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Topic: Shire Jama Ahmed

A pioneer of the development of Somalia's

national orthography and collection of it's

oral literature.

By: Ahmed F. Ali "Idaajaa"

During the past hundred years, the Land of Punt witnessed some historical and cultural events which attracted greatly the eyes and the interests of various writers. These events had impacts on the life and structure of the somali society. Foreigners, particularly the Europeans, took greater interest to learn about the land and the people in the Horn of Africa. The explorers who, since the beginning of the middle of the 19th century, had written about somalia did not only learn about the geography, the climate, the heritages and the coast of the Somali land, but they also learned and wrote in greater details the culture, education and arts - specially poetry - which appeals to the interest of the populare. These writers explained in no vague terms the role of poetry in the somali society and the importance of the noet among his people!

Long before the Colonial occupation, some of the somali poets felt the need to conserve their own poems, so that these treasures can be saved for and passed down to future generations. This was not an easy task for all the poets, since the somali language then lacked an orthography. Under the circumstances, most of the poets relied on the traditional system of preserving the oral literature: For example, poets ask their friends to memorize their poems and help disseminate them among the people. However, poets who had good knowledge of Islam and the Arabic language found this system totally unsatisfactory.

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Indeed, the poems of most of the religious man were concerned with the promotion of Islamic teachings among the somali people. But many Arabic - speaking poets tried to adapt - in one way or the other - Arabic letters for the somali phonetics, but not without difficults. To do this, they also used diacritics and signs to supplement the existing Arabic alphabets.

These Arabic systems were in use for a time, however, the poets soon faced the problem of finding Arabic consonants and vowls unadaptable to some of the somali sounds. This problem turned to be an unsurmountable obstacle for the somali arabic-speaking poets.

At times, some poets had to forget the key their system, and this after a time rendered parts of their poems unreadable to them, too.

While the Arabic-speaking Somalis were trying hard to adapt Arabic alphabets for writing their language, it is true that some west European scholars were endeavouring to have the Somali language written in the Latin script. The communications between these foreigners and the Somalis were very poor indeed; hence the use of these latin script remained unknown to the Somalis for a long time. And when they came to know of it, they looked at it with suspicion and dismissed it as the orthography of infidels "Far-gaalaad", which, if taken at the expense of Arabic, could be sinful.

At any rate, the efforts made by these foreign scholars did not bear fruits among the somalis, because from the beginning these endeavours were not intended to help the Somalis reduce their language to a written form. From the orthographic point of view, the works of these foreign scholars had no any

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ill-intentions; theirs were works achieved by individual efforts. However, the works of these foreign researchers - just like the works of the individual Arabic-speaking Somalis - lacked universality and thus were readable only to their respective inventors.

Whether trying to adapt the Arabic alphabets or the Latin for writing the Somali Language, the obstacle remained to be as to how all somali phonetics be represented to appropriate foreign letters. Most of the aforesaid foreign scholars were not interested to take deep linguistic research in the language, rather, they had been interested only in the grammer, the folktales, the poetry and the traditional life of the Somali people, with a view to pass them to their peoples. This explains why, despite efforts by many foreign scholars, the Somali people did not inherit any scientifically sound linguistic research works that could ultimately help them write their language.

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In 1920 a new effort was made in the direction of securing an orthography for the Somali. This new effort was different from those undertaken by foreign scholars because: (1) it was undertaken by a Somali poet who had a very good knowledge of Islamic studies and Arabic, and (2) it was not based on the adaptation of a foreign script at all. This Somali Scholar, Osman Yusuf Reenadiid, came from the family which reigned the Sultanate of Hobyo along the Southern Coast of Somalia from 1884 - 1925. Anown as Osmania, this script first spreaded to the Italian Somalia, despite being oppressed by the Italian colonial authorities who were ((Sensitive to the slightest manifestation of a Somali nationalist movement)).

