the area of Bur Gavo, the existence of the most fertile land

of the area. Although the banks of these creeks supply wood for house and boat building and a variety of crops including maize, millet and sorghum, until recently wild animals presented a continual threat. In fact, part of the destruction of the tombs has been hastened by elephants rubbing themselves against the corners.

The three creeks occur where there are habitable islands close-by. This had a considerable bearing on the use of the creeks as certain crops could not be grown on the exposed and poor top soil of the islands. Today, many of the former inhabitants of Ngumi, Ciula and Chovai have moved to the mainland and benefit from the more profitable life which it offers. A sparse population of old people remain on the islands but are visited regularly by their relations from across the narrow strip of sea.

The general picture that emerges from the survey of the creeks is of a society, not overly prosperous but using the resources available to the best of their ability and congregating towards the mouths of the creeks where trade was lively and transportation easier. With the exception of the exquisite little mosque at Rasini, possibly the finest on the East African coast, the mosques situated along the creeks and on the coast are very uniform in size and decoration, being approximately 8×12 metres, with either two or three doors at the side, ablution facilities outside on the eastern wall and sometimes one or two tombs attached to the northern wall. Again the mihrabs, for the most part, seem cast from a similar mould, being usually recessed two metres and often with vertical stonework ribbing. One exception is the mihrab of the mosque at Rasini which is surrounded by a quotation from the Koran written in cufic form. Above the mihrab is a curious leaf decoration which occurs in mosques on the Kenya coast. In Somalia, only two other examples are known: on a tomb at Ras Kiambone and on Koyama island where Elliot calls it « mtambu ». The absence of impressive buildings may be explained by the fact that these settlements derived from a largely subsistence economy as they do today. The only unique features that does stand out amongst the buildings along the coast is the size and individuality in decoration and height of the pillar tombs.

Archaeological Sites on the Mainland Creeks of Southern Somalia

Chovai Creek, which rises out of the drainages known as the Mcho ya Yamani, is the most northerly of the three inlets. A small modern settlement, known as Stanboul, has grown up on the northern bank and boats of limited size can approach close to a small landing littered with cowrie shells. Some two kilometres inland, towards the northwest, are the remains of several step-ended tombs of no great age and possibly dating from the 19th century. As to the ruins near the hamlet of Baghdad on the southern bank, I could find no trace of the ruined mosque and other funerary objects noted by Brenner (1868: 362) and Elliot (1926: 258-59). All that remains is scattered stones, presumably from the ruins although, if this is so, it is the first instance I have seen funerary material removed for other purposes.

The inhospitable terrain has not encouraged settlement although the mangrove trees lining the banks of the creek were used by the people of Chovai (the island opposite the mouth of the inlet) for the building of *mitepe* in the past. The small modern village of Yamani is the only other sign of habitation and a certain amount of activity results from the salt deposits found close-by.

Sailing south, *Anole Creek* flows into the sea opposite the southern end of Chula Island and several days were spent here in April 1983 drawing, photographing and measuring the sites. A prosperous village has grown up around the mouth of the creek, thanks to the presence of a fishing project set up by the Food and Agriculture Organisation at Kudai. Judging from the remains of stone buildings, funerary monuments and a fine mosque located on the northern bank of the creek, these sites once enjoyed considerable trade and prosperity. It should be noted that Chula island was considered of sufficient importance by the Portuguese that in 1686 a ship was sent there from Goa and this was followed by a fleet in 1696. This suggests that Kudai must also have enjoyed the benefits of trade as a port of some importance in the 17th century. One of the navigational drawbacks along most of the Somali coast is lack of good anchorage for larger vessels, as only boats with a very shallow draught can proceed upstream, 40 kilometres being the limit and eight kilometres being the usual navigational possibility.

On the southern bank of the Anole creek is a small pillar tomb with depressions for three bowls on the eastern wall. The southern wall has a small, stepped tombstone. Vegetation, growing inside, has badly damaged the walls. Close-by, to the south, are the remains of a solidly built, rectangular building, divided into two parts. It has been suggested that this might be the ruins of a mosque as traces of an ablution cistern are found near by; however, the foundations are unlike any other mosque observed along the southern coast.

Another small stone structure, possibly a tomb, is adjacent and the area is covered with scattered stones and presumably formed part of a small funerary complex.

On the northern bank of the creek, there are the ruins of what must once have been a fine mosque known today as Kwa Adi, although Elliot (1926: 348-49) refers to it as « the well-preserved mosque of Borali bin Bwana ». Corresponding to the dimensions of coastal mosques, being 10 × 8 metres, only the north and south walls now remain standing. What is of particular interest is that pieces of the fallen roof are carved in patterns of recessed squares, identical to the remains of the collapsed roof of the Rasini mosque, although the mihrab shows none of the delicate carving. Brenner wrote that it was built at the end of the 18th century when people of Chula began to cultivate the area, only to retreat to the island again because of Orma raids.

Basing the date of the construction of the Rasini mosque on the list of headmen from Chula collected by Elliot (1926: 340), Sherif Omari, who is presumed to have built the mosque, would have constructed it around the middle of the 18th century. Chittick gives an earlier date but sherds found both at the Kwa Adi and Rasini mosques throw no further light on a more exact date. As in the case of most mosques along the coast, the roof was not destined for a long life, being constructed of a lime concrete ceiling, supported on mangrove poles which were placed on square or octagonal timbers.

A tomb with triangular ends is adjacent. To the seaward side are the remains of a sizeable house, 12 metres long with 12 small rectangular holes appearing near the top, presumably for timbers to support the roof. This whole area consists of scattered stones, ruins of houses and step ended tombs. One ruined house shows remains of finely carved door posts. The step ended tombs are scattered over a wide area where the local people are now growing maize. One very dilapidated tomb has a fallen pillar lying hidden amongst the undergrowth, the pillar measur-

ing 1 metre 60 cm and with the usual depression for a bowl. The logical access to this settlement is by sea and a small cove serves as a beaching area for local craft.

It is at this point in their journeys along the southern Somali coast and up the creeks that a certain amount of supposition and confusion creeps into the writings of our normally reliable friends, Elliot and Brenner. Pillar tombs and tombs are mentioned by Brenner and more specifically placed by Elliot (but not visited by him) some three to four miles up the Anole Creek. Then we have the mysterious Osterun (Elliot), more appropriately re-named Stirikani by Dr. Wilson, which is rumoured to lie somewhere in the interior between the Chovai and Anole creeks. The only recent information obtained on any undiscovered sites in this area was given to me by Mansoor Obo who was born at Kudai and claimed to be 90 years old. He remembered hunting for cheetahs with his father as a small boy and recalls that in the bush on the other side of Simba Hill, there were scattered stones and remains of a wall some 10 metres long and half a metre high. Due to the thick vegetation, I also was unable to locate this site.

The last, and possibly best known of these mainland creeks is the Meno wa Hori at *Bur Gavo*. (Properly Buur Gaab). This is a « drowned » river like the other creeks, a peculiarity to the southern Somali coast. The people of the Bur Gavo area maintain that during the rainy season, the surface water becomes somewhat « sweet ».

Bur Gavo has arguably the finest anchorage after Hafun along the entire Somali coast and as the water is deep, craft can navigate the 25 kilometres to Bushbushi at all times of the year to collect water where there is a well. Flat, small bottomed craft can even proceed another 20 kilometres further up the inlet. The site of Bur Gavo has been well documented by several people, notably Elliot, Grottanelli and Chittick who show that this was a port of considerable importance as early as the 17th century. No signs of stone buildings were found at any great distance from Bur Gavo, despite hectares of fertile land along the banks near Wayore.

Judging from the existence of wells at Bur Gavo (now dried up), the site afforded everything that the inhabitants needed and it was not practical to settle further up the creek with its difficult landings.

Of the sherds collected from the banks and mouths of all three creeks, the major part were undecorated pottery, as well as Islamic monochrome and a few pieces of celadon. As would be expected, most of the sherds were found where the creeks join the sea and in these places, blue and white Chinese ware were very prolific. Water containers now tend to be of plastic, but until recently the sherds indicated that they came from hard baked, well made utility articles in use as water and storage jars or eating bowls. The only difference between sherds found in these areas and sites further south is that the latter sherds tend to be more prolifically decorated with imaginative vertical and horizontal lines. Nothing found pre-dated the mid 16th century.

From the survey of these creeks, it would appear that they follow the same general settlement pattern as those of other sites stretching from Kisimayu to Ras Kiambone to the south. They seem, from the rather sparse archaeological evidence to hand, to have been inhabited not much earlier than the last quarter of the 18th century and probably resulted from a secondary population dispersal. The sites on the Bajuni islands must be presumed to have a greater age, but the more fertile banks of the creeks certainly attracted the islanders to the mainland and

incursions up the creeks themselves would have resulted in contact with people from the interior bent on trading their animal skins and ivory.

These coastal surveys prove yet again that more serious archaeological work is needed before many of these sites disappear or become even harder to place.

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Buur Medow 1, a L.S.A. Site in the Middle Juba Valley (Southern Somalia)

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Introduction

The town of Luuq, in the Middle Juba Valley, lies in a flat area at c. 150 m. above sea level. The river meanders widely (Fig. 1), and has deposited alluviums of Quaternary age over most of this part of the valley. In the surroundings of the modern town, large extensions of gypsum in thick beds, of Lower Cretaceous age, are also found.

South-East of Luuq, on the left bank of the river, gravels, sands and finer materials, which are presumably the older continental Pleistocene units, are capped by basalts possibly 2 MY old. The area underwent a marked down-cutting, and the whole continental sequence is now found as residual hills (Coltorti, personal communication).

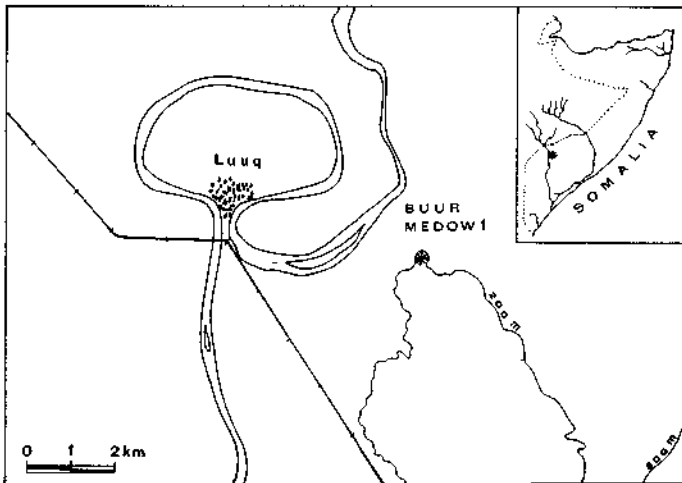


Fig. 1 - Location of Buur Medow 1.

L.S.A. industries have been collected and excavated in several sites on the residual hills: Buur Meadow, Buur Ad, Buur Heelo Shiid, Buur Matacno North. The stone tools were almost always laying directly on the bed-rock: a surface weathered layer was rarely found. Small hills, with a flat top, a few hundred meters wide, were apparently the preferred ones. Stone implements are also found on the basaltic plateaux. However, concentrations were never noticed.

Apparently, the area close to the river was preferred by Late Stone Age groups. A brief survey of the hills further away from the Juba gave no result. This point shall be tested by further research.

Buur Meadow 1 Industry

Buur Meadow 1 is a site less than two Km. away from present-day river-bed. From the top of the small hill where the site is located, there is a magnificent view of the surroundings, for miles and miles. On the flanks of the small mound, eroding pebbles of flint and chert can easily be collected. On the top of Buur Meadow, grasses and scattered bushes are sometimes looked for by modern shepherds and woodcutters.

A grid of 5×5 m. was laid down, and subsequently enlarged to the West and the North, up to an area of 36 m^2 . The stones which littered the surface were first stripped out. Then, all the stone implements were collected, square meter by square meter. As the site was very windy, most of the area underwent a second collection, in a subsequent day, after the wind had cleaned out the dust.

At Buur Meadow, the basalt which caps the hill is covered by a thin weathered layer. Five square meters were therefore excavated to the bed-rock. The maximum depth was of about 20 cm., but it was evident that stone tools were found mostly in the first 5 to 10 cm.

In squares C2 and C3, with a particularly high density of implements, a large blackish patch was noticed, 1 to 2 cm. below the surface: the evidence was very quickly wiped out by the wind, and it was therefore not possible to take any picture. Samples were taken for laboratory analysis. It could have been an hearth.

Before leaving the site, further surface collections were done, without stripping out the stones, in areas labelled as α , β , γ , δ , and in the surroundings of the grid, mainly to the south.

In the grid area, 3358 lithic products were collected. They include fragments, chips, tools, *débitage*, as well as a few unmodified or scarcely modified pebbles: 3220 were made out of flint and chert, 117 out of quartz elements, and 21 out of other raw material.

Cores were 115: 57 flake cores (25 with a single striking platform, 4 with two platforms, 13 subcircular, 15 globular), 19 bladelet cores (7 with a single striking platform, and 12 with two opposed platforms), and 39 unidentified residual cores.

Rejuvenation flakes and blades were 148: 76 core flanks, 11 core platforms, 37 *lames à crête* (including edges of core platforms), 21 *fonds de nucléus*. It means that each core generally underwent a rejuvenation process two to three times. Apparently, the knapping was therefore at least partially done on the spot, and re-fitting flakes were actually found.

Plain flakes (i.e. more than 10 mm. long) were 780. Plain bladelets (i.e. less than 50 mm. long) 293, while no true unretouched blade was found. There is

a ratio of 2.7 flakes for each bladelet, which is similar to the ratio of 3 flake cores for each bladelet core. It should be stressed, however, that some cores were re-used to make end-scrapers or other tools, and cores are therefore under-represented.

The typological study was done following Tixier's « Typologie de l'Épipaléolithique du Maghreb », as translated into English by Newcomer (Tixier 1974). Several types were redundant: our industry is scarcely laminar, microburin technique was never used, composite tools are rarely if ever found, burins are totally lacking (a single burin spall might imply the use of some burins, which were not actually found). On the other hand, we had to include under the heading « Miscellaneous tools » well-defined types which are probably typical of these kinds of industries. We also preferred to split in two types such as « Single end-scraper on a flake » and « Thumb-nail scraper », which in the Maghreb are lumped together: we still do not know much about L.S.A. typology in Somalia, but thumb-nail scrapers are possibly important. However, Tixier's list gave a useful base of well-defined types, which easily fitted most of our finds (Table 1).

The surface collection outside the grid was taken into account only for typological study, while frequencies were calculated separately for the collection made by excavation and by controlled surface collection. The former included 150 tools, the latter 122 tools. The frequencies of the general typological classes, however, were found to be similar (Table 2).

Fauna

Animal remains are very scanty. A few ostrich eggshell fragments were found both during surface collection and during excavation. In the excavated area, a fragment of a tooth of an undetermined ruminant Artiodactyl should be recorded. It belongs to a small to medium sized individual. Some fossilized land-snails (*Cyclostoma sulcatus*) were also found.

Conclusions

We tentatively attribute Buur Meadow 1, as well as the other L.S.A. sites surrounding Luuq, to the wet phase which is known to have occurred in the Horn, as in other parts of Africa, at the beginning of the Holocene: there were some climatic fluctuations but, roughly speaking, the period from 10.000 BP to 4.000 or 3.000 BP was more humid than today.

This can be seen in the fluctuations of water level in Kenya Rift Valley lakes (Tiercelin *et al.* 1981), in Ethiopian Rift Valley lakes (Lezine 1982; Street 1975-77), in Djibouti Rift Valley lakes (Fontes *et al.* 1973), as well as in some evidence coming from Somalia itself (Brandt and Brook 1984, Mussi 1974-1975).

The present average rainfall at Luuq is around 300 mm. per year, and the vegetation, consequently, is a thin xerophilous open woodland (Pichi-Sermolli 1957). Close to the river, there was once a forest-gallery, probably dominated by *Hyphaene benadirensis*, which is a palm-tree. It has now almost completely disappeared, due to human activity.

It should be stressed that an increase of 50%, or even 100% in average annual rainfall (which sounds quite unrealistic) would just mean a shift from « thin xerophilous open woodland » to plain « xerophilous open woodland » in Pichi-

Table I
Buur Medow I

	A	%	B	%	C
1 Single end-scraper on a flake	4	2.7	4	3.3	6
1 Thumb-nail scraper	3	2	1	0.8	1
2 End-scraper on a retouched flake	—	—	1	0.8	1
4 Core-like end-scraper	7	4.7	3	2.6	—
5 Denticulated end-scraper	2	1.3	4	3.3	2
6 Shouldered end-scraper	1	0.7	3	2.6	3
6 Nosed end-scraper	1	0.7	3	2.6	1
7 End-scraper on a notched piece	3	2	2	1.6	—
8 Single end-scraper on a blade or bladelet	—	—	1	0.8	—
11 Double end-scraper	2	1.3	—	—	—
12 Single piercer	9	6	6	4.9	5
12 Double piercer	2	1.3	—	—	—
15 Large « Capsian » piercer	—	—	3	2.6	2
34 Backed flake	2	1.3	5	4.1	6
37 Curved backed blade	—	—	—	—	1
40 Obtuse ended backed blade	2	1.3	—	—	—
42 Fragment of a backed blade	7	4.7	4	3.3	1
— Miscellaneous backed tools	1	0.7	—	—	3
47 Pointed straight b.bl. with truncated base	—	—	1	0.8	—
55 Bladelet with curved backed end	—	—	3	2.6	1
56 Curved backed bladelet	2	1.3	1	0.8	1
63 Partially backed bladelet	—	—	1	0.8	—
64 Shouldered bladelet	—	—	1	0.8	—
66 Fragment of a backed bladelet	11	7.3	7	5.7	2
72 Fragment of bl. with Ouchtata retouch	—	—	2	1.6	—
73 Large notched or strangulated piece	—	—	1	0.8	1
74 Notched flake	11	7.3	11	9	9
75 Denticulated flake	29	19.3	23	18.9	25
76 Notched blade or bladelet	4	2.7	4	3.3	1
77 Denticulated blade or bladelet	8	5.3	3	2.6	—
78 Saw	1	0.7	1	0.8	—
80 Truncated piece	21	14	11	9	9
82 Segment	1	0.7	—	—	2
93 Triangle with one side convex	2	1.3	—	—	—
104 Splintered piece	4	2.7	2	1.6	1
105 Piece with continuous retouch	7	4.7	6	4.9	2
106 Side-scraper	1	0.7	—	—	7
112 Miscellaneous	—	—	2	1.6	1
112 Miscellaneous bifacial tools	2	1.3	2	1.6	5
Tot.	150	100	122	99.5	99

A: Excavated tools

B: Controlled surface collection

C: Uncontrolled surface collection

Sermolli's classification of the vegetation of the Horn (Pichi-Sermolli 1957). The difference lies in higher tree density in the latter, as well as in slightly different botanical species, but the overall similarities are great.

We do not think, therefore, that the apparently high frequency of L.S.A. groups in the Middle Juba Valley can be simply connected with a more favourable climate:

Table 2

Buur Meadow 1

	A	B
End-scrapers	15.4%	18.4%
Piercers	7.3%	6.5%
Backed flakes and blades	8 %	7.4%
Backed bladelets	8.6%	13.1%
Geometric microliths	2 %	—
Notches and denticulates	35.3%	35.4%
Truncations	14 %	9 %
Various tools	9.4%	9.7%

A: Excavated tools

B: Controlled surface collection

overall resources were probably not very different from today. However, the forest close to the river was more developed than now, and we tentatively connect the fine bifacial tools, small picks, large notched pieces, and possibly smaller notched and denticulated flakes, which are so characteristic of Buur Meadow 1 industry, with woodworking (Fig. 2).

On the other hand, there is no clue to a possibly food-producing economy in the preserved archaeological remains: no pot-herd, no grinding stone, no sickle gloss on stone tools, no stable dwelling. The location itself of the L.S.A. sites on the top of small hills looks definitely more likely for hunter-gatherer than for farmers sites. Backed bladelets and geometric microliths should have been hafted as the points or barbs of spears, harpoons, arrows, and used for hunting or fishing.

The apparently preferred location of sites close to the river, and the typological peculiarities of the industry, suggest that the human group who lived at Buur Meadow 1 was mainly interested in the resources available close to the river bed: we suggest plant resources, including wood as a raw material, as well as animal resources.

This hypothesis should be tested by more comprehensive surveys, as well as by wear trace study. If confirmed, it would connect L.S.A. occupation of the valley with the knowledge of a rather sophisticated technology, which made possible to take advantage of a peculiar ecological niche.

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Drawings by Patrizia Gioia and Dario Terzi.

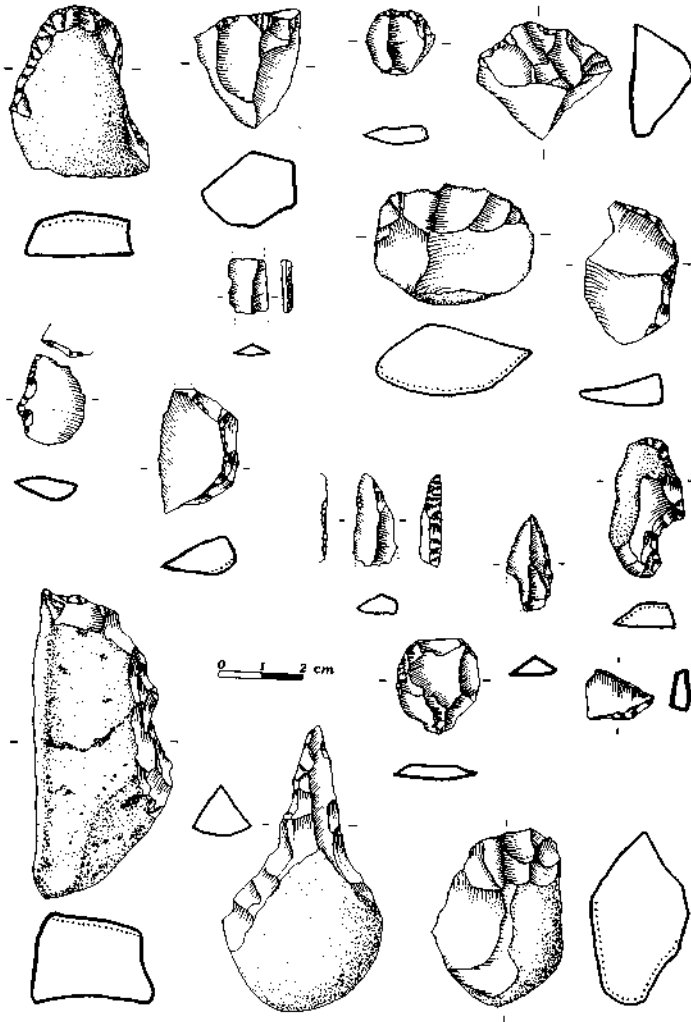


Fig. 2 - Buur Medow 1 lithic industry

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Part V

Social Sciences

Somalia, la scelta dell'Università

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La legge istitutiva dell'Università Nazionale Somala porta la data del 1° dicembre 1969. È allora che viene compiuta la scelta dell'università. Vedremo come e perché. Il 1° dicembre 1969 viene deciso ciò che si attua il 21 gennaio 1970, il passaggio a università dell'Istituto universitario già da tempo operante. Si trattò di una svolta di grande portata nell'organizzazione e nella finalizzazione degli studi superiori in Somalia. La questione di questo ordine di studi, o di qualcosa che si avvicinasse ad essi, era in effetti stata affrontata fin dai tempi dell'AFIS, dell'Amministrazione fiduciaria italiana, con l'istituzione di corsi biennali di legge ed economia, al termine dei quali veniva conferito un diploma, il cui scopo era di addestrare i quadri amministrativi e di governo del paese alle soglie dell'indipendenza. Questi corsi furono la base dell'Istituto superiore di legge ed economia formalizzato nel 1967, la cui gestione e il cui governo continuavano comunque a far capo all'Università di Padova che nel quadro dell'Assistenza tecnica italiana alla Somalia si era fin dall'inizio assunta questo settore di responsabilità. Ma fra il 1967 e il 1970, quando l'Università prende corpo, c'era stata la Rivoluzione del 21 ottobre 1969. E il 21 ottobre 1969 significa l'inizio di una nuova fase della storia somala, dopo nove anni di indipendenza poco capace e poco convincente; una fase nuova, dunque, le cui prospettive rivoluzionarie investono subito, assieme ad altre questioni di fondo, l'istruzione di ogni ordine e grado. La scelta dell'università si colloca in questo contesto di scelte. In realtà è soltanto nel quadro di un tipo di sviluppo complessivo, dei suoi indirizzi e delle sue trasformazioni, che si spiegano le ragioni dell'università e i suoi stessi risultati. Oggi l'Università Nazionale Somala — cito il Ministro della Cultura e dell'Istruzione Superiore Abdisalam Scek Hussien —, «dispone di 14 facoltà che hanno laureato, dal 1971, 5472 studenti». Per quanto esista il problema dell'assorbimento dei laureati nelle attività produttive, nelle strutture e infrastrutture del paese, è evidente che dietro una scelta i cui esiti sono questi, c'è una Somalia che il 21 ottobre 1969 ha riaperto il discorso su se stessa, su come essere, su come diventare. Ma appunto la Rivoluzione non aveva rovesciato soltanto un potere politico, bensì anche l'élite intellettuale che era venuta meno al compito di portare il paese allo sviluppo economico sociale, a una vera indipendenza.

Dirò qualcosa sulla situazione negli anni prima della Rivoluzione. In quegli anni, il partito di governo più autorevole e forte, la Lega dei giovani somali, vive e dirige l'esperienza dell'indipendenza in maniera contraddittoria, interessante. Non riesce a sottrarsi all'abbraccio neocoloniale dell'Occidente, dell'Italia in

particolare, ma non ne è prigioniero del tutto, tanto che per le note vicende legate soprattutto alla sfortunata guerra con l'Etiopia del 1964, ricerca margini di autonomia, stabilisce rapporti attivi coi paesi socialisti, l'Unione Sovietica in particolare. Ciò significa, in termini di istruzione superiore, che proprio in URSS sono inviati a studiare studenti, per lo più di carriera militare, in numero più o meno pari a quanti ne vengono inviati in Occidente, in Italia soprattutto. In cifre, nel 1968, alla vigilia della Rivoluzione gli studenti (ma non solo universitari) che si trovano a studiare all'estero sono 482 in URSS, 272 in Italia, 152 nella RAU, 138 nella RFT, 86 negli USA, 48 in Cecoslovacchia, 40 in Arabia Saudita, 40 in Sudan, 34 in Inghilterra, 32 in Francia, 29 in India, 27 nella RDT, 21 in Jugoslavia, 3 in Svizzera, 105 in altri paesi. Sono cifre che confermano quanto detto circa un certo equilibrio nel distribuire fra Ovest ed Est i giovani destinati a diventare il ceto intellettuale della Somalia, e che però dicono che lo smembramento del sapere, delle forme del sapere, la divisione dei linguaggi e degli orientamenti di cui quei giovani finivano per essere protagonisti involontari e vittime, vittime di una Somalia che governava in maniera dipendente la propria giovane indipendenza. Ancora in termini di cifre, se consideriamo i dati relativi al ritorno degli studenti somali all'estero, dal 1968 al 1973 (dunque in sei anni) sarebbero rientrati in patria (e posto che vi rientrassero) 164 medici, 99 laureati in legge, 83 in economia, 93 agronomi, 91 ingegneri civili, 67 (solo 67) insegnanti, 9 ingegneri idraulici o agrari, 24 farmacisti. Inoltre 9 geometri. Una preferenza, come si vede per le professioni liberali (avvocati, medici, commercialisti) da praticarsi nelle poche città dove si concentrano le attività d'affari e la vita occidentalizzante del paese, mentre si nota anche una preferenza per le lauree (economia, giurisprudenza) che aprono le porte dell'amministrazione, laddove l'alto numero di agronomi e di ingegneri civili rimanda a sua volta alle logiche di un paese che accetta di impostare le proprie politiche economica e sociale in corrispondenza con le attese e le indicazioni, e i perduranti interessi, del partner privilegiato, il vecchio paese colonizzatore. È dunque in questo ordine di cose che nasce l'Istituto superiore di legge ed economia, dove *logicamente* si studiava in completa dipendenza dall'università-madre, anzi da chi in e di essa era incaricato (in una prima fase il Prof. Giuseppe Bettiol) a decidere programmi e testi di studio. Del resto, la scelta dell'università, dell'Università Nazionale Somala, riguarda proprio questo punto nodale; vuole cioè stabilire rapporti corretti con la stessa Italia, cioè con l'identità intellettuale e pratica somala. Si trattava insomma di uscire dai rapporti non chiari protrattisi, dopo l'AFIS, negli anni dell'indipendenza. La corretta definizione di questi rapporti, che andrà a vantaggio della stessa Italia, sarà la dimostrazione ulteriore di come la Rivoluzione rispose a un'esigenza di sviluppo realmente indipendente, per il quale appunto l'appropriazione del sapere, del sapere come strumento pratico dello sviluppo economico e sociale autogovernato, era *conditio sine qua non*.

E viceversa. Senza coerente, organico e ben mirato sviluppo socioeconomico, la creazione di una università nazionale avrebbe potuto aggravare anziché eliminare gli squilibri contro cui nasceva, primo fra tutti la disoccupazione intellettuale, lo spreco di risorse intellettuali. Un fenomeno grave, che *Stella d'Ottobre*, organo del CRS, analizzò in un articolo del 27 giugno 1970, nel quale si distingueva fra laureati (all'estero) *fortunati* e *sfortunati*, fra quelli (i secondi) condannati a vivere di espedienti, e quelli (i primi) entrati nel carrozzone assistenziale e parassitario dell'amministrazione statale. Pochi insomma riuscivano a fare il proprio lavoro, e ciò perché «nel passato si cercava il più possibile di valorizzare gli esperti stra-

nieri». Infatti, concludeva l'articolo, «per dieci anni non si è voluto lo sviluppo della nazione». Rieccoci insomma alla parola «sviluppo», ovvero al nesso fra lo strumento universitario che la Rivoluzione si è subito data, e le prospettive di cambiamento, nel senso di un reale sviluppo, che si vogliono dare alla nazione. Da queste finisce per dipendere quello, lo strumento Università Nazionale, come diventerà. E come si evolve, si delinea, lo si vede presto. Entro il 1974 sono per esempio già nate nuove facoltà: agraria, chimica, medicina, veterinaria, ingegneria. Altre sono in cantiere. Ma importa la risposta, tramite tali scelte, ai bisogni di una strategia complessiva, di fondo, economica, sociale. Ci si muove insomma, evidentemente, per intervenire secondo disegni di cambiamento precisi, nell'agricoltura, nell'industria di trasformazione finalizzata alle risorse somale (fondamentalmente agricole e pastorali), nella boscaglia della transumanza, nel prioritario campo della salute dell'intera popolazione. Ma queste sono solo indicazioni, per capire i rapporti fra crescita dell'Università Nazionale e politica di cambiamento della Somalia nei primi e più fortunati anni della Rivoluzione. Ci sono però dei passaggi decisivi. Ne indico tre. Il varo del Piano triennale (di transizione), la campagna di alfabetizzazione e scolarizzazione, l'introduzione della scrittura somala. Fra l'altro si crea e si fa crescere una università se c'è una strategia complessiva di «lotta all'ignoranza», per usare la celebre parola d'ordine della Rivoluzione; e se questa lotta ha una motivazione e uno scopo concreto, materiale, che riguarda un complessivo mutamento di vita di chi dall'ignoranza si fa uscire. Oggi, per valerci ancora delle parole del Ministro Abdisalam Sceek Hussien, «esistono in Somalia ben 103 scuole superiori che diplomano annualmente più di 15 mila studenti»: più di un terzo dei quali sono femmine. Ebbene, quale che sia la difficile e contraddittoria situazione materiale e sociale della Somalia di oggi, un tale risultato non è solo un solido punto fermo che vale per l'oggi, ma è un legame profondo della Somalia di oggi, con la strategia di sviluppo della Rivoluzione che agli inizi degli anni settanta ha affrontato su ogni fronte. Anche su quello della scrittura, della secolarizzazione, dell'alfabetizzazione. Impresa non facile in un paese che al 21 ottobre 1969 registra il 98% di analfabeti, di cui il 95% sono pastori nomadi, e dove l'istruzione è nelle condizioni descritte nell'ottobre del 1972 dall'allora Ministro dell'istruzione Abdirizak Mohamed Abubakar. «Prima della Rivoluzione — ebbe a dirmi — la scuola era trascurata o peggio abbandonata all'intrigo politico tribale di clientele aggregate a interessi elettorali, e più spesso ancora agli interessi stranieri. Priva di attrezzature, consegnata in edifici abbandonati e senza manutenzione, la scuola pubblica era in effetti dominata e influenzata dagli imperialisti che non solo imponevano in essa i loro metodi di studio, ma ne impedivano lo stesso sviluppo. A essere favorite erano infatti le scuole private dipendenti dalle ambasciate straniere, dalle istituzioni religiose cattoliche o protestanti, dai corpi di missionariato civile. Ma in queste scuole i colonialisti preparavano soltanto i quadri utili al loro dominio».

Istruzione pubblica, dunque, non solo trascurata, ma ostacolata. E per rimuovere gli ostacoli nell'ottobre 1972 era stata decisa la statizzazione delle scuole private e la nazionalizzazione degli edifici scolastici, del materiale didattico, delle stamperie non ancora passate allo stato. Annunciato il giorno dell'anniversario della Rivoluzione, questi provvedimenti coincisero con l'annuncio che la lingua ufficiale diventava il somalo (in sostituzione di italiano e inglese), e che la sua scrittura sarebbe stata in caratteri latini. Ritorno sulla scelta dei caratteri latini, ma intanto va fatto notare come i provvedimenti dell'ottobre 1972 erano organici

ai fini che il Presidente Siad aveva già indicato esattamente un anno prima, parlando di studi nel secondo anniversario della Rivoluzione. «La Rivoluzione — disse — è decisa a rendere le nostre scuole funzionali e coerenti coi nostri orientamenti socialisti, poiché diversamente verrebbero meno al loro principale compito di formare non i soliti burocrati di un'élite pretenziosa, ma dei veri quadri impegnati nella trasformazione rivoluzionaria del nostro paese». In concreto, «L'unico metro per verificare il grado di rispondenza dei loro programmi ai nostri obiettivi, è la loro capacità di adeguarsi al processo di maturazione politica, economica e sociale in corso nel paese». Dunque tutta la questione dell'istruzione fino all'università, va vista in questa ottica, nell'ottica di una «trasformazione rivoluzionaria» il cui «orientamento socialista» vuole dire, in pratica, fuoriuscita della Somalia dall'arretratezza mediante il superamento delle specifiche forme di divisione fra città e campagna, ossia mediante lo sviluppo organico e correlato dell'economia urbana e di quella pastorale/agricola (compreso il decollo di un'industria integrata al progetto), nel disegno di una società che avrebbe dovuto garantire il lavoro, sconfiggere la fame, assicurare a tutti l'istruzione, la tutela della salute, gli strumenti e i servizi relativi. Forse più uno stato sociale per una società che vuole darsi le basi della propria emancipazione, che non una società socialista in uno stato socialista. Ma quale che sia la definizione da darsi alla Somalia *in fieri* di quegli anni, la politica scolastica e di educazione di massa davvero in grado di legittimare il richiamo agli ideali socialisti, si era delineata in senso rivoluzionario già prima dei provvedimenti di statizzazione e nazionalizzazione sopra ricordati, proprio nell'anno di nascita dell'Università Nazionale, in ultima analisi già finalizzandosi a essa. Nel primo anno della Rivoluzione, venne infatti soprattutto favorita l'espansione delle medie inferiori, dove le iscrizioni salirono da 10 mila a 14 mila, mentre nel secondo anno della Rivoluzione gli studenti delle medie superiori passarono da 3 a 5 mila. Quanto alle elementari si ebbe un aumento da 23 mila a 26 mila alunni. Insomma all'inizio dell'anno 1972-73 le cifre saranno: 51 mila studenti delle elementari, 21 mila delle medie inferiori, 9.700 delle superiori, 1.350 (più del doppio) delle tecniche. Inoltre 26.710 iscritti ai corsi di alfabetizzazione.

Dunque una politica che non poteva liberarsi degli ostacoli, che per esempio non poteva non allontanare il *Peace Corps*, proprio anche per la necessità di una coerente rifondazione e riforma del corpo insegnanti, per cui già nell'autunno 1971 un primo nucleo di 900 insegnanti veniva avviato al Campo Haliane per seguire corsi di rieducazione politica e professionale. Ma appunto della logica che porta all'istituzione di una università nazionale, non dipendente, è parte strutturale, o anzi condizione, l'alfabetizzazione di massa, senza la quale le scuole di ogni ordine e grado non sarebbero potute arrivare (come era nei progetti) nei centri minori del paese, in boscaglia. Non entrerà nella storia, tantomeno nei dettagli di questa gigantesca, gloriosa impresa. Mi limiterò a ricordare che già nell'estate 1972 operano i primi gruppi di alfabetizzazione, e che ciò era il frutto sia della tempestiva opera di preparazione di nuovi, adeguati insegnanti, sia della risoluta lotta al precedente sistema scolastico. In un documento dell'Ufficio relazioni pubbliche del 1972 — *La cultura e il suo ruolo nell'educazione della nazione* — si faceva del resto notare che proprio lo studio universitario rientrava negli obiettivi generali di uno studio che nei confronti e nei piani di insegnamento rispondesse al principio «di rendere le scuole nazionali più consone allo sviluppo economico e sociale del paese». Ritorna insomma sempre lo stesso motivo, quello dello «sviluppo» (o meglio di un certo sviluppo), per cui d'altronde fin dall'inverno 1971-72

erano stati unificati i criteri di studio della scuola obbligatoria portata a 8 anni; ma allora il sistema scolastico era ancora prevalentemente privato, per cui c'era stata, in contemporanea, contestuale alla legge sull'obbligo scolastico, la disposizione diretta «a garantire per quanto possibile che le scuole private vi si adeguino». Senonché le scuole private non si adeguarono, e vennero presto nazionalizzate. In realtà l'attacco al loro sistema fu molto deciso. Prima della statalizzazione, il 5 aprile 1972, veniva per esempio annunciato che ben 12 testi concepiti secondo i nuovi criteri di insegnamento erano pronti e a disposizione delle elementari, mentre altri 8 erano stati preparati per le scuole destinate agli adulti. Alfabetizzazione di questi e scolarizzazione venivano dunque affrontate con uguale impegno, ma appunto nella prospettiva di un profondo cambiamento nel vivo delle strutture scolastiche, che voleva avere ed ebbe ripercussioni profonde in ogni campo di attività, in ogni forma di vita della Somalia.

Eccoci alle forme, agli indirizzi dello sviluppo. Il 22 luglio 1971 veniva ufficialmente annunciato il Piano triennale 1971-1973. È contraddistinto da obiettivi con fondata previsione di realizzabilità, e dal ridimensionamento degli aiuti stranieri sui quali pure si basa in larga misura. Alcuni dati, alcuni elementi. L'elemento più importante, di base, è l'economia mista «come fase di transizione inevitabile». Così si dice nel Preambolo al Piano, dove però si legge anche: «La Repubblica democratica somala può incoraggiare le imprese private, stranieri e locali (...) a patto che le loro attività siano subordinate al pubblico interesse e rientrino nello sviluppo nazionale». Appunto una politica economica e sociale di piano, «tesa in primo luogo — si cita ancora dal Preambolo — a promuovere la modernizzazione dei settori tradizionali della nostra economia, e cioè la zootecnia e l'agricoltura», mentre «in secondo luogo (il Piano) prevede investimenti in opere infrastrutturali di base (forniture idriche, rete stradale e comunicazioni in genere), al fine di dare maggiore impulso ai settori produttivi, favorirne il coordinamento e ottenere una maggiore produttività». Sottolineato poi che «in terzo luogo» vengono promosse «le attività industriali, riorganizzando quelle esistenti e creandone di nuove», i dati sono: su una spesa per il triennio prevista in 999.943 milioni di scellini, il 5,9% sono destinati alla zootecnia, il 10,8% all'agricoltura, il 3,9% alla irrigazione, l'1,4% alle foreste, il 12% alle risorse idriche, l'1,8% alle miniere, l'8,8% all'industria, il 2,3% all'elettricità, il 35,3% ai trasporti. Una voce, quest'ultima, che potrebbe apparire favorita in eccesso, se non vi rientrassero grandi progetti di trasformazione della rete stradale e portuale somala, da collegarsi per esempio al dato complessivo del 79,10% della previsione di spesa destinata complessivamente ad aumentare la produttività agricola, zootecnica e industriale nel quadro di una pianificazione diretta a «portare necessariamente con sé un radicale cambiamento di abitudini, di consuetudini sociali e di costume». Diretta, per esempio (cito ancora dal Preambolo), a creare «le condizioni per la sedentarizzazione dei nomadi in gruppi permanenti di allevamento di bestiame e di produzione agricola o di occupazioni familiari». In altre parole, particolare attenzione ai cambiamenti delle condizioni di vita e di lavoro nella boscaglia e nella campagna, da promuovere per una economia di trasformazione e di progresso sociale. Ma, tutto questo, intrecciato all'attenzione per una reale socializzazione dell'istruzione, e tutto in rapporto al dato forse fondamentale: il finanziamento straniero che nell'insieme ammonta ancora al 79,8% (contro il 20,2% di autofinanziamento), e che ancora è di prevalente provenienza occidentale, viene sottratto agli abituali condizionamenti, viene concordato su obiettivi, progetti, scopi di piano elaborati

dai somali. Ed è, questo, di grande momento proprio per capire ragioni e fini dell'Università Nazionale. Le nuove facoltà che sorgono, le stesse di legge ed economia che modificano il loro impianto di studio, si raccordano alla strategia, prima di tutto di reale indipendenza, del Piano: si raccordano alle linee che i suoi obiettivi di transizione indicano per il futuro, come linee dello sviluppo socialista (socialista nel senso detto) della Somalia. Per cui si può parlare di un'Università Nazionale che partecipa a un processo di riappropriazione, da parte della Somalia, della propria storia, a cominciare però dal sapere, anzi dall'alfabetizzazione. Questa ci appare ora non tanto o soltanto la condizione per dare a tutti la possibilità di istruirsi, ma la condizione perché la società somala nel suo insieme possa riappropriarsi, per così dire, di sé, del suo modo di svilupparsi. Allora però non poteva non essere cruciale, decisiva, il tipo di carattere che si sarebbe scelto per la scrittura dei somali: latino o arabo? Non sto a inoltrarmi nel dibattito avutosi su questo punto; è sufficientemente chiaro il significato politico della scelta definitiva per i caratteri latini, che orientavano la cultura, il sapere in maniera politicamente significativa. Si trattò dello stesso problema, o almeno analogo, che si ebbe ben presto per la lingua dell'Università Nazionale, se l'italiano o l'inglese. Ben inteso, sempre nell'ordine di un progetto di somalizzazione, dove e quando possibile, degli studi.

La Rivoluzione come ritrovamento dell'identità nazionale, e proprio l'opzione socialista funzionale a ciò, riconosceva dunque che momento decisivo della propria strategia era la questione del sapere, dello studio, delle forme dell'istruzione. Ma ritrovare l'identità nazionale voleva dire stabilire, a tutti i livelli, corretti e conseguenti rapporti internazionali. Voleva dire operare scelte conseguenti. A costo di smentirmi, attiro di nuovo l'attenzione sulla scrittura. Scegliere l'arabo, avrebbe significato spostarsi, alla radice stessa della comunicazione concettuale, sul versante di una cultura somala, presente nella storia, nella via della Somalia, che mentre ne avrebbe valorizzato la componente religiosa, poteva facilitare la confusione dell'idea e della prassi della nazione somala (la sua ricerca) con l'idea e la prassi (si pensi alla grande Utopia nasseriana, ancora forte) della nazione araba; poteva di conseguenza, confondere con il socialismo arabo quello che la Rivoluzione somala perseguiva, con originalità. Non erano questi, allora, i suoi obiettivi. D'altra parte i caratteri latini, aperti verso l'Occidente, imponevano più che mai che a ogni livello dell'uso della scrittura, cioè della lingua scritta, si precisassero i rapporti, si stabilissero relazioni coerenti con gli scopi stessi dell'introduzione della scrittura. E molto delicata diventava allora la situazione dell'università, dei suoi rapporti internazionali, con l'Italia in particolare. Benché per essa non si ponesse il problema della scrittura somala, il senso della scelta, per essa, dei caratteri latini — come senso appunto carico di significati *internazionali* — si proiettava sulla stessa Università Nazionale, parte evidente di uno stesso disegno. Diretta anch'essa, si diceva, al ritrovamento dell'identità nazionale. Talché di centrale rilievo, divenne subito, subito alla sua nascita, ripensarne la struttura, la struttura ereditata dall'Istituto superiore. Si trattava, in sostanza, del rapporto con l'Assistenza tecnica italiana, di un rapporto che andava rinegoziato. Più concretamente ancora, il nodo da sciogliere era la dipendenza a senso unico dall'Università di Padova. Sulla quale dipendenza occorrono delle precisazioni. L'Università di Padova gestiva attraverso il Comitato Tecnico i corsi prima superiori e poi universitari di Mogadiscio; e in quanto sola università delegata a ciò, era anche un serbatoio di docenti inviati a Mogadiscio a svolgere i corsi di durata seme-

strale. Tuttavia parlare in astratto di Università di Padova non è corretto. Essa si identificava piuttosto nella figura e nell'opera del Prof. Giuseppe Bettiol, docente di diritto penale, parlamentare della democrazia cristiana, esponente noto e influente del conservatorismo politico e culturale, cui furono affidati poteri pieni per quanto riguardava la conduzione degli studi superiori in Somalia. Un tale affidamento di poteri discrezionali da parte dei governi italiani, portò a una forte personalizzazione della gestione dei corsi, che appunto connota quali erano gli obiettivi della parte italiana, o quali fini aveva la *tecnica* della sua *assistenza*. La gestione Bettiol si caratterizzò infatti per un rigido adeguamento dei corsi di Mogadiscio a quelli di Padova, per una esplicita indifferenza alle pur evidenti necessità di sapere e di pratica amministrativa, legislative, giudiziarie, economiche, della Somalia indipendente, infine per lo scopo assai evidente di formare diplomati o, poi, laureati somali, di formazione intellettuale italiana. Preparati a esercitare loro stessi l'egemonia che l'Italia non aveva rinunciato a volere esercitare sulla Somalia anche dopo il 1960.

Da parte somala una tale politica di assistenza tecnica, universitaria, non poteva essere subita: se, appunto, l'Università Nazionale era stata creata per sottrarre l'intellettualità del paese all'egemonia straniera, qualunque fosse. Occorreva rinegoziare il rapporto con l'Italia, che a sua volta doveva orientarsi in tale direzione, capirne l'utilità per le sue stesse buone, o anzi privilegiate relazioni con la nuova Somalia. Ci furono delle tappe, concorsero fattori oggettivi e soggettivi. Fra questi ultimi, il più rilevante fu la sostituzione di Bettiol, alla vigilia della Rivoluzione, col Prof. Alberto Trabucchi, esponente lui stesso di una politica di gestione prudente e conservatrice dell'assistenza tecnica italiana, ma certamente più pronto e disposto a capire le ragioni dei somali nella fase di passaggio dall'Istituto superiore all'Università Nazionale. Trabucchi operò in realtà, nei brevi anni del suo mandato, in una situazione che andava rapidamente cambiando. Ecco per esempio un fattore oggettivo: la nascita, dettata dagli indirizzi dello sviluppo somalo dopo la Rivoluzione, di facoltà come medicina, ingegneria, chimica industriale, veterinaria, favorì l'invio di docenti non più rigidamente scelti secondo criteri fortemente personali, fortemente ideologici. Ciò indebolì il ruolo di Padova, la copertura che la sua Università dava a Trabucchi dopo averla data a Bettiol. Nello stesso tempo, ed ecco un fattore soggettivo, nel Comitato Tecnico erano entrati dei professori di orientamento rinnovatore, simpatizzanti con la Rivoluzione somala, coi suoi progetti di crescita, di autonomia, di trasformazione sociale e materiale in un quadro di vera indipendenza. Prima però di fare dei nomi, importanti per l'Università Nazionale Somala, valga una notazione: su questi ingressi nel Comitato Tecnico, influirono due fattori coincidenti, quello della Somalia che fa le sue scelte rivoluzionarie, le sue opzioni socialiste, e avanza richieste conseguenti di riconsiderazione dei rapporti con l'Italia, e quello dell'Italia che negli anni settanta conosce uno spostamento a sinistra del quadro sociopolitico, con un conseguente processo di democratizzazione della vita nazionale nelle sue stesse implicazioni internazionali, rapporti con la Somalia e Italia in quegli anni che vedono assegnare all'Italia la responsabilità *cooperativa* di permettere alla Somalia di avere una sua università, non può essere fatta e capita senza studiare e valutare nella sua importanza, la parte avuta dal partito comunista italiano nel premere con il suo peso e il suo prestigio sui governi della Repubblica, perché fossero abbandonati vecchi schemi, vecchie formule (alla fin fine) di dominio, per realizzare invece nuove forme di cooperazione, rispettose delle scelte e delle esigenze somale. E

ciò va detto perché non vedere o sottolineare questo contributo sarebbe un grave errore di ottica, di prospettiva, di conoscenza dei dati, proprio in relazione alle forme dei rapporti fra paese ex-colonizzatore e paese ex-colonizzato, che non riguardano mai soltanto i rispettivi governi, bensì appunto la dinamica delle rispettive situazioni sociopolitiche.

Senza suggerire niente di meccanico, è dunque in questo ordine di *mutazioni* che nel Comitato tecnico dell'Università di Padova entrano nel 1970 il Prog. Giuseppe Zwirner e nel 1972 il Prof. Elio Vianello. Il loro ruolo è stato rilevante nel far maturare la crisi della forma di gestione dell'Università Nazionale Somala, nel far prendere coscienza allo stesso governo italiano che i tempi maturavano per una diversa concezione degli aiuti, da concepirsi nella prospettiva di una collaborazione alla pari fra le parti. Si giunge così alle dimissioni di Trabucchi nel 1972. Dimissioni che significano la crisi del sistema impersonato dal Comitato tecnico. Tocca dunque a Vianello gestire in fase transitoria, nel 1973, il rapporto italo-somalo per quanto riguarda l'Università, le sue nuove lauree scientifiche che del resto connotano la trasformazione degli studi superiori in Somalia. Sorgono infatti in quegli anni cruciali le facoltà di scienze (1970), di medicina (1972), di ingegneria, veterinaria, geologia (entro il 1974). La facoltà di chimica industriale è quella di scienze che assume questa veste. Ogni facoltà ha il suo Comitato tecnico, ma è per il nuovo rapporto italo-somalo che va delineandosi durante la gestione Vianello, che proprio nel 1974 si arriva alla formazione di una Commissione tecnica mista, italo-somalo, paritetica, a presidenza italiana e vicepresidenza somala, incaricata di governare l'Università Nazionale secondo criteri di cui il più significativo (significativo del cambiamento) è il riconoscimento alla parte somala del diritto finale di scelta degli insegnanti. Una forma di autonomia non astratta, non isolata. Va vista nella dinamica dei processi di somalizzazione dei corsi universitari, e nella logica di adeguamento dei corsi ai bisogni del paese, alle loro prospettive secondo quelle stesse dell'economia programmata, pianificata. E a quest'ultimo proposito, valga il caso, davvero emblematico, di medicina. Quando nel 1972 viene decisa l'istituzione e la creazione della facoltà di medicina, si contrappongono due linee, dalle evidenti implicazioni politiche. C'è quella, con sostenitori somali e italiani, che vogliono una facoltà di sei anni, in modo che il laureato possa accedere ai riconoscimenti professionali internazionali, e c'è quella sostenuta dall'allora ministro della sanità Mohamed Aden Scek, e dallo stesso Prof. Stefanini che per parte italiana presiede all'operazione, secondo la quale la facoltà di medicina somala, dovendo servire ai bisogni sanitari urgenti e specifici della Somalia, e non alla possibilità dei laureati somali in medicina di professare all'estero, deve durare i 4 anni e mezzo sufficienti alla formazione di un medico finalizzato alla salute e alla medicina per tutti, e ovunque, in Somalia. Ha prevalso questa seconda linea molto coerente con la logica della Rivoluzione; ma il fatto che da parte italiana sia accettata e per importanti versi sostenuta la posizione del Ministero della Sanità somalo, del suo ministro Mohamed Aden Scek, dimostra anche come in breve volgere di anni, e su un tema delicato e di grande portata come quello degli studi universitari, Somalia e Italia siano giunte a trattare sempre più alla pari.

Ho accennato ai processi di somalizzazione dei corsi universitari. Possibili e rapidi nelle facoltà umanistiche, si presentarono impraticabili in quelle scientifiche. Imposero perciò di scegliere per esse e in via di principio per l'intera Università Nazionale, una lingua ufficiale. Fra l'inglese e l'italiana. L'alternativa, per ra-

gioni evidenti, era la sola che potesse prendersi in considerazione. Ebbene su questa alternativa si aprì un dibattito e anche uno scontro politico; e si capirà perché dico che la scelta dell'italiano può ricondursi ai processi di somalizzazione, ne fu in certo modo una forma «delegata». In realtà si partiva dalle medie, inferiori e superiori, tutte in somalo, per cui il somalo non poteva continuare fino all'università, si trattava di decidere per la lingua straniera che avesse fornito maggiori garanzie di continuità con ciò che, per tipo e indirizzo di studio, il somalo aveva significato, appunto, nelle medie. Il dibattito, in seno al gruppo dirigente somalo, fu vivace e interessante. A favore dell'inglese giocava la sua qualità di lingua *franca*, internazionale; a sfavore, che adottarlo comportava l'accettazione di un corpo insegnante itinerante, composto per lo più da docenti di varie nazionalità, esperti dell'insegnamento nei così detti paesi del sottosviluppo, in effetti sradicati dalle realtà singole e locali, spesso non affidabili in senso ideologico o per altri non secondari aspetti. A sfavore dell'italiano giocava la limitata portata internazionale della lingua; a favore, che l'Italia era il paese della cooperazione universitaria, disposto a farsene materialmente carico, ma in maniera nient'affatto secondaria giocavano i legami culturali, la possibilità (riconosciuta) di scegliersi il quadro insegnante, il non rischio di restare vittime di un sapere omologato, la fiducia stessa nella democrazia italiana e la sicurezza di poter contare in Italia su un retroterra democratico simpatizzante con la Rivoluzione somala, giocare infine il vantaggio del corpo docente di un solo paese, ovvero di avere per l'Università un interlocutore unico o comunque preferito. Voleva dire trovare più facile udienza all'esigenza di costruire una università davvero nazionale, veramente somala; ossia voleva dire impiegare una lingua straniera che però non ostacolava, o anzi a suo modo aiutava, i processi di somalizzazione. Infine: l'opzione per l'italiano ha portato con sé anche un felice esempio di collaborazione senza più dominatore e dominati, fra i due paesi un tempo legati da vincoli coloniali. Ed è stata questa una conquista ben significativa della rivoluzione somala in quei primi anni settanta, i suoi anni più alti. Sarebbe ingiusto non dire che l'Italia capì quello che allora accadeva in Somalia, di straordinariamente nuovo.

L'Università Nazionale Somala: un'esperienza di collaborazione somalo-italiana

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L'esperienza di cooperazione universitaria tra Italia e Somalia, ormai sufficientemente consolidata, consente di formulare valutazioni non solo di tipo quantitativo ma riguardanti anche il significato culturale e politico che l'Università Nazionale Somala (U.N.S.) ha assunto nel contesto della Società in cui opera.

È questo un approccio valutativo assolutamente indispensabile se si intende misurare nella sua interezza il valore di questa esperienza e si vogliono nel contempo individuare le linee di tendenza più efficaci e feconde per lo sviluppo strutturale, organizzativo e culturale dell'Università.

A questo fine è necessario in primo luogo fare riferimento al ruolo che logicamente le istituzioni universitarie assumono nell'ambito delle rispettive comunità nazionali ed alle fasi attraverso le quali le giovani Università africane — e l'U.N.S. tra queste — si sono storicamente sviluppate.

Quale necessaria espressione della vocazione formativa di una nazione l'organizzazione universitaria — così come si è configurata originariamente nel continente europeo e come tende a riproporsi in tutti i Paesi del mondo — adempie fondamentalmente a tre compiti che potremmo definire, con una qualche approssimazione, di tipo rispettivamente tecnico, culturale e politico.

La competenza d'ordine tecnico si riferisce all'obiettivo riguardante la formazione dei quadri professionali di livello superiore; quella di natura culturale concerne la realizzazione e lo sviluppo delle iniziative di ricerca scientifica che nelle Università rappresentano nello stesso tempo la base indispensabile e la naturale risultante delle attività di formazione; i contenuti di tipo «politico» — nel senso più alto e comprensivo che questo termine esprime — derivano infine da quella funzione di elaborazione critica dei dati culturali e sociali che storicamente le Università si trovano a realizzare come naturale conseguenza della particolare densità delle valenze intellettuali e scientifiche in esse contenute.

Si può tranquillamente affermare che senza un adeguato sviluppo di questi tre ordini di competenze non si può considerare pienamente realizzato il ruolo di una Università. È da notare inoltre che i tre diversi contenuti operativi possono essere distinti per comodità di analisi e di esposizione ma nella realtà sono tra loro strettamente correlati in un rapporto di reciproca influenza sì che le carenze di sviluppo di uno di essi si riflettono in maniera negativa sui rimanenti.

Su questa matrice storica si può basare la valutazione delle Università di antica tradizione dei Paesi industrializzati. Per i Paesi in via di sviluppo il problema

si complica dal momento che in questo caso è necessario individuare con cura la fase evolutiva nella quale le diverse strutture di formazione superiore si trovano ad operare.

Un'analisi anche sommaria del modo attraverso il quale si sono realizzate le Università nei Paesi in via di sviluppo — ed in particolare quelle del continente africano — consente infatti di mettere in evidenza almeno tre fasi evolutive.

La prima di queste fasi — quella di istituzione realizzata in Africa nella totalità dei casi attraverso l'intervento diretto dei Paesi europei — è caratterizzata dal perseguimento di fini operativi urgenti e immediati — la formazione di quadri tecnici che potremmo definire «di importazione» in quanto derivanti dall'esperienza e dalle impostazioni del Paese che forniva assistenza di più lunga e consolidata tradizione universitaria.

A questo primo momento segue una fase di graduale acquisizione dell'autonomia culturale e organizzativa. Gli obiettivi si qualificano e si dilatano sino a comprendere la ricerca scientifica e la promozione di una politica della cultura aperta alle più avanzate esigenze del Paese.

Gli obiettivi fondamentali di questa fase non riguardano tanto la preparazione di laureati quanto l'adeguamento degli strumenti operativi alle caratteristiche e alle esigenze della cultura locale e la formazione dei formatori e cioè di docenti autonomi in grado di utilizzare i più avanzati strumenti — intellettuali e tecnici — della conoscenza scientifica per l'interpretazione della realtà locale e la formazione dei giovani sulla base dei dati così ricavati.

È in questa fase inoltre che l'Università comincia a proporsi — in virtù dei risultati della ricerca, delle relazioni internazionali che in essa si realizzano, dell'interscambio ideale e scientifico che essa stessa necessariamente promuove — come un vero e proprio laboratorio di politica della cultura capace di elaborare stimoli, idee, suggestioni utili per il progresso non solo dell'Università ma di tutto il Paese.

E in questo momento le tre componenti fondamentali della funzione universitaria raggiungono un loro equilibrio e si esplicano, nei casi positivi, in piena coerenza con le tendenze e i programmi di sviluppo dell'intero Paese.

Questa duplice ottica interpretata — riguardante il ruolo dell'Università e la fase evolutiva in cui essa si trova — consente di individuare con sufficiente chiarezza i contenuti di una politica di cooperazione capace di sostenere con forza lo sviluppo dell'U.N.S.

Tale politica non può essere infatti uniforme ed immutabile ma deve anzi, se vuole conseguire autentici successi, adattarsi in maniera duttile e coerente alle esigenze del periodo evolutivo nel quale l'Università viene di volta in volta a trovarsi.

È evidente che l'U.N.S. ha superato ormai la sua prima fase di attività, che abbiamo definito «di istituzione», e si trova impegnata adesso nella realizzazione di un imponente sforzo per la ricerca di una sua piena autonomia culturale e organizzativa.

È questo un momento particolarmente delicato e difficile per le attività di cooperazione. Esportare tecnologie e modelli formativi è infatti soltanto un problema di organizzazione e di impieghi finanziari; sostenere l'autonono sviluppo di una politica di formazione strettamente correlata alle esigenze locali è invece un ben più complesso problema di cultura che richiede una duttile disponibilità a capire il nuovo e il diverso, ad interpretare in maniera critica esperienze codificate, ad accettare il rischio della fantasia contro ogni tentazione burocratica, a sacri-

ficare persino alcune esigenze di funzionalità e di efficienza per ricercare di volta in volta — a seconda della natura sempre nuova e diversa dei problemi che si presentano — i contenuti di autenticità degli interventi da realizzare.

Se tutto questo è vero è allora necessario valutare in quale misura la politica di cooperazione che viene portata avanti nel caso dell'U.N.S. corrisponda ad una siffatta impostazione.

Superato il primo momento dell'urgenza caratterizzato dalla necessità di realizzare in tempi brevi l'obiettivo della formazione di un qualificato contingente di laureati indispensabili per il funzionamento delle strutture vitali del Paese, la cooperazione universitaria italo-somala si è indirizzata da qualche anno verso le finalità di secondo momento. È diminuito notevolmente il numero dei docenti impegnati direttamente nella realizzazione dei corsi di insegnamento; l'impegno degli stessi esperti inviati in Somalia si è dilatato indirizzandosi talvolta in maniera prevalente verso l'addestramento di docenti locali; si realizzano programmi specifici di formazione dei formatori utilizzando adeguatamente lo strumento delle borse di studio che consentono, per candidati somali alla docenza, l'alternanza di periodi di addestramento presso qualificate istituzioni universitarie italiane e momenti di verifica operativa nell'ambito dell'U.N.S.; si sono programmate ed attuate, cominciando dalla Facoltà di Medicina, iniziative di formazione «post-graduate» in Somalia superando difficoltà e differenze iniziali e conseguendo risultati che hanno ottenuto apprezzamento e riconoscimento a livello internazionale; le attività di ricerca hanno subito un processo di notevole espansione e di progressiva qualificazione; i piani di studio sono stati profondamente modificati, sulla base delle esperienze acquisite in loco e delle conoscenze relative alle più innovative sperimentazioni didattiche realizzate in altri Paesi; infine, la capacità di elaborazione culturale dell'Università si è notevolmente consolidata ed espansa come dimostrano sia la sempre più larga e qualificata partecipazione al dibattito scientifico internazionale, sia la presenza, ormai puntuale e penetrante, nelle più significative strutture politiche, tecniche e amministrative del Paese.

La prima e fondamentale di queste scelte è il rispetto dell'autonomia decisionale, anche nell'ambito della politica universitaria, del paese con cui si coopera. L'Università Nazionale Somala è la più alta espressione culturale del Paese; gli uomini che la dirigono e che in essa lavorano posseggono il bagaglio conoscitivo e la sensibilità necessari ad individuare le reali esigenze della comunità nazionale e le più autentiche aspettative. Riteniamo pertanto che sia compito della cooperazione esaltare e sostenere queste energie locali incrementando in ogni modo il loro grado di responsabilità ed il loro potere di decisione.

Ciò comporta in primo luogo il deciso rifiuto delle tentazioni del falso efficientismo legato a pretesi criteri di ottimalità onnivale e all'uso acritico di modelli organizzativi e operativi precostituiti; in secondo luogo impone la necessità di comprendere i mutamenti e di sottoporre in ogni momento le attività che si realizzano al confronto critico della realtà che si intende affrontare.

Scaturisce da tutto questo la seconda importante scelta politica di cooperazione: quella relativa alla più ampia disponibilità nei confronti della sperimentazione innovativa. Le Università dei Paesi in via di sviluppo, libere come sono dai vincoli della tradizione accademica e dai legami delle preesistenze consolidate, rappresentano un grande laboratorio di formazione superiore. In esse si realizzano interventi innovativi di straordinario interesse e, molte volte, di comprovata efficacia.

Ignorare questa potenzialità per attestarsi pigramente sugli schemi formativi consueti significherebbe realizzare un'operazione sostanzialmente retrograda e fatalmente destinata, in tempi più o meno lunghi, al fallimento e all'insuccesso.

Di qui la spinta a rivedere criticamente i programmi di insegnamento, a studiare le più significative esperienze realizzate in questo campo in altri Paesi, ad adottare nuove tecniche formative, a cercare diverse e più efficaci formulazioni dei vari momenti in cui si articola la didattica universitaria.

È da osservare tra l'altro che un'impostazione come questa è la sola adatta a garantire ritorni culturali significativi utilizzabili anche nelle strutture universitarie italiane. Il largo contatto che i nostri docenti realizzano con una realtà dalla formazione multiforme, diversa e tendenzialmente innovativa provoca talvolta, è vero, situazioni di crisi e fenomeni di rigetto ma realizza anche, nella maggioranza dei casi, uno stimolo alla rielaborazione critica delle proprie esperienze e un'utile apertura verso il rinnovamento e verso la sperimentazione.

Il terzo ordine di scelte della politica di cooperazione universitaria ha riguardato l'apertura di tutte le iniziative nei confronti dell'intera società in cui si opera.

L'U.N.S. è presente oggi con i suoi uomini e con le sue istituzioni in tutti i gangli vitali del Paese. Questo ruolo che è insieme culturale e politico è stato fortemente sostenuto dai programmi di cooperazione. A questo scopo infatti i docenti inviati in Somalia sono tenuti formalmente, oltre che alla didattica, a prestare la loro opera professionale, quando richiesta, nelle strutture operative della nazione; le attività di ricerca sono state impostate prevalentemente tenendo presenti i piani di sviluppo socio-economico; la massima enfasi è stata data infine alle iniziative di collegamento e di collaborazione con i Ministeri omogenei alle diverse Facoltà.

Esaltazione dell'autonomia decisionale e politica dei responsabili locali a stretto collegamento con le realtà del Paese; apertura nei confronti delle esperienze innovative; collegamento delle strutture di formazione con la realtà politica e sociale della nazione: questi sono i cardini delle iniziative di cooperazione universitaria portate avanti di comune intesa da Italia e Somalia.

Tali iniziative inoltre sono rigorosamente finalizzate, in questa fase, al conseguimento di tre obiettivi ritenuti qualificanti: la formazione dei formatori, l'espansione e la qualificazione della ricerca, il consolidamento del ruolo politico e sociale dell'Università.

È evidente che un'impostazione di questo genere presenta i suoi problemi e le sue difficoltà di realizzazione. Innumerevoli, sulla strada che ci siamo tracciata, sono le carenze che osserviamo e che il salutare spirito critico degli «addetti ai lavori» non si stanca di mettere in evidenza quotidianamente. Problemi organizzativi ancora irrisolti, difficoltà talora gravi di gestione delle tecnologie avanzate necessarie per la didattica e la ricerca, disagio di alcuni docenti nell'affrontare esigenze emergenti ma non tempestivamente avvertite, debolezza di alcune formule istituzionali di alcuni canali operativi, insufficienza di certe iniziative di collaborazione: questi sono i principali motivi di preoccupazione e talvolta di crisi che ci troviamo ad affrontare.

Emerge in sostanza — in parallelo alla necessità di portare avanti una filosofia della cooperazione che si è dimostrata positiva e feconda — l'esigenza di realizzare uno sforzo comune per aumentare in maniera significativa l'efficienza dell'U.N.S. nel suo complesso.

È a questo scopo che i programmi di cooperazione dovranno per il futuro indirizzarsi con particolare intensità verso la realizzazione e il consolidamento, nell'ambito dell'Università, di una impalcatura organizzativa solida ed efficiente capace di sostenere e rendere più immediatamente operativo uno sforzo culturale che ha già dato i suoi frutti, ma che deve proporsi oggi e per l'avvenire in termini di maggiore produttività ed efficacia.

Formazione universitaria nei Paesi in Via di Sviluppo (PVS) e strumenti operativi

GIANCARLO DEL BONO

Università di Pisa - Pisa

Prima di entrare nel merito della nostra comunicazione ci siano consentite alcune annotazioni di carattere generale, utili a meglio inquadrarne gli specifici contenuti.

È comunemente noto come la Cooperazione Bilaterale Italiana ai PVS si sia concretizzata in questi ultimi anni prevalentemente a mezzo di due principali tipologie d'intervento: quelle connesse con i problemi dell'emergenza e della fame e quelle legate ai problemi della formazione e del conseguente successivo avanzamento socio-economico. Trattasi ovviamente di strategie diverse per scopi e temi di esecuzione ma, al tempo stesso, certamente complementari perché qualsiasi forma di aiuto e di collaborazione per risultare realistica e costruttiva non può essere solo episodica e contingente, ma anche rivelarsi potenzialmente proiettabile nel futuro per un più sicuro progresso del paese aiutato.

In questo contesto, più precisamente nell'ambito della seconda strategia, si inserisce quel suggestivo problema della formazione di quadri universitari, specifico argomento della comunicazione.

In via preliminare e sulla base di nostre dirette esperienze dobbiamo in primo luogo precisare come questa forma di cooperazione — che nel vasto caleidoscopio degli interventi di formazione rappresenta forse uno dei programmi più qualificanti e gratificanti per ambedue i partners — risulti indubbiamente ardua complessa ed onerosa, anche se certamente possibile e realizzabile com'è dimostrato dai lusinghieri risultati conseguiti dalla cooperazione italiana con la istituzione in Mogadiscio della Università Nazionale della Somalia.

Individuare le cause di tale difficoltà e complessità, che saremo tentati di vedere non limitate ai soli periodi delle prime realizzazioni, ma anche e soprattutto estese a quelli successivi del consolidamento e della progressiva acquisizione d'autonomia, è opera di un certo significato perché meglio orienta nella ricerca di validi e congrui strumenti operativi.

In tal senso appare doveroso subito affermare che le difficoltà in oggetto sono, a nostro modesto giudizio, da ricondursi a fattori limitati intrinseci agli stessi protagonisti, da rintracciarsi cioè nel binomio Paese Donatore/PVS.

All'Italia, come paese donatore — ma ciò potrebbe essere esteso alla più parte dei c.d. «paesi industrializzati» — possono nel caso attribuirsi i seguenti fattori limitanti:

- la modesta ed incompleta pubblicizzazione su scopi, finalità, strumenti e contropartite dei programmi di formazione universitaria nei PVS
- la mancanza di una loro programmazione a lungo termine
- la disomogenea loro copertura finanziaria, ora eccessivamente remunerante, ora penalizzante
- la scarsa coesione operativa tra le tre componenti protagoniste del processo formativo e cioè quella politica, la ministeriale e l'accademica
- la modesta recezione o peggio l'accoglimento talora passivo, delle più diverse istanze provenienti da singoli PVS senza che queste vengano sottoposte a responsabile istruttoria
- la traslazione passiva nei più diversi PVS di modelli formativi occidentali, non sempre congrui e rispondenti
- la utilizzazione di modelli non differenziati per singoli PVS, ciascuno dei quali contrassegnato da peculiari realtà culturali, politiche, economiche, sociali, da diseguali «basic needs» e da differenti «indicatori sociali»
- la bassa consistenza numerica di veri e propri «formatori» ed «educatori» universitari
- ed infine, la ristrettezza temporale delle missioni dei ricordati esperti, lacuna questa da prevedersi in accentuazione anche in funzione di recenti interpretazioni restrittive della Legge 9 febbraio 1979, n. 38, che di fatto impediscono a tali esperti, in particolare a quelli con maggiori positive esperienze, di continuare questa qualificante opera formativa, assai gratificante per i due paesi interessati.

A livello di PVS le difficoltà di maggior rilievo nel concretizzare programmi di formazione universitaria sono da ricercarsi:

- nella pressoché totale mancanza o scarsità di buone ed efficienti strutture scolastiche preuniversitarie
- nelle precarietà ed estemporaneità di strumenti relativi ad un razionale accesso degli studenti nelle università e nelle singole facoltà
- nella scarsa programmazione sul numero dei discenti in specie per quanto attiene le future esigenze in laureati ed educatori di livello preuniversitario ed universitario
- nell'anomalo ed irregolare inserimento professionale dei laureati e tecnici, per lo più limitato ai grossi centri urbani e pressoché nullo od insignificante nei distretti periferici, dove la loro presenza ed opera sono particolarmente sentite e necessarie
- nel privilegiare una formazione ed un aggiornamento scientifico «esterno», pur esso utile entro certi limiti, nei confronti di quello «interno», forse più difficile ma certamente più costruttivo perché maggiormente ancorato alle diverse situazioni e problematiche dei singoli PVS
- nei gravosi problemi della formazione dei quadri intermedi, momento essenziale di un qualsiasi avanzamento funzionale ed operativo delle istituzioni universitarie e scolastiche in genere
- nella inadeguatezza retributiva del personale, specie della fascia tecnica, con conseguenti sue deviazioni verso il libero professionismo, la scarsa sedentarizzazione ed il macroscopico assenteismo
- nell'affannosa ricerca, soprattutto da parte del personale docente ed assi-

stente, di attestazioni cartacee non sempre ambite per conseguire un vero aggiornamento scientifico-culturale

— ed infine, nell'esodo all'estero di operatori (docenti, laureati, tecnici) già formati od in avanzato stato di formazione.

Ad una pur sommaria analisi dei segnalati fattori scaturiscono alcune considerazioni che crediamo meritevoli di un certo interesse.

In primo luogo crediamo di essere nel giusto ritenendo che le segnalate difficoltà siano per lo più conseguenza diretta della modesta esperienza storico-operativa dei due partners. A conferma di ciò, per quanto attiene l'Italia, basti ricordare che solo da pochi anni si sono avuti organici interventi legislativi nel campo della cooperazione bilaterale e da solo pochi anni la nostra società ha cominciato a recepire più responsabilmente le gravi lacune ed arretratezze che angustiano i PVS così come i doverosi interventi intesi a combatterle. D'altra parte negli stessi PVS la drammaticità dei tanti problemi mai risolti, la scarsità di risorse economiche autoctone ed una certa diffidenza nei confronti dei paesi industrializzati, retaggio dell'epoca coloniale e postcoloniale, non sempre hanno reso pienamente recepibili come «prioritari» i programmi di formazione in genere e quelli universitari in particolare. Da ciò il formarsi ed il consolidarsi anche qui di fattori frenanti e limitanti, che appaiono comunque tutti superabili o quantomeno contenibili, se si rafforzerà la volontà, anche politica, di affrontarli.

In secondo luogo assai facile appare dimostrare la più o meno stretta interdipendenza tra i segnalati fattori. In tal senso e limitatamente al versante italiano, la mancanza di una programmazione pluriennale ha influito negativamente sugli aspetti economici ed operativi dei singoli interventi provocando eccessivi ritardi nelle realizzazioni e disattendendo logiche aspettative. Ancora, la modesta coesione propositiva e funzionale tra mondo politico-ministeriale e mondo universitario si è resa responsabile di incomprensioni e disarmonie che di fatto hanno finito per penalizzare finalità e qualità degli interventi stessi. Infine, la non eccelsa qualità dei «formatori» appartenenti a ciascuna sfera propositiva, intesa soprattutto come scarsa conoscenza delle specifiche realtà dei singoli PVS, ha provocato errori anche grossolani quali ad esempio la traslazione passiva di modelli didattico-formativi di tipo occidentale, sempre economicamente onerosi, ma non sempre congrui e probanti.

Anche sul secondo versante, quello dei PVS, facile appare documentare la stretta dipendenza ad esempio tra mancanza o scarsità di buone scuole preuniversitarie e considerevoli difficoltà di apprendimento dell'utenza universitaria. Altrettanto stretti i legami tra mancato collegamento operativo delle componenti decisionali del paese e difficoltà nel concretizzare una seria programmazione per quanto attiene al numero, qualità, utilizzazione dei quadri tecnici e professionali necessari alle esigenze della comunità. D'altra parte il segnalato scarso collegamento si rende spesso responsabile di richieste ripetitive, che comportano sempre onerose irrazionalità, nell'utilizzo dei finanziamenti ed aiuti ricevuti. Infine, come ultimo esempio, la connessione tra mancata o cattiva concessione di «incentivi» e piaga dell'assenteismo fino all'esodo esterno del personale in formazione o già formato.

Dopo queste premesse vediamo di precisare quelli che a nostro giudizio costituiscono gli strumenti operativi fondamentali per un serio intervento di formazione universitaria nei PVS.

Essi sono:

- formatori ed esperti
- piani di studio e didattica
- ricerca scientifica
- formazione in loco

Formatori ed esperti

Già in precedenza abbiamo puntualizzato come la formazione universitaria nei PVS risulti intervento di difficile realizzazione anche per lo scarso numero di idonei «formatori» ed «esperti» attualmente disponibili. In realtà a siffatti «educatori», chiamati a svolgere mansioni formative in ambienti non solo difficili e disagiati ma anche sostanzialmente diversi da quelli loro abituali, non sono soltanto sufficienti le normali attitudini culturali e scientifiche, ma anche altre doti non meno importanti. Tra queste di rilievo la spiccata attitudine pedagogica, la semplicità del linguaggio didattico, l'elevata capacità di adattamento all'ambiente e soprattutto la più completa disponibilità ad operare contemporaneamente in più settori formativi quali l'organizzativo, il promozionale, il didattico, della ricerca e della consulenza professionale.

Inoltre poiché ogni PVS rappresenta una realtà a sè stante sotto molteplici aspetti, un buon educatore dovrà conoscere a fondo il tessuto socio-culturale in cui è chiamato a lavorare e ciò non solo per una doverosa stretta associazione finalistica e di pensiero con responsabili locali, ma anche per svolgere una formazione finalizzata alla soluzione di pressanti ed indilazionabili problemi professionali e tecnici. Il riferimento in oggetto è quello di una conoscenza dell'ambiente in tutte le sue composite caratteristiche e tra queste, non secondarie, quelle relative ai mezzi ed alle risorse autoctone da destinarsi alla soluzione dei citati problemi.

Nel contesto di queste annotazioni sui «formatori» è doveroso puntualizzare che quanto in precedenza ricordato non riguarda necessariamente i soli esperti afferenti alla sfera universitaria o scolastica in genere, ma anche, forse in modo più significativo, quelli appartenenti a ministeri, istituzioni ed enti che assieme ai primi operano nei PVS in programmi di formazione tecnico-scientifica. Questa precisazione trae conferma e vigore da trascorse positive esperienze e da lusinghieri risultati che sempre si sono avuti quando il «pool» di formatori, oltre che ben coordinato, risultava buon conoscitore dei problemi prioritari di ogni singolo PVS così come delle risorse locali da impiegare per la loro soluzione. Quest'ultima proposizione che chiama in causa un certo qual coinvolgimento finanziario dello stesso PVS — apporto ovviamente variabile da caso a caso in funzione di diversificate disponibilità economiche — appare assai importante perché in tale coinvolgimento si può essere portati a vedere un probante elemento formativo. In effetti ai fini di una responsabile formazione dei quadri accademici il predetto coinvolgimento può educare a meglio utilizzare le poche risorse disponibili razionalizzando strumenti operativi, priorità e settori di intervento. In altre parole la citata compartecipazione finanziaria può rappresentare un mezzo idoneo all'irricchimento ed al potenziamento delle attitudini organizzative e manageriali, sempre fondamentali, in qualsiasi processo di formazione tecnica o scientifica.

Piani di studio e didattica

Sui Piani di Studio (PdS) connessi con la formazione universitaria nei PVS, già in occasione del Colloquio Internazionale «La Cooperazione Universitaria» (Trieste: 21-23 novembre 1985) abbiamo avuto possibilità di precisarne sinteticamente gli aspetti generali. Nel richiamato contesto tali PdS dovrebbero risultare essenziali, pragmatici, snelli, privi di qualsiasi forma di accademismo, pletoricità e ripetitività di contenuti, ma soprattutto dinamici e quindi emendabili e perfezionabili. Quest'ultimo presupposto appare fondamentale ove si consideri che la parte dei PdS presenti nelle istituzioni dei ricordati paesi — anche se in qualche sporadico caso adattati alle peculiari realtà dei singoli contesti — trascende da esperienze e modelli tipicamente occidentali. Logica pertanto ne appare una loro verifica nel tempo per constatarne la possibile congruità, ed in caso contrario, per attuarne quei necessari rifacimenti onde adattarli ed integrarli con l'ambiente socio-economico e con i dettami del processo formativo.

Nel merito delle discipline, vuoi propedeutiche che professionali, da inserire nel PdS delle singole Facoltà, ci sembra logico dover riaffermare che le prime dovrebbero limitarsi a quelle indispensabili e veramente formative, mentre nel contesto delle seconde dovrebbero essere privilegiate o potenziate quelle più strettamente attinenti alle vere e necessarie problematiche tecnico-operative proprie di ciascun PVS.

Auspicabile di conseguenza l'adozione di PdS autonomi, specifici, incentrati prevalentemente su discipline e contenuti pratico-dimostrativi, meglio idonei a nostro giudizio a formare laureati e tecnici aventi sì una buona preparazione di base, ma soprattutto capaci di bene operare nell'ambito di programmi intesi a risolvere specifici problemi con particolare riferimento a quelli agro-alimentari, igienico-sanitari, produttivistici, sociologici, abitativi, economici, ecc.

Tanto per fare alcuni esempi e limitandoci ai soli PdS delle due Medicine, in quelli di Umana ampio risalto dovrebbe essere dato all'insegnamento della medicina di comunità e dell'emergenza così come alle discipline relative alle malattie carenziali, neonatali e contagiose; in quelli di Veterinaria dovrebbero essere valorizzati e potenziati gli insegnamenti attinenti l'*animal husbandry*, quelli concernenti la profilassi delle malattie infettive ed infestive ed infine quelli connessi con l'igiene e la salubrità degli alimenti di origine animale come carne, latte e prodotti ittici. D'altra parte questo nostro richiamo a scelte di tipo prevalentemente qualitativo-applicativo trova riscontro, almeno per le Facoltà di Veterinaria, in quanto auspicato da responsabili dell'OMS, per i quali nella ricordata Facoltà dovrebbero essere previsti come prioritari corsi di Anatomia, Microbiologia, *Animal Husbandry*, Riproduzione, Medicina Preventiva, Igiene degli Alimenti, Sanità Pubblica.

