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THE 19th CENTURY DOCUMENTATION OF SOMALI ORAL LITERATUREThe researchers

The researchers who provided documentation of Somali oral literature in the 19th century (1) did so incidentally, and were principally concerned with other aims. Fred. M. Hunter, Leo Reinisch, C.P. Rigby and A.W. Schleicher aimed mainly at a linguistic description of Somali, as did Kurt Berghold, who was especially interested in phonetics and in the musical side of oral poetry. Philipp Paulitschke was a geographer with an interest in ethnography and anthropology, and his work on Somali poetry represents only a small fraction of the total volume of his investigations. Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti's work was concerned with the exploration of Somalia for practical purposes such as the exploitation of natural resources and the opening up of commercial opportunities, and for him the collecting of Somali oral texts was only a very marginal activity. Similarly, Richard F. Burton gave only a small amount of his attention to the study of Somali poetry during his journey of exploration in the Somali-speaking territories.

In spite of the marginality of their interest these eight researchers made an important contribution to the documentation of Somali oral literature in a period for which no other sources recorded at the time are available, and their achievements are particularly praiseworthy since they worked under severe limitations of a practical nature. The area was not then easily accessible to foreign travellers, and the researches of Berghold, Reinisch and Schleicher were in fact conducted outside Somalia: texts from Somali informants were collected by Berghold in Leipzig and Vienna, by Reinisch in Vienna and by Schleicher in Zanzibar, Aden and Berlin. Even in those days Somalis travelled widely and could be found in various Arab countries, in East Africa and in Europe, and they usually acquired a reasonable knowledge of at least some foreign languages of wider communication such as Arabic, Swahili or English. This fact was very important since with the exception of Rigby and Hunter, who spent many years among Somalis in Aden and Somalia as British military and political officers, none of the researchers had enough contact to enable them to learn the Somali language so fluently as to do research through its medium.

Most of the 19th century documentation consists of transcripts of

oral texts, taken under dictation from Somali informants, accompanied by translations and at times by annotations. The degree of phonetic accuracy of the transcripts varies greatly and depends on the background of the researcher. Reinisch's achievement in this respect is remarkable, though not surprising since he was Professor of Egyptology in Vienna and an eminent linguist of his time, with wide experience of languages within the Hamito-Semitic (Afroasiatic) group. Berghold, who was his student at one time, also provides transcripts of high quality, but Schleicher in spite of the benefit of linguistic studies which included attendance at Reinisch's seminars, frequently makes obvious errors of perception. The transcriptions used by Hunter, Paulitschke, Rigby and Robecchi Bricchetti are only rough approximations, which adapt the ordinary pronunciation conventions of English, German or Italian without making any allowances for the peculiarities of the Somali phonology.

Of the researchers who visited Somalia and thus were in contact with the Somali community, Burton, Hunter, Paulitschke and Robecchi Bricchetti provide descriptive statements concerning the practice of the Somali poetic art. Schleicher did not have such an advantage, but he also adds some comments on the subject.

The research carried out in this period would have been impossible without the good will and active cooperation of the Somalis who provided the oral texts and all the background information. The texts collected by Berghold, Paulitschke, Reinisch, Robecchi Bricchetti and Schleicher suggest that they were all very fortunate in the choice of their informants, who were obviously highly articulate, sensitive in their use of language and well grounded in their national culture. Judging from the amount of wit and humour in the texts, often of a Rabelaisian kind, the Somali informants of Reinisch, Schleicher and particularly Berghold must have thoroughly enjoyed their research sessions. Unfortunately only some of their names are given: Berghold obtained his materials from three men, called Hersi, Abdallah and Yūsuf, Reinisch's informants were Ibrahim Abdillah and Jusuf Ali, while Schleicher acknowledges the assistance received from one of his informants named Hussein Farrah^C. These Somali names, if written in the Somali official orthography, (2) would be Xirsi, Cabdalla, Yuusuf, Ibraahin Cabdilla, Yuusuf Cali and Xuseen Faarax respectively. No biographical information is given apart from their clan affiliations or regions of origin and the fact that they were living abroad at the time when they assisted in the work.