At any rate, in early 1940s, Osmania gained grounds in the capital city as well as in the central regions, after the country's first political party, namely the Somali Youth League (founded on 15.5.1943) decided to find the best ways of introducing Osmania as the official Somali Script. It has to be noted that subsequently, Osmania was to be used for most of the party's correspondence, specially the secret communications. Not only this policy was continued for sometime, but also Osmania schools were opened in the party headquarters. Soon this policy was also introduced to all party branches in all the parts of the country, and it went beyond the borders into the British Scmaliland, Ethiopia, the Arabian Peninsula (particularly Aden) where the SYL had established influential branches.

Despite Communals initial score of this significant political success, Osmania failed to retain the support of the majority of the Party Leadership in the early 1950s when the new clan politics began to overshadow the original nationalist sentiments. Osmania was once again assessed at the Party Headquarters in the Capital and it was now classified - though covertly - not as a national orthography but a family one, whose name it bere.

Anyhow, from the point of view of orthography and of nationalism both, Osmania deserved praise and esteem. And this fact is apparent from the report of the Committee appointed by the Somali Government in 1961 to advise her on the issue of finding a suitable national orthography. Though the Committee did not recommend that Osmania be opted for, yet it had to express its admiration. It wrote: "... Certainly a great step forward in the exploration for a satisfactory from of script for Somali"?

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Elsewhere, the report recorded: "... This Committee should here like to record a unanimous vote of respect to Csman Yusuf for his initiative and zeal in the history of this problem of written somali. It is not surprising that in subsequent years many more Somalis should have followed his footsteps and evolved a cluster of over 20 scripts for their own language, all based on the same principles..."

Both this 1961 Committee of Somali Scholars and the subsequent 1966 UNESCO Committee praised Osmania highly and its inventor. However, more of them recommended it as a national orthography, mainly due to technical reasons. As I will explain later in this paper, both committees had recommended to take the Latin script developed by Shire Jama Ahmed.

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Very few young Somalis know that, well before addressing the issue of adopting a national orthography for the Somali Language, the debate centered as to which language will be chosen as the official language once the country achieves its independence: The language of public administration and of medium of instraction in schools. Will it be Somali? Arabia? or Italian? In the learned quarters, there were Somalis who had serious doubt as whether the somali language could actually be capable of being a tool for a modern public administration and schooling.

Dr. Yassin Osman Kenedid, one of the sons of the Csmania inventor, who tried hard to put it in use and the members of the society for Scmali Language and Literature (Known as the Goosanka Afka iyo Suugaanta Soomaalida) pioneered not only to

have Csmania as the national orthography but also to have the somali language as the official language. These efforts were opposed by some somalis who wanted the Arabic language to be the official language, their argument was based not on national and but mainly on religious fonoticsm. Similarly, others saw no reason that the Italian Language could not be taken. In this, they saw as the key to embark upon the road to quicker development and civilization.

Although it is true that some of those who proposed to take the Arabic or the Italian languages as the official language had acted on good faith, it is equally true that foreign countries had taken active interest and influence behind the scares. Both the Italian colonial administration and the Egyptian Government which had been popular among the somali masses had enjoyed a substantial role with regard to that hot issue. The Egyptians had taken interest in the Somali politics in 1950s and 1960s. They were very eager to see the Arabic as the official language of Somalia. The debates of which language to choose as the official language continued for a long time at many forums: at public & gatherings, at conferences and in the official papers such as the Corriere Della Somalia, and the Somalia d'Oggi. It was mainly between those who supported the Arabic Language and those who favored the somali; the supporters of the Italian language were few and their arguments could draw no reasonable just the because of the lack of religious or nationalistic grounds.