In realtà in paesi in cui esistono ampie sacche di drammatico sottosviluppo non ci si può certo preoccupare di inserire nel PdS delle citate Facoltà, con tutto il rispetto per le relative discipline, corsi di insegnamento di «chirurgia estetica», e di «patologia degli animali d'affezione».

Nel contesto dei richiamati PdS anche la didattica ed i relativi modelli, dovendo programarsi in funzione delle particolari esigenze della formazione e sovente della sollecitata creazione di quadri operativi, dovrebbero risultare sempre semplici, validi qualitativamente, professionali e svincolati dagli schematismi presenti nei paesi industrializzati. In realtà la traslazione passiva nei PVS di modelli didat-

tici tipicamente occidentali, certamente facile sotto il profilo della realizzazione, potrebbe comportare, così come spesso si è manifestato dove sono stati utilizzati, risultati contrastanti se non addirittura negativi perché essi sono apparsi di frequente estranei alle reali problematiche formativo-culturali e socio-economiche dei singoli PVS.

Dopo queste precisazioni di carattere generale ci sembra doveroso puntualizzare come i modelli didattici in oggetto dovrebbero risultare prevalentemente pratico-dimostrativi, sperimentali, quotidianamente arricchiti e completati da attività sul campo ed essere anche condotti con controlli periodici — scaglionati nel tempo di ogni ciclo di insegnamento a mezzo di prove di vario tipo: orali, scritte, grafiche, pratiche — essere cioè incentrati su una c.d. «valutazione in itinere» (per più circostanziati dettagli si rimanda a Del Bono 1984).

Questo tipo di sperimentazione didattica, da alcuno definito troppo sommariamente «una specie di controllo di tipo licealistico», studiata nella Università Nazionale Somala di Mogadiscio in contrapposizione a modelli didattici classici tradizionali (per lo più contrassegnati da un solo esame di fine corso) ha avuto rispetto a quest'ultimi tre innegabili vantaggi:

a) ha permesso ai docenti di meglio appurare, in tempi brevi, l'andamento dei corsi permettendo sollecitamente di portare i necessari correttivi e di modulare, eventualmente, linguaggio e contenuti didattici

b) ha facilitato nei discenti un maggiore interesse e con questo un'applicazione più costante e duratura per tutto il corso, sdrammatizzando anche il sostenimento dell'esame di fine corso

c) ha contenuto infine le perdite scolastiche, rilievo quest'ultimo non di poco conto in istituzioni ove vige il numero chiuso e dove il costo-medio a studente, se comparato alle risorse del paese, è sempre elevatissimo.

Ricerca scientifica

Parlando di ricerca scientifica nel contesto delle istituzioni universitarie dei PVS per non cadere in concetti e luoghi comuni appare doveroso precisarne subito due connotazioni fondamentali:

1. anche nei PVS la ricerca scientifica non può non costituire un insostituibile strumento di avanzamento culturale ed un probante elemento del processo formativo

2. la ricerca in oggetto viene solitamente svolta in ambienti di recente storia operativa, privi talora di mezzi, apparecchiature e servizi essenziali, con personale non sempre completamente addestrato.

Sulla base di quanto sopra precisato appare ovvio che qualsiasi discorso sul tema in oggetto non possa trascurare le due segnalate annotazioni, anzi debba prevederne una loro logica integrazione e conseguentemente la predetta ricerca dovrà essere attuata come parte integrante della didattica, come strumento di acquisizione informativa dell'ambiente, come mezzo di superamento di problemi irrisolti, in ultima analisi come cardine essenziale del processo formativo vincolato alle attese provenienti dal paese.

Anche la divisione in ricerca di base ed in ricerca finalizzata appare ai fini del processo formativo, più formale che sostanziale. In realtà la ricerca c.d. «finalizzata», salvo per una maggiore proiezione temporale e per una più spiccata connessione con i problemi socio-economici, non dovrebbe discostarsi molto da quella

c.d. «di base», più contenuta nel tempo e più legata alla didattica e a realtà settoriali.

L'una e l'altra comunque dovrebbero costituire parte integrante dell'addestramento dei quadri accademici e tecnici in formazione. Ovvio comunque che gli indirizzi di una siffatta ricerca dovrebbero sempre scaturire da una oggettiva valutazione delle concrete possibilità operative e funzionali delle istituzioni, essere guardati alle specifiche esigenze ed attese del contesto sociale ed essere programmati infine in funzione di problemi che si presenteranno ai futuri laureati e docenti, quando essi dovranno assolvere autonomamente alle funzioni di «operatori» e di «educatori».

Positiva in tal senso l'attivazione di ricerche scientifiche di supporto e di complemento alla didattica, intese almeno nelle fasi iniziali ad appurare prevalentemente gli aspetti conoscitivi dell'ambiente professionale, per poi trapassare ad una logica progressione qualitativa.

Quanto da noi auspicato sulla stretta interdipendenza tra didattica e ricerca, sia di base che finalizzata, muove non solo dal fatto che la loro stretta integrazione agisce da fattore sinergico nel processo di formazione, ma anche per ragioni più strettamente funzionali ed economiche.

Per comprendere quest'ultimo nostro convincimento si consideri che nella più parte dei PVS, la scarsità di risorse economiche autoctone e la prevalente dipendenza esterna degli stanziamenti, impone quasi sempre una drastica razionalizzazione della spesa per il comparto educativo, il che si traduce nella pressoché totale impossibilità di programmare quadri universitari funzionalmente troppo differenziati (tecnici delle più disparate aree operative, segretari, archivisti, bibliotecari, amministrativi, ricercatori, assistenti, docenti responsabili settoriali, managers, ecc). Quindi dovrebbe essere scelta pressoché obbligata la preparazione e l'addestramento di «operatori» ed «educatori» con duplici e plurime attitudini e funzioni come: ricercatori-docenti, docenti-managers, docenti-ricercatori-managers, per limitarci alla sola fascia così detta accademica.

D'altra parte il possibile abbinamento e/o completamento della attività prettamente didattiche con altre afferenti alla ricerca, alla organizzazione ed alla promozione scientifica non potrà che dimostrarsi elemento formativo di primaria importanza perché per un verso renderà lo stesso insegnamento attuale e pragmatico e per l'altro darà luogo ad una formazione realistica e rispondente alle attese della collettività, ma anche ad un sempre necessario avanzamento culturale.

In tempi immediatamente successivi, con il potenziamento funzionale delle istituzioni e loro infrastrutture, la ricerca scientifica dovrà necessariamente proiettarsi in sempre maggiore misura sul territorio, divenire cioè anche una ricerca «extra moenia». In tal senso auspicabile risulterà l'attivazione di programmi pluriennali tra strutture universitarie ed enti governativi su specifici temi di comune interesse.

Formazione in loco

Questo argomento è stato volutamente trattato in sede conclusiva perché ad esso è da attribuire la massima importanza nel contesto di un ipotetico modello di formazione universitaria nei PVS.

Appare doveroso subito affermare in proposito come questo tipo di formazione risulti difficile e certamente costoso, ma a nostro giudizio meritevole di essere prescelto per una serie di ragioni, in parte già illustrate e commentate, riconducibi-

li per lo più alla necessità di approntare quadri operativi ricollegabili alle particolari condizioni ed esigenze degli ambienti tropicali e tropico-equatoriali, fasce geografiche nelle quali si trova la più parte dei paesi emergenti.

Anche se nell'insieme dei PVS dei vari continenti la formazione universitaria in loco non è certamente il modello più esteso e seguito, in quanto molti di questi paesi preferiscono, usufruendo di aiuti multilaterali e bilaterali, utilizzare laureati e tecnici addestrati e preparati all'estero, non può dimenticarsi che troppo spesso questo addestramento risulta certamente «aspecifico», aspecifico nel senso che la preparazione professionale, salvo lodevoli eccezioni, è incentrata necessariamente su problematiche avulse dagli specifici interessi dei singoli PVS.

Se tale discrepanza è vera in senso generale, ancor più lo è quando si entra nel merito di specifici settori formativi. Alludiamo in modo precipuo a quei settori che più di altri sono influenzati dalle peculiari condizioni ambientali tropico-equatoriali, in primo luogo a quelli afferenti a facoltà scientifiche come Agraria, Medicina, Veterinaria e questo perché l'ambiente inteso in senso lato gioca in modo essenziale nel determinismo di una «scienza tropicale», che difficilmente importabile, deve essere quotidianamente vissuta e studiata sul posto.

In tal senso più volte abbiamo assistito con sincera preoccupazione all'invio di ricercatori e studiosi di PVS per periodi di specializzazione e perfezionamento agronomico, zootecnico, igienico presso istituzioni universitarie di paesi dell'estremo Nord, ove la didattica e le tecniche applicative dei tre ricordati settori, pur esse logicamente legate all'ambiente, tipicamente nordico nel caso, non certo possono risultare ideonee e consone alle realtà, del tutto diverse se non addirittura contrastanti, esistenti nei paesi della fascia tropico-equatoriale.

D'altra parte, limitandoci ai PVS africani, tra di essi (Angola, Egitto, Etiopia, Kenya, Mozambico, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, Zimbabwe) non mancano certo esempi di istituzioni di livello universitario ove sono attuati, con gradiente diverso in funzione soprattutto della loro più o meno recente fondazione e con risultati per lo più positivi, vari tipi di formazione in loco. Alcuni di questi paesi (Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Zimbabwe) meritano poi una particolare citazione perché tra gli obiettivi prioritari delle loro istituzioni universitarie è chiaramente formulata la stretta connessione tra formazione e bisogni della collettività.

Anche nei PVS, così come in quelli industrializzati, un problema di non poco conto legato alla formazione universitaria è quello di un necessario periodico «aggiornamento tecnico-professionale» degli organici.

Tale aggiornamento di fatto obbligatorio per il continuo progredire delle dottrine scientifiche, può essere attuato in loco od all'estero; può dunque parlarsi di «aggiornamento endogeno» e di «aggiornamento esogeno» e la scelta tra questi due diversi modi di operare non è affatto semplice perché numerosi e probanti risultano i fattori a favore dell'uno e dell'altro tipo di aggiornamento.

Non volendo sottrarci ad un giudizio e ad una opinione sull'argomento, in linea di massima potremo considerare positivo un aggiornamento esogeno o prevalentemente sofisticato per settori disciplinari incentrati sull'impiego di tecnologie altamente sofisticate così come avviene per l'energetica, per l'elettronica, per l'informatica, per l'ingegneria avanzata, per la chimica industriale, ecc.; altrettanto positivo potremo ritenere un aggiornamento di tipo misto esogeno-endogeno per i settori umanistico-giuridico-amministrativo, economico-commerciale; mentre per il settore biologico-naturalistico saremmo propensi ad ipotizzare come più rispon-

dente un aggiornamento endogeno o prevalentemente endogeno e ciò per il semplice fatto che le branche di afferenza (agronomia, zootecnia, medicina, sanità, veterinaria, igiene e profilassi, ecc.) debbono essere strettamente correlate con le specifiche realtà ed esigenze ambientali.

A proposito di aggiornamento endogeno la condizione essenziale per ottenerne risultati positivi è quella di una oculatissima scelta degli esperti incaricati della programmazione e della conduzione dei trainings e dei corsi di specializzazione. In dettaglio, non risulterà inutile ribadire che tali esperti dovranno essere profondi conoscitori dell'ambiente professionale in cui sono chiamati ad operare ed avere nel contempo maturate, in esso, precedenti positive esperienze didattiche, di ricerca e di consulenza.

A conclusione piace ribadire come la formazione universitaria in loco sia da preferirsi non solo per quanto segnalato in precedenza (stretta interazione formazione/ambiente), ma soprattutto perché essa meglio favorisce la possibilità dei quadri locali, una volta formati ed addestrati, di divenire maggiormente protagonisti dello stesso processo formativo e con questo della necessaria progressione culturale, sociale ed economica del paese.

Per quanto attiene infine il periodico aggiornamento tecnico-professionale, caposaldo di una formazione universitaria non episodica ma duratura, questo potrà risultare di diverso tipo (endogeno, misto, esogeno) in funzione dei diversi settori disciplinari e delle diverse condizioni socio-economiche dei singoli PVS.

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The School of Medicine of the Somali National University

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In the early seventies the young and recently refounded Somalian Democratic Republic was faced with the necessity of providing an adequate number of physicians to take care of the health care needs of the populations.

The number of medical doctors was in fact very low, being approximately 150, with less than a hundred originally from Somalia, and only 15 of the 87 Health Care Districts had at least one physician in the staff (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1

1970: Health Assistance

Health districts: 87

physicians \approx (Somali < 100)

56 health care centers (Dispensaires, Infirmaries, Hospitals)

≥ 1 physician in only 15 health districts

With such a limited number of medical doctors the Somalian Government could not certainly develop an adequate health care program particularly considering the heavy needs due to the nosologic characteristics of that country, which are barely represented in Fig. 2, where the major endemic and epidemic pathology is reported.

Fig. 2.

Nosological Prevalence in Somalia

Infections diarrheas of infancy

Gastro intestinal infestations

Measles

Tuberculosis

Acute and chronic hepatitis

Malaria

Tetanus

Malnutrition

Anemias

In addition to that in the early seventies the living conditions in Somalia were very poor as you can realize by the few parameters that are reported in Fig. 3.

Fig. 3.

1970: Health's Markers

- Life expectancy ~ 40 years
- Infantile mortality < 200 ‰
- Mortality between 0 and 5 years of age 50% of total

The first problem to solve was to decide whether to educate doctors in Medicine abroad or to develop a Medical School in Somalia. The second possibility was finally preferred for several reasons. The necessity to develop an original and specific Somalian education model appeared evident to the Somalian Health Care managers. The choice was determined by the necessity to provide a medical education strongly related to the cultural, social and economical environment in which the physicians would eventually operate. In addition, the curricula of Western Universities, which emphasize the study of endogenous pathology, did not suit the nosologic characteristic of Somalia, where the predominant pathology is exogenous. Finally it was feared that a long training abroad could have encouraged the dangerous phenomenon of intellectual emigration.

The aims of the newly created Medical School were to promote the development and improvement of health assistance. This development had to be based on the formation of physicians conscious of the local socio-economic conditions and able to integrate modern and traditional Medicine in such a manner to recover valid concepts existing in local traditions, thus generating confidence and approval in the population. Somali physicians will have specific knowledge of the local health care needs as well as of the local health care structure in order to be able to select medical priorities (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4.

Aims of the School of medicine (SNU)

- Health care development
- Specific education of physicians relative to:
 - the Somali economic and social needs
 - the local culture and traditions
 - the specific health care needs
 - the selection of priorities in health care
 - the social health care structure

To meet these challenges, a specific organizational structure of the Medical School was chosen. This structure (Fig. 5) was based on rigid rules. A definite number of students is selected through competition. The students selected live in college and receive a stipend from the Somalian Government so that they have the possibility to study and work full time under the constant supervision of the teachers. Student failing to pass their examinations, within the prescribed time limits, are dropped out.

Social Sciences

Fig. 5.

Organization

Integrated teaching (block system)
Programmed admission (through competition)
«College» type structure
Students receive a stipend
Exclusion of students failing to pass the required exams
Full time education (minimum 800 hrs/semester)
Constant supervision of students

As for the educational model teaching integrated according to the «block system» model was preferred. The traditional European teaching of single disciplines was maintained only in the first semester for the basic sciences.

A restricted medical education designed to meet specific needs (modello per obiettivi specifici) as well as the «on the job» teaching were excluded. In fact the main disadvantage of these two systems is that they produce health professionals with limited cultural background, which makes them unfit for further development.

The educational model selected emphasizes (Fig. 6) a multidisciplinary approach per system in health (Basic Sciences) and disease (Clinical Formation), which is supported by coordinate teaching teams. The traditional compartmentalization of medical specialties is suppressed, eliminating duplications and repetitions, without impairing the coverage of relevant teaching areas.

Fig. 6

Educational model

Teaching integrated according to block systems
Suppression of specialty compartmentalization
Multidisciplinary approach per system in health (basic science education) and disease (clinical education)
Cohordinated teaching teams
Adequate coverage of relevant teaching areas. Elimination of duplications and contradictions in teaching

The purpose of this educational model is to provide the students with fundamental knowledge, attitudes and abilities, where «basic knowledge» (Fig. 7) is the body of information acquired during the course of studies; «attitudes» are

Fig. 7

Basic knowledge

- Statistic methods in epidemiologic research
- Identification of health needs through the sanitary, economic and social evaluation of living conditions
- Prevention, diagnosis and therapy of prevalent pathology, with emphasis on infectious disease, disease of infancy and childhood, obstetric and neonatal pathology, malnutrition
- Emergency medicine
- Techniques of health education
- Abilities in the organization and management of health assistance

the ability to interpret correctly the reality the physician has to interact with, coupled with an adequate methodology of intervention, and «abilities» are practical capacities of intervention (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8

Attitudes required

Efficient interaction with the population
Effective contribution to the diffusion of health education
Stable interaction with the health care structure
Ability to define and select health care priorities

Abilities required

Diagnosis and therapy of common medical diseases
Treatment of medical emergencies
Reduction and immobilization of fractures
Assistance during normal delivery, ability to control common problems in delivery
Collection and evaluation of epidemiologic and social data necessary to define health needs

The curriculum of the studies is articulated in 10 semesters. The first semester (Fig. 9) is mainly devoted to the basic sciences, which are taught according to a more traditional approach. The «block system» model is adopted starting from the second semester. Anatomy, physiology and biochemistry are taught in an inte-

Fig. 9

1st semester (basic sciences)

Physics
Chemistry
Biology and genetics
Biostatistics

2nd-4th semester (basic sciences and introduction to clinical sciences)

- Gross and microscopic anatomy, biochemistry and physiology
- Study of anatomical systems in health (anatomy - physiology)
- Parasitology - microbiology - virology
- Immunology
- General pathology
- Pharmacology
- Medical semeiotics
- Basic radiology

grated fashion for each anatomical apparatus. Anatomical systems in disease (Fig. 10) (physiopathology, medicine and surgery, surgical pathology, medical therapy, diagnostic procedures and techniques) are studied starting from the 5th to the 8th semester. The 9th and the 10th semesters are entirely devoted to medical and surgical instructions «on the job».

Social Sciences

Fig. 10.

5th-8th semester (Clinical Sciences)

Study of anatomical systems in disease (physiopathology - medicine and surgery - surgical pathology - medical therapy - diagnostic procedures and techniques)

Pediatrics

Obstetrics

Infections diseases

Psychiatry

Forensic medicine

Elements of anaesthesiology

9th-10th semester (Medical practice)

Internship and pregraduation exams of:
internal medicine, surgery, pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology, emergency medicine and surgery,
preparation of a graduation dissertation

It should be pointed out that the emphasis on practice rather than theory is present throughout the curriculum, starting from the preclinical semesters (when students are involved in laboratory practice), to the clinical semesters (outpatient clinics, emergency medicine, community medicine) the philosophy of Community Medicine permeates the entire course of studies, which is designed to integrate modern medical culture with the predominant needs and real possibilities of the Somalian population. The purpose of Community Medicine is that of promoting environmental hygiene, and to control disease through a diffusion of health education and medical prophylaxis. A substantial amount of time, from the second to the eighth semester, is devoted to the acquisition of basic and targeted knowledge and abilities of Community Medicine. The teaching is articulated in integrated courses and field instructions (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11.

Community medicine

2nd semester - 8th semester

Sanitary demography, ecology, medical anthropology, nutrition, hygiene, epidemiology and preventive medicine, traditional medicine, organization and programming of health care

9th semester - 10th semester

Field instruction during «vacations»

In conclusion more than 400 medical students have graduated from the School of Medicine of the Somali National University since 1973. In our opinion (Fig. 12), these physicians are not only able to cope with individual medical problems,

Fig. 12.

Primary health care physicians

Individual patient assistance

Improvement of health knowledge in the population

Improvement of the hygienic conditions of the environment

Systematic intervention in prophylaxis

but also to interact with the population and with the local environments promoting the improvement of sanitary education and the diffusion of environmental hygiene and medical prophylaxis.

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Approccio sperimentale alla propedeutica linguistica e scientifica dell'Università Somala

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Premessa

Si farà riferimento ad un progetto didattico complessivo relativo alla propedeutica, linguistica e scientifica, di gruppi di studenti somali ammessi alle sei facoltà scientifiche dell'Università Nazionale Somala.

Si tratta delle facoltà di Medicina, Ingegneria, Chimica, Geologia, Agraria e Veterinaria finanziate dalla Cooperazione Tecnica italiana. In esse insegnano docenti universitari somali ed italiani, in proporzioni diverse a seconda del livello raggiunto dalla somalizzazione delle facoltà. La lingua d'istruzione e di scambio è, appunto, la lingua italiana.

Il *corpus* — cui i dati che seguiranno fanno dunque riferimento è un corpus di 1500 studenti circa, suddivisi su tre corsi sperimentali susseguiti, a semestri alterni, negli anni 1984, 1985 e 1986.

I 500 studenti presi in esame per ciascun semestre sperimentale provengono da un corso intensivo di lingua italiana della durata di quattro mesi scarsi e in precedenza, da un *iter* di scuola primaria e secondaria interamente somalizzata.

La scuola secondaria somala, è oggi scuola di massa che ha il suo punto di partenza in due tronconi di sistemi scolastici sostanzialmente diversi per impostazione e tradizione, facenti capo a quello britannico (per quanto si riferisce all'ex Somaliland) e a quello italiano (per quanto si riferisce, com'è ovvio, alla ex Somalia italiana).

I problemi che essa ha dovuto affrontare, a partire dal 1972, anno in cui se ne decise la graduale, completa somalizzazione, sono stati ingenti.

In primo luogo essi hanno investito la stessa comunicazione linguistica dacché la lingua somala, peraltro diffusa e parlata su tutto il territorio nazionale, diviene, com'è noto, lingua scritta — con la scelta di una traslitterazione in alfabeto latino — solo nel 1972.

Dunque tutto ciò non può non riflettersi, pesantemente, sulla pratica scolastica (dalla produzione ed uso dei testi alla formulazione dei programmi).

Altri problemi capitali furono, ed ancor oggi sono quelli relativi alla formazione degli insegnanti.

L'insegnamento ai circa 50.000 studenti oggi iscritti nella scuola secondaria (si fa qui riferimento ai filoni pre-universitari della secondaria superiore) è impartito per tutte le materie da docenti provenienti da un corso triennale postseconda-

rio. Esso fu originariamente mutuato, come disegno complessivo, dalle *Schools of Education* americane, specie nella versione originaria ma, in misura sempre più ingente via via che la scolarizzazione di massa prosegue coinvolgendo numeri sempre più alti di giovani somali tra gli undici ed i diciotto anni, esso è anche affidato a giovani neodiplomati della scuola secondaria stessa, come parte del Servizio Nazionale obbligatorio che impegna ogni giovane somalo — maschio o femmina — a partire dal diploma per un periodo complessivo di 18 mesi.

Inutile infine, soffermarsi sui problemi logistici rappresentati da classi di oltre settanta studenti.

Tutto ciò premesso non apparirà strano che l'informazione circa i contenuti disciplinari della scuola secondaria, non sia — a tutt'oggi — ancora sistematizzata, e che sia estremamente difficile valutare quale tipo di discriminazione — attraverso un *test* d'entrata universitaria preparato e somministrato dalle autorità accademiche somale — riduca le oltre 5000 domande di ammissione che vengono annualmente presentate (da un totale di circa 10.000 diplomati) al numero chiuso di 1000 (500 nelle facoltà predette) in qualche modo correlato alle risorse umane e logistiche dell'Università Nazionale Somala.

Il problema complessivo di una prodeutica universitaria quindi, fu in primo tempo rappresentato dai docenti somali ed italiani, come un problema di carenze. Carenze (e lacune) nella competenza linguistica (e in ispecie, evidentemente, nella L2, lingua di comunicazione e cultura per l'Università Nazionale Somala), e in quella che veniva indicata come informazione-base di tipo scientifico.

Per farvi fronte si ravvisava l'esigenza di istituire un semestre suppletivo rispetto all'iter universitario normale (consistente in nove semestri di cui il primo di pura immersione linguistica).

Ne furono in primo luogo investiti i programmi linguistici. Tuttavia i dati a disposizione derivanti da 6 anni precedenti di insegnamento e verifica linguistica permettevano già di indicare con chiarezza come il problema linguistico non andasse affrontato in termini squisitamente strumentali o apparentemente «funzionali» al «bisogno», ma fosse aperto ad un più ampio ambito che valutasse quante delle difficoltà indicate come inadeguata competenza in L2, non fossero in realtà ascrivibili a difficoltà generiche di verbalizzazione e concettualizzazione in schemi estranei agli studenti somali. La questione dunque parve decisamente investire problemi di trans-culturalità.

Anche per la formulazione di una precisa ed articolata ipotesi di lavoro occorreva l'apporto di competenze ed esperienze diverse. Fu istituito pertanto un gruppo di ricerca formato da esperti in didattica delle lingue ed in didattica delle scienze.¹

Il gruppo di ricerca, composto per due terzi da persone che avevano esperienza d'insegnamento universitario in Somalia, acclarò subito come l'obiettivo di prodeuticità fissato fosse chiaramente globale e non settorializzabile; e dovesse tendere in ogni settore disciplinare, all'acquisizione di capacità logiche e strumentali oltre che linguistiche e comunicative. Come tale esso era costretto a misurarsi con la diversità di stile cognitivo di fronte a cui un'Università fondamentalmente e necessariamente impostata sui modelli culturali occidentali e postindustriali di Facoltà tecniche e scientifiche, si era venuta a trovare.

¹Il gruppo di ricerca, formalizzato nel 1983, è costituito dai Proff. M. Bandiera, G. Bonera, L. Cannizzaro, A. Ciliberti, G. F. Fabbri, C. Serra Borneto e presieduto dalla Prof. B. Tedeschini Lalli.

Globali ed integrati sarebbero dunque stati il programma sperimentale da approntare, gli obiettivi a breve, medio e lungo termine da fissare, il criterio per la collazione e la valutazione dei dati sugli studenti che ancora mancavano. L'integrazione, che non si sarebbe dovuta limitare a tracciare linee di coordinamento dell'insegnamento connotabile come comunicativo piuttosto che linguistico, avrebbe dovuto percorrere anche i diversi settori disciplinari della propedeuticità scientifica.

Ipotesi

Caratteristica dell'ipotesi come formulata dal Gruppo di Lavoro, ed accettata dall'Università Nazionale Somala, era quella di porsi alla base di un lavoro sperimentale *immediatamente operativo* e dunque necessariamente soggetto ai vincoli, alle possibili contraddizioni e alle oscillazioni di un esperimento «dal vivo» che doveva comunque necessariamente offrire le più ampie garanzie di redditività. L'ipotesi di lavoro, come si voleva, traeva necessario fondamento dai contributi di diversi ambiti culturali.

In primo luogo, in riferimento alle moderne teorie socio-linguistiche sulla corrispondenza tra le strutture profonde della lingua, della cultura e del pensiero, l'attenzione è stata focalizzata sulla caratteristica di oralità della cultura somala. Tale caratteristica a) in generale comporterebbe un pensiero ed un'espressione tendenzialmente più paratattici che ipotattici, più aggregativi che analitici, ridondanti, conservatori e tradizionalisti, vicini all'esperienza pratica, enfatici e partecipativi piuttosto che oggettivi e distaccati (peculiarità che sono significativamente evocate negli elaborati riportati in Fig. 1); b) in particolare inciderebbe sull'economia della presentazione di parole e «oggetti» nello spazio grafico e soprattutto della percezione e della lettura (in senso lato) di pagina scritta e immagini.

Va sottolineato come nel caso specifico in esame, si sia tenuto conto di queste caratteristiche fin dall'impostazione del primo corso di lingua italiana, che segue un tracciato privilegiante gli aspetti orali della lingua. D'altra parte il potenziamento di quelle abilità linguistiche che possono consentire una proficua frequenza a corsi universitari tenuti da docenti italiani impone la fondazione e l'esercitazione di abilità mentali, in ragione del fatto che la «lingua» che verrà praticata è una lingua selezionata «per scopi accademici», e dunque di per sé rispondente a norme, convenzioni e limiti di un linguaggio in qualche modo «scritto». L'uso del linguaggio scritto è strettamente connesso all'acquisizione delle abilità che definiscono e dominano la cultura occidentale (e i processi mentali degli adulti istruiti nelle società occidentali) e che sono quindi necessarie per «imparare» costrutti e assetti disciplinari ivi prodotti: la lingua scritta è il veicolo fondamentale per l'apprendimento, in quanto è il linguaggio specifico per l'istruzione (i docenti italiani di fatto parlano per lo più una lingua scritta).

Sul versante pedagogico-didattico è stato privilegiato il riferimento alle teorie educative che definiscono le strategie di insegnamento in funzione delle caratteristiche del soggetto che impara (ciò che sa, lo stile cognitivo, le variabili di personalità) e che evidenziano la connessione inestricabile tra i metodi e i contenuti di insegnamento e di esperienza, i processi-abilità dei soggetti interagenti e la contestualizzazione.

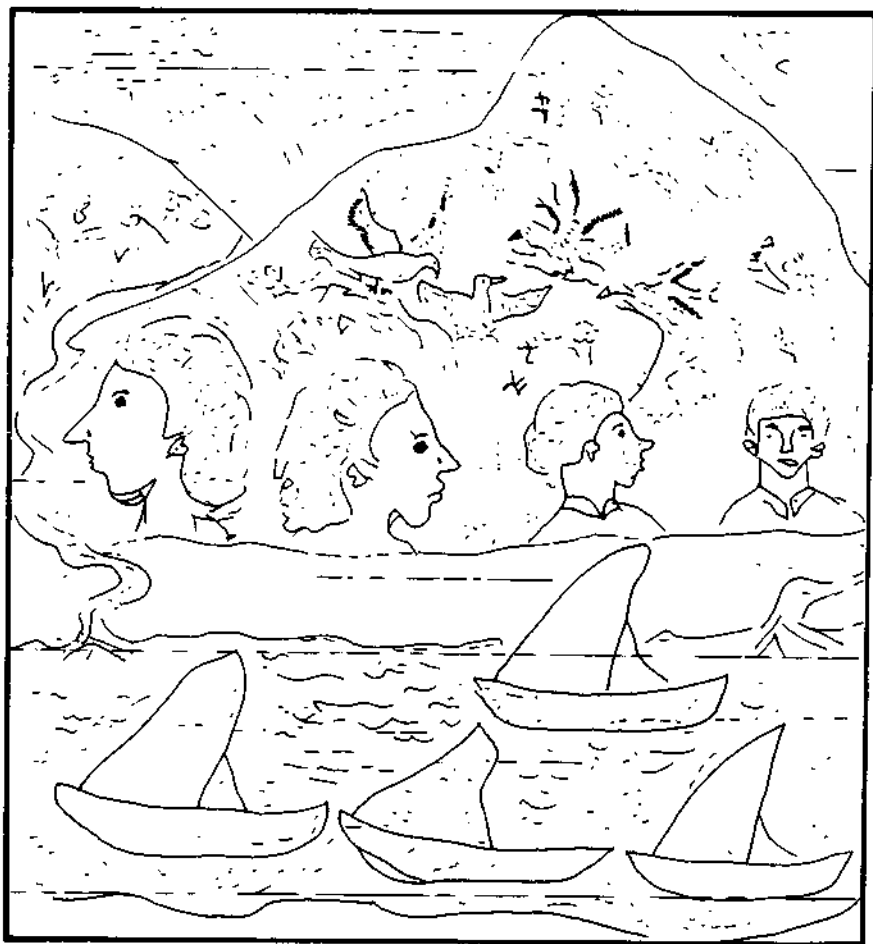


Fig. 1 — Disegno eseguito da uno studente iscritto alla Facoltà di Ingegneria nell'anno 1984, in riferimento alla consegna* che avvia la VI unità; «Rappresentare», del libro di testo. Si noti la giustapposizione dei tre tipi di soggetti raffigurati e la singolare, frequentissima, limitazione della figura umana alla sola testa (I ritratti e le foto del volto del Presidente e dei Ministri sono le immagini più diffuse nelle strade e nei locali di Mogadiscio).

*Disegnate nello spazio qui sotto la Terra vista dall'alto. Potete rappresentarla come volete, tuttavia la rappresentazione dovrà includere: a) quattro uomini, b) quattro barche, quattro uccelli. Disegnateli come volete, dove volete e grandi come volete.

In sintesi, in diretto riferimento alla situazione, alcuni presupposti sono alla base del progetto:

— la lingua italiana è anzitutto la *matrice* del pensiero che ha prodotto e comunica le strutture e i contenuti «disciplinari» oggetto dell'insegnamento universitario;

— le caratteristiche «occidentali» del modello culturale richiesto e proposto

(tipo e organizzazione delle conoscenze disciplinari) che il docente italiano rappresenta e necessariamente adotta ed impone, si contrappongono a quelle delle esperienze e del tipo di pensiero degli studenti somali (si pensi al condizionamento da parte della scuola coranica dell'atteggiamento sia cognitivo che scolastico);

— i livelli di preparazione disciplinare di base sono notevolmente disomogenei rispetto a quelli degli studenti italiani ai quali i docenti normalmente si rapportano e non possono essere puntualmente documentati in relazione alla difficoltà di ottenere dati analitici sulla scuola somala (curricula, metodologie didattiche adottate, esperienze proposte...).

In relazione a tutto ciò, nell'impostazione del semestre sono state operate alcune scelte di fondo:

— affidare al programma di lingua la fondazione dell'atteggiamento scientifico (impostazione ed esercizio di abilità logiche e di studio), assegnando ai corsi disciplinari di base il compito di un approfondimento nello specifico, nonché di possibile azzeramento delle conoscenze;

— rilevare dati sullo stile cognitivo, le abilità di studio e le conoscenze degli studenti somali al duplice scopo di poter ottimizzare progressivamente l'impostazione didattica generale del semestre e di fornire ai docenti italiani elementi concreti di riflessione per l'adeguamento del loro intervento;

— operare sistematicamente verifiche di idoneità delle scelte metodologiche e procedurali adottate.

Il progetto

Il progetto didattico complessivo riferito al «semestre linguistico culturale» è stato articolato in due fasi. Nella prima ci si è proposti:

a) di approntare materiali didattici ad uso degli insegnanti di lingua, organizzati per il conseguimento di due obiettivi: la raccolta di dati sul tipo e sul livello di preparazione degli studenti nelle discipline di area scientifica e l'impostazione di un metodo di studio e di ricerca sulle tematiche essenziali delle scienze matematiche e sperimentali,

b) di stabilire contatti con i docenti ricorrentemente impegnati nell'UNS, per la definizione del syllabo delle singole discipline,

c) di curare, in corso d'anno, i rapporti con i docenti impegnati nel semestre LC per l'analisi e la verifica delle procedure didattiche proposte, rilevando nel contempo la modalità di sviluppo dei programmi disciplinari al fine di evidenziare eventuali anacronismi e ridondanze rispetto al programma di lingua, di suggerire i termini e la periodicità degli interventi e del lavoro comune tra i docenti delle discipline «curricolari» e quelli di italiano.

La prima fase, spinta fino alla verifica della validità del materiale didattico elaborato, ha fornito elementi utili alla conferma della correttezza dell'ipotesi di partenza e alla definizione del programma per la seconda fase, tuttora in atto, finalizzata alla sperimentazione e validazione del materiale stesso e all'ottimizzazione delle interazioni tra i docenti del semestre.

Per quanto concerne le finalità generali del semestre, il potenziamento della lingua inscindibilmente connesso con lo specifico disciplinare contempla la definizione e l'esercizio di abilità logiche e metodologiche indispensabili per lo studio delle discipline scientifiche, la rilevazione di dati utili alla verifica dell'efficacia

del progetto e dei beni materiali via via prodotti, nonché la individuazione di punti nodali rispetto alla relazione insegnamento-apprendimento, il consolidamento e, eventualmente, l'impostazione dei fondamenti disciplinari secondo un approccio metodologico omogeneo, tale da garantire l'acquisizione di contenuti minimi, di un lessico specialistico, ecc.

Rispetto a tali finalità il programma di lingua svolge di necessità un ruolo fondamentale che ha imposto, nella realizzazione dei materiali didattici, di tenere presente l'esigenza di garantire il potenziamento delle abilità linguistiche o di studio mediante una strutturazione didattica integrata con i metodi e i temi delle scienze matematiche e sperimentali. Ciò ha consentito di impostare le basi didattico-metodologiche — per il raccordo tra l'insegnamento della lingua e quello delle diverse discipline scientifiche sul piano degli obiettivi formativi:

- per il raccordo, sullo stesso piano, tra gli insegnanti delle diverse materie;
- per il coinvolgimento progressivo dei docenti che insegnano nell'UNS e sono pertanto in grado di rilevare e fornire, anno per anno, dati e indicazioni utili alla revisione e all'aggiornamento dei materiali.

L'elemento portante del progetto didattico è costituito dal testo di lingua italiana articolata in tre sezioni suddivise in unità. La prima sezione è dedicata ad abilità strumentali (livello di preparazione in ambito scientifico, capacità di analisi e sintesi relativamente a testi didattici di argomento scientifico, capacità di organizzazione e rappresentazione grafica di dati). Nella seconda sezione dedicata ad abilità logiche ogni unità comprende;

— un test (cosiddetto curricolare) in forma di esperienza pratica per la rivelazione del tipo e del grado di operatività relativa alle abilità di studio fondamentali (progettare, generalizzare, classificare, rappresentare...),

— lavoro su testo incentrato sullo stesso tema utilizzato per lo sviluppo del test, per il potenziamento del linguaggio tecnico-scientifico e per l'esercitazione dell'abilità di studio a cui l'unità è dedicata;

— attività di esercitazione delle abilità suddette in un diverso ambito tematico al fine di consolidare gli strumenti logici indispensabili per la prefigurazione di un «atteggiamento scientifico».

La terza sezione sviluppa strategie e tecniche di organizzazione delle conoscenze mediante la presentazione di un tema o problema centrale rispetto ad una delle quattro scienze di base del corso (matematica, fisica, chimica, biologia), in una delle tre forme canoniche della prassi didattica (lezione, osservazione di oggetti o fenomeni, esperimento).

Il testo è progettualmente corredato da una guida per i docenti (per ora limitata ad alcuni fascicoli riferiti a singole unità) che ha lo scopo di favorire l'integrazione dei docenti stessi, anno per anno, nel progetto didattico e di consentire ai singoli docenti di prefigurare ipotesi didattiche sulla base dei riferimenti concreti alla realtà somala.

I test

Strumenti fondamentali per l'impostazione e l'«aggiustamento» progressivo del progetto sono i test, variamente distribuiti nel corso del semestre e differenziati nelle finalità.

I «test curricolari» che, come abbiamo già detto, sono inseriti nelle unità del

testo di lingua, e ne rappresentano l'introduzione e la strategia motivante, hanno fornito dati su atteggiamenti e abilità di studio utilizzabili sia nello sviluppo didattico dell'unità, sia per la ottimizzazione a lungo termine del progetto complessivo.

I test di «ingresso» e di «uscita» consentono rispettivamente di rilevare il livello di partenza, corso di laurea per corso di laurea, sulle abilità di studio e sui contenuti disciplinari, e la verifica dell'efficacia complessiva del semestre e dei singoli insegnamenti.

Circa l'uso del test, strumento diagnostico della cultura occidentale letterata, in ambito culturale disomogeneo è opportuno puntualizzare che solo occasionalmente fornisce informazioni «dirette» (direttamente correlabili cioè con l'abilità-conoscenza sui cui il test indaga), ma consente sistematicamente di intuire o definire caratteristiche «scolasticamente rilevanti» degli studenti ai quali è somministrato. A livello di atteggiamento, ad esempio, sono state rilevate peculiarità di ordine pratico (v. risposte scritte al di fuori degli spazi assegnati), logico (v. rifiuto di prendere in considerazione situazioni non concrete o a risolverle in termini non riferibili all'esperienza concreta), ideologico (v. biologia, la contrapposizione tra posizione scientifica e posizione tradizionale-religiosa).

I test curricolari sono stati scelti tra quelli più ampiamente utilizzati allo scopo in Italia e all'estero, frutto e strumento della ricerca psico-pedagogica e didattica dell'ultimo ventennio.

Le modifiche apportate, ritenute necessarie in relazione al livello scolastico e all'opportunità di inserimento nella trattazione scritta, non sono state ritenute tali da impedire il confronto con i dati rilevati in precedenza su campioni di studenti occidentali (confronto che consente di evidenziare somiglianze e differenze di cui tener conto nell'impostazione didattica),

Le abilità, oggetto primario di rilevazione, sono in particolare: progettare (ovvero formulare ipotesi per l'esecuzione di un semplice esperimento, chimico nel caso della quarta unità), classificare (ovvero analizzare e generalizzare le caratteristiche di un insieme di oggetti, dodici animali nel caso della quinta unità, al fine di suddividerli in gruppi «omogenei»), applicare una legge (ovvero formulare previsioni in riferimento a conoscenze scientifiche alternativamente a quelle di senso comune, circa gli sviluppi di semplici situazioni concrete incentrate, nel caso della sesta unità, sul concetto di gravità), rappresentare (ovvero utilizzare un linguaggio grafico simbolico e attraverso scelte grafiche, la propria concezione circa la natura dell'oggetto rappresentato, come, nel caso della settima unità, la forma della Terra).

L'elaborazione dei dati dei test ha permesso innanzitutto di individuare difetti di presentazione e formulazione dei test stessi, di evidenziare aspetti nodali non prevedibili dell'atteggiamento «discente» degli studenti (a livello sia di attitudini, che di pre-conoscenze) e di prefigurare un quadro analitico che, sebbene elementare e parziale, può già essere utilizzato per l'accomodamento degli interventi didattici. Da tale quadro, a titolo esemplificativo, può essere estratto il test incentrato sull'attività di classificazione di dodici animali presentati in fotografia: si fa riferimento al semestre linguistico-culturale 1984, e precisamente agli elaborati di 274 studenti.

Meno della metà degli studenti — colonna nera nella Fig. 2A — classifica «solo e tutti» gli animali presentati (concezione di singolarità del campione); si nota l'omissione sistematica, anche se in misura minima di uno o più animali, principalmente gli invertebrati — Fig 2B (concezione di integrità del campione) e la suddivisione in un numero di classi eccessivo — Fig. 2C, che si spinge fino

a far coincidere i criteri di classificazione con le caratteristiche individuate (capacità di generalizzazione). Tali caratteristiche (capacità di analisi) sono frequentemente di ordine antropico-pratico; laddove viene operata la scelta di riferirsi alla tassonomia zoologica (implicitamente fondata su caratteristiche anatomico-funzionali: la lumaca e il protozoo sono classificati come rettili) emerge una preparazione non approfondita nel settore e/o una notevole difficoltà ad utilizzare correttamente la terminologia italiana specifica (il serpente è considerato invertebrato).

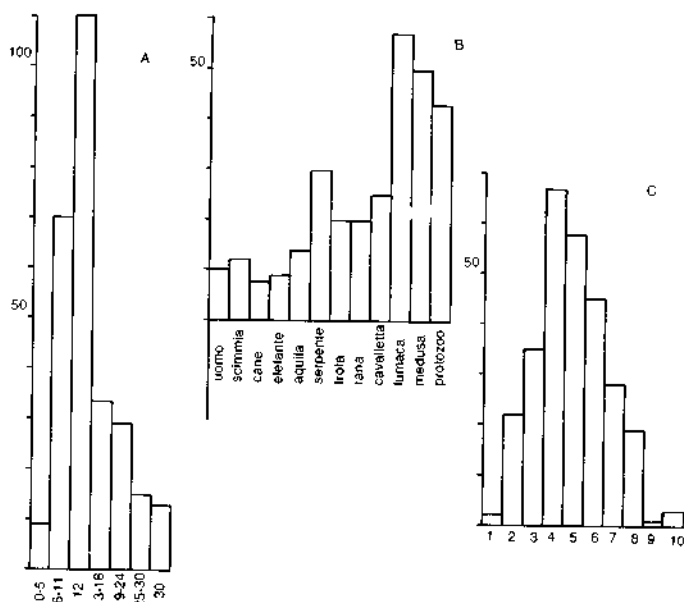


Fig. 2 — Alcuni dati relativi al test curricolare incentrato sull'abilità di classificazione (V unità del libro di testo). Agli studenti viene richiesto di dividere in gruppi dodici animali che hanno osservato in fotografia e dei quali hanno annotato il nome italiano.

A — numero di animali presi in considerazione da ogni studente

B — frequenza di omissione dei singoli animali

C — numero di gruppi/classi formati da ogni studente

(Semestre linguistico culturale 1984: 274 studenti sottoposti al test)

La gamma delle risposte a quesiti imperniati sul concetto di gravità terrestre corrisponde sostanzialmente a quella degli studenti occidentali, mentre le frequenze denotano una maggiore tendenza ad ancorarsi a parametri concreti di definizione delle situazioni. Tale atteggiamento si estende alla resistenza ad accettare come reali o realizzabili le situazioni proposte nella VII unità: un astronauta sulla luna, un'automobile senza freni in cima ad una salita, un tunnel che attraversa la Terra dal polo nord al polo sud. Le soluzioni prescelte sono condizionate anche dalla percezione di vincoli grafici (Fig. 3). Non è sempre agevole pertanto distinguere nelle risposte la rilevanza relativa delle implicazioni concettuali inerenti la natura e gli effetti della forza di gravità e delle ambiguità di percezione degli elementi simbolici necessariamente introdotti nelle figure.

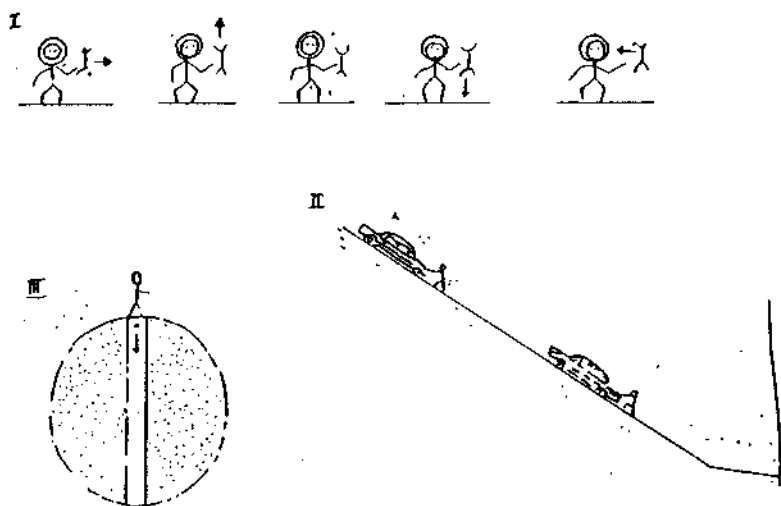


Fig. 3 - Semestre linguistico culturale 1984; le tre situazioni proposte nella VII unità. Frequentemente viene manifestata la resistenza ad affrontare il secondo caso (che «potrebbe essere più ragionevolmente risolto mettendo un sasso dietro alla ruota dell'auto») e la convinzione che il sasso non possa fuoriuscire del tunnel in relazione alla integrità del disegno della circonferenza.

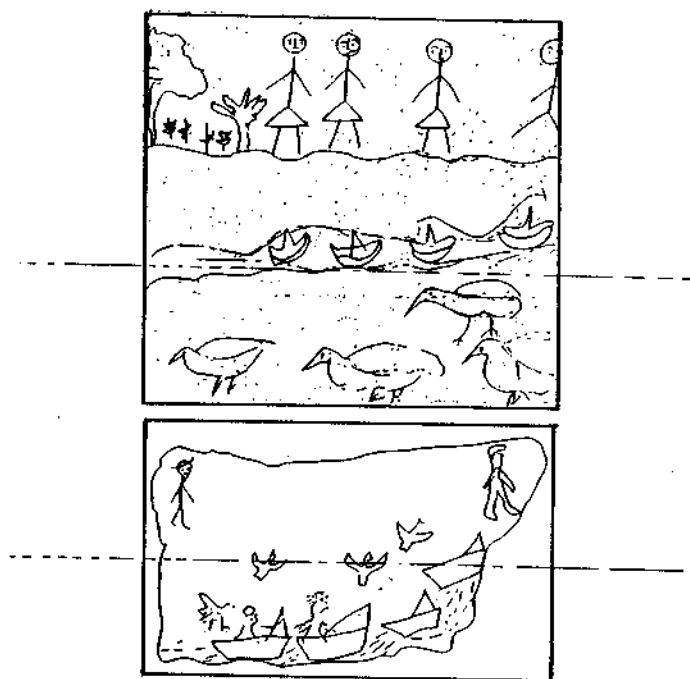
- I Un astronauta che si trova sulla Luna ha una chiave inglese in mano. Improvvisamente la chiave gli sfugge di mano.
 Quale delle cinque situazioni che seguono si verificherà?
 (Segnate una x sotto la figura che rappresenta la situazione che ritenete si verificherà).
- II Una strada in salita ha pendenza costante e superficie completamente liscia in ogni suo punto. In cima alla salita si trova un'automobile (A).
 In fondo alla salita si trova un'altra automobile (B), *identica alla prima*.
 Se d'improvviso si rompono i freni, una delle due persone che si trovano dietro le automobili farà uno sforzo maggiore dell'altra per tenerle ferme e non farle scivolare all'indietro?
 Se sì, quale?
- III Questa è una rappresentazione della Terra che, come sappiamo, ha circa la forma di una sfera. Il pupazzo, che non è disegnato in scala, sei tu che hai in mano un sasso.
 Ai tuoi piedi è stato scavato un foro, perpendicolare alla superficie della Terra, che arriva fino agli antipodi.
 Tu lasci cadere il sasso nel foro.

Traccia sulla figura il cammino percorso dal sasso, immaginando che esso non batta contro le pareti del pozzo e che non vi siano attriti.

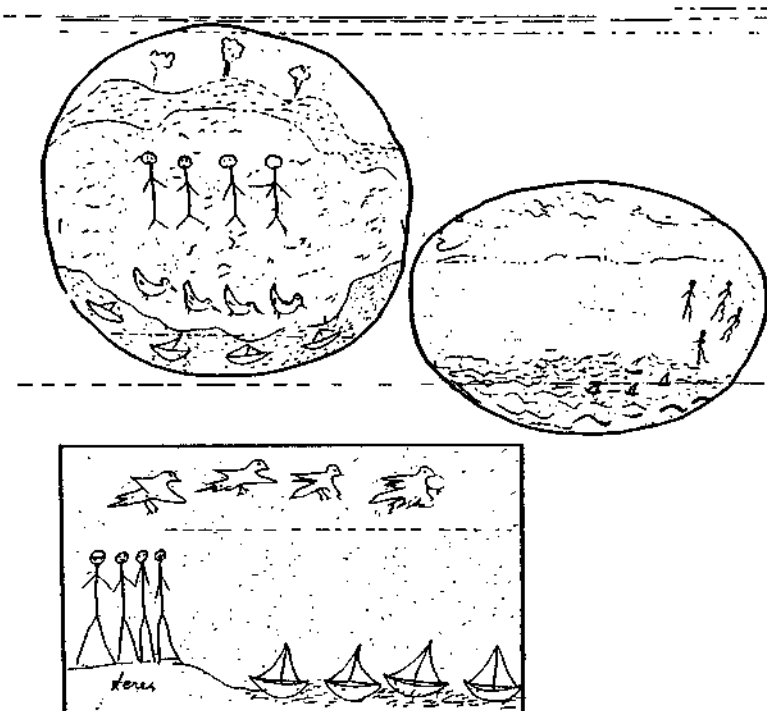
Lo scarso esercizio degli studenti somali nelle tecniche di esecuzione e di lettura delle rappresentazioni grafiche fa sì che gli elaborati relativi alla rappresentazione della Terra (VI unità) siano confrontabili in misura ridotta con quelli dei loro coetanei occidentali. Si riscontrano peculiarità a livello di uso dello spazio (ad esempio, delimitazione della rappresentazione e/o saturazione dello spazio disponibile, distribuzione non sovrapposta di oggetti — Fig. 4A), di tecnica grafica (ad esempio assenza di scala, prospettiva antropocentrica, scarso o inedito uso

della simbolizzazione — Fig. 4B), di riferimento ad elementi convenzionali cartografici o geografici (ad esempio meridiani paralleli convergenti all'equatore, distribuzione emisferica di tutti i continenti — Fig. 4C).

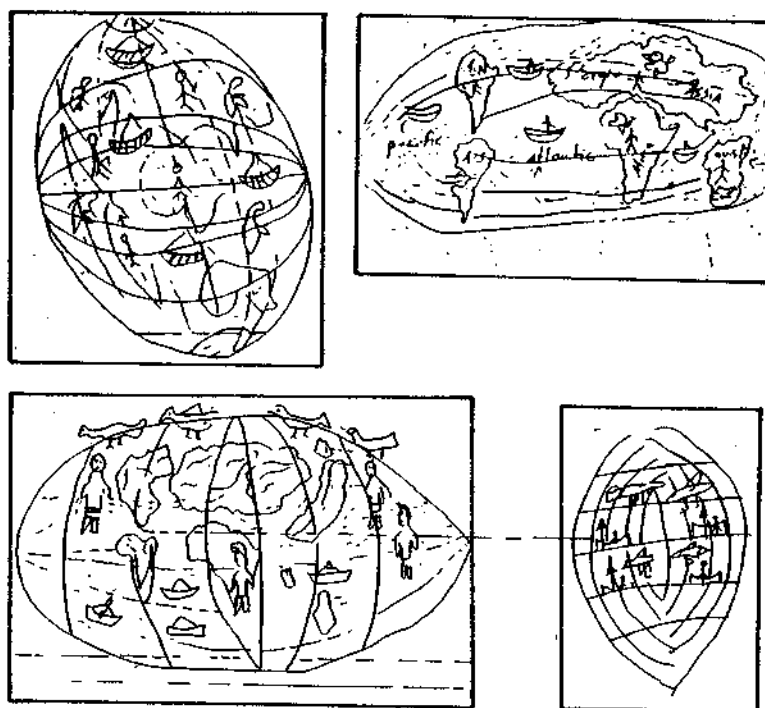
Fig. 4 - Semestre linguistico culturale 1984: esempi di peculiarità significative riscontrate negli elaborati relativi al test curricolare inserito nella VI unità (v. didascalia della Fig. 1).



A. Circa un terzo delle 232 rappresentazioni della Terra esaminate sono «paesaggi»: occupano l'intero spazio disponibile o sono delimitati da una cornice irregolare.



B. I tre tipi di soggetti raffigurati sono perlopiù non integrati compositivamente. La maggioranza degli studenti (190 elaborati su 252) non applica le regole del disegno prospettico e in scala: le figure umane hanno spesso le maggiori dimensioni relative. Nel corso delle interviste è stato possibile accertare che il mare occupa il primo piano nei disegni al fine di garantirne il «contenimento» in concavità realizzate mediante la cornice o il profilo del terreno.



C. La riproduzione degli elementi cartografici — meridiani e paralleli — è sistematicamente anomala. Nelle rappresentazioni dell'emisfero (n. 82) in 67 casi appaiono tutti i continenti.

Tali peculiarità rendono ardua la formulazione di ipotesi circa le concezioni sulla forma della Terra, obiettivo canonico del test, mentre forniscono utili indicazioni per la scelta del corredo iconografico dei testi e la relativa lettura e interpretazione, nonché per l'impostazione del corso di disegno.

L'analisi dei dati ricavati dai test curricolari è stata completata con due serie di interviste su un'unica traccia tematica riferita sia ai contenuti disciplinari che alle abilità su cui erano incentrati i test stessi. Lo scopo di tali interviste è stato la puntualizzazione di elementi problematici relativi alla lettura ed alla interpretazione dei risultati e la verifica di indicazioni ed ipotesi formulate in base ai dati disponibili.

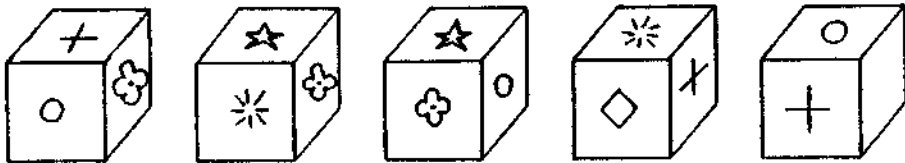
Il questionario d'ingresso, adottato negli anni 1985 e 1986, (cfr. dati) è stato formulato in versione bilingue onde evitare che problemi di comprensione delle domande inquinassero le risposte. Il questionario è articolato in sezioni nelle quali rispettivamente si sollecitano le abilità di classificazione — indirettamente di analisi, sintesi, generalizzazione — e di definizione di relazioni spaziali, temporali e di parentela (sez. A), la percezione e l'orientamento nello spazio grafico (sez. D); si mettono inoltre alla prova le conoscenze di base di Biologia e l'atteggiamento interpretativo nel settore (sez. B), la capacità di risolvere elementari problemi di Matematica e Geometria (sez. M) e di rispondere a quesiti relativi ad aspetti applicativi e metodologici della Fisica (sez. F).

In generale, ed in riferimento ai dati relativi al semestre 1986, gli studenti (n. 245) si dimostrano disponibili ad affrontare gli items che richiedono o la scelta tra risposte già formulate o l'esecuzione di brevi calcoli, in percentuali comprese tra l'80% e il 100%, meno del 30% degli studenti affronta invece alcuni item dedicati all'orientamento nello spazio, alle funzioni cellulari e ad applicazioni del teorema di Pitagora (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 - Semestre linguistico culturale 1986: dati relativi alle risposte fornite dagli studenti somali (n. 245) ad alcuni dei quesiti proposti nel questionario d'ingresso.

A2. Guarda attentamente questo dado: è sempre lo stesso, cambia solamente la sua posizione. Quale figura deve trovarsi sulla faccia vuota?

Si fiican ugu fiirso «daaddahaan»: markasta waa isla «daaddihii», waxaa isbeddelaya oo keliya dhinicihiisa. Muqaalkee ka soo baxaya dhiniciisa eberka ah?



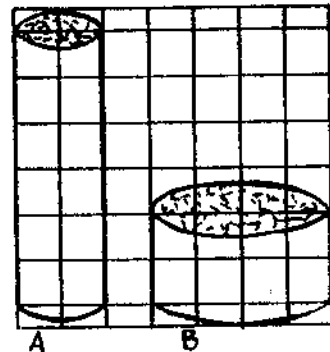
disponibilità ad affrontare il quesito: 25.7% (63 studenti) risposte corrette: 54.0% (34 studenti)

- D4. Osserva i due recipienti A e B che sono pieni di acqua. Aad ugu fiirso labadaan weel oo kala ah A iyo B oo biya ka buuxaan. Quale delle seguenti delle tre affermazioni è vera?
- A contiene più acqua di B.
 - A e B contengono la stessa quantità di acqua.
 - A contiene meno acqua di B.

Weerahaan soo sacda tumaa run ah

- A waxaa ku jira biyo ka badan kuwa B
- A iyo B biyo isle'eg baa ku jira
- A waxaa ku jira biyo ka yar kuwa B

Perché? Waayo? (Maxay ku ahaatay?)



disponibilità ad affrontare il quesito: 87.8% (215 studenti) risposte corrette: 18.6% (30 studenti: si noti che il numero di risposte corrette è pari circa alla metà del numero atteso nel caso che la scelta tra le alternative proposte fosse stata casuale)

- B4. Come spieghi il fatto che i caratteri (colore della pelle, forma del viso altezza,...) dei popoli che vivono nei vari continenti sono tanto diversi?
- Erano diversi i caratteri dei loro antenati.
 - Ogni popolo ha i caratteri più utili per vivere nel suo ambiente.
 - Si tratta di un fatto naturale.
- Sidee baad u fasilahayd arrinta la xiriirta (midabka jirka, qaabka wasiga, dhererka...) uumista dadywga ku nool qaaradaha adduunka, ma aad bey u kala duwanyihiin?
- Waxaa kala duwanaa uumista awoowayaashoodii hore.
 - Ummadkastaaba waxay leedahay dabeecad ku habboon nolosha degaankooda.
 - Waa arrin dablici ah.

disponibilità ad affrontare il quesito: 81.2% (199 studenti) risposte: 42.7% «si tratta di un fatto naturale» (85 studenti: se ne evince una diffusa reticenza ad impegnarsi sul piano delle spiegazioni scientifiche)

M1. Eseguire le seguenti operazioni:
Samee xisa bfallada soo socda:

20:1000 =	0.02	(21.19% ovvero 49 studenti)
0,05 × 1000 =	50	(56.2 % ovvero 122 studenti)
5:250 =	0.02	(20.0 % ovvero 46 studenti)
(100 + 15) × 15 =	1725	(85.4 % ovvero 199 studenti)
10 ³ =	1000	(80.1 % ovvero 186 studenti)
4 ² × 4 ³ =	1024	(70.7 % ovvero 164 studenti)

disponibilità ad affrontare i quesiti: compresa tra 88% e 95%

F3. Due bicchieri A e B contengono acqua a diversa temperatura:

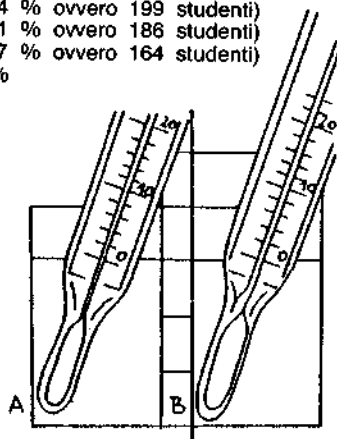
— in quale bicchiere l'acqua è più calda?

Laba koob, A iyo B, waxaa ku kala jira biyo leh heerkul kafaduwan:

— koobkee biyahiisu aadu kulul yihiin?

— quale è la differenza di temperatura dell'acqua nei due bicchieri?

— waa imisa faraqa heerkuleed ee biyaha labadaa koob ku kala jira?



disponibilità ad affrontare il quesito: 80.4% (197 studenti)
risposte corrette - scelta del bicchiere B: 89.8% (177 studenti)
rilevazione della temperatura: 14.2% (28 studenti)

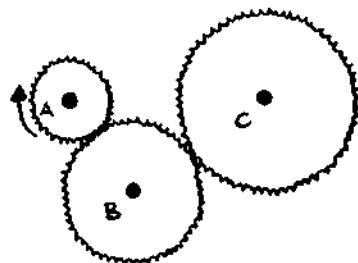
In sintesi: l'analisi dei questionari compilati dagli studenti ha evidenziato un certo numero di abitudini mentali e pratiche degli studenti stessi che potrebbero compromettere l'efficacia di un metodo di insegnamento impostato fuori dalla Somalia (nel caso particolare nella scuola italiana): peculiarità rispetto ad operazioni di formalizzazione, peculiarità rispetto alla percezione dei segni (dimensioni e relazioni di linee, superfici, volumi; relazioni prospettiche).

Il questionario d'uscita mette alla prova abilità, atteggiamenti e conoscenze analoghi rispetto a quelli presi in considerazione nel primo questionario. I dati sin qui analizzati — relativi al semestre linguistico culturale degli anni 1985 e 1986 — sembrano nel complesso indicare che l'intervento formativo incide significativamente sulle abilità logiche di base, sulle capacità percettive e sulle abitudini di studio, come è dimostrato anche dalla registrata, straordinaria coincidenza tra la valutazione dello studente in sede di esame di fine semestre e l'esito delle prove più squisitamente disciplinari effettuate dallo stesso studente nel semestre successivo. La frequenza al semestre linguistico-culturale dà un notevole impulso alla disponibilità ad affrontare quesiti anche «impegnativi», affina moderatamente l'uso di strumenti elementari di calcolo e formalizzazione, mentre incide in misura molto ridotta sul livello di familiarità con oggetti e fenomeni biologici e geometrici (Fig. 6).

Proprio su queste indicazioni sarà fondata la successiva fase di sviluppo del progetto: per la revisione del testo di lingua, per la scelta e l'adattamento dei testi disciplinari, per la puntualizzazione dell'informazione — e possibilmente del-

Fig. 6 - Semestre linguistico culturale 1985: dati relativi alle risposte fornite dagli studenti somali (n. 165) ad alcuni dei quesiti proposti nel questionario d'uscita.

A2. Nella figura puoi osservare tre ruote dentate di un ingranaggio. Se la ruota A gira in senso orario, come si muoveranno le altre? Indica con una crocetta la risposta prescelta.



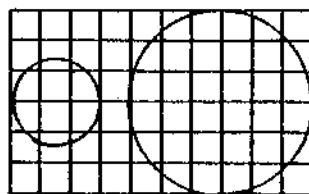
- La ruota B si muoverà in senso orario 14.7%
 si muoverà in senso antiorario 76.9% (120 studenti)
 si muoverà prima in un senso e poi nell'altro 8.3%
- La ruota C si muoverà in senso orario 68.2% (105 studenti)
 si muoverà in senso antiorario 20.8%
 si muoverà prima in un senso e poi nell'altro 11.0%

disponibilità ad affrontare il quesito: 93.3 e 94.5%

D4. Nella figura qui sotto sono rappresentate due pizze. Indica quale delle seguenti affermazioni è vera:

- 40.1% la seconda pizza è grande circa il doppio dell'altra
 21.8% la seconda pizza è grande circa quattro volte l'altra
 38.1% la seconda pizza è grande circa 3,14 volte l'altra

disponibilità ad affrontare il quesito: 89.1% (sembra probabile che non si sia fatto ricorso all'applicazione della formula dell'area del cerchio, anche se il potere evocativo del numero 3,14 è da ritenersi implicato nella frequenza di scelta della terza risposta)



C4. Risolvi le seguenti espressioni

$$(0,03)^2 \times 100$$

$$5:1000 + 0,0001 \times 2$$

$$4 \times 10^5 - 2 \times 10^4$$

$$= 0.09 \text{ (53.1\% ovvero 78 studenti)}$$

$$= 0.007 \text{ (21.4\% ovvero 27 studenti)}$$

$$= 38 \times 10^4 \text{ (20.6\% ovvero 27 studenti)}$$

disponibilità ad affrontare il quesito: 89.1, 76.4 e 79.4%

la formazione — da garantire ai docenti, per l'adeguamento del corredo didattico-metodologico curricolare (sussidi didattici, esercitazioni, strategie di verifica e valutazione).

Conclusioni e prospettive

La sperimentazione, estesasi, nelle linee delineate, per l'arco di tre semestri (alterni), e coinvolgente, dunque, un numero complessivo di circa 1400 studenti, e di circa 140 docenti italiani, ha fornito dati sufficienti a trarre qualche conclusione:

— In primo luogo la conferma piena dell'ipotesi, vale a dire che le «carenze» dello studente somalo in termini accademici non potevano essere identificate in contenuti (fossero pure linguistici), ma andavano rintracciate in difficoltà ad assumere ed interiorizzare «abilità di studio» sostanzialmente estranee alla propria formazione culturale;

— in secondo luogo il sostegno all'idea che tali abilità potessero essere meglio costruite attraverso un insegnamento fortemente integrato che identificasse obiettivi comuni, a breve e medio termine, ed articolasse strategicamente i diversi ambiti disciplinari per la prima presentazione ed il rafforzamento delle abilità stesse;

— in terzo luogo la consapevolezza che la scelta e la pre-informazione dei docenti italiani (e somali) coinvolti nell'attività didattica debbano divenire elemento centrale e primario dell'esperienza stessa;

— infine la percezione che si è compiuto un importante cammino nell'approfondimento epistemologico dei singoli ambiti disciplinari al fine dell'individuazione delle opportune linee e strategie didattiche (così disciplinari come interdisciplinari); e che la ricerca e la sperimentazione costituiscono ora un non indifferente contributo all'impostazione della didattica propedeutica universitaria *per se*.

Le prospettive di continuazione e sviluppo dell'esperienza dovranno dunque tener conto di tutto ciò e dovrebbero auspicabilmente impostarsi sulle seguenti linee:

— Utilizzazione sistematica dei dati fin qui raccolti per la scelta dei docenti da inviare presso l'UNS (in particolare, com'è ovvio per coloro che dovranno impegnarsi nella fascia propedeutica);

— Impostazione e definizione di *stages* d'informazione ed orientamento;

— Elaborazione di materiali specifici, lungo le linee sperimentate, per l'insegnamento della biologia e revisione sostanziale dei materiali già elaborati per fisica e lingua italiana;

— Impostazione di una specifica linea di ricerca, con materiali relativi, per l'insegnamento integrato di matematica e lingua che verifichi e ipotizzi la costruzione di un comune metalinguaggio didattico riversabile poi così nel codice della lingua naturale come in quello matematico;

— Elaborazione di nuove batterie di tests pluridisciplinari, sia di natura diagnostica (per arricchire il *corpus* di dati di cui si dispone ed aggiornarlo continuamente rispetto al variare delle condizioni), del di misurazione dell'apprendimento;

— Estensione dell'esperienza e dei dati cumulati in relazione agli atteggiamenti cognitivi dello studente somalo nell'impostazione, esplicitamente crossculturale, dell'intera didattica dell'UNS.

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Aspetti cross-culturali in un esperimento didattico presso l'Università Nazionale Somala

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In questo intervento mi propongo di illustrare uno degli aspetti didattici legati alla costruzione di materiali linguistici per il semestre linguistico-culturale dell'Università Nazionale Somala e di discuterne alcuni risultati relativi all'esperienza del semestre 1985. La scelta di un solo aspetto è dovuta a motivi di tempo.

Uno dei primi problemi che si pongono a chi progetta nuovi materiali per l'insegnamento di una lingua in un paese terzo è quello delle scelte tematiche. In particolare è possibile individuare due principali prospettive entro le quali organizzare i contenuti di un corso: l'una centrata sulla «cultura» del Paese di cui si intende insegnare la lingua, l'altra che prende ad oggetto del corso tematiche legate alla realtà del luogo in cui la lingua viene insegnata.

I benefici collegati con la prima soluzione sono evidenti: la lingua viene presentata in tutte le sue implicazioni socioculturali e risulta quindi comunicativamente più ricca e autentica. Ma anche il secondo caso non è privo di vantaggi. Specialmente in aree culturalmente assai distanti da quella della lingua da insegnare l'apprendimento linguistico legato a modelli culturali estranei e non sempre bene accetti può essere infatti fonte di resistenze. Se dunque la lingua straniera viene utilizzata per convogliare essenzialmente esperienze vicine a quelle del discente, ne deriva un effetto motivante sia in termini di comunicazione di classe, sia in termini di autoscienza culturale. Il discente sfrutta la sua dimistichezza con i temi trattati per partecipare in maniera più fantasiosa al processo di apprendimento e per illustrare, valorizzandola, la propria esperienza culturale.

Ambedue queste possibilità sono state discusse, esplorate e realizzate in materiali costruiti per i paesi in via di sviluppo.¹

I *Materiali di lingua italiana per scopi accademici*, costruiti per il semestre linguistico-culturale dell'Università Nazionale Somala, (AA.VV. 1985), rappresentano da questo punto di vista un'interessante soluzione intermedia.

Il corso persegue lo scopo di trasmettere abilità logiche, linguistiche e di studio, sviluppando tematiche legate agli strumenti e ai metodi delle scienze matema-

¹Tra le opere più recenti cfr. Brumfit 1983, dedicato in prevalenza ai Paesi africani, con un articolo di Clarke/Hawkes/Pritchard/Smith sul progetto di lingua inglese per la scuola somala (pp. 49-68), in cui si privilegia l'approccio «localistico». Due interessanti volumi nei quali, oltre a discutere materiali di lingua tedesca per Paesi africani e asiatici, si affrontano anche ampiamente i problemi teorici collegati ai due approcci illustrati sono Geringhausen/Seel 1983 a Geringhausen/Seel 1985.

tiche e sperimentali. In questo senso il contesto culturale risulta predeterminato ed è dettato dall'esigenza fondamentale di porre gli studenti nelle condizioni di trarre il massimo profitto dalle loro future attività accademiche nelle facoltà tecnico-scientifiche. Se tuttavia la cornice «culturale» è data, i contenuti possono variare e rispecchiare realtà autoctone.

Per chiarire quest'ultimo punto vorrei illustrare la struttura di una unità-tipo del corso. Ho scelto la seconda unità, per mostrare come anche in una fase iniziale del corso sia possibile perseguire gli obiettivi succitati.

L'unità ha per tema i concetti di misura e misurazione ed è divisa in tre parti. Nella prima parte vengono introdotte — attraverso una serie di letture e di esercizi correlati — le nozioni di base sulle misure e le misurazioni, le unità di misura e le loro definizioni. Nella seconda parte vengono esercitate le abilità di studio (prendere appunti, riassumere, leggere e interpretare diagrammi ecc.) con riferimento al tema dell'unità. La terza parte consiste in un'attività di gruppo sui tipi di misura e le forme di misurazione in uso in Somalia. In sostanza le prime due parti forniscono gli strumenti (intesi in senso lato, quindi anche quelli linguistici) per l'attività della terza, prestando le informazioni di quadro necessarie e alcune indicazioni di metodo. Si intende che in essa predomina un'impostazione di carattere tecnico-scientifico. Nella terza parte, invece, gli studenti possono inserire dati e cognizioni derivanti dalla propria esperienza culturale, secondo quanto accennato più sopra. Il vantaggio di un tale procedimento risiede nel fatto che esso, oltre ad essere particolarmente motivante, spinge ad applicare immediatamente le conoscenze (nozionali, metodologiche di abilità di studio) ad un contesto familiare, creando una situazione di «lingua in azione» di particolare efficacia didattica.

Se questo è il quadro generale in cui si colloca l'attività di gruppo, i suoi obiettivi specifici sono ovviamente assai più articolati. Per illustrarli sarà opportuno descrivere più nel dettaglio l'impostazione della terza parte e discutere infine i risultati della sperimentazione nel semestre gennaio-giugno 1985.

La classe viene suddivisa in tre gruppi di lavoro, a ciascuno dei quali viene affidato il compito di stendere una relazione e di approntare un tabellone sulle misure in uso in Somalia (p. es. misure di lunghezza e superficie, oppure di peso, oppure di tempo ecc.). Si richiede che gli studenti raccolgano informazioni relative alla denominazione delle unità di misura, alla loro definizione, al valore cui esse corrispondono approssimativamente nel sistema MKS, al luogo in cui vengono usate (allegata al testo è una cartina della Somalia), all'epoca in cui vengono o venivano utilizzate, agli strumenti di misura e le loro caratteristiche, allo scopo della misurazione (se si tratta di una misura commerciale, amministrativa, religiosa, per oggetti di grandi o piccole dimensioni ecc.), alle caratteristiche degli utilizzatori (nomadi, contadini, pescatori) ecc.

Tutte queste informazioni vanno elencate e poi organizzate in tabelle che, assieme alla carta geografica, forniscono la base per la relazione e il tabellone. Va da sé che la funzione dell'insegnante si limiterà ad essere quella di un consulente per determinati problemi di carattere linguistico e che egli non interverrà nell'impostazione e strutturazione dei lavori di gruppo.

L'attività ha inoltre lo scopo di verificare l'abilità di ordinare informazioni complesse e eterogenee, l'abilità di coordinarle in una struttura espositiva ed esplicativa coerente e l'abilità di organizzare su di una sola superficie (tabellone) informazioni affidate a mezzi diversi (tabelle, grafici, testo scritto, carte ecc.). Per valutare adeguatamente i risultati di questa esperienza didattica sarebbe necessa-

rio mostrare i tabelloni realizzati dagli studenti nel semestre in oggetto. Nella sessione congressuale questo è stato possibile (sono stati illustrati otto tabelloni) ma in questa versione scritta della relazione sarò costretto a limitarmi ad alcune osservazioni riassuntive.

a) I tabelloni sono suddivisi in generale in sezioni distinte: ciò vuol dire che titolazione, carta geografica, testo scritto, tabelle non sono interconnessi, cioè riportati gli uni agli altri, ma costituiscono «mondi» per così dire a se stanti.

b) La quantità e il tipo di informazioni tematizzate è estremamente diseguale: in alcuni tabelloni ci si limita nel testo scritto a indicare il nome e la definizione delle unità di misura considerate. In altri invece il testo appare articolato in paragrafi coerenti e composto di periodi anche complessi. In generale quanto più il testo è articolato sul piano dell'organizzazione linguistica, tanto più lo è anche sul piano della differenziazione delle informazioni. Riportiamo qui di seguito a mo' di esempio la descrizione del *masafo* da parte di un gruppo di studenti della Facoltà di Ingegneria;

«Il *masafo* corrisponde a 90 Km, si usa in boscaglia quando per esempio gli uomini vogliono trasportare gli animali in luogo dove c'è l'acqua e il cibo. Il *masafo* si usa anche quando un ragazzo vuole sposarsi e deve andare con la sua moglie in un luogo lontano dalla casa dei ragazzi. Allora devono fare il *masafo*. Il *masafo* si usa nella zona del nord e del sud, lo strumento di misura sono i giorni di cammino».

L'allusione all'uso giuridico di questa misura di origine nomadica (giorni di cammino tra i pozzi per l'abbeverata) si riferisce alla possibilità di sposare una ragazza contro il volere della famiglia, se la si conduce in un'altra giurisdizione religioso-amministrativa, distante per l'appunto un *masafo* (ca. 90 Km), dove il Cadi locale è autorizzato a celebrare a pieno titolo il matrimonio segreto.

c) Se si confrontano le indicazioni relative alla corrispondenza tra le misure somale e il sistema MKS si riscontrano parecchie incongruenze tra i gruppi delle venti classi che eseguivano quasi contemporaneamente l'esercitazione: p. es. il *taako* oscilla tra i 10 e i 40 centimetri, lo *jibaal* sarebbe per alcuni misura di superficie (ca. 625 m²), per altri di lunghezza, ecc.

d) Nell'elencazione delle misure l'ordine interno non è sempre rispettato: in alcuni casi si va effettivamente dalla più grande alla più piccola, talvolta tuttavia non è possibile riscontrare alcun tipo di sequenza ordinata.

e) Per quanto riguarda lo spazio grafico, ci si attendevano qui parecchie difficoltà, data la scarsa abitudine degli studenti a trasferire in un'organizzazione spaziale le informazioni a propria disposizione. In effetti sin dalla titolazione si riscontrano difetti nella distribuzione delle unità linguistiche, delle sottosezioni in cui è diviso il tabellone, nonché difficoltà di allineamento, di mantenere l'uniformità dei caratteri o delle ripartizioni, di sproporzioni tra parti più rilevanti (sottodimensionate) e parti meno rilevanti (sovradimensionate). Tuttavia la scarsa dimistichezza con il mezzo grafico non ha impedito ad alcuni gruppi di arricchire il proprio tabellone di disegni schematici relativi ad alcuni strumenti di misura e addirittura di disegni con funzione decorativa (un busto di nomade in cammino, un paesaggio assolato con acacia ecc.). Lasciato libero di esprimersi, lo studente acquista anche confidenza con il mezzo grafico.

f) Nel complesso tuttavia a livello di organizzazione dello spazio grafico (ripartizione, coordinazione delle parti ecc.) si sono avute rese assai discontinue. In generale anche in questo caso la strutturazione migliore si ritrova nei lavori che

sono più sofisticati anche dal punto di vista della scelta e sviluppo delle informazioni e della competenza linguistica. All'ordinamento sistematico delle informazioni corrisponde una buona articolazione del discorso, l'uso di connettivi e una discreta struttura sintattica dell'italiano. Parallelamente anche l'organizzazione dello spazio grafico risulta adeguata ed equilibrata. Si tratta di dati che non stupiscono e che rimandano ad una concezione globalistica dell'apprendimento in base alla quale la competenza linguistica appare svilupparsi in armonia con le altre abilità cognitive di base.

Dal punto di vista del discente l'esperienza sembra essere stata altamente positiva: gli studenti hanno visto un'applicazione pratica del loro studio linguistico; il lavoro su una tematica nota — sia pure entro una cornice predeterminata — ha facilitato il loro compito ma allo stesso tempo li ha stimolati alla discussione di gruppo (sia sui contenuti che sulla loro organizzazione nella relazione), li ha motivati spingendoli ad illustrare con orgoglio alcuni aspetti del loro universo culturale, con l'effetto di accrescere immediatamente l'interesse nei confronti del mezzo destinato a convogliare il loro messaggio, mezzo sia linguistico sia grafico. Infine li ha confrontati per la prima volta con la prassi di una ricerca durante l'apprendimento linguistico, svelandone il fascino, il senso ed anche un po' i limiti.

Tornando alle osservazioni iniziali, ci sembra di poter affermare, in conclusione, che il dualismo tra prospettiva culturale «interna» e «esterna» nella scelta dei contenuti dei materiali linguistici non sia del tutto giustificato, ma che piuttosto sia possibile — e anche più produttivo — tentare dove possibile una sintesi dei due punti di vista con pieno vantaggio da parte dell'apprendimento.

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Somali Speakers of Italian and Language Transfer

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A great deal of the debate in the field of second and foreign language acquisition research, has focused on the description of the language-learner language, generally known as interlanguage, and of the principles governing learners' output.

Although there is a general recognition of the fact that elements of the native language are transferred into the learners' interlanguage, the nature of the phenomenon is far from easy to explain.

The purpose of this paper is to shed some light into the nature of the strategy of transfer of Somali speakers when attempting to communicate in Italian.

This paper is divided in two sections. First a survey of the concept of transfer is given and then this phenomenon is observed and analyzed in the production of Somali interlanguage speakers of Italian.

In this study I found that language transfer interacts with similarities existing among languages, known as language universals. Although not explicitly discussed here, pedagogical implications of this empirical study are manifold and will be the topic of a further research.

On the Concept of Transfer

The introduction of the notion of transfer in applied linguistics is closely linked with the publication of Lado's *Linguistics Across Cultures* in 1957. Elaborating on Fries' earlier work (1945), Lado maintained that interference was the linguistic phenomenon resulting from negative effect of previous language learning. Divergence between the source language (SL) and the target language (TL), was seen as the origin of learners' difficulties.