Oral prose narratives

The majority of the oral texts written down in the 19th century were oral prose narratives and they are found in large numbers in the works of Berghold, Reinisch and Schleicher. There are also a few in the collections of Rigby and Robecchi Bricchetti and a fragment of one in Hunter's grammar. Although the collections of Reinisch and Schleicher are of great linguistic, sociological and historical interest, they cannot be accepted as literary documentation without some reservations. The Somali informants who dictated the texts to the researchers were obviously well-travelled men; they had been in contact with the urban Arab culture and had no doubt met many settlers from the Indian subcontinent, who could be found in all the British dependencies in East Africa, and in Southern Yemen and Somalia. This might explain why a number of the narratives give a distinctly non-Somali impression. Prose narratives travel widely across language barriers and the obvious foreign origin of some of those in the collections of Reinisch and Schleicher would present no problem if we could only be sure that these narratives had any existence in oral circulation among Somalis themselves. My suspicion is that the informants, who were presumably reasonably well paid for their work, wished to please the researchers by producing a large number of oral texts. If their repertoire was in danger of being exhausted they might have supplemented it from what they had heard from their Arab or Indian friends or even from the mission-school boys in Aden or Berbera, and the narratives might have been totally unknown to any other Somalis. As striking examples of suspect narratives we find the thematic equivalents of the stories of Androcles and the Lion in Reinisch (3) and Pygmalion in Schleicher (4). There are some borderline cases, however, where the narratives could have been "naturalized" importations which might already have some currency among Somalis. Among these we find anecdotes about the antics attributed by popular tradition to the Arabian poet Abū Nawās and two other unnamed Arabs, (5) and an account of how an Indian woman used an ingenious stratagem to defraud a jeweller by pretending to him that she was a doctor's wife. She then managed to convince the doctor that the jeweller's assistant, who had come to collect payment for her purchases, was her husband who had gone mad and had delusions about stolen jewellery (6).

However, many of the narratives in Reinisch and Schleicher, and all those in Berghold and Robecchi Bricchetti, are beyond doubt genuine items of Somali oral literature, for they contain detailed information which places them unmistakably within the Somali social context. In some of the narratives in the collections of Berghold, Reinisch and Schleicher

her the clan membership of individuals or groups involved in the action is stated (7), thus excluding the possibility of unadapted importations being used by the narrators. Another diagnostic sign of the Somali origin of various narratives is the use of lines of alliterative poetry or proverbs within the text, so that they form integral parts of it. In Berghold's collection, for example, we find a narrative about a man whose wife saw that the woman next door had a lot of jewellery, and asked her husband to buy her some. He went to sell some sheep and goats to raise the money and then met some gamblers and lost it all. On his return emptyhanded he tried to pacify his wife with the recitation of four lines of poetry lamenting his loss. He later found himself in jail for killing a man, and pleaded for his release in poetic form (8). A similar example, but containing an alliterative proverb instead of lines of poetry, is found in Robecchi Bricchetti's collection. It gives an account of a stratagem by which an unfaithful wife manages to allay the suspicions of her husband and to get rid of her no longer wanted lover. The narrative ends with a somewhat cynical message in the form of a proverb that strength is of no use, but it is cleverness that comes to one's aid (9).

The narratives which can be assumed to belong fully to Somali oral literature can be divided into two types: realistic and fabulous. In the first type events are presented as having happened at some time in the past, and no overt distinction is made between what is historical and what is fiction. It seems that the only guides in this respect are the clues which make verification possible; when specific details such as names of characters, their clan affiliation and the place where the action takes place are given it seems obvious that historical traditions are presented, and when these are lacking the narrative moves closer to the undefined boundaries of what may be fictitious. Narratives of this type are realistic in the sense that they fall within the bounds of normal human experience and thus exclude supernatural and paranormal manifestations.

Realistic narratives form the majority in the corpus of texts (10) and cover a very wide range of themes, but most are related to the pastoralist life of the interior. Thus we have vivid accounts of inter-clan warfare and feuds, and of peacemaking and the settlement of disputes through arbitration by elders, according to the Somali customary law. There are also stories of quarrels, murders, robberies, thefts, deceptions and confidence tricks sometimes ending badly for the villains and sometimes accomplished with impunity and success. Marital infidelity on the part of women and their ruses to conceal it feature prominently,

and the problems involved with bridewealth payments, breach of promise and betrothal "overbooking" provide frequent themes, as do the relations between kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Humour is often present in realistic narratives, sometimes derived from the situations and characters and sometimes purely verbal, and it seems that the function of these narratives is to provide entertainment for adults by the relation of unusual or amusing events. They are free from any moralistic element or didacticism, and they lack, too, any heroic or romantic strain.