Dr. Yassin and Shire who later joined him, spared no efforts to have somali as the official language. Dr. Yassin argued that since there is a homogenity of language - which absent elsewhere in block Africa - among the somalis, there is no need to have an alien language imposed on them. Also he saw no difficulties

in having a national language on the one hand and in learning the Arabic Language as the bearer of religious teachings. He used to cite other muslim countries such as Pakistan and Iran as examples. He insisted that if children were taught foreign languages as early as at the beginning of schooling, they are bound to develop an unnecessarily strong affection to such an alien language, to its culture and to its peoples, to their heroes and to their history".

Although they supported different scripts, yet Dr. Yassin and Shire shored one common objective - the struggle to have the Somali Language written and make it official. They both apposed a foreign languages. Like Dr. Yassin, Shire was of the opinion that the somali people can not embark on the road to rapid development and civilization while using a foreign language as a tool. Shire strongly apposed those who supported foreign languages and wanted the Somali Language to remain the spoken language alone.

The leader of one political party (PDS or Partita Democratica Somala) who supported the Arabic language was confronted by Shire in an article published in Corriere della Somalia. In his rebuttal, Shire demonstrated the dire need to have the Somali language as the national official language "if we are to have to bake achieve a broad-based education which provides equal opportunity to all extra people". He told both the politician and the readers that the Somali people had their own language and need not the Italian or Arabic Languages; to be imposed on them. He said that whoever suggests that the Somali Language remain un written and un official, is insensitive to the crucial problem of high illiteracy rate among his people. He

wrote: "The leader of PDS seems not to be concerned with the rights of the Somali nomadic men and women to have their share of the country's educational apportunities. He seems, too, to have failed to realize that these nomads will have access to educational apportunities only if their own mother-tongue is used as the medium of instruction". Shire argued that if we want to have a united somalia, we should have their language written and official, for without a written language no people can aspire to achieve progress, fulturally, economically or socially. He concluded that the language is the bond that bends the people together."

earlier,

As was said both men struggled hard to see the Scmali Language written; nevertheless, they had serious differences. While Dr. Yassin had a natural and strong affection for Osmania, the brain-child of his father, Shire supported the Latin script mainly on technical grounds for its practical application.

Shire J. Ahmed wax born in Wardher (a town in the Western Somalia) in 1936. He moved to Mogadishu where he had learned the Arabic Language. Then he attended the British Military Administration's School of Teachers in 1945-1951. In the early 1950s, when the Italian Administration returned, Shire resumed his studies in Arabic; this helped him to receive a scholarship at the Al-Azhar University(Cairo) in 1955. It is believed that Shire had demoted much time to study linguistics, and was convermed that no script other than the Latin will be viable for the Somali language in practical terms. However, he dare not argue this in public in Egypt then.

In 1957, when Shire returned home, he joined in the current debates regarding the writing of the Somali Language. Soon he

was known for his daring support for the Latin Script; as a result, he had to face the anger of the religious leaders who believed that no script other than the Arabic was acceptable to the 100% muslim somalis.

The debates were sensitive and heated at times. It was nationalistic to support that the somali language is written and made official, but it was bit hard for one to find a plausable argument to support the Latin script in place of Osmania - a pure somali invention - or of the Arabic language which was regarded as a divine language. Factor records the Latin Script.

on the one hand, Latin was interpreted as "Laa diin", Literally meaning in Arabic "without religion", and it was categorized both as an importation and as an imposition of colonialism. It was considered as a colonial legacy; As such, this earned many enemies for Shire and others who supported it. Its ments or dementits were hardly discussed. It was hated as a piece of colonial remands period!

Although the Latin script was apposed so strongly, it had a considerable number of sympathizes who darednot support it openly as the case was in the Arabic alphabet; These were men who held high public offices. Appart from Shire, a number of top politicians, it is true to say, supported the Latin openly, too. Mr. Abdullahi Issa Mohamud, the highest political personality of the time, did support the Latin Script. In his capacity as the Prime Minister in the first self-government, he encouraged the daily news paper, "Corriere della Somalia" in 1957 to introduce one page of Somali Language in Latin script. This page was entitled "Margeyska Soomaaliyeed" (The Somali Newspaper) in

a big and bold type. Abdillahi's administration was soon criticized for this and the page was discontinued uprupthy. This anger, though, reinforced Shire's determination to support the Latin script. From that day on, he became the symbol of the Latin Script.

