

Dallas International University

Thesis Approval Sheet

This thesis, entitled

Somali Jiiddu Language Development:

A Seventy-Year Journey, 1951-2021

written by

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and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

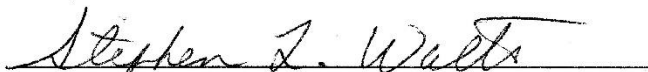
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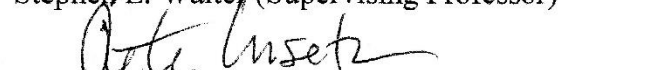
Language and Culture Studies

has been read and approved

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SOMALI JIIDDU LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT:
A SEVENTY-YEAR JOURNEY, 1951-2021

By

Michael S. Neterer

Presented to the Faculty of
Dallas International University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
with major in
Language and Culture Studies

Dallas International University
April 29, 2021

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ABSTRACT

Somali Jiiddu Language Development: A Seventy-Year Journey, 1951-2021

Michael S. Neterer

Master of Arts
with major in
Language and Culture Studies
Dallas International University, April 29, 2021

Supervising Professor: Stephen L. Walter

The Jiiddu language (jii), situated in the linguistically diverse Lower Shabeelle region of Southwest Somalia, is “endangered” according to the Ethnologue “Size and Vitality of Jiiddu” assessment of the size of the Jiiddo tribe and the fact of intergenerational disruption (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021). This case study of Jii language development efforts is a response to the Jiiddo community's request to “help preserve our linguistic heritage” (Ibrahim Ibro, in discussion with this researcher, 2010). The thesis comprises a literature review of sources from 1951 onward, including the Jii dictionary (S. Ibro 1998), and an account of language development activities to date. A trajectory for Jii revitalization efforts is proposed that is based on interviews with Jiiddo youth and elders and informed by the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) theory of Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID). Especially critical to the future of Jii language development is the need to address the vital challenge of intergenerational disruption by increasing oral transmission of the language from parents to children.

DEDICATION

This account of the Jiiddo journey of language development is dedicated to Professor Salim Alio Ibro, who blazed the trail by publishing the historic Jiiddo-Somali-English dictionary in Australia (S. Ibro 1998). The dedication also goes to the memory of Professor Salim's uncle, *Cavaliere* 'Chief or Mayor' Ábdio Ibráu (Abdow Ibro), in whose footsteps Salim followed. Cavaliere Ábdio took the first step in this journey by welcoming Italian linguist Martino Moreno and sharing with him the Jiiddo phrases that would become the first published in an academic paper, *Brevi notazioni di ġiddu* (Moreno 1951). Professor Salim followed in his uncle's footsteps by welcoming a second Italian linguist and language development specialist in 1979, Dr. Giorgio Banti, who helped establish the Jiiddo orthography.

This thesis is also dedicated to the memory of Professor Salim's older brother, the late Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro, who supported his brother's work and enlisted my help on the dictionary here in Minnesota. His son, Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro, and the next generation of youth leaders are now carrying Sultan Ibrahim's legacy of Jiiddo language and culture preservation.

I dedicate this thesis to the glory of God and the heritage of the Jiiddo people. My prayer is that this paper will be helpful to the entire Jiiddo family, both Safar and Wajis. I hope it may somehow benefit their Digil neighbors, who are also considering the future of their languages for their children and future generations. If the Jiiddo community wish to continue this 'Language and Identity Journey,' I am happy to walk with them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis could not have been written without Ayub Osman whose vision for Jiiddo language development has inspired me and the Jiiddo Youth Association (JYA). According to the wisdom of the Jiiddo, *Nam sheli berey beryi dareerka somne miiri*. ‘A man who ran away yesterday cannot be caught up to today by walking.’ Osman has begun the journey, and the rest of us will have to run to catch up. I thank him and his elders, especially Ahmed Borille, Sultan Ibro, and Professor Salim Ibro, for their support to Osman and the JYA, as well as for their personal contributions.

I appreciate Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro’s endorsement of this language development project and his oversight of Ayub Osman and the JYA’s activities. He is living up to his name *Warsame* ‘One who brings good news’ as he empowers the next generation of youth leaders. I am thankful to Sultan’s friend Reuben Nzuki for asking me to accompany him to Somalia in 2015 for community assessment.

I am grateful to the faculty of the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics (GIAL), at Dallas International University (DIU), starting with librarian Carole Unseth, for her professional assistance and personal encouragement. And many thanks go to my instructors Robert McKee, Jack Shoemaker, and particularly Jonathan Dailey for teaching me how to use FLEx in Field Data Management, and for his help in publishing the Jiiddo lexicon via Dictionary App Builder. Regarding technology, appreciation goes to the team of software engineers at SIL for their work to create and improve such programs.

I thank my committee for their profound investment. Carl Follingstad has generously shared his expertise in linguistics via correspondence, and in person, in Texas, Minnesota, and Kenya. I am grateful for the linguistics training he provided the JYA in Kenya in 2018. Pete Unseth's "reach out to a scholar" assignment in the Oral Tradition & Literature class opened an important door in Sweden. His Language Development & Planning class proved foundational for this project. Stephen L. Walter inspired me in Multilingual Education class with his experiences in Eritrea and other nations for what is possible in Somalia. I am grateful for his wise leadership as committee chair and his high academic standards. Of course, any errors remain my own.

Thanks to Mohamed Haji Mukhtar for his invitation to the Somali Maay Language Conference in Sweden in 2018. Thanks to Doug Person for sharing resources that he gathered over a lifetime. Deep gratitude goes to Dr. Giorgio Banti in Italy for countless hours of consultation on Jiiddu morphology. Thanks to David Eberhard and his team for sharing the principles of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM).

I thank my colleagues and leaders at SALT-Arrive Ministries and Transform Minnesota for their compassionate work on behalf of refugees. I thank my friends and family across the US, from Minnesota to Virginia, for financial and moral support.

I am grateful to my parents, Gary (who passed away in 2020), and Ilene Neterer for their unconditional love. Much love and gratitude go to my wise, generous parents-in-law, Paul and Elizabeth Strand. My deepest love and gratitude go to my wife Sara, for her understanding and support. I also thank my three sons, Seth, Caden, and Josiah, for their patience with this project and cheerful help to their mother and me.

April 19, 2021

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

***	analysis unknown	IDP	Internally Displaced Person
1PL	first person plural	IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
2LA	second language acquisition	ISO	International Organization for Standardization
3M	third person masculine	Jii or jii	Jiiddo language
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia	JYA	Jiiddo Youth Association
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation	L1	first language
CBLID	Community-Based Language and Identity Development	L2	second language
DC	District Commissioner	LWC	Language of Wider Communication
DEFID	definite identifiability	M	masculine gender
DIU	Dallas International University	MCH	Maternal and Child Healthcare
EGIDS	Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale	MP	Minister of Parliament
FAMED	Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment and Differentiation	MT	mother-tongue
FGM	female genital mutilation	PFV	perfective aspect
FLEx	FieldWorks Language Explorer	POSS	possessive
FLI	Forum for Language Initiatives, in northern Pakistan	PST	past tense
FOC	focus	RLS	Reversing Language Shift
FUT	future tense	SALT	Somali Adult Literacy Training
GBV	gender-based violence	SBA	Sistema Bibliotecario di Ateneo (University Library System)
GIAL	Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics	SIL	SIL International (originally Summer Institute of Linguistics)
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale	SUM	Sustainable Use Model
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)	SW	<i>Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala</i> , Arabic, 'Glory to Him, the Exalted'
HAB	habitual aspect		

1 Introduction

Am lahjatuna jiini? ‘Where is our language going?’ Four representatives of the Jiiddo Youth Association (JYA) wrestled with this question in 2018 when they travelled from Somalia to Nairobi, Kenya to participate in a five-day community-based language development training.¹ That week in October marked a milestone in the journey of Jiiddo language development. The participants called this a “historic moment” as it was the first time they had attempted to write in the Jiiddo language. Now, as they face the danger of losing their heart language, the Jiiddo are under increasing pressure to use multiple international, national, and regional languages. The remaining task is to engage the wider Jiiddo-speaking community of Somalia with two questions, “Where *is* our language going?” and more importantly, “Where do *we want* our language to go?” (Hanawalt et al. 2016).

1.1 Research Problem: Endangered Language

Currently, the Ethnologue’s assessed status of Jiiddo vitality indicates that the language is “Endangered” based on the “mid-sized” speaker population and a perceived trend of fewer children learning Jiiddo from their parents (“Size and Vitality of Jiiddo” 2021). The dot on the graph (colored red in the Ethnologue) and the “Endangered” label indicate an EGIDS evaluation range of 6b—9 (Fig. 1). Jiiddo has been assessed as “Threatened” (6b) on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS).

¹ Several variant spellings can be found for the language and people, but for the purpose of this study *Jiiddo* will refer to the people or tribe, while *Jii* and *Jiiddu* refer to the language.

This means, “The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users”. Endangered means that Jiiddu, is in danger of “shift” when fewer children are learning their parents’ language as they adopt other languages instead. Jiiddu is one of five languages in Somalia (see Appendix 1) and one of 3,018 of the world’s 7,139 assessed as endangered (“How Many Languages Are Endangered? | Ethnologue” 2021). This thesis contributes data points that seem to confirm the Ethnologue assessment, but a broader sociolinguistic survey is needed to measure what percentage of Jiiddu children are actually learning Jiiddu. According to the Ethnologue assessment, “It is no longer the norm that children learn and use this language” (“Size and Vitality of Jiiddu” 2021).

Size and vitality of Jiiddu

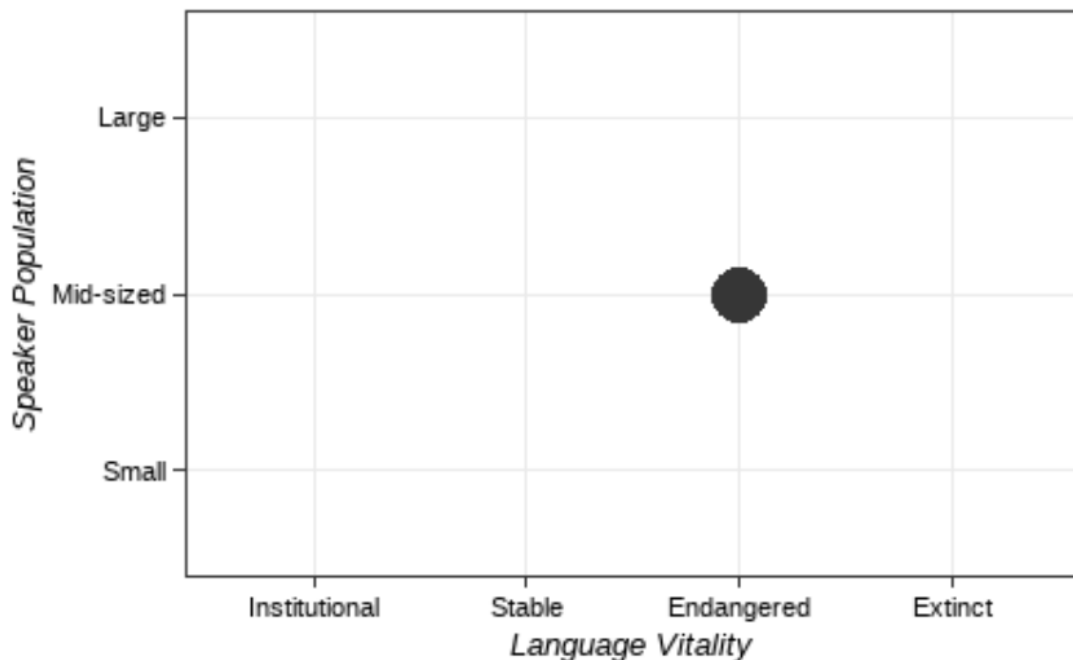


Figure 1. Size and Vitality of Jiiddu: Endangered (Ethnologue 2021)

1.2 Research Question: Request for Assistance from Jiiddo Leadership

The late Sultan of the Jiiddo, may have been sensing a decline in Jii language use and cultural identity when he issued a plea for help to “help preserve our linguistic heritage” and specifically asked for assistance in expanding the Jiiddu dictionary (Ibrahim Alio Ibro, in discussion with this researcher, 2011). He himself was in the process of learning English, his sixth language, to survive as a new immigrant in Minnesota. Perhaps he was realizing that his own grandchildren would not speak Jii as they grew up in Minnesota.

It takes real awareness to recognize the waning use of one’s language by the next generation because often, “the process of language shift and death is very gradual and few people notice what is happening in time to do anything about it” (Lewis and Simons 2016, 67). As language and ethnic identity are such intimately connected aspects of personhood and self-esteem, raising this sensitive topic requires courage and humility from community leaders.

Sultan Ibrahim had survived the Somali civil war and had experienced the crisis of refugee flight and resettlement. Perhaps the shock of those crises, and the need to learn other languages, served as a “wake up” for Sultan to realize the importance of preserving his first language and identity. If so, this would be similar to Jiiddo youth leader Ayub Osman’s experience. He did not speak Jiiddu as a child (see Appendix 16, interview question 8.2.2), but purposed to learn it as a young adult when he realized he was learning other languages like Swahili and English, but could not yet speak his father’s language.

1.3 Thesis Purpose and Goals

The word “journey” was chosen for the title of this thesis because this study is not only a seventy-year historical review, but also an up-to-the-moment case study of development efforts in the Somali Jiiddu language, concluding with a modest attempt to answer the question: “Where is Jiiddu going?” The metaphor of “journey” also fits the way JYA leader Ayub Osman used a Jiiddu proverb to describe this endeavor.² In an address to his fellow language development practitioners, he sought to encourage them with the progress already made, and to challenge them to reach future goals. He said, “As you my fellow brothers and sisters can realize, this work has taken time and [we have] reached [a few] of our goals. [Yet] we have not reached our destination”.³ Then Osman shared a proverb to encourage them to pick up the pace saying, “Someone who ran away yesterday cannot be reached now just by walking.” Osman and the JYA are making progress in transcribing and translating their language as they have participated in analyzing morpheme breaks such as this text:

Nam sheli ber-ey berya dareer-ka som-nə miiti
man yesterday run-3M.PST today walk-the overtake-1PL not

‘A man [who] ran away yesterday, we cannot overtake today [by] a walk.’

Recent efforts in the Jiiddu language development project have been informed by a theoretical/practical framework of Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID), which is built on a comprehensive theory of language development known as the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) as described in *Sustaining Language Use: Perspectives on Community-Based Language Development* (Lewis and

² Herein the Jiiddo Youth Association, <https://www.facebook.com/Jiido-youth-organization-1053870744695362/>, established November 2016, is referred to by the acronym JYA.

³ See §5.9 Interviews with Ayub Osman and Seven JYA Members (November 24, 2020).

Simons 2016). Specifically, the practitioners involved in this project have been directed, so far, by an approach called *The Guide for Planning Our Language Future* (Hanawalt et al. 2016). Looking ahead, a revised and improved approach, ‘The Language & Identity Journey’, is being proposed which is “aimed at language communities who are desiring to develop one of their languages in new ways, or who are concerned about a language that is undergoing shift” (Eberhard et al. 2020).