In this view, the notion of hierarchy of *difficulty* is related to the degree of *distance* between the SL and the TL. The fundamental assumption of the Contrastive Analysis (CA) hypothesis advocated by Lado and others, is that:

«Individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture — both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practiced by natives». (1957:2).

The theory of CA and its assumed validity for predicting difficulty in foreign language learning has been discredited on many grounds.

In particular, the fundamental assumption cited above, which entails neutralization of habits and of preexisting knowledge, was never supported with data proving the relevance for foreign language learning of the psychological theory on which it was based. Nevertheless, Lado was aware of the distinction between the linguistic phenomenon of interference and the underlying psychological process, transfer. Such an important distinction appears to be underemphasised in the Interlanguage studies of the early seventies, especially by Nemser and Slama-Cazacu (1970) who, in a partial review of the literature on transfer, describe its relation to the concept of interference as controversial.

Burt and Dulay (1972) also attack Lado on sociolinguistic grounds and restrict the role of interference from SL. Many errors of children acquiring a language different from their mother tongue, generally ascribed to negative transfer, are, according to the authors, similar to those of native children and should be considered as «developmental».

Research findings of this period, both on the process and the product, focus on similarities in the acquisition of the two systems. Studies on language universals and on the morpheme order of acquisition, especially in L2 children, focus on common underlying principles. The tendency is to rely on a clear-cut distinction between formal and efficient causes and to interpret learners' errors in terms of either interlinguistic or intralinguistic factors. Selinker (1972), in his famous paper on Interlanguage, includes transfer as one of the five processes but does not clarify whether he interprets it to be an aspect of a wider strategy of simplification by means of which the learner falls back on SL, or if it operates within the TL.

To define IL, he refers to the concept of an underlying system, but never states too clearly whether interference operates between SL and TL or if is an intralinguistic process. Adjemian (1976) also implicitly tackles the problem of transfer when he states that IL, unlike all other natural systems, are permeable to intrusion of SL rules which operate a destabilising factor in IL.

In more recent years, the process of transfer has been increasingly associated with the notion of strategy on the definition of which there has been a great deal of dispute among researchers. If we agree on the assumption that a strategy is a plan or a set of coordinated actions to solve a problem, it follows that transfer cannot be conceived as a mechanical process as it was thought in the past. In recent years, an increasing number of studies deal with the process of transfer which is not conceived as a mechanical trasference of SL structures, as it was generally done in the past, but as a set of cognitive strategies underlying TL acquisition. The German scholar Wode (1977) claims that a certain similarity between SL and TL is necessary before transfer can take place. Kellerman (1979, 1983), considers transfer to be an active strategy dependent on the learner's notion of *distance* between SL and TL and on the degree of *markedness* of the SL element. Zobl (1980) makes a suggestive analogy between a change in the history of the TL from one order type to another with development in the learner's IL, while Corder (1981) draws an important distinction between structural transfer and borrowing. From the evolution of the studies on transfer, it may be concluded that research has departed from the structural view, too strongly associated with behaviourism, which relates difference to difficulty. In addition to a change in ap-

proach in the interpretation of the influence or crosslinguistic influence, researchers are looking into language typology and different language types, making the way to a new form of CA.

Transfer Strategies of Somali Speakers

The informants were three Somali university students in Rome to take a degree in their chosen field. At the time of the interview which was recorded with the interviewees approval, they had been living in Italy for approximately 15 months. One of them had attended an intensive language course for a month upon his arrival, while the other two had a few years of primary school in Italian back in Somalia.

In spite of their various language backgrounds, and slightly different accuracy in communication, they were all quite fluent and showed to adopt quite similar strategies when confronted with a difficulty in communicating in Italian with the interviewer.

The analysis of the data clearly evidences that an adequate description of language transfer from Somali cannot be given without a consideration of their interplay with Italian and language universals.

Among the most evident phenomena at the phonological level, there is that caused by the plosive bilabial phoneme of Somali interfering when attempting to produce the voiceless counterpart in Italian; $b < p$ accounts for typical interlanguage forms of Somali speakers in Italian such as *brima* < *prima* = before; *combiuter* < *computer*. In the substitution of $p > b$ is a typical effect of transfer, other phenomena which involve the phonological and morphological levels are accounted for in terms of more universal principles or strategies. Prosthesis as in *ischerzo* < *scherzo* = joke, *istoria* < *storia* = story, and epenthesis as in *borofessore* < *professore* = professor are the result of the strategies shared by learners of other native languages as well and their adoption is likely to be due to different reasons from transfer of Somali. Prosthesis is a common strategy adopted by Spanish speakers of Italian, for example.

At the morphological level, one of the distinctive features of my informants is the interchange between 3rd and 1st person or viceversa from 1st to 3rd person. For example I found many instances of *abitava*-(he) lived, *veniva*-(he) came, *andava* = (he) went, < *abitavo*, *venivo* and *andavo* or, *lui lo so* = he (I) don't know < *lui non conosce*. If for the inversion of first and third person verb ending, the negative influence of Somali, in which the two forms coincide, seems to be very strong, for other phenomena found at the level of morphology other causes are at stake.

Gender agreement with irregular nouns and selection of auxiliary for active forms of present perfect especially with verbs of being and of motion, are crucial areas not only for Somali speakers of Italian but are common to many learners, Italians included. Forms such as *la problema* = the problem; *i mani* = the hands or *io sono superato l'esame* = I am passed the exam in place of *ho* which is required, and *ho andato a Torino* = I have gone to Turin, in place of *sono*, are universal for many learners regardless of their native language.

At the syntactic level, only two areas were examined: word order and pronominalization especially when clitic forms are required. As for word order, the ten-

dency is to postpone the verb at the end as in *scuola c'è* = school there is, *niente c'è* = nothing there is, *Somali troppo sono orgogliosi* = Somali too are proud. When answering to questions requiring clitics as in:

Q.1. *Le hai viste?* = them have (you) seen?

Q.2. *L'hai portato?* = it have (you) brought?

Q.3. *Quando l'ha preso?* = when it has he taken?

The strategy seems to be that of avoiding the use of the unstressed pronoun:

A.1. *Si, ho visto* = yes, (I) have seen

A.2. *No, non ho portato* = no, (I) not have brought

A.3. *ha preso ieri* = (he) has taken yesterday.

There are many areas of difficulties, however, such as the use of relative pronouns and prepositions which result from inner complexities of Italian and not from transfer. Forms such as *una zona che abitava mia madre prima* = an area which my mother lived before, *una ragazza che ho parlato* = a girl that I spoke, are common to many speakers, including Italians.

Transfer from Somali, clearly interacts with other universal principles and strategies. Many were the instances of topic and semantic avoidance where the informants changed topic or gave no verbal response during the interview. Phonological, morphological and syntactic «difficulties» were often overcome by the informants, very good at adapting their means to their ends and at making appeal to the authority. Often they asked me for the correct form, used circumlocutions, paraphrases, or switched to Somali in their attempt to communicate, which should be analyzed in detail.

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Language Issues and Education in Somalia

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To discuss language issues in education in Somalia is to examine a paradox. As one of the handful of «monolingual» countries among the multilingual nations of Africa, Somalia is in a good position to formulate a straightforward, workable plan for language use in its education system. Yet inconsistencies and discontinuities in the present language choices for instruction are not only illogical but wasteful. This paper argues that Somalia needs to establish a coherent policy for language use and language teaching in its schools.

Adoption of a script for the Somali language in 1972 was an essential first step in laying the groundwork for a national educational system. It was also, predictably, an expensive step. Though the Latin script requires no modification of existing typewriters and printing facilities, the costs of writing or translating new materials and of printing them in the volume needed are great.

The next step was to rewrite school texts and curricula in Somali. The decision was to do this as fast as possible for all grades of both primary and secondary schools, an ambitious undertaking. More recent modifications to language policy risk overburdening resources already stretched thin by scrapping newly created educational materials even before they can be put to use. That is why it is important to reach a prompt and well-planned decision about which language to use for specific subjects and which one to use at each level of the educational system through university, including technical schools. A curriculum needs to be developed that anticipates changes in language of instruction by providing training in that language as a school subject for several years before the switch occurs. Until the government is able to adopt a long-term language policy for education, it will continue to lose effort, manpower, and time in writing basic school curricula and in providing special courses to teach students the language they need to continue their education.

This discussion will review the history of Somalia's language policy development and the country's present policies and practices in the educational system. It will then identify issues that arise as language policy evolves and constraints to language planning that need to be considered in pursuing a language policy consistent with Somalia's needs.

Historical Setting

In the years since independence, Somalia has had to deal with two major language issues that have important consequences for its educational system. They are:

1) The choice of a script for writing Somali; and

2) Determination of the role Arabic, English, and Italian should play in the educational system and the communication system of the nation.

The script question was finally settled in 1972, after a period of indecision that lasted for the duration of the first independent regime in Somalia. Development of the educational system could not begin in earnest until the choice of a script had been resolved.

The decision about which of Somalia's three external language(s) to use as the main vehicles of higher education and international or commercial communication is not yet firm. All three are currently in use with somewhat different but overlapping functions in the total communication context of the country. As a result, there is duplication of educational materials that the fledgling educational system can ill afford.

A Script for Somali

Among African nations, Somalia is fortunate in having a single language for its population. Ninety-five percent of Somali nationals speak Somali, generally as their mother tongue. Of the three main dialects of the language, Northern Somali is becoming the accepted standard. Radio broadcasting in Somali began in 1941 in Hargeisa, using the northern dialect; over the following thirty years the radio was an active agent in standardizing the language and enlarging its vocabulary for modern use (Andrzejewski 1971).

Somali is, first and foremost, a spoken language. Somalis pride themselves on skill in speech and on their tradition of poetry composition and recitation. As John Johnson has described in detail (1974), it is through poetry that Somalis record their history, celebrate important events, transmit news, and rally political factions. The first nationalist hero, Sayyid Mohamud Abdille Hassan, one of the country's greatest poets, used his talents in launching and sustaining the dervish movement against the colonial powers early in this century. Skilled memorizers and reciters preserve the Somali oral poetry heritage; even in modern times activists express their views in rich and metaphoric Somali verse. Today, debates are carried on through alliterative poem cycles, now sometimes recorded and transmitted on tape cassettes. Perhaps because the oral language tradition has been so vital, Somalia did not rush to choose a script.

A standard writing system for Somali was a key element in unifying independent Somalia. The choice of a script, however, was a hotly disputed issue. The major split was between many of the modern intelligentsia, who favored some form of Latin script and orthography, and groups of religious conservatives and of nationalist youths who opposed a «Christian» or a colonialist script and favored either an adaptation of Arabic script or one of several «national» scripts invented for the Somali language. Clan factionalism entered the picture, as well, since the proposed «national» scripts were associated with particular clans which advocated each of them (Mumin 1985).

The first independent government immediately convened a script committee in 1960 but permanently shelved the report it produced in 1961. After the 1969 revolution, still without announcing a script decision, the new government set up a second committee to write elementary school texts and Somali grammar and dictionary. After some initial hesitation, this committee, which included some members of the 1960 group, carried out its task. On October 21, 1972, on the third anniversary of the revolution, the new script was announced with a dramatic gesture: helicopters overflying the celebrating crowds in Mogadishu dropped colorful pamphlets containing the text of the president's speech, written in Somali in Latin script.¹

During the following year, a literacy campaign was mounted in Mogadishu, first for government workers, then for the urban population. In 1974-75, it was followed by a country-wide literacy and rural development campaign. All schools were closed for the year, and over 25,000 students from Grade Six through Grade Eleven were sent out to introduce the new script to nomads and subsistence agriculturalists. Of the 1.25 million Somalis initially enrolled in the campaign, close to 740,000 passed their literacy test.

Teachers, released from their classroom duties during the campaign, either supervised the student campaigners or were assigned the task of writing texts in Somali for the remainder of the elementary school cycle and for the secondary schools. At the time, the government elected to reduce the primary school cycle from eight to six years, hoping to achieve educational economies through the use of Somali rather than a foreign language in the schools. Thus, between 1974 and 1976 a series of primary school texts designed for the six-year cycle were prepared in Somali. Actually printing them took much longer; the eleventh grade texts, for example, were not ready for distribution until seven years later. Long before the whole textbook series was published, the shortened primary cycle proved to be inadequate. In 1979 it was lengthened again to eight years, with the result that the primary school texts and the curriculum were no longer coordinated.

The Role of Arabic, English, and Italian

Arabic, English, and Italian all played roles as colonial languages in Somalia. Egyptian attempts to bring Somalia under its domination predate the establishment of British and Italian colonies but have left Somalis with ambivalent feelings about Arabic, although as the language of the Koran it is important to learn. English was the language of administration and of post-elementary education on the British colony in northwestern Somalia; Arabic was used in the early grades. Italian played a part similar to English in the southern Italian protectorate, although there instruction started in Italian from the very beginning.

The two colonial education systems produced a small Western-educated intelligentsia. Some of its members had studied under the British system and spoke

¹ An earlier version of this article was written for a USAID report, *Somalia Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment*, January 1984, and based on research carried out during the summer of 1983. The opinions expressed here are my own, however, and in no way reflect AID policy. Much of the background information presented here is drawn from the research and writings of Hussein M. Adam (1979) and David Laitin (1977).

English; others had had their university training in Italy. A third group, many of them from the north, pursued their education in the universities of the Arab world. At independence, Somali intellectuals were linguistically divided into three groups: those who spoke English, those who spoke Italian, and those who spoke Arabic.

At independence, Arabic, English, and Italian, were made co-equal official languages in Somalia for written records and education. Somali was used for parliamentary debate and as the official spoken language.

Although complete unification of the two colonial education systems had to wait for resolution of the script issue, a unified curriculum for northern and southern primary and secondary schools was developed during the 1960s. In 1965, a UNESCO commission recommending that English be used for university education noted the lack of standardization of language use in the secondary system. In addition to English in the northern schools and Italian in the south, several secondary schools used Arabic as the language of instruction.

The Current Situation: Disjunctures between Policy and Practice

The adoption of a Latin spelling system for Somali made it possible to simplify Somalia's language policy and to Somalize the education system. Today Somali and Arabic are the two official languages. All government employees must be literate in one or the other. English and Italian, although not official languages, are used for special functions: English as a language of commerce, technology, and international communication; and Italian for certain legal and administrative purposes.

Somali is officially the language of instruction throughout the primary and general secondary schools. It may also be used for lectures at the University. The government strongly encourages children four to six years old to spend two years in Koranic school before entering first grade, and Arabic, is taught as school subject from first grade onward. It is also used to teach a few subjects, notably religion, in government schools. In secondary school English is added as a subject, while Italian has been dropped completely.

In practice, a number of post-primary schools in Somalia, including most of the vocational and technical schools and some specialized institutions, such as the National Range Management Institute, use English as the medium of instruction. Since they accept students who have just completed the primary cycle they are obliged to provide an intensive English course for their incoming students. If English were introduced as a subject, starting in fifth grade, students would have had some introduction to the language before secondary school. Various Ministry of Education officials have considered this possibility, but it has not had high priority.

Expanding the teaching of Arabic and its use as the medium of instruction of certain subjects is supported by certain of the Gulf States and by ALESCO, the Arab League Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Knowledge of Arabic has practical as well as religious value; many Somalis find lucrative work in the Gulf States, where it stands them in good stead.

Using a European language as the medium of instruction becomes a necessity at the university level. English and Italian are the two candidates; the current

dominance of Italian owes more to pragmatism than to planning. Despite the official decision in 1965, backed by UNESCO, to move to an English-language university system, the situation at the post-secondary level has always been linguistically schizophrenic. In the mid — and late — 1960s the beginnings of Somalia's National University were embodied in a Faculty of Law and a Faculty of Economics developed from two Italian post-secondary institutes and in the National Teacher Education Center (NTEC) established by Eastern Michigan University through USAID support. Italian was used at the Law and Economics faculties, English at NTEC.

When the government sought assistance for establishment of a full-scale National University, English-language donors refused, while Italy made a generous offer. Of the twelve faculties that comprised the University in 1983, nine used Italian as the language of instruction and three, the Faculties of Languages, Journalism, and Education (which was an outgrowth of NTEC) used English. The Italian-language faculties were technical or disciplinary schools and relatively small in size. The Faculty of Education offered a multidisciplinary curriculum modeled on the American liberal arts college and received over 45 percent of the incoming students. In all, approximately 45 percent of the university student body were studying in English.

There is no simple resolution to the language question at the University. As a stopgap, the University offers a pre-enrollment course of intensive Italian for students who need it, and it allows Somali instructors to lecture in Somali. Possible alternative long-range solutions would be:

— to move toward an all-Somali university; a move that would have the unfortunate effect of isolating the institution from international research and scholarship and of restricting students' access to further higher education;

— to move toward an all-Italian university. This, however, is not practical in the long run for a country in close proximity to the English-language universities of Eastern Africa and oriented toward the Arab world, which uses English in a large number of its educational institutions and as an international language; or

— to move toward an all-English university. Although this has many practical advantages, doing this may not be feasible until Somalia can support its university without Italian aid, which has been substantial.

The present course seems to be to live as well as possible with the *status quo* at least until the university is completed.

Problems and Issues

To maintain links with outside world and with her own past Somalia needs to retain Arabic, English, and Italian to some degree as languages of external communication of religion, commerce, technology, scholarship. At the same time the nation must continue to promote the Somali language to maintain national unity and to assure all Somalis of access to education, government services, and a chance to participate in building their future.

Because a long-term language policy could not be implemented until as late as 1972, Somalia has had an unusually short time to develop a coherent plan for the use and teaching of its languages. Some of the discontinuities evident now are the growing pains of a developing policy. Nevertheless, indeterminacy

creates problems and leads to expensive and inefficient activities that the country can ill afford. Specific problems include:

— The need to pause at several points in the educational cycle (e.g., at entrance to technical secondary school and to the university) to «retool» linguistically. This is expensive in terms of students' and teachers' time, materials prepared for a limited audience, and delays in producing trained manpower; and

— Vacillations in the school curriculum to accommodate changes in school language policy. With the limited resources available, curriculum development has had difficulties keeping up with its primary task of producing materials for the basic school courses. Unnecessary changes can render past work inappropriate or useless. This inefficiency is costly. To begin to solve these problems, policy makers have to resolve two underlying issues:

1) Is Somalia going to move to an all-Somali education system through the university level? If not, where will the switch in language of instruction occur, and to what language? In deciding these matters, major considerations are:

— Internal access: Who will be able to enter the system or continue to the next level? Will entrants have been prepared linguistically by their prior schooling for the language of instruction at each level?

— Affordability: How much will materials and text preparation or revision cost? Can use be made of existing materials?

— External access: Which language(s) will give the best access to international commerce, technology, research, and scholarship?

2) Which of the three international languages is it practical to retain? What are the long-term priorities? Over the long run, what purposes will each serve?

Constraints to Language Planning and Language Development

Problems in implementing national language policy inevitably affect decisions about language use in the education system. The costs of conversion to written Somali are major constraints to language development. Their nature and extent are not always well understood.

The financial cost is perhaps the most obvious. Even though the Latin script requires no modification of existing typewriters and printing facilities, the volume of new materials needed is great: from paper and additional printing facilities, to writers, translators, and editors. Some donor support, especially from the World Bank, has been forthcoming for start-up costs.

Less attention has been given to other logistic bottlenecks to expanding printing and distribution that ultimately impede the advancement of literacy in Somalia. Because Somalia did not start out with a cadre of experienced printers and printing machinery repairmen to keep presses functioning near capacity, machinery breakdowns have, at times, led to long delays in the publication process. There is also no established distribution system for moving Somali publications of all types outside the capital: no regular shipping routes, no warehouses, no local distribution centers in outlying areas. The national printing effort has been closely controlled by the government; the promotion of private initiatives in these areas would undoubtedly expand both production and distribution.

² This discussion of the script debate and its resolution is based mainly on Laitin (1977).

Sociolinguistic constraints to implementing the national language policy are least well understood of all. Adoption of a script and spelling system is only the first step in developing Somali as a written language. To forge a unified and standardized written language, several sorts of guides to writing and editing are essential: dictionaries, technical glossaries, stylebooks and editing manuals, and teaching grammars for native speakers of Somali. All of these things take linguistic research and serious thought to develop. Work in this area has been assigned to the Somali Academy of Science and Arts, with a small staff and virtually no outside resources. Work on grammars is being undertaken at Lafoole College of Education; editorial stylebooks have yet to be compiled. Under the circumstances, editing prose works written by neophyte writers has proved very difficult and time consuming.

A final constraint to development of a consistent, long-range language policy has been the distortion introduced by financial incentives to use the language of various donors. The general direction of language policy was originally to use Somali as the national language for internal communication and English as the main language of international contact and higher education. Arabic, of course, retains importance as language of religion and a link to the other members of the Arab League. But, because Italy has been the major donor for developing the National University, the government has agreed to the use of Italian as a medium of instruction in it. Since Italian has been dropped from the school curricula, however, this means that there is no preparation at the secondary level for this usage at the University. Similarly, the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction in social science subjects throughout the primary and secondary education systems is being urged as a condition for major ALESCO assistance to education. To do this means dropping newly published Somali texts for those subjects and revising the curriculum for a fourth time since 1972. Aside from the financial lure, there is no good pedagogical reason to do this.

Conclusion

In any country the decision about which language to use at the various levels of education and training has a decided effect on students' work opportunities and on their chances for further education. The benefits of training students who have a good grasp of the languages they will need for employment are obvious, but they may be lost when there is no coherent plan for introducing foreign languages into the curriculum.

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The Transition of the Education System in the Somali Democratic Republic in the Post Colonial Years

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When the Somali Republic was formed on July 1960, among other things, there was no uniform national education system of the so-called modern kind. Therefore it was necessary for the independent republic to create such a uniform system. The education system that existed at the time of independence was not only inadequate but indeed different between the two regions that were then united. While the Italian system of education was prevalent in the South, the British system of education was prevalent in the North. The latter had a pre-university course consisting of 11 years - 3 for elementary, 4 for intermediate and 4 for the secondary. Arabic was the medium of instruction at the elementary stage, and English at intermediate and secondary stages. There were not many schools that matched the need, inadequate as it was, but the quality of those that existed was very impressive. Most of the teachers were ex-patriots qualified in their fields. There were not many Somali teachers but the best students were selected for teachers. They used to get their training from Sudan and later from the United Kingdom and were highly proficient.

Strategic allocations of the schools in the North.

Most of the schools were boarding schools, located in the rural villages and towns thus matching the Somali nomadic way of life. Among them Dayaha, Lasanod, Beri, Sheikh Odwayna Burao (Girls Intermediate School) Adadlye, Hargeysa Girls School, Hargeysa Boys Trade School, Gabiyla Intermediate School and Amoud Boarding School. All those places were villages or small towns except Hargeysa and Burao.

Accessibility of Enrollment

The enrollment of the people to the limited number of schools was not discriminative. One need not have a civil servant parent or business connection to have access to education. What was needed was parents who were interested in their children's education. The school fees were 300 shillings for a whole year, and this could be afforded by the majority of the Somalis in the interior since they used to export their livestock to most of the neighbouring Arab countries up to Palestine and obtain considerable amounts of money.

Table 1 - Number of schools and students in the British colony, 1955 (1960)

Level of Education	Number of Schools	Students		Total
		Male	Female	
Elementary	20 (38)	1,107 (2,020)	64 (319)	1,171 (2,339)
Intermediate	3 (12)	368 (1,039)	—	368 (1,039)
Trade/Vocational	2	87 (100)	—	87 (100)
Secondary	1 (2)	47 (70)	—	47 (70)

Source: Figures derived from Castagno (1962).

Non-Islamic education was not popular in the northern region during the colonial period. Until 1938, British responsibility for education was confined to grants in aid to a small number of Koranic schools and provided scholarships for a few Somali boys and later girls to be held in Sudan and to a lesser extent in Aden. Progress was made immediately before the war but there was resistance from the local people (Report on British Somaliland, 1949-57). In the southern region the pre-university course consisted of 12 years - 5 for the elementary, 3 for the intermediate and 4 for secondary. Arabic was the medium of instruction in the first two grades of the elementary stage and Italian from the third grade of the elementary stage. The strategic allocations of schools in the southern region was unsatisfactory. «The geographical distribution of schools is reasonably satisfactory in the northern region but leaves much to be desired in the southern region. Benadir has 62 out of a total of 165 elementary schools». (S.D.R., *First Five Year Plan*, 1963-67). Nevertheless, there were outstanding Arabic schools run by the Egyptians notably in the Muduq region. Boarding schools were not popular in the southern region except one in the capital city of Mogadishu. «As Table 2 indicates, there was a striking reduction in number of students from primary to secondary during each period. This high drop-out rate was partly due to parental resistance to send their children away to boarding schools in Mogadishu...» (Bulhan 1980: 32). It wasn't until the trusteeship (1950 onwards) period that the education system in the southern region expanded, and a rapid improvement was made then. A number of professional schools were established. The Higher Institute of Economics and Law started in 1954 and the School of Politics and Administration began in 1950-51.

Table 2 - Number of students in Somalia during UN Trusteeship, 1952, 1959-60

Level of Education	1952		1959-1960	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary schools	13,557	986	29,739	6,123
Lower secondary	164	24	971	60
Higher secondary	331	—	427	53

Sources: Figures derived from a more detailed table in Castagno 1962.

However, the Italian neglect of education in the South contributed to the unpopularity of non-Islamic education. The following quotation points to this «...A document explained the fascist logic... We should reserve the strictly necessary

education for sons of chiefs and more important nobilities...» (Bulhan 1980: 31-32). In the event most of the pre-trusteeship schools that existed in the southern region were built under the British military administration (1941-50), and were scattered notably in Kismayo, Galkayo, Warder, Baydhabo, Hudur. However, the most popular school in Mogadishu was financed among others by a Somali businessman called Sharif Bana Aba, whom the school was named after until recently. Shortly, after independence the tension between scholars of different educational backgrounds was apparent, but this was tolerable, largely because the Somalis share the same culture and religion, and thus constitute a nation, despite the existence of the modern state. The objective of the civilian governments in the fields of education, therefore were to ensure the curriculum of the schools, particularly in the early years, was grounded in Somali culture and in an Islamic framework. They in no way, however, alienated other education systems of foreign languages that could enable Somali students or indeed the whole nation to communicate with the outside world. They thus welcomed foreign assistance and favoured objective, positive suggestions, or recommendations. As early as 1962 the UNESCO Education Planning Group recommended that English should be the medium of instruction from the intermediate stage onwards. «If this recommendation is accepted by the government, it would not call for any change in the northern region, but would mean the replacement of Italian by English as the medium of instruction in the southern region... there will be a difficult period of adjustment for persons educated under the Italian system with the Italian cultural background... The immediate difficulties would be very great but it may be in the long term interest of the country to adopt English, which is a 'language of wide currency in the world', as the medium of instruction...» (S.D.R., *First Five year plan*, 1963-67:92). However 2 years after independence there were 233 elementary schools with a total enrollment of 18,754 children of which 4,313 intermediate education. There were 31 intermediate schools including vocational schools, having 124 classes and 4,000 pupils of which 570 were girls. The schools had an annual intake of 1,600. There were also 4 secondary schools for general education having a total enrollment of 425 students including 21 girls.

Vocational Education

There were 7 intermediate schools providing vocational education in religion, home economics, agriculture, typing, book-keeping, elementary maritime engineering, woodwork, masonry, drawing, mechanics and electricity. These schools had altogether 36 classes with a total enrollment of 1,310 students including 242 girls. There were 7 technical schools at the secondary level too. There were 2 institutions for training elementary school teachers, one was the Teacher Training Centre at Amoud and the other one was the Scuola Magistrale at Mogadishu. There was only one institute for higher education, named the University Institute of Mogadishu. Students were sent overseas for higher education, scholarships were offered by various countries, notably, Italy, United States of America, Egypt, Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Sudan, Lebanon, Cyprus, West Germany and Australia. This was accepted by the Republic. Moreover, projects of expanding and improving the schools in the Republic were carried out by friendly countries, for instance the USA built among others the Teachers Training Institute in Afgoi,

the Soviet Union built and provided teachers for Banider Secondary School, Mogadishu. The EEC among others built «26 June» secondary school in Hargeysa and «1 July» boarding school in Hargeysa (a secondary School which had been planned to be an institute for higher education) and «15 May» secondary school in Mogadishu. The British Council was represented in the Somali Republic, First in Hargeysa and later in Mogadishu too, where it used to effectively assist schools like Sheikh, Amoud etc. The technical institute in Burao was built by the Federal Republic of West Germany. The Egyptians had schools that were under their tutelage both in the north and the south of the Republic. Subsequently the number of schools in the Republic grew and the standard of education improved.

The New Phase of the Education under the Military Rule

When the military government took over the power in October 1969, they described the basic philosophy of the education that existed as capitalistically orientated. They stressed that education was only available to a small privileged bourgeoisie group in the urban centres, therefore urged the eradication of such a system and the acquisition of a massive egalitarian education system. In 1972, the Somali language was written and chosen as the medium of instruction up to secondary stage, but was first introduced to the elementary schools. The government nationalised all the schools, and announced the closing down of foreign languages. That wasn't evenly implemented but measures were taken against some foreign languages. When the Ministry of Education first visited the schools in the North, initially the local teachers, inspectors and senior officers in the education were transferred from the region, then some were placed in other departments or expelled from the civil service if they didn't meet with the government's approval. Some of the British teachers in Sheikh didn't have their contracts renewed and were later replaced by 4 Soviet teachers. However, Somalization of the education system was the apparent goal. In 1974, the National Literacy Campaign was waged, nomadic education was established, adult schools were increased, schools were built under self-help schemes and finally the enrollment at student level rose and rapidly expanded.

Table 3 - Number of schools and students for 1969-70, 1973-74 and 1977-78

Schools and students	1969-70	1973-74	1977-78
Primary schools	292	407	1,085
Male Students	39,033	69,504	145,435
Female Students	9,576	27,399	83,109
Total	48,609	96,903	228,544
Secondary schools	26	42	48
Male Students	5,675	8,727	10,650
Female Students	737	1,773	3,528
Total	6,412	10,500	24,178

Source: Ministry of Education, Mogadishu, Somalia 1979

There was a remarkable increase in numbers at secondary level, specifically in the general secondary schools (GSS). In 1979/80 the total enrollment of these schools was 11,130 in 1982/83. It reached 51,927 in 1983/84, 14,000 in 1984/85, 16,000 and finally 1985/86 it became 13,000 (Somali Ministry of Education, 1984: 12,19).

Even though this increase took place there were, nevertheless, problems as the quotation makes clear: «The rapid expansion of an educational system, brings with it, its own particular stress and strains... difficulties in the distribution of school facilities... national wastage rates at the primary level (for instance)... in the last academic year some 38,667 students were either withdrawn from school or dropped out-of-school. And the highest rates of wastage, appear to have occurred largely in rural regions, such as Gedo, Lower Shabeli, Middle Juba, and the North West» (Ministry of Education, 1982-83: 19). The latter has the largest number of drop outs. The operation of its schools was somewhat complicated by authorities, for instance in 1984-85 academic year teaching was halted on a temporary basis. Furthermore, Government policy towards state schools in the North West and North East was both negative and ambiguous and became even more so but effectively after the 1977-78 war, to the detriment of the education system in these areas. For instance the Hargeysa Girls Intermediate and Secondary Boarding School, was first named Hawa and Aden School (co-education) and then changed to Youth Revolutionary Camp. «June 26» Secondary School was used as ward in 1977-78 and later into a refugee administration centre. Amoud Secondary School has been used as Ward in 1977 and later given to the Ministry of Agriculture. Dayaha Intermediate Boarding School is also used by the Ministry of Agriculture and is now a military camp. Burao Girls Intermediate and Elementary (Boarding School) has been changed into a boys boarding school. Co-education exists but girls must be day school students. In short, most previous secondary intermediate boarding school are used for multipurposes by other ministries other than that of the Education. Some new ones have opened in certain areas and are built on the basis of self-help schemes. Most pupils in the elementary schools have to bring their own chairs into the classrooms not to mention the shortages of text books and teachers. Consequently schools in the northern region have lost their popularity and students remain frustrated and disillusioned with the system. However, higher education has improved tremendously under the present government. In 1969, there was only the University Institute in Mogadishu that provided courses in law and economics. At the present the National University located in Mogadishu has about 11 different faculties: education/journalism, law, industrial chemistry, languages, medicine, economics, engineering, political sciences, agriculture, geology and veterinary science. Most of the faculties are run by Italians with the cooperation of Italian universities. The latter provide ex-patriate professors and technicians from Italy, as well as trained Somali post-graduates students in Italian universities. At the post-graduate level the Republic gets scholarships and fellowships from the outside world. For instance, in the year 1985-86 the British Overseas Development Agency provided £ 350,000 for technical cooperation training. The priorities of the programme were for training in support of UK Aid Projects in forestry, fisheries and tse-tse fly control and for the training of counterparts for Keil textbook production project. The programme is administered by the British Embassy in Mogadishu and by the Council in London. However the British Council used to offer scholarships to undergraduate students specifically the top stu-

dent from Sheikh, Amoud Secondary Schools and for further training to the teachers but that offer has been turned down by the Somali government. However at the request of the Somali government on key English language teaching (Keil), a programme has been in operation since 1980. Other countries that currently give training to Somali students are Egypt, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia (university) Doha, United Arab Emirates, USA, West Germany, Sweden, France.

Conclusion

Shortly after independence the system of education in the north and the south of the Republic remained different. The civilian governments that ruled the country in the '60s were calling for a uniformed system of education, but were in favour of English language as the medium of instruction from the intermediate stage onwards. There were not sufficient schools, but the standard of those that existed was by and large satisfactory and were numerically increasing. The strategic allocations of the boarding schools in the northern region was acute and subsequently improvements were made in both regions with the help of friendly countries. The state of the education in the Republic under the military rule is rather complicated. The Somali language was introduced as the medium of instruction. Thus the British system of education was uprooted from the north. National university was established and the Italian language has been contained. Enrollment has been expanded at the primary and secondary levels, therefore maximised the wastage of drop outs. Consequently, the quality of the education system was questioned and made those with better incomes seek education (for their children) overseas. Hence there is a new economic class distinction being mobilized in the Republic.

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Le Xeer Issa: Étude d'un contrat pastoral traditionnel

CALI M. IYE.

Djibout

Le Xeer Issa constitue une des «bizarreries» qui ont souvent étonné les observateurs étrangers chez ce peuple. On l'a souvent assimilé à un ensemble disparate de moeurs et coutumes pastorales. Les spécialistes de la question, dans leur habitude de n'accorder crédit et attention qu'aux codes et législations écrites ont rejeté le Xeer Issa dans la grande catégorie amalgamée des «Droits coutumiers des peuples sans Ecriture». Malgré les récentes remises en cause de cette «vérité», le critère permettant de tracer la frontière entre le Droit et la Coutume reste encore l'écriture.

Cette conception ethnocentriste ne résiste pas à la réalité des faits. Ce contrat social, dans tout le sens du terme, se distingue justement des autres. Systèmes coutumiers non seulement par la rigueur de sa structuration et la codification de ses lois, mais aussi par le rôle primordial qu'il joue dans les fondements de la «Democratie Pastorale» des Issas. Malgré son caractère oral le Xeer n'en est pas moins construit comme un Code établi avec précision et ressenti comme tel par ceux auxquels il est appliqué. On peut même dire que cette oralité, en rendant le Xeer transmissible et accessible à tous, renforce sa présence dans les esprits. En effet ce qui se transmet oralement de génération en génération, s'il survit aux tourbillons de l'histoire comme les catastrophes naturelles ou les dominations culturelles ou les exterminations tombe rarement dans des oreilles de sourds ou de distraits. Avec toute la capacité de mémorisation que développe l'oralité l'individu qui reçoit les lois du Xeer n'est pas prêt à les oublier.

C'est pourquoi la majorité des Pasteurs concernés par le Xeer connaissent ces lois et par conséquent leurs droits et devoirs, contrairement aux peuples à Ecriture qui sont souvent perdus dans les dédales de leurs propres lois écrites. En dépit donc de son oralité le Xeer Issa a fait l'objet d'une élaboration consciente, et d'une codification rigoureuse qui le distinguent des autres moeurs et coutumes de ce même peuple. Il se présente comme un corps de normes cohérent et rationnel qui forme un «système» au sein de la société pastorale. Il a son histoire, ses codes et sa doctrine. Ses différents éléments sont consignés, dans des formules énoncées dans un style particulier, et donnent lieu à un Jargon spécialisé. Sa partie doctrinale et morale constitue un ensemble de réflexions, de commentaires, de maximes et proverbes qui forment ce qu'on peut appeler la philosophie du Xeer. Ce code social et juridique a ses spécialistes et ses institutions. Comme tout système il possède sa propre logique et sa propre autonomie par rapport aux autres mais

le système du Xeer ne peut se concevoir en dehors de la société pastorale et tribale dans laquelle il est né.

Il embrasse tous les aspects de la vie du Pasteur sans pour autant conduire à une réglementation exagérée des faits et gestes de l'individu. Le Xeer Issa instaure un équilibre entre devoirs de la communauté et droits de l'individu assez particulier. Néanmoins les conditions de sa naissance et de l'environnement physique qui l'ont beaucoup marqué font du Xeer un code dont le premier but est de sauvegarder d'abord la cohésion du groupe. Si chaque contrat ou code social porte toujours le sceau de la société qui l'a produit, dans le cas du Xeer on peut dire que toute la société Issa, elle, porte le sceau du Xeer.

Celui-ci est à la base même de la confédération tribale des Issaq que nous étudierons plus loin.

Du point de vue ethimologique le terme de «Xeer» désigne en langue somali beaucoup de choses en même temps. Il joue le rôle d'un concept-caméleon, dire qu'il prend un sens particulier suivant le contexte dans lequel il est placé. Ethymologiquement le terme a un double sens.

— Xeer s'emploie d'abord comme un verbe. Il décrit l'action de se protéger contre quelque chose: par exemple faire barrage à une poussée des eaux, contenir la prolifération des fléaux de toutes sortes. Il décrit également l'action de délimiter un espace pour sa sécurité. Le nom «Xeero» par exemple désigne «l'enclos» où l'on barque les animaux pour les mettre à l'abri des bêtes sauvages.

— Xeer est aussi un nom qui signifie charpente ou plutôt la corde reliant les deux arceaux centraux qui soutiennent la maison somali qui est ronde. A l'origine du choix du mot Xeer il y a donc ces deux propriétés: protéger et rassembler. Ainsi le Xeer est le bien qui unit ceux qui l'ont adopté et les protège des autres. Sauvegarder et consolider le «Nous» pour mieux le situer par rapport à «Eux», tel est le double sens du terme Xeer.

Chez les Issas le Xeer est surtout employé pour désigner la Loi au sens premier du terme: celle qui les hommes ont érigée entre eux pour pouvoir vivre en communauté. Par conséquent il décrit tout ce qui découle de l'application de cette Loi; c'est-à-dire les diverses règles de droit préceptes et principes, les codes de conduite, bref les règles d'organisation sociale de la communauté.

Par extension le Xeer englobe tout ce qui se rapporte à la légalité sociale. Ce qui est juste par rapport à ce qui est injuste, la raison par opposition à l'émotion. On dit par exemple: «War Xeerka uu kaaga jooga» c'est-à-dire littéralement «il est plus prêt de la loi que toi», en d'autres termes il a plus raison que toi.

Le Xeer symbolise le droit dans la mesure où il délimite et précise les droits de chacun. On dit «Xeer umaad lahed» qui signifie «tu n'a pas le droit de...» D'ailleurs l'expression «Xeer diid» désigne le «Hors-la-loi» et par extension l'individu sans scrupule et de caractère asocial. La pratique sociale a même divinisé cette loi «Gardiid (Xeer) waa Alla diid» c'est-à-dire «qui refuse le Xeer refuse Dieu». Xeer est parfois synonyme de rectitude, de droiture, rejoignant par là le sens ethymologique du terme Droit en français.

«Waa wax Xeer ku dhisan» désigne ce qui est fait, construit avec sérieux, droiture.

A travers ces divers aspects et significations on voit que le Xeer est assimilé à un contrat social au sens où les philosophes occidentaux des siècles des lumières tels que Rousseau l'entendaient. C'est-à-dire un contrat qui organise la société en la fondant sur des règles de Droit et par lequel l'individu renonce à certaines

de ses libertés pour le bien de la volonté générale, bref de la communauté.

La spécificité du Xeer par rapport aux autres codes et contrats tribaux des autres somalis peut s'expliquer par les conditions particulières de sa naissance. Nous avons pu dater cette période en nous appuyant sur les généalogies d'un échantillon d'individus relatant dans leur arbre généalogique les noms prestigieux des fondateurs du Xeer. Malgré les déclarations des «Vieux Issas» qui repoussent l'origine du Xeer à la nuit des temps, nous avons trouvé qu'il a été élaboré entre il y a trois cents et trois cent cinquante ans. Ce qui correspond au XVI^e siècle de l'ère Chrétienne.

Or ce siècle constitue un tournant important dans l'Histoire de la Corne de l'Afrique. C'est un Siècle où se sont passés des bouleversements capitaux au niveau, ethnique, culturel social et économique, sans parler des transformations politiques: faillite de la conquête d'Abyssinie, déroute des armées musulmanes, déferlement des gallas dans le Nord de la Corne et éclatement d'épidémies meurtrières... tels furent les événements importants que connurent les populations de la Région.

Le Xeer Issa est née en cette période de troubles et de décadence, qui s'est traduite par la montée de l'insécurité dans les villes et l'effritement des codes, et de la législation qui regissaient les Etats musulmans de la côte... Les centres urbains furent désertés au profit des campagnes devenues plus sûres. Ce qui conduisit à une *retribalisation* des populations citadines. C'est à la suite de ces bouleversements que certains tribus somalis citées par les chroniqueurs disparurent et que d'autres jusqu'à là inconnues émergerent. C'est le cas justement de la famille des Dirs dont font partie les Issas avec les Issaqs, Gadaboursi et Biyamaals. Le Xeer Issa est un produit de cette retribalisation, ce qui justifie son souci constant de créer entre les membres qui l'ont contracté une solidarité exemplaire, et qui nous ramène au sens étymologique du terme Xeer.

Les différents aspects du Xeer

Le Xeer est donc le contrat social qui fonde la confédération des Issas et régit leur démocratie. Cette confédération comme son nom l'indique n'est pas seulement basée sur les liens de sang mais aussi sur des règles de droit. Elle regroupe donc:

— Trois groupes tribaux initiaux descendant du même ancêtre Issa qui a donné le nom à la confédération; ce sont les trois Issas ou «Sadexda Ciisa». Ils s'appellent Ceeleye, Hawla qaadé et Holle.

— Trois groupes tribaux alliés qui se sont affiliés à la confédération et s'appellent Wardiiq, Horoone et Uurweyne.

Le Xeer se divise grossomodo en trois grandes parties.

1) Le *Xeer en tant que Droit Penal* qui protège la vie de la personne physique, ses biens matériels, et définit les sanctions à prendre contre ceux qui enfreignent la loi.

Ce Droit Penal ne connaît pas ni la prison ni la sentence suprême (la peine de mort). Suivant leur nature, les délits et les crimes se répartissent en deux catégories:

— «Dhiig» ou sang qui englobe tous les délits et crimes qui ont rapport avec l'atteinte à la personne physique.

S'il y a meurtre c'est le «Dhagar» et on exige le «prix de sang» (100 chameaux pour le mâle, 50 chameaux pour la femelle).

S'il y a coups et blessure c'est le «Buulo». On exige les frais des soins et les dommages et intérêts.

Toutes ces peines sont rigoureusement condifiées et ne permettent aucune polemique.

— «Dhaqaaqil» ou beins, matériels qui se rapportés à tout ce qui est lié a l'usurpation et on à la détérioration des biens matériels d'autrui. Ici aussi des peines évaluées eu tête de setail saut prévues.

2) *Le Xeer en tant que constitution politique* qui definit les conditions du choix et de l'Intronisation de l'«Ogaas», le Roi spirituel des Issas, ainsi que ses attributions, son pouvoir. Il fixe également les relations politiques entre les différents tribus et clans qui forment la confédération. Il fixe entre autres la composition de «gudi» (Assemblée-tribunal) qui s'occupe des affaires courantes et du «gandé» (Conseil Constitutionnel) qui supervise le applications du xeer et contrôle la constitutionnalité des décisions des «Gudi».

Ces deux instances comprennent chacune 44 sages ou «hommes de loi» representants toutes les tribus et les clans des Issas.

3) *Le xeer en tant que code de conduites sociales* qui fixe le cadre ethique et philosophique dans lequel doit evoluer le Pasteur Issa.

Malgré ces trois différents aspects que prend le Xeer suivant le point de vue auquel l'on se place il possède cependant une cohésion d'ensemble qu'experiment les grands principes suivants.

Les principes fondamentaux du Xeer

Le Xeer Issa comme tout contrat social qui se respecte possède ses principes fondamentaux. Ce sont les piliers sur lesquelles repose la phisophie et l'essence même du Xeer. Une sorte de préambule rimé et rythmé de la «Democratie pastorale» Issa.

Ces principes étonnent par leur «modernité» et ont defini longtemps avant les constitutions européens qui servent de modèles au monde aujourd'hui. Certains notions devenues des evidences depuis.

1) *Le principe d'égalité*

«*Ciisa waa wadaa ciise, ninna nin caaro madheera*» (Tout les Issas sont égaux sans exception). Cest le premier principe, celui qui fonde l'égalité entre les Hommes.

Le fait de préciser dans la deuxième partie «*ninna nin caara madheera* » (ce qui veut dire littéralemen «... et aucun Issa ne peut pretendre dépasser les autres») demontre la volonté de ne pas s'arrêter à l'égalité formelle et d'atteindre l'égalité réelle totale. Cette insistance est étrange et traduit le désir de «nivelement à la base» des différences tribales devant le Xeer. Les Issas ont-ils voulu rompre avec un passé anarchique feodal où justement l'égalité était eclipsée au profit de la force et de la domination, ou bien est-ce pour clarifier lors de la création, de la confederation tribale Issa que tous les clans qui y font partie, même ceux qui s'y sont affiliés à la souche initiale des groupes agnatiques, étaient égales sans prévilège ou destinction d'ancienneté? Des recherches ultérieures pourront peut-être un jour dévoiler ce mystère.

2) Principe de l'inviolabilité de la loi

«*Xeerka Ciise waa geyd jerin ah*»

(Le Xeer Issa, c'est comme l'arbre nommé Jeerin)

Le principe ainsi imagé exprime l'inviolabilité de la loi du Xeer. En effet «Jee-rin» est un arbre de la brousse qui se caractérise par deux aspects:

Il est très bas de tronc et étalé sur une grande surface. Il est donc très difficile de passer en dessous ou de sauter par dessus, ce qui illustre bien l'idée qui nul ne peut passer outre la loi. Le Xeer doit s'appliquer de la même manière pour tout le monde.

3) Le principe du libre choix

«*Aebhay xogunbu iga abuurey, Aabahayna xeer bu ii dhigay*» (Dieu m'a créé à partir d'une semence et mon Ancêtre m'a donné le Xeer).

Ce principe est significatif à plus d'un titre. Les Issas ont voulu expliquer par là la coupure entre Nature et Culture. Où finit la nature et où commence la culture? Vieux débat philosophique qui a épuisé tant de penseurs et qui continue encore à diviser philosophes, biologistes et sociologues. Pour les pasteurs Issas Dieu donne la vie aux Hommes et ces derniers créent leurs propres lois. Par les chromosomes que contient le sperme et l'ovule nous sommes rattachés au règne de la nature, c'est à dire du «déjà acquis». Par la culture nous rentrons dans l'Humanité.

Contrairement aux civilisations bibliques qui affirment que c'est Dieu lui-même qui a fait descendre la Loi aux hommes par prophètes interposés, les Issas eux, reconnaissent que les lois leur viennent de leurs ancêtres. Cette manière de considérer les lois humaines implique une certaine idée du pouvoir dans la société. Aucun Roi ou Chef aussi puissant soit-il ne peut revendiquer par exemple un quelconque droit divin. Il n'est et ne peut être que ce que la culture humaine fera de lui, c'est à dire un pouvoir irremédiablement marqué par le temps et la volonté.

Aucune justification (si non la force) ne peut par exemple expliquer un pouvoir héréditaire. Nos Ancêtres nous ont transmis les lois mais, nous le verrons plus loin, ces lois ne sont pas sacrées et peuvent faire l'objet d'une modification si la communauté en a décidé ainsi. C'est pourquoi en cas de «dysfonctionnement» la responsabilité est partagée entre les contemporains et les ancêtres et qu'en aucun cas on n'accusera Dieu de les avoir imposées aux hommes. Le débat porte loin et nous révèle les préoccupations philosophiques des fondateurs du Xeer.

4) Principe fondant la Société de Droit Issa

«*Ciise xaraga iyo xeerba u isku dilaa.*

Ciise boqol ama buulo maahé, biili malahaa».

(Il arrive que les Issas se battent à tort ou à raison mais aucune rancune n'est permise si le xeer a réparé les délits).

Ici les fondateurs de Xeer reconnaissent que le conflit existe dans toute société aussi égalitaire et harmonieuse soit-elle. Il est au centre même de la société, d'où l'existence de la Loi. S'il y a eu meurtre, le prix du sang (*boqol*) est payé. S'il y a eu coups et blessures sur des personnes le dédommagement (*Buulo*) est exigé. Mais en aucun cas un dommage, un délit réparé ne doit engendrer et laisser subsister de la rancune et le sentiment de revanche.

Ceci prouve si besoin est que les Issas vivent dans une Société de Droit. La

loi est garante de l'intégrité physique de l'individu qui ne doit en aucun cas se faire justice lui-même. La loi de la jungle c'est à dire l'emploi de la force est abolie au sein de la confédération alors qu'elle existe dans les rapports avec les autres, ceux qui n'ont pas prêté serment au Xeer... Nous revenons à l'idée exprimée au début que le Xeer a fondé une société de Droit au sein de la «Barbarie» ambiante. Cette société est d'autant plus policée et régulée par des lois qu'elle entretient de rapports de force avec les Autres qui l'entourent.

Un guerrier Issa tire fierté et bravoure du nombre d'ennemis extérieurs à son groupe tués mais il sera rejeté et couvert de honte s'il attentait à la vie d'un autre Issa.

Ces «deux poids deux mesures» devant le crime ne peut s'expliquer que par les conditions particuliers dans lesquelles est né le Xeer.

5) Principe de la Primauté de la Communauté

«*Toll waa Tollané*».

(La communauté forme un tissu indechirable).

C'est tout la solidarité tribale dont nous avons déjà parlé qui est précisée ici. L'hostilité du pays Issa et celle des tribus avoisinantes justifieraient ce «resserrement des rangs» et le besoin d'une telle conscience tribale. Nous verrons que dans les villes cette conscience se pervertira en tribalisme. Cette solidarité passe d'abord par la sauvegarde de la communauté contre les intérêts contradictoires des individus. La défense du groupe passe avant tout et chez les Issas l'expression de l'individualité est somme toute réglementée.

6) Principe de l'hospitalité

«*Ciise marti mahay, magan malahaa*».

(Les Issas donnent l'hospitalité à l'Étranger mais ne l'acceptent jamais comme protégé).

Comment interpréter cet article? Les Issas donnent volontiers l'hospitalité. C'est même une obligation que le Xeer a codifié. Un Issa peut être accusé de non secours à personne en quête d'hospitalité. Mais en aucun cas cet hospitalité ne doit déboucher sur l'établissement de relation protecteur/protégé (*magan*). Le Xeer interdit donc que les Issas acceptent ou imposent des liens vassalité avec d'autres clans. Ils ne sont tenus par des engagements qu' envers ceux de leurs propre confédération. Ils refusent par exemple que des tribus faibles ou a la recherche de protection d'un groupe plus fort vivent parmi eux. Ceci nous rappelle le sens étymologique du Xeer même. Son rôle est justement d'unir les tribus membres de la confédération et de les distinguer des autres. Ce principe traduit la spécificité des peuples Issas par rapport aux autres Somalis. En effet chez ces derniers il arrive que des clans numériquement ou militairement forts prennent sous leur protection d'autres clans en échange de services. Il se crée alors un rapport de vassalité qui maintient les plus faibles dans un état de servitude.

Ce rapport est responsable de l'émergence au sein de certains groupes Somalis de «castres inférieures» «comme les Toumals (forgerons) ou Midgan (chasseurs).

7) Principe fondant le Communalisme Issa

«*Ciise sadexbaa u dhaxah: Dhulka, Martida iyo ogaaska*».

[Les Issas possèdent en commun la Terre (les pâturages) l'Hôte (hospitalité) et l'Ogaas (leur chef spirituel)].

Dans le Xeer chacun a le droit d'utiliser la Terre qui ne peut appartenir à personne. Il interdit l'appropriation individuelle de «ce qui est déjà donné à tous par la Nature», c'est à dire les pâturages et l'eau. Contrairement à d'autres peuples pasteurs comme les Afars, par exemple, les Issas ne connaissent pas la distribution des pâturages selon des critères politiques ou tribales. Ils pratiquent la règle du «premier venu»: le campement qui s'est installé le premier à un endroit a la priorité sur les autres. Quant au devoir d'hospitalité, là également il y a partage. Tout campement est sommé d'accueillir l'hôte de passage. Il ne peut en aucun cas être revendiqué par ceux de sa tribu qui voudraient le recevoir s'il est déjà invité par d'autres. Dans la réalité le voyageur est toujours pris en charge par le premier campement qu'il rencontre et qui ne peut d'ailleurs lui refuser l'hospitalité.

Les Issas ont enfin en commun l'Ogaas, leur roi.

On peut déjà dire que l'Ogaas, choisi très jeune par les vieux sages pour ses «pouvoirs sur-naturels», n'appartient plus à sa tribu une fois intronisé. Tous les autres tribus se cotisent et payent son prix du san à sa famille. Désormais il est l'Ogaas de tous les Issas pour qu'il devient un chef spirituel.

Ainsi le peuple Issa est-il régi par un communalisme fondamental puisque les moyens de subsistance et de reproduction (les pâturages et l'eau), le pouvoir politique (l'Ogaas) et les devoirs sociaux (l'hospitalité) sont partagés par tous les membres de la société nomade sans privilèges de classe et de clan. Ce communalisme n'est pas totalitaire dans la mesure où le xeer permet largement à chaque tribu, à chaque famille et à chaque individu de se déplacer, de s'associer et s'exprimer librement et selon son gré...

8) Principe fondant la Primauté de la Loi

«Xeer waa kab lagu socdo»

(Le xeer est le support de la société).

La définition est lapidaire mais limpide. Le xeer fonde la société Issa et la coupe du règne naturel. C'est la rupture avec la loi de la jungle. Dans les termes en Somali il y a une allusion à cette idée que le Xeer dirige les conduites sociales. Le mot «kab» désigne à la fois une chaussure, un support, et un véhicule. Le xeer est la chaussure qui permet à l'être social de marcher, d'avancer dans le chemin semé d'épines qui mène aux rapports sociaux.

Chez les pasteurs Issas les chaussures ne sont pas un luxe. Dans un environnement où poussent toutes les variétés d'acacias, ces arbres à grosses et douloureuses épines, les sandalettes en peau de dromadaire font partie des choses de première nécessité. C'est en ce sens qu'il faut saisir l'importance que les Issas accordent au xeer en le comparant à des chaussures.

D'ailleurs si le xeer est une chaussure (*kab*) ses diverses lois et articles constituent les lacets ou plutôt les lanières (*dhagaley*) qui servent à attacher.

Il est à remarquer que dans l'expression française de «conduite sociale» on retrouve également cette idée que les lois servent à se diriger et à marcher dans la société. Car la traduction littéralement de l'expression «*xeer waa kab lagu socdo*» donne ceci: le xeer est comme la chaussure qui conduit (l'individu).

Comme on l'a vu le *xeer* touche à tous les aspects de la vie des Issas. Il régle leur société pastorale; comme une autorité supérieure et invisible il veille à l'harmonie sociale.

Il est à la base même de cette fameuse «*democratie pastorale*» que caractérise les rapports politiques des Issas.

Il a pu se perpétuer de génération en génération sans trop de changement grâce à sa structure poétisée. En effet tous les termes du *xeer* sont construits selon les mêmes règles que la Poésie somalienne (Maanso), ce qui facilite leur rétention et leur transmission de bouche à oreille. Ce contrat social est encore largement utilisé en brousse et même en ville où il comble les lacunes et les lenteurs de la justice moderne. Il constitue en tout cas un sujet d'études intéressant pour tous les chercheurs versés dans les études somaliennes.

La transcription des termes somalis adaptée dans cet article est celle mise au point par la Somalie en 1972. Sauf pour le terme Issa qui devait s'écrire «*Ciisse*» mais que nous avons préféré garder comme tel à cause de certaines habitudes à Djibouti.

Fonti e caratteri della proprietà somala

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Il suolo dalla proprietà tradizionale alla proprietà concessionaria¹

Nel diritto somalo ancestrale, il diritto sul suolo, finalizzato all'esercizio della pastorizia o dell'agricoltura, aveva la sua prima fonte nell'acquisto del dominio da parte dell'intero gruppo.

Il terreno del gruppo era indivisibile, finché non si suddividesse il gruppo stesso.

Il gruppo poteva assegnare singole porzioni del territorio a sottogruppi, o ai singoli capofamiglia; questi ultimi acquistavano un diritto individuale affetto soltanto da qualche limite (divieto di alienare fuori del gruppo).²

Se la terra abbondava, in luogo dell'assegnazione si poteva anche trovare la diretta occupazione di una particella, a scopo agricolo. Questa edificazione di diritti individuali dominava in campo agricolo, mentre il pascolo, il legnatico, ecc., si esercitavano su aree collettive. Così rimanevano di proprietà collettiva la riserva accantonata per bisogni futuri, la terra che doveva servire per l'abbeverata, ecc.

Nella Somalia urbanizzata, e più sensibile alla *shariica*, la proprietà aveva la solita forma individuale.

L'Islam poté influire sulla proprietà diffondendo l'idea del *waqaf* (che comporta sacralizzazione permanente della cosa, insofferenza di ogni concorrente potere di terzi, inalienabilità dei beni).

Un altro portato islamico è l'assegnazione di aree alla *jamiica*, cioè alla confraternita.

Le amministrazioni straniere non mancarono di legiferare in Somalia; esse vollero assumere il controllo della circolazione della proprietà fondiaria — quale strumento tipico del dinamismo, e dello sfruttamento, coloniali.

L'autorità britannica ha così lasciato alla Somalia un'ordinanza sulla coltivazione e sull'uso della terra, emendata a più riprese,³ un'ordinanza sull'espropria-

¹ Il tema ha attirato più di ogni altro l'attenzione degli studiosi. Si segnalano, fra le opere dedicate al diritto vigente, Mohamed Hassan Muddei (1979); Guadagni (1981).

² Alcuni studiosi o pratici italiani furono tratti a credere che la proprietà somala tradizionale fosse interamente comunitaria: così Ciamarra (1921); De Martino (1921). L'affermazione contraria, che è quella esatta, si trova in Cucinotta (1921); Scarpa (1923: 281 e sgg.); e soprattutto Colucci (1924).

³ Si veda nella *Revised Edition of the laws of Somaliland protectorate (Rev. Ed.)* (1950 II, cap. 119); seguono le Ord. 6 e 8 del 1956 (sup. 2 del 1956, p. 27 e p. 30), e l'Ord. 20 del 1957 (sup. 2 del 1957, p. 57).

zione,⁴ un'ordinanza in materia urbanistica,⁵ oltre ad una vasta legge, a sapore tecnico, sul trasferimento della proprietà.⁶

Il regime fondiario della Somalia del Sud è passato attraverso varie fasi (Ziliotto 1939; Cucinotta 1938). La legge (italiana) 5 aprile 1980, n. 161, sull'ordinamento della Somalia fissava due principi: essa prevedeva l'inventario di tutte le terre su cui non gravasse un'occupazione attuale, tale da poter costituire un diritto secondo le consuetudini, e le poneva in libera disponibilità dello Stato; e assegnava alla pubblica amministrazione il potere di alienare o dare in concessione onerosa o gratuita, perpetua, o temporanea, o in affitto al fine di metterli in valore, gli immobili in proprietà pubblica.

I diritti dei privati, riconosciuti sulle terre, erano dunque i seguenti: a) i diritti creati ai sensi della legge stessa; b) i diritti reali comunemente riconosciuti efficaci nella zona costiera e in specie nei centri abitati; c) i diritti individuali e di gruppo sui terreni effettivamente coltivati o utilizzati con carattere permanente da singoli o da comunità.

Le concessioni potevano essere accordate per scopo agricolo (con trasferimento della proprietà, o con facoltà di riscatto a favore del concessionario), ovvero per scopo di pastorizia, o di raccolta di prodotti spontanei del suolo (a titolo temporaneo).

Fra il 1911 e il 1929 si aggiunsero alla legge in esame vari decreti, rivolti a questo e quel dettaglio.

Nel 1926 le autorità italiane introdussero un regime più elaborato per l'Eritrea. Nel 1938 estesero tale sistema alla Somalia.⁷

Il nuovo sistema distingueva varie figure di concessione.

a) Il concessionario agricolo doveva dirigere personalmente l'azienda, metterla in funzione, pagare un canone; non poteva alienarla e poteva, ma solo dopo un certo tempo, riscattare la proprietà.

b) La concessione a scopo edilizio veniva rilasciata in proprietà a titolo oneroso, con l'obbligo di edificare.

c) La concessione a scopo industriale, volta alla raccolta e utilizzazione di prodotti spontanei del suolo, assegnava al concessionario un diritto limitato temporaneo.

d) La concessione mineraria aveva ad oggetto il diritto temporaneo di coltivare la miniera.

e) Anche la grande pesca formava oggetto di concessione.

Dopo l'indipendenza, la costituzione del 1960 non alterava l'ordinamento della proprietà.

In seguito, il legislatore ordinario, prese a progettare una nazionalizzazione generale dei suoli, da distribuirsi mediante un sistema di concessioni (Guadagni, 1981: 238 sgg.); il progetto non ebbe seguito.⁸

⁴ Cfr. *Rev. Ed.*, II, cap. 81, p. 727.

⁵ È la *Town Planning Ordinance*, in *Rev. Ed.*, II, cap. 83, p. 735.

⁶ Si tratta dell'*Indian Transfer of Property Act* del 1882, che nel 1960 fu esteso al Somaliland (Som. Order in C. 1960, sup. 1 del 1960, p. 58).

⁷ R.D. 269 del 7 feb. 1926 per l'Eritrea, esteso alla Somalia con R.D. 380 del 17 mar. 1938. Sul regime fondiario eritreo la letteratura è alquanto ampia. Cfr. fra gli altri Manetti (1937); Sertori Salis (1932).

⁸ Tuttavia, cfr. L. 30 gen. 1967 n. 4 in B.U. *Bollettino Ufficiale* 1967, sup. 1 al n. 2 p. 3.

Il suolo, e l'avvento della proprietà dello Stato

Sull'assetto della proprietà dei suoli doveva incidere, con tutto il suo peso, la rivoluzione somala.

La lotta contro l'arretratezza e il tribalismo portava il legislatore a prendere posizione contro la proprietà collettiva, base materiale dei rapporti tribali e freno al dinamismo economico.

Il compito di rivoluzionare la proprietà agropastorale veniva affidato alla legge di protezione sociale.⁹

L'art. 3 della legge porta come rubrica «Abolizione dei diritti tribali nei riguardi delle risorse idriche e del suolo», e dispone come segue:

— Avoca allo Stato la proprietà di tutte le risorse che non appartenessero ad enti pubblici o ad altre persone fisiche o giuridiche (gruppi gentilizi grossi e piccoli, comunità di ogni genere).

— Esclude per il futuro ogni modo di acquisto diverso dalla concessione, e condanna all'inefficienza gli acquisti passati, se non siano legittimati mediante il riconoscimento dello Stato.

Allorché la rivoluzione somala, con la 2ª carta della rivoluzione, acquistò il carattere socialista, vennero nazionalizzate le attività assicurative, bancarie, elettrica, la distribuzione del petrolio, un larga parte del commercio estero, e qualche settore del commercio interno; da allora si sono moltiplicati gli enti di Stato destinati a produrre beni industriali di varia natura.¹⁰

Per effetto di questa duplice evoluzione, che incideva sulla proprietà agropastorale, e su quella industriale, le due forme più importanti della proprietà erano ormai, in Somalia, *stando alla legge scritta*, la proprietà fondiaria concessionaria (agropastorale, urbana, e mineraria) e la proprietà dei mezzi di produzione industriali, appartenenti per lo più a imprese di Stato. La situazione in esame si è poi sviluppata in tre direzioni.

Da un lato, nuove norme enfatizzano il potere statale generale sulla terra. In secondo luogo, le norme che socializzano i diritti fondiari non hanno dato luogo a situazioni di fatto possessorie e gestorie omologhe. In terzo luogo, una certa recente espansione dell'economia privata ha potuto rinsaldare i diritti privati corrispondenti.

In questa evoluzione dei diritti sulla terra non ha giocato nessun ruolo il codice civile adottato nel 1973. Esso ignora la concessione, la proprietà pubblica, l'assegnazione di mezzi all'impresa di Stato, ed esaurisce la sua funzione nel moltiplicare le norme di dettaglio sull'acquisto e sul trasferimento della proprietà, sui rapporti di vicinato, sul possesso, sui diritti reali limitati, sulla pubblicità immobiliare.

Nel 1973, entrato in vigore il codice civile, il legislatore somalo, deciso a sistemare la materia della proprietà immobiliare, programmò due leggi, rivolte rispettivamente ai terreni per l'edilizia, e ai terreni agricoli.

⁹ La legge di cui stiamo per parlare ha un contenuto pienamente corrispondente ai fini della rivoluzione. Peraltro, norme analoghe erano già state progettate nel periodo parlamentare (Guadagni 1981: 233 e sgg.). È stato rilevato che in Africa, indipendentemente dagli ordinamenti politici, i diritti consuetudinari sogliono venir soppressi perché considerati pregiudizievole ad una valorizzazione razionale del suolo: Verdier 1980: 307 e sgg. (l'attenzione ivi è rivolta al Senegal, al Cameroun e al Togo).

¹⁰ Si vedano l'elenco e l'analisi di tutte queste misure in Sacco (1985, p. 72 ss.).

Di esse la prima, promulgata nel '73¹¹ proclama che tutti i terreni siti nella Repubblica, siano essi occupati o meno, sono di proprietà dello Stato (art. 7).

La Legge, nel capitolo III, fissa le regole applicabili alla proprietà urbana. Il Ministro dei lavori pubblici rilascia, a titolo oneroso, concessioni perpetue a pubbliche amministrazioni, ed enti autonomi, a cooperative, a privati.

Le opere spettano in proprietà al concessionario. Ogni commercio speculativo è interdetto.

Poco dopo, nel 1975, entrava in vigore la legge sui terreni agricoli.¹²

Esso ribadisce l'appartenenza allo Stato di tutte le terre agricole, salva la concessione a cooperative, aziende di Stato o enti autonomi o amministrazioni locali, coltivatori privati o società.

La concessione è temporanea (50 anni prorogabili) per i privati, perpetua per gli enti. Non è cedibile tra vivi, ma cade in successione per causa di morte. Le cooperative agricole appaiono senza dubbio il soggetto privilegiato del meccanismo concessionario.

È appare logico, a questo punto che la Costituzione dal 1979, con l'art. 42, elevi di rango il principio della statalizzazione del suolo: «La terra, le risorse naturali marine e terrestri sono di proprietà dello Stato».¹³

Questa proprietà, peraltro, ha due caratteristiche.

In primo luogo essa convive con il diritto del concessionario; la situazione giuridica di quest'ultimo personaggio non ha nome; il codice civile la ignora, le leggi speciali non raccontano come essa si chiami.

La lunga durata, quando non la perpetuità, della concessione, implicano un alto grado di indipendenza e autoresponsabilità del concessionario, e ciò si riflette, verosimilmente, nel regime della difesa del suo diritto, cui pertanto deve corrispondere una azione esperibile erga omnes. Dal punto di vista del contenuto, il diritto variabile in ragione del soggetto (pubblico, cooperativistico o privato), del capitolare, della destinazione, è comunque più esteso di ogni diritto (diverso dalla proprietà) regolato dal codice civile, ed è paragonabile sotto certi aspetti al diritto di superficie regolato (sia pure in sordina, e senza farne il nome) dall'art. 732 del cod. civ., e all'enfiteusi. Il diritto concessionario sulle costruzioni è chiamato «proprietà» dall'art. 16 della legge del 1973. Gli altri diritti immobiliari del concessionario non hanno natura molto diversa da questa «proprietà» limitata e minore. Tocca al giurista somalo dare loro un nome, che potrà poi tradursi, in italiano, con proprietà utilista, o con enfiteusi, o con un altro termine analogo.

Giova ora introdurre un rilievo, che incide sui rapporti fra programma e situazione reale, o, se si vuole, fra diritto scritto e non scritto, fra diritto dello Stato e diritto sommerso.

L'art. 7 del 1973, la legge del 1975, l'art. 42 della Costituzione, enunziano piuttosto un programma in stato di avanzata attuazione, che non un bilancio consuntivo. Lo Stato ha assunto i suoi compiti di proprietario e concedente per quan-

¹¹ L. 12 set. 1973, n. 41, in B.U., sup. n. 1 al n. 10, del 20 ott. 1973. Si legge in Guadagni, op. cit., in appendice.

¹² Sh. 21 ott. 1975, n. 73, in F.R., (= *Faafinta Rasmiga*) L. 3 R. 11, del 23 nov. 1975. La data di adozione della legge (sesto anniversario della Rivoluzione) le assicura una speciale solennità. Si legge in Hassan Scek Ibrahim, 1978: 21, 591 (in somalo).

¹³ Ovunque, in Africa, il diritto risente del fatto che la terra è concepita come il «bene della Nazione» (Verdier, op. loc. ult. cit.).

to riguarda i terreni edificabili e agricoli. Ma la pastorizia si svolge tuttora in un quadro che poco è mutato, nonostante le proclamazioni che si sono succedute dalla legge di protezione sociale in poi.¹⁴

Nel campo pastorale, lo Stato promuove una attenta e dinamica gestione delle risorse idriche, la sedentarizzazione dei nomadi, il movimento cooperativistico. Ma per ora, non gestisce. La sua proprietà è potenziale.

Le norme residue concernenti i diritti sulle cose

Il codice civile somalo dedica sette articoli alle cose (artt. 81-87), e ben duecentocinquanta due articoli (artt. 681-911, poi artt. 938-958) ai diritti reali.

I duecentocinquanta nove articoli di cui parliamo sono lacunosissimi, perché non regolano né il diritto concessionario urbano e agricolo, né le moderne figure del condominio degli edifici e della multiproprietà, né il fenomeno della bonifica nelle sue varie forme, né la proprietà dell'impresa pubblica — e accennano in modo troppo rapido alla proprietà superficaria.

Nello stesso tempo, sono inutilmente prolissi nei confronti di molti fenomeni che in Somalia hanno limitata importanza. I dettagli del diritto di proprietà, regolati dal codice civile, sono inapplicabili alla proprietà immobiliare dello Stato: infatti lo Stato, proprietario perpetuo di tutti i terreni, non acquista la proprietà nei modi scritti nel codice, non possiede ai sensi del codice, non reclama e non subisce i diritti di vicinato su cui tanto si dilungano gli artt. 683-697 del codice.

Questa circostanza però non distrugge l'importanza delle norme in esame, se si ammette il concessionario, nella sua veste di proprietario superficario (su cui cfr. l'art. 682, n. 3, nonché l'art. 732 del codice), e, in ogni caso, nella sua veste di titolare di un diritto indipendente, il cui contenuto si modella sul contenuto della proprietà, con relative pretese e relativi obblighi, si giova delle norme sul vicinato, sul possesso, sull'accessione, e così via.

Con l'art. 742 il codice enuncia il principio consensualistico, in virtù del quale la proprietà circola, tra vivi, per effetto del contratto, salvo però — in materia immobiliare — il differimento degli effetti nei confronti dei terzi fino al momento dell'avvenuta pubblicazione dell'atto (art. 744); e salvo l'impatto, in questa materia, della regola «possesso di cosa mobile vale titolo», sancita nell'art. 783.

Gli artt. 745 e ss. fanno luogo, nel diritto somalo, alla prelazione «Shufca». Tale istituto, di genesi sciaraitica, assicura al comproprietario immobiliare un retratto nell'ipotesi di alienazione di quota da parte di un altro comproprietario (si veda un istituto simile nell'art. 706, dettato in materia mobiliare).

La pubblicità immobiliare svolge dunque un ruolo in Somalia.

Il codice si diffonde sulle regole relative alle trascrizioni e alle iscrizioni (artt. 938 e ss.), prevedendo la tenuta di registri immobiliari, affidati ad un apposito ufficio istituito presso ogni Corte d'Appello, e retto da un cancelliere. Queste regole vengono a generalizzare l'obbligo di far eseguire ad ogni negozio immobiliare una procedura di pubblicazione.

La legge del 1973 sulle concessioni urbane è compatibile con l'attuazione di

¹⁴ Infatti Sh. 4 feb. 1979, n. 3 in F.R., L. 1.R.2, del 25 feb. 1979 parla della pastorizia, ma senza regolare la proprietà.

questo impianto pubblicitario. Meno compatibile è invece la legge del 1975 sulle concessioni agrarie: poiché il fondo rustico è inalienabile, non si vede a cosa serva la pubblicità civilistica; mentre, ad ogni fine amministrativo e di pubblica notizia, appare adeguato il «registro delle terre agricole», previsto dalla legge in esame per annotarvi tutte le concessioni e le variazioni che esse subiscono (Guadagni 1981; 301).¹⁵

Prima di chiudere il tema, bisogna segnalare che il codice civile somalo non dice come la proprietà sia difesa. Il silenzio del Code Napoléon si perpetua nella sua derivazione somala (qualche cenno è offerto, invece, in tema di azioni possessorie, perché qui il modello si trova fuori dal Code Napoléon).¹⁶

Il codice non è la sede adatta per menzionare tutti i limiti che ineriscono al potere di disposizione del proprietario. Questi fenomeni hanno bisogno di una normativa soggetta a frequenti mutamenti; ad essi perciò sono più confacenti le leggi speciali.

Il legislatore rivoluzionario è intervenuto a più riprese per vincolare i prezzi dei generi alimentari e più latamente dei prodotti agricoli, o per creare obbligazioni di conferimento di vari prodotti ad ammassi.

Vanno ricordati in particolare i vincoli che colpiscono il mercato delle locazioni urbane.¹⁷

Le linee essenziali della proprietà somala

La proprietà somala si presenta ripartita.

Esiste, e dev'essere menzionata per prima, una proprietà rivoluzionaria. Essa è la proprietà dello Stato sui suoli. Lo Stato non è destinato a possedere direttamente i suoli, perché li gestisce mediante concessioni, e con ciò se ne sveste. Questa proprietà dello Stato ha un carattere eminente.

Non esiste, invece, una proprietà statale dei mezzi di produzione industriale (o, ancor meno, agricoli), se non episodicamente. I mezzi di produzione, se nazionalizzati, appartengono in piena proprietà all'ente di Stato destinato ad utilizzarli.¹⁸

La seconda forma di proprietà è quella astrattamente prevista dal codice. In essa rientrano la proprietà mobiliare e la proprietà immobiliare superficiaria, compreso (secondo noi) il diritto dei soggetti (impresa di Stato, cooperativa, o privato) concessionarii del suolo — diritto che ci pare essere una proprietà utile, sottordinata a quella di Stato.

La terza eventuale forma di proprietà è tradizionale: consuetudinaria, o sciaraitica. La proprietà delle terre a destinazione pastorale, se non fondata su una concessione, è certo in contrasto con la lettera della legge; ma sopravvive, nei

¹⁵ La conclusione sarebbe più radicale se si ritenesse che il diritto del concessionario non rientri nei diritti capaci di pubblicità a mezzo dei registri immobiliari.

¹⁶ Il tema è trattato in Sacco 1985: 187 e sgg.

¹⁷ Legge sul controllo dei fitti, 27 nov. 1973, n. 44 in B.U., sup. 1 a n. 12 del 12 dic. 1973 (si veda Hassan Scek Ibrahim 1978, app. 24: 597), modificata da Sh. 2 mag. 1974 n. 13, in F.R., l. 1 R.5, del 15 mag. 1974. 1981.

¹⁸ Ciò segna una differenza rispetto al modello socialista europeo, e un elemento comune con altri modelli africani. Si veda Ramarolanto-Ratia 1984: 541 e sgg.

limiti entro cui l'applicazione della legge di nazionalizzazione delle terre viene tacitamente rinviata.

Il diritto somalo scritto non consente più nemmeno alla *jamiica* o al *waqaf* di aver diritti sul suolo, non fondati su una concessione. È da esaminare, peraltro, se non esistano tuttora proprietà speciali, spettanti alla *jamiica* o al *waqaf*, sottratte a questa o quella disposizione civilistica. La legge del 1973 ha dotato lo Stato di poteri tutori e anche gestori sui beni *waqaf*, ma non ha certo negato né trasformato su tutti i punti la priorità di questi beni; e sarebbe forse da esaminare se quella legge e il codice civile non abbiano implicitamente mantenuto la soggezione di quella proprietà alla regola islamica.

Le suddivisioni del diritto somalo e il diritto di proprietà

In Somalia esiste una partizione di fondo di tutto il diritto; essa si riafferma nel campo del merito, della procedura, della distribuzione delle competenze, e si ricollega anche all'origine storico-geografica e culturale della norma.

Questa partizione fondamentale pone da una parte le norme a sfondo liberale universalmente collaudate, portate in Somalia dalla circolazione di modelli, quale si è verificata, con ritmo sempre crescente, negli ultimi secoli; e da un'altra parte le norme dettate dall'ideologia e dalla politica somala, con la sua tensione verso l'unità e la sicurezza del paese, e con la conseguente scelta verso l'unità del potere, e la concentrazione delle competenze nelle mani di chi ha le responsabilità al vertice dello Stato.

Il diritto che possiamo chiamare «comune», perché meno caratterizzato nei contenuti, e perché comune a tutte o quasi tutte le legislazioni del mondo, viene dalle rivoluzioni liberali, è elogiato dalla Dichiarazione dei diritti dell'uomo; esso risale al pensiero liberale alle dottrine del diritto naturale e a quelle garantistiche. Esso ha figliato una scienza giuridica «apolitica»; cioè una dottrina che considera i valori giuridici come autonomi rispetto a quelli politici; e aspira a rimanere uguale attraverso i cambiamenti politici. La Somalia accetta in larga misura queste concezioni. I suoi codici civili, di procedura civile, marittimo, del lavoro, penale, e di procedura penale sono orientati in questo modo. Il codice dello statuto personale non contraddice a questi connotati. Una parte della costituzione si muove in questa logica. I modelli relativi appartengono alla Somalia in questo paese islamico, o le sono giunti dal contatto con l'Italia, con l'Inghilterra, con l'Egitto. La formazione del giurista somalo avviene in modo che lo spirito di questi modelli viene opportunamente assimilato e trasmesso alle nuove generazioni.

Il diritto di proprietà regolata da un codice a modello egiziano (e, mediamente, francese), ma non senza qualche inserimento di origine sciaraitica, appartiene a questo diritto comune.

Contrapposto al diritto comune, troviamo un diritto rivoluzionario. Il diritto rivoluzionario di rottura, provvisorio, ha fatto posto a soluzioni anch'esse rivoluzionarie ma definitive, razionalizzate, destinate a durare. Essi si muovono nella duplice direzione dell'unità del popolo e del dinamismo economico. L'una e l'altro esigono mutazioni culturali, concentrazione del potere politico, attribuzione allo Stato di larghe competenze economiche.

Per la parte economica si è provveduto nazionalizzando, rafforzando il regime concessionario, e con altri interventi. Due fonti disparate e cioè la pratica colonia-

le e la ideologia socialista hanno offerto gli schemi giuridici opportuni.

Ma la ragione d'essere dell'intervento statale nell'economia somala si trova essenzialmente nella vocazione alla unità nella gestione del paese, e nella tensione verso il dinamismo economico.

Sulla proprietà concessionaria e sulle pubbliche imprese ha la penultima parola la Corte per la sicurezza nazionale — cioè il giudice di nomina presidenziale — e ha l'ultima parola il Capo dello Stato.

I modelli socialisti europei, quelli preliberali, tratti dalla monarchia assoluta, la difesa del potere quale fu organizzata, proprio in Africa, negli apparati coloniali, possono offrire pretesti per comparazioni erudite ma antistoriche. Il diritto rivoluzionario somalo procede su un canale culturale e storico ben individuato: sul canale del diritto africano successivo all'indipendenza. Negli interstizi del diritto comune vive, in Somalia, il diritto tradizionale. Esso non crea una terza alternativa ulteriore rispetto al diritto comune (conquista del pensiero umano a livello internazionale) e al diritto politico-rivoluzionario (che esprime l'unità indivisibile del popolo, e l'emancipazione del tribalismo). Integra, a seconda dei casi, l'uno o l'altro: mediante diretta applicazione della norma (contratti pastorali), o suggerendo al legislatore (in ipotesi, al giudice) modelli di soluzioni — ad es., il frequente ricorso ai guddi che intermedia e concilia i conflitti privati.

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Xigsiisan e Dumaal

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È difficilissimo descrivere gli istituti del diritto consuetudinario somalo con termini tratti dal vocabolario occidentale. Cercare di ritrovarvi le categorie e d'impiegare i metodi del diritto occidentale conduce fatalmente ad una totale deformazione dei concetti consuetudinari. I rapporti di parentela sono concepiti diversamente che non dagli occidentali; la dote del diritto consuetudinario somalo non ha niente a che vedere con la dote musulmana e meno ancora con quella romana. Perciò non ho tradotto i termini *xigsiisan* e *dumaal*, perché, se tradotti, avrebbero perso il loro vero significato.