Most of the fabulous narratives (11) are fables in which the *dramatis personae* consist entirely of familiar members of the Somali fauna who enact human situations. In some, however, animals interact with human beings (12), and there is one narrative in which the principal characters are an old woman and a female jinn, who is mistaken for her daughter and is sought in marriage by a sultan (13). Even though some of the fabulous narratives may be ultimately of foreign origin they seem to be adapted to the Somali culture, with the animal characters behaving like humans and speaking very much according to the rules of Somali social etiquette. It is indicative of the strength of the traditional child lore in 19th century Somalia that the informants, who were adults, remembered so many of these themes and could narrate them with ease and fluency.

It should be noted that both Reinisch and Schleicher include in their collections texts which are not of a literary character, such as straightforward accounts of Somali customs and laws (14). Schleicher also gives autobiographical narratives which are obviously addressed to the researcher and would not be likely to be narrated in the form they are given, in the presence of a Somali audience (15).

Proverbs

In the collections of Reinisch, Robecchi Bricchetti and Schleicher we also find texts of proverbs (16). As in modern Somali usage, many of them are alliterative, a feature which they share with poetry. Reinisch and Schleicher provide some of the texts which would otherwise be obscure with appropriate annotations. Most of the proverbs are very interesting since they throw light on the Somali way of life and reflect traditional attitudes and modes of thought current at the time; it is clear that they were as widely used in the 19th century as they are to day.

Poetry

The 19th century documentation provides poetic texts, together with translations and sometimes annotations on the background. Fragments of poems are also found, as has been said earlier, within the texts of oral prose narratives, where they are used by the characters to emphasize some particular point or to produce a comical effect.

A large proportion of these texts belong to light poetry. Berghold, Paulitschke and Schleicher give several dance songs in dialogue form in which young men and women take alternate parts (17). The salient characteristic of these texts is banter, often quite aggressive, interspersed with wit and wisdom. It would seem that some of the dancers had very much in mind the choice of potential marriage partners, and that mutual eligibility was greatly affected by economic considerations at the time when these texts were originally composed. Some texts in Paulitschke, Reinisch and Schleicher are presented as love songs (18), but although this is not stated in the annotations they give the impression of being poems which might have been sung at parties rather than being intimate declarations of love.

There are also a few texts of work songs such as are used when looking after domestic animals (19). Berghold also gives texts of young boys' poems, some of which are grossly indecent (20). He provides musical notation for some of the texts, thus relating them to their performance in their normal environment.

Turning to poetry of the public forum, that is poetry dealing with serious subjects of interest to the community, Berghold, Paulitschke, Robecchi Bricchetti and Schleicher present examples, while Hunter also gives two fragments of poems of this type (21). A careful examination of these texts makes it clear that we are dealing here not with ars pro arte but with poetry which is socially functional. The poems were composed and recited to publicize the poet's views on matters of topical concern, with the aim not only of providing comments but of influencing the course of events. Thus one text is the lament of a man whose brother was killed, and at the same time it is an accusation against the elders of the clan for not avenging him (22). Similarly, in another lament, this time by a poetess whose husband was killed and left unavenged, the poem is addressed to her son whom she urges to take some action about it, together with the other men of his clan (23). In yet another poem we hear about the plight of a man who had left his own clan, which had been depleted, presumably by warfare, and joined another clan as an adopted member. In his old age he finds that his adoptive clan is discriminating against him, and though his poem is not addressed to anyone in particular, it is clearly a plea for help, dignified by its poetic form (24).

There is also a text which airs the poet's side in a quarrel with a woman about bridewealth, or some outstanding instalments of it. Although the text is not very specific it appears that there was an excessive preoccupation on her part or that of her kinsmen with the matter, which the poet found distressing (25).