The journey of Jiiddu language development, in terms of the first description in an academic publication, began in 1951. In this present study, this researcher has endeavored to survey comprehensively the relatively small number of extant documents relevant to Jiiddu in the seventy-year period from 1951 to the present. This survey reveals that substantial progress has been achieved despite severe challenges in the midst of post-war chaos.

The seizing of educational opportunities by Jiiddo and other Somali leaders is another important theme that emerges throughout this case study. Educated indigenous leaders in the diaspora have achieved notable progress as they have taken the initiative to collaborate with outside language experts and also community leaders back in the homeland. Several Somali authors referenced in this study, such as Mansuur, Mukhtar, and Ali, have studied and now teach in Western universities.⁴

Looking ahead, this study describes the hopes and plans of the Jiiddo community, and also indicates some remaining challenges. One goal of this study is to document the

⁴ Abdalla Omar Mansuur has been teaching Arabic and Somali languages at the Università Roma Tre. Mohamed Haji Mukhtar, editor of the Maay-English Dictionary, is professor of African & Middle Eastern history at Savannah State University, Georgia. Fulbright Scholar Mohamed Nuuh Ali earned his PhD at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and now teaches at the Institute of African Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

history of linguistic investigation and Jiiddo language development activities. Another goal is to forecast next steps according to the desired outcomes expressed by the Jiiddo community in light of an application of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) to their specific language development situation. Furthermore, it is hoped that this Jiiddo case study may encourage the Jiiddo community on their journey, and in some way, perhaps, contribute insights to the theory and practice of language development for the benefit of their neighboring language communities in South Somalia as they collaborate for mutual benefit.

1.4 Overview of the Thesis

Recognizing the tension between a narrative account and academic analysis, this case study is an attempt to do both by telling the story chronologically while offering theoretical insights along the way. Chapter 1 has introduced the problem of Jii as an endangered language and the Sultan of the Jiiddo's request for assistance in expanding the Jii dictionary to help reverse language shift. The thesis goals are to address the problem of endangerment and the Jiiddo request for language development assistance.

Background is presented next about the Jiiddo language and the Jiiddo language development progress in that has been achieved in the midst of Somali political and social turbulence. The objectives of this study related to The Sustainable Use Model (SUM), Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID) theory is very briefly introduced in §1.5.4 along with a pathway to sustainable multilingualism called the 'Language and Identity Journey'. §1.6 provides a historical timeline from 1951 onward of key contributors and their achievements in Jiiddo language development.

Chapter 2 comprehensively reviews existing literature about Jii language and the Jiiddo people. §2.1 reviews publications from 1985—1995 focused on the question of origins and classification. §2.2 reviews descriptive linguistics from 1951—1986.⁵ §2.3 introduces S.A. Ibro’s dictionary (1998), while §2.4 documents Jii oral literature. Additionally, §2.5 reviews two articles (one favorable and one critical) about Somali national language development that took place during the era of Somali Scientific Socialism in the 1970s and 80s, while §2.6 reviews Fishman’s classic work on language development *Reversing Language Shift* (1991), as well as a cautionary case study from Siberia where literacy development failed to sustain a language.

Chapter 3 briefly describes, in §3.1, the Jiiddo population, where and how they live. §3.2 surveys the complex linguistic ecology of the Lower Shabeelle region in South Somalia, and §3.3 describes the resulting sociolinguistic pressures on Jii as it is immersed in the LWC dialect of Somali Maay called *Dhoobey* and surrounded by its Digil confederacy neighbors Tunni, Garre, and Dabarre, as well as the national language of Somalia. This study only touches on the pressures Jiiddo youth are facing to learn international languages. §3.3.2 recognizes the favorable environment the Constitution creates for Jii language development by declaring, “The state shall promote the...local dialects of minorities” (“Somalia’s Constitution of 2012” 2020, 14). §3.4 reports how the Jiiddo Youth Association (JYA) perceive their linguistic ecology. Finally, §3.5 raises preliminary questions about Jiiddo language status planning.

⁵ Appendix 20 lists the contributions to Jii linguistics by Italian scholars Martino Moreno (1951), Marcello Lamberti (1981, 1983, and 1986), and Giorgio Banti, whose unpublished notes on Jii contributed greatly to this project, in addition to his published work which references Jii (1984, 1987, 2001, 2004, and 2009).

Chapter 4 provides the foundational theory of Community-Based Language and Identity Development and describes the interview methodology used for this study according to the Sustainable Use Model. This is achieved by reviewing two books: *Sustaining Language Use* in §4.1.1 (Lewis and Simons 2016), and *Planning Language Use: Case Studies in CBLID* in §4.1.2 (Eberhard and Smith 2021). §4.2.1 describes how *A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language* was used in 2018 by the JYA to consider the question, “Where is our language going?” §4.2.2 provides an overview of the ‘Language and Identity Journey’ which was used for preliminary interviews with Jiiddo youth and elders in 2020. The ‘Journey’ is the recommended framework for language development planning now being proposed to the Jiiddo community. §4.3 addresses the security risks to those involved in this research and how they are being mitigated.

Chapter 5, Milestones and Results in Jii Development (2015-21), documents the interview responses and accomplishments in language development since 2015. §5.10 presents the results of a SUM Assessment (Oral and Literacy) Grid Interview with S.A. Ibro (December 16, 2020). Ibro’s assessment confirms the urgent concern others have expressed that Jii is losing ground, with fewer children learning their parents’ language, despite the positive progress represented by the publication of the Jii dictionary.

Chapter 6 takes a sober but hopeful look at the Jiiddo community’s goals for their Jiiddo language in view of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats facing their language development goals. Chapter 7 concludes with the prospects for language development if the Jiiddo community can meet the five FAMED conditions by teaching their children to speak and use Jii.

1.5 Background

1.5.1 Jii for Jiiddu

Jii serves not just as a convenient shortened form; it is actually the indigenous name used for the Jiiddu language. More specifically, *Ey Jii* means ‘language [of] Jiiddu’ or ‘language [of the] Jiiddu people’. In addition, (jii) happens to be the Ethnologue code (ISO 639-3)⁶ used to identify this unique language (“Jiiddu” 2021). For these reasons, as well as for the convenience of brevity, *Jii* is used throughout this paper to refer to the language. For the sake of distinction, *Jiiddu* has been chosen as the spelling to refer to the people and the tribe. Following the example of the Ethnologue, Banti and others, *Jiiddu* has been chosen as the spelling for the language (Banti 2004, 58), though it is not clear why the final vowels *u* and *o* often seem interchangeable.

1.5.2 Development in Turbulent Times

In Somalia, academic pursuits can easily lose priority focus in the midst of war, terror attacks, and hunger exacerbated by drought, flooding, and subsequent locust swarms. Since the collapse of the Somali Democratic Republic in 1991, the country has consistently ranked among the most beleaguered for measures of poverty, child and maternal deaths, insecurity for journalists, and corruption. For a case in point, the global corruption watchdog, Transparency International, listed Somalia as the most corrupt country in the world (“Corruption Perceptions Index 2019”). In 2020 (and 2021) the COVID-19 pandemic intensified human suffering (F. Hussein 2020). With such severe challenges, any progress achieved has been, and will continue to be, due to dogged perseverance and strategic collaboration.

⁶ “ISO 639-3 Registration Authority.” 2020. <https://iso639-3.sil.org/>

Somalis have a reputation for entrepreneurship and one bright spot for the nation is Somalia's ability to offer the cheapest Internet in East Africa, which provides a remarkable opportunity to connect with educational experts and resources (*Business Daily* 2020). In recent years, access to communication technology has proven invaluable for expanding the Jiiddu lexicon, for example, and for other developments.

1.5.3 Language Development Achievements for Jiiddu and Neighboring Languages

While in Australia, seeking refuge from the violence of the Somali civil war, Professor Salim Alio Ibro, hereafter S. A. Ibro,⁷ published the *Jiddu-Somali-English Mini-Dictionary* with approximately 2,000 Jii entries (1998). Thanks to his groundbreaking work (Fig. 2), and in consultation with Dr. Giorgio Banti of Italy, a working orthography was birthed which follows the example of the Somali national decision in 1972 to use a modified version of the Latin alphabet.

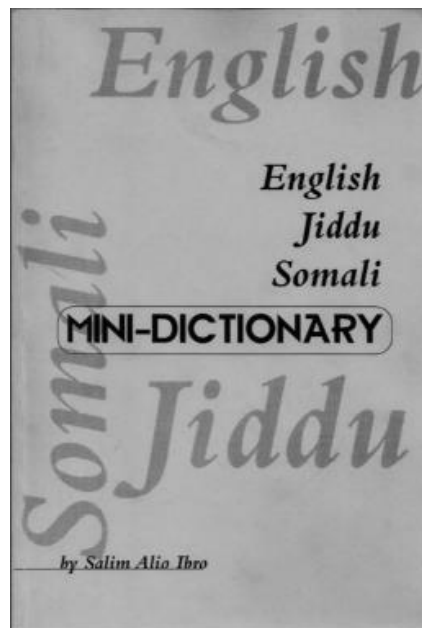


Figure 2. *Jiddu-Somali-English Mini-Dictionary* (Ibro, 1998)

⁷ Known widely in Somalia as Professor Salim (or Saalim), in this paper Salim Alio Ibro (see his CV in Appendix 4) will be referred to as S.A. Ibro. There are numerous spelling variations of the family name, like Ibro or Ibraw, but this paper will follow the norm Ibro established when his dictionary was published.

At the time of this paper’s publication, Ibro’s mini-dictionary is the only known book published in Jii,⁸ and one of the few books printed in any of the languages of Southwest Somalia. In Maay (ymm), the language of wider communication (LWC) for the region, two books have been printed. *Injiilka Luukos*, ‘Gospel of Luke’ is the first known book published in Maay in East Africa (*Injiilka Luukos* 2006).⁹ The text of this Scripture translation provided the basis for a Maay-language film *Falateethy ii Wal Barowky Duubineeghy Siid Iise Masihi* (*Maay JESUS Film* 2005). Then the *English-Maay Dictionary*, was published in 2007 and remains available in print (Mukhtar and Ahmed 2007).¹⁰ In 2011, a JESUS Film for women called “Mariyiinti Reer Magdhala” (Magdalena Version) was published which includes portions of other Gospels as well as the Luke basis in the Jesus Film (*JESUS Film-Magdalena Women’s Version* 2011).

With the advent of online publishing, more literature is becoming available. A pre-publication draft of a new Maay-English Dictionary app, which was compiled in 2017-2018, is undergoing a major revision with additional entries due to be released in a related website, afmaaymaay.org (“Maay-English Dictionary App” Forthcoming September 2021). Also notable are the activities of the Af-Maay Development Center in Sweden, which has a presence on Facebook.¹¹ This group recently celebrated the second anniversary (February 1, 2019 – February 1, 2021) of publishing a monthly newsletter in Somali Maay language (“Dooqaadky Hoghol” 2021). AfMaayMaay.com, launched in

⁸ The Jiddu-Somali-English Mini Dictionary is archived at the National Library of Australia: <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/147801>. A PDF version is available for download at the University Roma Tre: https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/bitstream/2307/2156/1/English%20Jiddu%20Somali%20Mini-Dictionary_lavorato.pdf.

⁹ Copies of *Injiilka Luukos* (2006) are available for order from warki@afmaaymaay.com.

¹⁰ The *English-Maay Dictionary* is available for purchase here: <https://www.amazon.com/English-Maay-Dictionary-Mohamed-Haji-Mukhtar/dp/1905068891>

¹¹ Af-Maay Development Center: <https://www.facebook.com/afmaaydevelopment>

March, 2021, is a website dedicated to publishing Scripture and literacy resources in Maay language (“AfMaayMaay.Com” 2021).

Significantly for the language ecology of the region, the *Chizigula of Somalia Dictionary* was published with a remarkable 15,261 entries (“Chizigula of Somalia Dictionary” 2020).¹² If the various language communities in the region compare notes to learn from each other, the potential for improved and expedited language development progress will grow.

For the Jii lexicon project, data have been gathered from the publications of Martino Moreno, Marcello Lamberti, Mohamed Nuuh Ali with his UCLA colleague Christopher Ehret, and especially from the as yet unpublished manuscripts of Giorgio Banti. These have been added and combined with Ibro’s data, and contributions from the JYA for a total of 5,480 entries collected into the Jii FLEx database.

1.5.4 Objective of this Study and Theoretical Framework

The objective of this study is to point toward a sustainable future for Jii language use by documenting the developments accomplished thus far, the collaborative relationships that have been built, and the hopes and plans that the Jiiddo community have expressed. This thesis proposes that the Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID) approach, which includes theory and practice, offers a promising path for the Jiiddo towards realizing their goals. The theory of CBLID is described in detail in §4.1 in a review of two books: §4.1.1 Sustaining Language Use (Lewis and Simons 2016) and §4.1.2 Planning Language Use: Case Studies in CBLID (Eberhard and

¹² Chizigula (xma) is a Bantu language also known as Mushungulu, but some Chizigula speakers do not like the term because it is often used disparagingly (<https://www.webonary.org/somali-chizigula/overview/introduction/>).

Smith 2021), which evaluates the effectiveness of CBLID/SUM as it has been implemented.

According to the theoretical framework, known as the ‘Sustainable Use Model’ (SUM), outsiders should never dictate to the community what they need. Rather, the SUM advises that any outside expert, who may be invited as an advisor, should walk alongside the community asking the right questions to help them decide for themselves. The practical methodology of CBLID for asking those questions, the ‘Language and Identity Journey’, explained in §4.2.2, helps the community gain awareness of the threat of language shift, and all their options, before setting goals and making plans.

SIL International, whose staff have contributed to the CBLID/SUM concept, emphasizes plural “languages” in the organization’s vision statement, “We long to see people flourishing in community using the languages they value most” (“About SIL” 2012). Healthy, stable, and sustainable multilingualism, therefore, would be the proposed goal for the Jiido community, according to SUM-informed language development experts, (Lewis and Simons 2016, 70).¹³ This means that, realistically, for Jii to thrive in such a linguistically complex place as the Lower Shabeelle of Southwest Somalia there must be a firm agreement among the Jiido community on how to make sure children continue using Jii to learn “life-crucial” knowledge, in addition to the other languages they will also need.¹⁴

How the Jiido community decides to protect and nurture their language can be guided by the five “FAMED” conditions: Functions, Acquisition, Motivation,

¹³ The phrase “stable multilingualism” is used forty-seven times by Lewis and Simons (2016) beginning in §4.5 “The quest for stable multilingualism” (70). This builds on Fishman’s concept “Societal bilingualism: Stable and transitional” (1968).

¹⁴ Variant spelling for this river *Webi Shabeelle* is Shabelle River.

Environment and Differentiation, which are critical for sustaining language use. These five are defined in §4.1.1, then applied and assessed in §5.10. A crucial goal for Jii language development, according to the SUM, would be to “carve out a safe space” where the language can be used for more functions (Lewis and Simons 2016, 215). In short, “the SUM helps members of local language communities and those working with them to think about how they will transmit life-crucial knowledge to future generations” (Seguin 2020, 12).