Nessuno scritto di origine indigena permette d'orientarsi nel dedalo delle consuetudini e di ricavarne principi. In Somalia la consuetudine è rimasta orale. Perciò non mi è stato possibile lavorare su materiale bibliografico né su materiale scritto. La mia ricerca si basa solamente su interviste con diverse persone di diverse regioni della Somalia.

Il diritto consuetudinario somalo è ricco d'istituti e di figure che disciplinano la vita matrimoniale ed il matrimonio in senso stretto.

Lo statuto personale disciplina le materie concernenti il matrimonio, il divorzio, il mantenimento, la tutela e la cura della prole, la procura e la successione ereditaria. Lo statuto personale attinge le sue fonti anche dalla *sharica*.

Nel matrimonio ha inoltre grande importanza la natura della consuetudine. Lo *xigsiisan* e il *dumal* rientrano nella sfera di competenza della consuetudine, in quanto istituti tipici.

Si tratta di istituti affini, poiché entrambi disciplinano il matrimonio dopo la vedovanza con un consanguineo del coniuge defunto. Si ha *xigsiisan* quando muore la moglie e il vedovo sposa una consanguinea della moglie defunta. Invece, si ha *dumal*, quando muore il marito e la vedova sposa un consanguineo del marito defunto.

Xigsiisan

1. Nozione

Originariamente il termine *xigsiisan* rientra nella terminologia consuetudinaria nomadica. È una parola composta da *xig* che vuol dire «successivo» e *siismo* che vuol dire «donare».

Lo *xigsiisan* è diffusissimo tra i nomadi ma lo ritroviamo in forma minore anche nelle aree urbane.

Lo *xigsiisan* è l'istituto tramite il quale il vedovo si sposa con una consanguinea (sorella, cugina ecc.) della sua moglie defunta. Esso non ha niente a che fare con la *sharica* ma è un istituto elaborato dalla consuetudine somala. La *sharica* infatti non impone un simile matrimonio, ma si potrebbe dire che lo incoraggia per il bene della prole. Si tratta quindi di un istituto tipicamente consuetudinario. Inoltre come la *sharica*, il diritto consuetudinario somalo vieta di contrarre contemporaneamente matrimonio con due sorelle.

2. Cause

Si ha *xigsiisan* in concomitanza con una delle seguenti cause che possiamo dire determinanti.

a) Quando dal primo matrimonio sussiste prole: generalmente quando vi è prole dal matrimonio tra il vedovo e la moglie defunta, si considera lo *xigsiisan* per il bene della prole. Si suppone infatti che la zia materna, che in somalo si denomina «*habar yar*» (piccola madre), sia la migliore matrigna. A priori si sa che la zia prova affetto per i suoi nipoti, perciò la surrogazione avviene senza bruschi sobbalzi. Per i nipoti la zia non è una estranea, ma fa parte della famiglia ed è probabile che essi siano abituati ad una relazione con la zia e che ci sia familiarità tra di loro.

I nomadi abitano in gruppi e ogni famiglia coabita con il suo clan e di conseguenza intercorrono diversi rapporti «di buon vicinato» e di parentela. Alcune volte il marito coabita con la famiglia della moglie. Perciò non vi è estraneità tra la cognata e il vedovo.

Il più delle volte è il vedovo che chiede la mano della cognata, altre volte sono i suoceri che propongono il matrimonio tra il vedovo e la loro figlia.

Il vedovo nel chiedere la mano della cognata si esprime così: «Sento la solitudine» oppure «Mi ossessiona il buio che mi circonda».

Il vedovo chiede la mano della cognata non subito dopo la morte della moglie defunta, ma dopo un certo lasso di tempo, cioè quando si può dire che si è rassegnato alla perdita della persona cara.

Il più delle volte non si richiede un nuovo *yarad* (dote), ma è possibile che la richiesta di *yarad* da parte dei genitori della sposa venga fatta. Questo genere di *yarad* si denomina *xushmo*, che vuol dire «rispetto». Lo *yarad* che il vedovo paga nel momento di contrarre matrimonio con la cognata si denomina *yarad xushmo*. Questo secondo *yarad* non è il corrispondente di quello pagato prima, ma vi si ricorre quando è necessaria la manutenzione della casa della moglie defunta, in modo che i suoceri possano contribuire alla costruzione e all'arredo della casa.

Tutto il fondamento filosofico sta nel fatto che si cerca una madre agli orfani.

b) Si ricorre allo *xigsiisan* affinché le buone relazioni che si sono create tra il vedovo e la famiglia della moglie defunta possano continuare. Come abbiamo già detto il marito coabita con la famiglia della moglie: questo rapporto che intercorre tra il genero ed i suoi suoceri e cognati causa familiarità.

Il vedovo che si è ambientato o che si è inserito in un certo ambiente preferisce restarvi anziché allontanarsi, in quanto l'inserimento in un'altra comunità comporta notevole sforzo.

Poiché si è creata una certa cordialità tra il vedovo e la famiglia della moglie defunta è raro che gli si chieda lo *yarad*.

È tradizione diffusa considerare che il matrimonio non intercorra solo tra i coniugi ma anche tra i diversi clan dei coniugi; per questo si cerca in tutti i modi di salvare la relazione consolidatasi.

c) La terza causa è di ordine puramente economico; si ricorre allo *Xigsiisan* per non restituire il cospicuo *yarad* che il vedovo aveva pagato al momento del matrimonio. Se non vi è parentela o cordialità, di solito il marito paga una cospicua somma come *yarad* (che può essere una somma in contanti, bestiame, cavalli e altri doni). Allora i suoceri fanno i calcoli e per non restituire lo *yarad* pagato danno in moglie al vedovo la cognata. Se non riceve una seconda moglie, il vedovo ha diritto alla restituzione dello *yarad*. Se lo *yarad* consisteva in bestiame si esige la restituzione anche di ciò che hanno procreato. Si usa altre volte restituire solo la metà di ciò che si era pagato allora.

Se la famiglia della moglie defunta non ha una figlia grande da dare in moglie, può promettere al vedovo una bambina od anche una neonata. Avvenne una volta che un vedovo non ricevette una seconda moglie da parte di suoi suoceri e così andò a chiedere la restituzione dello *yarad*. Il suocero non aveva nessuna figlia né nipote da dare in sposa ma non voleva restituire lo *yarad*. In famiglia c'era però la nuora in procinto di partorire. Anche se il suocero esitava a restituire lo *yarad*, fu costretto dalle circostanze; si misero allora a contare le bestie che aveva dato il vedovo includendo pure ciò che avevano procreato. Quando finì l'operazione il suocero propose al genero di partire dopo pranzo (sperando intanto che la nuora partorisce una bambina). Durante il pranzo la nuora partorì una bambina, sentendo le urla, il vedovo comprese che la nuora aveva partorito di sicuro una femmina e così fu messo con le spalle al muro, perché in questa maniera i parenti avevano una femmina anche se piccola da dargli in sposa e di conseguenza il vedovo perdeva il suo diritto alla restituzione dello *yarad*. Di solito se ad un vedovo si dà in moglie una bambina, è raro che lui la sposi, ma la dà in moglie al suo figlio o ad un suo nipote.

Non sempre il vedovo viene esonerato dal pagare lo *yarad* quando si sposa con la cognata, perché ogni matrimonio comporta uno *yarad*, così certe famiglie esigono un secondo *yarad* cospicuo quanto il primo. Il vedovo non è obbligato a sposarsi con la cognata, ma può cercarsi una moglie altrove. Certe volte il matrimonio con la cognata può anche essere sanzionato dall'usanza del clan e dallo *xeer*; in questi casi il vedovo non può rifiutarla. Per i suoceri è un segno di rispetto se viene chiesta la mano della loro seconda (o terza) figlia da parte del genero, inoltre è segno che egli vuol mantenere i rapporti con loro.

La cognata normalmente non rifiuta questo matrimonio perché per lei è la cosa più naturale e giusta e in questo modo adotta i figli e provvede alla casa della sorella defunta.

Se la cognata mentre è promessa sposa del vedovo, si sposa con un altro, lo sposo deve pagare al vedovo un certo *yarad* che viene denominato *yarad oorivo* e varia da regione a regione dai 7 fino ai 25 cammelli, e nello stesso tempo paga lo *yarad* ai genitori della sposa. Inoltre i suoceri sono costretti a dare al vedovo un'altra moglie tra le loro figlie o nel clan e in caso non la trovasse, devono restituire lo *yarad* versato per la figlia defunta.

Può succedere che il vedovo si sposi con sua cognata senza pagare un nuovo *yarad*: quest'ultimo si denomina *gacan-qabsi* e di conseguenza i suoceri non sono

obbligati a loro volta a dare un nuovo *dhibaad* (contributo che si dà alla sposa).

Se la cognata rifiuta il matrimonio con il vedovo, i suoi genitori sono obbligati a restituire una parte dello *yarad*. I suoceri o il vedovo possono mettersi d'accordo di restituire un terzo del bestiame procreato.

3. L'impegno patrimoniale al momento del matrimonio

Il patrimonio che si paga al momento di contrarre il matrimonio è diviso in:

- a) *Geb-geb*: ciò che si dà ai mediatori
- b) *Gabaati*: ciò che si dà alla sposa
- c) *Yarad*: la dote che si dà ai maschi della famiglia della sposa
- d) *Sooryo*: ciò che si dà ai componenti del clan
- e) *Bariido*: ciò che si dà alla madre della sposa
- f) *Mindhismo*: i mezzi con cui si costruisce la casa
- g) *Dhibaad*; ciò che danno i genitori della sposa; il bestiame e vestiario e doni che i genitori della sposa danno alla loro figlia per contribuire alle spese che comporta il matrimonio.

A volte succede che la sposa porti dei doni ai suoi genitori: questo si denomina *dhibaad celin*.

Dumaal

1. Nozione

Quest'istituto, anch'esso tipicamente elaborato dalla consuetudine somala, opera quando è il marito a morire, sia per morte naturale, che per incidente o per altre cause. L'origine del termine è araba: deriva da *dumaal*, cioè proprietario del patrimonio. Ma il *dumaal* della consuetudine somala è un'altra cosa: il *dumaal* è un istituto mediante il quale la vedova sposa il fratello od un consanguineo del suo defunto marito.

2. Cause

Si ricorre al *dumaal* quando si ha una delle seguenti cause:

a) Quando sussiste prole dal primo matrimonio è consigliato ed imposto il matrimonio tra la vedova ed un membro della famiglia del marito defunto. Per il bene della prole si consiglia il *dumaal*, perché si parte dall'idea che lo zio sia migliore di un estraneo per i figli. Frequentemente la moglie abita con la famiglia del marito, questo comporta che ci sia familiarità tra la vedova ed i suoi cognati e di conseguenza familiarità tra gli zii ed i nipoti.

b) Se la vedova è ancora in grado di procreare si ha timore che si risposi e che porti in famiglia un estraneo allora le si impone il *dumaal*.

Di solito la donna somala non si risposa se non è in grado di procreare, perché alla base d'ogni matrimonio vi è la procreazione.

Siccome la vedova fa parte in un certo senso del patrimonio familiare del marito, si evita che cerchi marito altrove e così le si impone di sposarsi con il fratello, cugino, nipote, zio (insomma con un consanguineo del marito defunto).

c) La terza causa che induce il cognato a sposarsi con la vedova è di carattere

meramente economico. Si parte dall'idea che la vedova eredita dal defunto una parte del patrimonio e per evitare di perdere la sua quota d'eredità si consiglia il *dumaal*.

La donna somala nomade, se divorziata o vedova, trova difficoltà nel risposarsi, perché è segno di una cattiva reputazione per colei che viene divorziata e per colei che ha perso il marito se non si risposa col cognato. Non solo i maschi sono convinti di ciò, ma lei stessa ne è convinta e quindi cerca rifugio nel matrimonio col cognato.

d) La famiglia (moglie e figli) rientra nel patrimonio familiare del marito, e così è visto male che un estraneo s'impossessi di questo patrimonio. Perciò un consanguineo prende il posto lasciato dal defunto.

È probabile che un estraneo maltratti i figli del defunto, invece si suppone che lo zio provi affetto per i suoi nipoti e perciò è preferibile lo zio.

e) Un'altra causa del *dumaal* può essere la voglia di salvare il rapporto consolidatosi tra le due famiglie dei coniugi; anche qui vediamo come il matrimonio non intercorra solamente tra i due coniugi, ma tra le famiglie dei coniugi.

Non sempre s'impone alla vedova il cognato con cui deve sposarsi, certe volte le si dà la facoltà di scegliere un marito tra i suoi cognati. Allora la vedova può scegliere per ripicca un adolescente e questi deve sposare la vedova anche se data l'età potrebbe essere sua madre.

Il più delle volte la moglie coabita con la famiglia del marito sicché, se è di diverso clan, si trasferisce in un'altra regione che può essere molto lontana dal suo luogo nativo. Allora, quando il marito muore, la vedova per evitare un faticoso trasloco è costretta a rimanere dove sta e sposarsi con uno del luogo. Vista questa situazione è meglio che si sposi con lo zio dei suoi figli.

Se il cognato se lo può permettere, i genitori della vedova possono esigere un nuovo *yarad*; il *sooryo* è comunque sempre obbligatorio.

La vedova può rifiutarsi di sposare suo cognato e questo rifiuto può causare un pessimo rapporto tra la vedova ed i suo cognati e di conseguenza i figli saranno ripudiati dagli zii paterni.

La famiglia del marito defunto può rivendicare diritti su colui che si sposa con la loro donna, perché dal momento che avevano pagato la *yarad* si consideravano proprietari di tale creatura.

Come nello *xigsiisan*, anche qui colui che si sposa con una donna che è soggetta a *dumaal*, paga uno *yarad* a colui cui spetta di diritto il matrimonio. L'ammontare di tale *yarad* come nello *xigsiisan* varia da regione a regione.

Il più delle volte un tale matrimonio è causa di guerra tra la famiglia del marito defunto e quella dell'attuale marito della vedova.

f) Un altro fatto che può rappresentare causa di *dumaal* si verifica quando il defunto marito abbia pagato un cospicuo *yarad*. Poiché ogni figlio deve pagare uno *yarad* per aver moglie, per evitare spese superflue si ricorre al *dumaal*, così almeno un figlio sarà sistemato.

Female Circumcision in Somalia (Overall Review)

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In 1981, an extensive field investigation into female circumcision was conducted in Somalia. This research was authorized by the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the National Somali University and the data were collected by three female students of the same faculty.

2497 subjects (comprising women and children) were interviewed, mostly in Mogadishu. We designed a questionnaire to clarify the most significant patterns related to this custom from three points of view: anthropological, medical and sociopsychological. The main results of this research are the following (Table 1):

— the practice of female circumcision, even today, is universal in Somalia; the percentage of circumcised women is 99.3%; infibulation is the commonest type of circumcision used. The age of operation varies from birth to 15 years;

— the custom includes many complications; they are: immediate, post-menarcheal, at marriage and post-partum;

— attitudes of Somali women towards this custom are positive; they favour maintenance of the practice in the country and expect their daughters to be circumcised.

The second part of the research consisted in a detailed analysis of the following points:

— in the *Anthropological sector*: evolution of the excissory custom in Somalia and the methods used to perform it, in an urban environment (Grassivaro Gallo e Marian Abdisamed 1985: 311; Grassivaro Gallo e Viviani, in press).

— in the *Bio-medical sector*: consequences of the operation on the woman's health and the relation between infibulation and sexual maturity (Grassivaro Gallo 1985a: 239).

— in the *Social sector*: opinions about the custom expressed by women and future medical and nursing operators in the field (Grassivaro Gallo 1985b: 133; Grassivaro Gallo 1986a: 71).

— in the *Psychological sector*: what the operation means to girls of school age and what psychological connotations they attribute to the circumcised and non-circumcised woman (Grassivaro Gallo e Moro Boscolo, in press).

A film-strip was also made on this point (Grassivaro Gallo e Viviani 1985; Grassivaro Gallo e Viviani, 1986).

To conclude this research all the material collected in the field and the results obtained from the various elaborations have been put together in a monograph in Italian language (Grassivaro Gallo, 1986b).

Table 1 - Female circumcision in Somalia: general view of result (1981).

		Total subjects interviewed								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Localities of the Survey		Primary and Secondary School (Benadir)	Halane Field	Nursing School	Gayr and Lafoole Colleges Somali National University	Faculty of Medicine (Benadir)	Benadir Hospital (Maternity)	Quarters Gynecological Surgeries (Benadir)	Refugees Camps (Corioley)	Refugees Camps (Hargeisa)
Subjects		Children	unmarried women	unmarried women	unmarried women	unmarried women	married women	married women	married women	unmarried women
Number of Subject		351	252	144	192	58	698	683	29	90
Age of Subjects mean \pm S.D.		10.6 \pm 2.31	20.0 \pm 3.22	18.5 \pm 1.63	23.3 \pm 2.71	23.2 \pm 2.81	26.9 \pm 6.27	27.5 \pm 7.72	31.3 \pm 11.78	19.1 \pm 3.48
Educational status (%)										
1. Illiteracy	/	/	/	/	/	/	66.2	/	79.3	/
2. Primary	59.0	/	/	/	/	/	11.3	/	13.8	/
3. Secondary	41.0	/	/	/	/	/	9.7	/	6.9	/
4. High School	/	100.0	100.0	/	/	/	7.2	/	/	95.6
5. University Education	/	/	/	/	100.0	100.0	/	/	/	/

Table 2 - Female circumcision in Somalia: general view of results (1981).

Anthropological traits									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Localities of the Survey	Primary and Secondary School (Benadir)	Halane Field	Nursing School	Gayr and Lafoole Colleges Somali National University	Faculty of Medicine (Benadir)	Benadir Hospital (Maternity)	Quarters Gynecological Surgeries (Benadir)	Refugees' Camps (Corioley)	? (Hargeisa)
<i>Type of circumcision (%)</i>									
1. Not infibulation	1) 41.0	25.0	2.8	32.8	32.8	16.3	34.8	/	8.9
2. Infibulation	2) 46.4	72.6	97.2	66.2	62.1	83.7	63.5	100.0	68.9
3. Not circumcision	3) 12.6	2.4	/	1.0	1.7	/	1.6	/	/
<i>Age when performed (Mean ± S.D.)</i>									
	5.9 ± 2.30	7.0 ± 1.91	7.6 ± 1.90	6.3 ± 2.25	6.8 ± 2.94	8.6 ± 2.50	7.4 ± 3.09	8.3 ± 1.27	7.4 ± 1.38
<i>Place where performed (%)</i>									
1. Urban Area		1) 95.2	86.1	88.0	36.2	62.0	/	10.3	98.9
2. Nomadic Area		2) 2.4	13.2	6.3	1.7	34.4		89.7	/
<i>Town or region where performed (%) (Prevailing)</i>									
	/	54.0 Mog.	29.2 Mog.	45.8 Mog.	63.8 Mog.	23.4 Mog.	/	86.2 Oga-den	West Gal-beed
<i>By whom performed (%)</i>									
1. Doctor or Paramedical female	/	1) 74.6	41.0	59.9	63.8	41.3	/	/	47.8
2. Untrained female		2) 21.8	59.0	38.0	32.8	86.5		100.0	51.1
<i>Type of suture (%)</i>									
1. Thorns	/	1) 5.2	24.3	/	/	15.5	/	37.9	51.1
2. Seam		2) 54.8	33.3	/	/	7.6	/	10.3	38.9
3. Tie of Thighs		3) 6.0	36.1			36.0		51.7	1.1
<i>Type of mother's Circumcision %</i>									
	/	1) 14.3	2.8	24.5	12.1	11.7	/	0.0	8.9
		2) 72.6	95.8	71.4	22.4	85.7	/	100.0	88.9
		3) 2.0	/	/	/	0.3	/	/	/

Table 3 Female circumcision in Somalia: general view of results (1981).

Medical traits

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Localities of the Survey	Primary and Secondary School (Benadir)	Halane Field	Nursing School	Gayr and Lafoole Colleges Somali National University	Faculty of Medicine (Benadir)	Benadir Hospital (Maternity)	Quarters Gynecological Surgeries (Benadir)	Refugees' Camps (Cortoley)	? (Hagetsa)
<i>Immediate complications at circumcision</i>									
(%)	/	33.3	22.2	25.5	8.6	19.8	/	31.0	7.8
(Haemorrhage and pains as prevailing)									
<i>Second infibulation</i>									
(Because first infibulation fails)	/	5.2	2.8	12.0	3.4	6.0	/	0.0	0.0
<i>Age at menarche (means ± S.D.)</i>	12.5±1.91	14.4±1.62	14.4±1.31	14.3±1.78	13.9±1.61	14.8±1.72	14.3±1.72	15.2±1.46	14.6±1.36
<i>Complications at menarche (%) (Dysmenorrhoea as prevailing)</i>	/	45.2	37.5	38.5	8.6	25.2	/	17.2	17.8
<i>Days of absence from work (%) (mean ± S.D.)</i>	/	3.4±1.31	2.6±1.05	1.9±1.19	1.5±0.70	3.3±1.87	/	5.0±2.44	/
<i>Complications at marriage (%) (painful penetration as prevailing).</i>	/	/	/	/	/	47.7	/	75.9	/
<i>Penetration (%)</i>									
1. Natural	/	/	/	/	/	1 80.9	/	31.0	/
2. Instrumental	/	/	/	/	/	2 17.4	/	58.6	/
<i>Type of instrument (%)</i>									
1. Razor	/	/	/	/	/	1 4.3	/	27.6	/
2. Knife	/	/	/	/	/	2 3.9	/	13.8	/
3. Scissor	/	/	/	/	/	3 9.2	/	17.2	/
<i>Complications at delivery (%) (Episiotomy as Prevailing)</i>	/	/	/	/	/	49.1	/	75.9	/
<i>Reinfibulation after delivery (%)</i>	/	/	/	/	/	50.0	/	79.3	/

Table 4 - Female circumcision in Somalia: general view of results (1981).

Localities of the Survey	Psychological traits									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	Primary and Secondary School (Benadir)	Halane Field	Nursing School	Gay and Lafoole Colleges Somali National University	Faculty of Medicine (Benadir)	Benadir Hospital (Maternity)	Quarters Gynecological Surgeries (Benadir)	Refugees' Camps (Corroley)	?	
<i>Foreseen circumcision for daughters (%)</i>										
1. Not infibulation	/	1) 67.1 2) 13.9	54.9 40.3	66.1 7.3	13.8 0.0	42.4 39.0	/	17.2 82.8	32.2 53.3	
3. Not circumcision		3) 8.3	2.1	15.6	48.3	5.9		0.0	12.2	
<i>Presence of positive aspects in the circumcision (%)</i>										
	/	/	51.4	/	20.7	42.7	/	96.6	22.2	
<i>Absence of negative aspects of the circumcision (%)</i>										
	/	/	65.3	/	5.2	64.0	/	86.2	14.4	
<i>Favourable opinion on the preservation of the practice (%)</i>										
	/	43.3	90.3	62.0	13.8	83.0	/	93.1	64.4	

NOTICE: in the sum of the percents, the completion is constituted by the percent of no given answers.

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The Microeconomic Effects of Family Size in Somalia

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Much research has been directed toward discovering the determinants of fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa. Much less research has attempted to analyze the consequences of high fertility and closely-spaced children. Yet, at the household level, the demand for children should reflect the consequences of family size and child spacing. If the consequences are positive, the demand for children should be high. If they are negative, the demand for children should be low.

The consequences of high fertility and closely-spaced children, at the household level in Sub-Saharan Africa, may be divided into two broad categories of: (1) health-related consequences, such as child or maternal malnutrition, morbidity, and mortality, and (2) socioeconomic-related consequences related to household income, saving, labor supply of both children and mothers, occupation, education, land tenure, and migration. In reality, the two categories interact with each other.

Health-Related Consequences

Sub-Saharan Africa

The health-related consequences of high fertility and closely-spaced children are mainly negative throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. Both high fertility and closely-spaced children lead to increased risk of malnutrition, morbidity, and mortality for infants, children, and mothers alike. Age interacts and increases the risks. That is, fetal deaths and stillbirths, as well as prematurity, low birth weight, neonatal and infant mortality, and child mortality are high for primipara mothers, particularly very young ones, under the age of 20. However, there is evidence that there is even greater risk for high parity and older mothers, over the age of 35.

The negative consequences for mothers and children also interact with each other in circular fashion and intensify the effects. That is, a large number of closely-spaced pregnancies will affect the health of the mother, increasing the risk of morbidity and malnutrition, if not death. The consequences to the mother, in turn, affect the children, increasing their risk of malnutrition, morbidity, and mortality. The higher the infant and child mortality, the more likely it is that the mother will become pregnant again in order to attain her desired family size. The earlier the death of the child, the shorter will be the birth interval, causing

even greater risks to the mother and her children. Those negative effects, amplified by the interaction of negative socioeconomic consequences, lead to a downward spiral of ever-worsening health for both mother and children, with the risk of mortality, sooner or later.

Somalia

Few specific studies on health-related consequences of high fertility and close child spacing have been conducted in Somalia. However, data show comparatively high birth rates, resulting from regular, and closely-spaced pregnancies beginning early in marriage, and thus high total fertility rates, along with relatively high (though decreasing) infant and child mortality rates, as well as high maternal mortality rates. Malnutrition is also prevalent among both children and mothers. Thus, the data suggest that Somalia fits into the overall pattern for Sub-Saharan Africa.

(World *Demographic characteristics*. The population of Somalia is growing rapidly, at an estimated rate of 2.9-3.2 percent (World Bank 1985a: 210, 212; World Bank 1985b, i: 2-3; Abdi 1981: 19-21). This is a result of certain marital and fertility patterns which prevail. Marriage is nearly universal; only those physically or mentally disabled do not marry (Somalia, Min. of Nat. Plan., 1985a, 14-15). By age 35, nearly all Somali women have been married.

The average age at first marriage ranges from age 18.6 in the rural sector to age 20.4 among the nomadic population (Min. of Nat. Plan. 1985a: 15). Child-bearing begins soon after marriage and continues on until the end of the child-bearing age. This can be assumed from data on contraceptive use, as contraception directly affects fertility. It is estimated that only 1 percent of Somali women of child-bearing age (or their husbands) are using contraceptives (World Bank 1985a: 212; Min. of Health 1985: 64-67).

Not only is contraceptive use low, but the length of time which women breast-feed each child, a complement to contraceptive use, is not as long as in many African societies where women claim to breast feed at least two years. In the Health Status Study conducted in 1985 in Damme Yassin, Wadajir, Mogadiscio, 171 of the mothers surveyed were still breast-feeding their children (Sibanda 1985: 38-39). Of those mothers, 113 or them (66%) said they would breast feed their children for 1-2 years, and 5 (3%) said they would breast feed until they were pregnant. Yet, of the 131 mothers who had already stopped breast feeding their children, 10 (8%) had never breast fed their children, and 96 (63%) had breast fed for one year or less. Only 35 (27%) had breast fed their children for more than one year. Although data from the 1983 Family Health Survey of Five Cities indicated somewhat longer duration of breast feeding, there is some upward bias in the data (Min. of Health 1985: 45-46).

In addition to low contraceptive use and relatively short duration of breast feeding, the number of desired children is high. The data from Damme Yassin revealed that 636 (90%) of the 710 women surveyed desired more than six children, and that 298 of them (42%) wanted as many as possible (Sibanda 1985: 63-64). The 1983 Family Health Survey indicated that among the women surveyed who gave a numerical response to the question about the number of additional children desired, less than 10 percent, in most of the cities, expected families of five children or less, and approximately three-fourths of the women expected family sizes of eight or more children (Min. of Health 1985: 42).

With low contraceptive use, short duration of breast-feeding, and a high desired number of children, there should be an inverse relationship, as found in many developing countries, between age at first marriage and fertility. In fact, Robleh (1984, as cited in Somalia, Min. of Nat. Plan. 1985a: 16) found such a relationship in her research in Mogadishu. That is, the younger the age at first marriage, the longer is the duration of marriage within the child-bearing years, and thus the greater the number of children which can be born by a non-contracepting woman. This very combination of relationships has led to high birth rates in Somalia.

The high average number of children ever born to women, the high Total Fertility Rate, and the high Crude Birth Rate indicate that Somali women have regular, and closely-spaced pregnancies beginning early in marriage and lasting throughout their child-bearing years. The 1980-81 Population Survey found that the average number of children ever born, by the end of the child-bearing years is 7.5, and that the Adjusted Total Fertility Rate is 7.4 (Min. of Nat. Plan. 1985: 18, 22). The Adjusted Crude Birth Rate calculated from these data is 48.4. The World Bank maintains that the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) is somewhat lower because the nomadic population, which in most countries has lower fertility, was not surveyed in 1980-81. Thus, the Bank estimates a TFR of 6.7. However, it still calculates a Crude Birth Rate (CBR) of 49 (World Bank 1985: 4-5).

Birth rates have remained high and constant over the years. Although death rates are still high, they have fallen over time, leading to the high rate of natural increase. The Population Survey of 1980-81 calculated indirectly an Adjusted Crude Death Rate (CDR) of 17 per thousand (Min. of Nat. Plan. 1985a: 27). This is considerably lower than the estimated 30 per thousand in 1940 (Abdi 1985: 23). Subtracting the CDR of 17 from the CBR of 48.4 gives an estimated Rate of Natural Increase (RNI) of 3.1. The World Bank estimated a CDR of 19 which, when combined with their estimated CBR, gives an RNI of 3.0, very close to that found by the Population Survey of 1980-81 (World Bank 1985b: 5).

While overall death rates have fallen over the years, infant and child have been as high as 170 per thousand, with 24 percent of the children dying before the age of five (Abdi 1985: 24). The Population Survey of 1980-81 reports a somewhat lower infant mortality rate (IMR) of 147, although there is some question about the low rate of 119 which was reported for the nomadic population which could make the overall rate unrealistically low (Min. of Nat. Plan., 1985a, 26). However, even the estimated IMR of 147 is high compared to other countries such as Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia (World Bank 1985b: 4).

While high infant and child mortality rates are related to high birth rates, high maternal mortality rates are also related to high birth rates. It has been estimated that for every 100 children born in Somalia, one mother will die in child-birth and two others will suffer related morbidity (Abdi 1985: 24).

Empirical studies. The demographic characteristics described above suggest that conditions exist in Somalia which would lead to the negative health-related consequences which have been confirmed by studies conducted elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa. That is, high fertility and closely-spaced children lead to high infant, child, and maternal mortality, morbidity, and malnutrition, and that the consequences to children and mothers interact with each other and magnify the individual effects. That rates of infant, child, and maternal mortality remain high while overall

death rates have declined rapidly in recent years further suggests the validity of the argument. Yet, very few empirical studies have been conducted in Somalia to actually test the hypothesis.

One of the first studies to document the negative, health-related consequences of high fertility and closely-spaced children was conducted at Banadir Hospital in Mogadishu, in October 1984 (Abdirashid and McDevitt, 1985). Data were collected for 1,280 deliveries. Similar to the findings throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, the study found a U-shaped relationship between birth order and stillbirths. That is, 7.5 percent of first births were stillbirths. The percentage dropped to 5.3 percent for second births, before beginning to rise again to 6.3 percent for third births, and 6.6 percent for fourth and fifth births. The percentage then rose steeply to 10 percent for sixth and higher order births.

A similar U-shaped relationship occurred between age of mother and stillbirths. That is, over 8 percent of the births of very young mothers (under age 20) ended in stillbirths. The percentage was lower for women in the 20-24 (6.7%), 25-29 (7.2%), and 30-34 age groups. It was significantly higher, approximately 11 percent, for women from age 35 and older.

Low birth weights affect an infant's health, and contributes to infant and child morbidity and mortality. The data from the Banadir Hospital study showed a relationship between birth interval and low birth weight (2,500 grams or less). That is, the percentage of low birth weights was highest (8.7%) for birth intervals of less than 18 months. It decreased to about half of that percentage for birth intervals of 18-23 months and was lowest (3%) for intervals of 24-29 months. There was an increase in the percentage for intervals longer than 30 months, but this may be the result of not controlling for other important variables such as economic class or maternal age.

The data from Banadir Hospital also indicated a relationship between mother's age and low birth weight. Younger mothers had a greater percentage of low birth weights than older mothers.

The consequences of high fertility and closely-spaced children affect mothers as well as children. The Banadir Hospital study confirms these conclusions from data on birth order. The international data shows that complications at the time of delivery tend to occur most often in first births and in fourth and higher order births. Of the 1,269 deliveries at Banadir Hospital there were 83 complications. Although the total numbers are small for statistical purposes, a pattern still emerged. First order births showed the highest percentage of complications (7.8%). The percentage decreased for second-order births (4.2%), and was lowest for third-order births (2.8%). It began to rise again for fourth-and higher-order births (5.9%).

The Health Status Study of Damme Yassin provided a great deal of related data. It indicated that 34 percent of the women surveyed exhibited evidence of nutritional deficiency (Sibanda 1985: 51). It also indicated that 16 percent of the children up to age 5 surveyed exhibited moderate protein-energy malnutrition (PEM) and 4 percent exhibited severe PEM. This is somewhat higher than the percentages found in the RHU nutritional surveys in the refugee camps. However, it is lower than Ministry of Health estimates for all of Somalia, which are 19 percent and 7 percent respectively (Sibanda 1985: 73-75). When the Damme Yassin data on malnutrition are broken down by age, it can be seen that the children were born malnourished, as a result of malnourished mothers and poor nutrition during pregnancy, and that their malnourished status worsened, for those who survived (Si-

banda 1985: 76). The study recommends that «Child spacing is one way of reducing malnutrition in young children as it gives the mother's body time to recover between pregnancies and the child receives the mother's full attention and proper care» (Sibanda, 1985, 78).

In sum, the few empirical studies conducted in Somalia confirm the negative consequences of high fertility and close-spacing of children upon both children and mothers. They confirmed the negative effects of fertility, as well as age of mother, upon children, measured in terms of stillbirths. They also confirmed the negative effects of short birth intervals, as well as age of mother, upon children, measured in terms of low birth weights. Not only do children suffer negative consequences, but so do mothers. The studies found negative effects of fertility upon mothers, in the form of complications at the time of delivery. Such complications often cause maternal mortality. But, they may also affect children, causing stillbirths or child morbidity. Finally, several studies showed a high incidence of malnutrition among children and mothers alike. There can be many reasons for malnutrition, but high fertility and short birth intervals can be an important cause for children and mothers alike.

Socioeconomic-Related Consequences

Although the health-related consequences are mainly negative, it was found that the socioeconomic-related consequences, throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, are less clear cut. For examples, in different countries, high fertility may increase total income yet decrease per capita income (DeLancey, 1983). Also, it may have either no effect or a negative effect upon savings. And, it may have various effects upon expenditures such as food, housing, clothing, and education.

Thus, food purchases may decrease in quantity or quality, particularly per capita, but total food production on the family farm may increase. There may also be transfers of expenditures from other categories, such as from clothing or housing to food. The effect of fertility and closely-spaced children upon education is particularly surprising. Although some studies show that it may not be possible to educate all children in large families, other studies reveal a positive relationship between fertility and education at the primary level.

The socioeconomic consequences upon the supply of labor and upon population pressure on the land and migration are also elusive (DeLancey, 1983). For examples, studies throughout Sub-Saharan Africa show that high fertility may be related to decreased employment of women, increased labor force participation of women, or no relationship between fertility and labor force participation of women. It has also led to land fragmentation, and even landlessness, to intensification or diversification of cultivation, «labor circulation», migration, or off-farm employment.

It was not possible to find any studies which had examined the socioeconomic consequences in Somalia. Yet, the socioeconomic consequences can only be determined by country-specific studies, since they vary greatly from country to country, and even within countries. Thus, it is important to begin to conduct such research in Somalia to complement the research on health issues.

In sum, unlike the health-related consequences, it is difficult to determine the net effect of the socioeconomic consequences of high fertility and closely-spaced

children. Moreover, the concept of the «value of children» must be more fully explored. For example, in addition to their contribution of labor and their assistance in educating their siblings, children are also highly valued in Sub-Saharan Africa for their social security role. Thus, another consequence of high fertility may be a parental sense of security that the greater the number of children they have, the better off they will be in old age or when trouble strikes.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the health-related consequences of high fertility and closely-spaced children are mainly negative, while the socioeconomic consequences are more indeterminate, especially in Somalia where they have not yet been researched. But, the positive socioeconomic consequences, in combination with the generally positive perception of the value of children, continue to outweigh the negative socioeconomic consequences for many families in Sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, at the household level, the demand for children remains high, rationally high, because when families consider the consequences of high fertility, they do not calculate, at present, a negative net balance. This may be true for Somalia, as well.

The following message was sent to the Second African Population Conference in early 1984 in Arusha, Tanzania, by Mohamed Siyaad Barre, President of the Somali Democratic Republic:

The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic is determined to improve the standard of living of its people and improve their health and nutrition in order to reduce infant and child morbidity and mortality and thus to increase life expectancy in both rural and urban areas. The maternal and child health programmes will stress child spacing among other aspects of health in order to ensure good health of the mother and the child. Although the Somali Democratic Republic is sparsely populated efforts will be made to promote a pattern of population distribution consistent with the national development goals.

This represents a challenge to the people of Somalia, especially to those working to develop the country. It recognizes the negative consequences of closely-spaced children, if not high fertility, on the health of mothers and children. It stresses determination to improve the standard of living of the people and improve their health and nutrition, and it stresses efforts to promote population distribution consistent with national development goals. Success in reaching those goals may depend upon population dynamics, as well. Therefore, it might be fruitful to begin to research the socioeconomic consequences of fertility and child spacing to determine their effect. In the long run, they may affect the health of mothers and children, through their effects upon their general standard of living, and could eventually change the net balance of effects from positive to negative. Monitoring all changes will assist in the continued evolution of development-oriented policies for Somalia.

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Recenti aspetti demografico-sociali della città di Mogadiscio

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Alla fine del 1983 è stata condotta dallo studente Mohamed "Ainansce" della Facoltà di Economia dell'Università Nazionale della Somalia, con la collaborazione di chi scrive, una tesi di laurea per studiare le caratteristiche del consumo di pesce della città di Mogadiscio. La ricerca è stata eseguita mediante questionario, dove sono state inserite anche domande concernenti la dimensione familiare, il tipo e la dimensione dell'abitazione, la presenza di acqua potabile nella stessa nonché il tempo di residenza della famiglia a Mogadiscio. Queste informazioni non sono state presentate nella tesi e vale, quindi, la pena di commentarle brevemente in questa sede. Dati di questo tipo, infatti, sono di difficile reperimento in Somalia e varrà la pena di riprendere il lavoro per approfondire ed allargare le analisi e fornire, così, un quadro più completo del fenomeno studiato, mettendo nella giusta luce la considerevole mole di informazione raccolte.

La ricerca, condotta come si è detto mediante questionario, è stata svolta su base campionaria in ciascuno dei 13 quartieri della città. In ogni quartiere sono stati intervistati i capi famiglia di 50 nuclei familiari per un totale, quindi, di 650 unità familiari.

La decisione di considerare un campione di uguale dimensione per ciascuno dei quartieri è stata dettata dalla mancanza di informazioni concernenti il numero di famiglie effettivamente presenti nei quartieri: la conoscenza di questi dati avrebbe permesso di condurre un tipo di campionamento più appropriato. Per quanto attiene la dimensione del campione, c'è da rilevare che il numero di famiglie considerato è praticamente uguale a quello della ricerca sui «bilanci familiari della città di Mogadiscio» eseguita nel 1977 dal Dipartimento Centrale di Statistica del Ministero della Pianificazione della Somalia; l'analisi, infatti, riguarda 670 famiglie che hanno coperto 4597 persone. Nel caso in esame, invece, la popolazione avvicinata tramite i 650 capi famiglia è risultata pari a 5483 unità (2468 maschi e 1514 bambini di entrambi i sessi, di età non superiore ai 10 anni).

Queste considerazioni che tendono a mettere in luce come la consistenza del campione della ricerca in esame sia (relativamente alle condizioni di operatività somale) di grande rilievo, permettono anche di evidenziare come *la stima della dimensione media del nucleo familiare* sia passata dai 6,9 componenti del 1977 agli 8,4 del 1983 e come, conseguentemente, la stima dell'aumento medio di questa caratteristica della popolazione di Mogadiscio (nel corso dei sei anni indicati) corrisponda al 23% con un incremento medio annuo, quindi, del 3,5%.

La distribuzione delle famiglie a seconda del numero di anni di residenza a Mogadiscio del capo famiglia ha messo in luce una caratteristica del fenomeno dell'urbanesimo che è opportuno sottolineare. Infatti, la più alta percentuale di famiglie (23%) ha un capo famiglia che risiede a Mogadiscio da non più di 10 anni; mentre 21% e 16% sono le percentuali di famiglie il cui capo famiglia risiede a Mogadiscio da 10 a 20 anni o da 20 a 30 anni, rispettivamente. Se, però, si va a disaggregare a seconda di classi annuali il gruppo di famiglie di più recente insediamento nella Capitale, si rileva una tendenza opposta. Infatti, la frequenza più bassa di famiglie corrisponde ad insediamenti recentissimi (da 1 a 2 anni) e le frequenze crescono all'aumentare del tempo di residenza. Le informazioni campionarie evidenziano inoltre che negli ultimi cinque anni non vi sono stati nuovi insediamenti nei quartieri di Kaaraan, Cabdilcasiis e Shangaanni, mentre questo fenomeno si è presentato nei villaggi di Boondheere, Hodon e Wardhiigley, dove il 20-26% delle famiglie ha dichiarato di esservi giunte da poco (5 anni al massimo). Il numero medio di componenti per famiglia (8,4), cresce con l'aumentare del tempo di residenza. Esso, infatti, passa da 5,3 (per le famiglie che risiedono a Mogadiscio al massimo da un anno) fino a 9,3 membri (per le famiglie il cui capo ha la residenza nella capitale da più di 30 anni). Un valore pressoché identico a quello rilevato nel complesso (8,5) riguarda le famiglie con un capo residente a Mogadiscio da 10 a 20 anni. Il campione ha inoltre evidenziato come la dimensione media delle famiglie vari considerevolmente tra i quartieri: il valore minimo 6,3 è stato rilevato a Boondhere e quello massimo (11,3) a Hodon; valori pressoché vicini a 10 membri sono presenti a Kaaraan, Cabdilcasiis e Xamarwayne.

La distribuzione delle famiglie a seconda del numero dei componenti cresce rapidamente e raggiunge il suo massimo (68 famiglie) in corrispondenza di 5 membri. Essa resta poi pressoché costante sino a 10 componenti e decresce lentamente da questo punto in avanti per chiudersi sui valori 14-16 che costituiscono il massimo valore rilevato in quasi tutti i quartieri. Fanno eccezione Hodon, con famiglie di 21 elementi; Xamarwayne e Xamarjajab, dove si sono trovate famiglie con ben 25 componenti.

A Mogadiscio le abitazioni possono essere:

- gli *Arish* (case tipicamente locali, a pianta quadrata la cui struttura consiste nell'intreccio di rami cementati con sterco frammisto a fango e coperto di paglia);
- le baracche (costruite con assi di legno, pezzi di lamiera, di compensato o di cartone, coperte di norma da pezzi di lamiera ondulata o di nailon);
- le strutture di tipo misto, costituite da una parte in muratura con appendici di baracca (si tratta di case costruite con blocchetti di cemento cui si aggiungono baracche vere e proprie; il tutto è coperto da pezzi di lamiera ondulata);
- le case in muratura di epoca più o meno recente e più o meno decorose;
- le ville (abitazioni isolate che ospitano una sola famiglia, circondate, di norma, da un giardino):

Negli *Arish* vive il 7% delle famiglie in esame. Questo tipo di abitazioni è stato rilevato nei quartieri di Boondheere e di Yaaqshiid con percentuali del 20 e del 24% rispettivamente. Le baracche e le strutture di tipo misto ospitano, nel complesso, il 25% delle famiglie. Nei quartieri di Yaaqshiid, Cabdilcasiis e Kaaraan le percentuali attinenti questo tipo di abitazioni raggiungono livelli del 46 del 50 e del 60%, rispettivamente. Più della metà delle famiglie (52%) vive in case più o meno decorose. Questa tipologia ospita la quasi totalità delle famiglie rilevate nei quartieri Shangaanni ed Xamarwayne che costituiscono il nucleo resi-

denziale più antico della capitale. Nelle ville, infine, abita il 16% dei nuclei familiari. Queste costruzioni sembrano essere più presenti ad Xamarjajab e a Hodon.

Per avere un'idea più approfondita delle condizioni dell'abitare si è rilevato, come si è detto, *il numero dei vani disponibile* per ogni famiglia. Per vano si è inteso ogni spazio coperto e riparato (indipendentemente dalle sue dimensioni, di norma mai superiori ai 4 metri per 4) usato per necessità familiari.

La distribuzione delle famiglie a seconda del numero di stanze presenta i valori più alti in corrispondenza di dimensioni di 3 e 4 vani (in abitazioni di questa grandezza vive il 55% delle famiglie) e si chiude, in quasi tutti i quartieri, con abitazioni di 8 stanze dove vive complessivamente il 2% delle famiglie.

Le 5483 persone del campione vivono in 2469 vani. Il numero medio di persone per stanza è quindi uguale a 2,2. Questo indicatore varia da un minimo di 1,4 osservato a Shingaanni ad un massimo di 2,9 rilevato nel quartiere di Xamarweyne. La densità di persone per stanza diminuisce col crescere della dimensione dell'abitazione, ma se si considerano i valori corrispondenti alle abitazioni più piccole, si deve rilevare che l'indice di cui si discute ha presentato un valore superiore a 5, per le abitazioni costituite da una sola stanza, ed una quantità prossima a 3, per le abitazioni di 2 stanze. Se si considera che la densità non diminuisce di molto nelle abitazioni di 3 e 4 vani (dove, come si è detto, vive il 55% delle famiglie) e che non appena aumenta l'abitazione almeno una stanza viene adibita a cucina e ad usi diversi dal «riposo» si deve rilevare che quasi il 70% della popolazione del campione condivide con un numero di 3 o 4 persone il vano del riposo.

Per quanto attiene *la presenza di acqua potabile all'interno dell'abitazione o all'interno del cortile* adiacente più unità abitative, si è rilevato che nel complesso circa il 70% della popolazione gode di questo servizio. La percentuale tocca valori che si avvicinano al 100% nei quartieri di Hodon e Cabdilcasiis, mentre le più basse frequenze (intorno al 40%) si sono riscontrate a Kaaraan e Wadajir.

Territorio, edilizia, formazione: problemi e prospettive

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Nel grande scenario dei dibattiti nazionali ed internazionali molto si è maturato sulle strategie a medio-lungo termine per i Paesi in via di Sviluppo (PVS); dette strategie si sono sviluppate contemporaneamente al sempre crescente interesse per i problemi dei paesi emergenti. Interesse che ha le sue radici nei campi più diversi. A volte è il desiderio di sfruttare maggiormente le risorse economiche di questi paesi; altre volte è un sincero spirito di collaborazione economica e tecnica; altre ancora è la giusta preoccupazione di contribuire al miglioramento delle condizioni di vita dei popoli in via di sviluppo. A ciò può aggiungersi il desiderio di aumentare conoscenze ed esperienze in capo tecnico, contribuendo, inoltre, allo scambio di notizie: scambio che può essere vantaggioso per ambo le parti.

È proprio in questa ottica di scambio che si richiamano esperienze di cooperazione prima in Marocco poi in Somalia ed in particolare ricerche su territorio, edilizia e formazione in corso, dal lontano 1976 a Mogadiscio, nella Facoltà di Ingegneria della Università Nazionale Somala nel quadro della Cooperazione Tecnica con i Paesi in via di Sviluppo.

Il territorio e lo sviluppo storico di Mogadiscio

Mogadiscio si trova a 2° 2' di latitudine Nord ed a 45° 21' di longitudine Est, ed è una città costiera bagnata dall'Oceano Indiano.

Possiamo ricostruire l'aspetto che aveva la vecchia città basandoci sulla descrizione che ne faceva nel 1891 l'esploratore pavese Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti:

«Mogadiscio si presenta in un assieme gaio e civettuolo nel bianco delle case svelte ed angolose, distendendosi leggiadre ed avvolte in un nimbo di torrida luce, lungo la costa lambita tutto intorno dal mare. Quando il battello si avvicina, la città comincia a presentare profili più netti e spiccati, sicché tosto si distingue come si divida in due parti nettamente separate fra di loro da un palazzo che torreggia nel mezzo e che è la residenza del Governatore. Sono due grossi borghi collegati fra di loro da quel maestoso caseggiato.

A sinistra di chi approda, sorge su di una scogliera rocciosa e cinta da un muricciolo Hamaruin, più grande dell'altra frazione e che dal suo complesso severo, semplice ed oscuro, fa subito comprendere essere quella la parte più antica.

A destra, sulla costa, giace Shangani più moderna, bianca, pulita, coll'impronta di quelle recenti costruzioni arabe, tanto frequenti sulle coste del Mar Rosso.

A destra di Shangani, ed isolata, si eleva da un rialzo del terreno una torre di forma circolare e che dalla base larga va insensibilmente assottigliandosi in due sezioni distinte da un orlo di pietra a guisa di cornice, e terminante con una punta a cono nella quale si aprono quattro finestre. È questa la torre di Abdulaziz, dagli indigeni chiamata «Mnara».

Mogadiscio, gaia e sorridente, la più grande ed importante città di quella costa e che forse potrebbe essere la antica «Essenia» di Pericle, è chiamata «Madischa» dagli Arabi, i quali hanno per proverbio: «Mogadiscio, regina delle città, ogni giorno gioiosa e ben vestita, sempre chiacchierona e battagliera». La città, specie Shangani, che conta circa 4.000 abitanti, è composta di case aggruppate a caso e senza ordine, costruite in pietra, intonacate di calce bianca e col tetto a terrazza. La moschea principale trovasi nel borgo di Hamaruin, che conta circa 5.000 abitanti».

A questa descrizione aderisce perfettamente la situazione rappresentata nei primi due rilievi compiuti dalla Marina Italiana nel 1897, in cui si nota bene la presenza di due fasce di isolati che portavano la città antica fino a diretto contatto con il mare. Shanaanni, invece, giustifica pienamente la possibile origine che il Robecchi Brichetti attribuisce al suo nome; è l'unica città della costa somala nata «sulla sabbia», anziché su un'isola o un promontorio della scogliera corallina fossile.

Nelle stesse piante si notano oltre ai pozzi circostanti le città, altri elementi che caratterizzeranno, anche in futuro, il paesaggio urbano; il Forte Cecchi a 50 metri di quota sul mare, la strada per Afgooye che scavalca la duna, la tomba del capitano ucciso nel 1896 presso Lafoole, in riva al mare, l'antica torre vicino alla moschea di Sheek Cabdilcaasis e, in prossimità di Shangaanni, verso est, la «Casa Carovana» probabilmente un caravanserraglio destinato ad accogliere i viaggiatori; occorre osservare che esso si trovava in prossimità dell'approdo dei sambuchi nel luogo dove verrà costruito il primo porto protetto del molo.

Stesa per secoli tra l'Oceano e la duna, nel giro di pochi anni la città si è riversata oltre le colline ed è dilagata verso l'assolata pianura retrostante a seguito della forte immigrazione provocata dal richiamo della Capitale.

La città ha una struttura urbana caratterizzata da una grandissima estensione, con pochi elementi stabili di riferimento: i due antichi quartieri di Xamarwayne e Shangaanni che formano la città storica. Gli edifici di questi due quartieri, spesso multifamiliari e quasi sempre a più piani, sono fittamente raggruppati lungo vie di limitate dimensioni; sono di muratura intonacata o tinteggiata a calce, con solai e travi di legno. Le aperture verso la strada sono limitate alla porta d'ingresso, ai negozi e a piccole finestre ai piani superiori.

Per anni, quando Mogadiscio fu capitale coloniale, la città antica, espressione dell'incontro storico fra cultura araba e africana, fu ampliata all'europea secondo schemi convenzionali.

I primi interventi edilizi estranei al tessuto della città storica vennero compiuti dagli Italiani negli anni '20; furono costruiti, a N-W di Xamarwayne, gli uffici del Governo e la grande Cattedrale, e fu predisposta una maglia viaria a scacchiera per il «centro commerciale» e direzionale della città coloniale. Nel margine ovest-sud-ovest di Xamarwayne, furono aperte alcune strade larghe e diritte, che modificano la topografia dell'antico quartiere, pur non alterandolo molto nei profili e nelle altezze delle nuove case.

Il primo studio urbanistico della città è del 1929, quando il Governatore G. Corni fece redigere un Piano Regolatore per indirizzare l'accresciuta attività edificatoria; si trattava di una mappa della città in cui allo stato di fatto era sovrapposta una maglia regolare di strade ortogonali che prevedevano anche lo sventramento dei due quartieri più antichi (Xamarmawayne, Shangaanni). Al loro posto, di fronte al porto, doveva nascere il centro terziario e commerciale della città, respingendo la popolazione indigena in lottizzazioni periferiche.

È interessante rileggere i commenti dell'epoca sulla impostazione di questo Piano Regolatore: «il concetto che ha ispirato la sua compilazione è stato quello di creare la nuova città europea totalmente separata da quella indigena. Fu stabilita nel Corso Vittorio Emanuele (l'attuale Corso Somalia) la linea di separazione fra il nuovo centro europeo ed il vecchio quartiere indigeno di Xamarwayne; si provvide subito allo studio degli sventramenti necessari per dar luogo ad ampie strade e piazze alberate da costruirsi nel quartiere indigeno Shangaanni, costituito di capanne e di costruzioni irrazionali ed anti-igieniche. In un primo tempo, sgomorate le capanne delle località da sistemare, si provvide al trasporto ed alla sistemazione di esse in un ben ordinato e salubre villaggio che si arrampica sulla duna a Nord della città, in un secondo tempo venne iniziato l'esproprio e la demolizione di ruderi di case indigene, al fine di far posto alle nuove strade di allacciamento della nuova città col viale Vittorio Emanuele (1931)».

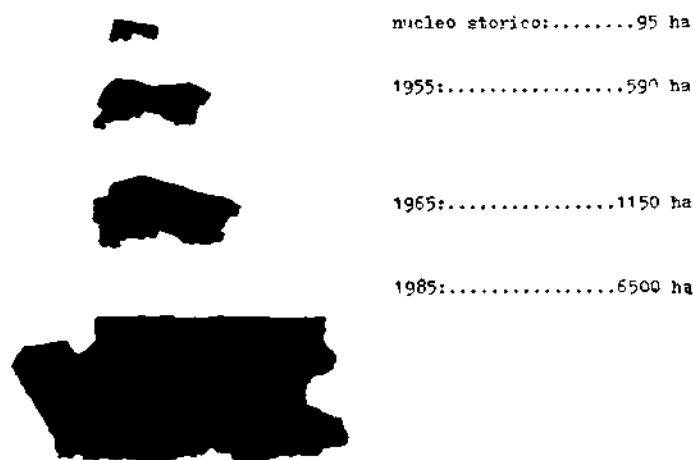


Fig. 1 - La macchia urbana di Mogadiscio a diverse epoche.

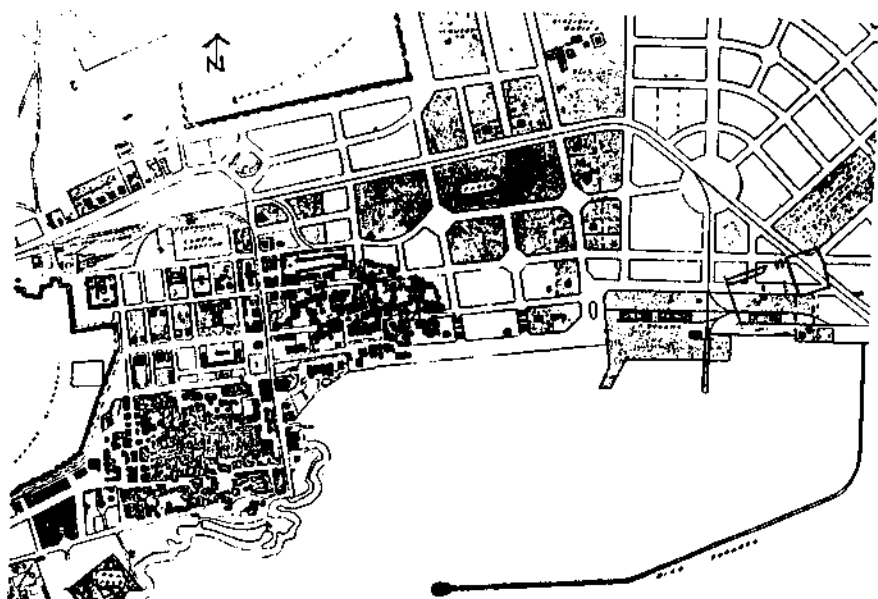


Fig. 2 - Il primo piano regolatore generale di Mogadiscio (1929).

Il Piano del '29 prevedeva lo sviluppo della città coloniale verso Nord-Est, fino alla zona che oggi si chiama «Villaggio arabo» (Shibbis); in realtà, in questa direzione non si verificarono grandi insediamenti fino al dopo-guerra.

Durante il periodo italiano, l'espansione della città rimase contenuta nel perimetro tracciato dal percorso della Ferrovia per Afgooye-Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi (Jowrhar), con l'unica eccezione del villaggio Shangaanni (Bondheere), arrampicato sulla duna retrostante, e delle caserme e degli impianti militari. Alla fine degli anni '30 fu iniziato un modesto insediamento residenziale a villini, nella zona del Lido, favorito dalla costruzione di un serbatoio d'acqua in stile arabeggiante, che torreggia ancora oggi sulla duna fra l'ospedale Forlanini e il mare.

Lo smantellamento della linea ferroviaria ad opera degli Inglesi tolse ogni barriera, fisica e psicologica, alla espansione incontrollata del tessuto urbano. La conseguenza più immediata è stata la costituzione di un lungo asse che penetra in città dall'aeroporto, attraverso l'infelicissimo incrocio a cinque vie del 4° Km, costituendo per molti anni, fino alla costruzione negli anni 1970-71 della nuova rete viaria esterna, l'unica comunicazione fra i quartieri urbani e il suo hinterland.

In rapporto al «centro storico», questo sviluppo dell'area urbana ha avuto almeno un riflesso positivo: distogliendone le attività terziarie, ne ha provocato involontariamente, la conservazione.

Il Piano Regolatore del 1937, mai divenuto esecutivo, tenta una sistemazione di una serie di episodi urbani ormai formati in piena anarchia (come, ad esempio, il viale e la lottizzazione della zona del Lido, che si vorrebbe unire alla retrostante zona dell'ospedale Forlanini, ignorando o spianando il forte dislivello della

duna litoranea). Lo schema del Piano si articola in una serie di banali e gratuiti tracciati viari, variati nelle diverse zone della città ed estesi fino a ricoprire a macchia d'olio l'intera superficie di Mogadiscio. In seguito l'ingegnere Tuccimei ne curò un'aggiornamento che non ebbe mai approvazioni ufficiali. Si è trattato comunque di adattamenti della maglia viaria ortogonale del primo piano alle lievi modifiche apportate in corso d'opera, e di un ampliamento progressivo dell'area da urbanizzarsi, attuata, a partire dai villaggi Shibis e Bondheere, attraverso una serie di lottizzazioni con reticoli viari più che discutibili; la prima espansione urbana si è avuta verso Nord, sulle dune che attorniano il nucleo urbano originario.

Poi negli anni '50, dopo la fine della seconda guerra mondiale, i villaggi autonomi si moltiplicano: Anzillotti (oggi Waaberi) e Hodon verso Ovest; nel 1967 Wardhiigley in direzione Nord; all'interno, quasi intatto, si contrappone una fascia urbanizzata, priva di rapporti organici e di legami strutturali con il territorio.

Dopo l'indipendenza, lo sviluppo della città proseguì con massicce lottizzazioni residenziali in precario: il governo locale assegnava i lotti e gli occupanti costruivano ciascuno la propria casa.

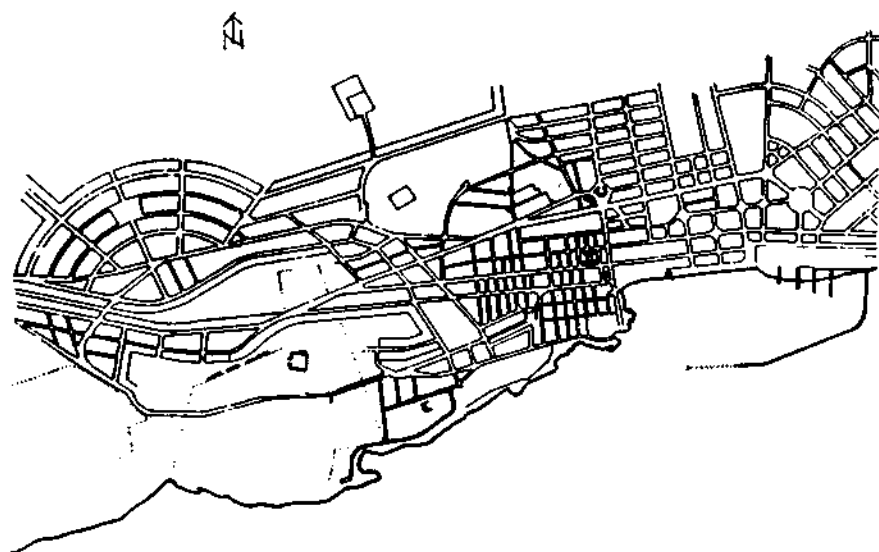


Fig. 3 - Schema viario del piano regolatore generale dell'ing. Tuccimei (1931).

Nel 1970 fu redatto un «Piano quinquennale» di sviluppo dell'area urbana per una superficie complessiva pari a circa 1600 ha e destinata ad accogliere almeno 250.000 abitanti. Venivano previsti nuovi insediamenti residenziali sui rilievi a Nord dei villaggi Wardhiigley, Shibbis, e valle Nord, tra le strade per Afgooye e Balaad.

Al di là di questi nuovi insediamenti residenziali, una nuova fascia prevalentemente industriale e terziaria (nuovi Ministeri, Campus Universitario) completava l'espansione urbana fino a un raggio massimo di 7 km dal centro.

A sostegno di tale struttura è stato realizzato un sistema viario costituito da una tangenziale rettilinea a Nord, lunga 10 km che congiunge le vie per Afgoooye e Balaad, e da 8 radiali di penetrazione dalla tangenziale verso l'area urbana.

L'edilizia e lo sviluppo urbanistico

I fenomeni di congestione dell'area urbana e di degrado della periferia di Mogadiscio, avviati in passato, continuano in questi ultimi anni a verificarsi in maniera sempre più pericolosa. Di conseguenza le condizioni dell'edilizia residenziale urbana, già precarie, si sono rapidamente deteriorate anche per la forte immigrazione della popolazione nomade verso la città, che ha provocato un'ulteriore carenza delle già inadeguate strutture sociali.

Da qui la realtà delle cosiddette «congested areas», da intendersi come nuclei di agglomerazione spontanea, occupate da abitazioni abusive, non solo disseminate lungo l'intero arco di Mogadiscio, ma anche localizzate all'interno dello stesso tessuto urbano, negli spazi liberi fra i villaggi. Il termine «abusivo» lascia qualche perplessità, viste le oggettive condizioni di vita, tuttavia questo tipo di occupazione indiscriminata del suolo libero ha compromesso certamente ogni possibile espansione guidata della città.

Nella periferia delle città, il problema delle nuove aree d'espansione residenziale viene affrontato attraverso la lottizzazione delle aree demaniali e la successiva privatizzazione per la realizzazione di abitazioni.

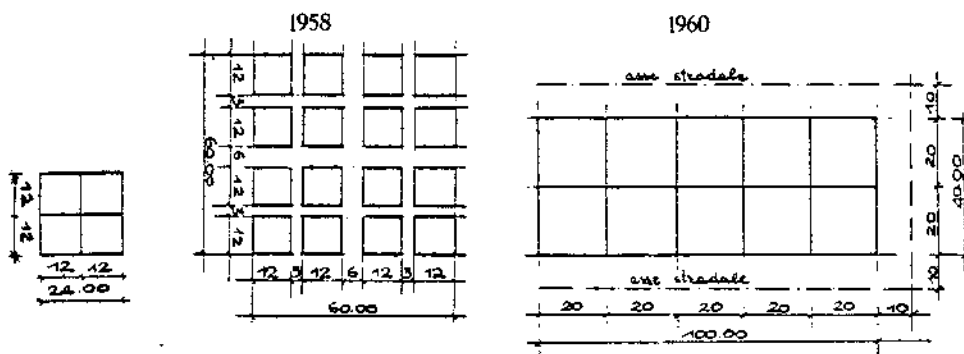


Fig. 4 - Tipologie di lottizzazione: realizzazione municipale (1930). Ministero LL.PP. (1958) e nuovi insediamenti (1960).

Passando all'edificio d'abitazione vero e proprio è importante sottolineare che il concetto di casa per i somali è molto diverso da quello europeo. Nell'abitazione somala, inizialmente luogo di difesa da intemperie ed animali, lo spazio chiuso che definisce la casa europea è solo una parte della casa somala e precisamente lo spazio per dormire (notte); a questo va aggiunto lo spazio all'aperto che comprende il soggiorno, la zona pranzo, e la cucina dove la famiglia si riunisce. Anche in Somalia nelle abitazioni si mescolano elementi spontanei prodotti da culture autoctone con prodotti di importazione, e d'imitazione di altre culture. Ne derivano diverse forme edilizie e precisamente:

- habitat spontaneo;
- edilizia d'imitazione per popolazione ad alto reddito, o per stranieri;
- edilizia sovvenzionata.

L'habitat spontaneo, che assorbe la maggior parte del fabbisogno edilizio, è caratterizzato da strutture flessibili, semplici, con poche rifiniture, costruite con materiali locali di basso costo ma anche di durata limitata (1-3 anni); è rappresentato dagli «*aqal*», «*arish*», «*mundul*», che pur nella diversità delle espressioni strutturali contengono tutti una sostanziale omogeneità di ispirazione culturale. A questi si deve aggiungere la «baracca» «*mitir kubo*», tipo edilizio presente nei villaggi urbani e nelle espressioni spontanee, ma certamente, dal punto di vista strutturale, d'origine europea.

La costante imitazione di modelli provenienti da altre culture ha comportato, particolarmente nelle periferie urbane quando le capanne diventano baracche, il disinteresse verso il contesto culturale e sociale autoctono: il tetto di lamiera è spesso considerato un elemento di miglioramento della costruzione, tralasciando le soluzioni tecniche del tetto tradizionale con impiego di materiali vegetali e ventilato inferiormente con prese d'aria, di gran lunga più perfezionato.

Questi caratteri generali dell'abitazione tradizionale, scontrandosi con altre culture, tendono a modificarsi e ad alterarsi, ponendo nuovi problemi da aggiungersi a quelli già esistenti. Così dal cortile che centralizzava le attività di tutta una famiglia patriarcale, perno della società africana, si passa agli alloggi mononucleari di impostazione europea.

Sembra che la volontà di conformarsi, senza analisi preliminari, a modelli culturali di tipo occidentale per quanto riguarda la casa, prevalga su una valutazione approfondita da parte di costruttori, progettisti e, perché no, dagli stessi interessi dei bisogni e delle abitudini di vita di queste popolazioni.

Se si ammette che l'architettura non è un semplice soddisfacimento di nuove tecniche, come si è purtroppo sovente fatto per l'Africa, occorrerà risalire alle sorgenti, cioè all'abitazione tradizionale, per rispondere all'interrogativo sul futuro dell'architettura africana, come propongono i fautori della «negritude».

Formazione e i paesi in via di sviluppo

Non è certamente facile trarre utili indicazioni o possibili soluzioni per una cultura del territorio e dell'abitazione sia per le tematiche in causa sia in quanto costituisce uno dei problemi più gravi ancor oggi ben lontano dall'essere risolto in tutti i paesi del mondo, tanto in quelli cosiddetti sviluppati come, sia pure con motivazioni diverse, in quelli in via di sviluppo.

Dalle analisi sopra esposte e dalle esperienze vissute emergono alcune chiare indicazioni per la formazione culturale e tecnologica sul tema; indicazioni in parte coincidenti con le diffuse affermazioni di «buone intenzioni» che risuonano ormai da molti anni, finora, solo timidamente seguite dai fatti. Esse sono:

— *l'atteggiamento* con cui affrontare questi temi deve essere quello di percorrere gradualmente la strada che porta innanzitutto a prendere coscienza che esistono problemi, scelte, modi di vita che hanno condizionato il passato, che influenzano il presente e che saranno determinanti per il nostro futuro; solamente la conoscenza approfondita dei problemi permette un vero scambio di esperienze e di

idee sia sul piano della cultura che su quello della tecnica: in qualsiasi rapporto umano si ha arricchimento per le parti tra cui è stabilito il rapporto stesso;

— *documentarsi*, informarsi e andare alle radici dei problemi; da ciò scoprire che, sul piano tecnico-edilizio, la conoscenza degli elementi e dei sistemi costruttivi, siano tradizionali o no, permette da una parte una migliore conoscenza delle civiltà e, dall'altra, un ripensamento sulle nostre consuete impostazioni di determinate questioni scoprendo che esistono possibilità diverse e diverse direzioni per affrontare certe scelte; la tecnologia appropriata non deve essere vista come un recupero nostalgico del passato, anzi richiede sforzi di inventiva di creatività spesso superiori a quelli di una tecnologia convenzionale: perché si tratta di inventare subito la transizione da forme di produzione e di cultura arcaiche alla società post-industriale, senza necessariamente ripercorrere il cammino della società industriale;

— *umanizzare* la tecnologia per darle la capacità di soddisfare le esigenze umane; esigenze di ciascuno e di tutti gli uomini; ciò non significa rifiutare la tecnologia avanzata, che ha certamente la sua utilità, e neppure si tratta di ignorare le risposte tecniche che oggi sono possibili ma si tratta di esaminare e valutare la loro efficacia, i loro costi, le loro implicazioni socio-culturali e di filtrarli in relazione alle necessità locali, regionali e nazionali al di fuori degli schemi usuali e dalle soluzioni familiari ai quotidiani giochi di potere; tale processo passa attraverso la necessità di fornire all'uomo gli strumenti per l'aumento della propria capacità decisionale, per la propria responsabilizzazione. Un tale tipo di coinvolgimento diretto ci porta inevitabilmente ad intervenire localmente nelle scelte territoriali; è il passo più difficile da compiere: riusciamo infatti ad individuare le situazioni da modificare, le vie nuove da percorrere, ma vorremmo e pretendiamo che siano gli altri a farlo.

Sono solo alcune puntualizzazioni che, pur nei loro limiti, già consentono di escludere che mai come ora si è presentato momento più favorevole non certo per nuove affermazioni di buone intenzioni ma per impegnarsi come docenti in una organica operazione di formazione sulle tecnologie per rispondere ai bisogni di nutrizione, alloggio, istruzione e sanità dei PVS tenendo ben presente che secondo la tecnica scelta, una risposta al bisogno può accrescere o frenare la capacità di una comunità ad analizzare la propria situazione e a decidere.

Risolvere sul piano della formazione e della partecipazione non significa soltanto dire no contro ogni spreco di qualità umane, di buona ricerca scientifica e, conseguentemente, di risorse ed energie, ma anche dire no ai consumi inutili, alla droga, agli armamenti cioè a tutto ciò che non permette di canalizzare le risorse a disposizione verso le speranze di ciascuno di noi per l'oggi e per il domani.

Part VI

Aspects of Development and Economy

The Mith of Capital Requirement in Development

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There is a wide contention in the literature of Development Finance, that externally generated resources, particularly Official Development Aid, do not enhance capital formation in developing countries. Some assertions go even further and show cases where foreign capital inflow actually halted or at least retarded the development process. The reasons put forward for this negative impact are based on: 1) Contention by some scholars that foreign aid to a developing country supplements the national consumption and does not augment savings; 2) Skepticism by some on the importance of capital, in the first place, on development. This skepticism is based on the development of Western Europe after World War II, which they contend was due to an increase in per capita output and not due to any significant increases in capital inputs. The former group conclude that, to the extent that foreign aid does not increase the economies savings rate it cannot help development. While the latter group significantly discount the importance of capital as an economic input, since in their assertion, increase in capital alone is not known to have lead to economic progress.

The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate that increased production which is undeniably the *sine qua non* of development is more of a function of some social elements in a society such as the degree of entrepreneurship, social institutions, social ingenuity, nature of political leadership and so forth, than it is of the use of capital. I argue that capital, in its physical and financial elements, is important to development but only to the degree that it is complemented by these indigenous social factors.

It is also the purpose of this paper to discuss these social factors as much as the available space allows.

The Need for Economic Assistance

International sources of savings are necessitated by the great desire of developing countries to upgrade the standard of living of their lot. That requires financing new activities for development and with rampant low savings rates in these countries, external sources to supplement internal savings is an inevitable alternative. This damaging insufficiency of domestic savings is attributable to a whole gamut of institutional, economical and cultural factors.

The degree of a country's capital formation (capital formation here means

long-term investment to create future productive capacity in its physical, financial and human aspects) is a direct function of the level of its investments. An increase in disposable income unaccompanied by increase in marginal propensity to consume is a necessary condition to increased savings. But increased savings do not automatically translate into investments. Other essential conditions must be fulfilled before savings are transformed into investments. It is extremely important to realize that saving is the final residue of an individual's disposable income, and hence, talking about savings assumes that the individual income reached a sufficiently high level to spillover into savings. The dilemma is to discern the cut-off between consumption and savings, how much to consume and how much to save out of a given income. It is tempting to say that the individual must first consume goods and services that sustain a minimum standard of living. This includes water, food, housing and health services to reduce the incidence of epidemic diseases and to save the rest of the income for future consumption.

A number of points need further considerations.

1) Minimum requirement: The average individual in low income countries such as Somalia may not earn enough income to cover the minimally essential needs to survive and subsequently death from starvation and related diseases is prevalent.

2) The «Demonstration Effect»: Levels of consumption in developing countries are rising, despite low income levels. The demonstration effect operates on the international level. People in low income countries imitate the advanced consumption of people in high income countries. In Somalia some women in urban areas demand West German furniture and home decorations before completing a marriage contract - a classic case of international demonstration effect. Professor Ragnar Nurkse puts it more succinctly:

When people come into contact with superior goods or superior patterns of consumption, with new articles or new ways of meeting old wants, they are apt to feel after a while a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction. Their knowledge is extended, their imagination stimulated; new desires are aroused, the propensity to consume is shifted upward (Ragnar Nurkse 1952: 62-63)

These temptations to emulate advanced consumption patterns inevitably limit the supply of investible funds and present serious problems for the poor countries. It can be argued that the newly emerging wants may act as an incentive to make people work harder and, hence, to increase production but it does not follow that the increased output can be saved and invested. The demonstration effect may also operate domestically; the low income majority in a developing country is lured by the conspicuous consumption patterns of its indigenous economic elites. One can talk about rural-urban demonstration effect as well.

3) Consumption-investment preference: A crucial point in the notion of investments is that one can curtail present consumption only to the extent that consuming it in the future is somehow preferable to the present. A belief is widely held in some Islamic societies of the developing world that whatever income is earned today is for the consumption of today, while tomorrow's earning is no one responsibility but the Provider's, as God. Of course one must be active and industrious, but the ultimate power to provide each day's consumption (RIZQ), separate from other days, lies with God. This notion, by extension holds that, through the head of the family, additional income will be provided by God for each additional child born to a family.

4) Foreign exchange constraint: Most of the arguments of the necessity of foreign aid are based on the insufficiency of domestic savings as explained above and the contention that foreign aid is necessary to supplement internal savings in the process of capital formation. But even when domestic savings are sufficiently large to finance all proposed development projects, it is still difficult to overcome the foreign exchange constraint. Therefore, foreign aid is still required for the acquisition of foreign goods and services necessary for promoting domestic development (Meier 1976: 330-334).

The foregoing notes are serious problems that, along with other factors, are responsible for the insufficient savings levels in the developing countries.

Other development constraints exist, some of which are institutional in nature that posit difficult and progress hampering problems. Some of these are elaborated in the next section.

Capital Formation Cycle

A number of crucial steps must be made in the process of transforming an increase in real income to the final productive process of investments which leads to capital formation and, theoretically, to economic development, *ceteris paribus*.

An increase in real income provides an individual with the capacity to save, but without appropriate incentives, the saved portions may end up in unproductive saving vaults, i.e., under mattresses. Considered separately, individual savings may seem negligible, but they can contribute to capital formation significantly if pooled and used collectively. This is precisely where depository institutions could play major roles.

Financial institutions, particularly commercial banks, are used in some developing countries by savers for their provision of physical safety only. Some merchants even opt to use their homes as a bank by purchasing strong metal vaults and, if necessary, hiring armed watchmen for its protection. For many small savers, it is not worth all the paperwork and bureaucratic red tape to take 50-100 shilling monthly savings to the bank. Under these circumstance, therefore, where other investment opportunities — corporate equity and bonds, government bills etc. are not available — people opt to keep their money in their pockets even with the intention to save.

In addition to this, commercial banks in some countries are not strong on confidentiality and some savers may be discouraged by the fear that their competitors may find out their financial strength and act accordingly. In extreme cases, these banks, which are mostly owned by the state, may be given the order either to report to a special government agency those who deposit large amounts of money or else to have them get clearance from the government as precondition to accepting their deposits — a strong disincentive to use the bank.

Under normal circumstances, the interest that a bank offers to its depositors is a function, in part, of the cost of its own capital. Commercial bank in the lower income countries hold state assets and with the existing lack of commercial expertise and the limited investment opportunities in their domestic markets, it is hard for them to determine an appropriate interest schedule that is both attractive to investors and profitable. Thus, a major incentive for investment has been lacking.

The constraints explained above, some of which are due to the low income nature of these societies while others are due to a combination of low absorptive capacities of local economies, international and domestic demonstration effects and the absence of financial expertise, all contribute to severe shortages in capital formation.

Consequently, the need for external finances, namely foreign aid to fill the gap between required investment and available internal savings becomes an inescapable reality.

Foreign Aid and Development¹

The most important issue to be critically analysed in the process of transfer of capital to developing countries is its historic contribution to development. «If financial development aid is to achieve its end,» writes Gaston Leduc of the University of Paris, «it should normally lead to a quantitative increase of investment in the recipient country and hence raise the rate of increase of the aggregate national product» (Leduc 1966). Excessive time and effort should not be wasted on examining reasons for which aid is given. It is more productive to understand the relationship between aid inflow into a country and the degree of its development. Studies of this relationship have used different variables as a measure of development (dependent variable). Changes in the rate of domestic savings were tested against capital inflow, either over time or across countries, and conclusions were made as to whether foreign aid effected change in internal savings in either direction. Results of some of the studies are summarized in Table 1.

Changes in standard of living, as measured by the changes in per capita income were also tested against foreign aid inflow, the point being that knowing the association between foreign aid inflow and some development index or indices will either justify or disapprove major efforts that are taken to secure external capital.

In the following sections I will discuss the arguments for and against foreign aid based, in some cases, on its observed association with internal savings and, in other cases, on its political and distributional ramifications.

Results of studies

Most of the studies put internal savings rates as the response variable and postulated its changes to be a function of a number of variables one of which is foreign aid or total capital inflow.² Some of the results are summarized below.

¹ The section draws heavily from Abdurahman Dualeh Beileh (1984, pp. 43-50).

² Major studies that have been done in this area include: Anisur Rahman (1967); Griffin and Enos (1970); Griffin (1970); Weisskopf (1972).

Table 1 - *The Effect of Resource inflows on Savings or Investment*

Author	Number of observations	Time series or cross section	Savings or Investment	Effect
Griffin & Enos	32	C	S	-0.73
A. Rahman	31	C	S	-0.25
Areskouf	22	T	I	-0.40
Weisskopf	38	T	S	-0.23
Chenery	16	T	S	0.64 to -1.15
Chenery	90	C	S	-0.49
Chenery	90	C	I	-0.11

Source: Refer to Leduc 1966 and also Chenery and Strout 1976.

Some of these studies looked at the changes in savings rates or investment rates of selected countries overtime, while others studied changes on a comparative basis across countries. The «effect» column indicates the marginal propensity to save or investment out of each additional dollar received as an external capital. For example, Weisskopf's study finds the following relationship:

$$S = a + 0.1834Y - 0.227F + 0.176E$$

(t = 65.9)
(t = 5.3)
(t = 4.6)

Where Y = Gross domestic Product

F = Net Foreign Capital inflow (not only foreign aid)

S = Gross saving

E = Total Exports

a = Intercept, and varies among countries

The model postulates that changes in the gross savings levels in each country are explained by changes in their respective gross domestic products, net foreign capital inflows into each country and the magnitude of their export levels. It is quite evident from the t-values that all three variables are significantly associated with savings and about 90 percent of total variations of savings on the average is accounted for by three variables.³ However, it can be seen that the foreign capital inflow variable shows a negative association with gross savings; for every one dollar of foreign capital inflow, the gross savings decline by about 23 cents. Other studies also showed negative association, and that is the basis for a widely held hypothesis that foreign capital inflow actually delays economic progress. Reasons for this inverse relationship are cast as follows:

1) That foreign capital may go to the protection of infant industries by giving them easy credits made possible by the availability of foreign capital. Such soft credit reduces incentives of local investors to save.

2) In cases of private capital inflow, foreign investors may take up the few investment opportunities in the local market, leaving the local entrepreneur with no incentive to save.

³ For the actual study, see Weisskopf (ibid.).

3) Foreign capital inflow stimulates international and domestic demonstration effect, increases the craving for consumption of imported goods made available by foreign capital and, therefore, indirectly decreases savings.

4) Massive politically oriented aid inflow helps governments in developing countries to cover up the negative ramifications of their activities.⁴ A good example is the overthrow of President Jaafar Nimeri in the Sudan. The sixty-seven million dollar aid package signed with the United States to bail him out was just a few days too late.

5) The bulk of foreign assistance may be poured into gigantic, and wasteful projects that are promulgated for political reasons. It may be used to finance balance of payments deficits that are sometimes created as means to receive more aid from the developed world.