Few days after the publication of that somali page, Shire wrote a long letter to the Corriere della Somalia. In his letter Shire argued that the somalis must be very careful not to direct their strong hatred for colonialism to western education and civilization, for they are not evil things at all. He compared the Latin script with the electricity, arguing that everyone likes and uses the light though it is known that it is an invention invented by the Western colonialists.

As was argued by Dr. Yassin earlier, Shire also argued in his article that other moslem countries adopted the Latin script to write their own languages and he cited Turkey and Indonesia as good examples. He repeatedly argued that orthography was not a divine present from the Heavens but, rather, was a man-made invention. "For that reason," he said "to use the Latin script as a tool to have our language written will not be inconsistant with the teachings of Islam".

From 1957 to 1960 when Somalia became independent, Shire evolve devoted much of his time to entire a system of latin alphabets adaptable for the Somali phonetical sounds, always trying not to use discritical marks and signs. At about the same time, he began collecting oral literature in the then Italian Somalia - a venture in which Dr. Yassin and a very few semali scholars were interested in at the time. In the then British Somaliland protectorate, this type of venture was undertaken by Musa Haji I. Galal, end B. /. Andrezewski, during 1940s and 1950s. So Shire

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had joined in the ranks of these men who were to devote successfully the rest of their lives to promote the Somali Arts and oral literature. These men believed, Mightly, that without a written language, it will be impossible to salvage the somali rich treasure. They began meeting aged men to record the thousands of somali poems, songs, stories, riddles, proverbs and sayings in their minds before they die with these heritages and treasures. This venture which continues to this date, is worth of the efforts invested by them and the subsequent generations. Admittedly, not all was saved but a lot has been collected and conserved since then.

Between the late fifties and the early sixties, Shire made a large collection of oral literature in the central regions and western somalia "Ogađenia". He collected and published in his periodical publication many poems and stories related to famous somali personalities. During 1965-68, he continued these publication in Mogađishu, using of course, the Latin script.

One must always bear in mind the intense political climate under which Shire had to work; if it were not for his strong character, he would have easily abandoned this hard and hectic struggle to support the Latin script. He is known to be a man with determination, endurance and persistence. He was opposed by the majority of the leading politicians and businessmen, who had a considerable influence in the Pre-independence self-government. Perhaps, it would not be wrong to say that Shire's biggest appearent was Haji Mohamed Hussein, one of the founders of the Somali Youth League, an orator who was well conversant



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with the language of the masses. Hagi Mohamed, who elected as the SYL General Secretary, while studying in Cairc, supported not the Arabic script but strongly adored the Arabic as the only official language of independent somalia. In his capacity of the SYL General Secretary, Hagi Mohamed wrote to the Italian Administration Sign. Formari, suggesting that the Arabic language be "the international language of Somalia".

The memorandum claimed (1) that the SYL Secretary had traveled through the country, and could get no agreement concerning a standard somali dialect, and found no objection to a "Uniform" Arabic which would be understood throughout the Islamic World; (2) that the Arabic Language is rich in vocabulary, whereas "it is extremely difficult to express oneself sufficiently well in the Somali Language": (3) that the Arabic Language is vital and growing, whereas "it is difficult, if not impossible for the Somalis to make their language better at this time"; (4) that Arabic would enable the Somalis to speak a world language, and thus enable them to "embark on an ocean of culture which has no limits"; (5) that the Arabic language is already a lingua franca in Somalia; and (6) that the Arabic Language will facilitate the cultural and political alliance of Somalia with our brother Muslim who all believe "IN ALLAH, IN HIS SACRED PROPHET, MCHAMMED, and in the SACRED QUR'AN".13

Obviously, Hagi Mohamed's opinion represented the wishes of the religious elders and top businessmen from whom the SYL drew its vital spritual and material support. At that time, the debate centred not as to which script to choose for the Somali language but as to what language will be chosen to be the Official Language.