The collections of Hunter and Paulitschke contain some eulogies of women which give the impression of being parts of larger poems; they do not merely express love or adulation but appear to have other aims such as winning the goodwill of the poet's actual or potential relatives-in-law or bringing prestige on the woman concerned, which might reflect favourably on the poet himself (26). Eulogies of horses, too, belong to the poetry of the public forum, for they were then of great value in Somali society for their usefulness in swift travel across the savannah and in warfare, and a fine horse brought prestige to its owner, who when he praised it would also be glorifying himself in the eyes of the public. In the collections of Paulitschke, Robecchi Bricchetti and Schleicher there are several poetic texts on such equestrian themes (27).

Political themes naturally also figure in the poetry of the public forum, and in one text a poet bewails the casualties inflicted by Ethiopian invaders during their conquest of Muslim territories (28), while in another a poetess laments over the removal of a Somali clan leader, Ugaas Nuur Rooble, by the British administration and his imminent replacement by another man (29).

Some of the texts are only short fragments of poems but they represent useful and interesting samples of the poetry of the time. Altogether, the texts of the poetry of the public forum give us an assurance that in 19th century Somalia there was a thriving high art poetry very much oriented towards the life of the community.

Somali poetic art

In addition to the texts, one learns something of the practice of the poetic art at that time. Burton, in his flamboyant style, comments on its ubiquity and on the relative grading of poets:

"It is strange that a dialect which has no written characters should so abound in poetry and eloquence... The country teems with "poets, poetasters, poetitos, poetaccios": every man has his recognized position in literature as accurately defined as though he had been reviewed in a century of magazines -

the fine ear of this people causing them to take the greatest pleasure in harmonious sounds and poetical expressions, where as a false quantity or a prosaic phrase excite their violent indignation" (30).

He also comments on the very wide range of themes covered by Somali poetry, which appears to extend to every conceivable aspect of the life of the community and the individual, and this suggests that the available texts give only a glimpse of a very rich poetic art (31).

Robecchi Bricchetti confirms this assessment when he gives an eye witness account of a poetic contest between two poets, Abdi Ommar and Mohamed Hassan Heli (32), who at a big gathering on a moonlight night vie with each other in their praises of particular women, and he gives in translation some of the rich imagery which they use. He also testifies to the high prestige enjoyed by poets of repute, adding weight to Burton's observations, when he describes what happened when one such poet arrives at an encampment:

"Talvolta corre voce nel paese che sia per giungere un gabbajà (poeta) di grido. Allora è un'agitazione generale di aspettativa. Gli si preparano liete accoglienze, e il cantore preceduto da fama di poeta valente e gentile arriva ricevuto festosamente. Il miglior posto, i migliori cibi gli sono riserbati" (33).

(At times word passes round the village that a gabayaa (poet) of fame is about to arrive. All at once there is general excitement and an atmosphere of expectation. A joyful welcome is prepared for him and the bard, preceded by his reputation as a capable and noble-minded poet, is received sumptuously on arrival. The best place and the best dishes are reserved for him).

Paulitschke gives a vivid account of the popularity of poetry among the Somali people and speaks of its strong connection with warfare, hunting and the advancing of one's own prestige or that of others. He speaks of the poetry reciters travelling on horseback, thus serving the needs of a nomadic society. In general, he observes that "der Somâli verschönt gerne sein sonst so monotones Leben mit dem Zauber der Poesie" (34) (The Somali is keen on beautifying his otherwise very monotonous life with the magic of poetry).

Hunter, though less informative on the subject, draws the attention of readers of his grammar to the existence of poetry and assures them

that the verses of the Somali are "hardly inferior in sentiments to Western prosodies" (35).

The observations made by Burton and Robecchi Bricchetti suggest that individual authorship of at least some types of oral poetry was recognized in Somali society. This is corroborated by the fact that Robecchi Bricchetti mentions some of these poets, at times by name only (36) but elsewhere quoting texts of poems together with the names of the poets to whom they were attributed (37). He is particularly acute observer when it comes to the question of the mode of composition and does not fall victim to the common European stereotype of imagining that all oral poetry is originally composed by improvisation:

"Talvolta in occasione di grandi avvenimenti, i gabbajà com pongono, non improvvisano; e quelle canzoni, più corrette e migliori nella forma, delle improvvisate, si comunicano di tribù in tribù e si tramandano di generazione in genera zione" (38).