6) Expectation of more aid discourages governments in developing countries to structure internal programs, however painful, that are designed to increase domestic savings. A good example can be drawn out from the first-five year development plan of Somalia, 1963-1967, where planners wrote:

«A substantial amount of aid is expected from the European common market which is providing U.S. 500 million as assistance to the associate member countries of the common market. The Somali Republic should be entitled to a substantial share out of this amount...» (Ministry of Planning 1963).

There is no doubt that Somalia needed and continues to need external help in formulating and financing her development programs. It is due to that evident need that about 80 percent of development financing come from external sources in the 1963-1986. Nevertheless, the kind of argument presented by the planners displays a dangerously injudicious approach to development and only serves to perpetuate economic dependence on external sources.

Foreign capital, especially foreign aid, creates a tendency among the policy makers of developing countries to shy away from taking some painful but constructive steps to mobilize internal sources of revenues. Relevant to this problem is the strong argument that, some governments in developing countries take foreign aid as if it were a gift and hence exacerbate the economic problems of subsequent years, not to mention overtaxing future generations. In a debate on Africa, held at the University of Wisconsin, in the spring of 1985 an ambassador of a developing country to United States and former minister of trade said, in answering a question about the problems of debt, «We keep on overeating, we get sick, and we see the doctor, IMF, for treatment». «Why do you continue overeating?» he was asked. «Because there is plenty of cheap food around», he answered. Peter Bauer persuasively shows that aid perpetuates economically damaging ideas and attitudes in developing countries: «Opportunities and resources for advance of oneself and one's family must come from someone else — the state, the rulers, one's superiors, richer people or foreigners. In this sense, aid pauperises those it purports to assist».

This line of argument is supported by other scholars such as Simon Kuznets who questions the importance of capital. He makes the point that the contribution of capital to the rise in the per capita income in the advanced countries during

⁴ For more reasons, see Bauer (1974).

the post World War II period was fairly small or less than 14 percent. The rest of the increase was due to multiplication in productivity per man/hour and not an increase in capital input per person (Kuznets 1964: 41). Peter T. Bauer makes the strongest assertion against foreign aid by writing that,

«I shall argue here that foreign aid is plainly not indispensable to economic progress, and indeed likely to obstruct it. Foreign aid increase the resources of the recipient governments and countries, that is, it makes possible additional consumption and investment. But it does not follow that aid increases the rate of development». (Bauer 1976:95).

Others, however, hold the idea that foreign aid is essential for economic progress, and without it, economic development will be seriously delayed. Professor Gustav Papanek makes an important point when he notes that, in the aid process, assistance is sought by developing countries when their economies are in serious trouble, that is when internal saving is low, therefore, the negative association may be coming from this reverse phenomenon (Papanek 1972). This argument, however, can only be taken as persuasive if foreign assistance were used solely for economic development. As discussed, above, other purposes for aid may be more formidable than economic progress. It is important to note that even those who found the negative association in their studies think aid is not unimportant. Some of them, in fact, recommend it.

Concluding Remarks

It is common knowledge that increased and sustained production is the key to development. The debate on the importance of capital to development is based on traditional models of economic growth that overemphasize capital as the most important input of production. Capital is only as important as the other economic inputs as labor, entrepreneurship and technology. Perhaps the most important economic inputs are what may be called the «thinking» elements — namely, labor, entrepreneurial skills, and the general desire of the public to develop.

The importance of capital in the transitional period to augment internal savings and cover imported inputs of the economy cannot be over-emphasized, but there should be no illusion about the fact that an ultimate and sustained economic development is dependent on people's ability and desire to better themselves and on their social organizations, leaders, and political institutions. Without a positive presence and performance of these latter factors, a world of capital to any country will not make a bit of difference. This datum must be taken seriously by both donors and recipients.

These characteristics are crucial to the extent that the supply of capital and other resources can be thought of as the result or outcome of the people and their social arrangements. Most of the failures of foreign economic assistance, therefore, could be accounted for by fallibilities in these intrinsic factors. This is not, at all, to imply that capital as an economic input is not important. It is quite unlikely that any typical Asian or African country could meet all the overwhelming requirements of skill formation, institution building, investment allocation, etc., without external capital flow from the more developed countries. In the initial stages of development external capital is an extremely crucial input.

Chenery and Strout make an illustrative note to this effect, that «the substantial increases in internal savings that have been achieved in a decade of strong growth — from 7 percent to 12 percent in the Philippines, 11 percent to 16 percent in Taiwan, 6 percent to 14 percent in Greece and 9 percent to 12 percent in Israel — demonstrate the speed of aid sustained growth once rapid development has taken hold» (Chenery and Strout 1976). These and other countries, such as South Korea, clearly show the importance of foreign economic assistance for sustained capital formation if it is used appropriately. Hong Kong, for example, was a desolate rock before the turn of the century and it has since turned into a world center of manufacturing and exports goods in a heavy scale. This is where human faculties and resources, as an important economic input, make a crucial difference.

I would like to argue that misuse of the foreign aid accounts for a major part of the negative association found between its inflow and economic development, a misuse which is not due to foreign aid being consumed as many people maintain, but is due to some important factors missing, such as local managerial skills, entrepreneurship and efficient local development institutions. It is high time that these factors are taken seriously into consideration.

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Entrepreneurial Considerations

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There is a Somalian folklore about Egal Shidaad who sat all night in the bush frightened because he imagined that a tree stump was a lion. He experienced *habeyneyso* or a night blindness that prevented him from seeing accurately. His conclusion and consequent behavior as a result of that experience was to never go for walks in the bush at dusk. Perhaps this story has implications for how we approach considerations for entrepreneurialism in Somalia.

Entrepreneurialism is defined as the process in which individuals engage in the risk of doing business in the market place. Often because the entrepreneurial opportunities are not seen too clearly, a *habeyneyso* sets in that creates an exaggerated fear of the risk of doing business, and particularly, a reluctance to analyze and fully explore the alternative available for managing such a venture.

Recent studies on Somalia have reiterated the need for policy measures and institutional reforms for the country to sustain economic recovery in the short term and move from recovery to growth over the longer term (Min. of Nat. Pl., 1985). They emphasize making the best use of existing capacities in agriculture and industry, expanding production through low cost investments, and creating the climate and incentive framework to mobilize the initiative and resources of the private sector.

The government has adopted a major adjustment program for the past year to meet its economic crisis such as a major devaluation, the establishment of a free foreign exchange market for most non-government transactions, the elimination of export and import restrictions, the dismantling of most price controls, and fiscal and monetary measures to constrain demand growth. All to mobilize the initiatives and resources of the private sector.

However, these problems are not easily overcome. There is a huge resource gap stemming from a level of consumption exceeding domestic production, high import dependence contrasted to stagnating export, and low productivity of investments arising from deficiencies in financial discipline, public expenditure management and resource allocation.

These issues can be resolved by inacting policies to restrain consumption, to raise savings, to improve the efficiency of resource use and to concentrate investment in priority areas such as better utilization of existing capacities, increases in production of livestock, bananas and other exports and an adequate import — substitution in food and industrial products. Even low productivity could be improved by adhering to a tougher project criteria when initiating and financing

projects, as well as critically assessing the potential implementation capacity of such projects. (*Somalia a Social and Institutional Profile* 1983: 4).

The above efforts, all encouraging, have as their purpose to stimulate the growth of the private sector entrepreneurial capacity. In contrast, depending on how these efforts are implemented within the social and institution context, they could merely exacerbate existing bureaucratic tendencies towards officiousness and over-centralization in planning and decision-making, further inflate the public payroll, inhibit growth in the private sector, reinforce antagonistic attitudes between producers and regulators, and create a bureaucratic constituency of technocrats that will make it politically and administratively more difficult to adopt new and more facilitating policies in the future.

Entrepreneurial Barriers

A recent study conducted at the Somali Institute of Development Administration and Management (SIDAM) interviewed a number of the owners and operators of the largest businesses in Somalia. We found that the business people identified their barriers to entrepreneurial success to be a constricted market, lack of managerial skills, unhealthy competition, the difficulty of getting foreign currency and red tape.

The market restriction was viewed as a hinderance for big industrial production. That large production could not be absorbed by the domestic market and its purchasing power. There was little outward-looking thought of export-oriented manufacturing or service sector development; the market that could maximize return to human resources and Somalia if exploited.

The lack of managerial skills in Somalia has been well documented in previous studies (Elhag, 1984). Most of the big business owners have not had a secondary education. The need for managerial development and the availability of those skills for purchase are in short supply. When abilities are developed the international market place, plus the repressive policy of not recognizing abilities, force people to contribute elsewhere.

The unhealthy competition, from what is said, results from bureaucratic interference. Those with political connections and termed «favorites» have ease in their importation efforts and obtaining hard currency. Those «non favorite» business people without political ties often face difficulties or failures in importation and getting hard currency. This is a force against privatization.

The red tape, or bureaucratic stifling, is a result of low paid public officials who often do not execute their duties efficiently, effectively or according to law.

Without reservation the business people of this study saw one of the great barriers to their entrepreneurial success as not getting competent public services whether it happens to be bank transactions, customs consent, or importation licenses.

Most of the successful business people we studied were involved in food importation. This is an area of high demand, low government obstacles, low capital need and what appears on the surface to be low need for sophisticated management skills and trained employees. This area also has an immediate and substantial return on investment.

These favorable business factors also become self-perpetuating and operate

against investing in food production. In food production the return on investment is longer, the climate conditions are more unreliable, the capital outlay in equipment is also higher. Production and consequent possible export in their view also require more trained managers and employees.

Protectionism against unpredictable market mechanisms, monopolies, inequitably applied laws and regulation has resulted in what we will call opportunistic behavior engaged in by the business people.

This opportunistic behavior is demonstrated most vividly at the ports by:

- a) eliminating much of what is owned by incomplete invoices.
- b) reducing the value or cost of items, which results in lower customs.
- c) bribing for verification of a lower declaration.
- d) items concealed in mislabeled packages.
- e) having a bribed tally man declare a short shipment.

With official connection success is possible. Bank loans come with or without guarantees. Contracts come on more favorable terms. Organizations are required to purchase the connected business person's goods at inflated prices. Soon the unconnected or non-favorite business person may realize that the risk here is not within the scope of healthy open competition. There comes a realization that the probability of success in the market place has a built in bias against him.

We and the group we are a part of are continually being transformed. Hopefully it is not the transformation to what the poet T. S. Eliot described as the hollow men of a modern wasteland but to an extended family, and as Shuaib Ahmed Kadwai wrote, «there can be no real family — without dignity».

Dignity in the market place means having an opportunity, a reasonable opportunity, to compete fairly. Those who advocate a completely free market place most often refer to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nation* for a supportive advocate. Few, I've found, have actually read Adam Smith for he emphasized that a free and open market place would only work among people of honor and virtue. The realization of power and politics does not allow for complete equality in the market place, but for privatization to work in Somalia, power needs to support, encourage and protect entrepreneurialism by limiting favoritism by at least fifty percent.

Considerations and an Educated Infrastructure

It is possible to experiment with the support of such organization as the chamber of commerce and the upcoming Somali Management Training and Development (SOMTAD) effort at SIDAM to encourage and try action research in specific entrepreneurial areas. Particularly the process of managing business and government.

This may involve applying some adapted approaches to Somalia of Thomas Peter's principles for excellence (Peters, 1984). They would include:

a) Encouraging Experimentation — trying new ideas and testing experiments that build on each other to achieve success.

b) Sponsoring champions — using those who are motivated to true market place entrepreneurialism with commitment and staying power as positive examples.

c) Managing by Wandering Around — the Somali leader being willing to as-

sist, coach and become involved with what his people are doing, and became less removed.

d) Simplifying System — a few, helpful bare-bones systems that apply to Somalia and are understandable.

e) Emphasize training — train from the top to the bottom. Just as a good football team must practice and train so must the members of a successful organization. Identify by solid research what are the competent practices needed at the top and throughout the layers of the organization and then train people in those clusters of core behaviours.

Conclusions

First, some economic considerations. If privatization is really desired, then the inconsistencies in the infrastructure of the system must be eliminated or at least reduced. There needs to be a broader view of what privatization is as profitable, regenerating entrepreneurialism.

Education in management schools does a fine job with cognitive learning but not actual practices. Cognitive learning is detached and informational, like listening to a lecture.

But cognitive learning no more makes an entrepreneur then it does a football player. We are taught skills by practice and information or feedback on our successes. This needs to be carried out in a systematic way. First, the skills or practice must be identified through actual research as being a valid and viable skill for an entrepreneur in Somalia. Then the person needs to gain experience through simulation, video tapes, role plays, and actual practice with feedback.

There are few jobs more important then those of the leaders of this society and those who manage and engage in revenue generating enterprise. It is vital to put away assumptions about entrepreneurial management development and realistically train our managers in this important performance. Then perhaps we may avoid the Egal Shidaad syndrome and operate with clearer vision and less fear.

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The Debt Crisis of the Developing Countries and the IMF Conditionality. Potential Economic and Social Consequences in Somalia

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The International Monetary Fund (IMF): Is it a Crisis Manager or a «Financial Policeman» for the Third World?

1. The Debt Crisis of the Third World

The World Bank estimated that the Third World had a foreign debt of US \$ 810 billion at the end of 1983, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimated a figure of US \$ 702 billion. In reality, the obligations of the developing countries probably are much higher than this because the international statistics do not include «military» loans and only sporadically cover short term loans with a period of less than one year. In 1983, debts in the amount of over US \$ 60 billion for almost 30 countries of the Third World were renegotiated. The rescheduling of debts can, however, bring only temporary relief for the debtor nations. A debt disaster is expected again in the second half of the eighties.

The increasing balance of payments problems of countries in the Third World in recent years, has lead to a growing importance of the IMF. Because IMF loans are more often being granted with strict conditions and also because other lenders in recent years are increasingly making the transfer of financial resources and the process of rescheduling dependent upon obtaining the «stamp of approval» of an adjustment program supported by the IMF, the Fund exercises considerable influence on the economic policy of the debtor nations and the credit granting policy of the commercial banks.

Presently 37 countries have such adjustment programs which are essentially formed in co-operation with the IMF and which are primarily aimed at reaching a medium-term equilibrium of the balance-of-payments. In the present foreign economic situation this requires in general considerable internal structural change within the debtor nations, and therefore the conditionalities imposed by the IMF are also important from the perspective of development policy.

2. The Basic Principles of the Conditionalities of the IMF.

The central and overriding aim of the IMF adjustment programs is a medium-term viable balance-of-payments while the targets with respect to the rate of inflation, growth, employment, etc., have more the character of projections which are compatible with the balance-of-payment goal. This tendency is reinforced by the fact that the Fund still continues to maintain the position that development and distribution goals should not be an aspect of the conditionalities. According to this, none of the 30 stand-by agreements within the period from 1964 to 1979 (with one exception in the sixties) have included a goal such as limiting the burdens of adjustment for the low income groups.

3. Theoretical Concepts for the Adjustment Programs.

The IMF's concept of adjustment is closely connected with its perspective of the reasons for the balance-of-payments problems. Although even research by IMF shows that the actual problem of balance-of-payments of the developing countries results from a combination of external shocks, structurally limited leeway for adjustment and an inadequate economic policy, within the parameters of the discussion on conditionalities exogenous factors and different adjustment capacities play only a minor role in the IMF explanatory pattern. Primarily internal economic policy mistakes are identified as reasons for the balance-of-payments problems.

It is not surprising that the IMF approves only measures which do not restrict the free flow of goods, services and capital. After all, the IMF was founded in order to promote the expansion of international trade. The IMF assumes that free trade and unregulated international division of labour maximize world income. The essential pillars of the adjustment strategy as recommended by the IMF can be stylized as «regard for financial discipline», «liberalization of external economic relations», and «market economy regulatory mechanisms in the domestic sphere».

Within this framework the IMF recommends aiming at external balance with a combination of restrictive monetary and fiscal policies, devaluation and supply-oriented measures. Special emphasis is placed upon limiting the growth of domestic credit for financing budgetary deficits, tax increases and reduction of public spending, among other things by reducing direct subsidies, for example, for basic foodstuffs and implicit subsidies in the area of energy and for public utilities. Instead of protectionist intervention and measures to stimulate demand, the IMF promotes an economic policy which stimulates supply and improves the international competitiveness of the economy.

However, the general preference of the IMF for market economy regulatory mechanism can with good reason be questioned from the perspective of development theory: other cultural parameters than those in western industrial countries, deficient legal systems, great inequality of income and property distribution and a high degree of structural heterogeneity lead to a breakdown of market mechanisms or to results of the market processes which are undesirable from the viewpoint of development policy; correspondingly, one typically finds in developing countries an extensive involvement of the state in the economy.

4. *Social and Political Consequences of the IMF Program*

Even those who favor the IMF adjustment measures as being necessary and efficient can not deny that at least in the short-term they have negative effects on economic growth, the employment level, and the standard of living. Especially the lower social classes are affected by the growing unemployment, the reduction of social programs, the removal of price ceilings, devaluation, etc. Their already low level of consumption drops further. As compared to industrial countries, when such measures are implemented in developing countries, where, the majority of the population has to live at the edge of the existence minimum, there can be deadly consequences for many people.

The IMF argues that without the programs with their painful austerity measures for social policy, many developing countries would get into increasingly greater financial difficulties, which would force the governments sooner or later to limit necessary imports (pre-products, spare parts, foodstuffs, etc.) because of scarcity of foreign exchange, and this could have even worse consequences for the poor than had the government made an agreement with the IMF program at an earlier date. Thus most of the governments of the Third World look upon the stabilization programs with disapproval probably less because of humanitarian reason than, primarily, out of fear of the considerable burdens for the already shaky political systems of the Third World which would result from the sudden reduction of the living standards of the poor. Often implementation of the agreed upon measures has led to social unrest which either lead to revoking the measures or to the violent suppression of the social protest. Thus, for example, the riots in Egypt forced the government in January 1977 to reinstate the subsidies for basic foodstuffs which they had revoked under the pressure of the IMF.

Governments whose policies do not agree with the economic philosophy and economic policy concepts of the Fund are pushed by the «financial policeman» to follow a course between Scylla and Charybdis: if the governments do not come to an agreement with the IMF, then they risk losing their creditworthiness with the international finance capital, which intensifies the economic crisis and almost inevitably ends in the loss of legitimacy: on the other hand, if they agree to the IMF demands, then their international creditworthiness is re-established but at the cost of domestic economic recession and social polarization which also unavoidably brings the loss of internal legitimacy.

Because many programs are not flexible enough to be accepted by all socially relevant groups — especially by the labor unions — often even the most reasonable economic policy targets are not achieved because of strikes, production stoppages and declining productivity of labor. Evidently the IMF is caught in a dilemma: on the one hand, more flexible, more socially acceptable conditionalities are hardly compatible with the presently very important catalytic function of the Fund (that is, to make rescheduling possible and to guarantee further credits from the international banks), on the other hand, in the meantime the level of tolerance for the majority of the population in most countries of the Third World has been reached.

In conclusion, it can be ascertained that the IMF no longer fulfills its job as crisis manager in the Third World. Its remedies are only effective in the short-term, if at all; in the conflict between the interest of debtors and creditors it

acts as the inflexible advocate of the latter; those who suffer most under this policy are the underprivileged sectors of the population in the developing countries.

Somalia's Present Economic Situation and Growing Foreign Indebtedness

In order to be able to analyse production conditions in Somalia, we really need reliable official statistics; these however, are almost totally lacking in Somalia. We must therefore rely on official estimates, which, however, are subject to a considerable incidence of errors.

In 1984, the real growth rate of GDP was approximately 2.3%. Net growth of cattle stocks was below the 1983 rate; in fact it even fell by 1.1%. Agricultural production improved thanks to good weather conditions, and reached the record growth rate of 10.6%. The production of maize, sorghum and rice thus exceeded the level reached in 1983, whilst the production of sugar cane fell because of the lack of energy sources (above all petrol and oil). Economic activity in the manufacturing sector fell by 3% due to the irregular supply of crude oil; technical problems caused a considerable decline in output of refined petrol, whilst sugar production stagnated as a result of the lack of skilled labour, spare parts and raw materials.

In 1984 the net indebtedness of the state actually rose by as much as 143%, whereas the indebtedness of the private sector (including publically-owned companies) was reduced by 50%. Somalia's disbursed external debt rose from US Dollar 695 million at the end of 1980 to US Dollar 887 million at the end 1981 and to US Dollar 1,056 million at the end of 1982 and in 1983 rose to US Dollar 1.202 million. It is estimated to have risen to US Dollar 1.503 million at the end of 1984. These data refer to a public and publicly guaranteed debt of an initial maturity greater than one year. The debt consists mainly of long-term concessional loans. In the past few years the structure of Somalia's debt has shifted towards a higher proportion of debt owed to multilateral organization.

The IMF's Adjustment Programme and its Economic and Social Effects in Somalia

In order to overcome these economic problems, Somalia's government turned to the IMF. Somalia had to accept harsh enjoiners governing economic policy in order to receive the standby credit.

The following performance criteria were fixed by the IMF the last drawing of 22.1 million Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) for 1985: — A rise in the rate of growth of the gross national product from 2-3% in 1984 to 4% in 1985; — A reduction in the rate of inflation from 92% in 1984 to 20% in 1985; — A reduction in the balance of payments deficit by 57 million US dollars in 1985.

The devaluation of the So. Sh. and restrictions on domestic credit were other imposed measures. The selling rate of the So. Sh. rose from So. Sh. 6.35 per US dollar in 1980/81 to So. Sh. 95.9 per US dollar in April 1985. Total credit outstanding within the country was cut back from 17.2% in 1981 to 10.9% in 1985.

The aim of these enjoiners was to curb excessive domestic demand. There is no dispute about the fact that a short-term stabilization of the balance of payments can be achieved by means of this policy. However, the latter has also given

rise to an economic recession. Somalia's total volume of exports fell by 14.9% in 1981 and 38.0% in 1984. The domestic utilization of capacity has fallen, particularly in manufacturing plant, agriculture and the livestock sector. Domestic liquidity also fell from 30% in 1981 to 8.6% in 1985.

1. The Social Effects in Somalia

The IMF conditions compel the state to restrict public borrowing (to 1% of the state budget in 1985) and to cut subsidies on basic needs, the social sector (schools, universities, hospital) and transport etc. Somalia was forced to cut back on publically-owned companies and to raise charges for public services as well as indirect taxation. Prices had to be liberalized and 20% of employees made redundant in the public sector. The public ability to effect capital expenditure was restricted in favour of private investment. The foreign trade ramparts, designed to shield the national economy, were to be reduced in size. The aim of this measure was to push down the rate of inflation, which rose from 10.2% in 1978 to 92.2% in 1984 nevertheless. The purpose of this was to take pressure off the balance of payments. It has, however, only been relieved to the detriment of the marginal population. These enjoiners represented an attempt at influencing the country's development by means of the market mechanism. The deficit on capital account, which had caused the external disequilibrium, was reduced. In the domestic economy, this was only achieved by means of a reduction in the budget deficits, not however by a sustained fight against inflation. On the contrary, price rises within the economy have been accelerated.

The cut-down on total credit outstanding within the country, and the restrictive money-supply and budget policies tend to have a dampening effect on inflation; however this effect is not immediate, but rather medium-term at best. On the other hand, the cuts in subsidies, price liberalization and devaluation, as well as the rise in indirect taxation all led to direct increases. The price index for consumer goods in Mogadishu represents the only index for consumers. This shows an increase from 313.4 in 1981 to 1309.6 in 1985. The IMF's shock therapy (drastic cuts in subsidies, extensive price liberalization and devaluations) set the price merry-go-round in full swing in Somalia, and this immediately gave rise to new «disequilibria» on the balance of payments.

Important as price incentives may be, they are not sufficient with respect to the necessary development of agriculture; and as far as social policy is concerned, these measures are dangerous when they are linked up with the dismantling of subsidies on foodstuffs, since this pushes the standard of living of many previously privileged city dwellers under the subsistence level. What can be termed «contraction of the domestic economy», «increased interaction into the world market» and «reduction of state influence» in the sober terminology of economics means an intensification of the fight for survival for many people in Somalia. The most seriously affected in this respect are the urban marginal groups (such as the poor and the unemployed, etc., urban classes dependent on wages and salaries, workers and the employed middle classes). They also represent the majority of the Somali population.

They are hard hit by the deterioration and the rises in the price of public services, and by the restriction of the state budget and reduced state expenditure. Public transport, has also become substantially more expensive; the quality of

medical care and school education has taken on catastrophic forms.

The lower the income of those affected, and the greater their dependence on social services, the greater is the effect of the austerity programme in Somalia. This also applies to the supply of basic foodstuffs, which represent a particularly large proportion of day-to-day consumption in the case of those earning low incomes and have, in the main, risen in price much more quickly than other consumer goods such as vacuum cleaners, refrigerators or television sets, etc.

2. Outlook

If it is the aim of the IMF's stabilization policy, to set in motion a self-sufficient economic development in Somalia, then they should examine the economic history of the industrialized countries. This teaches us that permanent economic development (sustained growth) can only be achieved by developing domestic economic structures, by a close link between agricultural and industrial production and by a form of domestic demand based on purchasing power. Furthermore, a minimum level of independence is required in the fields of technology, training and research. In order to do this, however, a leading role must inevitably be played by the state as the planner and navigator of the development process, if a stabilization policy orientated towards basic needs is to be successful. Since the majority of Somalis live in the countryside, agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing must be given priority in state development policy. Labour-intensive technology, «uncomplicated» (adjusted) production on small farms and by nomads, and the building-up of corresponding marketing structures would have to be one component on an IMF conditionality that is oriented towards basic needs.

A policy of satisfying basic needs is incompatible with abrupt cuts in production and restrictions on demand, as the IMF's deflationary policy has caused in Somalia. The ruinous recession policy should have been replaced by an expansive stabilization policy that makes it possible to broaden the supply of goods and services, and raise exports or replace imports in order to achieve balance of payments equilibrium at a higher level.

The most important thing, in our opinion, is to avoid concepts involving measures that lead to a worsening of the satisfaction of basic needs. And the burdens should not be passed on to those social groups who are least responsible for the debt crisis.

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The Role of Technical Assistance in the Somali Development Process

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1. There is a mood of pessimism and scepticism about foreign assistance. «Does aid work» is the title of a study financed by the World Bank. I will try to answer this question as it refers to a very limited area — to Somalia — and to a specific form of aid there — to technical assistance. My answer is based mainly on personal experience as an advisor in the Somali Ministry of National Planning.

Let me first give you an overview of how I want to approach the subject. I will start with a definition of technical assistance and a description of the ongoing technical assistance to Somalia. In a second part I will investigate some of the major problems of technical assistance. Finally I will give some recommendations how it could be improved.

2. Let me start with *the definition*. Generally technical assistance, also called «technical cooperation», is understood to be that form of aid that aims to improve the performance capacity of people or organisations either by transferring knowledge and skills or by mobilising existing capacities. The rationale behind it is that the bottleneck for development is the human factor. The idea behind financial assistance — the other most important form of aid — is that the bottleneck is the lack of adequate funds. The most common instrument of technical assistance is the assignment of foreign experts. However, there are also other instruments — for example training scholarships. The assignment of foreign experts and technical assistance are therefore not identical. Let me repeat: technical assistance is defined by its goal — to improve the performance of people or organisation.

First some figures! Some of them are to a certain degree guesses — because no-one has really exact figures. The following are mainly based on a study by the World Bank and UNDP which was published in 1985, and on personal investigations.

Somalia is one of the countries in the world with the highest per capita assistance. Figures vary. However, they all indicate that overall disbursements in the last years and also in the coming years are between 350 and 400 million US Dollars per year. Around one third of this aid is technical assistance. For 1983 the figure mentioned is 120 million US Dollars — 24 US Dollars per capita — every child included assuming that the overall population is around 5 million. I do not know of any other country with such a high technical assistance per capita.

The *distribution per sectors* is as follows (according to the World Bank/UNDP study):

40.8	%	Agriculture, Fishery and Forestry
27.3	%	Education
11.3	%	Health
6.10	%	National Resources
5.9	%	General development problems (planning, statistics, evaluation etc.)
5.0	%	Miscellaneous

40% for the agricultural sector in the broad sense is a surprising figure. The explanation is that apart from three big technical assistance programmes: the North West Project, the Bay Region Project and the AFMET project — most investment projects have a technical assistance component and that most of them are in the field of agriculture, fishery and forestry. This by the way does also apply for other sectors. Almost all investment projects in Somalia have the secondment of expatriates as a supportive element parallel to the investment component. This emphasis on agriculture corresponds to the development policy of the Somali government.

The 27.3% for education also seems very high. However, about 80% of technical cooperation in education consists of Egyptian teachers at various levels and Italian support to the University. Altogether there are around 380 Egyptian teachers in the country.

5.9% for general development problems, on the other hand, seems low considering the weakness of the Somali administration in the area of macro- and micro-economic planning and of monitoring and evaluation. It also does not coincide with the official policy of the government in this area.

If we look at the regional distribution of aid we find a heavy concentration in the south and again a strong emphasis on Mogadishu. Although no figures are available, my guess would be that more than 80% of the expatriate experts financed out of technical assistance funds live in Mogadishu. This concentration on the south and particularly on Mogadishu reflects the political reality in Somalia. However, it contradicts what government and donors declare as their policy: that is, a priority on the development of the rural areas and regionally balanced investment policy between North and South. Technical assistance strengthens the role of the capital Mogadishu — in contradiction to the verbal policy of the most important donors. They preach decentralisation — but in their aid policy they do the opposite.

At the beginning of my lecture I said that the assignment of foreign experts is only one of the *instrument of technical assistance*. In Somalia, the funds for technical assistance are spent as follows:

42%	} 55%	long term experts
13%		short term experts
10%		training
26%		equipment
9%		miscellaneous

Just 10% on training — this is a very low figure, 55% for experts on the other hand, plus a big proportion of the 26% equipment since it includes supportive material such as cars, furniture, typewriters, copy machines! In absolute terms the number of experts is estimated at around 1,200 to 1,300, not including the Chinese where no exact figures are known. It shows that the effectiveness of technical assistance in Somalia depends on the success of the experts activities, that means on the traditional counterpart/expert relationship.

3. To come back now to my initial question: «Does technical assistance work in Somalia?» Of course, it is difficult to give a general answer and even World Bank/UNDP in their politely worded report come to the conclusion that «*the results, of the massive effort can only be characterised as not satisfactory*. Externally-funded technical assistance projects tend to continue for long periods and to leave few visible results when discontinued. Many institutions that have been receiving assistance for a long time show few signs of being able to function without continued help». It is my impression that nobody familiar with the Somali situation would doubt this statement.

Why? What are the reasons for the desired improvement of the performance of people or organisations not taking place? I believe there are several causes. Because of the overriding importance of the *counterpart/expert relationship* I will put special emphasis on this problem. Let us start with the person of the expert. Somalia is a difficult country to live in for somebody from an industrialized country. Somalis are by their cultural heritage independent people. The professional level as compared to international standards is normally very low. What is needed in this situation is a person with experience in developing countries, with sensitivity for people and with the ability for and the interest in demonstrating, teaching, training or in other words, with pedagogic qualities. Donor agencies tend to neglect these qualities and overweight the professional side. In my three and a half years I have not seen one expatriate who failed because of lack of professional qualifications, but quite a few who failed because of their personal qualifications. And as far as the know-how transfer is concerned: if you select experts by their professional credentials then they tend to neglect the know-how transfer. They are oriented to performing the work themselves rather than engaging in a difficult longlasting process.

This bias to professional work meets very often with the interest of Somali institution. They look for a quick improvement to the quality of work. Outside pressure is often one of the reasons for this. Let us take the Ministry of Planning as an example. Public Investment Programmes, Implementation Reviews and other papers are required by the donors for consultative group conferences and others. They are preconditions for huge capital investment projects, budget aid, structural adjustment loans, stand-by credits and other programmes. A delay in their production would mean a delay in these programmes. Insufficient quality might mean that they are not accepted by donors. On the micro level, well formulated project requests or terms of references impress funding agencies. Quick comments on studies speed up the preparation of new projects. *Outside pressure, self-interest of experts and the financial interest of the Somali government interact and are counterproductive to know-how transfer and institution building.*

Let us come now to the other side — the counterpart side. Ideally there would be the highly-motivated counterpart able and willing to absorb the knowledge

of the experts. However, this is not reality. Working conditions in the civil service are extremely unattractive. First of all the salaries are totally inadequate. They are so low that a civil servant can not afford to spend the whole working time in an office unless he has other sources of income. The monthly salary of university graduates in the Ministry of National Planning is around 1.500 So Sh which is equivalent to 12 US Dollars. The Permanent Secretary earns maybe 30 US Dollars a month.

Compared with other professions: a Permanent Secretary earns less than a house boy working for expatriates. If he become a taxi driver or a waiter in a good private restaurant he could easily earn 5 times as much as in the Ministry. However, inadequate salaries are only one aspect, the lack of a performance-oriented career system, for instance, another. The result is an extremely low working morale, high absentism, second jobs and a general tendency to leave the public sector. This leads to a situation in which no matter what is done to improve technical assistance, as long as there is no reform in the civil service especially an adequate salary system — all other steps will be in vain. *So civil service reform is really the heart of the matter.*

There are other reasons than those lying in the counterpart/expert relationship. One is the lack of overall *planning for technical assistance*. There is no human development scheme which connects with ongoing technical assistance programmes or vice versa — not in general, not for sectors and not for the individual institutions. Decisions on technical assistance projects are taken on a case-by-case basis without relating them to the general manpower situation. In addition, planning is often done by donor side. Expatriate experts formulate project ideas, terms of references and they review the studies written by foreign consultants. Project agreements and plans of operation are formulated by the donor side. This leads to a situation where donor interests prevail: for instance the priority for certain sectors or the understandable desire to support so called «own» investment programmes.

There is one last factor for the difficulties of technical assistance which I want to mention — *the language*. Since expatriate experts do not speak Somali, the counterpart and the expatriate specialist do not communicate in the counterpart's mother tongue. Even worse — except for Italians or people from English-speaking countries — it is also not the mother tongue of the expatriate. And the situation is even more complicated by Somalia's multilingual heritage, where Italian, English or Arabic are used in the educational system. The communication process in the expert/counterpart relationship, which in itself is a difficult process, is complicated even more by this factor.

4. Coming to the end, I would add some recommendations. They all follow directly from the problems mentioned above:

— As I said, *civil service reform* is the heart of the matter. The time does not allow to elaborate on this subject. It would fill another lecture. The Somali government and the donors involved have recognized the importance of the problem. First steps have been taken in recent years to get rid of redundant labor, so as to get leverage for salary increases. When I left Somalia in March two Ministries had more than doubled the salaries of their employees. A donor working-group had been set up to design adequate support measures for the government. However, taking into account the budgetary situation in Somalia it is not realistic

to expect a quick overall solution to the problem. This can only be reached step by step with donor assistance.

— Both donors and the Somalia Government have to put more *emphasis on know-how transfer* instead of quickly improving working results. The assignment of experts increases dependency unless it leads to a better performance of personnel. This means that donors have to pay attention to personal qualifications of their staff and not just to their professional credentials. The Somali side has to be involved in the recruitment process. It also means that both sides have to accept that know-how transfer and institution building is as important as the quality of reports, studies etc. Finally the training component in technical assistance programmes has to be increased.

— The *planning process for technical assistance has to be improved*. Manpower development plans have to be developed for all sectors and technical assistance programmes have to relate to them. The existing technical assistance has to be reviewed sector by sector and institution by institution. This might lead to a reduction of technical assistance in certain areas or even to an overall reduction. But, technical assistance can only make sense if it corresponds to the Somali capacity to absorb it.

— Finally, the language problem! All long-term experts should learn Somali! However, to be realistic: you can not expect expatriate experts to learn Somali in such a way that it really becomes a means of professional communication. Therefore, the only thing that can be done is that language qualifications are improved on the Somali side. This means, first of all, *a more coherent language policy*. Besides that *English language courses* for civil servants should be conducted on a large scale in those areas where the knowledge is necessary for professional activities.

There are a lot of other recommendations concerning the planning and design of individual projects. I have concentrated on some general problems and recommendations because — in my view — they have overriding importance for the whole technical assistance. These problems are not unknown, the recommendations not new. What is necessary is action — from both sides, the Somali government and the donor community.

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A Need to Develop Somalia's Resources

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With a territory of 631,000 sq.km. and a coastline of 3,300 km., Somalia's population of 6 million or so has one of the lowest standards of living in the world. The country is categorized as underdeveloped, because its people are unable to exploit and develop it rationally. However, Somalia cannot be described as poor country in terms of natural resources. It is endowed with immense agricultural potential. It has 35 million head of livestock, the second longest coast in Africa, 13 million hectares of cultivable land and perhaps mineral wealth.

The country is in a very early stage of economic and industrial development, which is typified by low productivity, unemployment, and lack of utilisation of domestic resources. It badly needs to develop its domestic technological, entrepreneurial and managerial skills and capabilities to an adequate level and to embark on a conscious policy of attracting foreign investment.¹

The scope of this short paper is to attempt to outline three interrelated factors in the current discussion of Somalia's economic development.

Firstly, a brief general description is given of the present status of the economy. As traditional systems of production such as grazing seem to fail to bring about required progress, we come to the second phase of the argument: Is pastoralism in Somalia conducive to the type of industrial development envisaged? The pastoral system, as it is, does not seem to be a viable one. The environment has been changing over the last half century in the whole Sahelian zone including Somalia. Desertification, lowered rainfall and war continue to threaten year after year the once-self-supporting rural life of Somalia. The vast majority of Somalia's nomadic population struggle for survival on the threshold of hunger. The number of nomads drifting into towns annually is increasing, crowding into urban squatter compounds, adding to the ranks of thousands of unemployed.

This essay points out the importance of the need to employ Somalia's pastoral system and the idle valuable human potential to a productive end. I shall only refer briefly to the need to seek alternatives to current development. Thirdly, I would argue that Somalia is not a poor nation. It has vast natural, mostly renewable, resources. Is it impossible to exploit this potential? This will be treated as an open question and is meant to be basis for debate and further research.

¹ The country has suffered as a result of serious brain drain. It may be a wise idea for Somalia to launch a campaign to attract its lost skilled and educated expatriates in the Middle East, West and East Africa.

Despite vast potential, Somalia remains one of the poorest of the least developed countries. Accurate figures are scanty, but there is clear indication that there is general malaise in the economy. The rate of the economic growth, on average, may not exceed the rate of the population growth, which has been estimated at 2.3 per cent *per annum*. Somalia's export-earning capacity has been greatly reduced by Saudi Arabian ban on importing Somali cattle. There are no operational meat-processing facilities in the country; the country is therefore unable to compete with other sources of meat such as Australia and New Zealand. Agricultural utilisation is limited to 1.3 per cent of the total land area. Of the two major cash crops grown, banana and sugar, large quantities of the latter are imported. Thus, the levels of production and trade are extremely low.

In addition, there have been continuous inflationary pressures over the last 8 years and the level of inflation has been estimated at over 50 per cent a year.

The Somali shilling dramatically depreciated in value. Since July 1981, the shilling has been devalued four times. The official rate stands today at So.Sh. 65 = \$1, which is less than 10 per cent of its value in 1981. There are also two other rates in operation; a business rate at So.Sh. 85 = \$1 and a free market rate, which is running at around So.Sh. 150 = \$1.

The reduction in value of the national currency could help increase the level of exports. However, Somalia, being a net importer of almost all its requirements, the devaluation aggravated the acute foreign exchange problem and created added inflationary pressures.

The current economic crisis is one of underdevelopment combined with man-made disasters such as wars and natural calamities such as droughts. It may be worthwhile to give here the standard definition of underdevelopment as «the socio-political and socio-economic situation of a society which is no longer structurally able to achieve the self-determination of its political superstructure and its economic basis». In the Somali case, the degree of dependence on other countries is very high.

The Mainstay of the Economy

Talking of developing underdeveloped pastoral Somalia requires a quick look at the livestock sector. The importance of livestock to the economy is paramount. For centuries, livestock-rearing has been the main occupation and has formed the basis of existence for most of the Somalis.

Today, traditional nomadic livestock production accounts for about 40 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and, through export of live animals and hides and skins, the livestock sector accounts for about 80 per cent of the total export earnings.

About 60 per cent of the total human population are engaged directly in the actual rearing of livestock and about 10 per cent are directly or indirectly connected with livestock trade. This means that two-thirds of the population are dependent upon stock-raising.

A 1975 Government census, based upon interviewing livestock owners and physical counts of selected herds, produced the following estimate of livestock population figures:

Camels	5.29 million
Cattle	3.72 million
Sheep	9.40 million
Goats	15.30 million

This sector should be given a high priority in the national development plan. This should be done to support the livelihood of the major part of the population.

However, droughts and famine have become a reality for millions of animals and their owners. Drought and desertification which hit hard Africa's Sahel zone, has been seriously affecting the pastoralists in Somalia. Since 1968, there has been inadequate rainfall. The great drought of 1974 was only its high point. The poor rainfall and soil conditions reduce animal herds while they cover vast distances in search of pasture and water during the dry season. This trend is likely to persist over the coming decades according to forecasts made by the World Bank.

Unless the situation of livestock-rearing is transformed into a more manageable aspect of life, the reality is that Somalia's nomadic majority cannot free itself from the scourge of destitution, let alone contribute to the development of the country. Nomadic pastoralism, I would argue, is an indulgent way of life but the good days of it must be behind us. A true nomad cannot envisage any alternative source of employment to that of his own. He sticks to it as it is the only trade he knows. The nomad of today knows no better method to survive other than the only one his forefathers had to use for centuries i.e. regularly being on the move with their livestock in search of fodder and water. This pattern of movement puts shackles upon the nomad making him a prisoner of nature.

Desertification and drought increasingly debilitate his stock and the going gets tough as the prices of commodities from the town soar and the value of his animals depreciates compared with exorbitant prices rises, caused by the fast depreciation of the shilling.² In the local marketing of livestock, the nomad hardly gets a fair price for his produce. Profits that would otherwise be his are largely expropriated by the middleman. The nomad brings few of his live animals to town for sale to purchase food and other manufactured goods during the dry season but he is forced to sell these quickly for a price far below their value to escape an expensive stay and disappointment. Often there is no place to keep and feed the animals when brought to town so that satisfactory offers come through. This unequal exchange further undermines the status of the herdsman. The result is an ever-deteriorating and archaic method of subsistence farming.

This is the condition of pastoral Somalia. One would not deny that pastoralism is the original and most dominant form of livestock production. Indeed, it is a rational way of using scarce resources, but by no means one that leads towards modernisation. Despite its enormous contribution to the economy at present, it is an obvious sign of underdevelopment for the nomadic society to remain as it was centuries ago. This is particularly so when it is threatened by galloping attacks of drought or it is impossible to market its products because it cannot compete with other settled sources of meat production. This should not be understood that sedentarisation, the forced or encouraged settling of nomads, is taken as a universally improved system of pastoralism. One side of the argument is

²The nomad exchanges live animals for agricultural and manufactured goods. He buys essential food grains, clothing and luxuries such as tea and sugar.

that, by increasing the dispersion and mobility of livestock, it may be possible to stop desertification. Another would be that haphazard and unplanned settlements bring about havoc in the pastoral economy. There is no question, therefore, of compulsorily imposing settlement on the nomads, but only of addressing the dire necessity to carry out research on techniques which can make livestock-rearing more productive. It certainly does not appear that pastoralism in Somalia had its fair share of development research. There have been a number of failed attempts to rationalize pastoralism in Africa. However, commercial ranches which were established in Kenya early this century, have been yielding high-quality beef and dairy cattle. None of these projects has been tried in Somalia, the country with the largest number of livestock population per square mile. One of the planning strategies may start from transferring nomads from pastoralism to fisheries and agriculture, so that the pastoral sector does not continue to grow in absolute size (Swift 1977). In the simultaneous development of the pastoral ecosystem, productivity less subject to the vagaries of nature could be created.

The need to survive and develop in order to achieve a modern economy, requires the transformation of the traditional pastoral system into a much-improved, more productive form of production. An economic system based mainly on manufacturing is required.

A Need to Develop Resources

The country is often portrayed as a sun-baked desert, useful only for its strategic importance in the Horn of Africa. The fact is that in this age of exhaustion of world resources, embracing pollution and exploitation, whether of the atmosphere or soil, or of seas which are being overfished, Somalia could be a source of a steady supply of raw materials. Its land area is much bigger than the land areas of Great Britain and Italy combined. Its potential is vast, including fisheries, agricultural land, livestock, frankincense, tourist attractions and possibly mineral and oil wealth.

Statistical figures are tentative. However, estimates of fishery resources based on surveys give a total yearly fish production potential as high as 1,078,000 tons without harming the fauna. This includes all kinds of fish species: pelagic, demersal, crustacean and mesopelagic.

Compared with the potential mentioned above, the present fishing activity in Somalia is insignificant and mainly comprises artisanal operations, restricted to coastal fisheries, employing several thousand fishermen with traditional wooden vessels (badens and houris). Lack of jetties, processing facilities and coastal roads are some of the difficulties faced by productive fishing industry.

Lack of infrastructure in the country as a whole frightens away the foreign investor. Apart from ecological problems, the burden of underdevelopment makes most of the land uninhabitable for modern economic activity and unattractive to the profit-seeking foreigner. The establishment of infrastructure could create a hospitable investment climate, which will attract foreign firms to build an industrial base, which would provide employment and stimulate development throughout the economy.

Somalia has to develop a policy of attracting direct foreign investment, a policy less restrictive but more clear-cut than that in the past. A climate of confidence

for business and investment should be created. New laws and regulations should provide guarantees for the protection of approved foreign investment, freedom to remit profits and repatriate capital, and international arbitration for settling disputes. Tax and export incentives could also encourage foreign investment.

The prospect of turning this society into a more conscious and productive force depends on the reappraisal of priorities. The major part of military bill which is now approaching over half the annual budget, must be seen as futile expenditure. The bureaucratic and inefficient state agencies, many of which, are known to misuse through graft the responsibility entrusted to them, should be reorganized. In the light of our experience of their performance in the past, Ministries and State Agencies should act as mere regulators of economic policies in their appropriate fields. The State Sector does not seem to have done its job well. It has not led to individual self-fulfillment and a creative partnership in the use of the nation's productive forces and its full human resources. Some Government officials boast how much they can swindle out of their departments they have lost sight of their prime objective, the development of the country. The State Sector, therefore, ought to be relieved of the job and at least some of the responsibility transferred to the private sector. As privatisation will involve more people, and people are aware of their cultural identity and therefore of what they want, they can adapt and support appropriate economic development. It is assumed here that private enterprise can stimulate incentives. The urbanised nomad would be more caring in looking after his own business as he would his herds. The incentives and opportunities offered by the private enterprise would replace public sector apathy.

Somalia needs an urgent injection of foreign investment. New projects, joint venture or otherwise, would bring with them new technical skills to the local and would offer Somalis employment opportunities and would encourage development of the infrastructure. The attraction of foreign investment requires reappraisal of Somalia's priorities and particular emphasis of its natural resources. There has to be a concerted effort and policy by the state and its people to encourage efficiency and foreign investment in order to eradicate the poverty and problems inherent in a backward economy. This is an immense task. When there is a will, there is a way.

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Consumer Behaviour as an Indicator of Income Structures

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Introduction

Everybody visiting or living in Mogadishu recognizes a striking discrepancy between the low wages, especially for civil servants, and the consumption patterns of many people. Obviously within the last few years, a certain numerically growing strata of Somalis has gained the economic potential to request and buy rather expensive consumer goods, mainly imported ones.

Between km 4 and the center of town lies one of the main shopping streets of Mogadishu, the Maka-al-Mukarama. In its present appearance it was established only recently. It acts as a boundary between Waaberi, a quarter with an economically mixed population, and Hodan, an affluent quarter. In this street, for a length of 1.9 km one finds a wide variety of general stores, including dress makers and haberdasheries, video shops, pharmacies, restaurants, and tea shops. In mid 1985, when the survey was started, there were 273 shops, restaurants, and hotels in total. By May 1986, the number had increased up to 302. This trend — the establishment of more and more shops — led to the conclusion that in a place where shops are located, customers will also be found. This conclusion is not surprising. Furthermore, even the multitude of shops can be explained with reference to the large, quickly growing population of Mogadishu. But what makes one wonder is the fact that the shops seem to be of a somewhat different type than the ordinary, old Somali shops. This difference is evidenced by the replacement of the traditional wall paintings beside the entrance, indicating which goods are offered inside, by bright illuminated plates. And indoors one does not find any longer the uneven, wooden shelves, but rather show-cases. The most striking fact, however, is the enormous increase in the number of goods which are offered.

The observations were the basis for research which was carried out in Mogadishu during 1985 and the beginning of 1986. The basic idea was that data concerning the Maka-al-Mukarama would shed light on the aforementioned discrepancy between salaries and expenditure. Therefore, data was collected about the number of shops, their size, their year of establishment, the offered goods and finally about their customers.

As the number of interviews, as well as the range of the questions, was limited, this article cannot claim to present comprehensive results to problems concerning

household level expenditure structures. The data, however, are sufficient to reveal certain trends.

In order to understand the full scale of changes taking place, the phenomena occurring in the new shopping area are contrasted with the situation at two traditional markets.

The Markets

Within each of the quarters of Mogadishu (Wadajir, Waaberi, Hodon, Xamar Jabjab, Xamarweyne, Shangaanni, Boondheere, Howlwadaag, Wardhiigley, Shibbis, Yaaqshiid, Kaaraan, and Cabdilcasiis) is at least one main market. For the purpose of this study, a smaller, older market and a larger, younger one were selected. The first market is located in Wardhiigley, the second in the fast expanding quarter of Wadajir. The first one has a more established tradition which is revealed by the duration of vendors there. Whereas, at the Wardhiigley-market, we see an average of 9.5 years — with a high of even 20 years —, the average for the Wadajir-market is only 2.5 years of business activities.

Also, in respect to the size an obvious difference exists. The Wardhiigley-market consists of ca. 55 booths as well as a grain- and meat-house. On the other hand, the Wadajir-market is comprised of 280 stalls along with a vegetable - and fruit-building. Instead of a detailed breakdown, only the percentages of the most important stalls on both markets are given:

<i>Wardhiigley</i>		<i>Wadajir</i>	
vegetables	38%	foodstuff	23%
foodstuff	24	clothes	15
foodstands	13	tailors	14
tailors	9	beverages	9
		grain	8
		vegetables	6

In respect to ownership, two facts are worth mentioning. First, a considerably high proportion of booths are owned by women. Second, as was discovered in 72% of the interviews, it is the owner who is selling the goods. In the remaining cases, a close relative (brother, father or mother) was found running the shop.

The majority of vendors feel that the business climate is favourable: ca. 80% regard it as satisfactory (13:3 and 10:2). Discontent was expressed by vegetable sellers. Generally, two reasons were given for being responsible for the unsatisfactory business:

- a) too many booths providing the same goods;
- b) customers' transactions per booth are too small.

Thus we have reached the aspect of customers. The majority of them constitutes a rather homogeneous group. At least in a self-assessment all those interviewed characterize themselves as belonging to the group of medium income earners. In the few cases where the profession of the husband has been stated indication was

that a ranking in the lower medium income group would be more appropriate. The most interesting observation, however, resulted from an examination of the basket which contained goods bought for daily consumption. It generally included meat, tomatoes, vegetables, bananas, and papayas. Frequently, spaghetti and oil could also be found. In addition rice, flour and sugar were sometimes seen. As the quantities were rather small, it came as no surprise that those interviewed stated that a similar basket of goods has to be bought daily.

The following figures concerning the level of expenditure are listed with caution as interviews were taken on a random basis and as the bias was too small. On the other hand, similar figures are mentioned by H. Laux.¹ For Wadajir-market, in 22 of the 25 cases, expenditures were generally between 100 and 200 So.Sh., with an absolute minimum of 85 and a high of 230, thus averaging 151 So.Sh. For Wardhiigley-market the range was much broader.

Expenditures ranged between 50 and 400 So.Sh., with the majority between 100 and 250 So.Sh. Here the average was 184 So.Sh. Combining these figures, we come to an average of 167 So.Sh., for both markets, and this, in combination with the statement that this is daily expenditure for foodstuff only, is astonishing as it leads us to the conclusion that not less than 5000 So.Sh. are spent per month, whereas the salary of a civil servant may be 1500 So.Sh.²

It can be stated therefore, that the consumption habits of a number of Somali households do not correlate with the level of what seems to be the first source of income.

The Maka-al-Mukarama

Let's turn our attention now to the main topic, the Maka-al-Mukarama. Here, too, the customers declared themselves as belonging to the medium income strata. But obviously, foodstuff shops are recruiting their layer of buyers from those who do not have to buy the cheapest offered goods; e. g. those who do not buy the cheaper, locally produced spaghetti, but the imported Italian type, also those, who do not buy flour or sugar unpacked, but packed. Clearly, these shops are responding to the expanding requirements of customers. So they offer honey from Australia, jam from Bulgaria, cheese from France, and biscuits from Italy, to list only a few items. All these articles are packed and canned, and they are comparatively more expensive.

Even higher, in respect to the assumed available money, are the sums which are spent for clothing. Twenty interviews in clothing shops revealed that, on the average, 1700 So.Sh. were spent for trousers, shoes, and shirts.

Finally, the 20 restaurants are all quite well frequented and, as only in a few cases the share of foreigners is unproportionally high, one can state that a considerable number of Somalis are able to afford a menu which costs, on the average, 300 So.Sh.

¹ It is especially interesting that Laux' figures are not only similar to those mentioned here, but that his data show the same graduation between the various quarters as indicated by this survey.

² Objection may be raised because it is assumed that there are more than one income earners per family thus explaining the level of expenditure. Another study (Labahn 1986), however, indicates that there are rarely more than two persons per household who obtain a regular salary/wage.

Is was mentioned already that there are 302 shops altogether. The distribution is as follows:

1. clothing shops	62
2. tailors	41
3. furniture shops	34
4. tea shops	34
5. hotels	21
6. restaurants	20
7. electrical shops	11
8. video shops	11
9. auto spare part shops	10

It is interesting to note that, within the last nine months, five new clothing shops have been established, giving an indication that the market for those items has not reached a saturation level.

Out of the total number of shops interviews were made in 39 of them or approximately 13%. From these was found that the establishment of the shops was concentrated during the period 1981-1982 and in 1984.

In respect to ownership our data reveal a similar situation as in the markets. Only in 23%, however, the owner was selling the goods, but generally in all the other cases a member of the family was running the shop.

In 11 cases a second or third shop is owned. But ownership of other enterprises is rare. Thus, it can be concluded that for the majority, the investment in the shop seems to be the first business activity. The data basis might be too weak but it looks as if these bulky investments reflect the emergence of a certain new strata of entrepreneurs.

Moderate rent seem to facilitate business considerations. Although 23 shop owners stated that they were unsatisfied with the business climate, leaving 16 who felt otherwise, nobody has taken action. A check, nine months after the first survey, showed that no one had given up; not even those who stated their discontent.

The main reason for discontent is the lack of customers. It was frequently said that there are too many competitors.

This is especially true for tailors, who compete not only among themselves, but also with the large number of shops which offer ready-made clothes. But the situation varies between types of shops. Sometimes, even a large number of rivals does not conflict with making a good business. This can be seen by the statement of a video shop owner who remarked: «People pay whatever price we request».

It seems somewhat difficult to make a sound, detailed analysis at this stage of research, but what has been mentioned so far can obviously be regarded as indicators of a substantially higher purchasing power than can be expected by following official statistics. This is the case even if we look at the traditional markets, and more so in respect to the shops of the Maka-al-Mukarama.

Conclusion

Whereas things on the traditional market may be explained with reference to the cooperative family structure and kinship network, for the Maka-al-Mukarama the economic strength of individuals seems to be more decisive.

Applying Engel's Law, which states that the lower the household income the higher will be the percentage of money spent on basic needs items (generally food-stuffs), we can expect that the buyers of the fairly expensive, sometimes rather fashionable clothes in the Maka-al-Mukarama belong to a group which does not have to struggle for its livelihood.³ That this group is growing steadily is indicated by — as has been outlined — the steadily growing number of those respective shops.

It has been mentioned before that the owners of the shops in the Maka-al-Mukarama constitute a certain new strata. Probably the same holds true for their clients. The present situation proves that there are fundamental social changes under way. Accumulation of capital and circulation of money starts to follow different patterns than in the past. The Somali society is in a process of gaining a more modern shape by splitting into various, rather distinct, strata; distinct, at least, in respect to economic criteria.

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³ As space is limited we cannot even tackle the question which are the sources for this kind of expenditure. Probably, the largest source are the remittances of workers abroad. In a study, undertaken at the end of 1984 for USAID, it is stated that 68.000 Somalis live on the Arabian peninsula. Out of this number 26.000 have a job. The overall figure as well as the number of those employed seem to be fairly underestimated. As only a small number does not send back any remittances, however, even this number is sufficient that 110 million US-dollar can be transferred per year (according to the study).

Development and its Social Impact on the Local Communities in the Juba Valley

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Introduction

There is a need for the design and development of all projects to be geared towards absorbing the country's nationals and satisfying their aspirations. Development is for whom and by whom? The best projects, associated with the highest national aspirations, are those conducted in the rural areas of Somalia, especially in the riverine belt. Yet, the ever-growing shanty towns inhabited by migrants from the countryside are becoming a frightful feature of all urban centers.

Somalia is much poorer than the other countries of East Africa. Yet, walking around Mogadishu, one does not notice as much poverty from the apparel and appearance, compared to what is very noticeable, for instance, in Nairobi. The groups that make the worst showing are the rural migrants who come from regions receiving development resources.

This paradoxical phenomenon raises a number of questions in the minds of students of development, such as:

- What is development?
- Is development not for people?
- Are the local people not among the target groups of development programs?

It is with the purpose of answering the above questions that this short paper aims at exploring the social impact of some ongoing development projects on the rural people inhabiting the lower stretches of the Juba Valley.

The Juba Valley Area

1. Background

The problem of the human factor in the typical Juba Valley area, like elsewhere in Somalia, is difficult to assess. Population statistics of any degree of accuracy, like population size, classification by age group, sex, occupation, etc., are almost invariably still difficult to obtain. The same can be said about population growth, death rate and mobility. No less difficult to quantify are things like fami-

ly size, and the labor force, both community and family-wise; the aspects that have hardly been studied include variety of skills and quality of services that could be rendered by various occupational groups or individuals and, by the same token, their work, habits and attitudes, which are relevant to the modernization roles of society.

In Somalia, as a whole, nomadism is the principal response to the arid conditions. It is true that the Juba Valley is more fortunate than most of the country on two scores: first, its rainfall is usually the highest in the country; second, the river provides the largest amount of surface water for most of the year.

For these reasons, the area has one of the largest and oldest agricultural populations. In the traditional production of the valley, work arrangements are determined by the natural environment and social organization. Unlike in the west of the country, traditional herding and cultivation here are least affected by the constraints of modern market economy and technology. This is mainly because the farmer or the herder has been producing for his own consumption and not necessarily for sale.

Moreover, he is not using much in the way of machine technology. Hence the failure of his productivity is often caused by such things as climatic hazards (drought and floods) and turbulence on the social scene, e.g. clan conflicts. In traditional communities, the demand on his production has been very limited. Before recent times, with the exception of items of clothing, the population of the Juba Valley sought nothing from the outside world. By selling their surplus products from livestock or agriculture (e.g. food crops) or items of value easily collected from the forest (e.g. ivory, gum, honey, and wood) to the towns, they were able to obtain all their requirements beyond what they produced. Nowadays, even their surplus labor has been fetching employment and income from the modern sector of the economy as well as from the ever expanding services of the State. On the other hand, the desire of these communities for modern goods and services has been growing enormously as a result of rapidly expanding socio-physical infrastructures which are destroying their isolated life styles. In other words, due to external forces the social setting of the traditional nomad and tiller of the Juba Valley is undergoing gradual transformation.

2. Human Resources of the Juba Valley Area

Reliable demographic data for the area, as for the rest of the country, is inadequate. The only nation-wide census ever taken was in 1975. This particular year was one of catastrophic drought. Due to the particularly massive increase of the nomadic population in the riverine belt that year, the distortions in the census must have been huge. 1975 also marked the end of the nation-wide rural development campaign that provided (besides the census) mass literacy, health services (vaccinations and inoculations) for the people, as well as certain veterinary vaccinations. The total population figures used for the census were those registered for literacy; for vaccination/inoculation whichever of the two figures was higher was taken as *the* accurate figure in each district. Thus the census figures were, in places, below actual; but here, due to the high rate of migration from other parts of the country, some of the figures were inflated.

However, on the basis of various assumptions and a certain analytical approach, the present population of all the administrative districts in the Valley

is said to be 58,000, and its breakdown by occupation is estimated to be as follows:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>%</i>
Nomadism (herding)	65
Agriculture	23
Urban	12

The natural growth of the population is also hard to assess. The assumptions are: overall natural growth 2.7%; rural migration to the cities and development centers 0.7%.

Information on the population in the nomadic areas is even more difficult to obtain. The fluctuations emerging from migrations, and the special difficulty associated with establishing demarcation lines between nomads and non-nomads add to the problem. However, it is estimated that nearly 200,000-300,000 nomads periodically enter the Valley from other regions (see: «Development of the Juba Valley» by Agrar und Hydrotechnik GmbH, pp. 45-46).

The breakdown of the population by occupation in the development area alone, which again is based on the combination of assumptions and rough analysis, is as follows:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>N. of Persons Engaged</i>	<i>%</i>
Nomadic stock raising	184,000	38
Agriculture	184,000	38
Urban	116,000	24
	<hr/> 484,000	<hr/> 100

The development area under study lies between Baardheere and Kismayo. The «urbans» include all those who use skills and are not engaged directly in agriculture or livestock rearing. The rural craftsmen (e.g. blacksmiths) and the village food-store owners are in the secondary-tertiary sector.

According to IMPRESIT (IMPRESIT Ref. 6 Vol. III, 1978, p. 35) the average size of a rural family is 7 persons, and of the urban family 6. The workforce per rural family is roughly 2.5 units. Hence the agricultural workforce in the development area is estimated at 65,000. To make meaningful qualitative assessments of the possible productivity of such a labor force, a host of questions have to be answered, for which so far there are no answers. These include:

- Actual average working time;
- Semi-settled population;
- Rate of sedentarization;
- Possibilities of improving labor productivity;
- Part-time and seasonal employment, both as a problem and as a solution;
- Negative and positive impact of the extended family on production;
- Negative impact of the poor sense of territoriality on land conservation;
- Impact of community isolation on the productivity of the individual.

The health of the traditional village communities here is the poorest in the whole country. A host of serious water-borne diseases, TB, and diseases related to poor environmental sanitation and malnutrition result in all kinds of health hazards. There are hardly any health facilities, either for prevention or cure, at rural level. This is further complicated by the traditional isolation of these communities. Prior to the development projects, they were often enclosed by thick bush and seldom had access to either the main roads or towns. Isolation was further aggravated by periodic floods and heavy rainfall. As a result, they were not taking advantage of the modest health facilities available in the urban centers.

As concerns education, however, the rural areas have been more fortunate. Most of the larger settled villages took advantage of the introduction of the Somali script in 1972-73 and of the nation-wide extension of basic education as from 1975.

In accordance with the educational policy of the Government, a primary school is to be established wherever a community can ensure a minimum enrolment of 25 children. Consequently, the enrolment of school-age children in the region suddenly rose from 5% to 24%, with an increase in female attendance from 25% to 35%.

This being the background, let us now review the changing social environment of the local people, generated by the dynamics of big irrigation and agricultural development projects.

Sociological Analysis

As mentioned earlier, this brief study seeks to throw light on the possible social impact of large development projects along the Juba Valley on the original communities in the area.

The baseline data utilized here has been procured mainly from two sources. One source is several studies on the area both before and after the development projects. The second one is a series of field surveys by three teams on 26.12.85, 16.1.86, 5.1.86, 9.1.86, and 25.1.86. The three teams collected their information mainly by visiting the sites of three large-scale irrigation projects along the southern reaches of the Juba river, namely: Fanoole Dam, Mareerey Sugar, and Mugambo Projects.

The method used for data collection was interviewing the management of these projects, supplemented by meeting some members of the local communities; some of the interviewees were ordinary people; others happened to belong to the Local Administration. Through the study of the villages affected by the three above mentioned Projects, we hope to depict, with regard to each Project, the social impact on the original inhabitants.

1. *Mugambo Project Area*

The field study to collect baseline data and background information from the viewpoint of the local inhabitants was conducted with the help of questionnaires put to 30 discreetly selected men in two villages directly affected by the Project.

The information so collected was as follows.

*Village 1 - Mugambo*¹

Location: Seat of Mugambo Project

Interviewees: 5; 15 others were Project personnel

Estimated population: 3200

Number of families: 457 (source: IMPRESIT, 1979)

Traditional occupations of villagers: peasants 95%; urbans and nomads 5%.

Peasants and urbans live mainly in the village. The non-peasants are casual laborers or village people engaged in business. The nomads are away from the village except during the dry period (Jilal: January-March): at this time, prior to the inception of the Project, their livestock used to browse on the village farms. They also had easy access to river water. As a result of the Project things have changed enormously. Most of the village farms have been taken over by the Project without compensation to the owners. Only 40 families were offered new farms, and only 20 persons were employed by the Project. However, some people were engaged in the increased business opportunities in the village. How many of them has not been ascertained. Some of the peasants have cleared land outside the Project area. Due to the increased distance he has to walk to and from his new farm, the productivity of the average farmer has declined.

Some of the newly cleared farmland is often flooded by the irrigation canals built by the Project, but numerous canals have to be crossed to reach the farms: this does not make for easy transportation and easy access, especially during the rainy seasons and the floods. The unemployed adult men hang around the Project in search of employment. But the children and women prefer to work in the banana plantations, because this is less tiring and the workers can take home a few bananas daily as an incentive.

As for the nomads, the Project has adversely affected them: they are no longer free to browse on the fallow land of private farmers during the dry season; access to river water has been blocked, as almost all the land near the banks of the river has been enclosed by the project, or their routes are shut off by the crisscrossing of the irrigation canals. Even some of the peasants that owned a few head of cattle lost them when they became landless.

No improvement has been reported in the health of the people and their livestock as a result of the Project. On the contrary, the Project had an adverse impact: as a result of taking river water through the irrigation canals to extensive new areas, the traditional water-borne diseases (e.g. malaria) have increased. Although no definite figures are available, this is a logical deduction since the disease-bearing area has been extended, while no improvements in the health facilities of the village have been provided.

Village 2 - Kobon

Location: Southern end of Mugambo Project

Interviewees: Chairman of Village Committee, and 2 community leaders

Estimated population: 2200

Number of families: 310 approx.

¹ Several villages are referred to in this paper: they have been numbered according to the order in which they are mentioned.

Aspects of Development and Economy

Traditional occupations: peasants 90% (small land-holders: 0.5-5.0 ha per farmer); craftsmen (blacksmiths mainly producing «yambo», and carpenters mainly manufacturing stools and beds)

The majority of the population live in the village.

90% of the traditional farmland was lost to the Project. However, the Project has not yet commenced work on the land of the villagers, who therefore are still cultivating it. Most of the families keep some livestock.

The Project has offered direct employment to only 10 people. Most of the women, as well as children above age 10, work in the nearby banana plantations, lured by their unlaborious tasks and the few bananas that each farmhand takes home daily. Some of the married males make an earning from river fishing, while others seek employment in the nearby towns, like Jamama. The per capita income before and after the Project remains the same.

So far, the Project has not affected either the formal education or the health facilities of the village community. However, the Project must be bringing in new production technology: this will eventually enhance informal education in the area.

At the moment, the village is concerned about what will happen once the Project absorbs the village land.

On the whole, the inhabitants of the two villages selected for our sample study have some complaints against the Project.

But the social impact is not discouraging. The obvious hardships related to the Project include: (i) increased health hazards; (ii) watering problems, as the routes of the nomads to the river are cut off; (iii) dislocation of the herders; (iv) drop in children's education because they have to earn; (v) loss of time and energy by those of the farmers who have to walk long distance to and from work every day; and perhaps (vi) psychological dissatisfaction on the part of the villagers, who feel they have been robbed of their land.

All of these problems, and many others involving economic and ecological issues, could be corrected if the Project is implemented within the context of a comprehensive approach to development, accommodating both the social and the economic needs of the local communities.

2. Fanoole and Mareerey Project Areas

The social impact of the Mareerey and Fanoole Projects could be assessed on the basis of the survey conducted by Farah Aboker Knayre, Secretary of the National Research Council, and Miss Kathryn Craven of ARD on 2-5 January 1986, and supplemented by some documents on the Projects themselves. Interviewing people in official positions as well as others was the method adopted.

Jilib, with its estimated population of 85,000, is divided into 10 sub-districts, seven of which have been directly affected by the Projects:

<i>Sub-districts</i>	<i>N. of villages affected</i>
1. Kaytoy	8
2. Cusman Moote	10
3. Haraawe	6
4. Cusbooley	8
5. Kamtande	9

6. Mareerey	5
7. Kalaanje	13

Most of the peasants were expropriated of their land; others had their sources of water diverted or blocked, or their fields deliberately flooded to drain off the Project farms. Expropriation mostly affected the sub-districts of Kaytoy, Cusman Moote and Haraawe.

Mr. Farah and Ms. Craven first interviewed the District Commissioner of Jilib: he gave them a coherent, clear picture of the Projects' impact, as he saw it, on the local communities. In his view, some of the positive fruits of the development efforts were: (i) improved local health due to improved transportation from the villages to the larger town; (ii) extension of educational facilities to some of the nomads. However, no one was able to testify as to how the health of these people can be bettered by improved communications. The available primary health facilities have not shown any increase: neither new curative facilities (e.g. dispensaries, hospital beds, medical professionals) nor preventive health services like improved sanitation, vaccination, clean water, etc., were reported by the survey team or the interviewees. On the other hand expanded irrigation would obviously spread the waterborne diseases to new areas, or intensify their impact on some localities. As for education, the nomads newly brought from other parts of the country, like those transferred from Dujuma to Mareerey Project, are now, of course, getting some education — formal, non-formal, and informal as well. But they are not the target group of this study. Like the rest of the country, the typical nomads of Jilib District remain as a rule, outside the scope of the educational services of Government.

On the negative side, since many farmers lost their land to the Projects, unemployment or underemployment of the locals are likely to rise. The survey team interviewed farmers in four villages: 2 in the neighborhood of Fanoole, and 2 in the Mareerey area. Their findings are summarized below.

a) Fanoole Project Area

Village 3

Six people, including the village herdsmen, were interviewed; another 7 were present.

Originally there was farmland on one side of the village, and dense bushland on the other side. The bushland was rich in wildlife, but not suitable even for grazing, according to the villagers. The village was then moved to a nearby site. In the villagers' view, one benefit of this relocation is that the clearing of the bush has ended their problems with elephants, while more breeze now reaches the village. Both statements need to be qualified: firstly, the elephants and other wildlife may have been a threat to the villagers — but they could be tamed and turned into community assets, e.g. for recreational schemes; secondly, the bushland, besides acting as a windbreak and protection against soil erosion, must have been a reservoir of firewood for the village. Equally the use of the woodland may, on the whole, prove disadvantageous.

At present, there are about 128 families: 73 are living in one part of the village; the other 55 reside at a separate site. Prior to the inception of the Project,

400 families lived in the village. No adequate explanation is yet offered as to why 68% of the original families have left; of course, one of the causes is the loss of land to the Project. Some people accuse the cholera epidemics of March 1985 for chasing away some families. This view is rather weak, since in the traditional Somali society the people do not abandon their native areas because of plagues like cholera.

The villagers have correctly noticed the increase of malaria since the Project started. This must be true, due to increased irrigation. In addition, they blame the Project for the outbreaks of cholera; their claim is based on the fact that cholera had never occurred there before. Of course, there is no supporting evidence for their allegation. On the other hand, it is fair to admit that the muddy and dirty environment created by the Project may have added fuel to the fire, since the new environment resulting from the Project, although it did not introduce the disease in the area, may well have aggravated the conditions favorable to its spread.

Due to the reduction in their cultivated acreage, many villagers seek employment with the Project. Even children are employed as bird scarers. An average of 3 members of each family are said to be working for the Project. This is well above the average workforce of a traditional family in the Juba Valley, which is said to 2.5 units per average family of 7 persons. Another source of employment which was not mentioned either by the people interviewed nor by the team is the possibility of increased commercial activities, as a result of the demand for goods and services generated by the Project. Again, increased communications and transport are possible sources of new ideas promoting a better life.

The changing environment has not forced the people to abandon herding, but due to the reduced pastures and to shortage of labor, the average family is raising a lesser number of stock. Hence, though there are no fewer trashumant herders, a process of socio-economic adjustment seems to be fostered by the new economic set-up introduced by the Project.

In short, the negative social impact of the Project translates itself into: (i) health problems, and (ii) a drop in the number of school-going children. Both problems could be cured by adopting a comprehensive strategic plan for the development of the area. For instance, the present basic education available in our primary schools is hardly relevant for these children. To be meaningful, it must contain ideas, skills and attitudes which enable the recipients to participate effectively in modernizing activities and social living. The ideas, technology, normative standards, and value system carried by the Project are good in essence. The educational services must collaborate with the Project in fostering comprehensive socio-economic growth.

Village 4

This is Village 2 in Mr. Farah and his colleague's study of the Fanoole Project's impact on the local communities.

Two villagers were interviewed in the presence of others.

The village counts 30-35 families. None of them have left since the Project started. It is an old settlement, and the inhabitants were farming 400 hectares. The Project has taken away almost all of this farmland: only 20 ha are left to the village people. The villagers have been given new farmland elsewhere.

The Project was expected to provide water for the villagers' farms as well as for human consumption, but so far it has not fulfilled its promise to the community. Yet the interviewees reported numerous benefits of the Project to their village. These included:

- (i) Learning driving and mechanical skills.
- (ii) Better communications with the outside world. Owing to the now easy access to the main roads, they are linked with bigger markets. Hence they have more control over their products and are able to take advantage of national marketing opportunities. Prior to the Project, their crops were sold to visiting merchants, who determined the prices they would pay. These same merchants decided the quality and prices of the goods that the villagers bought from them. Again, due to improved transport, sick villagers can be taken to the district or regional hospitals.
- (iii) The Project offered good employment opportunities. An average of 3-5 persons in each family work for the Project. This figure exceeds the traditional rate in the area. While the unskilled workers may work 6 months in the year, the skilled workers are employed full time and earn relatively good wages. Another source of employment is the gradually growing community business.
- (iv) 4 villagers who were technicians have left the Project and secured jobs from other Projects in the region at a higher pay. In other words, the village is for the first time producing local people equipped with modern skills which are marketable at least nation-wide.
- (v) There are also indications of some attitudinal changes: indeed, it has been reported that the villagers are now talking of building their own canals: this must be something new in their value system.
- (vi) Another positive effect is the 'social insurance' against drought. Permanent employment in the Project will most likely guarantee a permanent supply of the means of survival, even in times of drought.

On the negative side, the casualties from malaria have shown a quantitative rise.

From the experience of these two villages one could conclude that the irrigation development projects in the Juba Valley have shown a positive social impact on the local communities, while the negative issues so far raised by these projects are few. They include: (i) deteriorating health conditions (e.g. rise in the number of malaria victims), (ii) drop in the school-going population, (iii) problems associated with the expropriation of land (e.g. psychological anxiety and sense of insecurity, as immediate responses). The development schemes have the potential to overcome these handicaps and to enhance the present positive gains associated with their implementation.

b) Mareerey Project Area

We now come to the villages affected by the Juba Sugar Project. Two sample villages are reported on.

Village 5

Eight to ten farmers were interviewed.

The villagers are traditional peasants. They used to farm 4,200 hectares of land: all of it was taken over by the Project.

Before the Project, 1500 families lived in the village. Another 500 families joined them: the newcomers were evacuated from other areas affected by the river flood of 1977. A third group of families came as Project workers.

The villagers received no compensation for their land. As the Project brought almost all the workforce from outside, it did not employ the locals directly. With the exception of some families engaged in seasonal farming on new land often lying far from the village, some set up temporary camps on the farmland, at least during such periods of heavy work as ploughing, harvesting, etc. Part of the community must be engaged in the growing local business generated by the Project economy.

The obvious benefits for these people would appear to include: (i) better communication and transport, hence (ii) less isolation, and (iii) availability of a greater variety of consumer goods (if one has the money).

Unlike the communities affected by the Mugambo and Fanoole Projects, these villagers are, rightly, not happy about their relations with this Project.

Village 6

The loss of land hit these unfortunate villagers twice: first in 1972, when the Banana Board took away 300 hectares (however, they received compensation in course of time: 400 ha on the other side of the village were cleared for farming and assigned to them); then in 1974, when the Sugar Project started, all of the 400 hectares were taken from them without compensation. One farmer claims that he lost roughly 2.4 ha of sesame in that year. These products, priced at present Sh.So. 900 and Sh.So. 3500 respectively, would offer an annual earning of Sh.So. 80,000 or a monthly income of Sh.So. 6,000. Now the net income of the family is the salary of one family member working in the Project at Sh.So. 600 per month. Needless to say, the loss felt is great. And the villagers strongly feel they were robbed when they were expropriated. Some villagers have gone to other villages and secured farmland; others have moved closer to the Project and sought jobs.

There used to be 800 families in the place; now less than 100 are there. An average of 2 persons per family work in the Project. The average pay is Sh.So. 600 per month. The average villager who is still engaged in farming has to walk 2-4 hours every day, whereas prior to the Project the walking distance was no more than 20 minutes: this is a enormous waste of time and energy and, in economic terms, a great loss to the farmer. The villagers say that the average family used to produce about 100 quintals of maize. Now the entire village does not harvest 100 quintals. This economic loss must stir hard feelings towards the Project in the local community.

No educational and health problems have been mentioned by the farmers; but, as noted earlier, the complex irrigation system must result in a significant increase of health problems related to waterborne diseases.

Conclusion

The three major development projects in the southern part of the Juba Valley have been, by and large, beneficial to the original inhabitants of the area. They have introduced modern technology and more rational and relevant value systems and ideas for modern productivity. Due to improved transportation and communications, the population is less isolated. On the whole, employment opportunities have increased, particularly for the communities in the Mugambo and Fanoole Project areas. Problems related to new health hazards or expropriation, real or imagined, will be overcome if these villagers are reckoned among the priority target groups of similar strategic development projects.

Areas for Further Study

Due to the paucity of basic data, especially in the social sector, further investigation of certain matters relevant to this type of study ought to be undertaken, namely: (i) matters which will enrich our understanding of the actual impact of these development projects on the social environment of the local communities; (ii) other aspects useful in preparing the local people for effective participation in the development endeavors both as the implementing force and as beneficiaries. Of these, we have in mind the following:

1. 200,000-300,000 nomads from other parts of the country used to visit the region periodically in the dry season, especially in periods of drought. We have been unable to discover what happened to them after the Projects. It is most likely that they have lost traditional grazing land in the Valley and ease of access to the river for watering the animals.

Some puzzling questions are: have they made meaningful adjustments or are they just suffering from the Projects' interference? What sort of remedial interventions could be launched to deal with the problem (if there is a problem)?

2. It is our strong belief that the present basic education is most unsuited to help the local communities play their appropriate role in programs of rural development like the ones under review. Our present educational services are not designed to offer the participants the basic notions or concepts, skills and attitudes required by modern agriculture. Therefore, an in-depth study of the matter will perhaps be instrumental in generating and sustaining a type of basic education better attuned to reality and to the modernization of the social environment.

3. It is true that crop farming and stock raising could complement one another, making for a richer farming culture. Hence, we suggest some sort of research to explore the feasibility of mixed farming in those areas.

4. These projects are State-owned, while other big agricultural projects (like Bay) aim at helping the individual farmer to become more productive. Here again a comparative study is essential, so as to identify the more successful of the two approaches.

Economic Impact of the Development Projects in the Juba Valley

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Introduction

It is clearly very much in the national interest to increase agricultural and livestock production in Somalia, not only to raise the living standards but also to improve the current serious balance of payments situation.

All of the crops identified for inclusion in Mogambo, Juba Sugar and Fanoole Projects are either import-substitutes or can be sold directly for export.

The Juba Valley is one of the few areas where significant increases in production are technically feasible, and the Mogambo, Juba Sugar and Fanoole sites are some of the most favoured in the valley.

The State farm organization proposed by the Government has the attraction that full development should be attainable reasonably quickly, as opposed to the slower build-up of a settlement or small-holder scheme, the experience of which is limited in Somalia and negligible to date in the Juba Valley. Seen from the national viewpoint, there is great urgency for increased food production.

The Juba river has considerable potential as a source of irrigation water for agricultural development projects. There are perhaps three main constraints to the development of this source: (a) The lack of a unifying «de facto» authority responsible for the development of water resources in the Juba Valley; (b) A shortage of water in the river during the months January-April; (c) A tendency of the river to flood, especially during the months of October and November.

The problems of water shortages and flooding can be virtually eliminated by the construction of the often quoted, but not realised, Bardhere Dam, and eventually the Ministry for Juba Valley Development will become the only «de facto» authority with the competence mentioned under (a) above.

Fanoole Irrigation Project

Generalities - This Project was the first stage of the Juba development scheme which was started in 1972-73. It includes:

(a) Construction of a diversion dam, (b) Generation of hydro-electricity (5,000 Kw), (c) Opening of a 52 km long canal, (d) Establishment of a State farm covering 8199 ha.

As a reliable source of water supply the Juba river could provide water for irrigation. Under normal conditions the river can irrigate 106,000 ha, with regulated supply. Its irrigation potential can command up to 150,000 ha.

The Project was aimed at growing crops such as cotton, sesame, groundnuts, maize and legumes. In addition, a small herd of 475 cows and 25 bulls was to be raised at the farm and fed with the Project's fodder crops to determine their growth in terms of dairy and beef yields.

The net total area to be commanded by the irrigation network was 8199 ha; its development was to be carried out in 7 years from the date of its inception.

Implementation of the Project - In the FYDP (1974-78) it was estimated that the cost of the Project would be Sh.So. 241.96 million. Only 2000 ha out of the total were developed and 20 km of canals were reported to be completed. Also building units and power transmission pylons were reported to have been erected.