In addition to these serious challenges, Shire and other

Despite these intimidations, Shire had no intention to abandon his ideas easily. He decided to fight back, engaging both in public addresses and in writings. He tried to demonstrate that not only was he a moslem man but that also he studied Islam very well. Indeed, Shire manifested great endurance, that can be termed by many as an abstinacy if not a stubbornness. He earned many enemies that could have succeeded to risk his life and wreck his boat.

Shire had completed his latin script before 1960. He used all consonants (except P end V and Z) and Vowels, adapting them to the Somali phonetic sounds. He successfully avoided introducing signs or new discritical marks. The used letter "C" for the Arabic ayn (voiced pharyngeal frictive), and letter "q" (for the uvural plosive), All five latin vowels were used, doubling

He also used the Hanza ().

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each of them to use for the long sounds. For example:

- Ab (Ancestors) pronounced as a like in an
- Aabbe (father) pronounced as aa like in father.
- edeg (baby goats' coral) pron. as e like in enemy.
- eeg (look!) pronounced as ee like in Leg.
- il (eye) pronounced as i like in will.
- iil (grave) pronounced as ii like in ill.
- or (Noise) pronounced as o like in on.
- oori (wife) pronounced as oo like in No.
- ur (smell) pronounced as u like in put.
- uur (pregnancy) pronounced as uu like in pull.

When the former British Somaliland and the Italian Somaliland became independent on 26 June and 1st July 1960 and joined to form the Somali Republic on 1st July 1960, neither the issue of which official language to choose nor that of which script to choose to write the somali language was resolved. Thus, the new post independence administration had no option other than to use not only both colonial languages - Italian and English but also the Arabic language which was not unknown in the two former colonies - The North and the South. Soon people began to learn how difficult it was to use several alian languages in one single administration. Soon the need to have the Somali Language written was felt and the educational officials began to realize that the country's high illiteracy was hard, if not impossible, to combat unless the somali language was written. 4 Then the Minister of Education H.E. Ali Garad Jama nominated a 9-man Commission of Schali scholars headed by Musea Hagi Ismail Galal. The scholars who were selected for their knowledge of linguistics and orthography, represented the various somali dialects as well as the several proposed orthographies. Their terms of references was to study the various proposed orthographies and - by March 1961- make their recommendations as to the most suitable orthography, given a serious consideration to the

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technical aspect, of the issue.

The Commission examined 18 orthographies against 17 point criteria set as soon as the committee was formed. Most of these points dealt with technical aspects, for example "Is it phonetic? Is it simple in its lettering? Have its letters any diacritical marks? Is it economical? Has it a good cursive value?.." 15

The Commission made the following recommendations: "According to the answers shown against the queries set in the seventimen guiding principles, the most adventageous script has made itself crystal clear. It is the form of Latin script... submitted by Shire J. Ahmed and later improved by the Commission... in short, it is the script that offers the best prospects to us, as a growing nation, and as a commission of men who not only know about their language but who understand the difference between their emotion and personal pride and their real needs, we recommend it for adoption a matter of first choice and the Somali Script devised by Hussein Sheikh Ahmed 'Kaddare' as N.2 on the list. This commission could not recommend any other script.

This final recommendation was signed by six members only following the withrowal from the Commission of two important members - Dr. Yassin Osman Kenadid, the supporter of Osmania and Mr. Ibrahim Hashi Mohamud who supported the Arabic script. They quickly sensed from the 17-point guiding principles that their orthographies had very slim chance if any. They withdrew from the works of the Commission very quickly.