Before taking any next steps, it will be helpful to look back at the previous seventy years in the Historical Timeline of Jiiddu Language Development, 1951-2021 (Fig. 3). The timeline for this study begins with Martino Moreno's *Brevi Notazioni di Ĝiddu* published in Rome, Italy, (1951) just nine years before Somalia gained independence from Italy in the South and Somaliland from England in the North (1960) and eleven years before the Latin-based national Somali orthography was adopted in 1972.

Twenty-one years later Marcello Lamberti's *Der Dialekt Der Jiddu* was published in Cologne, Germany (1981). About this time Giorgio Banti began researching in Somalia with ten visits in ten years (1979-89), and got to know S.A. Salim whom Banti hosted in Italy 1990 just before civil war devastated Somalia starting in 1991 (Fig. 3).

In 1993, S.A. Ibro's nephew, Warsame Alio Ibro (who would become sultan in 2011 after the death of his father, Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro), came to Dallas, Texas as a refugee. S.A. Ibro went to Australia in 1995, where he published the *Jiddu-Somali-English Mini-Dictionary* at La Trobe University in Melbourne (1998). In 2001, Sultan Alio Ibro (Sr.) came to Minnesota as a refugee where he met this researcher, who

subsequently visited Kurtunwarey, a Jiiddo settlement in the Lower Shabeelle in 2015 (Fig. 3).

The Jii dictionary app, based on Ibro's *Mini-Dictionary* (1998), was launched for the Android platform in April 2018 ("Jiiddo - English Dictionary - Apps on Google Play" 2018). In October, the dictionary was revised, expanded and reprinted by the JYA (50 copies for community testing) in Nairobi. In 2019, Sultan and S.A. Salim gave Somali President Farmajo a gift copy. From March 2020 to March 2021, the Jii FLEx database was expanded from 2,090 to 5,480 entries (Fig. 3).

Several other scholars have investigated Jii language and the Jiiddo people, including Cerulli (1957), M. Nuuh Ali ((with Ehret 1983), 1985, 2019), Arvanite and Ali (1985), Ehret ((and Ali 1983), 1995), and Mukhtar (2002, 2003, 2013), but they are not listed on the Figure 3 timeline below, which is reserved for those who devoted in-depth and focused study to Jii.

1.6 Historical Timeline of Jiiddu Language Development, 1951-2021

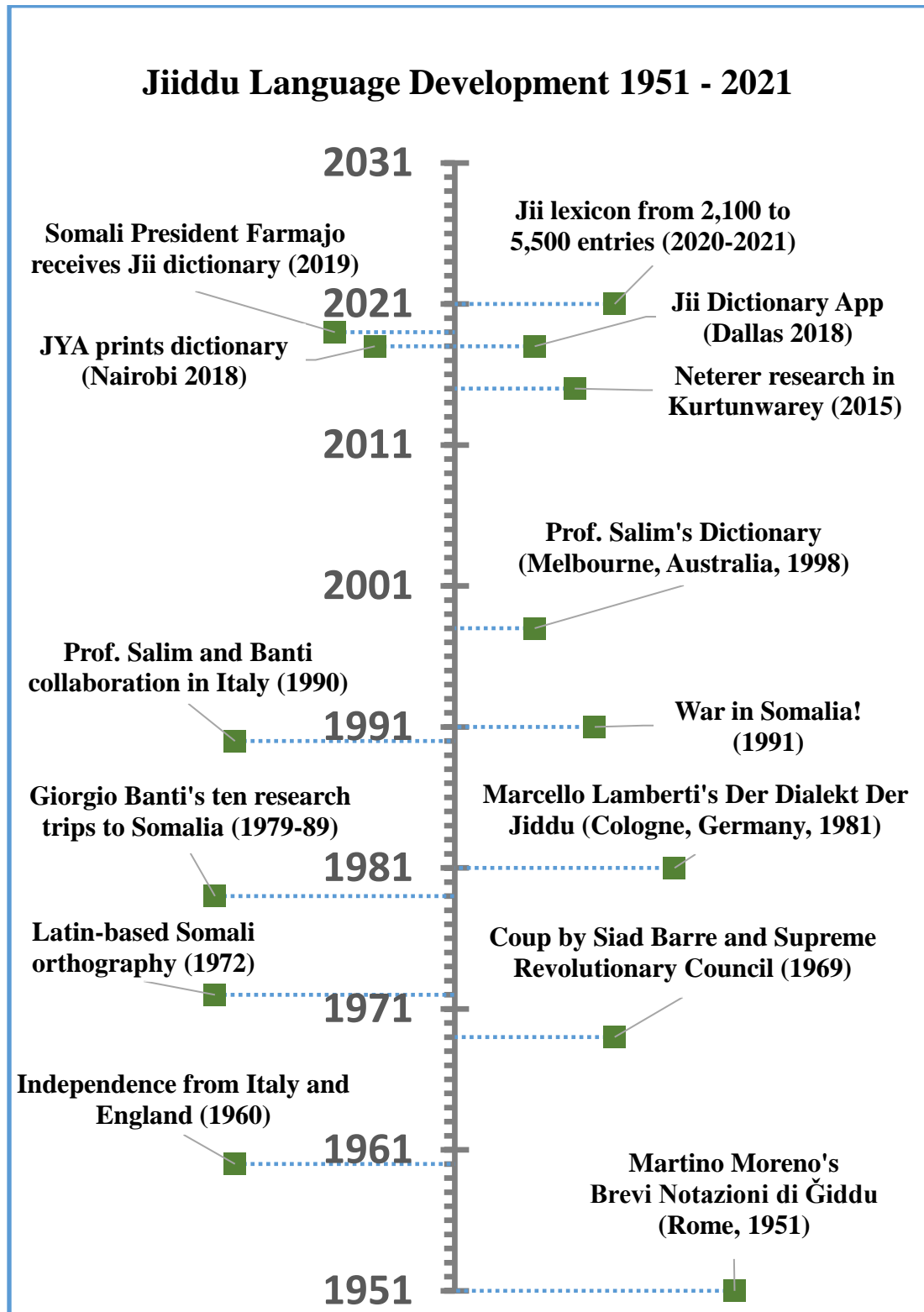


Figure 3. Timeline of Jiiddu Language Development, 1951 to 2021

1.6.1 Moreno and Lamberti 1951-1981

What has transpired in the past seventy years that has brought Jii to this stage of development? One observation of Jii language development history is that significant progress has happened in the context of cross-cultural interaction, both in Somalia and, after the refugee crisis, in the West. The first mention of Jii in academic literature was recorded by Italian diplomat Martino Moreno,¹⁵ who published *Brevi notazioni di ġiddu* after being welcomed in Merca by S.A. Ibro's uncle, Abdow Ibro (1951). Thirty years later, Marcello Lamberti published a longer, 96-page grammar sketch, *Der Dialekt der Jiddu: Af-Jiddu* (1981).

1.6.2 Banti and Ibro 1978-1998

From 1978 to 1989, Cushitic language specialist, Giorgio Banti, participated in a project funded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to assist the Somali Democratic Republic in developing the national language. For this reason, he visited Somalia ten times in ten years 1979—1989 where he met S.A. Ibro and worked with him on Jii. As the Somali government approached its final collapse in 1990, S.A. Ibro and his family were hosted by Banti in his home in Rome.¹⁶ Jii was already a special focus of Banti's research, so he helped Ibro with orthography decisions, which informed the spelling choices used in the mini-dictionary at La Trobe University in Australia in 1998. Banti has published at least two articles (1984 and 2004) that included Jii data and referenced unpublished field notes on Jii. Jiiddo community leaders are grateful for Banti's

¹⁵ Southern Somalia was colonized by Italy from 1889 until independence in 1960, except for a period of British military administration from 1941-1950. Northern Somaliland was a British protectorate from 1887 to 1960.

¹⁶ S.A. Ibro recounted, "It was 1990 [when I stayed with Banti], but I worked with him occasionally from 1993 to 1995 (when I was in Italy) and when I was in Australia until 1997" (Salim Alio Ibro, WhatsApp, March 18, 2021).

generosity in sharing those notes which have added at least 676 items to the lexicon. In addition, Banti's many hours of personal correspondence and consultation with Jiiddo leaders and this researcher have significantly contributed to greater understanding of Jii morphology and syntax.

1.7 Generations of Jiiddo Leadership 1991 to 2021

It seems the Jiiddo were wise to send their leaders to the West for safety during the crisis of the 1991 civil war and ensuing famine. As a small tribe, they were particularly vulnerable to raiding militias that were robbing and enslaving farmers ("General Information on the Jido" 2005). The Jiiddo community calculated that the chances of their Sultan and his family being killed were too great if they stayed in Somalia, so they risked an attempt to find safety in the West and bring help back to the homeland.

In 2001, September 11, 2001 (9/11) to be exact, the Sultan of the Jiiddo, Ibrahim Alio Ibro, entered US airspace with his family to be resettled as refugees in Minnesota.¹⁷ It was in Minneapolis that this author met the late Sultan Ibrahim and agreed to respond to his request to assist his brother S.A. Ibro in revising and expanding the Jii dictionary.

Since then, the JYA has collaborated on the dictionary. In 2018, four members of the JYA travelled to Nairobi, Kenya, for a five-day workshop on language development. On the final day, they printed a revised and expanded edition of the *Jiiddu-English*

¹⁷ Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro would have arrived in Minnesota on 9-11, but due to the events of that day, the flight was rerouted to Canada and the family came by bus a few days later. It seems the Jiiddo wisely decided to send their leaders to the West for safety during the crisis of the 1991 civil war and ensuing famine. As a smaller tribe, they were particularly vulnerable to raiding militias ("General Information on the Jido" 2005). The Jiiddo community calculated that the chances of their Sultan and his family being killed were too great if they stayed in Somalia, so they risked an attempt to find safety in the West and bring help back to the homeland.

Dictionary. The following year, on October 6, 2019, Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro, hereafter Sultan,¹⁸ with S. A. Ibro, presented a copy of the dictionary to Somali President “Farmajo” Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed.

Sultan and the JYA had planned to organize a “Rapid Word Collection Workshop” in Mogadishu in June 2020.¹⁹ However, local and international travel plans were cancelled because of COVID-19 restrictions. One silver lining in the cloud of the restrictions turned out to be the discovery of expedited communication between Minneapolis, Mogadishu, and Rome using communication technology like Zoom and WhatsApp. From March 31, 2020 to March 22, 2021, the FLEx lexicon database grew from 2,096 to 5,480 words and grammatical items. The JYA have now exceeded their five thousand word goal. The next step is to re-publish the expanded dictionary.

1.7.1 Salim Alio Ibro, MP

S.A. Ibro, Sultan Ibrahim’s brother, was welcomed as a refugee in Australia in 1995.²⁰ In October 2010, while on a visit from Melbourne to see his brother, Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, S.A. Ibro brought a copy of his dictionary to a meeting with the director of the Somali Adult Literacy Training (SALT) program.²¹ His adult nephew Warsame, who would soon succeed his father to become the next Sultan, accompanied him to that meeting; thus, introductions were made that have led to lasting relationships and growing collaboration.

¹⁸ Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro, son of the late Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro, is the current leader of the Jiiddo tribe. From this point in the paper, he will be referred to simply as Sultan.

¹⁹ <https://www.sil.org/dictionaries-lexicography/rapid-word-collection-methodology>

²⁰ When a measure of peace returned to Somalia, Ibro went back to serve in the government briefly as the interim Prime Minister of the Transitional Federal Government in 2007, and until now in several ministerial posts, including Finance, Livestock, Culture and Higher Education, as well as in Justice and Constitutional Affairs. His most recent post was Minister of Energy and Water. Currently, he is serving as a Member of Parliament. See Appendix 4 for S.A. Ibro’s CV.

²¹ This researcher has served as director of SALT since 2003. See CV at the end of this paper.

1.7.2 Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro

When Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro was welcomed by World Relief Minnesota to Minnesota in 2001, the Sultan was introduced to a university student volunteer who helped he and his family learn English. One of the first requests Sultan made to his tutor was for an Italian – English dictionary to aid communication. At that time, the university student volunteer shared with this researcher what he learned from the Sultan about the social and linguistic differences between the Maay and *Mahaatiri*-speaking Somali communities.²² (See §3.2 and 3.4 for a description of the linguistic ecology in the Lower Shabeelle of Somalia where Jii is spoken.)

In 2004, Sultan Ibrahim engaged leaders of SALT and by 2007, SALT began mobilizing volunteers to serve as English conversation partners and literacy tutors at the Somali Mai (Maay) Community Center which Sultan Ibrahim had founded in Minneapolis.²³ He expressed his appreciation for the SALT designed *Somali – English ABC Book*, a literacy primer, which helps Somalis learn to read, starting with Somali and bridging to English (Neterer 2010). Sultan said, “I appreciate the work you have done in Somali language. Will you help us preserve our ethnic and linguistic heritage as indigenous peoples?” Specifically, he requested help to improve and expand the *Jiddu-Somali-English Mini- Dictionary*, which his brother, S.A. Ibro, had created twelve years earlier in Australia (1998).

²² This researcher’s interest in the Jiiddo community and Jii language began in 1998 while teaching at the International Institute of Minnesota, St Paul, where the majority of students were adult Somali refugees. Ethnographic research about these new immigrants led to a growing awareness of Somalia’s linguistic diversity that includes Jii, Tunni, Garre, Dabarre, Mushungulu, and Maay, which is the language of wider communication in Southwest Somalia.

²³ Online profile of now-closed Somali Mai (Maay) Community of Minnesota:
<https://www.guidestar.org/profile/04-3604378>

1.7.3 Sultan Warsame Ibrahim Alio Ibro

Warsame Ibrahim Alio Ibro, the current Sultan of the Jiiddo, was the first of his family to come to America. World Relief, Fort Worth Texas welcomed him as a refugee in 1993. Later he joined his family in Minnesota in 2011. When his father Ibrahim passed away that year, Warsame was appointed Sultan and returned to Africa in 2012 to serve in that capacity. He was also called upon to serve on a committee drafting the new Somali constitution.

In addition to providing leadership for his Jiiddo tribe, Sultan also serves as a spokesperson and advocate for the Digil Confederacy in the Lower Shabeelle (which includes the Tunni, Garre, and Dabarre). They are joined to a larger confederacy known as the Digil-Mirifle, also known as the Rahanweyn, or *Reewing*, comprised of approximately thirty Maay-speaking tribes in the wider region of Southwest Somalia between the Shabeelle and Jubba Rivers.

1.7.4 Ayub Osman and the Jiiddo Youth Association (JYA)

Many of the next generation of leaders are the members of the Jiiddo Youth Association (JYA), founded November 2016 and based in Mogadishu (“Jiido Youth Organization” 2016). Ayub Osman Mohamed, leader of the group, and Chairman Adan Hajji Omar have provided linguistic, cultural, and historical data for this study, with the support of Sultan and S.A. Ibro. Ayub Osman was first introduced to this author in March 2017 by Sultan, who was seeking to encourage and mentor Osman in his role as a youth leader. When asked for linguistic data, Sultan and S.A. Ibro have been willing to respond, but in order to develop the next generation of leaders, they have recommended looking to Osman and the other youth as much as possible.