However, the rate of implementation has been only 46%. The development of the command area has lagged behind schedule, although in 1979 it was reported that 900 ha were planted. In 1981 it was reported that only 60 ha were planted. The reason is stated to be a change in the lay-out of the irrigation network necessitating the scrapping of the old development scheme; this means that part of the earlier investment was wasted: thus the benefits accruing from the Project were disappointing.

From the date of Project initiation a huge investment amounting to Sh.So. 727 million has been allocated to the Project, with foreign financing amounting to 52% (estimated at the prevailing rate of exchange for each year).

The headworks, consisting of a barrage across the Juba and a hydropower station to produce 4,600 Kw, were completed in 1982 and 1983 respectively. The high tension and low tension transmission lines have been laid out, and the towns of Jilib and Kansuma are supplied with electricity. The main irrigation canal (52 km) and the first of the 5 branch canals have been completed as well as housing, workshops and stores. In 1983, 633 ha of new land were developed and 1100 ha were soil-surveyed. In the same year 15 km of non-metalled road were constructed. At the end of 1983 the Project employed 335 expatriates (mainly technical personnel) and 1515 domestic staff.

Despite these achievements the pace of development and of agricultural operations were at times retarded by the lack of equipment and frequent fuel shortage.

The planned public investment and technical assistance in 1983 was Sh.So. 94.5 million, of which Sh.So. 34.5 million and 60 million were paid by the Chinese and GOS respectively; the actual expenditure was Sh.So. 94.477 million.

In 1984 the planned investment was Sh.So. 51.75 million, of which the Chinese and GOS paid Sh.So. 7 million and 80 million respectively; the actual expenditure was Sh.So. 66.74 million, thus in excess of the planned expenditure.

In 1984 the land development target was: bush clearing, 300 ha; land levelling, 309 ha. The achieved was 206 ha (or 68.7%) and 75 ha (or 24.3%) respectively. The rate of implementation in the construction of irrigation and drainage works was 37.8%. These low rates of implementation are attributed to financial difficulties and shortage of fuel and other inputs.

Juba Sugar Project

Generalities - The Juba Project, established as an Autonomous Agency in 1977, is of great economic significance for the country. With production at Jowhar Sugar Factory having come to a standstill, the main objectives of this Project are: (i) to supply sugar for the country in substitution of the imported product, (ii) to create employment for Somalis, (iii) to create a sound infrastructure to benefit the neighbouring farming areas.

The capacity of the sugar estate was planned to be 67,000 tonnes/year. An irrigated sugar cane estate of 8,195 ha was planned to supply the sugar mill, which can crush 2,300 tonnes of cane per day.

The Project employs 5,000 persons; this number is expected to increase if the full development of the Project is achieved. The plant was built at a cost of US \$ 191.4 million, including both external and internal resources.

Implementation of the Project - The Project, which came into stream in 1980 produced about 25,600 tonnes of sugar in 1983 against the rated capacity of 67,000 tonnes/year. It was expected to reach full production in 1984, but — due to a number of impediments — it achieved only 26,954 tonnes or 38.5% of the planned target.

Production in the first years was 7,927 tonnes; in 1985 it reached 39,000 tonnes. Though short of the target, production has increased steadily and is expected to reach its rated capacity if the problems currently besetting the Project are removed.

A loss of Sh.So. 52 million was recorded in 1984 owing to the low ex-factory price of sugar (Sh.So. 12/Kg) and the high cost of production. Also, in 1984 the lower level of production, caused by shortage of fuel and lubricants, aggravated the situation. A loss was recorded also in 1982. The Government's decision to raise the ex-factory price (Sh.So. 34.1/Kg) minimized losses during 1983.

A comparison of the ex-factory price per tonne in US Dollars at the exchange rates prevailing from time to time shows that from June 1981 to December 1985 the local price of sugar had been increasing steadily; the decrease in the price per tonne in US Dollars is due to the continued devaluation of the Somali currency. Because of the instability of sugar price on the world market, the increasing price of Juba sugar can have a negative impact on its competitiveness. Therefore it is advisable to try and reduce production costs rather than increasing the price continuously.

In January 1985 the ex-factory price of sugar was Sh.So. 20/Kg. The average price to the consumer is roughly twice the ex-factory price. This shows that the marketing channels and intermediaries are making large profits at the expense of the consumer. This problem can be attributed to the lack of a marketing department at the Project, which would have played a major role in the distribution and marketing of sugar. This has also caused the indifference of the consumers to the consumption of imported versus locally produced sugar, because there is no great difference between their prices.

Mogambo Irrigation Project

Generalities - Two major factors affecting the design of the Project were the two basic soil types and the prospect of perennial water availability from the proposed Bardhere Dam. The Project's irrigable area comprises approx. 50% basin clays which can be surface-irrigated and 50% levee and other soils for which overhead irrigation is proposed.

The returns were too low for the Project to be recommended, so given alternatives were examined. These variously included: developing the basin soils only, delaying the Project until the Bardhere Dam is operational, and substituting the higher-valued crop of bananas after completion of the dam.

Restricting the Project to the basin soils caused little improvement, since higher per hectare returns were offset by the loss of economies of scale.

The most profitable alternative involved delaying the whole project until the Bardhere Dam is operational, then planting 1200 ha to banana on the levee soil instead of single-cropped maize. However, this solution was not favoured because it would have meant an estimated 8 years wait, whereas there is an urgent need, in the national context, to implement the Project as early as possible.

An important feature of the proposed Project is that foreign exchange earnings would considerably exceed foreign exchange costs, even when discounted to the present day.

Implementation - The first phase of the Project started in November 1982; its objective was to develop, by early 1986, 2,052 ha of paddy rice and 163 ha of sprinkler-irrigated cotton crop.

This phase contemplated the construction of offices, house, and other buildings; the second consisted of earth works, canals, irrigation and drainage.

Completion of the first phase was scheduled for August 1984, but was delayed up to mid-1985. The delay was attributed to financial difficulties, insufficient experience of the contractor, and little back-up from the German contractor to the local contractor for the joint execution of the works.

The second phase contemplated the development of 450 ha for surface irrigation by mid-1985, and of the remaining areas by March 1986. The development of 160 ha for surface irrigation and 126 ha for sprinkler irrigation has been accomplished.

The land development achievements in 1984 were too low. Only 900 ha out of the proposed 2052 ha (or 4.9%) were bush-cleared, while 200 ha (or 44.4%) out of the 450 ha target were levelled. The rate of implementation in the construction of irrigation and drainage works was good (about 60%) while that of bush clearing was too low. The low rates of implementation were attributed to funding difficulties and shortage of fuel.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations for Further Study

The crop production sub-sector provides a livelihood for about one-fifth of the Somali population; it accounts for about 7-8% of the nation's GDP and constitutes approximately 8% of export earnings.

13% of the country's total area is suitable for crops, but only one-tenth of such land is exploited at present.

Apart from this, the current yields are considered low according to international standards. The Juba Valley Projects have great significance for the Somali economy and, if full, implemented, can play a major role in development.

Although these projects were ongoing for some time, their implementation has fallen back, as expected. The major constraints which continue to exert a depressing effect are:

1. Insufficient financial resources: the main sources of financing for these Projects are external ones; the postponements and delays in funding have had a severe effect on their progress. Therefore it is time for the Somali Government to try its best to secure adequate financial resources.

2. Inefficiency in water usage, due to poor management of water application and drainage at field level and failure to rehabilitate the irrigation networks. All the three Projects complain about water shortage, especially in the dry seasons. If the management of water application and drainage is improved, most of these problems can be tackled.

3. Another problem is that, while complaining about water shortage, all the Projects plan to extend the cultivated areas, whereas it is better to limit cultivation to the extent that can be accommodated by existing water resources.

4. Lack of coordination between Ministries, Departments and Agencies involved in these Projects: suitable administrative machinery to coordinate agricultural development activities in this area is needed.

5. Limited development of integrated crop cultivation and livestock rearing. The by-products of rice in Fanoole and molasses in the Juba Project can enhance animal production in this area. The allocation of resources to irrigated fodder production cannot be considered in isolation from the agricultural activities which are being undertaken or planned on adjacent projects. The Juba Sugar Project has a considerable output of molasses. Unfortunately, instead of utilising this by-product for animal production, it is exported: this policy needs to be revised. Also the diversion of cotton production to other crops in Mogambo has reduced the opportunity of producing oil cakes, which is an essential for livestock nutrition. The integration of crop and livestock production has great significance for the utilization of resources which would otherwise be wasted, and for the economy as a whole. Rather than strengthening the integration of these activities, these Projects have tried to avoid livestock presence in these zones. Therefore it is advisable to reconsider these policies in order to strengthen the integrated approach.

6. Poor maintenance of farm machinery and shortage of fuel and lubricants had a depressing effect on these Projects, as noted earlier in this paper. Therefore, incentivating the skilled labour and securing funds for spare parts, fuel and lubricants is of crucial importance for the development of these Projects.

7. There is ample evidence from the experience of the Juba Sugar Project, the Mogambo Irrigation Project and the Fanoole State Farm to show that attracting seasonal labour to the farms presents a serious problem also in the future.

The extent to which labour is actually (as opposed to theoretically) available is difficult to assess. While the labour officers maintain that labour is available (in the sense that there is a great deal of under-employment), the experience of the Juba Sugar Project, the Fanoole State Farm and the Mogambo Irrigation Project would seem to suggest that it is not sufficiently mobile to be drawn into

labour-intensive schemes at the present level of inducements, with low wages, seasonal employment and considerable distance to travel. Even when the Juba Sugar Project sends lorries into Jamama District to recruit labour for the sugar plantations, there are not sufficient people prepared to accept the inducement and offer themselves for hiring.

The following points are recommended, for further study:

1) Because of the serious problems concerning labour availability in the Juba Valley, it is necessary to make some research into the ways by which labour can be drawn within and outside the area.

2) Given the change in policy towards the Mogambo Project, which calls for population resettlement and tenant farming, it is suggested to conduct further research on the economic impact of the new policy.

3) Further research should also be conducted into the effects of these large scale projects on the economics of pastoralism in general, especially during dry seasons and long droughts.

4) Last but not least, further studies are suggested in the area of the Juba river water management system before and during the construction of the Bardhere Dam.

Camel Herd Dynamics in Southern Somalia: Long Term Development and Milk Production Implications

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Introduction and Method

The last ten or 15 years have seen a bandwagon effect in the study of dryland problems; much has been written in response to the critical situation prevailing not least in African drylands. But limited insights into what kinds of issues need to be studied have led to a rather fragmented picture. Many have studied similar problem fields whereas other issues have not been touched upon at all to the extent needed for proper action. When it comes to the study of pastoral systems there are severe gaps of knowledge, generated both by differences in perspectives between, say natural and social sciences, and by practical difficulties involved in carrying out long-term research in hot and dry climates.

The prevailing ecological perspective, by no means comprehensive enough to explain living conditions today in drylands, is based on balances or imbalances between the components people, animals and land (Hjort 1981). Lacking, generally speaking, are detailed insights, for instance into age structures of pastoral herds, decision-making and competence levels, how different plants are differentiated depending on fodder utility, and the implications of seasonality (see Hjort 1985 for further discussion on this point).

This kind of knowledge gaps also exist in the Somali context. There is for instance no information on the composition of family herds of camels detailed enough to allow for any «demographical» calculations of long-term developments. The present paper is a pilot effort to test to what extent such problems can be overcome by means of serial surveying. It presents a way which could be multiplied and carried out in a more comprehensive way if desired.

This paper reports the camel herd dynamics subproject within the Somali Camel Research Project. It is based particularly on aerial survey from R.M. Watson (1985) and on ground surveying by Mohamed Ali Hussein. Our prime concern is to analyse the camel herd compositions in southern Somalia presented in Watson (*ibid*) by looking at long-term implications in terms of herd growth and at milk production possibilities in eleven selected camel herds. The locations of the herds surveyed are given on Map 1, derived from Krokfors (in press). The method used in the aerial surveying is presented in Watson (*ibid*). Measurements of camel

Table 1: Population structures of the surveyed eleven herds (Sources: Watson 1985)
 % of population structures of the age/sex category

Population	0+		1-1		1+1		1½		2-3		3-4		4-5		5-6		6-7		7-8		8-9		9-10		10				
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
1	4.8	3.7	8.0	6.7	8.0	8.0	13.3	13.6	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4	
2	15.2	14.6	14.6	12.4	6.1	19.2	10.4	10.4	9.6	7.8	8.8	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
3	13.5	11.7	9.5	12.2	10.7	5.4	2.4	16.8	17.8	8.7	8.7	14.0	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	9.9	
4	3.8	10.4	1.5	8.0	0.9	5.4	0.8	6.0	1.0	6.7	2.2	11.8	1.8	8.1	1.9	7.6	0.7	2.5	0.7	2.5	0.7	2.5	0.7	2.5	0.7	2.5	0.7	2.5	
5	0.9	2.9	1.2	6.2	1.3	8.0	0.7	5.1	1.6	11.2	1.9	10.0	1.7	7.6	1.4	5.7	0.5	1.7	0.2	0.8	1.1	4.0	1.1	4.0	1.1	4.0	1.1	4.0	
6	7.7	5.9	12.8	6.4	2.6	0.3	2.3	1.5	10.0	2.3	11.8	14.1	15.4	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	
7	1.8	4.7	3.5	12.9	1.7	11.2	0.7	5.2	2.5	17.5	0.9	5.0	2.2	9.6	0.9	3.8	1.5	5.6	1.0	3.7	0.5	1.9	0.5	1.9	0.5	1.9	0.5	1.9	
8	1.1	3.6	0.6	2.9	8.8	1.2	7.6	0.8	6.0	1.6	11.1	1.5	7.9	1.8	8.1	1.7	6.7	0.3	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.4	1.6	1.1	4.2	2.4	10.6	10.6	
9	0	0	6.9	6.9	6.9	6.9	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3
10	0	0	1.2	4.8	4.8	4.8	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3
11	6.4	4.9	8.4	7.0	6.6	6.6	12.3	12.3	12.3	12.3	12.3	12.8	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7
All	1.68	5.59	1.50	7.68	1.11	7.08	0.77	5.83	1.64	11.27	1.84	9.70	1.87	8.23	1.57	6.24	0.43	1.61	0.63	2.38	0.67	2.52	0.71	2.57	2.72	12.14	12.14	12.14	

sizes lead after a calibration by means of ground surveying to a correlation curve between age and size. The ground surveying also creates the possibility of establishing sex. The curve has been established up to the age of ten years. This means that the method is but a partial way of solving the problem of age distributions. We may even have doubts whether it is efficient up to ten years; the slope in the correlation curve tends towards 0 already at the age of eight. In this paper we do not utilize the findings beyond the age class 7-8 years.

Herd Composition

The age and sex compositions of the surveyed eleven herds is given in table 1.

There are a few tendencies in table I which can be immediately observed. To begin with we see more females than males already in the age interval 1/2-1. The reason behind this tendency is herd management practice which gives preferences to females. Male calves are to a considerable extent slaughtered at birth. Since calf mortalities are high (Williamson and Payne 1965, 298) one prefers to slaughter surviving males rather than risking the whole calf population.

The ratio of mature males in the herds is slightly below 1:10. These animals may be both for transport and reproduction. Normally remaining males are castrated at the age of 4-6 years (Mares 1954, 418) in order to improve handling. The number of bulls needed for reproduction is small. One male can serve at least 30 females and many sources have it that he may serve as many as 100 females. This is also in accordance with what herdsmen claim.

Diagrammes I-VIII below plot the proportion of females per one-year interval. This is done only until the interval 7-8 years, since we need to be a bit caution against the figures above the age of eight in the aerial survey. Average proportions are lifted out from the diagrammes. These are summarized in table II. In that

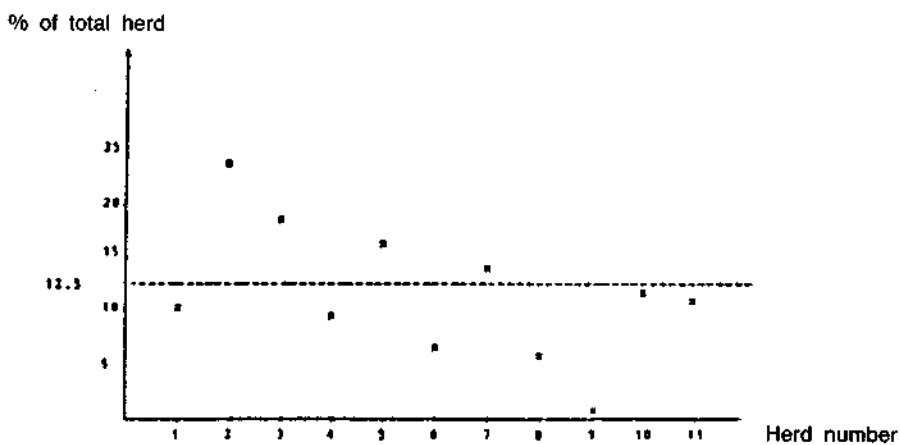


Diagramme I: Female calves 0-1 years in proportion of total herd surveyed

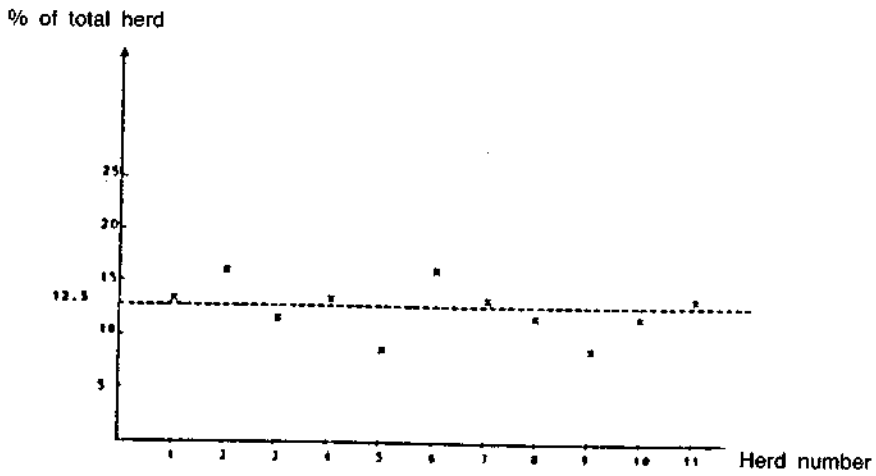


Diagramme II: Females 1-2 years old in proportion of total herd surveyed

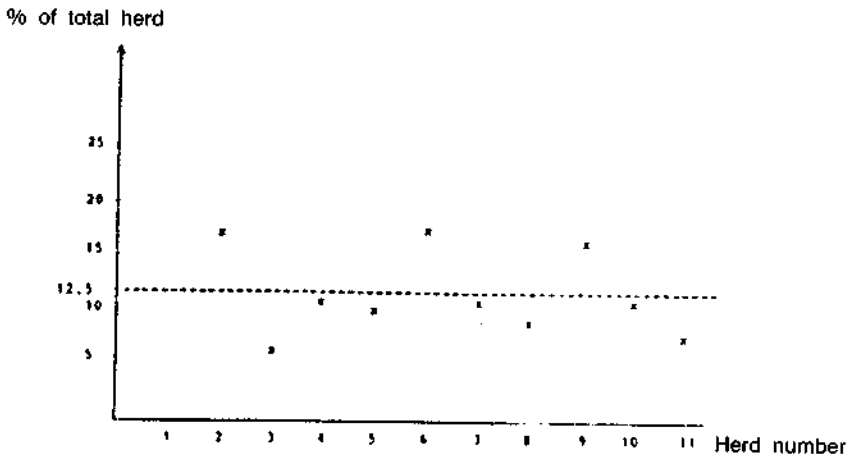


Diagramme III: Female 2-3 years old in proportion of total herd surveyed

Aspects of Development and Economy

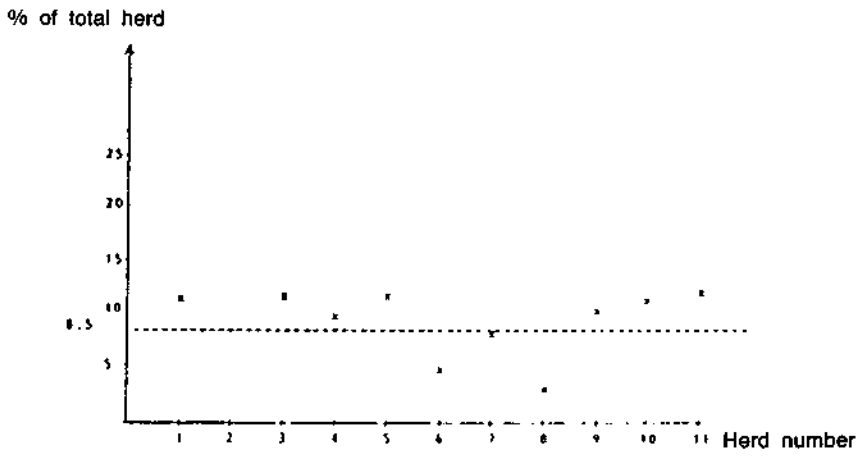


Diagramme IV: Females 3-4 years old in proportion of total herd surveyed

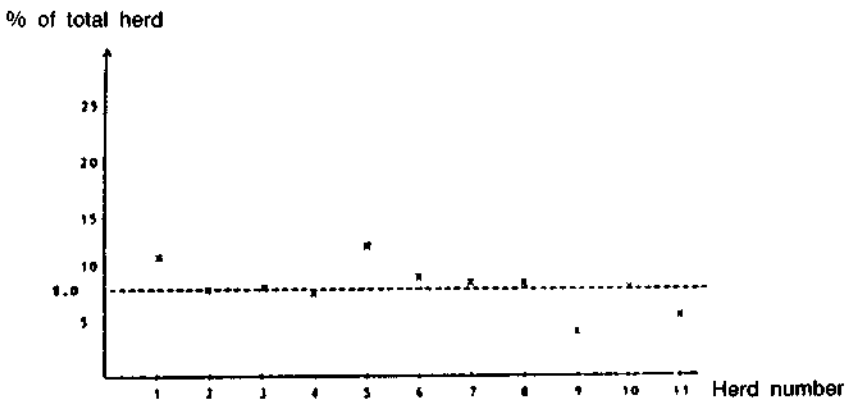


Diagramme V: Females 4-5 years old in proportion of total herd surveyed

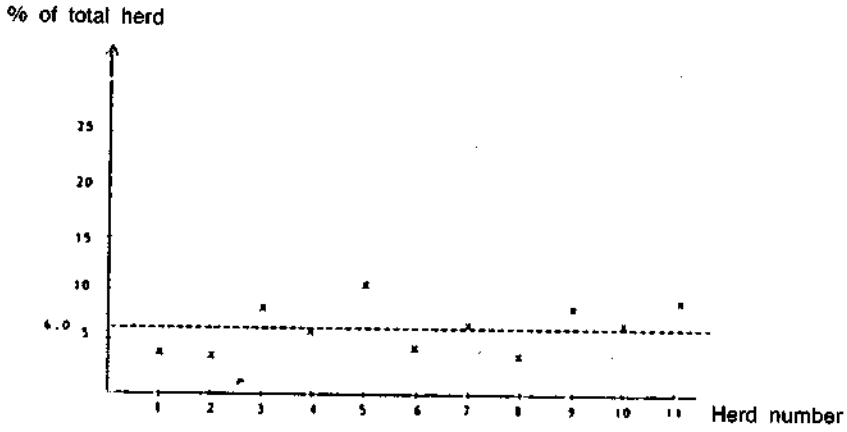


Diagramme VI: Females 5-6 years old in proportion of total herd surveyed

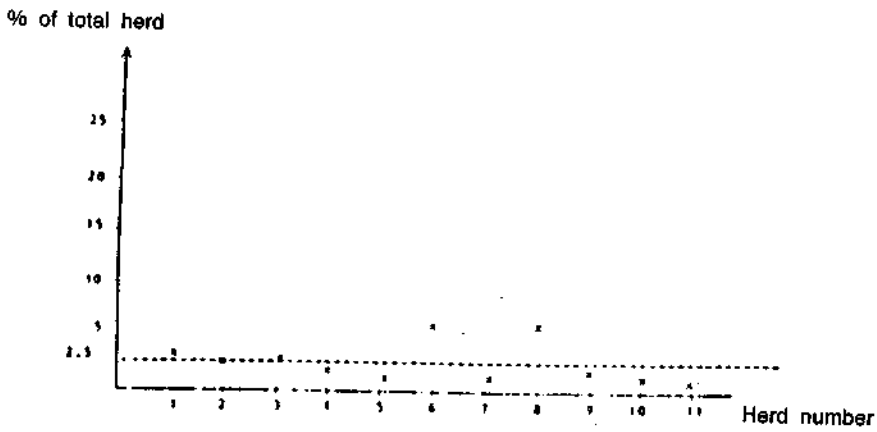


Diagramme VII: Females 6-7 years old in proportion of total herd surveyed

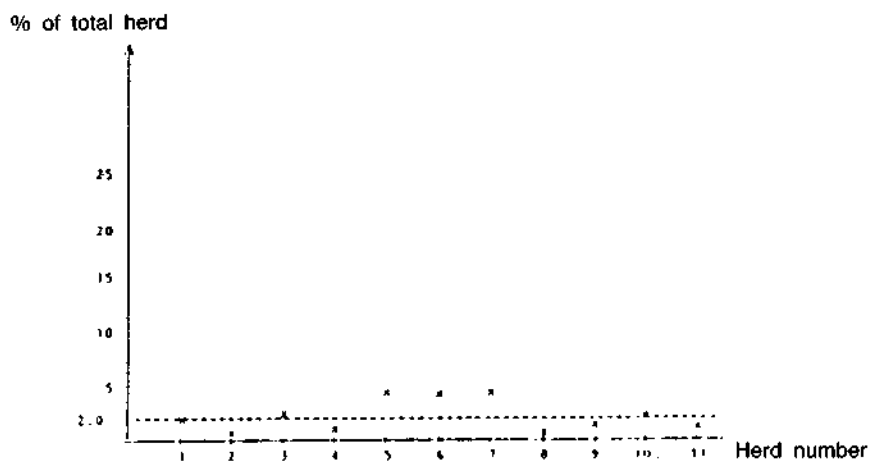


Diagramme VIII: Females 7-8 years old in proportion of total herd surveyed

Table 2: An age distribution model for female camels

	% of total herd	% of total female herd
0-1	12.5	15.2
1-2	12.5	15.2
2-3	12.0	14.5
3-4	8.5	10.3
4-5	8.0	9.7
5-6	6.0	7.3
6-7	2.5	3.0
7-8	2.0	2.4
8-9	1.5	1.8
9-10	1.5	1.8
10-11	1.5	1.8
11-12	1.5	1.8
12-13	1.5	1.8
13-14	1.5	1.8
14-15	1.5	1.8
15-16	1.5	1.8
16-17	1.5	1.8
17-18	1.5	1.8
18-19	1.5	1.8
19-20	1.0	1.2
20-21	1.0	1.2
	82.5	99.8

table we have distributed remaining animals evenly; that is a proportion of 1.5% of the total herd per age class from 8-9 until 18-19. The last two age-classes in the table however, have been somewhat diminished, representing only 1.0% each of the total herd. We assume in that table that no animals live after the age

of 21 years; they are presumed to be slaughtered at 21. We rely in this assumption not only on Mares (1954, 417f) but also on our own empirical impressions. Thus table II represents a model for age distribution. This is used for simulations of female herd growth after the proportions of female herds have been calculated.

Conclusions

The data from Section 2 on herd composition is accordingly not comprehensive for the discussions on long-term growth in family herds of camels on Section 3 of the longer version of this paper presented at the conference. In that section we have been forced to estimate age distributions above the age of 10 and until 22 (when we have assumed animals to be slaughtered). Still the analysis becomes considerably more pregnant than without the surveying, especially if we were to cover a time-span of 1-2 generations.

In terms of possible milk production from the family herds, also presented in the study but not here, the data on herd composition prove more reliable, granted that proper herd management leads to a decision to keep only those adult females which can safely be assumed to be fertile. The conclusion is that herd sizes required for the case of a household with its entire food production from a family herd are of the magnitude of 28 animals.

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Spatial Aspects on Seasonal Distributions of Camels in Southern Somalia

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In most of the semi-arid and arid Somalia, nomadic pastoralism is the only viable technology to convert the organic resources into forms useful for man. This is especially true for camel nomadism. Camels browse and graze in a way that does not exploit the vegetation as hard as for instance grazing by cattle. However, as a form of food producing technology (Carlstein 1980: 5-9, 103-146; Krokfors 1981: 109), camel nomadism is much neglected. Camel nomadism is normally looked upon as something ancient, something that resist modernization and represents a hard way of life. Therefore, camel husbandry is seldom discussed in connection with food strategies for arid and semi-arid lands.

Somalia is the African country which has the largest camel population (approximately 5 millions; Somali Academy... 1985: 15). Development of camel nomadism is therefore of outermost importance for an improved food situation. This can be done through more effective veterinary services, selective breeding, new management techniques, especially those which demand less input of labour. Preservation of the surplus produce that is not needed for local consumption and distribution of it to more distant markets is of basic importance if camel nomadism in an essential way should contribute to improved food situations in Somalia.

To develop the Somali camel husbandry, close cooperation has to be sought with the camel herders. To as large an extent as possible the camel herders' knowledge about camels and the camels' relation to different environmental and social conditions should be incorporated in every approach to an improved camel husbandry. A prerequisite for this is knowledge about the inter-and intra-seasonal movements of the camel herds, the ways that these movements relates to different physical environments, and how they are related to the social structure of the camel herding society.

The study which is reported in this paper accounts only for inter-seasonal movements. The aims of the study are threefold:

1. to identify macro-spatial variations in camel densities per square kilometer as an expression of the seasonal distribution of camel herds,
2. to compare changes in camel densities during different times of the year, and
3. to identify macro-spatial units that can be used at least as a first rough framework for strategies aiming at an improved nomadic camel husbandry, and also as reference for future, more detailed studies of inter-and intra-seasonal movements of camel herds.

The sources used in the study were maps showing camel densities per square kilometer and land system units. These maps were produced in connection with the Southern Rangelands Project by Watson (1985, figures 1 and 2). The maps are based on aerial photographs and show camel densities in November-December 1983 and March 1984. The first time roughly represents the end of the wet season in Southern Somalia, the second the dry season (Thompson, 1965: 44, 52-53; Samantar, 1986: 1). The information of the maps was analyzed through cartographic techniques. To identify areas with density extremes and changes in densities between the two surveys, Watson's originally eight density classes were transformed into three;

1. *low density*: empty areas, or areas with a maximum of 5.0 camels/Km²
2. *medium density*: areas with a camel density between 5.1 to 40.0, and
3. *high density*: areas with 40.1 camels/Km² or more.

The cartographic identification of these density classes was undertaken both on the map showing camel densities in November/December 1983, and on the one for March 1984. The maps thus were superimposed on each other. The result is the map reproduced as figure 1. This map shows low, medium and high camel densities in November/December 1983 (I₁, I₂, I₃) and in March (II₁, II₂, II₃). The system of square and rectangles shows permanences or changes in camel densities between the two surveys. An area with squares represents permanence, an area with rectangles change. The map is thus both synthetic and dynamic.

The map shows that all nine possibilities of permanences or changes are represented in southern Somalia. These possibilities form nine different macro-spatial camel density units, and can be described as follows:

1. *No change, high density* (I₃, II₃)

There are only two very limited areas with high densities at the time of both surveys. Both are situated in Gedo region along the border to Kenya.

2. *No change, medium density*. (I₂, II₂)

The main part of the camel tracts in southern Somalia belong to this spatial unit. However, several sub-units can be identified:

- a. most of Bakool and Bay regions
- b. the coastal area from the southern part of Lower Juba region to Mogadishu. In Middle Juba and Lower Shebelle regions this sub-unit approaches the Shebelle river.
- c. the northern part of Lower Shebelle and the eastern parts of Middle Shebelle regions north of Shebelle river.
- d. parts of Middle Shebelle region in the northeasternmost part of the surveyed area
- e. parts of western Gedo.

3. *No change, low density*. (I₁, II₁)

This spatial unit is predominating in the western parts of southern Somalia (southern Gedo, western parts of Middle Juba and Lower Juba regions). Some parts of this unit are «empty areas» during the wet season (eg. Lower Juba).

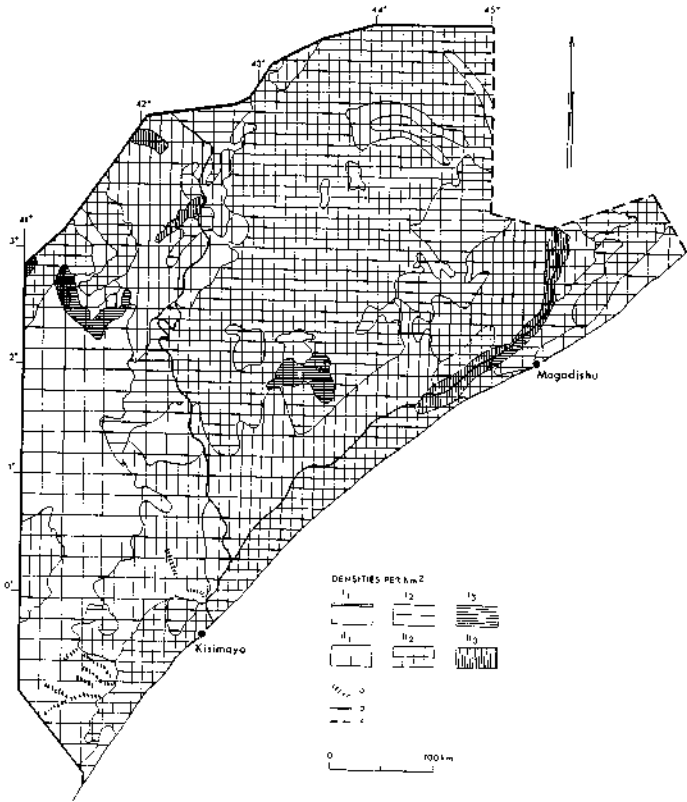


Figure 1. Macro-spatial camel density units. I₁, I₂, I₃ and II₁, II₂, II₃ low, medium and high densities in November/December 1983 and March 1984 respectively a) local high densities in March, b) international boundary, c) boundary of survey. For further explanations, see the text.

4. Change from low to medium density. (I₁, II₁)

Within this spatial unit, there are three well-defined, extensive sub-units:

- a. in the western parts of Lower Juba region on the border to Kenya
- b. the most extensive of these sub-units range from western Lower Juba, south eastern Middle Juba to southwestern Lower Shebelle.
- c. eastern Gedo region

Some more limited sub-units are found in northern Gedo, northern Bakool and parts of Middle Shebelle regions.

5. Change from low to high density (I₁, II₁)

This unit is difficult to identify through the cartographic techniques used because of the scale of the mapwork. The areas representing this unit are usually found as small «pockets». There are, however, two areas of some extent in the north and east of Gedo region. High concentrations of camels can also be found in March (dry season) in Lower Juba region, mainly along small rivers. These areas are very swampy and eventually flooded during the wet season.

6. *Change from medium to low density (I₂, II₁)*

This unit has a limited range in southern Somalia. There are, however, three clearly observable sub-units:

- a. in north of Gedo region
- b. near to the Juba river in Middle Juba region
- c. in southeast of Middle Shebelle region, south of the Shebelle river

7. *Change from medium to high density (I₂, II₂)*

This spatial camel density unit can be identified along the banks of the Shebelle river in Lower and Middle Shebelle regions.

8. *Change from high to low density (I₃, II₁)*

There is only one area representing this unit in the south of Gedo region (near Sidimo and Catama).

9. *Change from high to medium density (I₃, II₂)*

This unit is also represented by only one area in the southeastern part of Bay region.

The interesting point to be made from these identifications of macro-spatial variations in camel densities between the two surveys is that in southern Somalia roughly three spatial situations occur: 1. extensive areas where the camel densities are the same both during the wet and dry seasons, 2. widespread areas where changes occur, but do not have a dramatic quality, and 3. limited areas where changes between extremes occur.

These spatial situations are of first hand interest for further research on camel nomadism in southern Somalia. The first type of situation (1) seems to represent uniformity throughout the year. This is not necessarily the case. For instance, in Bay region the camel herders and their camels present in an area at one time during the year, might at another time have been replaced by another group of camel herders. There seems to be a certain succession of camel herders with their camels into specific areas (Bernhard Helander, personal communication) within these types of macrospatial units. To really earn insight and understanding of camel herding within these seemingly uniform macro-spatial units, much more detailed studies are needed of microspatial movements of camel herds, both inter- and intra-seasonal.

The interpretation of the macro-spatial situations where moderate density changes (2) occur has to be made with caution. The source material used in this study refers only to two points of time. The study is therefore nothing else than a preliminary case study. Nothing can be said from this study about the stability over time of the macro-spatial units. There are, however, some sources against which the spatial changes in camel densities expressed through the spatial units can be judged. Prothero (1961: 411) has in connection with a report on malaria eradication compiled a map showing population movements in the Horn of Africa. According to this map, the main directions of population movements in southern Somalia are towards the Shebelle and Juba rivers. If these movements are interpreted as dry season movements, they indicate the same concentration of people and their camels (and of course also other types of livestock) in areas near to the banks of the rivers, as figure 1 in the present study does.

A map presented in a forthcoming study by Mohamed Ali Hussein (1986, map 3) indicating the dry and wet season movements of camels in southern Somalia also in a qualitative way shows the same pattern of concentration towards the river areas during the dry season, and a dispersal to areas away from the rivers during the wet season. But again, further studies are needed if one really will gain insight into what movements are going on in these areas with moderate density changes. There are the following possibilities: some camel herds remain all the year around in these areas. Density increase is caused by immigration of herds from distant wet season pastures. Density decrease is caused by emigration to distant dry season pastures. Still there is one possibility — the changes in densities are caused by the presence of totally different camel herds during wet and dry seasons in these areas. Again, much more detailed field investigations are needed before one can judge which of the mentioned possibilities are the relevant explanation.

The last type of spatial situation where extreme density changes (3) occur, is of limited spatial range. The areas are shown on the map reproduced as figure 2. From that figure it can be seen that these highly dynamic spatial situations occur in four parts of southern Somalia: in Gedo, in the south of Bay, along the river Shebelle north and southwest of Mogadishu, and along small rivers in Lower Juba. Despite their limited range, these areas are of outermost interest for further research on Somali camel nomadism. The Gedo, Bay and Lower areas probably represent more traditional types of camel nomadism, while the areas along Shebelle might represent more commercialized nomadism in areas with high non-herding population density and access to the nearby Mogadishu markets. An intensive study of the dynamism of changes in these areas might give clues into the current transformation process of the Somali camel nomadism.

To reach an understanding of the dynamism and function of the camel nomadism in southern Somalia, not only the nomadism and the seasonal movements as such should be studied. The macro-spatial units must also be mapped with reference to environmental and socio-cultural conditions. Roughly, southern Somalia is the part of the country where mean annual rainfall is at highest, and the number of geocological humid months at maximum for Somali conditions (Krokfors 1984; 296 and 305). However, in Thompson (1965: 54-56) the occurrence and length of rainfall is only expressed in approximate terms. The temporal and spatial distribution of precipitation and geocological humidity determine the phenological development of browsing and grazing resources. The development of the pastures through the years are closely followed by the nomads, and they have their own geography to describe the resource potentials in different regions of southern Somalia (see Galaal 1968: 62 and 72-73; Mohamed Ali Hussein 1986).

This ethno-geography can give content to the macro-spatial units mapped in this study and should therefore be mapped in detail. Through such studies insights will also be gained into the intra-seasonal movements of camel herds, the different types of pastures used under different ecological conditions, and the carrying capacity of the pastures, all of which are of outermost importance for a strategy aiming at improved camel husbandry.

In this study only camel nomadism is considered. To reach a full understanding of the ecological and socio-cultural conditions within the macro-spatial units identified, camel nomadism must be appraised in relation to 1) herding of other types of livestock, 2) occurrence of agropastoralism, and 3) relation between pa-

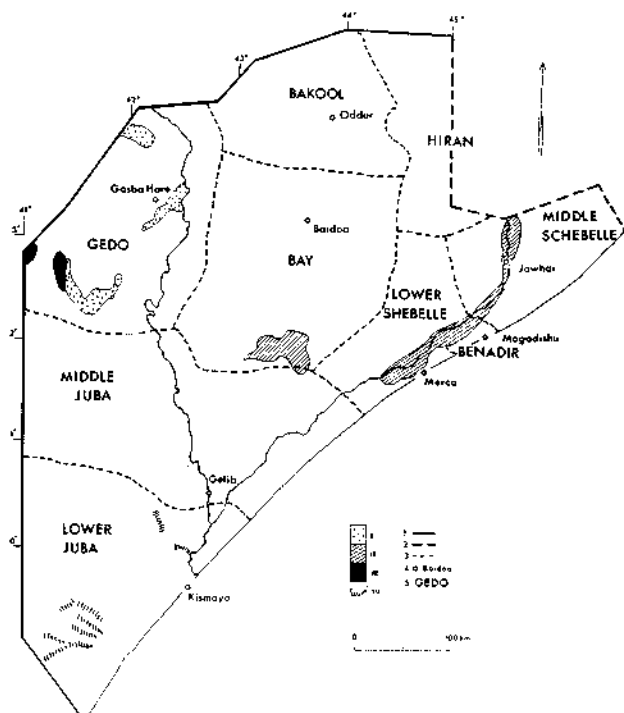


Figure 2. Areas with highly dynamic changes in camel densities or permanently high densities. I high to low, II very high to medium, medium to very high, III permanently high, IV high during March, 1) international boundary, 2) boundary of survey, 3) regional boundaries, 4) regional headquarters, 5) name of region.

storalism and agriculture. Such investigations certainly show complicated webs of relations. Further, if one still considers the transformations that camel nomadism is passing through because of labour shortages and commercialization (Somali Academy... 1985: 24-25 and 37) the picture will be one of a very changed camel husbandry, especially in the densely populated regions of Lower and Middle Shebelle. Studies on camel nomadism in the central, and parts of the northern rangelands, certainly will indicate more traditional and more «pure» camel husbandry (I.M. Abyan, personal communication).

The purpose of this study has been to identify macro-spatial units representing variations in camel nomadism. The simple cartographic technique used have shown that such units exist and that camel husbandry in southern Somalia on a macro-level shows clear regional differences as far as dynamics of seasonal distribution of camels are concerned. It has also been stressed that there is a need for detailed studies on micro-levels of the inter- and intra-seasonal movements of camel herds if the aim is an understanding of the complex web of ecological and socio-cultural relations that the camel husbandry in southern Somalia represents.

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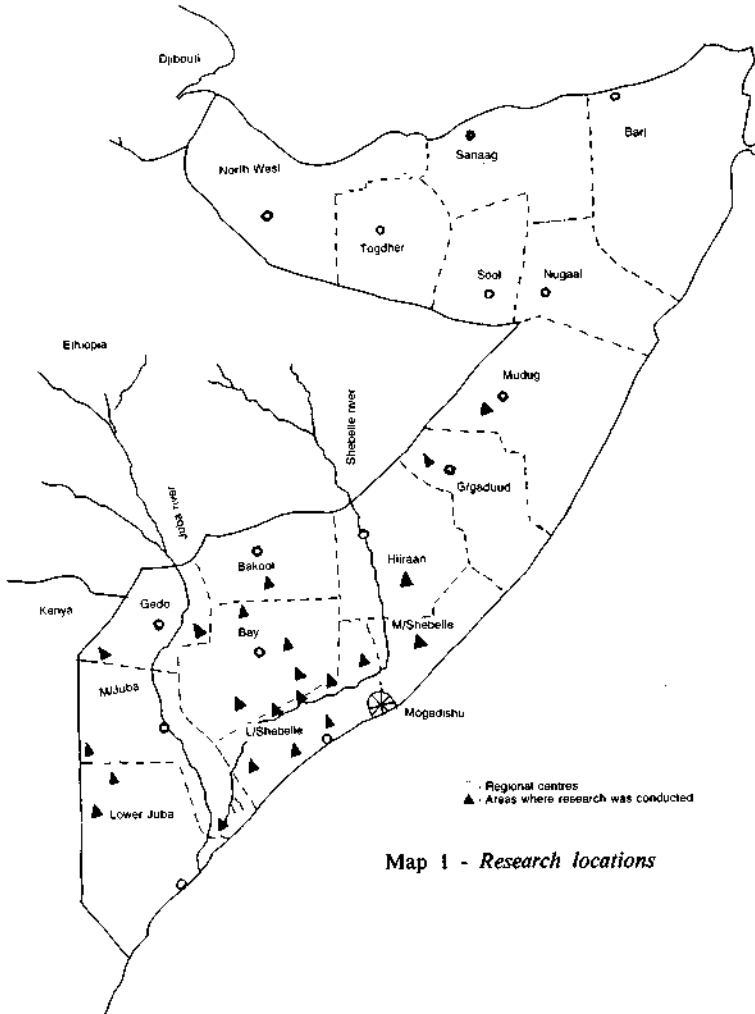
Traditional Practices of Camel Husbandry and Management in Somalia

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to give a general view of the systems of management and the husbandry techniques practiced by Somali nomadic camel herding pastoralists. It is part of the reporting from a two and half year (Dec. 1982 - June 1985) research work carried out in central and southern Somalia (Map 1) under



Map 1 - Research locations

the auspices of the SOMAC/SAREC research cooperation agreement on the different aspects of the camel in Somalia (SOMAC/SAREC 1983).

Observation and information gathering were conducted within this subproject by living and moving with camel herders for periods of days and weeks. Occasional trips of several days duration were also made to different dry season water resources, where normally large concentrations of camel herds from different regions gather. The main method adopted in the data collection was formal and non formal interviewing of camel herders apart from regular observation of their camels.

2. Background: The Socio-economic Importance of Camels in Somalia

According to FAO (1978) estimates, there are approximately 15.0 million one-humped camels in the world. 65% of the total world camel population is in the N/E Africa states of Somalia, Sudan, Etiopia and Kenya. It is interesting to note that more than 30% of world camel population and 50% of Africa's is found in Somalia.

Because of seasonal migrations, crossing of national boundaries, and reluctance of herders to give exact herd sizes, it is difficult to estimate the exact camel population in Somalia. However, according to the national census of 1975, there are around 5.3 million camels in the country. There were earlier estimates which could be compared with the national census figures:

Table 1. - *Camel censuses (SOMAC/SAREC 1983) in millions.*

Hartley	1966	2.0
Pillai	1968	2.5
Harthley	1968	2.5
German Advisory Group	1973	3.0
IDA	1974	2.5

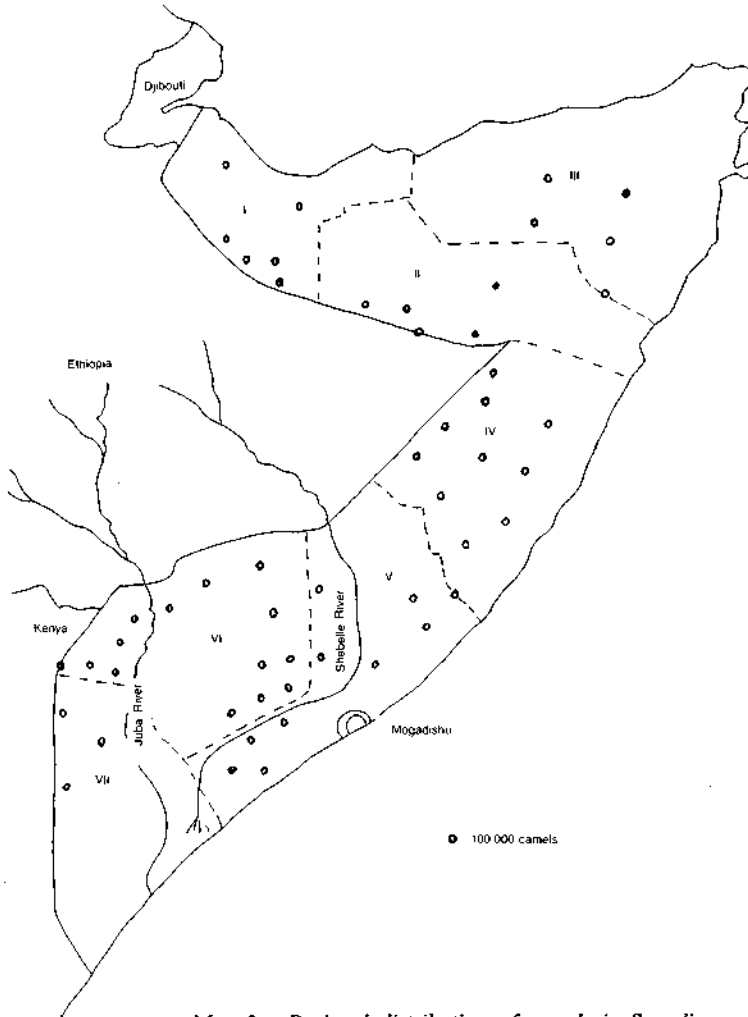
According to the census of 1975, camels are relatively evenly distributed throughout the country. The density of concentration is somewhat higher, however, in the central regions, the Shebelle Belt, and the western regions (Map 2 and Table 2).

Table 2. - *Distribution of Camels by Region in Somalia (in thousands)*

I - Northwest	606
II - North/Central	475
III - Northeast	445
IV - Central	1,146
V - Shebelle Belt	991
VI - West	1,338
VII - South/Juba Belt	300
Total	5,300

2.1 The use of Camels

Camels play an important role in the national economy of Somalia. Apart from a relatively small agricultural area in the interriverine region, most of the country is devoted to an extensive form of nomadic pastoralism involving all the



Map 2 - Regional distribution of camels in Somalia

livestock of the country. Camels are essential to the subsistence of the Somali pastoralists. Since they do not compete with other types of livestock in their grazing behaviour, they can be kept in areas which are inaccessible to other types of livestock. They are very resistant to adverse climatic conditions and browse shortage. At the same time, they are very good milk producers.

The monetary importance of the camel depends on the way it is used in the pastoral system. The export of camels accounts for approximately 10% of the total revenues from livestock exports (SOMAC/SAREC 1983) and some 8% of total export earnings. Moreover, there is a growing tendency towards monetarization of the traditional subsistence economy of pastoralists. Strong incentives and highly attractive market prices are forcing more and more pastoralists to enter the market. The importance of the camel arises primarily, however, from its pro-

vision of milk and meat within a subsistence economy and its use as a burden animal for transporting milk to the market, water from wells, and household belongings when families move to new areas.

Besides its economic importance, the camel has social and cultural importance for the Somalis. Of the domestic livestock they raise, camels are the most highly valued. Somalis have eloquently described the practical uses of the camel in their vast oral literature. Apart from their milk, meat, and transport uses, camels are valued for their role in traditional social relations, e.g. the payment of bridewealth and compensation of injured parties in tribal feuds.

2.2 Ownership Patterns.

The building of a man's herd usually starts at birth, when he is given a she-camel by his father. With subsequent increases through biological reproduction, purchases, and wise management, his herd multiplies, and by the time he reaches the age of marriage he may have 8-12 animals. Upon his marriage he may be given more milk and burden camels by his father or close relatives. After this his herd grows through reproduction and purchases and may be reduced by sales, consumption, and, most notably, environmental hazards.

While camels are individually owned, they are at the same time the collective property of the members of a particular lineage. All the members of that lineage, persons related to them through marriage, and individuals outside the lineage who have contractual relations with the lineage members may benefit from the economic and social uses of the camel.

Camels can also be seen as a sort of banking system or security against drought, disease, and the other natural calamities that affect smaller stock. For example, the other disastrous 1974-75 drought in Somalia killed 60% of the smaller livestock but only 10% of the camel population. Households that lost their livestock by the drought had a strong case to be provided with camels. In this respect camels helped the restocking after the drought. Camels hence became the linking factor for the lineage members and the bases of lineage or group solidarity.

Moreover, at times of tribal feuds, camels are the only means of payment of blood money to the lineage of the deceased, which is 100 camels for a man, 50 camels for a woman, and 10-15 camels for minor injuries etc. This is now prohibited by law, but in remote areas pastoralists still live in accordance with the traditional law that they call *heer*.

3. Ecology and Management

3.1 Physical Environment

Somalia has the following climatic zones:

- 1) semi-arid and arid, in the coastal area;
- 2) arid wooded savannah, covering most of the country;
- 3) mild sub-arid wooded savannah, in the northern mountain ranges.

There are two distinct rainy seasons: *guu*, extending from April through June, and *deyr*, extending from September through November. Light showers can be expected along a narrow coastal belt during July and August known as *hagaio*, and along the northern mountain ranges known as *hais*. Besides the two rainy

season there are two distinct dry seasons: *xagaa*, extending from July through September, and *jilaal*, extending from December through April.

Annual rainfall is 50 mm in the arid zones of the central and eastern plateaus and 600 mm in the southern interriverine and northern Golis Range area. Although the rains are confined to the two main seasons, they are likely to be sporadic and scattered.

Temperatures vary from 35° C during the hotter months in the coastal and central regions to 18° C and lower in the Golis Range area. Southern regions are uniformly hot, while in the north seasons are more sharply defined, with frost in November-February in some parts.

Somali camel herders divide their grazing habitat into four basic categories based on plant cover and soil type:

- 1) *harqaan/gabiib* — thick bush, clay soil;
- 2) *dhoobey/adable* — thick bush, black soil (agricultural);
- 3) *dooy* — low bush, red soil with good water conservation;
- 4) *bay* — a mixture of grey and red soil, open bush.

After the rains, the first green plants appear in the *dooy*; these are followed by the trees and shrubs of *harqaan*, *bay*, and *adable/dhoobey*. After the rains, the first plants to shed their leaves are those of the *adable/dhoobey*, followed by those of the *dooy* and *harqaan/gabiib* in that order.

The relative humidity declines with increasing distance from the sea (70-75%). In general, throughout the country evaporation exceeds rainfall, and soil moisture deficits are characteristic for much of the year. This makes availability of drinking water for livestock problematic. Vegetation growth is seasonal. The length of the growing seasons and the severity of the yearly water deficit are the main factors influencing the productivity of the natural rangelands and the pastoral production as a whole.

3.2 Management System

The management system is dictated by the harsh environment and the seasonality or rainfall and browse availability. The main system practiced is free pasture, but in the interriverine areas camel herders may bring in their animals after the harvest to utilize agricultural by-products.

During the *guu* and *deyr* seasons movement is less and watering infrequent because of the abundance of browse. Camels are kept in their enclosures until late in the morning. These are the season of calving and therefore of abundance, and families get together for social gatherings, weddings, and sacrifices for the saints and ancestors.

During the dry seasons of *hagaa* and *jilaal*, herds are divided into dry/pregnant and milk/burden. The dry/pregnant herd is sent far from the home settlement usually under the care of young unmarried men, rarely accompanied by their elders. The milk/burden camels, together with the small stock, stay with the family, usually not far from urban centres where milk can be easily marketed. Prior to this division of the herd the head of the family or one of the elders travels some 70-100 km over several days looking for a place with good browse, salt licks, and water where the herd and the family can be moved until the rains return (this journey is called *sahan*). Then a meeting of the elders is called and a final decision made as to when and how to move to the new place. A sacrifice

is made to the saints and ancestors in order to ask their blessing, and the following morning the herd and the family move to their new location.

Camels can go without water for as much as 19-30 days. During exceptionally hot seasons, depending on the vegetation available for browsing, they are watered every 6-7 days, and depending on the season, the available browse, the watering frequency, and many other factors, a camel may drink 80-200 litres of water at a time with two or three pauses. In dry periods of the year, watering is the most laborious of all the activities of the camel herders. Water is mostly drawn from wells 5-20 m deep, and therefore it is very difficult for one man to water a whole herd of 50-100 camels by himself. Watering thirsty camels leaves the herder exhausted at the end of the day. This is well expressed in Somali songs (Abokar 1984: 61):

Until the skin comes off
the palms of the hands;
and the ligaments in man's ribs asunder break
satisfied camels won't leave the well...

Herders normally help each other in the watering of their herds. Elders do not participate in the watering but usually supervise it from a distance.

Salt supplying is another important task. Salt is given to camels every six to eight months. If natural salt licks are not available nearby, either the camels are moved to a suitable area or salt is transported and distributed to them. When ordinary salt is given them, it goes in the first place to milk and burden camels. Wells with brackish water and therefore high salt content are used as an extra source of salt supply.

3.2.1. *Movement Patterns*

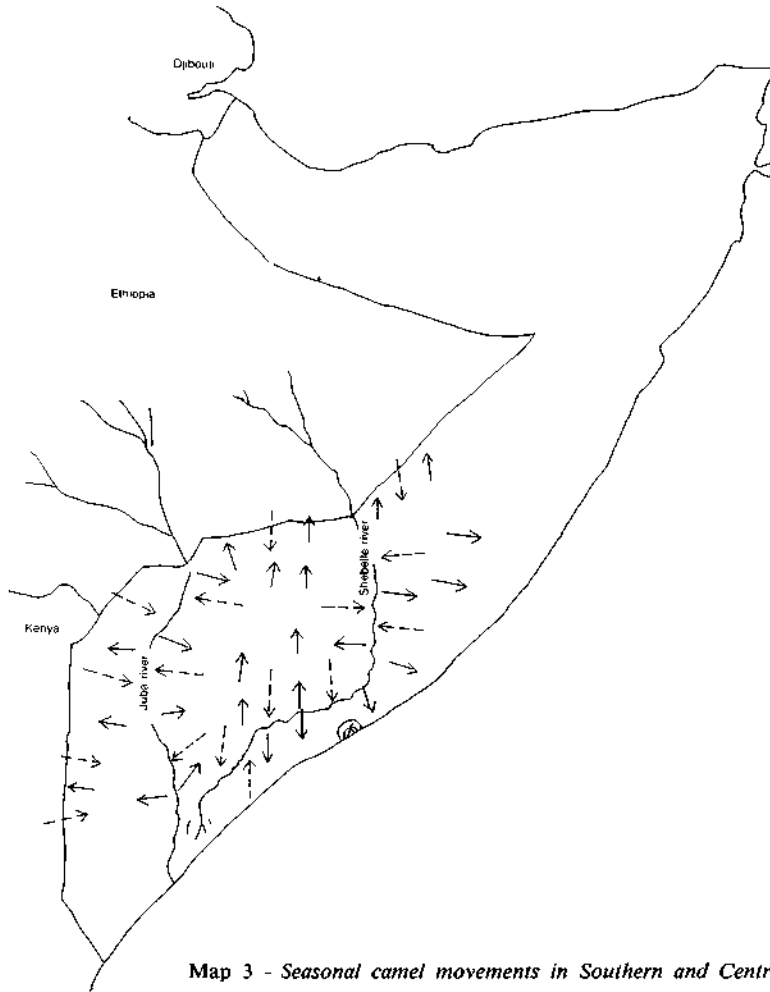
Annual rainfall, its distribution in time and space, the time of onset of effective rains after the dry season, the availability of browse, and salt licks, and the amount of effective manpower are the most important factors in camel herd management decisions.

The most difficult period is at the end of the dry *jilaal* season, when critical decisions have to be made about the sale or slaughter of animals to see the family through to the relative abundance of the *guu*.

In the *guu* and to a lesser extent in the *deyr* season, camels get their basic water needs from surface water and green vegetation. In the *hagaa* and *jilaal* seasons, camel herds are forced to drink regularly at home wells, and it is at this time that the herd is split.

Besides the limitations caused by forage, water, and salt shortages, movement patterns in southern and central Somalia are determined by the need to avoid biting insects such as the tse-tse fly. Movement is from permanent waters of the Juba and Shebelle Rivers into the dry interior after the *guu* rains, with a return to the rivers in the *hagaa*, a movement away again in the *deyr*, and a final return in the *jilaal* (Map 3).

Camel pastoralists consider that the rainy seasons play a decisive role in their management decisions. They have an elaborate subdivision of these seasons, and on the basis of this scheme they have developed a system of rotational use of their browsing areas:



Map 3 - Seasonal camel movements in Southern and Central Somalia

Guu

- hogo period — dooy/harqaan*
- sina period — dooy/gabiib*
- ragal period — adable/dooy*
- baldaaq period — adable/dhoobey*

Haga — *dhoobey/adable*

Deyr

- hogo period — dooy/harqaan*
- sina period — dooy/adable/harqaan*
- ragal period — adable/gabiib/harqaan*
- baldaaq period — dhoobey*

Jilaal — mainly *dhoobey*.

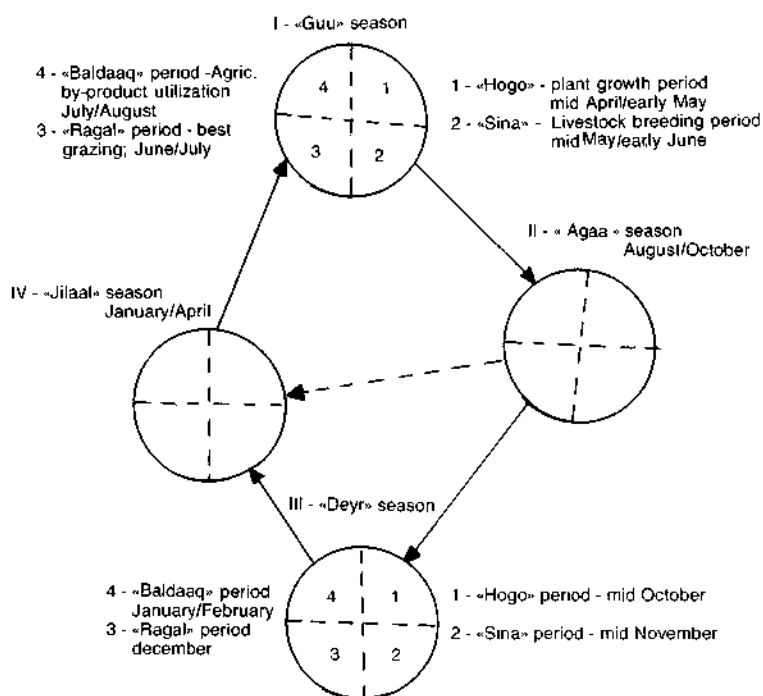


Fig. 1 - Seasons and decision making

The annual migration cycle of camel herds is as shown in table 3.

Table 3 - Migration cycle of camel herds.

Season	Cycle	Period	Area of Stay
guu	cool/rainy	April/July	Inland/scattered
hagaa	warm/dry	July/October	Home wells
deyr	hot/rainy	October/December	Inland/home wells
jilaal	hot/dry	December/April	Home wells, riverzone

This system of rotation is in harmony with the harsh environmental conditions and unreliable rainfall.

3.2.2 Herd Structure Management

Herd structuring plays an important role in camel management. In southern and central Somalia, herd structuring depends on the season of the year and the area of grazing.

Over a period of two years the average structure of 35 herds varying in size from 80 to 100 camels was as shown in table 4.

Table 4 - Structure of 35 observational herds (in %)

	<i>guu</i>	<i>hagaa</i>	<i>deyr</i>	<i>jilaal</i>	Average
Milk camels	25	20	24	12	22
Pregnant camels	31	33	30	34	31
Dry camels	13	15	20	28	18
Castrates	8	10	9	10	8
Young males (less than 2 years)	10	9	7	6	9
Young females (less than 2 years)	12	12	9	9	11
Males for reproduction	1	1	1	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100
Mortality rate (%)	3	3	2	4	3

One reason that the structure of the herd varies with the season is that breeding is seasonal. Another is that camel herders plan the calving and breeding for seasons and years when there is enough browse and water available and movement is restricted. Balancing factors are the low reproductive rate of camels and the fact that herders keep old camels in the herd even when the camels have stopped reproducing. The sex ratio of males to females is 1:4.5 as a result of mortality differences, slaughter, sale and the consequences of hard management practices.

4. Husbandry Techniques

4.1 Selection and Breeding

Selection and breeding are the most important husbandry techniques. Selection is employed to maintain or improve productivity, endurance, drought resistance, etc. Managers pay great attention to the phenotypic and genotypic variations of their herd and practice strict selection of pairs.

Usually one male is kept for the purpose of reproduction. The rest of males are either castrated, sold, or slaughtered. Camel herders believe that the stud male is 90% of the herd and keep only «proven» males or males of outstanding genealogy for reproduction. If they do not have one, they borrow one from kins, hire one from others, or drive their female camels as much as 200-500 km to have them serviced by a prominent sire.

An outstanding male can service 150-200 female during a mating season. Such a male is treated well, and not required to bear burdens, and besides ordinary grazing it receives supplements such as ghee and sesame oil. During non-rutting seasons, it is kept separate from the females and given special treatment and exercise.

Camel breeding coincides with the rainy seasons. Most of the female camels breed during the *guu* season, while the remaining breed during the *deyr* season. This seasonality ties in with the browse situation and, accordingly, the general physical condition of the animal: *guu* is the period when there is a variety of green vegetation and temperatures are relatively mild and therefore body metabolism is high.

4.2 *Pregnancy and Calving*

The gestation period in camels extends up to 13 months. This means that camels which breed in the *guu* season will calve during the next *guu* season. Normally camels begin breeding when they are four to five years old. But camel herders rarely let them breed before they reach physical maturity at five to six years. A female camel accordingly has her first calf at six to seven years of age. Under normal conditions, a female camel, breeding every other year, will have eight to ten calves in her lifetime. A camel may live 25-30 years on the average.

Calving may occur at any time of the day, with a slight tendency towards the cooler part of it. Under normal conditions calving goes smoothly. In the case of a first calving or a complicated delivery, the herder will assist the camel. Women are forbidden to approach a camel in labour, lest the new born calf will die, and may only approach the new born calf by letting it smell her clothing or her swell. Several hours after delivery, the calf gets to its feet and suckles colostrum from its mother. This helps it to get rid of the first faeces and at the same time gives it antibodies against early infectious diseases. This fact is well recognized by the camel herders.

If the calf is male and the family's milk requirement is high, it is common practice to slaughter it. In such a case the dried skin of the calf is used to cause the camel to let down her milk. In some cases the herder makes himself the milk letting-down factor for the camel.

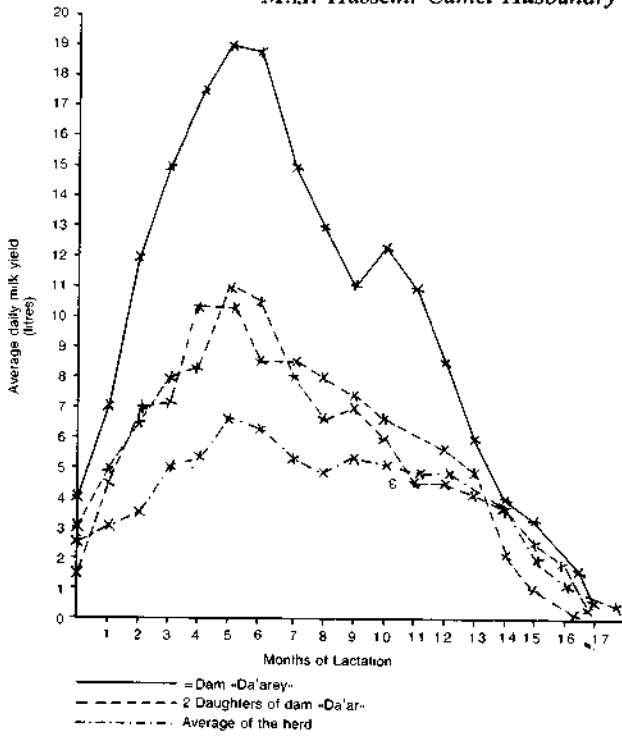
4.3 *Weaning*

Weaning is at 8-18 months, depending on the browse situation, the milk production of the dam, and the growth of the calf. Several different systems of weaning are practiced, of which the most common are tying the dam's teats with softened bark, making a small incision in the skin of the calf's nostril and inserting thorns that will pierce the dam if the calf tries to suckle it, and making a small incision at the tip of the calf's tongue and inserting a piece of wood that will hurt the calf itself when it tries to suckle. Whatever the method, the calf will stop suckling within three or four weeks. After weaning is complete, selection for future sires is done, and males rejected at this stage will be either castrated, sold or slaughtered. The objectives of castration are prevention of unwanted breeding and easy handling and training of future burden camels. The most common system of castration is opening the scrotum and either breaking the epididymus or taking out the testes. The wound is then treated with traditional medicinal plants and normally heals in a matter of two to three weeks.

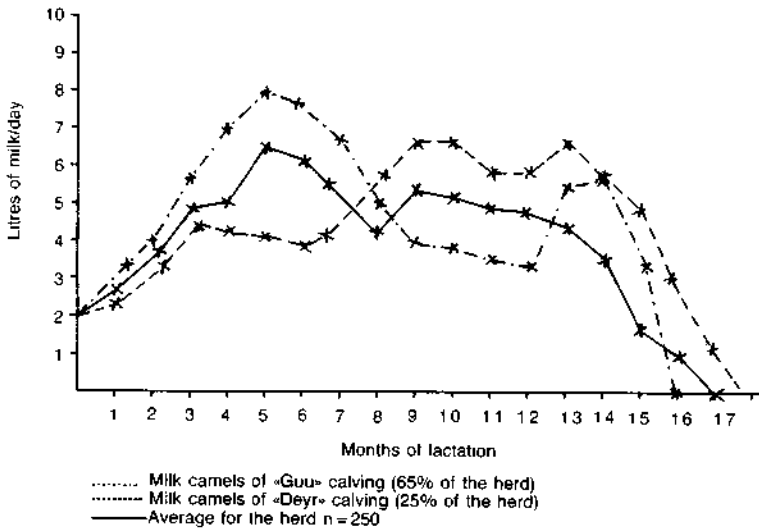
4.4 *Milking and Milk Production*

Milk is the most important herders food. The milking of camels occurs twice a day, morning and evening. Generally camels can be milked every two to three hours, depending on the needs of the herders. Milking is done exclusively by men except when there is a shortage of labour. It is very easy and is done with the fingers.

The average milk production of Somali camels is 5-6 litres a day. The amount depends on the type of the camel, its age, its lactation period, the season, the browse and water situation, etc. The lactation period also varies from six to eight months. Milk production is accordingly 600-2000 litres per lactation. It is highest



Graph 1 - Milk production from a study herd and three exceptional individual camels



Graph 2 - Lactations of «Guu» and «Deyr» dams

between fourth and sixth months of lactation and later drops sharply. An exceptional camel may continue to produce well for 12-15 months. The best producer I observed yielded 12-13 litres of milk a day on the average. Her highest recorded daily yield was 19 litres during her fifth month of lactation. Similarly, two daughters of this same camel in their third and first lactations were also producing higher than the herd average (graph 1). Camels which had calved during the *guu* season had a higher and more stable milk yield than those which had calved during the *deyr* season (graph 2). These facts are recognized by the camel herders, and they make use of them in their breeding and selection activities.

5. Conclusion

Somali camel herders are rational and goal-oriented in their husbandry and management. They are aware of the need to conserve their grazing herds and highly cognizant of the benefits to be gained from their camels. This is illustrated by the great attention paid to productivity, endurance, and drought, and disease resistance in selecting breeding stock. They clearly understand that the camel is and for the coming decades will remain their basic means of survival.

Because survival for the pastoralist depends largely on the survival of his animals, and in conceiving and implementing these goals camel herders seek to manipulate the various characteristics of their environment to their best advantage by locating grazing areas and establishing appropriate patterns of movement. The search is for more productive and secure pastures to maintain livestock productivity.

Hence, basic patterns of management are influenced by social and economic factors as well as by the needs of the animals. Among these factors are social organization and the social relations arising from it as well as the composition and size of the herd and their relation to family size. Various forms of exchange of animals establish or reinstate social relations.

Because of the dominance of semi-arid and arid lands, and because of the seasonal concentration of water and grazing, nomadic camel pastoralism characterizes the livestock husbandry patterns of most of Somalia. One can say that camel pastoralism represents a highly rational adaptation of human life to a severe and adverse environment. Camel pastoralism in other words, represents a dynamic response to environmental conditions.

In conclusion, it can be said that camel raising within a pastoral system is an arduous enterprise, the viability of which becomes fragile or is destroyed altogether as the system itself is subjected to increasing pressure from within and outside. However, it proves that traditional camel pastoralism constitutes the only efficient way of exploiting many areas where cultivation and small raising is impossible. It is therefore to be hoped that the more successful aspects of nomadic camel pastoralism can be identified and preserved to become the basis for future development. What is needed is, integrated research in which the customs, life styles, and internal logic, both social and economic, of the pastoralist system are taken into account.

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Livestock Trade in North-Somalia: Its Organization, Implementation and Problems

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1. Introduction

Since ancient times the region of North-Somalia has been known for its frankincense and myrrh export to Arabia and India. The last century brought a change in the staple from these gums to livestock. From the middle and end of the 19th century, livestock exports from various small ports of the northern Somali coast have been frequently stressed by travellers to this part of Africa. It is assumed that such exports already had been undertaken for many years previously. After the short time of Egyptian rule on the NW-coast of Somalia (1870-1884), the British Empire took over the main part of North-Somalia as a protectorate. Until this time, the exports from that region had been orientated to Arabia and the Indian westcoast. Then the direction was changed towards the British Crown-colony of Aden. Contrary to the Italian aim to use Somaliland as a colony for settlement, «British-Somaliland» was from the beginning a supply colony for the strategic more important Aden.

The function as a supply area gave the Somali inhabitants the chance to participate in the thriving trade to Aden. Thereby, the provision of the population there with livestock was the foundation of today's export business. In the late 60's of this century, there was a real boom of livestock exports: The British rule in South-Yemen ended and the land worked itself into an isolated position among the Arabian countries, which also involved external trade. At the same time Saudi Arabia developed into the main market for Somalia's small ruminants.¹

There are mainly two reasons for the rapid increase in exported animals to Jeddah which have to be mentioned:

1. The constant growing number of pilgrims to Mecca and their demand for slaughter animals. Therefore, about 50% of the total amount of exports to Saudi Arabia are used.
2. The permanently increasing revenues from the crude oil export of the Saudi

The research in North-Somalia was sponsored by «Stiftung Volkswagenwerk». Beside this donor I would like to thank all my informants who made this work fertile.

¹ The following part only deals with small livestock, namely sheep and goat since large livestock, like camel and oxen, play merely a subordinate role at the moment, for various reasons.

Government which caused a higher standard of living and the high number of foreign workers employed in this country.

Beside Saudi Arabia, the smaller states of the Persian/Arabian Gulf and North-Yemen are the other important outlets for livestock, especially for the central and eastern parts of North-Somalia. This possibility for an immense export to the sale markets in Arabia, which has increased in the last two decades, has created a commercialization of the livestock production. This caused an extreme long-ranging development that influenced the nomadic living sphere immediately and in the medium term.

It would be outside the scope of the article to point out all the problems related to the livestock export, therefore the following part will be focused on three topics:

1. The organization and implementation of the export;
2. the participating persons;
3. the consequences of the export business.

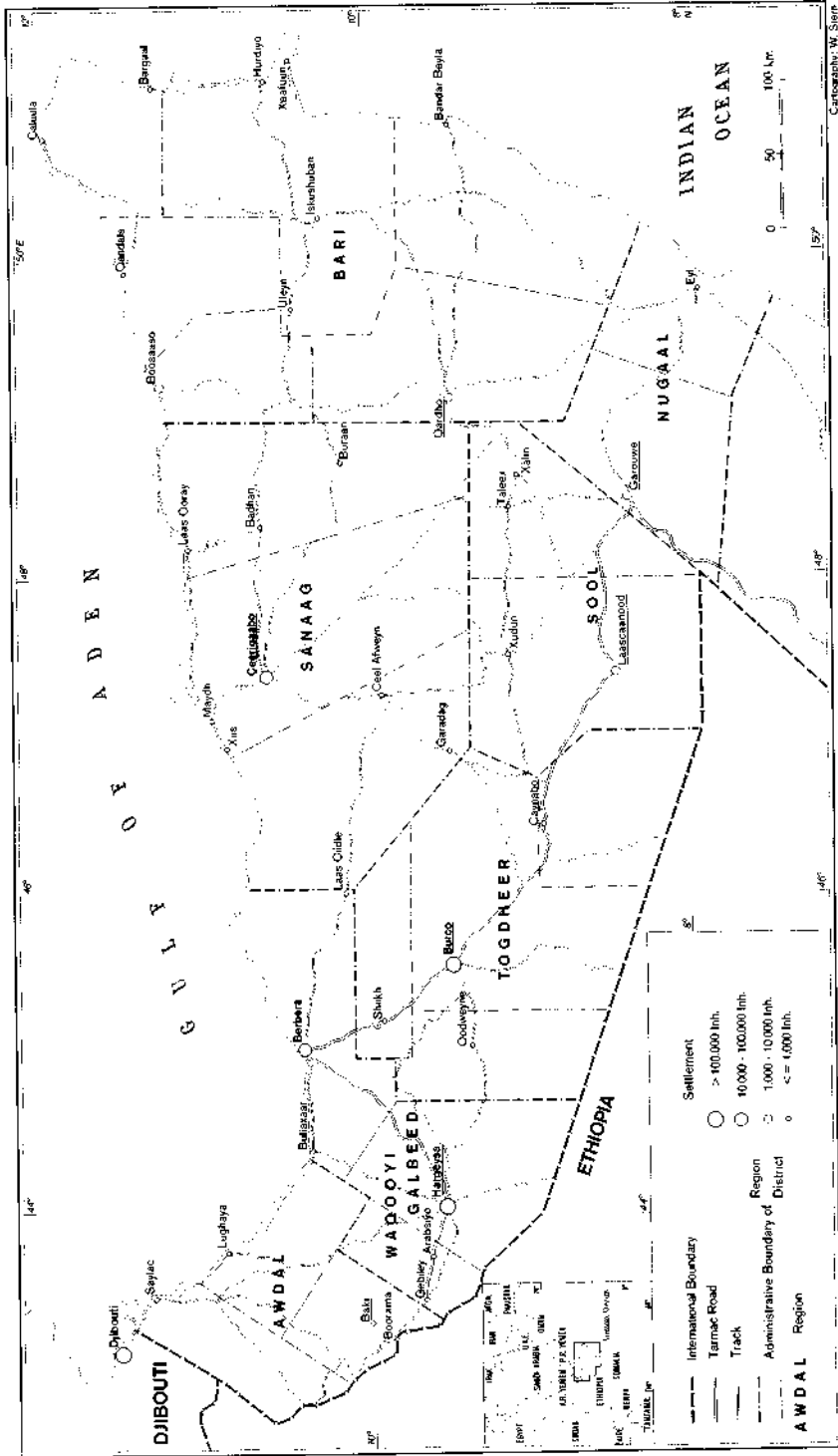
Thereby the thesis of this article will be proved, that with the livestock trade, a well functioning market circulation was developed, largely independent from government influence and restrictions. Contrary to the almost entirely nationalized economy, this sector of the economy is quite privately organized. It gives a series of persons the opportunity to get employment and an adequate salary in a region, where normally underemployment and underpayment is found.

2. Organisation and Implementation of Livestock Trade

Since the independence of Somalia in 1960 the marketing and export of animals from North-Somalia has been completely done by Somali traders. Only in the beginning of this century, the purchase in the coastal towns was in the power of Arabian and Indian merchants. Today the Somali livestock exporters have established good commercial relations with Arabian dealers, or, at least, to their agents. From time to time the contact to the customer is established by Somali foreign workers in these countries.

The Arabian client opens a so called «letter of credit» (LC) in an Arabian bank about the demanded number of animals. Then the Somali trader appoints his agents who work as middlemen, to buy a certain number of animals. The middlemen, operating during the purchase at their own discretion, have the authority of the exporters, in whose name they are doing the transaction. The traders have a lot of these agents from the different regions of the north, in order to buy animals in many different places and to get them cheaper. The middlemen are local people with a personal relationship to their sellers in the rural areas. In terms of their reputation or that of the exporter, the livestock is often sold without getting the cash immediately. In doing so, only the «gentleman agreement» counts. And that guarantees that the buyer will pay as soon as he gets the money from the Somali bank. This kind of credit to the exporter is granted on the regional markets, as well as on local markets.

The traders pursue to some extent different strategies for the acquisition of animals. One party buys them exclusively on the regional markets (e.g. Hargeysa, Burco etc.; see overview map). They are not rooted in the nomadic society and



Overview-Map North-Somalia

they have no relations to the rural people. Another group of exporters buys directly in the rural areas, nearly without exception. There, those are normally well known by their occupation or by their origin. The bigger merchants do their business at both places: on local markets in rural places and on the important regional markets. Beside them, a lot of people are engaged as intermediaries, who acquire the livestock in the rural areas and sell it on the regional markets to the middlemen of the exporter.

When the animals are bought they will be sent on foot to the regional markets, if the trader is in a hurry, lorries will be used. The wealthy exporters sometimes have their own lorries at their disposal; but normally these vehicles are hired. Nearby the regional markets, the animals are brought to «holding grounds». These are reserved areas, established by the «National Range Agency», prevented against the nomads, in order to have a grazing area. Here, the livestock is kept, on the one hand to meet the government's demand for quarantine and on the other hand to fatten the animals, before they are transported to foreign markets. Some traders have established their own small holding grounds; the needed hay is bought from special merchants.

If the time of quarantine is finished, the animals are delivered to the regional markets, where they are marked with the sign of merchant. After all duties are paid to the government, the small cattle are stamped by the personnel of the ministry. The next step is the loading on lorries, which take them to the port of shipment. Once arrived there, they are driven again in «holding areas» until the loading begins.

Wooden shelters are used to protect the animals against the enormous heat in the coastal area. During the peak of export there is a deficit of shelter and even of drinking water, sometimes. Then, heat-stroke is not rare among the waiting animals. Due to the high temperatures, the animals are loaded at night times. The ships have to be filled until day-break, in order to leave the harbour shortly after dawn. The passage to Jeddah takes approx. 60 hours. The vessels are sent by Arabian dealers directly or they are hired by the «Somali Shipping Agency». Beside liners, which are permanently serving the route Berbera-Jeddah, also charterships are used in the Hadj-time. The capacity of the ships differs, in average they load 20.000, the biggest has a storage facility for 60.000 heads.