(At times on the occasion of great events the gabayaa do not improvise but compose; and these songs are more correct and better formed than those which are improvised and are transmitted from clan to clan and passed on from generation to generation).

Burton, Paulitschke, Robecchi Bricchetti and Schleicher all comment on the difference between the language used in poetry and that used in prose, which suggests a great wealth of poetic vocabulary and idiom. Burton writes: "Many of these compositions are so idiomatic that Arabs settled for years amongst the Somali cannot understand them though perfectly acquainted with conversational style" (39).

Paulitschke observes that some of the older poetry is not completely understood by Somalis and that even some contemporary poetry is not always intelligible to listeners of the same clan because its subject matter is related to local or even personal affairs (40). This corroborates the impression given by the texts that Somali poets of the time were very much involved in the affairs of their community.

Robecchi Bricchetti draws attention to the practice of creating poetic neologisms:

"Altra circostanza, e certo la più saliente nella poesia so mala, è che i cantori per bastare alle esigenze del sog getto, della fantasia, della rima, e più ancora e special mente, delle parole che si alternano cominciate da identi

ca sillaba, creano nuovi vocaboli. In una sola parola ac coppiano e confondono due concetti, facendo così correre un soffio di freschezza e di eleganza nell'organismo del la lingua, la cui compagine si arricchisce di novelle e spressioni che la nostra lingua italiana è impossibilitata ad esprimere" (41).

(Another aspect, and certainly the most salient, one in So mali poetry, is that the singers create new words in order to satisfy the requirements of the subject matter as well as those of the creative imagination, of rhyme and especially of the words which recur and begin with identical syllables. In a single word they combine and merge two concepts causing a breath of freshness and ele gance to flow through the organism of the language; such combinations result in an enrichment through new ex pressions such as our Italian language is not capable of conveying).

Berghold, Paulitschke and schleicher provide some information on the scansion of Somali poetry (42), and even though they did not discover the exact rules they recognized that the metres were quantitative, like those in Classical Greek and Latin. The discovery of these rules had to wait until the 1970 s, when two Somali scholars offered convincing formul ations regarding them (43).

The image which emerges from the 19th century documentation, an image of Somali oral literature as a thriving and highly sophisticated art, is confirmed by the existence of orally transmitted texts which are assumed to have originated in that century but were written down in the second half of the present one from poetry reciters and narrators (44). Among these materials the oral prose texts probably preserve the original cont ents but not the original wording. In the case of texts of the poetry of the public forum the situation is different and there is a fairly high degree of probability that they represent authentic original versions verbatim, with only occasional distortions. This assumption is based on the existence of a well-established Somali custom which demands that poetry reciters should regard verbatim memorization of such poetic texts as their goal and that they should mention at each recital of a poem the name of its author (45).

The 19th century documentation, backed by the relevant orally trans mitted materials, is of great importance to the cultural history of Soma lia. It explains the existence of a lively and interesting literature,

oral and now also written, in Somalia in the present century, not as a sudden innovation but as a continuation of a vigorous literary art which probably goes back beyond the 19th century to a much more distant past (46).

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The works listed below are referred to throughout the Notes by the name of the author followed by the year of publication, e.g. Johnson 1980. Somali names are given in their customary order and are not inverted, as recommended in Andrzejewski 1980, since surnames are not in general use in Somalia. In some publications by Somali authors their names are spelt according to the conventions applicable in English, Italian or one of the private systems used for writing Somali before the official orthography was introduced. In order to avoid possible bibliographical confusion the forms of names which conform to official usage are regarded as principal and all entries are cross-referenced with these. The equation sign = is used for this purpose.

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- SHIRE JAAMAC AXMED = SHIRE JAAMAC ACHMED
- XUSEEN M. AADAN = HUSSEIN M. ADAM
- YUSUUF MEYGAAG SAMATAR 1973. Madhafaanka murtida. Nairobi: Autopress.
- YOUSUF MEYGAAG SAMATAR = YUSUUS MEYGAAG SAMATAR.