This collaboration has built deeper trust and stronger relationships, as the JYA leaders have provided firsthand knowledge of their language, culture and history. With a scarcity of published information about the Jii language and Jiiddo culture, direct communication with them has been invaluable. Most of the JYA were born in small villages in the Lower Shabeelle of Somalia. While they currently spend much of their time in Mogadishu, they maintain regular communication with their Jiiddo clansmen in the rural districts of Qoryoley, Kurtunwarey,²⁴ and Sablaale south of the capital (Fig. 4).

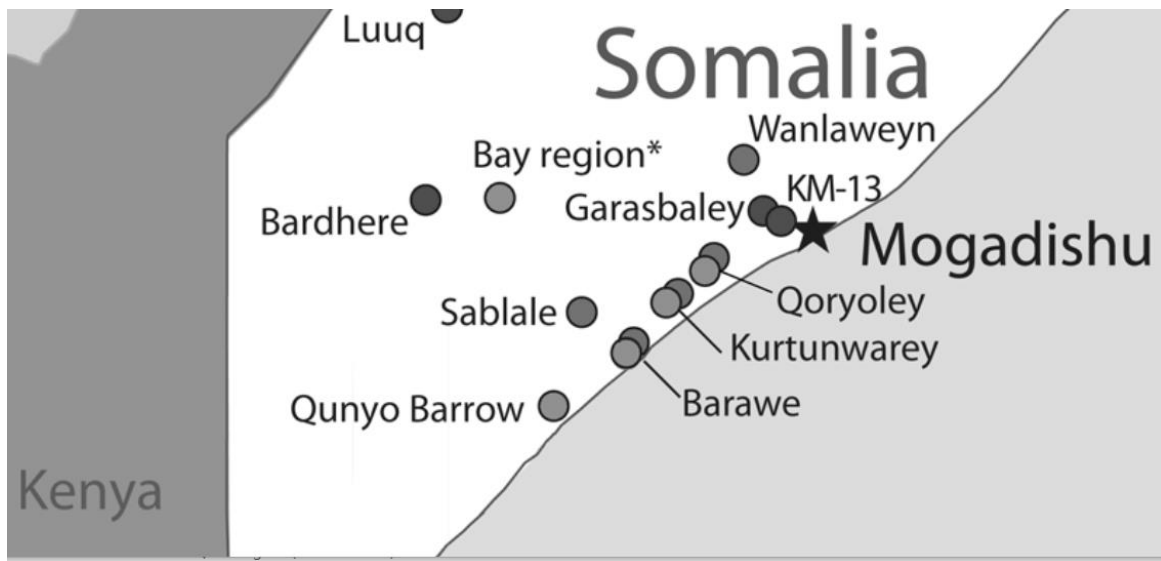


Figure 4. Qoryoley, Kurtunwarey, and Sablaale Critical Threats (Indermuehle 2017)

One challenge in conducting research remotely has been slow response times, sometimes waiting for feedback during periods of disruption and demanding daily life inside Somalia. However, this is to be expected in the face of extreme security concerns. Remote access via communication technology seems to be the necessary approach for outside researchers who, so far, cannot safely be on the ground for more than a few days at a time.

²⁴ Variant spellings are Kurtunwaarey and Kuntuwarey.

An ongoing question about what is appropriate to publish and what might be too sensitive remains difficult to ascertain. The Jiiddo leaders must say what they are comfortable with as they find an appropriate balance between vulnerability about dysfunctional aspects of society on the one hand, and pride in displaying the positive aspects of their history and culture on the other.

This research effort has been conducted with the understanding of serving mutual interests. In addition to furthering Jii language development, Ayub Osman's goal for himself and the other JYA members is to improve academic English reading and writing skills in order to advance their education. In the process of helping with academic research for this thesis about their language and culture, they have been advancing their skills in English, linguistics, and communication technology. This collaboration with Ayub Osman, Sultan Alio Ibro, and S.A. Ibro promises to be beneficial as they seek to advance educational opportunities for the youth in order to empower the entire community.

Ayub Osman is a fluent English speaker and writer, so communication has not been difficult by phone or by email. He has handled Jii transcription and translation from video and other texts. With his multilingual experience growing up speaking *Dhoobey*, a dialect of Maay, then learning *Mahaatiri* Somali, Swahili, Jii and English, he has been invaluable in providing linguistic data and analysis. His careful documentation has benefitted this research project.²⁵

²⁵ In addition to his research efforts in the Jii language development project, Ayub Osman has also overseen relief and development projects which have involved great risk. He was nearly killed on October 14th, 2017, in a suicide car bomb explosion that killed five hundred others (H. Mohamed, Schmitt, and Ibrahim 2018) including two companions. He managed to keep the money safe that he had just received. When he recovered, he used the money to purchase livestock, seeds, and farm tools to distribute to villagers in his home area. He created a spreadsheet for the distribution list of names, ages, genders, and telephone numbers of the heads of household and village locations.

While Osman and the JYA have varying levels of proficiency in speaking Jii, they are all proud of their Jiiddo identity. They had heard about the Jii dictionary that S.A. Ibro published in Australia (1998), but they had not yet seen a copy until 2018. Since uploading the lexical items from his dictionary into the Jii lexicon database software program (“FLEx, FieldWorks Language Explorer” 2021), S.A. Ibro, Sultan, Osman and the entire community have shared access so they may revise and expand as appropriate. FLEx also includes sophisticated features for analyzing text morpheme-by-morpheme in order to build a grammar sketch. This analysis has begun in collaboration with this researcher, the JYA, and Giorgio Banti, but much work remains.

As the world is rapidly changing, and globalization is threatening the viability of indigenous cultures, this collaborative research exercise of looking ahead to the future should benefit the Jiiddo as they evaluate their options and make informed choices as to which innovations they want to adopt and which they may decide to reject.

2 Literature Review

Three European scholars have studied Jii in depth—Moreno (1951), Lamberti (1981, 1988), and Banti (1978 to present). Besides S.A. Ibro, one non-Jiiddo Somali scholar, Mohamed Nuuh Ali, Ph.D. (UCLA), stands out for publishing papers focused on Jii classification (M. N. Ali and Arvanites 1985) (Ehret and Ali 1983). These are the known sources thus far, and after a diligent three-year search, seem to be the only significant references. A disclaimer should be issued, however, that there might yet be undiscovered documents. In fact, just before final editing of this paper, Giorgio Banti showed this researcher an index to a book by Italian scholar Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia I - Storia della Somalia. L'Islam in Somalia* which indicates multiple references to *Ĝiddu* showing that there is more Jii data that should be investigated (1957).²⁶

Another section of the same book, *il Libro Degli Zengi* (Cerulli 1957), revealed significant insights into Jiiddo history and origins. That information has been translated to English and included in Appendix 19.1 regarding Jiiddo origins. This thesis is restricted to a survey of literature post 1951. However, for future study Banti recommended two other pre-1951 works with Jii data by Italian scholars: *Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia Italiana Meridionale* (Colucci 1924) and *Le popolazioni indigene della Somalia Italiana* (Puccioni 1937).

There could be additional resources archived in other countries, like Ethiopia or Russia, which have had significant historical interactions with Somalia. It would be a

²⁶ *Ĝiddu* (Jiiddo) is referenced on pp. 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 66, 95, 143, 146, and 163.

wonderful discovery to find materials about Jii written in languages like Arabic or Somali. To this point, Christopher R. Green et al., editors of *Reference and Pedagogical Resources for 'Standard' Somali*, describe the challenges they encountered in compiling their annotated bibliography:

While Somali has been fairly well documented, at least in comparison with most other African languages, materials describing the language are often difficult to access for a variety of reasons. For instance, much of the early foundational documentation of Somali is found in books and monographs that have long since fallen out of publication. Other descriptive works are located in difficult to obtain conference proceedings. A further issue to tackle is that the literature on Somali is written in a wide variety of languages, including English, French, Russian, Italian, German, and Somali itself. A number of important articles on Somali are found in journals and other periodicals that are no longer published, and are therefore somewhat difficult to obtain. Finally, some of the more sophisticated, contemporary work on the language that addresses longstanding controversies or anomalies about Somali are yet unpublished, being located in conference handouts and unpublished dissertations and theses. The sum total of this state of affairs makes it prohibitively difficult for a linguist or pedagogue with interest in descriptive, analytical, or theoretical topics in Somali to continue work on the language or to explore it further (Green et al. 2014, 4).

This in-depth literature review, therefore, is an attempt to investigate comprehensively relevant references to Jii in three sections. §2.1 reviews four articles investigating the origins of Jii, followed by §2.2, which is a look at the descriptive linguistic work of Moreno and Lamberti. §2.3 discusses S.A. Ibro's *Jiddu-Somali-English Mini- Dictionary* (1998). Then, §2.4 highlights the few pieces of traditional Jii oral literature that have been documented thus far. Additionally, two sections review literature in the following topics relevant to Jii language development: §2.5, the history of Somali national language development, and §2.6, Selected Readings in Language Development. §2.6.1 reviews Fishman's classic *Reversing Language Shift*, and finally, §2.6.2 offers a

cautionary case study from Siberia where literacy development failed to sustain a language.

2.1 Origins of the Jiiddo People and the Jiiddu Language

While this section about ancient history and Jii origins may not seem to relate directly to the present-day task of language development, it is included here for two reasons. First, for the benefit of perspective for the Jiiddo community and the motivation of Jiiddo identity as they look ahead to the future of Jii language use, it may be helpful for them to look back to understand where their language and culture originated. The realization by the Jiiddo that the origin of their language is a fascinating question that has attracted the attention of multiple linguists may help to instill greater appreciation of their identity, and a desire to honor their ancestors by preserving their unique heritage.

Second, on a practical level, perhaps the Jiiddo can benefit by comparing notes with development projects conducted by their linguistic cousins identified in this section, like the Bayso and speakers of other Cushitic languages in Ethiopia, the Rendille of Kenya, and perhaps even the Afar of Eritrea.²⁷ At the same time, the reality is that their most important relationships are with their closest clan neighbors, the Digil and Mirifle. Collaboration and coordination with their Maay-speaking neighbors will be important since development activities have already been accomplished in Maay, the language of wider communication (LWC).

Even if this aspect of Jii language literature review serves only a sentimental purpose for the Jiiddo community, there is value in anything that motivates the

²⁷ S.A. Ibro queried about a possible Jii – Afar connection in the recommended “Further Reading” section of his dictionary (1998, 205).

community to sustain their language use. The Sustainable Use Method emphasizes community ownership and initiative. Motivation is the third of five necessary conditions for sustainable use, according to the FAMED framework of SUM:

The goal of reversing language shift need not necessarily be to wrest dominance away from the currently powerful and more widely used language(s). A more beneficial approach for all concerned is to find an equitable distribution of functions for the languages in the ecology, taking into account both instrumental and sentimental motivations for their use. (Lewis and Simons 2016, 99)

In this case, pride in Jiiddo origins and heritage may be an important motivational factor.

The following reviews are offered in order of their publication date.

2.1.1 M. Nuuh Ali and Arvanite’s “Place of Jiiddu in Proto-Soomaali” (1985)

This five-page precis appeared in *Studies in African Linguistics* (1985) as a follow up to a sixty-eight-page article, “Soomaali Classification”, published two years earlier by Ehret and M. Nuuh Ali (1983). It was in the 1983 article they first claimed that Jii of Somalia should be classified more closely related to the Bayso language of Ethiopia, 785 miles away, than to its closest neighbors in the Digil clan confederacy, such as Garre and Tunni (Ehret and Ali 1983). This conference paper “The place of Jiiddu in Proto-Soomaali” merits review in this historical study of Jii language development because it is one of only four published papers focused exclusively on Jii. This paper has been a source of pride for Jiiddo leaders. They are honored to see their language receive academic recognition as the article highlights Ali and Ehret’s 1983 hypothesis that put Jii “with Bayso as one primary branch, as against the second primary branch composed of the remainder of the Soomaali languages” and thereby “...plucking Jiiddu out of obscurity...” (M. N. Ali and Arvanites 1985, 6).²⁸

²⁸ Besides S. A. Ibro’s dictionary, Nuuh and Arvanite’s *Place of Jiiddu in Proto-Soomaali* (1985), was the first document shared with this researcher by the current Sultan of the Jiiddo upon meeting in 2011.

2.1.2 M. Nuuh Ali's *History in the Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. - 1500 A.D. (1985)*

In the same year that *The Place of Jiiddu in Proto-Soomaali* was published, Fulbright Scholar Mohamed Nuuh Ali completed his PhD dissertation, *History in the Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. - 1500 A.D.: Aspects of Social and Economic Change between the Rift Valley and the Indian Ocean*, which references Jii 153 times and provides 431 Jii lexical entries (Ali 1985). His purpose is “to use linguistic evidence to reconstruct the early history of the Soomaali speakers” (Ali 1985, 11).²⁹

Ali uses a lexicostatistical comparison method to measure “cognition percentages” between word lists (a modified Swadesh list of one hundred words) of forty Somali languages and dialects to establish historical linguistic classification (1985, 22).³⁰ Ali also tracks “sound change histories and patterns of lexical innovation” as well as historical interactions evidenced by word borrowing (1985, 15). He concludes that Jii and Bayso must share a branch as part of Proto-Somali because, “The Jiddu-Bayso [cognition] relation is markedly higher at 54%,³¹ despite their great geographical separation, and so they appear to form a separate branch” (Ali 1985, 26).

Ali estimates that Proto-Bayso-Jii “split into two daughters, pre-Bayso and pre-Jiiddu, sometime perhaps late in the first millennium B.C.” (Fig. 5) (1985, 32). His theory is that “Pre-Jiiddu” traveled south (from the Bale mountain highlands of Ethiopia) along

²⁹ For instance, one example of an adopted word into Jii “by periphrasis (adding words)/reduction” is mukshabeel ‘cheetah’ literally, ‘like a leopard’; cf. *muks-* ‘like’ and *shabeel* ‘leopard’ (M. N. Ali 1985, 21).

³⁰ This concept of a standard core vocabulary list of one hundred words, developed by Swadesh, “includes such items as numbers and parts of the body generally deemed by linguists to be especially resistant to change and borrowing” (M. N. Ali 1985, 14) See Appendix 5 for the Ey Jii Swadesh list of 100.

³¹ See Fig. 44, a lexicostatistical analysis of “Soomaali” dialects chart, in Appendix 19.2. 54% cognition relation means that 54% of the hundred Jii words were similar or recognizable in the Bayso language.

the upper Jubba River into the Lower Shabeelle region of Somalia, “where modern Jiiddu is spoken today, probably by or before the first century A.D.” (Ali 1985, 35).