The moment the ship has left the port, the traders can get their money from the bank. With this transaction, the two existing exchange rates are used. From the official selling proceeds one is forced to exchange 40% at a rate of 40 Sh.So. per US-\$ (1985). The rest can be kept as «hard currency amount» with the bank. It could be converted at a rate of 83 Sh.So. per US-\$ at that time. If wanted, the bank draws up a \$-check for those who want to buy goods in foreign countries. In 1984, the traders were constrained to exchange the whole amount of revenues at the low rate.

Since there are currency restrictions in Somalia, the real price agreement in the buying country is very interesting for the exporter, because only the minimum price of 36 \$ (c.i.f.) has to be placed on account with the Somali bank. Every agreement with the Arabian buyers above this price is the real profit of the Somali merchants, as they can keep it in any other bank abroad, out of access of the Somali Government.

North-Somalia can be divided into two areas for livestock buying-up:

1. All animals, bought for export to Saudi Arabia, are from the Awdal-, Wa-

qooyi Galbeed-, Togdheer- and Sool-Region (see Map) and from Central Somalia. They are only shipped via Berbera-Port, which is the largest animal exporting harbour.

2. Small animals from the Sanaaq-, Bari-, Sool- and Nugaal-Region are sent to North-Yemen and the small Gulf states, namely U.A.E. It is assumed that illicit trade is also made with Oman and South-Yemen.

For the export to all these countries, various smaller ports of the regions are utilized. These are: Xiis, Maydh, Laas Qoray, Ceelayo, Boosaaso, Qandala, Caluula, Bandar Beyla and Eyl. In all these small ports, the illicit trade is as common as ever, since it offers a much higher profit to the participants.

The procedure of buying and selling in the north-eastern regions is similar to this one mentioned above. It is only on a much smaller level. The higher profit for the traders of these regions and the higher price level in the smaller Arabian states have led to an elevated price standard in the north-eastern regions. Therefore, merchants from the other regions avoid to buy here. The sufficient traffic connections in the north-east are a further reason.

The unsatisfactory infrastructure in these regions has led to a continuous food shortage in the last years. Due to this fact, the Somali Government allowed, in October 1984, the livestock export from these regions on the so called «collection base»: different from the usual procedure, the exporter does not need a LC, but he announces at the bank the number of animals he wants to ship abroad. In the countermove he is obliged to bargain half of his revenues into basic food-stuffs, he will take to the Sanaaq - or Bari-Region. The remaining 50% he has to exchange at the bank. This kind of export was interrupted for time the being in November 1985.

3. Involved Groups

3.1 The Traders

The traders, who are active in the export business with Arabia, are mostly from «traditional» trading-families, approx. 150 in number. They are almost all from the northern regions of Somalia and for at least two generations have been engaged in livestock trade. Some of the merchants are real newcomers. They were almost exceptionally former agents for other traders. On the basis of the formed relationship of personal trust, the principal will grant him the possibility to export some animals in the principal's name but on his own account. In many cases that was the entrance into livestock trade.

The profit of the merchants is to a main part invested as cash for buying-up in the following year. Other usual investments are the erection of private homes and hotels. Shops are opened as well. One can presume that all the exporting livestock traders dispose of considerable amounts of hard currency in foreign bank accounts, taken from the extra profit they got there.

It has to be mentioned, that the export business is on one hand one of the rare possibilities for private investments, but on the other hand also a financial risk. Yearly numerous persons are joining the business, where they normally fail, due to the lack of experience and necessary connections.

3.2 Assistants for the Export Arrangements

The settlement of the trade is not possible without the use of numerous aids. First of all and most important for the trader is the middleman or agent. The traditional system of taking middlemen, is also used by the nomad, who offers his animals on the local or regional market. Never is there a direct contact between buyer and seller. The middlemen are mostly from the nomadic society and are doing it as an avocation. The salary differs by region and depends on the kind of animals (10 to 40 Sh.So. per small ruminant and 100 Sh.So. per camel or oxen).

Another kind of employment for the townspeople or a part time job for the rural population is the occupation as *harras* or *siwaaqi*. The first is a livestock attendant on lorries or ships, the last drives the animals on foot to the regional market. The *raaca* is the herdsman at the holding ground. He is either constantly engaged by one merchant, or he is hired at an office in town. The paying off is 300 Sh.So. per day resp. 5 to 8 Sh.So. per animal in Berbera. The *raaca* is often from the nomadic living sphere, normally he is engaged during the peak of export, only. Others are from the bigger towns like Hargeysa and Burco.

3.3. The Nomads

The continuous growing livestock export to Arabia (especially Saudi Arabia) since the 1970's, have established a new source of money for the nomads. Thus livestock was bread above the need for subsistence. In order to participate in the livestock business, the nomads are paying more attention to their animals, e.g. the weight and healthiness. At the same time the main foodstuff meat, after milk, was superceded by rice, pasta etc.

The final gain, aquired through the sale of livestock, is used for different purposes by the nomads: first it is needed to meet the constantly climbing prices for basic foodstuff. Wealthy nomads are able to invest money in various kinds of buildings. In areas with insufficient or no groundwater, the target will be to erect a so called *berkeed*. In 1985 the cost for such water-catchment were at up to 500,000 Sh.So. The erection of dwelling houses or shops/tea-shops are other possibilities to invest the money.

The sale of animals for export duties opened an income to the nomads, which was not possible to get only by internal trade. Countless ongoing developments in the nomadic area are backed up on the newly opened finance source. Certainly, the financial profits out of the livestock trade differs a lot and the «big business» is made by a few wealthy nomads. For the mass of the rural population, the revenues just cover the expenditure for basic needs or small goods as torches and radio-recorders.

Since the family ties of the Somali population are still very strong, the financial profit of the individual is frequently wide-spread among the relatives. Thus one can talk about the improvement of the standard of living through the livestock trade.

4. Conclusion

By the prefaced analysis it is intended go give a short insight into the organiza-

Aspects of Development and Economy

tion and implementation of livestock export from North-Somalia. The thesis, which was set up in the beginning, should have been demonstrated. This said: with the livestock trade an independent, thriving economy circular course has been developed, contrary to the often called «hidden economy» of Somalia.

However, it must be admitted, that the livestock trade and the herewith connected different profit rates, furthermore establishes a new rich upper class of livestock traders and will therefore intensify the social differentiation of the population in North-Somalia.

The Somali Inshore Fishing Economy. Structure, Problems, Perspectives

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Introduction and Statement of Problems

Two of the main economic objectives of development in developing countries are to reach self-sufficiency in food production and to increase exports in order to earn hard currency for necessary imports. For both the fishing economy can play an important role. Developing countries like Somalia with a long coastline are potentially in a much more favorable economic position than those states without access to the sea. The Somali coastal waters for example, unpolluted by industrial waste, are part of one of the richest fishing zones in the world and represent a very important natural resource for future development.

This article aims to describe and analyse the present situation of the Somali inshore fishing economy, to point out the specific contemporary development problems and to discuss future development issues. The paper tries to give an answer to the following questions:

- 1) Which natural, political and socio-economic circumstances are responsible for the present low standard of development of the Somali inshore fishing economy?
- 2) Why have the development measures carried out so far not resulted in a noticeable improvement of the economic situation of the Somali inshore fishermen?
- 3) What kind of development strategies and measures have to be introduced for the Somali government to achieve a marked amelioration of the living conditions and the productivity of the fishermen population in order to slow down the exodus from the remote areas and to stop the process of impoverishment of a large percentage of the fishermen families?

The Importance of the Fishing Economy

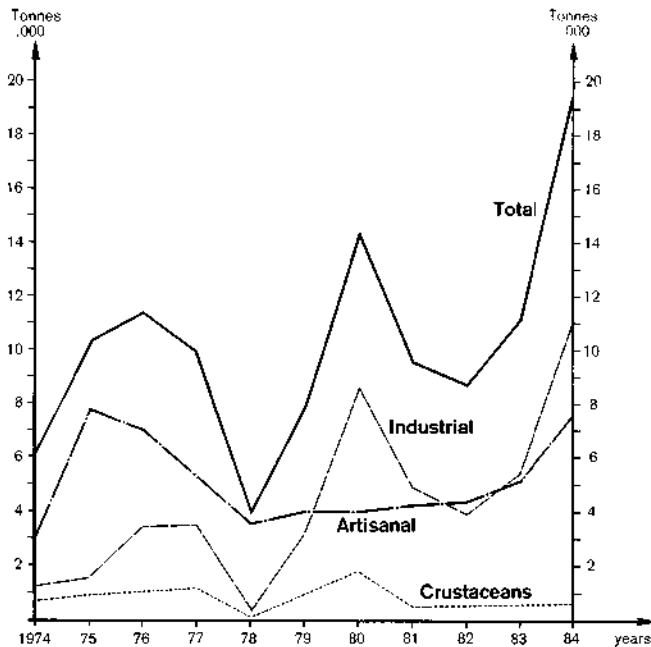
Despite the rich fish potentials, the Somali fishing economy has been of secondary importance until now. Not more than 3.9% of the total development assistance was allotted to the fisheries sector in 1985 (Ministry of National Planning 1985). Its share of the GNP had only reached a yearly average of 0.7% between 1977 and 1983. In comparison, the livestock sector had contributed 41.4% yearly

and crop production 8.7%. Following the estimations of fishery experts the yearly catch potential in the Somali waters could reach 180,000-200,000 metric tons without a danger of overfishing. At present only about 10% of this amount is exploited (Fig. 1). However, these figures may be unreliable since few or no data are available for large parts of Somali coastal waters.

One reason why fish production for the inland market is low is that in Somalia, except for the coastal zone, fish consumption has always been very unpopular. This is mainly due to the fact that Somalia is primarily a nomadic country with an abundance of fresh meat from livestock. So protein requirements could more easily be satisfied from this source.

In order to strengthen the Somali fishing economy and to raise the national demand for fish, the Somali government tried its best in the seventies to increase fish consumption at least in the large towns, mainly in Muqdishu, but with little success, in spite of prohibiting the sale of meat on two days of the week. In recent years there was a slight increase because of the higher demand for fresh fish by the quickly growing urban population and the expatriate community.

The Somali fishing economy consists of two sectors:



Design: J. Janzen 1986

Source: M.F.M.R. 1985: Fisheries Development in Somalia : 10

Cartogr.: D. Engel

Production of Commercial Fisheries

Figure 1 - Production of Commercial Fisheries

1) The traditional artisan inshore fishing with small boats, producing for the inland and export markets and

2) the modern industrial offshore fishing with vessels, producing exclusively for export (Fig. 1).

The formation of a Somali offshore fishing fleet in the late seventies, soon proved to be a great economic failure. The new trawlers, mainly of Yugoslavian origin, not being appropriate to the specific natural conditions of the Indian Ocean, did not work economically and the majority of the vessels were out of operation in the early eighties.

Although the modern industrial offshore fishing which is at present carried out mainly by a number of foreign vessels has increased its contribution to the country's total fish catches in recent years from about 3,904 tonnes in 1982 up to about 11,363 tonnes in 1984, the sector of artisanal fishing is still more important for the country, although it officially produced only 7,724 tonnes in 1984 (Fig. 1). Real production seems to be considerably higher. As no exact data are

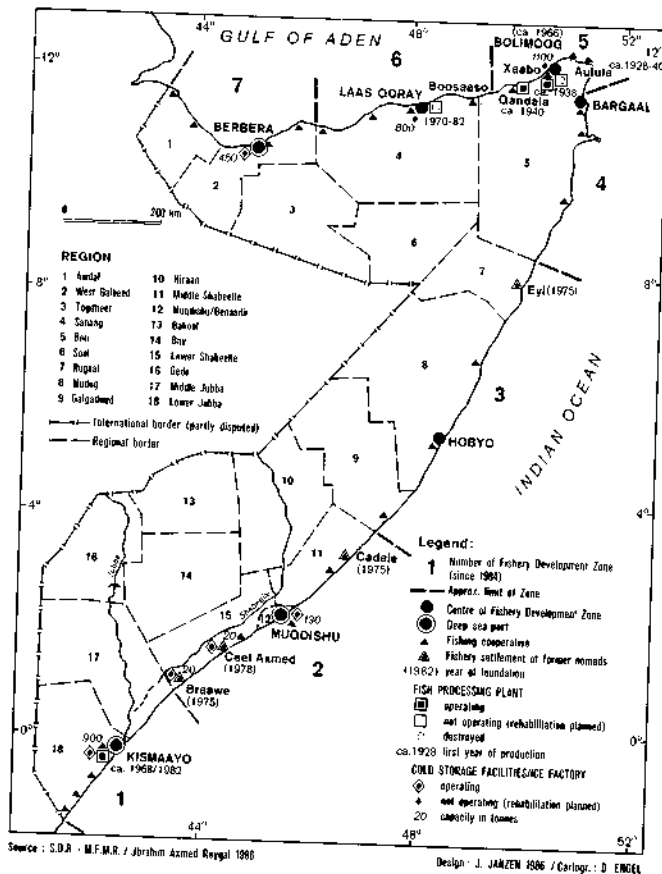


Figure 2 - Fishery Development Zones in Somalia and Infrastructure



Figure 3 - *Xaabo*: Typical fishery settlement of NE-Somalia. The fishermen use traditional wooden craft and simple fishing gear (background). (All photos by J. Janzen, March 1984 and January 1986)



Figure 4 - *Qandala*/NE-Somalia: Sharks constitute a major part of the catches.

available about the subsistence consumption of the Somali fishermen as well as the amount of smuggling, precise figures about the total fish production of the inshore fishing sector cannot be obtained.

The Inshore Fishing Sector

a) Fishermen Population

According to estimates there is a coastal population of between 76,500 and 90,000 people living in about 30 larger coastal settlements (Fig. 2 and 3). For most of them fishing is a major source of income. Besides an estimated number of 3,500-4,000 fulltime fishermen there are about 10,000 occasional fishermen (S.D.R./M.F.M.R. 1985b: 3) who are also engaged in other economic activities such as livestock rearing, frankincense gathering, gardening and trade.

The sedentarisation of approx. 15,000 former nomads in four fishing settlements between 1975 and 1978 (S.D.R./M.F.M.T. 1976a-c) has been an economic failure. Due to cultural alienation, lack of attractive income possibilities, capital for investment, mismanagement etc. the majority of the former nomads left the new settlements in order to look for other more profitable income sources (Haakonsen 1979; Janzen 1984; Labahn 1982). Nowadays only a relatively small number of former nomads is really engaged in fishing whereas the majority has returned to pastoralism or started a life as migrant workers in either Mogadishu or the Arabian Gulf states. The population of the fishing settlements consists mostly of women and children.

It is also a general feature of the other Somali coastal settlements, especially in the remote areas, that the population has shrunk considerably during the last 15 years, looking for new employment in the big towns or abroad.

b) Natural Conditions

Artisan fishing is carried out all along the Somali coastline of approximately 3,300 km, bordering the Gulf of Aden in the north and the Indian Ocean in the east (Fig. 2). The climate in the coastal zones is hot and humid. During the period of the SW-Monsoon (June-Sept.) fishing is impossible because of the rough sea. During the rest of the year conditions are very favorable for fishing.

Along the coast an abundance of different species of fish is available. Various kinds of fish such as tuna, mackerel, white fish, sharks and lobsters are of great economic importance (Fig. 4).

c) Economic Structure and Development Problems

The Somali inshore fishing sector is hardly modernized. The fishermen mainly use simple traditional fishing equipment, consisting of handlines and small nets. Besides the small traditional wooden craft (sing.: *huuri/beden*) they have also been using larger motorized boats (sing.: *laash*) since the early seventies (Fig. 3, 4 and 6).

In 1984/85 the Somali inshore fleet consisted of 891 traditional *huuris* (rowing-boats), 176 traditional *bedens* (sailboats) and 354 *laashes* (motorized boats). The latter are mainly of a boat type, called «GRP», which is produced in Mogadishu.

Whereas the traditional crafts are concentrated along the coasts of the Bari and Sanaaq regions, the modern types of boats are mainly to be found on the coast of the more densely populated southern Somalia.

The main objectives of the Somali fishermen are to produce:

1. enough fish for their own consumption (both fresh and dried fish/*xaniidka* (Fig. 5),
2. fresh and dried fish for the local markets,
3. dried fish for export (especially shark/*libaax*, Fig. 4 and 5),
4. special kinds of fresh fish for the canneries (tuna and mackerel) and the cold storages for the national market and for export in particular.



Figure 5 - Boosaaso/NE-Somalia (Fishing Cooperative): Large quantities of fish are salted and dried. Shark fins (foreground) gain the highest prices.



Figure 6 - *Xaabo-Fish Factory: The canned fish production is mainly exported to Italy. The old equipment only allows a partial utilization of the potential capacity.*

Since the early seventies most of the fishermen are at least nominally organized in cooperatives which have theoretically the purpose to provide them with basic facilities like loans, fishing gear, boats, spare parts, fuel, food stuff, marketing possibilities, training programmes etc. But the assistance really available to the fishermen so far is still very limited in most parts of coastal Somalia. Especially in the remote areas there are only very few government facilities available, and so only a small part of the huge fish potential of the Somali shelf zone is exploited. Another big problem is the poor accessibility of most of the coastal areas of Somalia which makes the marketing of fresh fish very difficult. Consequently most of the fish, especially sharks, are salted and dried (Fig. 4 and 5). Another significant hindrance to increasing fish production is the low sale price, which the fishermen get in the cooperatives and the fish factories. The prices for 1 kg of fresh fish in Xaabo and Qandala fish factories varied between 2-7 Somali Shilling (So.Sh.) in January 1986. Private sales prices in the markets however, being 20-30 So.Sh. per kg at that time, were much more attractive for the fishermen.

In order to obtain higher producer prices than the cooperatives and the fish factories are offering, the majority of the fishermen prefer to sell as much as possible of their fresh fish catches in the markets. They try to sell their dried fish production to private Somali and foreign merchants once or twice a year. Most of this production is exported to Kenya and to various Arabian countries. Unknown quantities are smuggled by dhows.

In some areas of the Somali coast such as parts of Bari, Sanaaq and Lower Jubba the fishermen are in a more favorable position than their fellow countrymen in other coastal zones of Somalia, because they can sell their catches to the fish factories in Kismaayo, Xaabo, Qandala as well as Bolimoog and Lass Qorey (Fig. 2). The last two have not been functioning for the past few years mainly because of lack of spare parts, capital, mismanagement and marketing problems. In Qandala and Xaabo fishcanneries (Fig. 6) only a small percentage of the production capacity is exhausted. This low productivity is mainly due to the use of old machinery and the other problems already mentioned above. The new modern fish processing plant in Kismaayo, in contrast, has a high production output but it is suffering from a lack of marketing possibilities (S.D.R./M.F.M.R./S.M.P. 1985).

In conclusion it can be stated that the low prices offered to the fishermen for their catches from both cooperatives and fish factories, the lack of communication and marketing services, the introduction of new expensive boats of the GRP-type and other modern boats without providing sufficient spare parts, fuel, maintenance and training facilities, at the same time have not contributed much to the development of the traditional artisan inshore fishing sector of Somalia in the past.

The Government Development Programme

a) Development Targets

In order to improve the economic conditions of the Somali fishing economy and reduce the regional economic disparities, the «Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources» set up a broad programme of development in 1984/85. For administrative purposes the Somali coast has been divided into fishing development zones (Fig. 2).

The most important points of this plan for the coastal areas of Somalia are:

1. to improve the physical/technical infrastructure (supply of water and electricity, construction of jetties and roads, transport facilities etc.);
2. to improve the social infrastructure (construction of schools, health centers etc.);
3. to increase the possibilities of marketing for both fishermen and factories;
4. to ameliorate the provision of food staff and fuel;
5. to introduce new fishing equipment and training facilities for the fishermen;
6. to modernize and rehabilitate the existing fish factories, and
7. to repair the old and construct new coldstorage facilities (S.D.R./M.F.M.R. 1985: 11-16).

How these ambitious plans can be put into practise is still an open question. The development aims can hardly be realized without extensive development aid and a strong commitment by private investors.

b) New Fisheries Development Projects

A large number of new fishery projects are planned for the near future. Some have already started recently. The most important projects for the inshore fishermen are:

- 1) The «North West Inshore Fisheries Project», based in Berbera;
- 2) The «North East Fisheries Development Project» (NEC-Fish), based in Bari and Sanaaq Regions;
- 3) The «Somali Marine Products Project» (S.M.P.), based in Kismaayo and
- 4) The «Berbera Cold Storage Project» (Fig. 2).

All these projects aim to rapidly improve production conditions for the inshore fishermen.

Through the construction of workshops, training centres, ice-factories and deep freezer storage facilities as well as the provision of soft loans for the purchase of new boats, spareparts, fuel, food etc. in a few places on the Somali coast, the economic and living conditions of the inshore fishermen in these areas are about to be improved step by step.

Finally it should be mentioned that the construction of a new tarmac road and the ongoing improvement of the road network of the Bari Region, will have positive consequences for the marketing of fresh fish from Boosaaso and the isolated area around Aulula near Cape Guardafui (Fig. 2).

Development Perspectives and Recommendations

In the planning and implementation of future development measures for the Somali fishing sector special attention should be given to the following points:

1) The main target group for development measures in the Somali fishing economy should be the local fishermen. The improvement of their living, working and income conditions should be the main aim. In the past, too much attention has been paid to costly big projects like the expensive offshore trawler fleet.

2) An important prerequisite for a successful development of the inshore fishing sector is investment from both foreign and Somali businessmen and companies. In order to prevent increased onesided dependence on foreign countries it would be much more beneficial to the country's development if private Somalis would invest much more than in the past. In order to encourage such investments the government has to create a favorable climate for investors. That means, that legal security has to be improved and people willing to invest in this productive sector should be given preference by the government.

3) The process of privatization and liberalization has to be enforced. The negative image of the fishing cooperatives as place where the fishermen can only sell their catches for unattractively low prices, has to be changed. The concept of the fishing cooperatives has to be altered to exclusively marketing and service cooperatives, offering the fishermen all kinds of necessary facilities, in order to increase productivity. Furthermore the costs for administration as well as other expenses within the cooperative movement have to be reduced and higher producer prices be offered to the fishermen.

4) As Somalia herself only represents a limited market for increased fish production, special efforts should be concentrated on the increase of export of canned and deep frozen fish. Especially in the Arabian and European countries, but also in other African and Asian developing countries, Somali fish products could find a profitable market. But in order to be able to compete with other countries

on the world market the quality of Somali fish products still has to be improved considerably and detailed marketing studies have to be carried out.

5) Ambitious economic aims should not let those responsible neglect the conservation of the natural environment. The fate of the water turtles (Fig. 7), for example, which have been heavily decimated in large parts of the Somali coast, should be a warning.

6) Parallel to these measures intensive scientific research has to be undertaken in order to obtain a solid data basis for future planning and to protect the Somali fishing resources from possible damage through over-exploitation.



Figure 7 - A Beach near Ceel Axmed/S-Somalia: Dying sea-turtles. Preventive measures have to be set up for the protection of this menaced species.

It remains to be hoped that at least some of these recommendations will be implemented in this way, the previously neglected inshore fishing sector might make an important contribution to the diversification and strengthening of the Somali economy in the future.

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Part VII

Natural and Applied Sciences

Enea and the Developing Countries

VINCENZO GAROFOLI

Enea - Roma

Introduction

ENEA (The Italian Agency for Research and Development of Nuclear and Alternative Energy Sources) has the principal task of promoting nuclear energy and other sources alternative to oil, while protecting health, safety and the environment.

ENEA cooperates with other institutions and operators in the implementation of the National Energy Plan and in promoting the technological progress of Italian industry.

Specifically the agency:

- conducts research and development of interest in industry in its own centres;
- develops the capabilities of Italian industry to achieve economic production of nuclear power stations, components and services relative to the entire nuclear fuel cycle;
- designs, builds and runs demonstration plants and experimental nuclear reactors;
- engages in research and experiment in the most advanced fields of nuclear science and technology, such as fast breeder reactors and, in a longer term outlook, nuclear fusion;
- collaborates with national industry in the design and realization of components and demonstration plants for the development of non-conventional technologies and processes in the energy sector;
- performs research on health protection and environmental protection related to the siting of energy plants;
- develops and promotes technology for the exploitation of renewable energy sources, such as thermal application and photovoltaic conversion of solar energy, wind power, biomass conversion;
- promotes energy saving by the development of suitable technology and measures to foster reduction in energy use in industry, building and agriculture;
- takes care of the diffusion and transfer, particularly to small and medium-sized industry, of the technologies developed in the course of its activities;
- provides consulting and technical evaluation to Italian institutions on problems connected with energy production and use;
- disseminates information about energy problems and organizes training courses on the rational use of energy;

- collaborates with other countries and international organizations in the energy sector, in conformity with Italy's international commitments.

ENEA is also responsible for the supervision of nuclear safety, health protection and environmental protection. These tasks are accomplished by the Directorate for Nuclear Safety and Health Protection.

ENEA has a staff of about 4,700, working in eight Centres throughout Italy.

In order to achieve the programmatic objectives of ENEA's fifth five-year Plan (1985-89), the Italian Government has allocated about 5,340 billion lire (BL), equivalent to about \$ 3.56 billion US dollars.

ENEA'S Activities in the Field of Renewable Energy Sources

On *renewable energy sources*, ENEA has given special attention to photovoltaic conversion and to thermal uses of solar energy, to biomass, and to wind power.

As concerns *photovoltaic conversion*, ENEA's research centres are engaged in materials development and improvement of the production process for cells, panels, structures and other components of the photovoltaic system.

The most significant of ENEA's projects involving photovoltaic conversion of solar energy are:

- the 300-KW DELPHOS photovoltaic plant under construction in Puglia, which will feed its output into the national power grid;
- the pilot photovoltaic plant built on the isle of Giglio, with the financial assistance from the European Economic Community (EEC); this 45-KW plant will power a refrigerator cell and an ozone sterilizer for drinking water;
- the 70-KW photovoltaic plant in the Veneto region, used to power the lifting systems of a pumping station.

ENEA's projects in *thermal uses* of solar energy include:

- design and improvement of hot-water solar collector;
- development of low-cost hot-air collectors and their application in food processing (drying of raw foodstuffs);
- the generation of process heat with concentrated solar energy.

Solar energy is particularly well suited for certain simple options most appropriate to developing countries, such as water pumping and desalination. Such systems are under study, and ENEA'S programs include the design and production of:

- a DEWAL solar-powered water pumping unit with no moving mechanical parts, capacity one cubic meter per hour;
- a solar distiller with a capacity of 300-500 liters a day;
- a reverse-osmosis desalination plant.

ENEA is working together with other Italian agencies and firms on *wind power*. Activities include:

- anemometric studies to determine the wind-power potential and the optimum characteristics of possible sites for wind-power stations;
- experimental programs on wind powered motors with automatic data acquisition system;
- quality trials with demonstration windmill-powered generators;

- collaboration with Aeritalia in a program to develop a prototype windmill generator with a capacity of 200 to 300 KW;
- a project, begun in cooperation with ENEL, for a 2-4 MW wind-powered generator, to be constructed by a consortium of Italian industries (Aeritalia, Fiat Aviazione, Ansaldo).

On windmill powered motors for water pumps, ENEA has undertaken a series of projects of both slow (multivane) and fast windmills. The most important initiatives concern the use of new material (fiberglass), developing lighter components, and improving the performance of the windmill-pump system. Some existing plants have been reactivated and a series of trials conducted to explore continuity of operation and maintenance methods.

In *biomass conversion*, ENEA is focusing primarily in plants for biogas production, on improved direct combustion of wood and waste biomass and gasification and pyrolysis of agricultural waste, hydrolysis and fermentation to transform cellulose agricultural wastes into alcohol. Specifically, ENEA is working on systems to keep construction and operating costs of these plants to the minimum. It has designed and built a low-cost biogas generation plant using the «plug-flow» type of anaerobic digestion of cattle manure (the digester has a working volume of about 60 cubic meters of biogas a day).

As to the use of woody or cellulose biomass to generate gaseous fuels, ENEA is engaged in studies to develop specification for small-scale wood-fueled gasifier-generators (15-20 KW) suitable for supplying electricity to isolated villages. ENEA has constructed a fluid bed gasifier for agricultural residues with a potential of 30 cubic meters an hour.

In *energy saving*, ENEA develops energy conservation methodologies and devices and promotes their application in industry, building and in the services sector, where the greatest consumption of course comes in transportation.

In industry ENEA's action for energy saving has involved a number of energy diagnoses and training courses for energy specialists. ENEA is also actively engaged on the supply side, promoting diesel and gas turbine cogenerators and heat recoverers for smoke and other waste heat.

ENEA is also active in *agriculture*, working to raise productivity in cereals, fruit and vegetable output, developing and introducing innovation in agriculture. Especially significant here are higher-yield crop varieties developed in ENEA's laboratories, which have quickly found practical application, such as the «Cresus» variety of wheat, whose introduction has increased the value of Italian output by more than 100 billion lire yearly (the average rise in production being of 0.7 ton per hectare).

In agriculture energy saving can come from genetic improvements, i.e. the creation of new crop varieties that need less chemical fertilizer, farm mechanization, and irrigation, as well as from new techniques of fertilization, use of organic wastes, and the use of solar energy for greenhouse crops and for the post-harvest treatment.

ENEA's Activities in the Developing Countries

As part of Italy's policy of cooperation with the developing countries, ENEA collaborates on projects for strengthening scientific and technical research facili-

ties and for developing and exploiting energy sources alternative to oil.

In this framework ENEA also helps to promote Italian industry in the markets of the developing countries, which offer interesting prospects for technology to exploit non-oil energy sources.

To this end ENEA:

- takes part in the implementation of programs and projects sponsored by the Department for Development Cooperation (DIPCO) of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by international organizations. DIPCO has entered into an agreement with ENEA assigning the agency consulting functions for cooperation projects in the energy field;
- promotes projects to enhance the developing countries' technical and scientific capacities in accordance with Italian cooperation policy and in the framework of bilateral agreements;
- awards fellowships and gives training courses for researcher and technicians from developing countries, in order to enable them to improve their ability to manage facilities and carry out research in their own laboratories;
- holds conferences, exhibitions, and seminars aimed at spurring the introduction of the most appropriate technologies in developing countries for the exploitation of local energy sources and for energy saving;
- carries out, in its own laboratory facilities and in collaboration with Italian industry, programs of research, realization and testing of system and devices adapted to the particular operating conditions of developing countries;
- tests components and energy systems to finalize design of products for export to developing countries.

Within ENEA's International Affairs Directorate a new unit in charge of coordinating the promotion and cooperation activities with developing countries has been established.

The following is a summary of the most important development cooperation programs in which ENEA is participating. The programs were all launched between 1980 and 1985. They are grouped by geographic area and then by country. Programs not divisible in this fashion are listed separately.

AFRICA

Cape verde - Exploitation of renewable energy sources (photovoltaic and wind power).

Egypt - Egyptian energy development organization center for the development of renewable energy sources.

- Cooperation with the atomic energy establishment.

Kenia - Kenyan energy training centre (KETC) for new and renewable sources of energy.

Morocco - Photovoltaic rural electrification.

Senegal - Office for energy saving.

Somalia - Water for the nomads.

Regional - African international consulting consortium.

- Africa chairs of technology.

LATIN AMERICA

Brazil - Cooperation with the Commissao Nacional de Energia Nuclear (CNEN).
Jamaica - Energy and water development program.

ASIA

China - Cooperation with the Ministry of Nuclear Industry.
- Wind energy development.
India - Photovoltaic and thermal solar project.
Indonesia - Enhancement of the serpong nuclear research center.
- Applications of technologies appropriate for rural areas.
Iraq - Cooperation agreement with the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission.
Pakistan - Cooperation agreement with the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission.

Not divisible

- Training in planning national programmes for wood-based energy.
- Supply of renewable energy equipment.
- Program for identification and promotion of industrial investment projects in new and renewable sources of energy (NRSE).
- Innovative technology for potato cultivation in developing countries.

Conferences, exhibitions, seminars.

- The integration of new technologies in traditional sector.
- Energy for survival and development.
- bioclimatic architecture exhibition.
- Cooperation between Italy and Latin American on new and renewable sources of energy.

Enel's Role in the Cooperation with Foreign Countries

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Within the framework of Italy's international cooperation with foreign countries and, in particular, with developing countries, the energy field, as primary sector, bears a special importance, typical of every basic infrastructure, serving as both a condition and incentive for every possibility of economic and social development.

It is in this light that the ENEL activities abroad should be considered, since ENEL is the electricity authority entrusted with the fulfillment of national needs, and therefore, in a wide sense, is at the service of the Government policies, as concerns the strategies set forth for the cooperation activities with other countries.

A tendency in this sense dates back in time, until in 1973 it was finally introduced by the law no. 856 of 18.12.73, which, by modifying the law no. 1643 of 6.12.62 by which ENEL was created, made it possible for ENEL to «perform consulting services concerning foreign installations» subject to the prior authorization of the Ministry of Industry.

Furthermore, the recent law no. 309 of 1981 made it possible for ENEL to perform studies, consulting services and designs, both in Italy and abroad, also in collaboration with other firms or agencies.

These years of experience abroad have confirmed that the development of the relations with the electricity authorities of different countries is favored by:

- the lack of direct competition in the «sale of a product», that is the supply of electricity to the respective customers; and
- Enel's independence from financial organizations, manufacturing industries etc.

A certain ease in establishing contacts at high levels with the electricity authorities of foreign countries, at no matter what distance, was ascertained.

Within the framework of the relations established with these electricity authorities, the collaboration which can be supplied by ENEL, which has already solved particular problems obtaining proven positive results, assumes a special significance for developing countries which, in the future, will have to face similar problems in their own electric systems.

This holds true for the typical problems which fall under ENEL's responsibility, such as: load forecasting, electric system development planning, deciding plant sites and line routes, operation (maintenance) of plants in general, personnel training, organization, etc.

In addition, the possibility ENEL offers for the training of personnel in plants

in operation, as well as its reknown prestige for the participation of its experts in many international organizations, comprise a potential which favors agreements for consulting services and assistance for foreign electricity authorities.

Until today, forty-two General Cooperation Agreements have been signed with as many authorities in thirty-three different Countries.

The experience acquired over the past few years of ENEL activities abroad has proved that, except in particular cases, the many forms of consultancy to developing countries, are mostly performed with the support of national and or international organizations which supply the financial aid.

In this context, the Department for Development Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays a main role, following the policies of the Italian Government, in line with the decisions taken by Parliament.

As an example, in Somalia, ENEL is present in the Technical Committee of the Baardheere Dam Project.

This Project, once it has been completed, will triple the installed electric capacity of the Country (from the present 55 MW to 160 MW), also developing the irrigation of a vaste region downstream the dam.

ENEL has also initiated fruitful contacts with ENEE, the Somalian electricity authority, for the signing of a General Agreement for Cooperation. This cooperation will be effected mainly through technical consultancy in the production, transmission, and distribution of electric energy.

Table 1: List of general cooperation agreements
updated to 30.4.1986 (42 Agreements with 33 Countries)

COUNTRY	COMPANY OR BODY	DATE
Algeria	Sonelgaz (Algiers)	1.12.1983
Angola	Ene (Luanda)	1.2.1983
Argentina	Agua y Energía Eléctrica (Buenos Aires)	23.7.1979
	Cnea (Buenos Aires)	14.12.1978
	Deba (La Plata)	29.3.1979
	Epec (Cordoba)	29.5.1979
	Hidronor (Buenos Aires-Cipolletti)	13.11.1980
Australia	Segba (Buenos Aires)	17.7.1978
	State Electricity Commission of Quensland (Brisbane)	20.5.1983
	Electricity Commission of New South Wales (Sidney)	11.9.1984
Bolivia	Ende (Cochabamba)	17.1.1985
Brazil	Cesp (São Paulo)	9.3.1982
	Daee (São Paulo)	9.3.1982
	Eletrobras (Rio de Janeiro)	21.3.1975
	Light (São Paulo)	25.8.1980
Cameroun	Société Nationale d'Electricité (Douala)	24.2.1986
Cape Verde	Electra e Seine (Praia)	3.8.1984
China	Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power (Beijing)	14.5.1984
	Cde (Santo Domingo)	25.4.1984
Dominican Republic	Eeci (Abidjan)	16.7.1981
Ivory Coast	Eea (Cairo)	15.1.1978
Egypt	Eelpa (Addis Abeba)	22.7.1983
Ethiopia	Inecel (Quito)	2.4.1979
Ecuador	Jea (Amman)	9.4.1983
Jordan	Ppc (Athens)	14.6.1976
Greece	Les (Tripoli)	3.6.1977
Libya	Lln (Kuala Lumpur)	29.10.1982
Malaysia	Cfe e lie (Mexico)	26.5.1978
Mexico		29.6.1981
Mozambique	Edm (Maputo)	1.4.1980
Panama	Instituto de Recursos Hidráulicos y Electrificación (Panama)	4.2.1986
	Ande (Asunción)	11.3.1982
Paraguay	Electroperú	10.12.1979
Peru	Edp (Lisbon)	22.5.1984
Portugal	Senelec (Dakar)	17.4.1982
Senegal	Epe (Damascus)	11.9.1979
Syria	Kepeco (Seoul)	29.10.1984
South Korea	Unión Eléctrica Fenosa (Madrid)	26.3.1984
Spain	Egat (Bangkok)	17.5.1983
Thailand	Steg (Tunisi)	18.6.1976
Tunisia	Tennessee Valley Authority (Knoxville)	24.10.1985
United States	Yugel (Belgrade)	17.7.1980
Yugoslavia	Snel (Kinshasa)	14.9.1981
Zaire		

The Situation of Woodfuel Supply and Demand in Mogadishu

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Introduction

Even nowadays fuelwood and charcoal are the most important energy sources in many developing countries. At the end of the 1970's, especially in African countries like Mali, Niger, Tschad or Burkina Faso, fuel from wood amounted to more than 85% of the whole energy consumption (Celceschi 1983:16). On the other side, especially in countries with a semiarid climate, wood resources are limited and very often dramatic shortages occur.

Despite its importance woodfuel is often called a «traditional» fuel in a disparaging way, neglecting its advantages. It is the most adequate fuel for major parts of the population and the only one which can be paid for by the poor people. It does not burden the balance of payment and, if well enough managed, it is a renewable source of energy. Therefore, fuelwood and especially charcoal could play an important role in a modern development strategy (Earl 1975: 11).

In 1980 the consumption of fuelwood and charcoal in Somalia is estimated to cover more than 85% of the whole energy consumption. More than 90% of it are used for cooking (Openshaw 1982: 4A). While fuelwood is the dominating energy source in rural areas, charcoal is predominating in major towns, especially in Mogadishu.

Taking the average for the whole country, there is a significant surplus of wood in Somalia (Openshaw 1982: 10). Nevertheless, serious shortages occur at the local and regional level. On the one hand, wood resources are concentrated in the southern part of Somalia. And on the other hand, all areas with larger agglomerations of the population, such as major towns and refugee camps, may be affected by wood shortages.

This paper mainly deals with the present and future woodfuel supply and demand in Mogadishu. The results are mainly based on my own field work in 1983 and 1985.

The Development of Charcoal Supply and Charcoal Prices

The development of charcoal supply in Mogadishu from 1973 to 1985 is characterized by serious shortages in the seasons up to 1982. Since then, the official

charcoal production for Mogadishu has increased by about 80%, which has caused a sufficient supply for the last years.¹ On the other hand, from 1977 to August 1985 the charcoal price in Mogadishu has grown more than 40-fold, whereas the whole consumer's price index has increased only 14-fold.² Even during the last years the growth of charcoal prices remained slightly higher than the whole consumer's price index causing serious effects on the cash expenditure of private households: while in 1977 less than 4% of the whole daily cash expenditure was used for charcoal (Ministry of National Planning, S.D.R. 1978), it rose to more than 12% in 1985. And the poorest families had to spend even more than 25% of their daily expenditure only for cooking fuels.

Woodfuel Consumption

The main consumers of woodfuel in Mogadishu are private households. By my own estimates they use at least 90% of the whole charcoal consumption and between 40 and 60% of the whole wood consumption in Mogadishu. Whenever possible the women prefer charcoal, because it has no smoke, it can be controlled much easier, requires less space for cooking, produces fewer ashes and is more adequate to most of the cooked meals than wood. Fuelwood is only used for usual cooking by the poorest families, for baking bread (*muufo*) with a special stove (*jiiko muufo*) and for big feasts. Up to 1982 it has also been the most important substitute for charcoal during the shortages in the rainy seasons.

A representative survey about the household's consumption of woodfuel in Mogadishu has been done in October 1985 covering all together 300 households. The main findings are as follows. More than 95% of all families use charcoal at least sometimes, most of them always for cooking, and more than 90% of the meals are cooked with charcoal. All the households using charcoal have one of the typical charcoal stoves, most of them the soupstone (*buurjiko*), some a ceramic (*dhoobo*) or a table stove (*miiska*). Therefore, the average daily consumption per household is very low, only 2.1 kg. As expected, the consumption varies not only with the size but also with the income situation of the households. The poorest 25% of all families consume less than 1.5 kg per day, while the richest 25% of the families use nearly 3 kg per day. But the income situation is only one reason for these differences. The variable consumption is also affected by different household sizes: on the average, the richer families consist of more members than the poor ones.

The total household consumption of charcoal in 1985 is estimated to be more than 78,000 tonnes (78,000 Kintaal). The charcoal is mainly used for cooking. Other purposes are boiling water for washing and cleaning, making tea or keeping insects out of the house. Because the charcoal prices grew at a higher rate than the average costs of living, the women normally use the remaining heat after cooking for these purposes in order to conserve charcoal. Therefore it was not possible to distinguish between the consumption for cooking and for other purposes.

The annual wood consumption of private households is about 32,000 tonnes.

¹ Data received from cooperative Cadceed.

² Data received from Ministry of National Planning, Statistical Department.

One third of it is used for baking muufo, another 40% is used for normal cooking and about one quarter is used for big feasts.

Woodfuel Production

Fuelwood and charcoal are only allowed to be produced by a licence. Licences are only given to the members of the production cooperatives Cadceed for charcoal production and Golol for wood collection. In addition there is some illegal private production which is estimated to be less than 10% of the whole charcoal production and more than 50% of the wood collection.

Only the most important section, the charcoal production by Cadceed, shall be discussed in detail. It is done in camps, all of them organized in the same way. In 1985 there were 114 camps in the regions of Bay, Baqol, Hiiraan, Lower and Middle Shabelle. Each of them is led by a camp owner. He receives the licence and is responsible for financing and administration. He is assisted by a foreman who is responsible for the whole organization within the camp. Only these two — owner and foreman — are members of Cadceed. The actual production is done by charcoal workers, usually 15 to 40 per camp. Each of them is felling the trees and cutting the wood on his own, only being assisted by 2-4 others to build up the charcoal kiln.

The production for Mogadishu only takes place in the regions Bay (56 camps) and Baqol (21 camps). There is a continuous shift of the production areas further and further away from Mogadishu, indicating that most of the areas are over-used. Former production sites and the areas which have been under production for more than 10 years are 230 up to 300 km away from Mogadishu. Areas which have been used in the last 5 years are between 320 and 350 km distant and the youngest production sites and all areas in which production is planned to start in the nearest future are 350 km or further away from Mogadishu.

The production techniques are described in detail by Robinson and Smith (1984: 10). The producers or Cadceed use exclusively an improved earth kiln which combines the advantages of several other kilns. The costs are only slightly higher than for traditional kilns. The stapled wood is covered with metal sheets and soil. The metal sheets keep the kiln intact and protect the wood against soil falling down (like a metal kiln). And the soil cover provides the kiln with a good insulated outer surface (like a masonry kiln) which reduces radiated heat losses. In contrast to former estimates Robinson found out that the production techniques have an efficiency of 40% and cannot be increased by any improved techniques (Robinsons and Smith 1984: 15). So fortunately, the amounts of wood necessary for charcoal production are already minimized. On the other hand, it must be realized that no more wood can be conserved in charcoal production.

The Marketing System

Within the complex marketing system only the two most important parts should be mentioned.

1. The charcoal stores of the marketing cooperative Hilaac are selling about 90% of all charcoal in Mogadishu. In 1983, 342 charcoal stores were nearly regu-

larly distributed over the whole city. The charcoal is transported to a weighing bridge at the outskirts of Mogadishu under the responsibility of Cadceed. There it is handed over to the store holders of Hilaac at fixed prices of 240 sh. per Kintaal (1 Kintaal = 100 kg). They have to sell it at 2.7 sh per kg to the customers. But in reality charcoal is sold at a price of 10 sh per kg. This means an extra surplus for the storeholders of approximately 300%. Up to 1983 the gap between the official and the real charcoal price could be explained by the shortages in the rainy seasons. But today the main reasons for the extremely high prices are others. There is no effective control of the real charcoal prices and the storeholders do not have to fear any major rivals. They make the price, and the customers have to accept it.

2. At the markets charcoal and wood of different quantities are sold. All of it is produced illegally (by private charcoal producers or wood collectors without any licence) but legalised by the Local Government when entering the market. This demonstrates the whole conflict between a sufficient supply of fuelwood and charcoal today and in the future. On one hand, most of the areas with illegal production of wood and charcoal are already over-used and need to be protected, if they should be useful for charcoal and wood production in the future. On the other hand, nowadays the illegal production is necessary to reach a sufficient supply of woodfuel in Mogadishu.

Comparing Charcoal Supply and Demand

From the total household consumption of charcoal, which is estimated at 78,800 t in 1985, more than 72,000 t were bought in cooperative stores. Estimating other uses (2500 t), 2% of dust and fines which are used by limestone producers (Robinson and Smith 1984: 27) and about 1000 t of brands (halfburnt charcoal), the total turnover at the cooperative stores would be about 78,000 t. In contrast, the officially registered charcoal was only around 50,000 t. So, approximately one third of all charcoal produced by Cadceed is illegally bypassing the weighing bridge and transported directly to the Hilaac stores. In fact, this is not astonishing. The producers of Cadceed and the merchants of Hilaac are working close together. Even most of the producers are members of Hilaac, too, and they find their way to save the taxes they would have to pay at the weighing bridge and increase their own profit in using an illegal marketing channel.

The private charcoal production which is mainly brought to the markets is estimated between 5,000 and 10,000 t in 1983. Compared to it, the quantities of charcoal bought at the markets in 1985 were about 4,000 to 5,000 t. Assuming that the private production has decreased during the last years, because the production of Cadceed has largely increased, the turnover can be estimated to be 5,000 t in 1985. Other sources, such as camel loads or charcoal from military drivers are estimated to be approximately 2,000 t. So the total charcoal consumption for Mogadishu in 1985 was about 85,000 t.

The Future Situation

It is not even possible to give an approximate figure of the future charcoal demand. According to different assumptions, the whole demand would range bet-

ween 85,000 and 130,000 t for 1995. So, even the lowest estimation does not indicate any reduction in charcoal demand during the next 10 years.

On the other hand, a visit to different production sites in 1983 has led to the suggestion that the areas suitable for charcoal production are rapidly declining. All visited areas have been seriously over-used. The producers did not confine themselves to the law which allows them only to use the oldest, dead or diseased trees. They were using almost every tree, leaving behind large depleted, unproductive areas. Very often these areas are used for grazing and agriculture afterwards, and so there is no chance for the vegetation to regenerate.

The results are disastrous. Even at places where charcoal production had stopped 12 to 20 years ago, you see widespread planes of serious soil erosion. Everybody who visited the areas around Awdiinle or Berdaale in recent times, will remember large planes with rocky surfaces or plenty of stones on the ground — stone which had been completely covered by soil before the charcoal production began.

In most parts of the Bay Region wood can not be called a renewable energy source. Many of the areas which had only been under charcoal production for one time may not regenerate any more. This means that the annual stock regrowth of wood is decreasing from year to year — a process which has to be stopped immediately. Otherwise serious woodfuel shortages in Mogadishu would occur within the next 10 years.

Possible Solutions

The hope in large scale of *substitution of charcoal* in the foreseeable future has failed. Up to now there is no chance to use solar energy for cooking in a way adequate to the household needs. The natural gas found close to Afgooye is too limited to be used in large scale substitution. And electricity would be too expensive for most of the households, even in the future.

The wood resources could be increased to a certain amount by *fuelwood plantations*, as started with the Mogadishu-Merka-Fuelwood-Project. But, up to now, experience in planting fuelwood are very limited, and the costs would be considerably high.

Measures of *wood conservation* are also very limited. As the charcoal production is very efficient even today, there would be no chance to improve the production techniques. On the other hand, charcoal could be conserved by introducing more efficient stoves. Though the traditional soupstone stove has a rather high efficiency, VITA has constructed and improved soupstone stove that would save up to 30% of the charcoal. Nevertheless, such a stove could only be successful, if the households really try to conserve charcoal. Therefore the introduction of the stove has to be combined with a campaign for charcoal conservation. But the success of such a campaign may be very little as long as sufficient charcoal is available.

Measures for *protection and reforestation* of the production areas have to be taken. Such measures would only be successful, if the financial basis and the political power of the National Range Agency (NRA) which is responsible for the measures could be improved and if the support of the producers themselves could be gained.

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A Research on Maintenance Management in Somalia

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Foreword

SIDAM — The Somalian Institute of Development Administration and Management — is the only Institute in Somalia to deal systematically with the development and personnel training in the management area.

SIDAM was formed in 1965 and through it an average of one thousand students are trained each year. The following courses are currently organized at SIDAM:

- a) Accountancy: 2-year post secondary school course;
- b) General Management: 1-year post secondary school course;
- c) Industrial Management: 1-year post graduate course;
- d) M.B.A. — Business administration course;
- e) Maintenance and store management: 3-month course;
- f) Computer science and management: 3-month course;
- g) Personnel administration: 3 week course;
- h) Courses on English and French.

For some years now the Italian Technical Co-operation has contributed the organization and management of the courses stated under paragraphs e) and f) to the activities of SIDAM through Cotecno, a Rome-based company.

The didactical methodology has been enhanced through the years to approach more and more the actual needs of Somalia and the problems stemming from the transfer of nonindigenous technologies into a different social context.

In such a frame «case studies» on stock maintenance organisation and management of some Somalian companies were construed and examined, and a research work whose results are presented herewith was prepared.

The Research

Somalia's main surfaced roads should be relatively easy to maintain. Only asphalt needs to be imported. All other materials, and the semi-skilled and unskilled manpower, are available locally. Yet the roads are not always in good condition. Some stretches remain rough and potholed. And as the cars, buses and trucks

rattle over them every day, their tyres wear out faster, their parts loosen and break more easily.

The net result? Much more hard currency goes into motor parts than would be needed for the asphalt to keep the roads reasonably smooth in the first place.

The same situation applies with the electricity supply system. Voltage should be kept at a steady level at all points of the network. Yet at times, in some areas, it rises up to 50 per cent higher than the rated value. Once again, this results in the breakdown of electrical equipment — and the whole dreary chain of unnecessary effects: power cuts, stoppage in productive activity, and heavier-than-necessary outlays of foreign currency to import replacement equipment.

These are just two of several examples recorded by a team of Italian Technical Cooperation (ITC) experts in the course of research on maintenance management in Somalia. Their study, «A multinational comparison of maintenance management: the case of Somalia, Italy and USA», was completed recently. The experts, from the Italian consultancy company Cotecno, are attached to Sidam.

The study looks at how much attention, resources and planning are given in each country to maintenance, which is one of the first and most important steps, perhaps the most important, for any country embarking on the road to industrialization.

In fact, learning to maintain equipment properly should come before using it for production. Plunging straight away into the establishment of new types of industry is dangerous, without the necessary knowledge of machinery and processes. A better approach to industrial development is to proceed by stages. First, procuring the equipment in some specific field from abroad, then becoming familiar with it and learning to maintain it properly. Only then when a body of competent people have been formed, can production be started in that sector.

Maintenance can help in fostering an «industrial mentality» — certainly more effectively than by pushing industrialisation with no solid preparation to support it.

The importance of maintenance in the operation of a factory or plants is not always readily recognized. Usually «maintenance costs» are considered as the sum of annual expenditures for maintenance personnel, equipment and spare parts.

Due to the difficulty of comparing absolute values among countries or industrial sectors, maintenance costs are, as a rule, expressed as a percentage of invoiced sales and/or capital investments. The indices for capital investments are not reliable in the Somali situation, since sometimes plants and machinery are obtained through external support to the construction of new factories.

The survey data relative to the index of maintenance costs (expressed as a percentage of sales) in Somalia are shown in Table 1. Practically all public enterprises in the Benadir region were covered, including ENEE and a private soap and detergent firm. The Somali indices are compared with the indices in the same industrial sectors in the U.S.A. and Italy. As will be seen, a picture emerges which gives some important hints for future actions in the field of industrial management.

The fact that maintenance costs increase percentagewise as one moves from an industrialized to a developing country does not, as a rule, indicate that the poorer the country and the more inflation-prone its economy, the higher investments become. Rather, at least in the case of Somalia, the higher level of the index as compared to the US and Italy reflects a lesser degree of plant and manpower utilization.

In other words, sector-wise, the maintenance costs of companies using similar

Table 1 - A comparison of maintenance costs in different industrial sectors as between U.S.A., Italy and Somalia

Industrial sector	U.S.A.	Italy	Somalia
Electrical	—	3.3%	4.0%
Mechanical	2.5%	2.3%	6.0%
Chemical	4.8%	11.3%	7.5%
Foodstuffs	1.6%	—	6.0%
Weighted Average	4.7%	5.1%	6.1%

equipment should be roughly equal in real terms. But the fact is that in Somalia the equipment would be used for fewer hours than in the other two countries, due to the shorter work-shifts. Hence the volume of production — and consequently the volume of invoiced sales — would be less. Thus the ratio of maintenance expenses to invoiced sales is artificially increased.

A further analysis carried out by the Italian team concerned the breakdown of maintenance costs into «emergency» and «programmed» maintenance costs. Emergency (or breakdown) maintenance is the kind that must be carried out immediately to avoid more serious damage. It is usually done when machine failure causes an interruption in the production flow, or for safety reasons. Programmed maintenance is nothing else but organised maintenance, carried out according to a preestablished schedule. Preventive, ordinary and improvement maintenance are usually programmed. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 - A comparison of breakdown and programmed maintenance as between Italy and Somalia, by sectors.

Industrial Sector	Breakdown maintenance		Programmed maintenance	
	Italy	Somalia	Italy	Somalia
Electrical	65%	35%	35%	65%
Mechanical	65%	40%	35%	30%
Chemical	20%	70%	80%	30%
Foodstuffs	—	70.5%	—	29.5%
Weighted Average	55%	54%	45%	46%

In relation to the sample considered, there would appear to be some similarity in the distribution between breakdown and programmed maintenance in the two countries. However, even allowing for a substantial difference between the two cultural and technological environments, some divergencies do exist.

Programmed maintenance is particularly important in the chemical sector; the breakdown of one machine in a chemical plant immediately brings the whole production process to a stop. Table 2 shows that breakdown maintenance in the Somali chemical sector is more frequent than in Italy.

Somalia should make more use of programmed maintenance than Italy, especially considering two factors: in Italy, a machine breakdown is normally repaired in a matter of hours. Not so in Somalia, where sometimes there is a lack of personnel with the necessary knowledge of that specific machinery and/or spare parts. Secondly, in most cases in Somalia a factory is the one and only factory existing in a given industrial sector. For instance, if the refinery stops working, the whole national economy is jeopardised. If the «pasta» factory does not produ-

ce, one has to resort to expensive hard currency purchases from abroad. This is not the case in industrialized countries, where occasional breakdown maintenance generates only a small and localized economic loss, since repairs would take a short time, and it is possible to resort to alternative sources of production. Not one, but many plants exist in each sector.

The inadequate importance attributed to maintenance in Somalia is shown also by the data in Table 3. While in Italy in most of the firms the maintenance supervisor is under the general manager or plant manager, in Somalia he is often under lower-ranking officials, who at times have no connection with, or knowledge of production activities.

Table 3 - Position of the maintenance function in the organizational structure of industrial units

Maintenance Supervisor reports to:	Italy	Somalia
General Manager or Plant manager	70%	12%
Production Manager	18%	33%
Others	12%	55%

Note: The answers to the question «Who is the boss of the maintenance supervisor?» clearly show that in Somalia the maintenance function is not given a high level in the organizational structure of industrial units.

The Cotecno research team also investigated the existence of formalised procedures for the organisation of maintenance work. On the bases of the findings shown in Table 4, it appears that this practice is little followed in Somalia. It was ascertained that almost no company has a Machine Diary showing the frequencies and the nature of machine breakdowns or the type and extent of preventive maintenance activities performed. «Request for Action/Job Order» forms exist, but no control action is really activated. One third of the factories do not even control or manage maintenance materials.

Table 4 - Use of formalised procedures for maintenance activities (percentual values)

Procedure	Percentage of industrial establishments NOT using procedure	
	Italy	Somalia
Request for Action/Job Order	15.1%	22%
Job Preparation	18.9%	44%
Requisitioning from store	3.7%	33%
Updating Machine Card	32.0%	89%
Allocation of Standard Work Times	80.5%	56%
Workload Observation and Control	48.3%	78%
Observation & Control of Labour Utilization	26.3%	100%
Observation & Control of Performance	35.5%	89%
Maintenance Budget	1.5%	66%
Control & Management of Maintenance Materials	9.7%	34%

There is, then, wide scope for improvement, to the immediate benefit of the industrial enterprises and of the economy as a whole. One possibility of improvement is to use computers for maintenance and storeroom management. In Somalia, computers have never been used in support of maintenance management, or for the control and diagnosis of the production process. This is usually justified by saying that the computers is a «labour-saving» device. One of the problems

of a developing country is to provide job-opportunities, so that, also considering that labour tends to be cheaper than elsewhere, a «labour-intensive» approach is adopted.

This justification forgets that the computer is mainly a tool that is of invaluable assistance in improving the level of services, safeguarding and ensuring easy access to the wealth of information available in an enterprise, promoting technological innovations, by storing in a computer programme the knowledge and know-how contributed by expert personnel, ensuring better monitoring and control of the equipment, and simplifying «troubleshooting» in case of machine failure.

Utilizing the so-called «packages», or ready-made computer programmes, all one has to do is to feed the data into the computer, which will then take care of all the calculations and analysis and eventually print out the final solution.

This means that it is possible to make use of relatively unskilled people also for the performance of complex jobs. This is precisely what is needed in non-industrialized countries, where there is no dearth of workers, but they are often not very skilled.

Higher maintenance costs means a reduced value of production, while the total cost of the output is higher. In this situation, it is harder to compete with imported goods. When machinery breakdowns occur, not only the profitability, but at times also the viability of the enterprise suffers.

Clearly, then it is necessary to invest more in maintenance management and activities in Somalia. There is no magic recipe bringing immediate results. The best course of action should rest on two criteria: providing training at all levels, and fixing clear objectives of improvement year by year.

Their practical application calls for a strong push in the right direction, i.e. ensuring the involvement of top management and making maintenance and its management a matter of high priority in the policies of governmental and foreign organizations working in Somalia.

Under the auspices of the Somali Government and of the Department of Cooperation for Development, of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cotecno with the support of Sidam runs three-month courses on maintenance-management. There are participants from both public and private Somali enterprises.

The methodology contemplates the discussion of practical cases, the presentation of maintenance management, and an analysis of the problems involved in the transfer of technologies.

Within the scope of a three-year programme of cooperation between Cotecno and Sidam, it is envisaged to repeat this training program, which will become an institutional feature of Sidam and will eventually be run by the Institutes' staff, not only in Mogadishu but also in the major towns of Somalia.

Géologie et Hydrogéologique du Bassin Central de Somalie

MOHAMED CABDI MOHAMED «GANDI»

French Association for Somali Studies - Besançon

Géologie

Le cadre géologique.

Le secteur étudié correspond à un bassin localisé dans le centre et le Nord-Est du pays, il borde le versant sud de la montagne nord-somalienne et est limité au sud par le massif granitique de Bur Acaba-Lugh. Il est matérialisé sur la carte (annexe I) par le vingt forages pétroliers réalisés par les compagnies Agip, Sinclair, Amerado et Mobil.

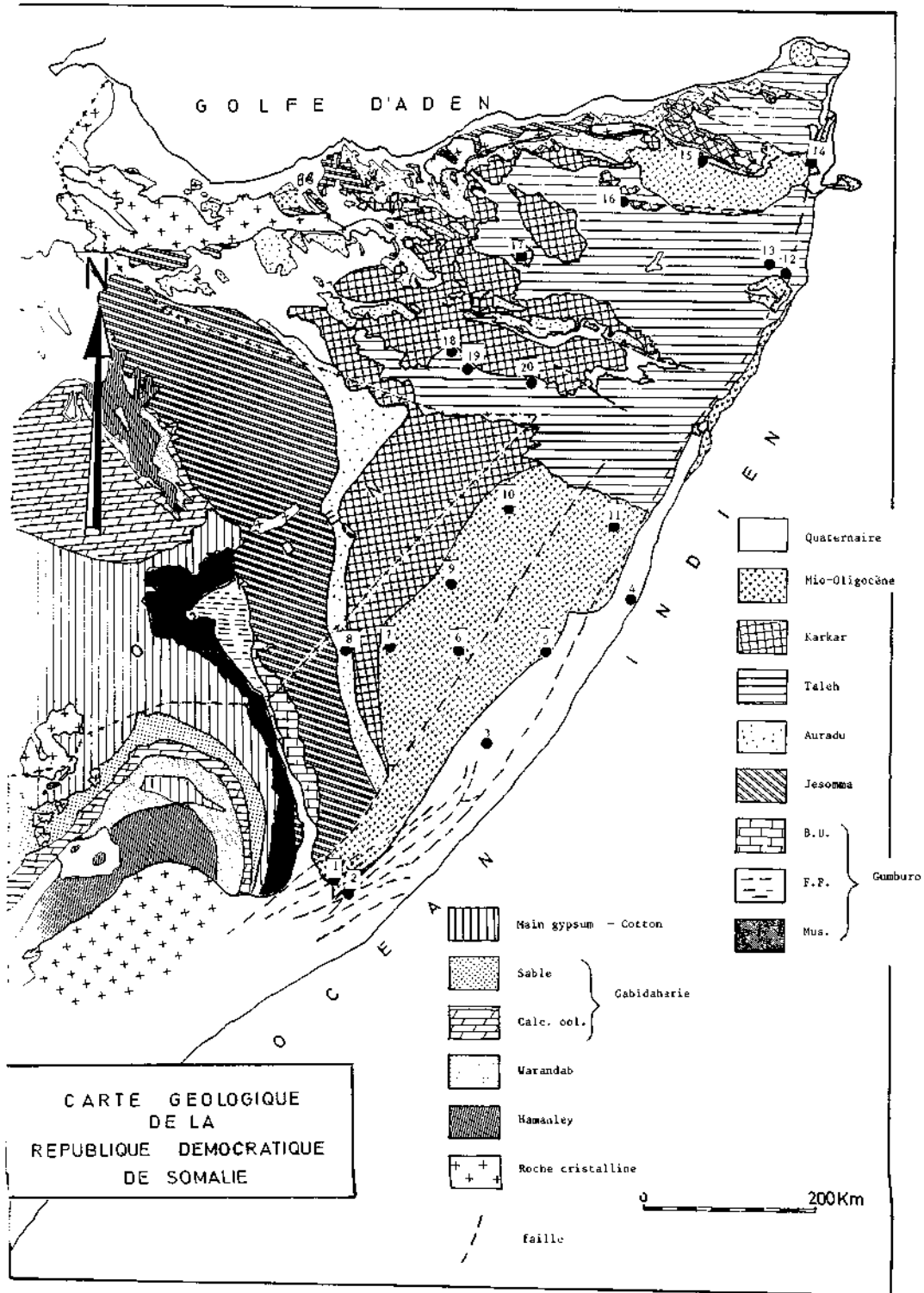
La carte géologique a été réalisée à partir d'informations provenant des cartes existantes, de renseignements fournis par les forages et d'interprétations personnelles basées sur la synthèse de ces données.

Les roches cristallines affleurent dans le nord, près de la côte, dans la région de Nogal, et au sud près de Bur Acaba. Ces deux ensembles sont constitués de roches métamorphisées par des montées de granite et de granodiorite. Ce sont des gneiss, des schistes, des quartzites et des marbres. Cependant, on a aussi identifié des diorites et des gabbros dans le nord et du minerai de fer dans le sud.¹

Les massifs du nord s'inscrivent dans une évolution aboutissant à la séparation de l'Afrique et de l'Arabie. Le massif méridional est très ancien. Beltrandi et Pyre l'ont daté du début du Cambrien (615 millions d'années) et il a été pénéplané au début du Jurassique.

Ces roches cristallines sont recouvertes par des formations sédimentaires allant du Trias au Quaternaire, qui ont été subdivisées en formations: Adigrat et Hamanley du Permo Trias au Dogger, Urandab et Gabridaharre pour le Malm, Cotton, Gumburo et Jesomma pour le Crétacé et Auradu, Taleh, Karkar e Merca Somal pour le Tertiaire.

On trouve aussi des coulées de basalte au nord et au sud, celles du nord ont été datées de l'Oligocène au Miocène par Mohr en 1963, alors que celle du rift (au sud) ont été datées du Crétacé terminal — Oligocène par Schwartz et Arden (1960). Stéfani (1925) montre la présence de venues basaltiques dans le sud, tout au long de la ligne nord-ouest-sud-est Lugh-Isciabaidoa. Les roches sédimentaires gypsifères ont été recouvertes par des laves, des cendres volcaniques cimentées, lesquelles ont été recouvertes, à leur tour, par une épaisse venue basaltique, datant du Tertiaire terminal.



Annexe 1 - Carte établie d'après la carte de G. Merla, G. Abbate, P. Canuti, M. Sagri et P. Tacconi (modifié) 1973

Enfin, on note au sud de Mogadiscio que les coulées de basalte gris-clair spilitique sont intercalées avec des schistes (argiles feuilletées) depuis le Crétacé supérieur jusqu'au Paléocène. Le volcanisme a débuté au Crétacé terminal dans le sud et a continué au Pliocène, au Quaternaire sur l'ensemble du pays.

Stratigraphie. (Formations rencontrées)

— *Formation de Urandab* (Oxfordien-Kimméridgien).

Elle est formée essentiellement de sédiments fins (argileux) à *Epistomina ornata*, *Pseudocyclammina sequana*³, et de calcaires et dolomies à *Exogyra*, *Modiola plicata* et *Mythilus*.

— *Formation de Gabridaharre* (Portlandien-Tithonique).

Elle est principalement composée d'un faciès carbonaté (calcaires argileux et calcaires oolitiques), de sédiments évaporitiques (*Dusa Mareb*) et d'un faciès argileux (*Obbia* et *Gal Caio*). Les faunes dominantes sont *Idoceras Duranger* (Macrofaune) et *Lenticulina*, *Ammobaculites*, *Epistomina* (Microfaunes) (données pétrolières). *Beltrandi* et *Pyre* ont une formation équivalente, appelée *Garbaharre*.

— *Formation de Cotton* (Néocomien-Albien).

On y distingue un faciès évaporitique (*Dusa Mareb*) intercalé parfois de calcaires et un faciès crayeux. Les *Orbitolines*, les *Cyclammina*, les *Globogérines*, les *Epistomina* et les *Haplophragmoides* (données pétrolières) ont permis de dater cette formation du Barrémien au Cénomanién.

— *Formation de Gumburo* (Cénomanién-Sénonien).

Elle est formée d'un faciès détritique dans le nord et le sud du secteur étudié, d'un faciès carbonaté (calcaire, dolomie et calcaire argileux), de dépôts plus fins (*Galcaio* et *Marai Ascia*) et, enfin, d'un faciès évaporitique et carbonaté. Les *Globotruncana* et les *Oligostégines* ont servi à sa datation.

— *Formation de Jéssomma* (Maestrichtien).

On observe une série détritique à l'ouest, un faciès carbonaté (calcaire et dolomie) au nord-est et des argilites à *Jéssomma*. La présence de *Globogérines* et d'*Amphalocyclus* permet de la dater.

— *Formation de Auradu* (Danién-Cuisien).

On y rencontre une série composée de calcaires, de calcaires argileux et marneux et de dolomies, et, vers le centre, des séries détritiques. On l'a daté grâce à la présence de *Kathina*, de *Miscellanea*, d'*Orthophragmina*, de *Daviesina* et de *Sakesaria*.

— *Formation de Taleh* (Lutétien).

Elle se compose d'un faciès évaporitique (dans le nord-ouest), de calcaires et dolomies dans le nord-est (avec des *Nummulites*, des *Lockhartia* et des *Sakesaria*) et d'un faciès à dominance de craies et de marnes.

— *Formation de Karkar* (Auversien-Ludien).

Elle est formée d'une série détritique (*Obbia*), d'un faciès calcaire nummulitique et d'un faciès calcaire argileux à Hétérostégines. Ces microfaunes permettent de la dater de l'Eocène supérieur.

— *Formation de Merca Somal* (Tongrien-Somélien).

Elle est caractérisée par une série à dominante détritique contenant quelques bancs calcaires.

Hidrogéologie

Dans le chapitre Géologie, nous avons mis en évidence les formations qui contiennent des évaporites (Taleh, Crétacé Moyen et Inférieur, dans le sud) et celles qui n'en contiennent pas (Jesomma [Mestrichtien], Auradu, Crétacé Supérieur et Jurassique dans le nord-ouest). Certaines de ces séries sont des formations continentales fluviales et lacustres. Leur connaissance sera utile pour l'étude hydrogéologique de ce bassin.

On commencera par les aquifères peu profonds, puis on terminera par l'aquifère profond, susceptible de contenir de l'eau douce.

Etude de la nappe phréatique

Cette nappe correspond au premier aquifère rencontré par les forages et est désignée par «nappe phréatique» pour des raisons de commodités.

— Chimie de l'eau.

Les données ont été fournies, d'une part par un groupe allemand «Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit» (GTZ) GmbH, et, d'autre part, par le Ministère des Mines et Ressources en eau de la Somalie. Les 25 prélèvements ont été faits entre Février et Mars 1981 (pour GTZ GmbH) et entre Novembre et Décembre 1976 (par le Ministère somalien); dans les deux cas, ils correspondent à une période sèche.

Les concentrations (en meq/l) de chaque élément ont été rapportées dans les diagrammes de Piper et de Schoeller-Berkaloff. On a pu ainsi classer les prélèvements en deux familles d'eaux: les eaux sulfatées calciques et magnésiennes et les eaux chlorurées sodiques. On trouve un cas particulier d'eau hyperchlorurée calcique à Galcaio.

A partir de ces mesures, on a tracé ensuite la carte des courbes d'isoconcentrations totales (en mg/l). Une limite de potabilité a été fixée à 4g/l et on peut ainsi délimiter 4 zones: Les zones Z1, Z2, Z3 ont des concentrations totales supérieures à 5g/l et seule la zone Z4 a des teneurs totales inférieures à 4g/l.

D'après les formations géologiques et la stratigraphies, on aurait dû avoir un secteur minéralisé dans le centre et le nord en raison de l'affleurement de la formation de Taleh, gypsifère et anhydritique. Cette diminution dans la Zone 4 (carte) peut s'expliquer:

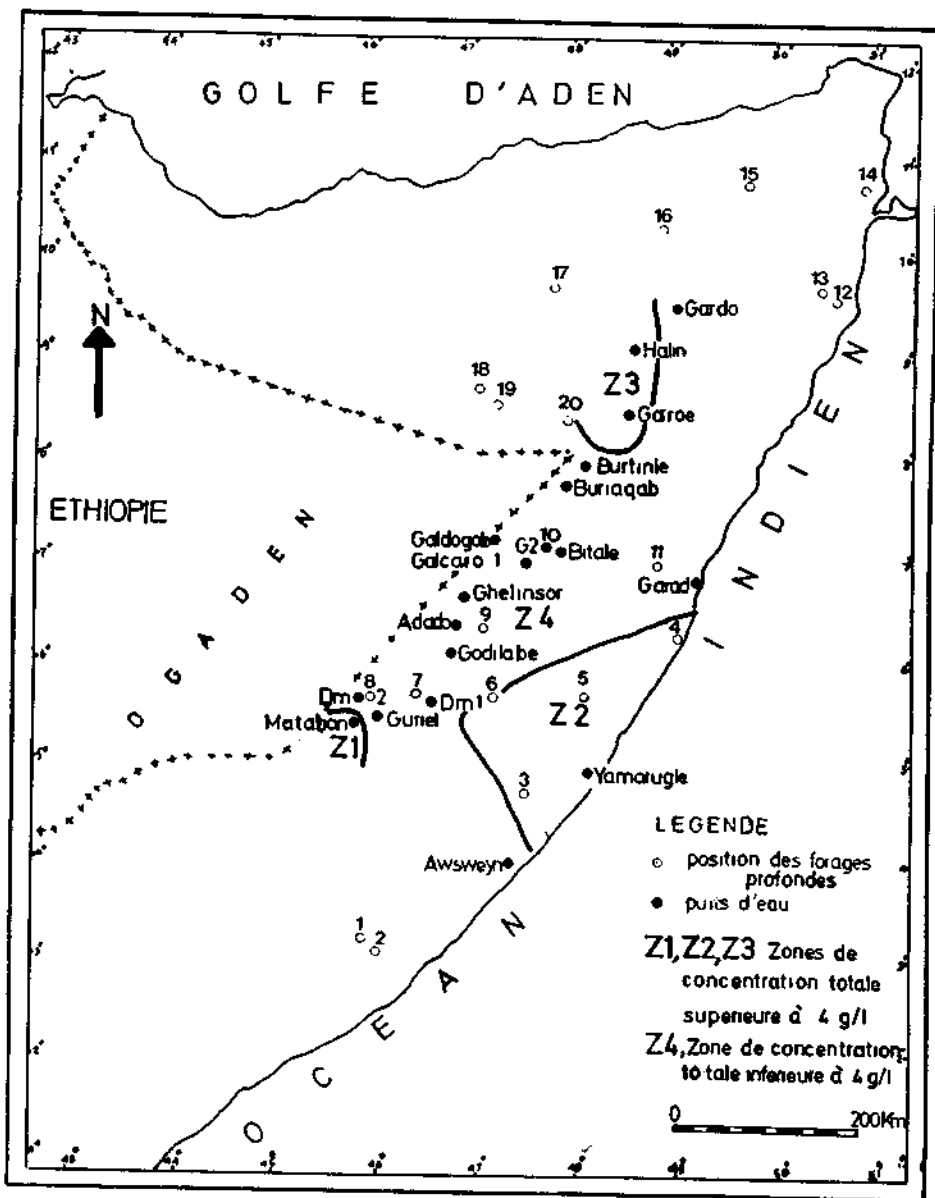
— d'une part par la pluviosité continue dans la région nord montagneuse pendant les quatre saisons donnant naissance à des ruisseaux intermittents. Ceux-ci alimentent la nappe de cette zone et diminuent les concentrations.

— d'autre part, une nappe plus profonde, à eau douce, à Jesomma, influence la qualité des eaux dans le centre.

— Thermodynamique.

Cette étude permet de connaître l'évolution de la composition chimique des eaux, du point de vue de la dissolution des minéraux, de la précipitation d'autres minéraux et de la concentration par évaporation. Elle nous permet de déterminer si l'eau est agressive, incrustante ou équilibrée vis-à-vis du milieu rencontré. Pour chaque échantillon, nous avons mesuré les concentrations en ions majeurs (Cl^- , PO_4^{3-} , SO_4^{2-} , HCO_3^- , NO_3^- , NH_4^+ , Ca^{2+} , Mg^{2+} , Na^+ , K^+ , F^- et NO_2^-).

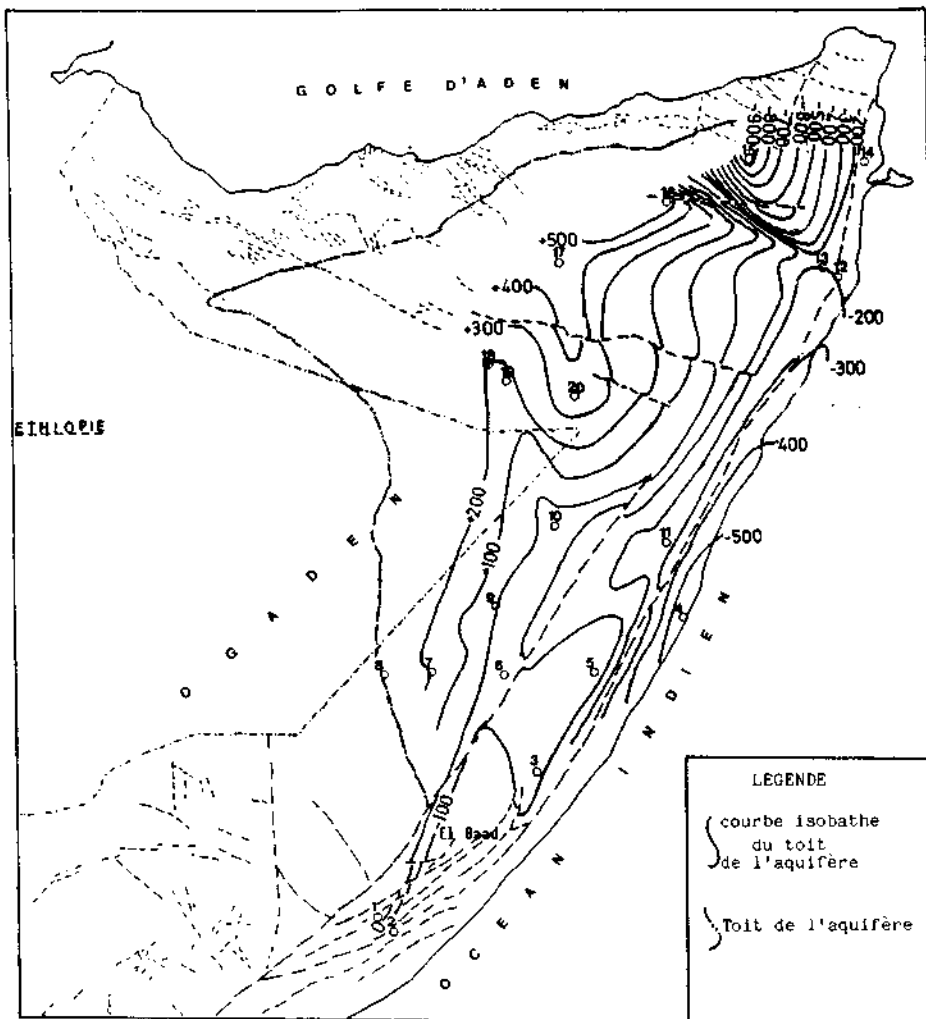
L'étude géologique montre une forte proportion de minéraux évaporitiques



Carte de zonation du bassin étudié

(gypse, anhydrite, etc.) et nous avons donc décidé d'appliquer la thermodynamique à un ensemble de minéraux de cette famille ou avoisinants: trona, thénardite, gypse, dolomie, halite, nahcolite.

On constate que les eaux sont en équilibre avec la calcite, la dolomie, le gypse, le trona et la halite. Par contre, elles sont agressives vis-à-vis de la nahcolite et



Annexe II - Carte du toit de l'aquifère

de la thénardite. Ceux-ci peut s'expliquer dans le mesure où ces deux derniers minéraux cristallisent lors des remontées capillaires (en période sèche) sur les zones d'alimentation des eaux souterraines ou de ruissellement. Piégés en surface, ils ne participent plus qu'en proportion faible à la géochimie des eaux souterraines.

Etude de l'aquifère profond

La nappe phréatique a déjà été étudiés dans le cadre d'un projet des Nations Unies, par la société allemande GTZ et par le Ministère des Mines et Ressources en eau de la République démocratique de Somalie. Par contre, et malgré les nombreux forages pétroliers réalisés dans cette région, c'est la première fois qu'on met en évidence l'existence d'un aquifère profond susceptible de contenir de l'eau douce. C'est l'objet du présent travail.

— *Le diagraphies*

Les diagraphies utilisées sont la polarisation spontanée, le gamma ray, le neutron, la résistivité (petit et grande normale).

— *Qualité de l'eau*

Nous possédons quelques données sur la salinité de certains puits. Elles ont été fournies par les pétroliers et elles sont résumées dans le tableau (annexe III) qui indique le nom des forages, les données chimiques et la profondeur exprimée en mètres par rapport à la surface du sol.