NOTES

- 1) - For bibliographical details of their published works which are relevant to the subject under discussion see References. The method of referring to particular publications used in these Notes is explained in the introductory paragraph to the References.
- 2) - For information about this orthography, which was introduced in 1972, see Andrzejewski 1974 b and 1978 a.
- 3) - Reinisch 1900 a, Text 39, pp. 145-148.
- 4) - Schleicher 199, Text 18, pp. 38-43.
- 5) - Reinisch 1900 a, Text 47, pp. 173-177 and Text 48, pp. 177-181; Rigby 1850, pp. 165-167.
- 6) - Reinisch 1900 a, Text 42, pp. 151-157.
- 7) - For example Berghold 1899, Text 7, pp. 150-153; Reinisch 1900 a, Text 6, pp. 88-97; Schleicher 1900, Text 16, pp. 33-34. Numerous other examples can be found throughout these collections.
- 8) - Berghold 1899, Text 7, pp. 150-153. Several other examples of poetic inserts in prose texts can be found in that collection and in Reinisch 1900 a.
- 9) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1899, Text 12, pp. 352-353.
- 10) - Narratives of this type are found in the following collections:
 • Berghold 1897 and 1899, Hunter 1880, Reinisch 1900 a, Rigby 1850, Robecchi Bricchetti 1889 and 1899 and Schleicher 1892 and 1900.
- 11) - Narratives of this type are found in the following collections:
 Berghold 1897 and 1899, Reinisch 1900 a, Robecchi Bricchetti 1889 and 1899 and Schleicher 1892 and 1900.
- 12) - For example Reinisch 1900 a, Text 100, pp. 230-231 and Text 101, pp. 231-233.
- 13) - Schleicher 1900, Text 1, pp. 91-93. Note that this text was sent to Schleicher by a missionary, Father Cyprien de Sampont. The text is probably of Arabic origin.
- 14) - Reinisch 1900 a, Texts 2-4, pp. 78-81 and Texts 11-29, pp. 106-131; Schleicher 1900, Text 3, pp. 8-9.
- 15) - Schleicher 1900, Text 2, pp. 93-97.

- 16) - In Reinisch 1900 a proverbs are given in a separate section on pp.74-78, and there are also some proverbs in the same work in the section entitled "Aussprüche" (Sayings), pp. 248-256. Other collections are: Robecchi Bricchetti 1889, pp. 228-229 and 1899, pp. 355-356; Schleicher 1892, pp. 14-17.
- 17) - Berghold 1899, pp. 159-162; Paulitschke 1896, pp. 166-170.
- 18) - Paulitschke 1886, p. 31; Reinisch 1900 a, Text 120, pp. 257-258 and Text 121, p. 258; Robecchi Bricchetti 1889, p. 225, re-edited with textual variations in Schleicher 1892, p. 45 and Paulitschke 1896, pp. 172-173.
- 19) - Berghold 1899, pp. 172-173 and 175-176; Reinisch 1900 a, Text 122, p. 258.
- 20) - Berghold 1899, pp. 194-197.
- 21) - Berghold 1899, Paulitschke 1886 and 1896, Robecchi Bricchetti 1889, Schleicher 1892 and Hunter 1880. Some of the texts in Paulitschke 1896 and Schleicher 1892 are provided with annotations explaining their cultural and historical background. Paulitschke 1896 contains three poems, but without either annotations or translations, and these were sent to the collector by J. Stuart King, a British officer serving in the Indian army. Note that some of the poems in Robecchi Bricchetti 1889 are re-edited in Schleicher 1892 and Paulitschke 1896, and some of those in Schleicher 1892 in Paulitschke 1896, each time with due acknowledgements, which shows that the 19th century researchers were familiar with each others' works.
- 22) - Hunter 1880, p. 105, re-edited in Paulitschke 1896, p. 173. It is interesting to note that Paulitschke must have obtained background informations about this poem from his Somali informants who knew it, since Hunter published it without any annotations.
- 23) - The plain text of this poem is first given in Robecchi Bricchetti 1889, pp. 227-228, and is then re-edited in Schleicher 1892, pp. 35-36 and in Paulitschke 1896, pp. 178-179, where detailed explanation of its historical background is given, obviously obtained from Somali informants who knew the poem.
- 24) - Schleicher 1892, pp. 38-39; Paulitschke 1896, pp. 177-178.
- 25) - Paulitschke 1886, p. 31, re-edited in Paulitschke 1896, p. 174.
- 26) - Hunter 1880, p. 105; Paulitschke 1896, pp. 170-172.