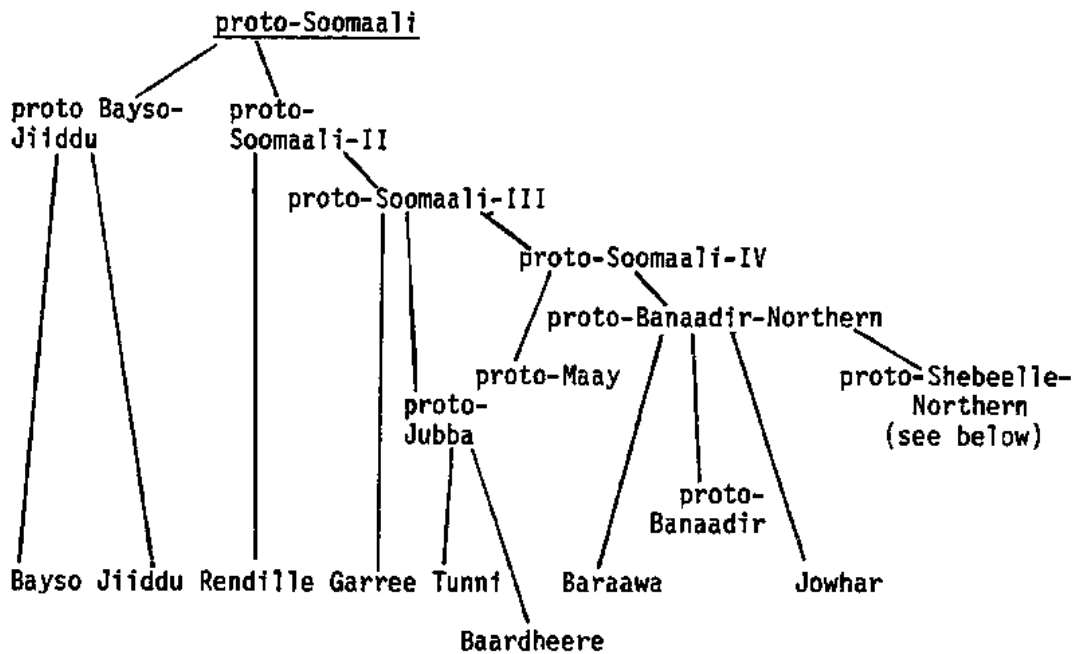


Figure 5. M. N. Ali, *History in the Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. - 1500 A.D.* (1985, 16)

The Jiiddu community is aware of Ali’s work and proud of the status he has afforded their language. As members of an oral culture, they have likely not accessed his scholarship by reading his dissertation, but they most likely did by watching and sharing a video of a lecture he presented (“Somali History” 2019)³² hosted by Amoud University in his hometown of Borama, in northern Somaliland.³³ The Jiiddu of Southwest Somalia are particularly honored by such recognition from this scholar from the North.

³²Dr. M. Nuh Ali is introduced and begins speaking about the Jiiddu of Qoryooley at approximately 1:30: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=538900073313452>.

³³ Dr. Mohamed Nuh Ali, Delivering a Public Lecture, "Somali History", at Rays Hotel Borama. July 17, 2019. <https://amouduniversity.org/k2-listing/item/568-dr-mohamed-nuh-ali-delivering-a-public-lecture-at-rays-hotel-borama-hosted-by-amoud-university-somali-history>

2.1.3 Lamberti's *Origin of the Jiiddu of Somalia* (1988)

The Origin of the Jiiddu of Somalia is a conference paper by Marcello Lamberti published in Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Somali Studies (1988). Seven years earlier, Lamberti had visited Qoryoley (hometown of the Jiiddo sultans) to conduct field research for a grammar sketch he published later that year (1981). From linguistic evidence he collected, Lamberti postulates that the Jiiddo people originated in the Gamu Gofa region of Ethiopia, (on the west side of Abaya Lake).³⁴ From the Gamu Gofa region, they moved east to the Sidamo region (on the east side of Abaya Lake) before moving further east to the Bale Mountains near the headwaters of the Jubba and Shabeelle Rivers (Fig. 6) (Lamberti 1988, 9).



Figure 6. Lake Abaya and Bale Mountains of Ethiopia (Google Maps 2020)

³⁴ Lamberti does not mention Abaya Lake here by name, but the region of Ethiopia he describes is where the Bayso language is spoken. This could explain contact with Bayso, which Ehret and M. Nuuh Ali placed on the same branch with Jii, under Proto Somali I.

The larger part of the Jiiddo remains there in Ethiopia, while the smaller group split off to move further east and south to where they live today along the Lower Shabeelle River in Somalia, approximately 75 miles south of Mogadishu (Lamberti 1988, 9). Lamberti's conclusion is that while modern Jii should now be considered a Somali dialect, its differences with Somali can be explained by early close contact, first with the languages of the Konsoid group,³⁵ and later with Highland East Cushitic languages, which are also in Ethiopia.

2.1.4 Ehret's *Eastern Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. to 1400 AD: Historical Roots* (1995)

Christopher Ehret, who had eleven years earlier contributed to Ali and Arvanite's *The Place of Jiiddo in Proto-Soomaali* (1984), authored this chapter, "*Eastern Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. to 1400 AD: The Historical Roots*" in *The Invention of Somalia* (Ahmed, A. Jimale, ed. 1995). His narrative summary of 2,400 years is a concise and readable historical overview based on collaborative research with his colleague M. Nuuh Ali in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In twenty-five pages, he references Jii and the Jiiddo people seventeen times as he traces their linguistic roots from the eastern Ethiopian rift valley and the Eastern Omo-Tana river region and then down the Ganale River (Fig. 7), which feeds into the Jubba River as it crosses the Somali border. Specifically, he proposes that the ancestors of the Jiiddo, "proto-Jiiddo", migrated along this river valley to reach their present-day

³⁵ Konsoid languages, including Konso, Ko, D'i, Mo, Ma, belong to a subgroup of Lowland East Cushitic spoken in Southwest Ethiopia, which have been strongly influenced by Oromo (Lamberti 1987, 529).

homeland along the Shabeelle River near Merca, arriving sometime in the first century A.D (1995, 240).

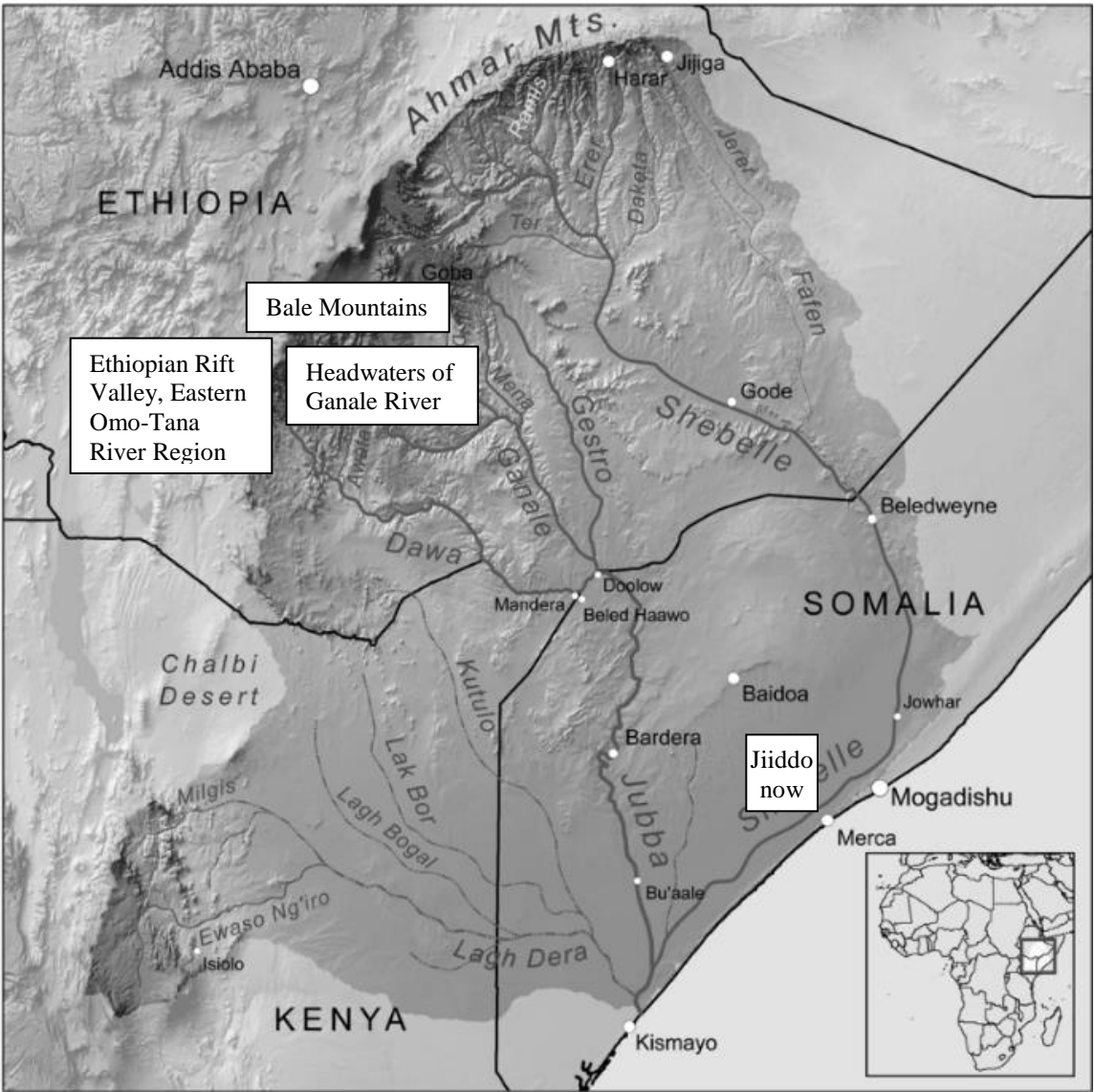


Figure 7. Ganale-Jubba, and Shabeelle Rivers (Musser 2010)

2.1.5 Mohamed Haji Mukhtar's *Historical Dictionary of Somalia* (2003)

The Jiiddo people are among the first known inhabitants of the Horn of Africa, according to Mohamed Haji Mukhtar,³⁶ (2003, p. xxv).³⁷ In his *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, the first chronological reference (Fig. 8) is to the “Jiddu presence in the Horn”, estimated around 4000 BCE, as part of “proto-Somali I” (2003, p. xxv).³⁸

- 4000 B.C.E.** Jiddu presence in the Horn (proto-Somali I).
- 3000 B.C.E.** Emergence of Proto-Somali II or pre-Rendille and Garre.
- 3000 B.C.E.** During the fifth dynasty, Egyptian documents record the earliest known Pharaonic expedition to Somalia, the Land of Punt, for frankincense and myrrh.
- 2000 B.C.E.** The Tunni group occupy the lower Shabelle valley. Early herding communities in the Horn.
- 1475 B.C.E.** Illustration of Queen Pharaoh Hatshepsut's expedition to the land of Punt in the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahri.
- 1000 B.C.E.** Proto-Somali III speakers, including the Garre and the Tunni, occupy the Juba valley.

Figure 8. Chronology of Somali Prehistory, Mukhtar (2003, p. xxv)

Mukhtar's reference to “proto-Somali I” is from Christopher Ehret and Mohamed Nuuh Ali's classification of Somali language varieties which shows a close linguistic

³⁶ Mohamed Haji Mukhtar is the editor of the English- Maay Dictionary (2007) and professor of African & Middle Eastern history at Savannah State University.

³⁷ This perspective has been challenged and Mukhtar's proposal is certainly not the last word. There are many "we were here first" claims to be the original clans in Somalia. This fascinating claim is included for the sake of interest in this Jii focused study. Interestingly, Mohamed Haji Mukhtar is not Jiiddo himself, but rather from the Maay-speaking Bakool region of southern Somalia, part of the related Mirifle confederacy of tribes.

³⁸ In support of this view, Banti commented, “Mukhtar is probably aware of oral historical traditions that I know from one of the works of Enrico Cerulli (1957) (see Appendix 19.1), also the book by Massimo Colucci contains considerable information on the Jiiddo: *Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia italiana meridionale. I gruppi sociali. La proprietà*” (1924), (Giorgio Banti, Email, March 21, 2021).

relationship between the Jii of Somalia and the Bayso³⁹ of Ethiopia as well as the Rendille of Kenya (Ehret and Ali 1983, 203, 206).

2.1.6 Ayub Osman’s Traditional Account (2018)

According to Osman, (according to elder Ahmed Borille), there are two possible origin stories for the name Jiiddo. He first explained this in 2018 and clarified in 2021:

- 1) The founding father of Jiiddo, known as *Gedle*, used to warn his opponents by drawing a crescent mark [with a stick on the ground] in front of them, to dare them to cross and then a fight would erupt because of this kind of warning. Therefore, the people nicknamed him Jiiddo. (Osman, correspondence May 30, 2018). In Somali Mahaatiri and Maay, *jiidin* means ‘a crescent mark’ so maybe this word for crescent mark is related to the name Jiiddo (Osman, correspondence April 27, 2021).
- 2) Our father used to have large herds of cattle and one of his cows was known as Jiiddo. This could be a nickname as a result of his livestock. (Osman, correspondence May 30, 2018).

2.2 Jiiddu Descriptive Linguistics

This section reviews the works of two Italian researchers who have published Jii grammar sketches, Moreno (1951) and Lamberti (1981). Italian scholar Giorgio Banti has also done significant analysis in Jii, but his work is not yet published.

2.2.1 Moreno’s *Brevi Notazioni di Ġiddu* (1951)

Italian diplomat Martino Mario Moreno added Jii to his list of linguistic investigations when he traveled to the port city of Merca, fifty-six miles south of Mogadishu in 1951. Merca is the nearest major town/port city to Jiiddo territory. That Jii was not his original research focus would explain why he did not travel twenty-two miles further inland to Qoryooley, the regional center of the Jiiddo. In Merca he spent about

³⁹ Alternate spelling is Baiso.

eight hours interviewing S.A. Ibro's uncle, *Cavaliere* (chief/mayor), Ábdio Ibráu.

Cavaliere Ábdio Ibráu (Abdow Ibraw) was appointed as an official by the Italian colonial government. His brother, Alio Ibraw, (the father of S.A. Ibro and grandfather of the current Sultan Warsame Ibrahim Alio Ibro) was the reigning Sultan at that time.⁴⁰

Thus, Moreno became the first outsider to record Jii field notes and describe patterns he found in the grammar. His seven and a half pages of "brief notes," have contributed 145 words or grammar items to the Jii lexicon along with numerous example phrases. An intriguing possibility for future research is the potential existence of more unpublished notes. Moreno mentions two hundred sentences and two fables that Cavaliere Ibráu dictated along with other collected materials (Moreno 1951, 99). As the JYA has been in communication with the son of the late Martino Moreno asking permission to re-publish his work, perhaps they may also ask if these unpublished notes are available.

Moreno's original focus was not Jii, but rather the *Ashraf* dialect of Merca,⁴¹ which he described as "spoken only within the family and unintelligible to the uninitiated" (1951, 99). While investigating Ashraf, one of his informants asked him if he would be interested in learning about a language even more "arcane" than Ashraf (99).

Moreno confirmed that Jii, which was until then an "unexplored language," was indeed quite different from the Somali "*Hawíya*, *Dārôd*⁴² and *Isâq* (dialects)," he had encountered thus far (1951, 99). He writes, "Although the Ĝiddu are part of the Digil,⁴³ it

⁴⁰ See the Ibro family tree, Fig. 54, in Appendix 21.