Their decision to withdrow was no doubt, a victory for Shire Jama. Nevertheless, the Einister and the Einistry for whom the recommendations were prepared, put them on the shelves to col-

Himistry announced a government decision to have English as the medium of instruction in the Schools - both in the North and in the South. If Shire was happy to see his main opponents - Dr. Yassin and Mr. Ibrahim Hashi - defeated at the Commission, he (and the other members of the commission) felt frustrated at the new policy decision adopted by the Ministry of Education. Their struggle - though - had but to continues on. Shire resumed his public debates in favour of writing the Somali Language in Latin and continued collecting oral literature, with particular emphasis on poetry and folktales.

The need to have the Somali Language written grew day after day, but the post-independence government led by Premier Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was too scared to make the quick decision demanded by the prevailing situation. His successor, Premier Abdirazak Hagi Hussein, wrote to UNESCO in 1966 requesting a team of linguistists to look into the problem and advise his government. UNESCO then sent a 3-men Commission headed by B.W. Andrzejewski to visit Somalia in March 1966 only to be greeted with massive demonstrations which led to the arrests of several people.

"The political situation at the time was tense; supporters of the Arabic and Osmania Script were well aware what the results of the commission would be, assuming that they would make recommendations solely on technical criteria". 17

The Commission invited supporters of the different orthographies and received only seven applications. The Commission had to examine of the seven proposed scripts, namely: Two varieties of Somali inventions, three Latin and two Arabic varieties. In its report, the Committee carefully listed the pros and cons of these seven scripts.

The Commission, though, successfully avoided to recommend any one of them to be taken. Which script to take is a matter for the Somali Government and people to decide. Announced on 14 May 1966, the UNESCO Commission wrote in the introduction of its report: "We could not presume to give advice on the political and social aspects of such a choice. In this report we shall endeavour to show the technical advantages and disadvantages of the systems of writing which can be seriously considered as possible national orthographies...". The Commission, carefully avoiding to recommend the Latin, and refering to the report of the 1961 Committee, said: "... If it is decided to adopt Latin script for Somalia, we recommend that it should follow the system used by Shire Jama Ahmed!"

The Governments of Premier Abdirazak (1964-67) and of Mohamed Ibrahim Egal (1967-69) just as that of Dr. Abdirashid (1960-1964) allowed this report too to be take its tole of the dust for fear of public anger and uprising. The politicians were vulnerable to public opinion. However, this decision was never nearther easy for the politicians to defend in Parliament as well as in public, in the face of a growing demand for a national orthography to write the language.

In the 1960s, Shire increased his efforts to collect oral literature. He succeeded to publish a monthly magazine entitled "Iftiinka Aqoonta" (Light of Education) in which he published a large collection of somali poetry and rich folktales. This step made many somalis - especially the growing intelligensia - realize that Somalia had a rich oral literature which needed urgently to be conserved in writing.

This publication served as a ground to experiment successfully the viability of Shire's proposed Latin Script. Shire thus gained more and more supporters as time went by.

The post-independence three successive governments were characterized for their non-decision and the chances to write the somali language seemed remote. The hope to write the Somali language became less gloomy in October 1969 when the Military took over the power and the Supreme Military Council announced its commitment to have the somali language written as quick as possible. Only two years after on October 21, 1972, the Supreme Revolutionary Council headed by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre adopted Shire's Latin script for the somali language. Looking back at two decades of military rule in Somalia, the decisions to write the somali and make it the official language are undisputeably categorized as No.1. and No.2. two successful and noble achievements. The SRC earned encomium and awards from UNESCC and other world bodies which are concerned with the appalling situation of global illiteracy.

All state employees were made compulsory to learn the script within three months and immediately put it in use in the public administration. Soon after that, a massive campaign was launched to teach the masses haw to read and write. It is widely believed that the masses has supported this decision though no plebisite was never conducted.

Afthough Shire's script was adopted without any changes, yet this fact has never been made public to this date for no good reason.