- 27) - Berghold 1897, pp. 6 and 15; Paulitschke 1886, pp. 33-34, re-edited in Paulitschke 1896, pp. 174-175; Robecchi Bricchetti 1889, p. 226; Schleicher 1892, pp. 40-43, re-edited in Paulitschke 1896, pp. 175-176.
- 28) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1889, pp. 226-227.
- 29) - Paulitschke 1896, p. 177.
- 30) - Burton 1856, pp. 115-116.
- 31) - Burton 1856, pp. 115-117.
- 32) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1899, pp. 176-177. The names of these poets in Somali orthography (see Note 2) would probably be Cabdi Cumar and Maxamed Xasan Hiille (or Xille).
- 33) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1899, p. 338. The author also tells us of a poet in the group of Somalis who formed his escort during his journey of exploration. The poet provided his companions with constant entertainment (ibid. p. 146).
- 34) - Paulitschke 1896, pp. 163-166; the quotation is from p. 166.
- 35) - Hunter 1880, p. XXVII.
- 36) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1899, p. 342 Daher and p. 357 Aden Achmed Dubba, Daher, Hassan Dallab, Mchamed Liban Giader and Roghé Ugaz. The Daher on p. 342 and that on p. 357 are different persons, with different clan affiliations. In Somali orthography these names would be written Daahir, Aadan Axmed Dubbe, Daahir, Xasan Dalab, Maxamed Liibaan Jadeer and Raage Ugaas. See also Note 32.
- 37) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1889, pp. 226-227. These poets are Ibrahim Liban Soghad and Handulle Afi Liban Soghad. The names Ibrahim, Liban Handulle and Afi would be written Ibraahin, Liibaan, Xandulle and Afey in Somali orthography; it is uncertain what sounds the spelling Soghad represents.
- 38) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1899, p. 342.
- 39) - Burton 1856, p. 116.
- 40) - Paulitschke 1896, p. 164.
- 41) - Robecchi Bricchetti 1899, p. 342.
- 42) - Berghold 1899, pp. 134-138; Paulitschke 1896, pp. 165-166 and 172; Schleicher 1892, pp. 2-3.

- 43) - Their names are Cabdillaahi Diiriye Guuleed and Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac "Gaarriye". Information about this discovery, accompanied by additional original formulations, and a bibliography of works in Somali on this subject are provided in Johnson 1979. Further details can be found in Cabdillaahi 1980 and Johnson 1981. For an account of syntactic constraints associated with the Somali system of scansion see Antinucci 1980.
- 44) - These materials are presented in Andrzejewski 1974 a and 1978 c, Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964, Andrzejewski and Muuse 1966, Caaqib 1977, Cabdullaahi 1979, Maxamed Faarax 1967, Maxamed Xaaji 1976, Shire 1965 and 1967, and Yuusuf 1973. It is of interest to note that transcripts of poems attributed to Raage Ugaas (see Note 36), whom the Somalis regard as one of their greatest poets, are included in Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964, Cabdullaahi 1979, Shire 1965 and Yuusuf 1973. Information about his life can be found in the first three of these publications and in Andrzejewski and Muuse 1966. Transcripts of poems attributed to another well-known oral poet, war leader and political reformer, Faarax Garaad Xirsi, popularly known as "Wiilwaal", are found in Caaqib 1977 and Shire 1967. Prose narratives about his life are also found in these two publications and in Maxamed Faarax 1967. Caaqib 1977 gives 1863 as the year of the death of this poet, a date which, according to this eminent researcher, is consonant with the genealogical data of his living descendants (Sheekh Caaqib, personal communication). Work on 19th century materials is in progress at the Somali Academy of Science and Arts in Mogadishu.
- 45) - The reliability of the oral transmission of the poetry of the public forum is discussed in Andrzejewski 1981 and Johnson 1980 and 1982.
- 46) - The main sources of information about Somali literature in the 20th century are Andrzejewski 1975 and 1978 b; Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964; Andrzejewski and Muuse 1963; Cerulli 1959 and 1964; Johnson 1974; Saciid 1980 a, 1980 b and 1982. There are also three ex extensive bibliographies of Somali literature: Johnson 1969 and 1973 and Lamberti 1981.