⁴¹ "... While Marka (Af Ashraaf) may be similar in certain ways to both Northern Somali and Maay, it nonetheless boasts a number of unique properties, particularly in its morphology, that we believe merit its treatment not as a Somali or Maay dialect, but as a language variety of its own" (Green and Jones, 2016),

⁴² Note the alternate spelling for Darood.

⁴³ Ĝiddu is the Italian spelling for Jiiddu that Moreno used.

[the language] has phonetics, morphology and a lexicon that are very dissimilar from those of the dialects of that group, and therefore deserves to be classified separately” (1951, 99).⁴⁴ He adds, “The first thing that surprises in Ġiddu is the high proportion of words foreign to other Somali dialects” (1951, 99). He concludes, “I believe that these quick notes are enough to show how important the study of Jiddu is for classifying the Somali dialects and also for research on their substrata” (Moreno 1951, 107).

Moreno made history in 1951 when he seized the opportunity to investigate the “arcane” and “unexplored” language of Jii (1951, 99). For thirty years, his work remained the only published work on Jii in the field of linguistics until 1981, when Lamberti decided to investigate more deeply, which is the focus of the next sub-section.

2.2.2 Lamberti’s *Der Dialekt Der Jiddu: Af Jiddu* (1981)

Marcello Lamberti has contributed more Jii-dedicated material to the published literature than any other scholar. He is an Italian linguist, but he wrote this grammar sketch in German,⁴⁵ as well as his PhD dissertation *Die Somali-Dialekte*.

His 96-page grammar sketch, *Der Dialekt Der Jiddu – Af Jiddu* (1981),⁴⁶ remains the most detailed study of the language yet.⁴⁷ His paper provided 509 words and morphemes to the Ey Jii Lexicon (not counting duplicate items with exact spellings that had already been entered from Ibro’s dictionary).⁴⁸

⁴⁴ The Digil group includes Tunni, Garre, and Dabarre, as well as Jii.

⁴⁵ Lamberti studied African Linguistics in Cologne, Germany with Bernd Heine.

⁴⁶ *Af* means ‘mouth’, or in this sense, ‘language’ in *Mahaatiri* and also in Maay Somali.

⁴⁷ Now that Giorgio Banti has retired from teaching, he plans to publish his work on Jii, which is expected to contribute extensively to the understanding of the language (Personal correspondence, April 2020).

⁴⁸ There are duplicates in the lexicon with spelling variants that remain for a future Jiiddo language committee to review for standardization. Lamberti used the schwa symbol ə for unstressed final vowels, whereas Ibro decided to use the letter i.

He concludes, “Jiddu is a South Somali dialect that deviates remarkably from other Somali dialects and therefore deserves its own place.⁴⁹ Its grammar however is clearly Eastern Cushitic and it might be the one Somali dialect that is most closely related to Oromo” (Lamberti 1981, iv). He agrees with Moreno’s assessment, noting, “The first thing that surprises in Ĵiddu is the high proportion of words foreign to other Somali dialects” (Moreno 1951, 99, cited in Lamberti 1981, iv).

2.2.3 Lamberti’s PhD Dissertation, *The Somali Dialects* (1983)

Marcello Lamberti’s 410 page PhD Dissertation, *Die Somali-Dialekte (The Somali Dialects)*, done at the University of Cologne in 1983, is a broad study, with an ambitious scope. Lamberti surveyed sixty-seven linguistic features among seventeen Somali dialects: Isaaq, Ogaadeen, Majeerteen, Marrehaan, Degodiya, Wardeyg, Abgaal, Xamari, Juraan, Bimaal, Shingaani, Merka, Maay, Tunni, Dabarre, Garre, and Jii. His survey is impressive in depth and deserves special review in this study because of the 991 references to Jii.

Lamberti’s primary objective was to reconstruct a lexicon of what the original language in the region (which he called “Old Somali”) would have looked like. His hypotheses about “Old Somali” may not be relevant to this study,⁵⁰ but his Jii data was extremely valuable for the purposes of establishing a baseline.

His fieldwork was recorded from interviews with six Jii-speaking informants hailing from Qoryoley, Dhiinsoor, Yaaq Baraaway (Dhiinsoor District), Buurhakaba,⁵¹

⁴⁹ Likely Lamberti’s use of “dialect” refers to a “language” that is clearly part of the Somali node.

⁵⁰ Lamberti’s reconstructed lexicon of “Old Somali”, and the corresponding (or in some cases contrasting) Jii words, is available upon request from this author. Might these reconstructed old forms provide any benefit to inform spelling decisions of the Jiido community, as they standardize modern Jii?

⁵¹ Alternately spelled Buur Hakaba.

and Jilib. From his data, 135 new headwords were added to the lexicon. In addition, 155 variant spellings were added, which may be helpful in the future for a (yet to be officially formed) Jii Language Development Committee, as they compare variant spellings and decide on a standard. In multiple cases each linguist (Moreno, Nuuh, Lamberti, Ibro, and Banti) has spelled the same word differently.

2.2.4 Lamberti's *Map of Somali Dialects* (1986)

This sixty-page monograph, *Map of Somali Dialects in the Somali Democratic Republic*, (with six maps), published in English, is a follow-up summary from Lamberti's 1983 PhD dissertation (1986). In the forward, Andrzej Zaborski called this publication "an important historical event" because of the clarity of dialect differentiation based on extensive fieldwork. He credited Lamberti with creating one of the best-detailed dialect maps for African languages in general (Lamberti 1986, 5).

As reported in his dissertation, Lamberti's observations were based on six months of fieldwork, in the second half of 1981, in what was then called the Somali Democratic Republic. His research was financed by the University of Cologne, with oversight by Professor Bernd Heine. He was welcomed by the Somali National University of Mogadishu, the Ministry of Culture, the Somali Studies International Association as well as various local authorities. He recorded nearly one hundred hours of data on sixty-four tapes using a questionnaire that had been designed in Europe. The questionnaire was made up of two parts. The lexical part was a list of around six hundred words, and the second part was focused on morphological and syntactical features with a corpus of more than five hundred sentences. Lamberti may have processed his data more carefully for

this paper and/or included different Jii examples than he did in his 1983 PhD dissertation, because this short article provided twenty-seven more items for the lexicon.

2.3 S.A. *Ibro's Jiddu-Somali-English Mini- Dictionary (1998)*

The Jii dictionary was born of necessity as Salim Alio Ibro, already conversant in five languages, found himself learning English as a newly arrived immigrant seeking refuge in Melbourne, Australia after the upheaval of civil war in his home country. With the pressing need to learn English, Ibro started keeping a word list for his personal study that included Somali and Jii glosses. His instructors at the La Trobe University Language Centre noticed and encouraged him to publish his work as they recognized the value for other learners, and for academic exploration. Gerry Meister, Director of the Language Centre, wrote this introduction to the dictionary:

The lexicon is a result of the personal initiative of Mr. Salim Ibro who studied at La Trobe University Language Centre in 1997. His compilation of a personal study lexicon grew to the point where he and his teachers felt it would be useful to other members of the Somali community.

I congratulate, commend and thank Mr. Ibro for his initiative and application in compiling this useful tool. I am pleased to have been able to assist in its publication. I trust that it will immediately fill an urgent need.

It is, however, not the work of a professional lexicographer. My hope is that, as well as serving an immediate end, it will stimulate feedback responses from users which will help to refine and improve it, and that it may provide the groundwork for the comprehensive dictionary of these new community languages of Australia. It is also hoped that the Jiddu component will contribute to linguistic research into this language (S.A. Ibro 1998, vii).

As a veterinarian, Ibro lectured from 1975 until 1990 at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and Animal Production at the Somali National University in Mogadishu.⁵² In

⁵² As a research scholar, he studied in the Faculty of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine at the University of Turin, Italy. See S.A. Ibro's CV in Appendix 4.

Australia, Ibro was preparing for studies at the School of Agriculture at La Trobe University. He included specialized terminology in the dictionary related to his profession. For example, *hewkel* ‘sheep’s dewlap,’ refers to the loose flap of skin under the animal’s neck. ‘Bilharzia,’ is a disease caused by a water-borne parasite called *haashi dhig* (literally “something in the blood”) in Jii.

A small number of dictionaries were printed in Australia, and an unknown number were distributed. The dictionary may be viewed at LaTrobe University’s library (S. Ibro 1998), and a PDF version may be downloaded from the University of Rome digital archives.⁵³ In 2018, this researcher scanned a copy (of a copy) that Sultan had provided, converted it via Optical Character Recognition (OCR) to text that could be formatted in a spreadsheet and then uploaded to the FLEx lexicon. From FLEx, it was possible to create a dictionary app for Android phones (“Jiiddu - English Dictionary - Apps on Google Play” 2018). In 2020, the expanded lexicon was uploaded and is available for review in Language Forge, a new “collaborative web-based dictionary-building [program] that syncs with FieldWorks [FLEx]” (“LanguageForge.org” 2021). The Jiidu FLEx Project is accessible both on apps designed for phones, and/or personal computers (S. A. Ibro, Osman, and Neterer 2021).⁵⁴

Regrettably, a portion of Ibro’s dictionary was missed in 2018, and failed to be entered into FLEx. At the time, only single-word Jii entries, or maximum two-word phrases, were included. Longer phrases with three-plus words were meant to be entered,

⁵³ Jiddu-Somali-English Mini Dictionary is archived at the National Library of Australia: <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/147801>. PDF available for download at the archive of the University Roma Tre: https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/bitstream/2307/2156/1/English%20Jiddu%20Somali%20Mini-Dictionary_lavorato.pdf.

⁵⁴ Please email salt@arriveministries.org for an invitation link to view the Jiiddu FLEx project at <https://languageforge.org/app/projects>

but were overlooked until 2020. For example, the English word *league*, defined by Ibro as ‘halis yed ama dhowlidhi herimarey’ was missing from the Jii FLEx project until 2020. Thankfully, this oversight has been corrected and all 2,089 entries are now included in the FLEx lexicon.

2.4 *Ey Jii Traditional Oral Literature*

2.4.1 John Low’s Sablaale Audio Tape Collection (1986)

The John Low East Africa Collection, with 427 total recordings, is stored in the British Library’s World and Traditional Music archive in the “Sounds” section of “Digital Collections” (1986). Low collected 214 recordings in Somalia in 1985 and 1986, while he was working for a development agency in Sablaale, South Somalia on behalf of a population of northern Somalis who had been resettled due to drought in the north (*John Low East Africa Collection* 1986).⁵⁵

Sablaale District, a traditional settlement of the Jiiddo, is where John lived and recorded 175 of the 214 of audio tracks. His item notes for forty-six recordings specifically reference “the agro-pastoralist Jiddo [Jiidu?] clan” (1986). Unfortunately however, when S.A. Ibro and other Jii speakers reviewed these, it turns out that most, if not all of the lyrics, are actually *Mahaatiri* (common Somali) or Maay Somali, not Jii.

When asked if the Jiiddo might be shy or otherwise cautious about sharing their Jii traditional oral literature, Ibro said, “no” (S.A. Ibro, WhatsApp, December 2020). He affirmed that the performers were Jiiddo, but that they were performing in *Mahaatiri* to be accommodating to speakers of other languages. Ibro said that if they were performing

⁵⁵ To listen, go to: <https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/John-Low-East-Africa>

in a Jiiddo village, then they would sing in Jii (S.A. Ibro, WhatsApp, December 2020). In this case, with the presence of John Low and other non-Jii speakers in Sablaale, they deferred graciously to sing in a language that everyone could understand. Also, during this period in history, there may also have been perceived pressure from the scientific socialist regime to use “standard” Somali (*Mahaatiri*), rather than local languages. Table 1 below includes a sample of three (of forty-six) songs, which Low specifically described as “Jiido”,⁵⁶ all recorded in Sablaale District:

Table 1. Sablaale, Lower Shabeelle Audio Tape Collection (Low 1986)

	Performers/ instruments	Name/Description	Location	1986	Length
1.	Caliyow, Aamina Ibraahim (singer, female)	Marjiib Song insults a previous lover whom the singer now hates; right at the end, the singer’s brother adds some words of his own: “ <i>San dheer</i> ‘long nose’ - a girl - why don't you greet me?”	Diirimo village	2/22	4:51
https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/John-Low-East-Africa/025M-C0027X0021XX-1100V0					
2.	female chorus/ drum	Mashaashitay A women's dance at weddings.	Holoqtiray village, Deemay location	2/22	3:45
https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/John-Low-East-Africa/025M-C0027X0021XX-0400V0					
3.	Kuulow, Aabow Faqiya, Kuulow, Xaliimo Faqiya (singer sisters)	Pounding song A dance performed on festive occasions; the singing part only is demonstrated here. Language is Jiidu? The performers are sisters and agro-pastoralists.	Saalaxow village	2/20	3:16
https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/John-Low-East-Africa/025M-C0027X0018XX-1200V0					

⁵⁶ *Jiido* is the spelling John Low used.

This researcher had hoped that this archived collection would contain Jii lyrics that could contribute to the lexicon and a better understanding of Jii linguistics, especially discourse features. Nevertheless, this archive is a treasure trove that should be explored deeply by researchers who wish to learn more about the Jiiddo and their neighbors in the region. For example, three recordings reference the Garre culture, sixty-two refer to the Tunni, twenty-nine refer to “Digil” and five note “Af-Rahanweyn / Af-MayMay [alternate names for Maay], which is the commonest of the southern dialects” (*John Low East Africa Collection* 1986). It may be possible that at least one song or poem remains to be discovered with Jii lyrics in this collection of 214 Southern Somali songs. Regardless, the semantic domains related to singing and poetry likely include terminology shared by Jii with neighboring dialects. Exploring this archive and analyzing these materials in a systematic way would be a fruitful endeavor for the benefit of Jii language development.

By early 2018, an abundance of other oral content, especially songs and poetry, had been released in Af Maay⁵⁷ on YouTube and other platforms, but still the only content in Jii were a few speeches by dignitaries such as Sultan. There is a music video about the Jiiddo homeland called *Libaantii Qoryooley* ‘The Glory of Qoryoley’ (the hometown of the Sultan and his family going back for generations) but the lyrics are in *Mahaatiri*, (A. Ali 2011).⁵⁸ Not a single recorded song available to outsiders can be found in Jii.

⁵⁷ To remind the reader, Af means ‘language’, in this sense, in *Mahaatiri* and also in Maay Somali.

⁵⁸ *Libaantii Qoryooley*, uploaded in 2011, has been viewed more than seventy-six thousand times: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JN3EDae51u0>

2.4.2 Madoowe’s “Are They the Same?” Poem (2018)

When Ayub Osman was asked if any Jii oral literature had been uploaded to the Internet, he shared the following video of Jiiddo poet Madoowe in October 2018 (Madoowe 2018).⁵⁹ This moral lesson poem “Are They the Same?” with “H” alliteration remains the only known Jii oral performance video on the internet. In 2020, Osman transcribed the ten lines of the poem performed by Ali Madoowe in 2018. Translation of line three is provided here as a sample until the entire poem (see Appendix 18) can be finished.