Perhapes this explains why a few young people, if any, know Shire's long struggle and contribution to his people and and the company of the control of th

country. However, there is no doubt that Shire's role will be vivid in the pages that will have to feature the history of writing the somali language. Others who struggled for the liberation of the minds of the somali people will not be forgotten. These included Osman Yusuf, Yassin Osman Kenedid and Musse I. Galal to mention a few.

when the historic announcement to write the somali language in the Latin Script was made in 1972; Shire was a member of the 20-man Somali Language Commission appointed by the SRC in 1971 to prepare text books to use once the script is decided upon. Then he became the President of the newly founded Somali Academy of Culture. During this time, he was able to publish some of his works. These included the Somali Grammar, though not adopted as an official or standard grammar book. Nevertheless, the new Coined terminal of mental factories are until the new Coined terminal of mental factories are until the new Coined terminal of mental factories are until the new Coined terminal of mental factories and involved.

I need the amount of the coined new terminelogy and classification involved were full of mental fatigue. In addition to the collection of oral literature, Shire also published in 1973 some creative works on literature. These included two short stories relating to culture and social traditions. The first story was: Rooxaan (The Spirits) and the second was entitled Halgankii Nolosha (Life struggle).

At the time of writing this paper, Shire Jama Ahmed is the Cultural Attaché of the Somali Embassy in Sweden (Stockkolm):

1) See Richard Burton, First Pootsteps in East Africa (New York, Praeger 1966, P.93).

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- 2) Nearly all Somali poets who happened to be literate in Arabic tried to conserve their poetry by using Arabic letters. As an example, I should mention one of the first in this field, namely Hagi Ali Majerten, a Sheikh, a poet, a mystic as well as a religious philosopher who, in the early 19th century lived in the Nugal and the eastern part of Somalia and later moved to the Benadir Coast where he died in 1840s. Some Somali Scholars still possess copies of his poetry written in his lifetime with Arabic letters.
- 3) See Mussa X.I. Galal: Some notes on the history of written somali, a paper written right after the somali language was written in 1972.
- 4) Ibid, page 10.
- 5) I.M. Lewis: The modern History of Somaliland; From a nation to a State, page 123.
- 6) The inventor of this orthography belonged to Osmani Mohamud; a subclan of Majeerteen (one of Darod's major clans) who had been influential in the somali politics. Hence opponents viewed it as the orthography of Osman Mohamud, construing, not inadvertently, Osman Kenadid with Osman Mohamud. In addition, the general somali clan politics (Daroodism.V. Mon-Daarodism) had its negative impact on Osmania.
- 7) From a linguistic report, prepared by a governmental committee in 1961, page 8. It's available at the somali history museum, MOGADISHU, SOMALIA.
- 8) Ibid, page 18.
- 9) Dr. Yassin founded in 1949 The Society for the Somali Language and Literature, in an attempt to promote research in the somali language and literature. The main objective of this society, I believe, was two fold: to have the somali language written and to have the Camania as the national orthography.
- 10) La nostra Lingua Ladre, Corrière della Somalia, March 3, 1952.
- 11) Corrière della Somalia, Simuary 11, 1957.
- 12) The article's title was: Non icobiamo odiare L'occidente e la scrittura Latina, Corrière fella Somalia, March 16, 1957.

13) David D. Roitin: Folitics, Language, and thought; the Somali experience, The University of Chicago Press, page 99.

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- 14) Ibiā, page 125.
- 15) 1961 Linguistic report, page 4.
- 16) Ibid, page 72-73.
- 17) See David D. Laitin, page 108.
- 18) The writing of Somali, a study by B. W. Andrzejewski, S. Stredyn and J. Tubiana, W.E.CO, Faris, 1966.
- 19) Ibid, page 12.
- 20) See B.W. Andrzejewski: Rise of written Somali Titerature; a text of lecture given on 16 August, 1975, at the Somali Institute of Development Administration and Management, Mogadishu, Somalia.