Annexe III: *Qualité des eaux*

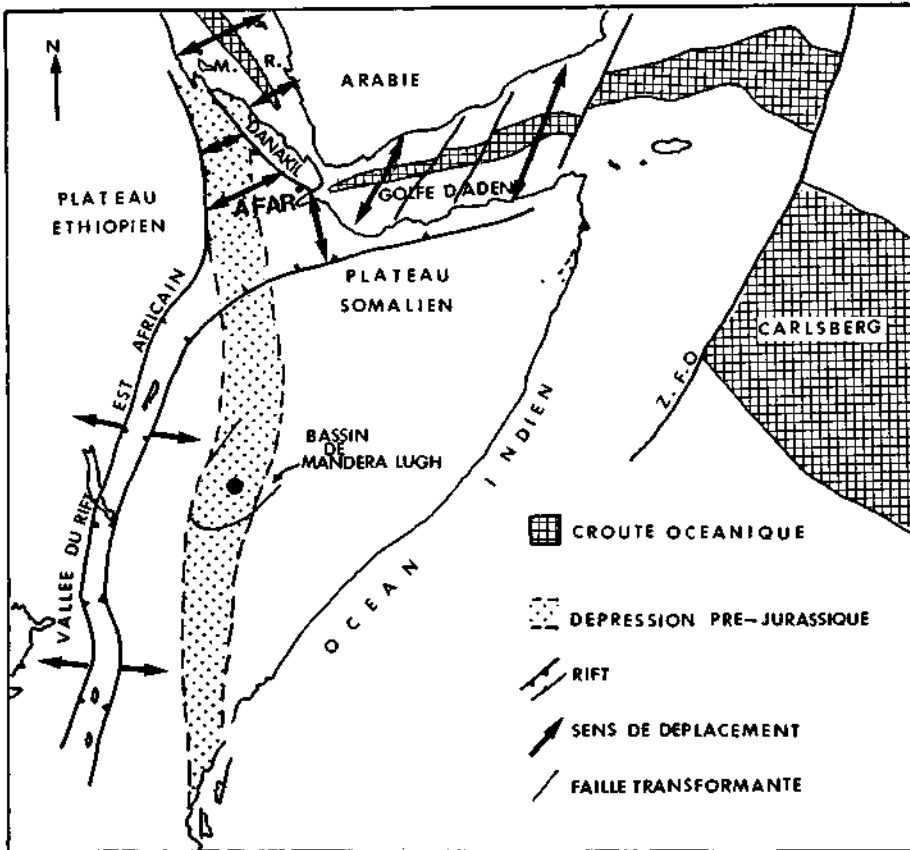
Nom du forage	Données chimique	Profondeur en (m)
Buron	700 ppm NaCl	317,6m
	300 ppm NaCl	474,8m
	900 ppm NaCl	937,5m
	600 ppm NaCl	1287m
	500 ppm NaCl	1379m
	600 ppm NaCl	1496m
	1000 ppm NaCl	2355,4m
	900 ppm NaCl	2382m
	1600 ppm NaCl	2406m
Faro Hills	eau douce	986,4m
Yaguri	1800 ppm NaCl	1390m
	1440 ppm NaCl	1600m
Bur Hisso	1000 ppm NaCl	1363,9m
	1000 ppm NaCl	1517m
Sagallek	eau douce	400 à 970 m
Cotton	eau douce	264 à 2264 m
	9000 ppm NaCl	1229 à 1264 m
Hordio	eau douce	134 à 634 m
Darin	eau douce	1075 à 1955 m
	460 ppm NaCl	1499,2 à 1518,6m
	290 ppm NaCl	1657,7 à 1773,1m
	350 ppm NaCl	1860 à 1876,5m

Nous avons effectué quelques tests au puits de El Baad (le 29/5/1981) creusé jusqu'à 148m. L'eau y remonte jusqu'à la surface en raison de l'artésianisme de l'aquifère. Nous avons goûté l'eau et trouvé excellente. C'est la seule donnée, avec les résultats pétroliers, que nous possédons, pour affirmer que l'eau de l'aquifère profond est douce. On pouvait y alimenter tous les jours, 250 chameaux et 200 vaches, ainsi que toute la population alentour.

Dans la première partie du paragraphe précédent, nous avons mis en évidence une relation entre la nappe phréatique (qui d'après les faciès affleurant dans l'ensemble du secteur étudié devait normalement avoir une forte minéralisation, supérieure à 4g/l) et une nappe plus profonde qui est responsable de la diminution de cette concentration. En effet, vue la profondeur de l'aquifère profond et celle de la nappe phréatique, il semble que la nappe profonde alimente celle-ci. Ceci nous permet aussi d'avoir une idée de la qualité de l'eau profonde. Sa salinité ne dépasse pas 4g/l.

— Géométrie de l'aquifère

A partir des données lithologiques, des diagraphies et des données chimiques, nous avons essayé de définir l'aquifère susceptible de contenir de l'eau douce. Par les données chimiques, nous sommes fixés comme limite de potabilité une équivalence en NaCl de 1000 ppm. En se basant tantôt sur ces résultats chimiques et tantôt sur les faciès qu'il traverse, nous avons pu esquisser le toit de l'aquifère à eau douce (carte, annexe IV).



Annexe IV

Cet ensemble aquifère défini est composé de plusieurs petits aquifères séparés entre eux par des bancs marno-argileux ou calcaire et dolomie compacts. Ils peuvent être continus ou discontinus. Cet aquifère est captif, maintenu sous pression par un toit et un mur imperméables, constitués par des niveaux argileux, marneux ou de calcaire et dolomie compacts et d'âges différents.

Ce travail correspond à l'étude géologique et hydrogéologique du bassin sédimentaire du centre et du nord-est de la République Démocratique de Somalie.

A partir des cartes existantes, des renseignements fournis par les forages et des interprétations personnelles, nous avons réalisé une carte géologique. L'étude des faciès et des faunes nous a permis de replacer les séries dans les formations géologiques et de préciser leur nature.

La deuxième partie a été consacrée à l'étude hydrogéologique. Dans un premier temps, on a étudié les «nappes phréatiques» du point de vue chimique et thermodynamique. Puis, à l'aide des diagraphies et des données chimiques particulières, nous avons mis en évidence un aquifère profond susceptible de contenir de l'eau douce.

Nom du forage	Données chimiques	Profondeur en (m)
Baron	700 ppm NaCl	317,6m
	300 ppm NaCl	474,8m
	900 ppm NaCl	937,5m
	600 ppm NaCl	1 287m
	500 ppm NaCl	1 379m
	600 ppm NaCl	1 496m
	1000 ppm NaCl	2 355,4m
	900 ppm NaCl	2 382m
	1 600 ppm NaCl	2 406m
Faro Hills	eau douce	986,4m
Yagurt	1 800 ppm NaCl	1390 m
	1 440 ppm NaCl	1600m
Bur Hlaso	1 000 ppm NaCl	1363,9m
	1 000 ppm NaCl	1517 m
Sagaleh	eau douce	400 à 970 m
Cotton	eau douce	264 à 1164m
	9 000 ppm NaCl	1229 à 1264m
Mordio	eau douce	134 à 634m
Darin	eau douce	1075 à 1955m
	460 ppm NaCl	1499,2 à 1518,6m
	290 ppm NaCl	1657,7 à 1773,1m
	350 ppm NaCl	1860 à 1876,5 m

Annexe V

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La teoria delle tecnologie appropriate e la realtà del mondo agricolo somalo

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Le tecnologie e i modelli di sviluppo occidentali

Nei primi decenni di questo dopoguerra si è ritenuto che solo un massiccio processo di industrializzazione dei paesi in via di sviluppo (PVS) avrebbe potuto costituire la terapia d'urto necessaria per ridurre l'enorme ritardo rispetto ai paesi sviluppati (PS). Per il mondo rurale, il mito era ancora quello dell'industrializzazione dell'agricoltura, della rivoluzione verde, con l'introduzione di tecnologie occidentali, pesanti e/o di punta, magari fornite chiavi in mano e con frequente ricorso all'automatizzazione per far fronte alle carenze qualitative della mano d'opera locale. Persuasi di fare economie di scala, convinti di dover perseguire standards qualitativi a livello internazionale, non ci si preoccupava dell'incompatibilità coi contesti tecnologici esistenti, dei costi elevati, del forte fabbisogno energetico, dei possibili inquinamenti, della scarsa mano d'opera impiegata, del fatto di favorire sole le élites, del fatto di sottoporre i PVS ai «capricci» del mercato internazionale.

La stragante maggioranza di questi progetti è miseramente fallita, soprattutto per il «rigetto» provocato dall'estraneità delle tecnologie coinvolte. È sopravvissuta qualche «isola» per il solo fatto di essere rifornita di tutto punto, e a costi elevatissimi, dall'esterno. Ma queste isole hanno attaccato le culture locali e aggravato i problemi della povertà e della disuguaglianza. Per centinaia di milioni di persone il risultato è quello di una «modernizzazione della povertà», della distruzione delle attività artigianali, della perdita della terra, della dissoluzione delle comunità e dei valori tradizionali, dell'emarginazione economica e spirituale.

La prova di queste affermazioni è sotto gli occhi di tutti: meno di un quarto della popolazione mondiale consuma più dei tre quarti delle risorse complessive. Forse una spiegazione può essere trovata rivisitando Galbraith e Marcuse.

Il mondo industrializzato costituirebbe una grande «tecnostuttura» che, per la sua stessa sopravvivenza, causa la povertà di chi non ne fa parte.

L'elemento essenziale della tecnostuttura è la produzione di massa (certamente diversissima dalla «produzione per le masse») che significa obbligo di sovrapproduzione, obbligo di creare mercati anonimi, obbligo di esportare, con conseguente istituzione di un sistema di relazioni di dipendenza economica.

La produzione di massa richiede poi una specializzazione e una gerarchizzazione del lavoro. Per esempio l'autogestione in una centrale nucleare non è possibile,

è solo pericolosa. Perché la tecnostuttura sia stabile, i membri devono essere dunque politicamente dipendenti.

In ultima analisi l'uomo per essere completamente devoto alla continuità della tecnostuttura, per credere che i prodotti della tecnostuttura corrispondano ai suoi bisogni, per accettare di essere dominato economicamente e politicamente, dovrebbe essere «a una dimensione», dovrebbe cioè essere tenuto spiritualmente sottosviluppato o alienato.

Di conseguenza le tecnologie occidentali, i modelli di sviluppo occidentali, non produrrebbero emancipazione e autonomia spirituale ma solo la cooptazione alla tecnostuttura di sparute élites dei PVS. In più, poiché la tecnologia costituisce sicuramente una parte essenziale del «codice» di una cultura, il diffondersi delle tecnologie occidentali porta necessariamente, in tutto il mondo, a una occidentalizzazione delle culture.

Le tecnologie alternative, intermedie e appropriate

Il movimento delle tecnologie appropriate, nato alla fine degli anni '60 nel Nord Europa, ha in realtà origini assai remote, in alcuni concetti comuni alle grandi religioni monoteistiche, nel pensiero di Ghandi, di Bukharin e di Mao, nelle rivolte studentesche degli anni '60, nelle opere di Schumacher, vero e proprio profeta del movimento.

Dalle grandi religioni si è mutuato il concetto di «progresso» come nozione morale di «progresso umano» e la consapevolezza dell'importanza di un rapporto armonico dell'uomo con la natura; ci si è resi conto che l'idea che tutte le società possano e debbano «svilupparsi» è affatto recente e che soprattutto è inconcepibile misurare il progresso di una società basandosi esclusivamente su parametri materiali; il «benessere» solo di recente si è voluto identificarlo col «benessere materiale», col maggior numero di mezzi a disposizione, mentre Ghandi pensava che fosse più opportuno cercare di raggiungere il massimo benessere con il minor possibile di mezzi.

Una seconda immediata origine delle tecnologie appropriate si trova proprio nei PS. I movimenti studenteschi degli anni '60, i dibattiti sui «limiti della crescita», le preoccupazioni ecologiche, la crisi del petrolio, le reazioni contro la società dei consumi sono i sintomi del malessere della civiltà occidentale che comincia a vedere se stessa come l'apprendista stregone, non più in grado di padroneggiare gli eccessi e gli squilibri prodotti dalla cultura industriale, guidata dal materialismo più sfrenato. Si contestano i valori, lo stile di vita, le possibilità di un futuro a lungo termine di un siffatta società. La tecnologia, vista come il fattore più importante a determinare i cambiamenti sociali e culturali contestati, viene posta sotto accusa e si creano le premesse per le *tecnologie alternative* intese a ricercare un rapporto più armonico con l'ambiente, un uso più oculato delle risorse, una via di uscita alla crisi energetica, un'identificazione dei «reali» bisogni dell'uomo, un lavoro meno alienante e ignorante dei suoi prodotti e dei suoi scopi, una rivitalizzazione delle economie e delle culture locali per contrastare, da una parte, l'impresa a grande scala, concentrata e centralmente pianificata, dall'altra la cultura di massa dei media elettronici. Anche se molto è stato fatto, specialmente nel settore energetico, non si può certamente dire che i risultati pratici siano, per il momento, all'altezza dell'intensità del dibattito ideologico.

Schumacher, in «Piccolo è bello», dopo aver analizzato molti degli effetti negativi del sistema industriale nei PS e nei PVS, propone per quest'ultimi un'organizzazione del lavoro su piccola scala con l'uso di *tecnologie intermedie*, riprendendo così le idee di Ghandi sulle piccole industrie di villaggio.

Nonostante Schumacher venga considerato il padre delle tecnologie appropriate, oggi si tende a criticarne un certo massimalismo e catastrofismo e anche ad abbandonare il suo termine «intermedie», che suggerisce di per sé l'esistenza di qualcosa di meglio e ipotizza l'instaurarsi nei PVS di un processo, calato dall'alto, di imitazione del cammino seguito dall'Occidente.

Oltre alle tecnologie alternative e intermedie, la linea semantica delle tecnologie appropriate comprende molte altre locuzioni: tecnologie della sopravvivenza, tecnologie della liberazione, tecnologie dal volto umano, morbide, non violente, a basso costo, corrette, progressive, self-help ecc. Fra i diversi termini esistono sovrapposizioni e una certa confusione nelle definizioni. Tuttavia è in ogni caso perfettamente chiara la discriminante rispetto alle tecnologie pesanti e/o sofisticate e i vari termini possono, alla fine, essere usati indifferentemente a seconda dell'aspetto che si voglia maggiormente evidenziare.

Tuttavia, la dizione oggi più diffusa è quella delle tecnologie appropriate (TA), nonostante una certa sua innegabile ambiguità. Certamente appropriatezza vuol dire adattabilità della tecnologia all'utente e non viceversa e implica un concetto dinamico nel tempo e nello spazio, applicabile sia ai PS come ai PVS. Ma le distorsioni sono possibili: una tecnologia potrebbe essere appropriata per un gruppo sociale che vuole dominarne altri; appropriata potrebbe anche essere una tecnologia non sostituibile (come ad es. il trasporto aereo in Africa), paradossalmente appropriata potrebbe essere la grande scala perché moderna, costosa e prestigiosa.

Il gruppo ATOL di Lovanio dà per le TA una definizione brevissima che si basa su un gioco di parole, peraltro abbastanza serio: appropriata è semplicemente una tecnologia appropriabile (da parte dell'utente). Più articolata e soddisfacente appare la definizione elaborata dal gruppo TA dell'Università di Delft: «Per TA si intende la produzione e l'applicazione di mezzi, strumenti e sistemi organizzativi orientati all'ottenimento dell'autogestione, dell'autosviluppo e dell'autosufficienza e tali da soddisfare i bisogni fondamentali di gruppi di base, inseriti nel loro ambiente naturale e culturale».

Il gruppo di Delft tenta poi di precisare il più possibile i termini usati nella definizione:

— i bisogni fondamentali sarebbero quelli dell'esistenza, della vita di relazione e della crescita, assunti come transculturali. Lo scopo della società deve essere quello di soddisfare i bisogni dell'esistenza e della relazione in modo da creare le condizioni in cui una crescita possa avvenire, crescita che poi significa «becoming who you are». I bisogni sono dunque transculturali, i mezzi per soddisfare i bisogni e gli strumenti per produrre questi mezzi sono collegati al particolare ambiente culturale e naturale.

— Si riconosce che l'autosufficienza non è possibile, né desiderabile, in assoluto e che una interdipendenza su un piano egualitario è senz'altro utile. Comunque l'autosufficienza implica il massimo ricorso a risorse naturali e umane disponibili localmente. Lo scopo ultimo è l'autonomia economica.

— Autogestione significa proprietà e direzione da parte del gruppo di base delle proprie organizzazioni e dei mezzi di produzione: un'eventuale gerarchizza-

zione, probabilmente necessaria, viene decisa dal gruppo stesso. Lo scopo ultimo è l'autonomia politica.

— L'autosviluppo infine si riferisce al processo di emancipazione, al fatto di acquisire coscienza delle proprie capacità e dei propri bisogni, al raggiungimento dell'autonomia spirituale.

Meno chiaro è che cosa debba intendersi per gruppo di base. Si parla di gruppo di villaggio, etnico, geografico o nazionale; si contesta la denominazione «target group» come tipica di un approccio dall'alto; ma niente si dice su cosa succede quando, per esempio, gli scopi del gruppo di villaggio non rientrano o sono in contrasto con quelli regionali o nazionali, su cosa succede quando si ha a che fare con un gruppo di base ipnotizzato riguardo ai bisogni, che, ad esempio, preferisce la coca cola al succo di frutta locale o i blue jeans al costume tradizionale.

Comunque, nel quadro dell'universalità della definizione, nel caso dei PVS, le TA assumono le seguenti connotazioni;

- devono essere facilmente accettate, padroneggiate e mantenute;
- devono essere compatibili col tessuto strutturale e infrastrutturale esistente e con il livello di qualificazione della mano d'opera;
- devono essere di facile diffusione attraverso strutture di divulgazione locali;
- devono comportare costi coerenti col potere di acquisto delle popolazioni;
- devono fare il massimo ricorso a materiali e risorse locali, possibilmente rinnovabili e facilmente reperibili;
- devono poter essere autoprotette, normalmente da piccoli gruppi, e dar luogo così a posti di lavoro a basso costo;
- devono dar luogo a una produzione orientata alla soddisfazione dei bisogni primari;
- devono generare sostanziali e regolari aumenti di produttività e/o diminuire i rischi della produzione, essere economicamente valide ed ecologicamente idonee;
- devono essere «labour intensive», «capital saving» ed «energy saving»;
- devono essere in grado di passare attraverso il filtro delle strutture locali, formalizzate o no, sociali, politiche e amministrative.

Le TA insomma dovrebbero costituire un essenziale operatore sociale che, enfatizzando gli aspetti dell'autocostruzione e dell'autogestione, sarebbe capace di coniugare l'endogeneità dei bisogni, la gradualità dello sviluppo, la fiducia in sé stessi e la partecipazione, eliminando quei fenomeni di «rigetto» cui si è prima accennato.

I detrattori e il falso consenso

In alcuni PVS, specialmente in quelli produttori di petrolio, con programmi di industrializzazione molto ambiziosi, le TA vengono viste come un pericolosa deviazione dal vero scopo dello sviluppo a grande scala. Al limite, è stato teorizzato che le TA sarebbero una forma di neocolonialismo che cerca di istituzionalizzare lo status quo tecnologico offrendo ai PVS tecnologie obsolete, improvvisate, inefficienti e non suscettibili di ulteriore sviluppo. Nei PS il movimento viene talora liquidato come un sogno rétro di ecofricchettoni.

Si tratta certo di giudizi pesanti ma in parte comprensibili perché riflettono, fra l'altro, una serie di fraintendimenti che talora gli stessi gruppi di TA hanno contribuito a diffondere. Nessuno può negare che il sistema industriale moderno,

con i suoi processi di produzione a grande scala, le sue tecnologie sofisticate, i suoi complessi metodi di gestione, sia la strada più efficiente e meno costosa per produrre grandi quantità di manufatti. Quello che il movimento delle TA propone è di riconciliare l'efficienza con la piccola scala e la semplicità tecnica, proprio per restaurare una compatibilità col mondo tecnologico dei PVS. Quindi le TA non sono tecnologie sottosviluppate, anzi costituiscono una sfida che può essere vinta solo facendo uso del meglio delle tecniche, delle conoscenze, delle esperienze moderne. Un'altra pericolosa confusione identifica le TA con l'hobbismo, il «fai da te». Alcuni villaggi di TA, come il Karen village di Nairobi, avvalorano questo equivoco col ripescaggio di tecnologie davvero obsolete, mostrate alla compiacente curiosità dei visitatori. Lo stesso mulino a vento, assunto spesso come simbolo del movimento delle TA, può essere in qualche modo fuorviante: si tratta semplicemente di una tecnica che può diventare una TA solo in condizioni abbastanza particolari e può essere una tecnologia assolutamente inappropriata in altre condizioni.

Pericolosa è anche l'illusione del consenso da parte di certi giovani e da parte di certi organismi di cooperazione bilaterale e multilaterale. Costoro spesso, come il borghese gentiluomo, si accorgono di aver pensato da sempre in termini di TA e manifestano le migliori intenzioni. In realtà progetti ad alto contenuto di TA sono solo alcuni di quelli delle organizzazioni di volontariato, mentre negli altri non si pensa neppure di istillare qualche elemento di TA.

Lo stesso termine viene distorto e quindi logorato: appropriato ad esempio, diventa il nucleare perché alternativo, appropriate diventano certe macchinette in acciaio inossidabile perché, messe in mano al più primitivo dei primitivi, si sono rivelate indistruttibili, appropriato diventa il solare più sofisticato e costoso, appropriato diventa il dissalamento di acqua di mare per usi agricoli nonostante i costi e la sofisticatezza delle tecnologie coinvolte, e via discorrendo.

Il consenso è illusorio e falso perché la realtà vera è che il movimento delle TA vuole qualcosa che non è possibile all'interno della scala di valori comunemente accettata. Finché ogni nazione misurerà il suo progresso esclusivamente in termini di accumulazione di capitali, di benessere materiale e di prodotto nazionale lordo, finché, dall'interno, il sistema non verrà in qualche modo modificato, il movimento delle TA rimarrà un movimento d'opinione, ingabbiato e impotente.

L'agricoltura somala nei riguardi delle TA

È ancora diffusa l'opinione che in Somalia l'agricoltura venga considerata un «second best» o addirittura un'attività disprezzabile, da praticare marginalmente in forma itinerante, la cosiddetta agricoltura di sciamba. Lo scenario è in realtà assai diverso e in evoluzione: non solo l'agricoltura è stata ed è praticata in forma permanente dai somali stabilitisi lungo i fiumi e in altre zone mesopotamiche e del Nord, ma la dichiarata priorità da parte dello Stato e alcune recenti iniziative ne hanno accresciuta l'importanza nel quadro economico e sociale del Paese.

Certamente, all'inizio, lo sviluppo agricolo è stato impostato su grande scala e con massiccio ricorso a tecnologie d'importazione. Ne sono esempio le aziende bananicole, quelle dello zucchero e alcune fattorie di Stato. Qualche «isola» ha funzionato bene, qualche altra meno: tutto è dipeso dall'efficienza del rifornimento dall'esterno di competenze e tecnologie. Comunque, partendo da impostazioni

di tipo «crash programme», del tutto antitetiche rispetto alla gradualità delle TA, ripensamenti e correzioni di tiro si sono verificati, ad esempio nelle aziende dei sedentarizzati e dei rifugiati.

Ora, sempre con riferimento alle TA, preme registrare due fatti importanti: da una parte la distribuzione delle terre ai dipendenti e ai pensionati statali, dall'altra, l'affermarsi di un corretto e pragmatico atteggiamento del Governo che potremmo dire orientato verso un pluralismo tecnologico. La distribuzione delle terre diffonderà la piccola scala e l'associazionismo in agricoltura e le numerose piccole imprese coltivatrici diverranno un terreno estremamente fecondo per le TA. L'atteggiamento del Governo prevede di muoversi su due piani: da una parte incentivare l'investimento di capitali in agricoltura e quindi la grande scala, dall'altra assistere gli operatori agricoli più deboli.

Accanto a un'attenta politica dei prezzi dei prodotti agricoli (dall'ADC alla liberalizzazione controllata), vi è piena coscienza del nodo della questione, cioè che il piccolo agricoltore non va lasciato solo, che le strutture di ricerca agraria, di *extension*, di credito agrario e di conservazione e commercializzazione dei prodotti devono aiutarlo a produrre di più e a minori livelli di rischio, devono incentivarne la trasformazione da agricoltore di sussistenza a *emerging farmer*. Si è anche affermata la convinzione che le *cash crops* su grande scala non risolvono, come per il resto dell'Africa, il problema alimentare.¹ Resta da dire poi che questa inversione di tendenza sulle strategie agricole si è verificata in una situazione ben lontana da quella di tragica sperequazione di altri paesi africani.²

Tutto ciò non toglie che qualche volta la filosofia delle tecnologie appropriate sia stata completamente disattesa e che non si siano nemmeno inseriti elementi di TA in progetti convenzionali. A questo proposito si ritiene opportuno riportare l'esempio di due filiere extragricole, ancorché di attività primaria: la pesca e la zootecnia.

Nei villaggi lungo la costa dell'oceano Indiano la pesca è stata sempre praticata; il pescato veniva essiccato e commercializzato, in genere in due periodi dell'anno, una volta verso Aden e una volta verso Zanzibar. Qui il pesce veniva scambiato con merce a sua volta rivenduta durante i viaggi di ritorno. Questa filiera pesca-commercio, talora integrata con l'allevamento del bestiame, si dimostrava particolarmente efficace. Tenuto conto delle modificazioni intervenute ad alterare le filiere, come l'affermarsi di un consumo interno del pesce, la filosofia TA sarebbe eventualmente intervenuta migliorando le barche e le tecniche di pesca, le barche per il trasporto a lungo raggio, le tecniche di conservazione del pescato e via dicendo.

Invece si è voluta tentare la pesca industriale e i relativi pescherecci stanno ad arrugginirsi, attraccati alle banchine del porto di Mogadiscio. Già si pensa alla ridda di miliardi da spendere per toglier loro la ruggine.

La filiera zootecnica in Somalia è quasi perfetta. Il prodotto deve in gran parte essere esportato ed è essenziale che il prezzo sia basso per poter competere sui mercati internazionali. La zootecnia in Somalia ha appunto bassissimi inputs, accompagnati, come è ovvio, a una bassa produttività, che comunque portano allo

¹ A livello continentale, le *cash crop* esportate ammontano, in valore, a poco più del 10% dei cereali importati.

² Basti citare l'esempio dello Zambia, in cui 600 aziende producono il 70% dei prodotti agricoli sul mercato e 600.000 aziende il rimanente 30%.

scopo fondamentale di prezzi. La filosofia delle TA tenderebbe a individuare interventi atti ad adeguare il prodotto ai sempre crescenti standards di esportazione, a curare gli aspetti veterinari, a costituire eventuali piccoli centri di finissaggio sparsi nei luoghi di produzione, ad aver cura degli animali durante le soste al porto e il trasporto nei paesi industrializzati.

Invece anche qui si pensa in grande: immensi *feed-lots*, dove gli animali sostano per lunghi periodi, dove si investono ingenti capitali, si impiegano tecnologie pesanti e sofisticate e, fra l'altro, si pongono gli animali in concorrenza alimentare con l'uomo.

La coltivazione del mais: aspetti economici e sociali

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1. L'obiettivo generale che ha orientato lo studio era quello di fornire elementi di conoscenza intorno alle modalità di produzione del mais necessari per la definizione di possibili politiche di stabilizzazione del prezzo del cereale. Sia chiaro, non tutto l'arco delle conoscenze necessarie per la «definizione del prezzo del mais», ma solo gli aspetti connessi alle modalità produttive. L'analisi ha trovato origine ed orientamento nella consapevolezza che l'attributo essenziale del settore agricolo somalo è la rilevante diversità esistente tra le singole unità produttive. Evidentemente ciò è vero per la quasi totalità dei paesi, ma in Somalia le differenze sono ancor più nette e relative ad una più vasta gamma di aspetti. Da qui la necessità di collocarsi in una prospettiva d'analisi intermedia tra la singola azienda da una parte e l'assunzione dell'intero settore come unità dall'altra. In sostanza si è trattato di evidenziare in quale forma e misura ai diversi tipi di aziende corrispondono specifiche organizzazioni produttive del cereale e diverse potenziali risposte alle variazioni del prezzo. Si è cercato altresì di precisare i nessi esistenti tra le caratteristiche economiche e sociali delle singole aziende e le specifiche modalità di produzione del cereale.

Vediamo ora quali sono le variabili aziendali rilevate e, da qui, la tipologia aziendale assunta. Come detto prima, il settore è caratterizzato da una marcata eterogeneità. Questa eterogeneità si esprime e si realizza in una pluralità di aspetti tra loro quasi sempre interconnessi. Quelli da noi rilevati sono:

- a) la molteplicità delle produzioni;
- b) la pluralità dei rapporti sociali di produzione cioè la diversità dei tipi di lavoro impiegato: salariato, autonomo, colonico;
- c) le diversità del contesto fisico;
- d) le diversità del contesto istituzionale all'interno del quale opera l'azienda;
- e) le relazioni mercantili, cioè le forti differenze esistenti riguardo all'entità e al tipo di scambio mercantile realizzato.

Pur avendo rilevato per ciascuna azienda la totalità delle variabili su indicate, il numero ridotto delle unità esaminate ci ha obbligato nella costruzione della tipologia aziendale ad assumere come elementi definitivi le due sole variabili: forma di conduzione e indirizzo culturale.

Data l'assenza o, quanto meno, irrilevanza di forme di conduzione diverse da quella «a salariati» (cioè di aziende contadine e coloniche) con prevalente indirizzo arboricolo, la combinazione porta a 4 soli insiemi:

A. Aziende a salariati	indirizzo	arboricolo
B. Aziende a salariati	"	seminativo
C. Aziende contadine	"	seminativo
D. Aziende a colonia	"	seminativo

Per chi non è addentro alla terminologia del settore, dirò brevemente che per azienda a salariati si intende quella che in modo esclusivo o prevalente basa i processi lavorativi sul lavoro salariato. All'opposto, le aziende contadine si avvalgono preliminarmente del lavoro del conduttore e dei suoi familiari.

Infine, le aziende coloniche sono per lo più delle modeste superfici inserite in aziende di grandi dimensioni date temporaneamente dal proprietario (concedente) in coltivazione ad altri (il colono). Il colono, concessionario dell'uso del terreno, provvede direttamente all'organizzazione dei processi colturali anche se è abbastanza frequente la partecipazione del proprietario. Ciò che il colono cede al proprietario varia per entità e natura. Nella ricerca i tipi di contributo dati dal colono sono risultati:

1) disponibilità di lavoro presso l'azienda del proprietario. Lavoro pagato anche se ad un valore in genere inferiore rispetto a quello pattuito con i salariati occasionali (in oltre il 50% dei casi);

2) lavoro non pagato. Si tratta quasi sempre della sola sorveglianza alla coltura concedente;

3) parte del prodotto;

4) eccezionalmente anche denaro.

In alcuni casi, in particolare fra i poco frequenti rapporti di colonia che insistono sulle aziende contadine, il rapporto acquista una fisionomia a-economica nel senso che si configura come relazione di solidarietà interparentale o scambio di ospitalità. La controparte è in questi casi il dono che vale come simbolo del riconoscimento da parte del colono dell'autorità del concedente sulla terra da lui coltivata. Nel caso in cui una pluralità di rapporti colonici faceva riferimento ad una stessa famiglia, abbiamo considerato l'insieme delle superfici coltivate dalla stessa famiglia come facenti parte di un'unica unità produttiva.

La natura dei problemi cui la ricerca ha cercato di dare una risposta, dato lo stato presente dell'informazione, ha imposto la raccolta di dati originali. Fondamentalmente — ma non solo — attraverso interviste strutturate ai conduttori aziendali.

In particolare sono state rilevate 45 aziende nei distretti di Afgoi, Merca e Coriolei. È stata effettuata un'altra serie di rilevazioni: interviste a responsabili di enti distrettuali; le caratteristiche di villaggi di contadini e salariati-coloni; e variazioni dei prezzi dei principali prodotti agricoli.

2. Prima di passare ai risultati, è necessario un riferimento all'area in esame. Ciò in quanto, come detto, pur consapevoli della marcata differenziazione territoriale dell'agricoltura somala, i limiti dello studio ci hanno obbligato ad inserire l'analisi empirica in una sola regione agraria: il Basso Shebeli la regione ove più rilevante è la coltivazione del mais. Infatti:

— nella regione viene realizzata circa la metà dell'intera produzione somala;

— al suo interno la coltivazione del mais è predominante (assieme al Basso Giuba è la sola area ove la coltivazione del mais supera per estensione quella del sorgo);

— l'area in esame registra le più alte rese produttive del paese.

3. Vediamo sommariamente le caratteristiche dei diversi tipi di aziende che hanno un più diretto riferimento con la produzione del cereale esaminato.

Aziende a salariati ad indirizzo arboricolo: è questo il gruppo delle aziende di maggiori dimensioni.

In riferimento alla superficie agraria utile i dati emersi sono: 116 ha per il gruppo A; 42 ha per il B; 5 ha per il C; 2,6 ha per il D.

Le aziende A, come era ovvio attendersi, si caratterizzano per una forte concentrazione di investimenti. Tutte hanno disponibilità di approvvigionamento idrico. Circa i 2/3 dispongono di 1 o più pozzi per far fronte ai periodi di «magra» del fiume. La quasi totalità si avvale di motorizzazione propria. Generalizzata è la presenza di strutture residenziali. Nella metà delle stesse risiede il conduttore. Tutte dispongono di salariati fissi ed in numero elevato (circa 20).

Aziende a salariati con indirizzo seminativo: questo gruppo mostra una generalizzata carenza di risorse produttive rispetto al settore arboricolo. Se è vero che dispongono di approvvigionamento idrico, tale approvvigionamento risulta frequentemente precario. Meno di 1/3 di queste aziende dispone di un mezzo meccanico di proprietà (anche se tutte fanno ricorso alla motorizzazione). Interessante notare che la metà di queste affitta il trattore a terzi. Poche le aziende provviste di abitazioni. Solo poco più della metà hanno salariati fissi, sempre comunque in numero ridotto: massimo 4-5.

Le aziende contadine: poco più di 5 ha di superficie utilizzata; mediamente non più di 2-3 ha per singola stagione agraria. Presentano una forte eterogeneità rispetto alle possibilità di irrigazione. Eccezionale è la proprietà del mezzo meccanico. Esiste una marcata variabilità riguardo all'entità del lavoro extrafamiliare impiegato.

Le aziende coloniche: limitata è la superficie di cui dispongono; l'unità oggetto di rapporto colonico corrisponde quasi sempre a meno di 1 ha. La maggior parte sono iscritte in aziende di tipo A. L'80% di queste ospita unità coloniche ed in numero elevato: in media 20 per stagione agraria. Sono presenti in circa la metà delle aziende B ma in numero ben più limitato (9 in media). In alcuni casi il rapporto di colonia si instaura anche con aziende contadine.

I diversi contesti ospitanti sono la causa prima delle marcate disparità riguardo alle risorse disponibili. Un dato che ha sorpreso: rilevante è il ricorso al lavoro extrafamiliare.

4. Veniamo alla prima delle domande che si è posta la ricerca: chi produce mais?

Nella stagione del Gù la quasi totalità delle aziende; circa la metà in quella del Deer. In poco meno della metà delle aziende il mais poi viene coltivato in entrambe le stagioni. Le sole aziende che in una certa misura (circa 1/3) non coltivano il cereale sono quelle ad indirizzo prevalentemente arboricolo. È vero però che oltre i 4/5 di queste ospitano al loro interno unità coloniche nelle quali il mais si presenta come monocoltura.

Passando all'estensione relativa della coltura, esistono però delle differenze — anche marcate — tra i diversi tipi di azienda.

Se prendiamo come indicatore sintetico della presenza del cereale il rapporto tra la somma delle superfici coltivate a mais nelle due stagioni agrarie e la superficie potenzialmente coltivabile (S.A.U x 2) troviamo infatti scarti notevoli:

4% per A; 27% per B; 43% per C; 63% per D.

La superficie coltivata a mais nella passata stagione del Gù è risultata pari a:

8 ha per A; 17 ha per B; 3 ha per C; 1,5 ha per D.

Per le aziende del tipo A la coltura del mais direttamente espletata rappresenta un elemento subordinato nelle strategie aziendali. In genere trova coltivazione nell'intervallo tra 2 colture arboree. Nelle aziende B il mais, pur costituendo solo 1/3 della S.A.U. potenziale, data la diffusione della pratica del maggese, costituisce il principale obiettivo economico.

Il valore sopra riportato per le aziende contadine testimonia la posizione centrale che essa ricopre nelle scelte produttive.

Infine per le aziende coloniche si può parlare di una sorta di monocultura.

5. Relativamente alle modalità di coltivazione ci troviamo di fronte a gravi e diffuse carenze e ciò per la totalità delle operazioni colturali. Anche nelle aziende a maggior investimento sono state rilevate pratiche colturali tipiche dell'agricoltura tradizionale (praticamente assente la concimazione; scarsissimo l'uso di antiparassitari, spesso il seme è di bassa qualità; etc.).

Esistono naturalmente differenze ed anche marcate tra i diversi tipi di aziende. Differenze che si traducono in diverse rese produttive.

Così per la stagione del Giù passato i dati indicano le seguenti rese:

A: 15 qt; B: 9 qt; C: 4 qt; D: 5 qt.

6. Evidentemente i costi sostenuti presentano valori differenziati. Questi ricalcano le diversità nelle modalità tecniche di coltivazione. Così ai più complessi processi delle aziende del gruppo A corrisponde il massimo costo per unità di superficie.

Va detto che le differenze tra i costi riflettono in modo sicuramente rilevante anche diversità nei costi unitari sostenuti a parità di beni e servizi utilizzati.

Se passiamo dai costi per ha ai costi per qt troviamo due prevedibili ordini di variazioni:

1) si riducono le differenze tra i vari tipi di aziende;

2) si registra un'inversione nella gerarchia. Alle aziende che sostengono massimi costi per ha corrispondono i minimi costi per qt.

La ricerca ha evidenziato la forte dipendenza delle aziende coloniche dal mercato del lavoro: una percentuale elevata del lavoro aziendale colonico viene espletato da lavoratori extraziendali; ciò deriva dall'obbligo del colono a dare la precedenza alle esigenze dell'azienda del proprietario. Ci troviamo quindi di fronte ad un intricato e apparentemente paradossale rete di relazioni economiche. In sostanza è come se la grande azienda pagando l'alienazione temporanea di una sua parte, scarica sui coloni le precarietà dell'offerta di lavoro.

7. Relativamente alla destinazione d'uso del prodotto si registrano delle radicali differenze. Un solo settore si confronta con il mais prodotto in termini di merce: quello a salariati ad indirizzo seminativo. All'opposto le aziende contadine e coloniche utilizzano il cereale quasi esclusivamente per soddisfare le esigenze familiari. È presente però tra le aziende coloniche anche la vendita seppur in proporzione contenuta: pari a circa 1/4 del prodotto. Le aziende a salariati ad indirizzo arboricolo a differenza di quelle a seminativo, pur producendo mediamente intorno a 200 qt, immettono sul mercato solo una parte del raccolto. Una quantità non trascurabile viene venduta a prezzo di costo ai propri dipendenti o direttamente usata per soddisfare le loro esigenze alimentari. Troviamo quindi una sottrazione

di profitto potenziale allo scopo di far fronte alla instabilità dell'offerta di lavoro. Va poi segnata la forte oscillazione del prezzo del cereale: variazioni anche del 200% nell'arco di pochi mesi.

8. Assumendo come prezzo di riferimento il prezzo pagato dall'Ente predisposto all'ammasso nell'ottobre passato (pari a 1500 sh.) e la vendita totale del prodotto realizzato la ricerca evidenzia le seguenti situazioni:

a) per le aziende A la differenza tra ricavi e costi si traduce in 6000 sh \times ha, adeguata per remunerare la vendita ed i capitali investiti;

b) per le aziende B, quelle che hanno nella vendita del mais uno dei principali obiettivi produttivi, la differenza è praticamente nulla;

c) per le aziende contadine il ricavo risulta pari a 2000 sh. In questo computo non è inclusa, però, la remunerazione del lavoro familiare;

d) per le aziende coloniche si ha una situazione decisamente più favorevole: 3000 sh.

Ora dividendo i redditi di questi due ultimi tipi di azienda per le giornate di lavoro familiare otteniamo l'ammontare della retribuzione corrispondente al lavoro autonomo.

Nelle ipotesi fatte abbiamo per il settore contadino una retribuzione pari a 30 sh. per ora. Cioè è come se il contadino realizzasse (per il tramite del mais consumato) lavorando sul suo campo una retribuzione indiretta pari circa alla metà di quella che otterrebbe impiegandosi come lavoratore dipendente.

Ripetendo il computo per il settore a colonia, troviamo all'opposto una «sovramunerazione» di 120 sh.; il doppio della remunerazione del lavoro salariato e il triplo di quella che mediamente viene loro corrisposta.

9. Vorrei terminare facendo alcune sottolineature tese a marcare la crucialità di un intervento sul settore della produzione in esame. Come si è visto una contrazione del prezzo determinerebbe effetti sicuramente ed immediatamente negativi:

a) causerebbe un disinvestimento nel gruppo delle aziende B, il settore ove si concentrano maggiormente i nuovi insediamenti agricoli;

b) l'abbassamento del prezzo determinerebbe un'accelerazione nei processi di esodo del settore. Si tradurrebbe in un aggravamento di quello che forse è il maggior problema del Paese: la forte crescita urbana;

c) solo il settore A, fortemente dipendente dall'offerta di lavoro, se ne avvantaggerebbe.

È evidente che la politica di intervento nello specifico settore produttivo non dovrebbe limitarsi alle sole azioni, pur necessarie tese a contenere la brusca caduta del prezzo a seguito di improvvisi ed aleatori incrementi dell'offerta sia interna (il buon andamento stagionale) che esterna (l'ingresso di rilevanti quantità di mais e altri cereali sotto forma di aiuti). È necessaria anche una politica tesa al potenziamento delle organizzazioni produttive.

In sintesi quello che è auspicabile, per un futuro immediato non è un aumento del prezzo sopra indicato ma una sua riduzione che sia però, affiancata da un incremento più che proporzionale della produttività dei fattori impiegati.

Caratterizzazione chimica e biochimica di frutti somali

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Le ricerche, argomento di questa relazione, fanno parte di un programma dal titolo «Caratterizzazione chimica e biochimica di frutti somali (papaia, mango, pompelmo)». Esse sono state condotte nel Dipartimento di Biochimica dell'Università Nazionale di Mogadiscio. In alcuni casi i dati sono stati confermati nell'Istituto di Chimica agraria dell'Università di Padova. Hanno contribuito alle ricerche il prof. Muctar Ali Mohamed, il dott. Abdullahi Mohamed Hussein e il dott. Abdihafid Sh. Ali.

Questo programma di ricerche si basa sull'osservazione che i frutti tropicali, specialmente papaia, mango e pompelmo, stanno assumendo con il crescere della popolazione mondiale e con lo sviluppo delle comunicazioni un'importanza sempre maggiore sia come fonti di alimenti che per importanza economica (Biale 1960: 293; Czyhrinciw 1969: 153). Basti pensare alla produzione di mango che è stimata in circa 9,5 milioni di tonnellate per anno (Czyhrinciw 1969: 153). Quella mondiale di papaia non è nota. Tuttavia, nelle Hawaii la produzione di questo frutto è stata nel 1974 pari a 6,4 milioni di libbre (Chan 1979: 33).

L'importanza della coltivazione dei frutti tropicali è anche evidenziata dal fatto che per produrre 33 kg di grano o 90 kg di patate è richiesta la stessa superficie necessaria per produrre 4.000 kg di banane (Biale 1960: 293). La formulazione del nostro programma di ricerche è stata anche stimolata dal fatto che la composizione chimica dei frutti dipende non solo dalle caratteristiche genetiche della pianta, ma anche dai fattori ambientali, dalla disponibilità di nutrienti e dal grado di maturazione dei frutti stessi (Rhodes 1980: 419). D'altra parte, non si hanno o si hanno solo scarse informazioni sui frutti coltivati in Somalia. Inoltre, lo studio della composizione chimica e delle attività metaboliche non ha solo interesse conoscitivo, ma può contribuire al miglioramento delle tecnologie di conservazione e trasformazione dei frutti e, aspetto non trascurabile, alla utilizzazione di prodotti di scarto come i semi e le bucce.

Le tecnologie di conservazione e di trasformazione dei frutti tropicali sono infatti poco sviluppate rispetto a quelle dei frutti delle zone temperate. Ciò è dovuto sia alla carenza di Istituti di ricerca che alle specifiche caratteristiche dei frutti tropicali e dell'ambiente, poco favorevole. I frutti tropicali, per es., presentano in modo spiccato il fenomeno della autossidazione e della corrosione dei recipienti a causa delle elevate temperature dei reparti di lavorazione e di immagazzinamento. Anche la luce intensa e l'elevata umidità influenzano sfavorevolmente la lavorazione e l'immagazzinamento dei materiali grezzi e dei prodotti lavorati (Czyhrinciw 1969: 153).

I risultati delle nostre ricerche sono stati argomento di otto pubblicazioni, di cui tre in corso di stesura.

Un primo lavoro riguarda lo studio dei semi di papaia che costituiscono il 12-16% del peso fresco.

A parte la differenza di composizione tra la sarcotesta e l'endoderma del seme, l'aspetto interessante di queste analisi è che l'endoderma ha un elevato contenuto in acidi grassi (60% del peso secco). L'acido oleico è il componente quantitativamente più importante (70%). Pertanto i semi di papaia possono essere fonte di olii (Passera e Spettoli 1981: 77).

Un altro risultato di questo studio è che, eliminati i grassi, il seme può essere macinato e la farina ottenuta usata come integratore proteico di alimenti. L'uso della farina come integratore proteico si basa sull'osservazione che la composizione amminoacidica del seme si avvicina a quella suggerita dalla FAO per un alimento ottimale in amminoacidi essenziali. Il problema costituito dalla presenza nel seme del composto tossico «l'isobenzotiocianato» potrebbe essere risolto sottoponendo ad arrostimento il seme stesso.

Un altro lavoro riguarda la determinazione dell'attività proteolitica di polpa e lattice di papaia (Abdullahi Mohamed Hussein et al. 1985: 31). I risultati hanno dimostrato, indipendentemente dal grado di maturazione del frutto, che: la polpa ha una elevata attività proteolitica e che perciò, nel caso in cui la polpa non venisse usata come alimento, potrebbe essere utilizzata per estrarre gli enzimi proteolitici; gli enzimi proteolitici possono essere separati e purificati mediante cromatografia di affinità. Gli enzimi proteolitici, e in particolare la papaina, che ne è il rappresentante più tipico, trovano applicazione nell'industria della birra, della gomma, della concia delle pelli e nel rammollimento delle carni.

Nei lavori che riguardano più da vicino la ricerca di base si sono determinati durante il processo di maturazione del frutto di papaia: *a*) il contenuto di zuccheri riducenti e l'attività degli enzimi connessi con la demolizione del saccarosio (invertasi e saccarosio sintetasi) in differenti condizioni sperimentali (Passera e Abdullahi Mohamed Hussein, in stesura); *b*) il contenuto di acidi organici e l'attività degli enzimi (e i loro isoenzimi) legati al metabolismo dell'acido malico (Passera e Muctar Ali Mohamed, in stesura, a). L'acido malico sembra avere, secondo le nostre esperienze, un ruolo centrale nel metabolismo della papaia.

Questi studi sono importanti perché portano un contributo al miglioramento delle tecnologie di conservazione e trasformazione dei frutti. Per es., mentre per la maggior parte dei frutti il pH diminuisce con il progredire della maturazione, nella papaia l'acidità rimane costante (pH 5,5). Ciò è dovuto al fatto, come risulta dalle nostre esperienze, che l'acido malico è convertito per la maggior parte in acido citrico. Negli altri frutti gli acidi sono respirati e/o trasformati in zuccheri.

Queste ricerche permettono di individuare gli acidi da aggiungere nei recipienti di conservazione per avere nel modo più naturale l'acidità voluta e per inibire i processi ossidativi che, nel caso della papaia, assumono livelli elevati a causa della grande quantità di fenoli e della elevata attività delle polifenolossidasi. Queste determinazioni sono state anche accompagnate dalla caratterizzazione del profilo amminoacidi e del pattern proteico della polpa per due motivi: *a*) causa di annerimento di molti prodotti è la reazione tra amminoacidi e zuccheri; *b*) la individuazione delle proteine e il loro cambiamento durante il processo di maturazione potrebbero permettere di capire maggiormente e di ovviare al fenomeno della non maturazione del frutto quando esso è colto innanzitempo. La soluzione

di questo problema potrebbe consentire il trasporto dei frutti verso mercati lontani con mezzi lenti ma poco costosi.

In un altro lavoro (Passera e Abdullahi Mohamed Hussein, 1984: 353) è stato messo in evidenza che la papaia somala a polpa gialla, a cui manca il licopene, che è il caratteristico carotene della papaia a polpa rossa, è ricca di xantofille e principalmente di criptoxantina. Dalla criptoxantina deriva la provitamina A. I dati da noi ottenuti dimostrano anche che la composizione in carotenoidi della papaia somala è molto diversa da quella hawaiana.

Nell'ambito di questo programma di ricerche si sono studiati alcuni aspetti del processo di maturazione del mango. Il mango, dopo la banana, è il maggior frutto tropicale per produzione e per aree coltivate. È anch'esso uno dei frutti più ricercati per succulenza, profumo e gusto. Il mango, che contribuisce come nessun altro frutto ad una dieta equilibrata, è usato come alimento in tutte le fasi della sua crescita (Subramanyam et al. 1975: 223).

I risultati più interessanti sono i seguenti: a) il mango come tutti i frutti tropicali, non è una buona fonte di proteina (0,7-0,8% del peso fresco); b) con il progredire della maturazione il pH del frutto aumenta; c) durante la maturazione il profilo amminoacidico della polpa cambia; d) la maturazione del frutto può essere ritardata di alcuni giorni se il frutto è immerso per alcune ore in una soluzione di citochinina sintetica, la benzilaminopurina. Quest'ultimo risultato, come per la papaia, può avere un interesse pratico poiché il ritardo della maturazione può favorire il trasporto verso mercati lontani. Infine, il fitoregolatore: migliora la composizione del frutto perché aumenta il contenuto di saccarosio; aumenta gli acidi organici con sintesi *ex novo* di acido malico; provoca la diminuzione di amminoacidi liberi (Passera e Muctar Ali Mohamed, 1978: 118; Passera e Spettoli, 1981: 195).

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I pastori somali e le malattie degli animali

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1. Introduzione

Esistono, nella letteratura scientifica mondiale segni di un rinnovato interesse sulle pratiche empiriche che, nel campo della prevenzione e della terapia di varie malattie infettive e non, sono in uso presso alcune popolazioni che ancora oggi non godono dei vantaggi della moderna medicina.

Alcune di queste, rimaste per secoli privi di contatti col mondo civile, offrono nella fattispecie materia di studio oltremodo interessante perché facilitano l'acquisizione di conoscenza sui loro costumi e sulla stessa loro origine; ma, anche utile perché permettono nuove scoperte e sorprendenti riscontri anche nelle attuali più moderne pratiche terapeutiche.

In Somalia, specie nel campo delle malattie degli animali, desta curiosità e interesse il fatto che alcune pratiche empiriche sono ancora oggi applicate dai pastori nomadi, pur non potendosi affermare che siano sempre stati totalmente isolati dal mondo civile.

Probabilmente la persistenza di tali pratiche è da imputare ai continui spostamenti che essi sono costretti ad effettuare con i loro animali e che li priva di quei continui contatti con i veterinari, contatti necessari affinché la nuova medicina sostituisca quella vecchia.

È peraltro da ritenere che i periodici contatti con popolazioni vicine, gli Etiopici e i Kenioti, siano valsi non solo a favorire reciproci scambi di idee e di esperienze, su determinate pratiche empiriche, ma anche a radicare certe convinzioni.

2. Animali allevati in Somalia e loro distribuzione

Le specie animali allevate in Somalia sono: bovina, ovina, caprina e dromedaria.

- Bovini:** Sono del tipo zebù originati dal *Bos-Indicus*. Sono diffusi in tutto il territorio della Repubblica, specialmente nelle regioni meridionali. Secondo dati recenti il loro numero è stimato intorno ai 4.500.000 di capi.
- Ovini:** La razza più rappresentata in Somalia è la *Pecora dalla testa nera*, nota anche come «Black head persian» perché originata dalla Per-

- Caprini: sia. Sono diffusi in quasi tutto il Paese, anche se in numero maggiore nelle regioni nord-occidentali. Sono circa 12.000.000 di capi. Costituiscono il patrimonio più consistente fra le specie allevate e raggiungono circa 18.500.000 capi. Sono anche più graditi sia per la carne, che è la più saporita, che per la pelle. Sono diffusi in tutto il territorio, soprattutto nelle regioni settentrionali.
- Dromedari: È la specie più longeva, più rustica e notoriamente più resistente alla sete. Sono sparsi un po' su tutto il territorio, precisamente nelle regioni meridionali. Sono stimati intorno ai 6.200.000 capi.

3. L'importanza dell'allevamento animale per il nostro Paese

L'allevamento animale è essenziale per la maggior parte della nostra popolazione. Infatti, la nostra economia si basa su di essa, oltre che sull'agricoltura.

La popolazione nomade vive con i prodotti animali. Il latte rappresenta infatti, il suo alimento principale e fonte di notevole guadagno. L'allevamento animale è perciò molto importante per i nomadi, poiché rappresenta la loro maggior risorsa. Tanto che, sono disposti a volte anche a sacrificarsi pur di salvaguardare il benessere e la salute degli animali.

Trasferendoci sul piano dell'economia nazionale, è sull'esportazione degli animali e dei loro sottoprodotti che otteniamo il maggiore introito di valuta estera.

Inoltre, tutti i programmi di sviluppo sono orientati verso il miglioramento della loro produzione.

4. Riconoscimento delle malattie e la loro denominazione

4.1. Il pastore Somalo la cui vita è legata agli animali che alleva, ha sempre rivolto ovviamente tutte le sue cure a quest'ultimi; ciò gli ha conferito la capacità di rilevare, spesso anche precocemente, qualsiasi alterazione dello stato di salute di ogni singolo animale. Talché con i primi segni clinici, essi riescono, a volte, a diagnosticare o sospettare certe malattie. Questa capacità nasce da un insieme di conoscenza che sono il frutto di continue osservazioni fatte in base alla:

a) Specie: riconoscono malattie proprie a certe specie di animali.

b) Età: riescono a distinguere le malattie in base all'età degli animali colpiti.

c) Stagione: sanno che certe malattie compaiono in determinate stagioni; per es. che durante la stagione delle piogge sono frequenti le malattie trasmesse dagli artropodi ed altre sostenute da batteri, come la pasteurellosi ed il carbonchio sintomatico.

d) Località: Sono consapevoli della frequenza di alcune malattie in determinate zone, come la tripanosomiasi lungo i corsi dei fiumi e il carbonchio ematico in aree in precedenza contaminate.

e) Conoscenze ecologiche e abitudini alimentari degli animali: i pastori somali, vivendo a stretto contatto con la natura, possiedono buone conoscenze sui rapporti che intercorrono tra le varie specie animali e l'ambiente, cioè la boscaglia. Queste conoscenze sono state utili soprattutto per i ricercatori stranieri presenti in Somalia negli anni '30 come quelli Italiani. Tanto per fare un esempio: al Prof. Dario Pellegrini, nel corso delle sue ricerche sul ciclo biologico «cisticercous dro-

medari», non riuscendo ad individuare la forma adulta ed il relativo ospite, sono state utili le osservazioni dei suoi assistenti Somali. Costoro, infatti, gli hanno fatto osservare che il dromedario probabilmente si infettava mangiando le feci di iena, perché dure come le ossa di cui lo stesso dromedario è molto vorace.

4.2. Alle malattie vengono date diverse denominazioni nelle varie regioni, così come, a volte, anche ai vari segni clinici di una stessa malattia. Inoltre le malattie vengono denominate in base alla sede anatomica delle lesioni principali o al sintomo più caratteristico.

Nei bovini, alla Peste bovina viene dato il nome di «*furuq*» nella regione del Basso Shabelle per le lesioni simili a quelle vaiolose (lo stesso nome che viene dato al vaiolo umano a motivo delle lesioni cutanee omblicate, simili alle pustole vaiolose che una volta, frequentemente si osservavano nella Peste bovina); il nome di «*darba karuub*» nelle regioni del Medio Shabelle e Hiran per i sintomi diarroici; quello di «*agmar*» nelle regioni centrali.

L'afa epizootica è conosciuta col nome di «*abeeb*» che significa «malattia della bocca».

La pleuro-polmonite essudativa contagiosa viene indicata col nome di «*sambab*» che significa «polmone», per la sede anatomica della lesione principale. La stessa malattia è conosciuta col nome di «*be-fur*», che significa «fegato gonfio», per il processo di epatizzazione del polmone che è appunto tipico di questa malattia.

Il carbonchio ematico è conosciuto col nome di «*Kud*» che significa «all'improvviso» per la brevità del decorso clinico e la morte rapida.

Il carbonchio sintomatico viene indicato col nome di «*grab-goye*» che significa «spalla rotta» per l'impossibilità di movimento e per l'andatura barcollante dell'animale colpito.

5. Prevenzione delle malattie

Prima dell'introduzione dei sistemi moderni di prevenzione i pastori somali applicavano un loro sistema con il quale riuscivano più o meno a salvare il maggior numero degli animali della loro mandria.

La prevenzione più importante, è stata sempre quella di isolare gli animali ammalati. Poi, a seconda della malattia, hanno applicato sistemi diversi di prevenzione.

La malattia più temuta è stata, e lo è tutt'ora, la peste bovina per le gravi perdite del loro patrimonio zootecnico che essa comporta. In questa malattia il sistema di prevenzione era basato sulla raccolta del materiale infettante (del cavo orale, urina) da bovini colpiti da forme cliniche lievi. Con questo materiale strofinavano il musello degli animali recettivi. L'urina di vitelli con febbre leggera, veniva anche imbevuta in un panno pulito, conservata in recipiente chiuso ermeticamente anche per qualche anno, per essere utilizzata in caso di nuovi episodi infettivi. La reazione da parte dei soggetti infettati era caratterizzata dall'insorgenza di febbre molto alta. Non venivano infettati bovini che avevano superato la malattia né vitelli nati da madri che avevano superato la malattia naturale o che erano state infettate contro di essa, prima dello svezzamento, in quanto i pastori sapevano che non contraevano l'infezione. Infatti, il bovino che superava la malattia veniva indicato col termine di «*guri*» che significa immune. La protezione degli animali infettati era sicura.

Altra malattia, non meno importante, è la pleuro-polmonite essudativa contagiosa, conosciuta col nome di «*sambab*». Contro questa malattia un tempo si praticava un tipo di vaccinazione consistente nella scarificazione della cute in corrispondenza della fronte e successivo imbrattamento della ferita con materiale infettante costituito da liquido pleurico e succo polmonare raccolti da bovini morti di questa malattia. Un altro sistema era quello di introdurre un pezzo di polmone prelevato da un bovino morto di pleuro-polmonite essudativa nella sottocute dell'estremità della coda. Tale sede era scelta, perché nel caso di reazione vaccinale troppo intensa si interveniva con la amputazione della coda al di sopra del processo infiammatorio. Gli animali con questo sistema reagivano bene divenendo immuni nei confronti della malattia.

Al carbonchio ematico si riservava una particolare attenzione sapendo che gli animali colpiti di questa malattia rappresentavano una durevole fonte di contagio sia da vivi che specialmente da morti, perciò gli animali morti venivano bruciati per evitare la contaminazione dei pascoli.

Per quanto riguarda la tripanosomiasi, i pastori conoscono il rapporto esistente tra essa e le glossine; perciò la malattia viene prevenuta tenendo lontane il più possibile le mandrie dalle zone infestate dalle glossine, cioè le rive dei fiumi e dei laghetti artificiali.

L'attraversamento dei fiumi viene fatto di notte, poiché è a loro noto che questi ditteri hanno abitudini diurne e pungono il bestiame dall'alba al tramonto. Per abbeverare gli animali vengono scelti i pozzi lontani dalle zone infestate dalle glossine e se hanno necessità di fare abbeverare gli animali nei fiumi, scelgono le rive disboscate in quanto sanno che le glossine, oltre che dell'umidità hanno bisogno dell'ombra che la folta vegetazione offre. Per lo stesso motivo evitano le valli trasferendosi in montagna.

6. Terapia tradizionale nei confronti di alcune malattie

Prima dell'introduzione dei farmaci moderni, dai pastori somali venivano, e vengono tutt'ora praticati in alcune parti, diversi trattamenti nei confronti di alcune malattie.

La cauterizzazione occupa il primo posto nei confronti dei processi reumatici, di rotture muscolari e di altre lesioni di origine traumatica.

Nelle stagioni asciutte, gli animali specialmente quelli in produzione che si trovano in condizioni fisiche molto scadenti e presentano disturbi agli apparati interni, soprattutto quello respiratorio, vengono nutriti con agnello intero cotto che, probabilmente grazie ai principi nutritivi che esso contiene (proteine, acidi grassi essenziali e sali minerali), concorrerebbe a favorire una guarigione spontanea.

Per le malattie parassitarie, sia esterne che interne, viene utilizzato il succo della radice della pianta «*ge-gebo*» (*Veromna Mog*). La radice di questa pianta, pestata è sospesa in una bacinella d'acqua, viene somministrata per via orale nel caso di parassiti interni e per via percutanea nel caso di ectoparassiti. In certe zone, specie nel trattamento dei dromedari, si aggiunge alla radice di tale pianta dell'urina di dromedario sano, si conserva per una notte e viene utilizzata la mattina dopo. In effetti, queste piante dovrebbero contenere dei principi attivi nei confronti degli agenti parassitari. Per le malattie delle viscere (probabilmente coliche)

viene utilizzato il succo di una pianta, «*diinsi*» (*Sarcophyte piri*) che pare abbia azione ricostituente, e azione analgesica.

Invece, come tranquillante, lassativo ed anche contro le zanzare, viene utilizzato il succo della pianta «*dacar*» (*Alae microdonta-Chiar*).

Contro gli ascessi sono utilizzate le foglie delle piante «*Boog-dhaay*» (*Leucas jamesii bik*) e «*jamac-jamac*» (*Acalypha frutticosa Forsk*) e la radice della pianta «*shafel-weyn*» (*Maurua subcordata gilgdewolf*); quest'ultima soprattutto per gli ascessi ghiandolari.

Per la tumefazione di origine traumatica e flogistica si ricorre al «*balambaal-dhareerow*» (*Ricinus comunis*) che forse contiene fattori che favoriscono il riassorbimento dei trasudati e degli essudati.

7. Conclusioni

In base a quanto esposto, la prevenzione e i tentativi di terapia, operati dai pastori somali, che hanno origini lontane e risalgono a tempi precedenti anche all'era batteriologica, si può dire abbiano avuto a volte un relativo successo nei confronti di alcune affezioni degli animali.

Ovviamente, le conoscenze nel campo della medicina empirica praticata in Somalia necessita ancora di altre indagini nel restante territorio non visitato.

Sarebbe pure interessante valutare i segni di eventuali influenze, certamente reciproche, subite con il contatto con altre popolazioni (Etiopiche, Kenyote, ecc.).

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Analysis of Animal Production Problems in Somalia

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Introduction

The Somaliland occupies an area of about 638,000 Sq. Km of predominantly arid and semi-arid rangelands. Of the total land area, about 13% (nearly 8 million ha) are classified as cultivable, about 45% (29 million ha) as range suitable for extensive livestock production and the remainder as non-agricultural.

The population density is about 8 per Sq. Km, which is the lower end of the scale for African countries.

The livestock sector is the most important part of the whole Somali economy. 60% of the population are pastoralists depending almost entirely on livestock for their existence as a source of meat, milk and money. A further 20% of the population are involved in agricultural activities and depend partially on livestock for their livelihood. The total animal population equals to 18,875,000 Animals Units according to F.A.O. standards.

The livestock sector is the largest export earner contributing 86% in 1981 and 81% in 1982 of the total value of exports. In the late 1983 and 1984 adverse weather conditions have reduced food production and livestock exports have been curtailed by a Saudi Arabian import embargo. This caused the value of livestock export earning to drop in 1983 to U.S. \$ 72 million and in 1984 to U.S. \$ 35 million from the U.S. \$ 106 million in 1982. This is having a severe effect on the economy as a whole and contributed to the devaluation of the Somali currency.

Is it so simple to attribute the economic shortfalls, state of poverty and underdevelopment in Somalia or the whole of Africa, to the vagaries of weather and disease outbreaks or do the real causes fall beyond such superficial interpretations? How may other causes interact and contribute?

Some sources citing F.A.O. figures argue that per capita food production, in Africa, has been stagnating prior to the droughts and although the rains have returned food production failed to recover. This and the rapid population growth (especially in urban areas) has caused an ever increasing portion of scarce foreign exchange to be spent on food export in spite of the continent's economy depending on agriculture.

In order, to know the real, basic causes of the state of poverty and underdevelopment, there is a need to analyse the diverse obstacles in the agricultural sector from different views simultaneously and weigh their relative contributory effects to the economy. This paper tries to highlight a sensible approach to the study

of Somali's agricultural production problems in its broader sense and makes use of the livestock sector production constraints as an illustration in an effort to give the model some practical basis. The aim is to present the essentiality of having an overall vision of the various problems, their origine, interaction and contribution. Identifying the assumptions that inform different disciplinary perspectives is not the object of this proposal. The paper is presented on hypothetical terms.

In an analysis of the causes of developmental problems, there are three fundamental dimensions (Jonsson, 1981) to be considered:

- 1) The depth of the analysis. It is possible to distinguish this into four general levels:
 - a) Symptoms: Direct observable manifestations, e.g. Low productivity.
 - b) Immediate causes: e.g. Inadequacy in feedstuffs and water.
 - c) Underlying causes: e.g. Unequal access to services.
 - d) Basic causes: e.g. How potential resources are mobilized and distributed.
- 2) Categorization of basic causes:
 - a) Historical causes: e.g. colonialism, exploitation, wars, etc. This can be understood by analysing the ecology and political causes.
 - b) Ecological and technical causes: e.g. Natural resources, climate, technical know-how, etc.
 - c) Economic causes: Imperialism, exploitation, property relations, etc.
 - d) Ideological & cultural causes: ideology, religion, habits etc.
 - e) Political causes: Related to structure and function of the State.
- 3) Level at which the problem exists:
 - a) International level.
 - b) National level.
 - c) Area and village level, etc.

In this study, this type of analysis is applied to two systems of livestock production. They are classified on the basis of convenience and are as follows:

- I) Traditional pastoral sector, and
- II) Newly introduced or recently evolved systems of livestock production.

Traditional Pastoral sector

Pastoral livestock production, based on Somali's rangelands is the country's most economic sector. The raising of livestock under the arid and frequently harsh environmental conditions has resulted in the evolution by selection of local breeds that are highly adapted to the often limited resources of water and feed available to them. The adaptation of livestock to this environment has been both enhanced and exploited by deliberate selection on the part of their owners and by the very considerable range of husbandry skills which have evolved in parallel among the pastoral peoples in the course of caring for the stocks.

The ecology of arid and semi-arid lands is very delicate. Seasonal and yearly droughts are common. The soils are deficient in organic matter, low in phosphorous and frequently poorly drained and have a hard subsoil.

As a consequence of the harsh climatic conditions with low seasonal (and often badly distributed) rains and high rates of evapotranspiration, most of the rangeland supports a relatively sparse flora of grasses, forbs and shrubs with few trees. Many of the grasses and herbs are annual species that grow, flower and seed in the short wet periods and rely on abundant seeding to maintain the species over

the intervening dry spells. The perennial shrubs and tree are generally zerophytic with adaptation to minimise transpiration water losses and often well protected from browsing stock by formidable thorns and unpalatable foliage. Due to seasonality of growth characterized by months of low nutritional value, animals experience fluctuating weigh losses.

The pastoral system with its seasonal movements of stock and people endeavour to optimise use of the limited and unreliable resources of the range but has distinct limitations as a production system, since it is also essentially a means of minimising the risks of livestock reared in an uncertain environment. Total utilization of the available forage resources is impossible without permanently damaging the range which is highly sensitive to overgrazing.

The maintenance of the delicate balance between stock and the range resource is the ultimate responsibility of the pastoralists. In the older traditional pastoral systems these management skills were part of the cultural and customary inheritance of each succeeding generation. Periods of foraging in any particular section of the range were restricted and the number of stock assigned to a given grazing land was limited. Portions of the rangeland area was set aside for the use at particular seasons of the year and specially for the maintenance of the main breeding herd during the long dry season of the *Jilaal*. In this period fights in the lean seasons and years for the limited range were common. But in recent decades laws were passed that established grazing lands as common and owned by the people.

That and the pressures of a developing market economy have eroded the traditional balance with serious consequences for the range. Furthermore, the systematic introduction of veterinary medicine and the provision of large scale watering points weakened the natural balance. As a result, stocking rates are high and overgrazing is causing serious deterioration in the rangelands.

In fact feedstuff availability is extremely reducing in respect to animal requirements of the present stock. The obtainable quality feeds (from natural grazing lands and major by-products) is nearly 4.5 million tons/year of TDN, while the estimated compressive animal requirements sum up to nearly 16 million. Even admitting the use of other feeding sources not reported or unknown and the underestimation of the nutritive quality of feeds considered, it is certain that animals are undernourished (Cianci et alii 1983).

The pastoral system which remains a dominant feature of Somali agricultural economy has a fundamental complexity. Its successful continuity and possible development depend essentially, on the adaptability of the nomads and their stock to a multitude of challenges presented by the environment and the changing nature of the national economy.

Other limiting factors of the Somali agricultural development are not confined to the pastoral economy as to their complexity, origins, and the nature of their interacting contributions.

With regard to policy and planning issues, the trend has been inclined to the removal of resources from the agricultural sector (pastoral & rural) to the urban manufacturing and service sectors (see Table 1 referring to livestock sector below).

Table 1 - Allocation & implementation of development plans in respect to livestock sector (1963-1981).

DEVELOPMENTAL PLANS	63-67	68-70	71-73	74-78	79-81
% Allocated to live-stock sector	1	6.5	5.9	4.2	8.9
% Implemented	=	24.5	85.9	50	60

Source: Samatar 1984

This kind of trend creating lack of production incentive curtails the sector's productive potential.

Taxes on agriculture taking the form of export taxes or profits of parastatal marketing organizations may have a significantly depressing effect on farm gate prices, thus producing incentive. Other factors affecting incentives for increased production are maintaining an overvalued exchange rate, research and extension, the existence of efficient systems for delivering inputs and marketing output, the availability of land and labour and the impact of weather and climate.

The paradigm, here, can be identified as two contrasting views. On the one hand if the government does not interfere drastically with price mechanism or with the operation of the market, it appears to have a favourable prospect of achieving a productive agricultural economy. But such policies seem inevitably to entail serious negative social and political consequences (e.g. social inequality, landlessness, urban unemployment, high level of political instability that emerges when inequalities operate etc.). On the other hand economic policies whose purpose is to ameliorate social and political problems and to promote greater social equality seem to involve strongly adverse consequences for the agricultural production. One must confront a trade-off between policies to promote agricultural efficiency and programs to promote human welfare.

On the international level the causes of the third world underdevelopment can be interpreted on the basis of two politically conflicting spheres of influence (Marxist oriented and Capitalist oriented). Most of the underdeveloped nations are ideologically confused and in most cases they have to depend for direction and consultancy on their protecting rich powers.

From an economic point of view the causes firstly originate from the difference in the two economic systems: the planned and the market systems.

The planned system (characteristic of multinational firms and the industrialized world) manipulates the price of its products through the control of supply source and demand. While in the market system the prices can not be manipulated. Most of the agricultural products operate under this latter system. Secondly the poor nations are always in a bad bargaining position in the international trading system. Besides, the matter had been worsened by the growing dependence of the third world countries on the production factors produced off the farm and in many cases out of the country.

Historically the problem can be traced back to the colonial era. The agricultural policies, followed exploitary interests and the tastes of the colonial regimes. The colonial legacy of agrarian dualism (large-scale cash crop production for export vs small-scale nomadic and rural production for stable foods) today confronts African independent nations as a conundrum of agricultural policy. This historical influence generated an unbalanced modern input (such as infrastructure, credit facilities, research, extension, bureaucracies for purchasing, and marketing

etc.) distribution . The rural and nomadic sectors are starved of modern inputs. This was nowhere seen more visible than in the effort to maintain a low producer price level for food crops allowing no incentive and permitting labour deprivations.

Other systems of animal production

Beside the pastoral system, other systems of animal production in Somalia can be summarized as follows:

— Agro-pastoral system in which the animal may have access to grazing lands and cut forage near the river areas (irrigated). Migratory movements can be noted between reverine areas and rangelands.

— Small scale mixed farming near irrigated areas. These farmers retain the productive animals while they send the others to be grazed in distinct rangelands.

— Urban and semi-urban confined systems that are based on cut forages and agro-industrial by-products.

— Semi-intensive State farms.

It is noted that camels are not included in these systems.

Technically speaking, the limiting factors that may hinder the development of these systems can be classified as follows:

— Nutritional factors

— Disease

— Genetic potential

Major constraints towards intensified husbandry systems are the following:

1) *Feed and Water supplies*

These two forms are the traditional constraints to the nomadic system of breeding. Their lack constitutes difficulties in the success of intensive commercial animal production. If feedlot operators produce their own forage (source of roughage) or try to depend on by-products, supply is subject to weather conditions and machine operation efficiency. The obstacles in using maize or sorghum is assembling supplies. The reason in which cattle are mostly ready constitute an opposite cycle in the production of grass. Moreover their quality depends upon the time of harvest and post-harvest handling.

Where maximum intake of forage is desired, processing becomes necessary to overcome the limitations of intake caused by the bulky nature of the forages. In any way the particle size should be reduced especially when considering low quality roughages.

Most protein concentrates are scarce and there is irregularity in their production. The oil-cakes are mostly produced in small farms and their assembling is not worth the cost. The underutilization of the national feed mill contribute to the low availability of concentrates for livestock feeding.

Another factor is the geometric price increase in the traditionally produced agricultural by-product concentrates. Their scarcity is so acute that animals are to be placed on restricted feeding with consequent effects on production.

Major by-products that are currently used are as follows: stocks (maize & sorghum), rice, cotton, bagase, sugar cane, brans (wheat, maize & sorghum), sesame (cakes & straw), groundnut oil-cakes, and animal (fish, bone, blood and meat meals).

The unused but very important by-products are molasses and banana. The alternatives that don't relate to their cost of establishment are sugar cane or banana by-products. The choice between them is mostly based upon their quality and digestibility. The comfit (sugar containing interned portion for feed) is par-excellence for fattening operation. The need of sugar extraction, the technical problems of cultivating and the subsequent mechanical processing may be a hazard.

2) *Initial capital and qualified personnel*

The most important obstacle hindering the successful application of feedlot technology in Somalia is the lack of sufficient capital by the would be investors. Added to this is an acute shortage of trained personnel.

The initial capital (in terms of investments) on infrastructure, animals and as well as feed supplies is high. The possibility for the would be investors is to seek loans. Officially the financial sources has been available since a short time ago. More often loans are not granted due to the inability to meet the stiff conditions of the lending institutions or sometimes the loan is granted but is seldom used successfully for the feedlot's proposed intentions.

3) *Short supply of convenient animals*

In most situations, breed is not of primary consideration. Creek et. al. in 1973 concluded that fattening was economically profitable with all types of animals while Ikhatua and Olayiwole (1983) argue that the nonavailability of beef animal conformation among the Zebu breeds constitutes a constraint to getting the ideal beef animals to use in a commercial feedlot fattening scheme. Some resources felt that crosses were superior to native types. However the indigenous breeds have the advantage of being ecologically adapted.

Considering the supply, the difficulties arise mainly from two sources:

- There are not enough numbers of the desired animals.
- The unwillingness of owners to sell off their animals to the local herdsman; they wait until the animals are too old and are unable to trek long distances.

In most cases the breed that is native to the locality is preferred for its easier availability.

4) *Inability to dispose animals*

The continued keeping and feeding of the animals in the feedlot beyond the stipulated time reduces the profit margin of production. Once the animals attain the desired weights, it is important to dispose of them as fast as possible. The inability to dispose of them arises from inadequate and unorganized markets. Internally, for finished animals, there is not sufficient information explaining the response of the people.

Anyway when being transported, the animals may loose quite a lot of weight.

Supporting this proposal, the Agro-consulting group from the Ministry of Planning, Somalia, has emphasized the introduction of an intensive cattle production technology as a means of increasing quality and quantity at least for those intended for export or for urban population. As Khatua reports, ruminant production under feedlot system has been adopted in Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Niger and Nigeria. Performances of indigenous animals managed under this system has been very encouraging.

Creek (1972) has shown that feedlots are a viable commercial enterprise in Kenya, while in Ethiopia, Jepsen and Creek (1976) have demonstrated that feed-

lots are very effective in improving carcass quality of indigenous cattle economically.

In Somalia, this kind of production system is new. Moreover there is not much research in the field so far. But what has been done has given encouraging results.

Abdullahi S. Gabow (1976), attained from steers of Dawara and Surqo nearly 90 gr/day in a 100 day trail; feeding in a feedlot with rice straw, maize bran, sesame oil-cake, molasses and a little quantity of dried blood & fish meal. With this technique he anticipated the slaughter age in respect to the traditional subjects bringing the dressing percentage from 48% to 52%. Moreover the utilization of banana byproducts as source of green forage base demonstrated productive advantage (Sabrie 1979) with minor cost of the material, without considering the possibility of adding the remainder of banana fruits from commercial channels.

The rationing experience with banana leaves and pseudo-trunks either for fattening cattle or cattle in lactation (Cianci et al. 1980) have shown the full validity of the product which as a single component of the ration gave superior results to traditional grazing in the lean seasons.

Clearly a change in emphasis towards managed feeding and marketing is needed if the nation is to realize a relatively efficient production system. Intensification can be feasible in a way that animals are not in direct competition with humans for foodstuffs. The knowledge of production relationships, particularly the rate of gain and conversion ratio seem to be the essential part of the economic analysis. We have to be very prudent that the feed cost may not offset the value of the added meat.

The practical factors that govern in this sense are:

- The initial fluctuating purchase prices.
- Prices of breeds.
- Difference in body condition of breed.
- Eventual market.

The weights at which bulls are slaughtered are essential (Ikhatua and Olayiwole 1983, and Jepsen and Creek 1976).

Those animals with low rates of gain need more time before their most economic weights are reached while those of higher rates of gain reach their economic weights in earlier periods.

In addition to the potential of expanding the physical production of meat and milk through intensification, there is also quality improvement. The farmers are enrolled to increase the quality of the animals so that the average live price of animals per Kg will rise in constant value over a short period of time. This technique has temporal value creating controllable production possibilities when considering the marketing techniques thus eliminating marketing seasonality.

The other forms of benefits may derive from cost reduction tactics and are as follows:

- gain of mechanisation
- elimination of many of traditional middlemen
- seasonal losses can be efficiently avoided
- reduction of under-employment of the highly trained technicians.

The main objective of animal production under intensification can be summarized as follows:

- 1) To buy suitable nomadic animals from trade routes or from local herdsmen for fattening;
- 2) To improve animals in poor conditions by an intensive fattening system

in order to provide high quality animal products for market;

3) To make judicious use of local agro-industrial by-products for animal fattening purposes;

4) To introduce simple husbandry practices adaptable to Somali conditions that can easily be practised on livestock or by-product owners.

In fulfilling these objectives outlined young and suitable cattle are purchased at Jilal (Dry) — Dec to Feb — season or Hagai (dry) — June to Aug — season, kept under intensive fattening and management regime for periods varying from 90 to 120 days. Traditionally pastoralists tend to sell their stock in times of depression rather than the boom. Under favourable conditions they engage what might be called «target sales». Readily available roughages in the locality are fed in addition to the judicious use of local agro-industrial by-products. An examination of costs and returns should be taken to see if the feedlot operation is a worthy venture.

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A Preliminary Experimental Investigation of a Water Extract of a Traditional Used Medicine Plant.

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Vernonia mogadoxensis Chiov is a wellknown plant whose roots are used in traditional medicine in Somalia treating various skin lesions, e.g. caused by ectoparasites.

Water extracts of the bark of the roots of the plant are applied to the skin of diseased animals. It is also used orally in some diseases on humans, e.g. against gastrointestinal complaints.

This paper describes an experimental trial using the above water extract in treating Sarcoptic mange in goats.

Vernonia mogadoxensis Chiov belongs to the Compositae family. It grows commonly in arid zones of Somalia. It is a shrub. Both camels and goats eat the leaves of the shrub.

Materials and methods

13 animals of a herd of 41 goats, which were infested with Sarcoptic mange, were selected for the trial. Five of the 13 goats were used as controls, leaving 8 for the treatment.

The mange was seen on the head, legs, back and sides of the abdomen. Many had severe skin lesions, particularly on the legs. Pruritus was intense. Typical skin lesions were prominent, such as «erosions», crusts, hyperkerotosis, loss of hair. Some skin areas were inflamed. Most of the animals were in a bad condition.

Preparation of the plant extract

The outer parts (bark) of the roots of the plant were crushed and left to dry for 24 hours in the shade. 150 g of the dried bark were then added to 1 l of tapwater and left for 24 hours in room temperature. The water extract was siphoned off and spared.

Microscopical examination

Skin scrapings were taken from several mangy areas of the body, at the margin of the diseased areas. The skin scrapings were resolved in 10% KOH for 15-30 minutes and a few drops of the KOH treated emulsified crusts and skin debris were microscopically checked for *Sarcoptes scabiei*.

Application of the extract

The water extract was rubbed into the skin of all affected parts of the body of the 8 animals every third day 4 times. The animals were kept under close observation for 5 weeks in an enclosed pasture.

Results

All 13 goats were found to be infested before treatment with *Sarcoptes scabiei* species. Three days after the first application of the extract all were positive for *Sarcoptes scabiei* species. After another three days 2 goats in the treated group were found free of Sarcoptic mites.

On days 10, 13 and 19 after the day of the first treatment no mites could be recovered from the treated goats.

Approximate on day 10 skin lesions were seen starting to heal. Crusts had disappeared, hyperkeratosis was less prominent and erosions and small ulcers were healing. Regrowth of hair was seen after 2 weeks.

Side effects

During the few hours after the application of the extract on the skin of the animals, they were seen seeking the shade and did not browse. The control animals were unaffected and were seen browsing in the sun.

Irritation (hot feeling) of the skin particularly when exposed to the sun was experienced by the person when handling the extract without protective gloves or when some of the liquid accidentally spilled onto the skin of the person.

By accident one goat in the treated group got a splash of the extract in one eye, which became irritated. The conjunctiva became very hyperemic and after 3 days the cornea was completely «cloudy». The animal lost its sight in that eye.

Conclusions

Although no studies as yet have been done on the active substances of the root of the plant, *Vernonia mogadoxensis* (Chiov), its acaricidal properties were shown in this drug trial. The treated goats showed a positive response to the drug. The skin lesions were seen healing on the treated animals from day 10 onwards. The control goats were heavily infested with mange throughout the whole trial

period. No *Sarcoptes scabiei* mites could be recovered after day 10, after the first application of the water extract on the 8 treated goats.

The «drug» should be handled with care due to the toxic properties encountered — skin irritation and the toxic effect of the eye of one of the goats. Proper chemical-pharmacological investigations are needed before any recommendation of the usage of the plant can be made.

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