Widaad hafithul quraan hamin dala haakya’ii horhor dhekey sunna doktay
jindhaa huursithay ‘horhor’ illahow hodon (barwaaqe) nawiilow
(prevailing) human efaay, habarquwe galay hashuuw hiira halaf eseeey
halmakey ma’agathin? (H||tana hadal sisii)

The mullah [who] memorized the Holy Qur’an [who] awoke in the middle of the night, stood up [according to the] Sunnah [and] prayed with hands raised up to Allah [for] prosperity to prevail, [and] evil [to be] pardoned, [vs.] the cursed person [who] breaks in stealing [from] families finish[ing] [them] totally -- NOT THE SAME, don't you know!

(Madoowe 2018)

2.4.3 Ibrahim’s *The Forgiving King* Story (2020)

Sa’dio Omar Ibrahim of Qoryoley District provided this folk story, which is the only traditional Jii story yet recorded and published.⁶⁰ It is notable to see a young Jii speaker investing substantial effort in learning and sharing the wisdom of her elders. She was responding to the JYA “Language & Identity Journey” interview in November 2020.

⁵⁹ To view Ali Madoowe’s “Are They the Same?” (2018) go to:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9MfJUoIKe0>

⁶⁰ Moreno mentioned that “Cavaliere, Abdio Ibrau ...agreed to dictate about two hundred sentences and two fables, translating them from the Bimaal...” (M. Moreno 1951, 99) It would be wonderful to find these and confirm if they are traditional Jii fables.

When asked if she had something special to share, she reached out to her grandmother to learn this story, which she translated as follows (Ibrahim 2020).

The Forgiving King

Once upon a time, an old man was king. He was a good and honest king who led his people with justice. Whatever the people did that was wrong he forgave them. He wanted them to be forgiving also.

One day the king wanted to step down from the throne because he was getting quite old. He called all his people together and requested that they forgive him for any wrongs he had done them during his reign.

The people could think of nothing wrong that the king had done to them. However, his nephew said, "Uncle, maybe the other people have no complaints, but I do have one." The king was not expecting to hear of anything he had done wrong to his nephew. He was surprised and asked, "My nephew, in what way did I mistreat you?"

The boy answered: "Uncle, some time ago when the she-camel Jamala was lost, you sent me to the east toward the sunrise to find her. Then you sent your son to the west toward the sunset to find her. All morning long, the sun was burning my face, and all afternoon it was again burning my face. I believe that you did this bad thing to me to favor your son. Then the king asked for his nephew's forgiveness. The king explained that it was necessary to send someone toward the sun to search, and that he had not known which one had been sent in that direction, his nephew or his son. The boy forgave the king.

The king realized the importance of asking people how they feel about their experiences. From that day on the king remembered to ask his people about their reaction to everything he was doing. He did this until he stepped down from the throne and another king was chosen.

Sa'dio translated the transcribed text and is learning how to do morpheme breaks.

Further translation progress with interlinear text analysis is available upon request. For

example, here are the first three lines of interlinear text:

ori-me baa boqor ha talshal-ey wadan
day-one long ago king from reign-3M.PST country

‘Once upon a time, a king reigned [over his] country.’

boqor-ahii gaam aw-ey-oo boqor eger lihi
king-that.M what be-3M.PST-PFV.3M king good

yed-ee ha hogansh-o cadaalad
people-POSS.3M from lead-PFV.3M justice

‘He was a good and honest king who led his people with justice.’

boqor-e gaam caan ha aw-ey-oo asa afisaal
king-DEFID what famous from be.PST-3M.PST-PFV.3M forgive

iyo saamaxad-a yed eke qalad osi ha gel-ey
and forgive-*** people this.M fault 3M from enter-3M.PST

‘Whatever the people did that was wrong he forgave them.’

2.5 Somali National Language Development

The next two sub-sections provide a backdrop for Jii language development by reviewing the history of development of the national language, common Somali. First, Adam & Geshekte's paper (1980) in §2.5.1 lauds the commendable literacy accomplishments of the Somali Republic in the 1970s. The second article by Mukhtar (2013) in §2.5.2 takes a more critical view arguing that orthography choices and language policies often discriminated against Somali Maay and other minority-language speakers.

2.5.1 Adam & Gesheker's *Revolutionary Development of Somali Language* (1980)

The word “Revolutionary” in the title is a nod to the scientific socialist regime of Mohamed Siad Barre, who seized power on October 28, 1969. Nearly half of the paper reads like propaganda as it extolls the philosophy of socialism. However, “revolutionary” is also an appropriate description of the impressive language development accomplishments this government made in the early 1970s. It must be acknowledged that the socialist regime made remarkable progress in establishing Somali as the language of education and government administration.

The year 1960 was a momentous one for Somalia. The nation gained its independence from Italy in the south and England in the north to become a unified new nation, called the Somali Republic, on July 1, 1960. In 1972, a Latin-based Somali orthography was officially implemented. Previously, all written communication was done in Italian in the colonized South and English in the Northern British protectorate. The Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs would most often use Arabic.

In the years leading up to the final orthography decision in 1972, there was debate on whether to use an Arabic script to honor Islam, or one of several indigenous scripts. A leading contender called *Osmaniya* was named after Osman Yusuf Kenadid who invented the unique script between 1920 and 1922.⁶¹ With the benefit of historical hindsight, it seems that the autocratic ruler, Siad Barre, made a good choice for Somalia in adopting the Latin-based orthography for the sake of communicating with the wider world, and the practical benefit of using existing print technology. Adam wrote more extensively about

⁶¹ *Osmaniya* was one of eleven (including Kaddaria and ‘Gadabuursi’ plus eight unnamed) indigenous orthographies proposed according to Labahn (1982: 137). The Somali Language Commission discussed 18 total writing systems before they chose current Latin-based orthography (Tosco 2015, 199, 212).

this in his MA thesis “A Nation in Search of a Script: The Problem of Establishing a National Orthography for Somali” (1968). After completing his PhD at Harvard University in political science, Hussain Adam went back to Somalia in 1974 to teach at the National University to serve as the dean of social sciences. He also served as editor of *Halgan* ‘The Struggle’, the monthly Journal of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Adam and Gesheker address the history of other developing African nations who resorted to using the old colonial language for education, as it was widely believed by Western-educated African classes that their mother tongues were inferior for expressing scientific and technical concepts. Gesheker and Adam appeal to evidence from the field of developmental psychology, which demonstrates that people learn more quickly and more effectively when information is presented in the mother tongue. Somalia was a rare case of an African nation that recognized this and created a new vocabulary of modern and technical terms to publish textbooks, keep administrative records, operate the government, and promote mass literacy.

On March 8, 1973, six months after the Somali orthography was established, the National Literacy Campaign was launched, focusing first on urban areas. The Ministry of Education claims that four hundred thousand people were “alphabetized” in this urban campaign. Then, on August 1, 1974, the Rural Development Campaign began as a way of closing the urban-rural gap based on a self-help volunteer principle. Urban schools were closed for one year, and youth who had learned the new Somali script were sent out into the rural areas to teach the new Somali alphabet. National goals for this massive one-year mobilization campaign included not only literacy, but also public health, animal health, and a census of people and animals. The authors report that 1.7 million people

participated, including 597,000 women, resulting in a claimed literacy rate of almost 70%.⁶²

This ambitious literacy campaign coincided with other radical social engineering efforts, in particular, a drastic response to a major drought in 1974 and 1975. The Supreme Revolutionary Council decided to resettle 260,000 nomads from the drought-stricken area in the north to a place called Kurtunwarey in the south, to establish a new agricultural and fishing community along the Shabeelle River.⁶³ This was part of the socialist regime's attempt to transition from a nomadic culture to a new norm based on settled workers.

Adam and Gesheker decry the repression of the colonial era when education for children was discouraged and only provided for children of the elite. The socialist regime made free education compulsory for all children ages six to fourteen. They recorded progress in student enrollment. In the 1969-1970 school year, fifty-five thousand students were enrolled. By 1975, this number had jumped to 240,550. There was a strong emphasis on equal education for girls. In 1969, only 737 were girls out of 6,412 secondary school students. By 1973, there were 10,500 secondary students, of which 1,773 were girls, which was an increase of 140% (Adam and Gesheker 1980).⁶⁴

⁶²“The Nicaraguan revolutionary government did the same thing back in the 80's and claimed an increase in literacy from about 15% to close to 90%. When scholars got access to data years later, it was found that these numbers were (a) vastly inflated and (b) based on forced enrollment in literacy classes, not actual numbers of people who became literate” (Stephen Walter, Email, February 22, 2021).

⁶³ Kurtunwarey is where this author visited in 2015.

⁶⁴Note that, “Most of the gain was the sheer number of secondary students. The real rate of increase in female participation increased from 11.49 to 16.89 percent, an increase in the rate of participation of 5.4%. That is, most of the gain in female students was due to an overall increase in the number of students in secondary, not an increase in the percentage of female students going to secondary. Technically, ...there was a 140% increase in the number of female students in secondary, [however], what [the government] neglected to point out was, there was also a large increase in the total number of students in secondary” (Stephen Walter, Email, February 22, 2021).

Regarding the benefits of mother-tongue education, Geshekteer writes, “Children and adults now receive a sound basic education in the language which they understand, use and hear all around them” (Adam and Geshekteer 1980). While this literacy campaign was a success in certain ways, it was unfortunately cut short by a disastrous series of decisions leading to the ill-fated invasion of Ethiopia in 1977, the downfall of Siad Barre and the descent into the chaos of civil war in 1991, which all led to famine and a mass exodus of refugees. While the socialist regime may be commended for a radical shift from colonial language to mother-tongue education, it seems they made too many radical (and heavy-handed) changes too quickly and lost popular support as a result.

2.5.2 Mukhtar’s “Multilingual Somalia: Ploy or Pragmatic” (2013)

Regarding the loss of popular support, religious leaders who had advocated for the use of an Arabic style script (with a tradition going back to the 13th century), condemned the choice of the modified Roman alphabet for Somalia (Mukhtar 2013, 16).⁶⁵ They perceived Siad Barre’s socialist government as being anti-Islamic and atheistic along the lines of its sponsors in the USSR. Critics coined a clever rhyme to attack the use of Latin orthography, *Laatiin waa - laa Diin*,⁶⁶ ‘Latin is without [the Islamic] religion. They considered the literacy campaign to be part of the irreligious conspiracy to undermine Islam (Mukhtar 2013, 17).

In his journal article “Multilingual Somalia: Ploy or Pragmatic,” historian M. Haji Mukhtar develops the background leading up to the 1972 orthography choice, and how its heavy-handed implementation negatively affected Maay speakers and other minority

⁶⁵ One chapter in the Quran, Surah 30, is named *ar-Rum* ‘The Romans’. The opening verse reads, “The Romans have been defeated” (Itani 2014, chap. 30).

⁶⁶ *Diin* is the Arabic/Somali word for ‘[Islamic] faith/religion’

communities for whom Af Mahaa (the selected standard dialect of Somali, as opposed to Af Maay) was not their mother tongue (2013).⁶⁷ He notes that linguists have classified over twenty Somali languages and dialects, so the 1972 decision to make Mahaa the only official language (replacing Arabic, English and Italian) of Somalia “alienated speakers of other Somali languages” (Mukhtar 2013, 16). A group of Maay speakers responded by forming the *Af-Yaal* ‘language keepers’ society in 1976 in order to preserve and revive Maay language and culture (2013, 16). Mukhtar observes, “it was the expatriate *Af-Yaal* that developed mostly new Maay scripts” (16). This observation is consistent with the theme identified in this thesis of how educated leaders in the diaspora are taking the initiative for language development for their communities.

Mukhtar identifies three categories of orthography models used experimentally for writing Somali prior to 1972 – Arabic, indigenous, and colonial. Though the Arabic model is the oldest, dating back to the 13th century, and six notable Islamic Somali saints and sheikhs used Arabic style orthographies over the years, none of the four proposed Arabic orthographies was chosen for three reasons. First, Arabic vowel symbols were not compatible with Somali. Second, other characters had to be modified. Thirdly and most importantly, according to Mukhtar, it was not an indigenous Somali model (2013, 17). For another view, SIL orthography specialist Stephen Walter surmises, “I suspect, to a large extent, the problem here was that Arabic script works best for Semitic languages and is not that great of a linguistic fit for other languages. Because of the strong resistance to modifying Arabic characters by Arabists, Arabic script is not readily adaptable to many non-Semitic languages” (Stephen Walter, Email, February 22, 2021).

⁶⁷ Also known as *Af Mahaatiri*. Note that *af* means language in this sense.

However, as much as the national language commission might have preferred an indigenous model, the problem with the eleven indigenous proposals was that they were too clan specific,⁶⁸ not acceptable to other clans, and therefore not suitable for a national language. The first colonial orthography, based on Roman script, appeared in a Somali grammar published in 1887 by Catholic missionaries in Somaliland. Despite the negatively perceived association with Christianity, for a number of reasons, ultimately a “colonial” model was chosen from the three proposed scripts based on the Latin alphabet (2013, 17).

Actually, the final 1972 decision followed two previous attempts by civilian administrations to standardize the orthography. The first national language commission was convened shortly after unified independence in October 1960 with the task of developing symbols for the forty-four basic sounds of Somali, plus two or more unique phonemes for Maay. As they sought to agree on a script suitable for all Somali languages and dialects together, they were guided by seventeen criteria, such as these seven examples:

Is the script simple in its lettering? Is it unique[ly Somali]? Is it phonetic? Are any “printing machines,” i.e. typewriters and presses available? Is it economically and technically viable? Has it any intrusive and anomalous diacritics? Has it any signs with more than one function? (Mukhtar 2013, 17)

Unfortunately, the commission was stymied by political and religious conflict. Three of the nine members resigned in protest, and one was transferred away from the capital. Though the colonial models best fit the criteria for selection, the commission

⁶⁸ Four (of eleven) indigenous orthographies included 1) Ismaniyya of the Majerteen clan of the Darood tribe, 2) Gadabursi, a clan of the Dir tribe, 3) Kontonbarkadliyya, ‘Blessed Fifty,’ for the confederacy of Reewin, Maay-speaking clans, and 4) Kadariyya for the Abgaal clan of the Hawiye tribe (17).

could not overcome the resistance to the perceived Christian association. In the end, they decided that Arabic, English and Italian would remain official languages (2013, 18).

The second attempt was made by the second civilian administration in 1966. They invited a three-member committee, made up of foreign experts, sponsored by UNESCO to give an opinion. Again, this committee favored the Latin proposal, as they found the Arabic and indigenous models unworkable. However, crowds of hostile demonstrators protested the Latin script.

Finally, Siad Barre's military administration decided on the Latin-based alphabet after he took power in a coup on October 21, 1969. His Somali Revolutionary Council (SRC) appointed the *Guddiga Af-Somaliga*, 'Somali Language Commission' in 1971, and on October 21, 1972, the 3rd anniversary of the coup, the chosen script was announced in dramatic fashion by dropping colorful leaflets from a helicopter on the parade route below (2013, 18).

While the development and implementation of a Somali orthography was a remarkable achievement, the accompanying decision to make Af Mahaa the one and only official Somali language, to the exclusion of Af Maay, Jii, or other minority dialects, resulted in painful consequences for the speakers of other Somali languages. In the second half of the article, Mukhtar documents the loss of dignity and marginalized identity experienced by non-Mahaa speakers as Mahaa became the language of the government, media, and instruction in schools. Non-Mahaa speakers were often reprimanded, "*Warya! Af-Somali ku hadal!*" ('Hey! Speak [Mahaa] Somali') (2013, 18). They were told that they should study Mahaa as their *afkiina hooyo* 'mother tongue.' In school, not only was the medium of instruction difficult to understand for non-Mahaa

(such as Jii-speaking students), but the new forms of national “Somali” literature introduced, which celebrated the lifestyle of nomadic cattle herders, were culturally foreign to the Maay-speaking settled farmers and cattle herders of the south. Their own indigenous literature was excluded from the curriculum (2013, 19).

Under pressure to conform to the new society, some non-Mahaa speakers attempted to change their identity by marrying Mahaa wives and giving their children Mahaa names. Other Maay leaders “denounced the linguistic and cultural ‘genocide’ of the Siad Barre regime” (2013, 20). To be fair, the history of marginalization of the Maay-speaking community predates the Barre regime. Mukhtar cites, for example, the 1959 decision to drop Maay-language programming by Radio Mogadisho (19). Also, “both civilian and military Somali governments discouraged foreign scholars from studying non-Af-Mahaa speaking regions” (20).

By 1980, many of the *Af-Yaal* Maay language activists had been harassed, jailed, killed, or forced into exile (2013, 16). “Criticism was repressed in the name of cultural homogeneity and monolingualism” (2013, 18), until the repressive regime could no longer maintain control and Siad Barre was deposed in 1991.

Mukhtar describes the “cultural renaissance” that emerged starting in 1991 with the formation of *Fannaaniinta Arlaadi*, a society of artists based in Baidoa, the capital in the southwestern Bay region of Somalia (which is viewed as representing the Maay-speaking center of Somalia) who are devoted to the preservation and revitalization of Maay culture through poetry, music and drama (Mukhtar 2013, 19). Using video production, a newsletter named *Arlaadi* ‘Homeland’, and other means, they have revitalized traditional literature such as:

Gopy, “poetry,” *Weeryr* or *Bayting*, “war songs,” *Dheel*, “dances,” *Adar*, an oral Maay poetic genre dealing with animals, especially with camels, *Naby Ammaang*, and *Dikri* “religious poetry.” They revived *Gekogeko* stories, sometimes set to music, and *Diilleey* riddles (Mukhtar 2013, 19).

This renaissance was further supported by a number of academics who expanded the focus of “Somali” studies to include the linguistic and cultural diversity of the south.⁶⁹ In this regard, Mukhtar gives Salim Alio Ibro a special mention in the *Historical Dictionary of Somalia* for publishing the Jii dictionary (Mukhtar 2003, 136).⁷⁰

Efforts to preserve and revitalize Maay were also boosted by the 2003 Somali Peace and Reconciliation Conference at Mbegathi, Kenya. That conference resulted in the publication of Article 7 of the Transitional Federal Charter of the Somali Republic of 2003: “The official language of the Somali Republic shall be Somali (Maay and *Mahaatiri* [Af-Mahaa])” This statement was then officially included in the 2012 Somali constitution (2013, 20). See §3.3.2 for further discussion on the favorable environment for language development that the Somali constitution affords.

In conclusion, Mukhtar shares an insight from the Qur’an that the beautiful diversity of peoples and languages is a sign of God’s glory, “...of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the diversity of your languages and colors [skin tones]” (Itani 2014, chap. 30:24). Finally, he warns of the grave risk of losing indigenous languages to extinction and appeals for a re-evaluation of the diversity of Somali culture, and a fostering of linguistic diversity leading to true equality (Mukhtar 2013, 21).

⁶⁹ Besides his own writing, Mukhtar also mentions Ali Jimale, Catherine Besteman, Lee Cassanelli, Virginia Luling, Bernhard Helander, Ioan Lewis, Marcello Lamberti, and John Saeed.

⁷⁰ Ibro’s 1998 dictionary preceded the *English-Maay Dictionary* that Mukhtar and Omar M. Ahmed published in 2007.

The preceding section, §2.5 regarding Somali National Language Development, which was driven by the socialist regime in the 1970s and 1980s, reviewed two publications – one pro and one con. §2.5.1 reviewed Adam & Gesheker’s *Revolutionary Development of Somali Language* (1980), which praised the language development accomplishments of the government and thousands of volunteer literacy teachers. §2.5.2 Mukhtar’s “Multilingual Somalia: Ploy or Pragmatic” (2013), constituted a more nuanced and critical appraisal, due to the neglect of and/or discrimination against minority languages.

The next two sub-sections of the literature review look at two viewpoints of language development. First is Fishman’s classic work, in which he soberly appraises the extremely difficult task of “reversing language shift” without hiding his conviction that this is a worthy and possible goal—if strategic grassroots community and family efforts are unified (1991). The second viewpoint is a cautionary case study from Siberia where literacy efforts failed to sustain a shifting language. “Evaluating the Impact of Literacy: The Case of Evenki”, a book chapter, from *When Languages Collide: Perspectives on Language Conflict, Language Competition, and Language Coexistence*, issues a warning that literacy development is not a fail-safe remedy when a language is shifting, when the children are not learning their parents’ language (Grenoble and Whaley 2003).

2.6 Selected Readings in Language Development

2.6.1 Joshua Fishman’s *Reversing Language Shift* (1991)

Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages, (1991) merits a longer review in this thesis because Fishman’s thinking provides a foundation for much of the theoretical framework of the Sustainable

Use Model (SUM) which is used as the primary framework for evaluating Jii language development. Notably, Fishman's appeal for action was published the same year Michael Kraus issued "the great linguistic call to arms in the face of the looming language endangerment crisis" (Simons and Lewis 2013, 1).⁷¹ "The world's languages in crisis" was published the following year (Krauss 1992).

Lewis and Simons note that, "Language shift (ending in extinction) happens as a language loses functions in society [as community members shift to using larger, dominant languages]. To reverse language shift, the community must work to bring those functions back" (Lewis and Simons 2011, 24). In Fishman's preface, he compares his work in RLS to that of a doctor treating patients. He boldly proposes that Reversing Language Shift (RLS) is not only ethical and desirable, but also doable if planned carefully – starting at the family level.

He divides fourteen chapters into three sections.⁷² The first four chapters provide a theoretical basis. In Chapter 1, "What This Book is About and Why It is Needed", Fishman explains that the book offers theory and practice for revitalizing languages that are losing speakers from one generation to the next. The book is an attempt to evaluate why most revitalization or maintenance efforts have been only marginally effective, or complete failures (Fishman 1991, 1). Fishman "seeks to suggest a more rational, systematic approach to what has often hitherto been a primarily emotion-laden, 'let's try everything we possibly can and perhaps something will work', type of dedication" (1991, 1). He advocates for the preservation of cultural diversity, noting that the mother tongue

⁷¹ Krauss presented "The world's languages in crisis" at the Endangered Languages Symposium at the 1991 annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America.

⁷² For another in-depth examination of *Reversing Language Shift*, see Felice Coles' review in *Language in Society*, Cambridge University Press (Coles 1994).

is intrinsically bound to its culture and that fostering intergenerational mother-tongue transmission is a cultural right and societal resource (1991, 5).

In Chapter 2, “Why Try to Reverse Language Shift and Is It Really Possible to Do So?”, Fishman responds to critical questions like “Why bother?” (11) and “Why should I be concerned?” (29). He counters statements of despair like, “It is too late” and “Nothing can be done” (12). He acknowledges that it is a value-based judgment whether to advocate for RLS (35). Proponents call language maintenance planning “solidarity” while detractors criticize it as “ethnocentrism” (1991, 30). For the Jiiddo community, life would be unimaginable without their Jii language and identity. For this researcher, responding to the Jiiddo community’s request for help in preserving their language is a matter of being a good neighbor since they have taken up residence in the state of Minnesota.

Chapter 3, “Where and Why Does Language Shift Occur? And How Can It Be Reversed? Locating Language Shift in Social Space and in Societal Dynamics,” provides checklists and a questionnaire, which can be used to diagnose language shift. Fishman identifies symptoms leading to language death, such as physical (geographic) displacement and cultural dislocation (certainly an issue for the Jiiddo), which result in the local language being used in fewer community functions.

Chapter 4 presents the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), which measures the vitality of threatened languages from the lowest vitality level (most disrupted), Stage 8 “vestigial”, up to the strongest, Stage 1 (Fig. 9).⁷³ If Jii were evaluated on this scale, it would be somewhere between Stage 6 and 7. Stage 6 could describe Jii because there is “attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy in [Jii] and

⁷³ See Fig. 18 and Table 3 or the EGIDS which is the expanded version of Fishman’s GIDS.

...demographic concentration”, however, not much “institutional reinforcement” exists (Fishman 1991, 92). Stage 7 may be a more accurate level for that reason, and because many “...users of [Jii] who are socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active are also beyond childbearing age” (1991, 93).

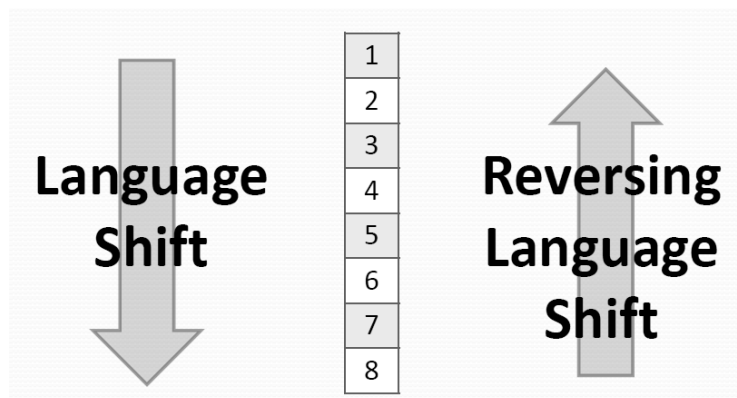


Figure 9. Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons 2011, 24)

The final section,⁷⁴ “Related Issues and Recapitulation”, is an application of his theory of how minority languages can be revived. He does not provide a systematic program but rather principles and practical guidance. For the Jii language development practitioners, it would be good to read Fishman, but perhaps it is enough to know that his foundational principles and guidance have been absorbed into the Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID) framework. CBLID is described in Chapter 4 and includes a descriptions of a more systematic program being offered.

In Chapter 11, “On RLS Focused Language Planning and on Dialect Standard Issues and Corpus Planning in Particular,” he examines status planning which is the attempt to “allocate societal resources in ways to foster the use of language in more and

⁷⁴ The middle section (Chapters 5-10) “Case Studies: A Baker’s Dozen from Several Continents” provide examples from Irish, Basque, Frisian (in Europe), Navajo, Spanish, and Yiddish (in the US), Maori in New Zealand, Aboriginal and immigrant languages in Australia. Chapter 10 is devoted to “three success stories (more or less)” of modern Hebrew, French in Quebec, and Catalan in Spain.

in more important societal functions” (1991, 338). He discusses the importance of activities to strengthen the oral sustainability of a language as well as the development of orthographies and grammar sketches for previously unwritten languages. In the case of Jii, two grammar sketches have been published, Moreno’s brief notes in 1951, and Lamberti’s fuller sketch in 1981. Ibro, in consultation with Banti, developed a working orthography for his dictionary in 1998. These published works have brought outside recognition and a greater pride for the community in their language. Now however, with the language at risk of shift, the Jiiddo community would do well to consider activities to strengthen oral sustainability. Taking cues from Fishman, Lewis and Simons included an appendix in *Sustaining Language Use* which gleaned a collection of such best practices from thirteen case studies (2016). In Appendix A.3 Achieving Sustainable Orality, subsection A.3.1 “Cultivating the language (from EGIDS 6b, 7 to EGIDS 6a)” is particularly relevant to the Jii situation (Lewis and Simons 2016, 225–31).

Chapter 12, “The Intergenerational Transmission of ‘Additional’ Languages for Special Purposes”, focuses on the implementation of language planning strategies that support the goal of healthy multilingualism (the SUM model’s term, but the same concept as Fishman’s). Here in Fishman’s work is the basis for the SUM model’s “Differentiation” condition necessary for sustainable language use, as one of the FAMED conditions (see §4.11 and §5.9.10).⁷⁵ Fishman uses the term “delineated” which is the same idea as differentiation, or “distinct niche” (Lewis and Simons 2011, 20). As Lewis and Simons put it, “Societal norms must keep the functions assigned to the language distinct from the functions for L2” (2011, 20). Fishman stresses the importance of the

⁷⁵ The FAMED conditions necessary for sustainable language use are Function, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment, and Differentiation.

community itself deciding and defining “clearly delineated socio-functional domains” for the mother tongue (Coles 1994, 118).

Chapter 13, “Limitations on School Effectiveness and Connection with Mother Tongue Transmission,” is a caution that the community cannot rely only on schools for their children's language learning. Parents must nurture and sustain it in the home. He states that the “over-reliance on the school with respect to the attainment of RLS goals is merely an example of the more widespread tendency to seek out and depend upon one-factor solutions to a very involved multivariate problem” (Fishman 1991, 379).

In Chapter 14, “Theoretical Recapitulation: What is Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and How Can It Succeed?”, Fishman summarizes the theme that extends throughout the book; his advice to focus primarily on the family, home, neighborhood, and community context first. Only after shoring up language use in the home should language development activists engage in next-level language planning struggles in the workplace, mass media or government. He advises strategically prioritizing efforts towards the most intimate relationships between parents and children to achieve the most vital condition necessary, which is intergenerational transmission. He advises choosing battles carefully, that is avoiding government-level policy battles until the language has been strengthened at home, in the neighborhood, and grassroots community.

While Fishman is an unabashed advocate and activist, he is also a realist. He has observed that the overwhelming tendency is for languages to be lost. RLS is an uphill battle. One lesson for the Jii development project to learn from Fishman is the importance of strategically planned and prioritized efforts rather than frenetic “let's try everything we possibly can and perhaps something will work” activities (1991, 1). Instead, he proposes

that thoughtful, carefully planned efforts will make a difference. Strengthening the oral sustainability of the language, for example, and not just literacy activities, would be a key strategy for the Jii project, based on Fishman's recommendations. Another key strategic principle for sustaining Jii, according to Fishman's insights, would be the agreed upon allocation of community resources in order to recover and add more and more vital societal functions for Jii language use, as differentiated from other languages. Implementing this principle will be extremely difficult, and yet even more important, since so many Jiiddo have been displaced from their cattle grazing lands associated with their traditional way of life.

In conclusion, Fishman's emphasis on grassroots language development, with priority placed on the family, home, and neighborhood/village, is an inspiration to and confirmation of the ethos of Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID). The most important "takeaway" for the Jii project is that the primary goal should be intergenerational mother-tongue transmission, that is, parents teaching their children Ey Jii. Other accomplishments are good, (like publishing a dictionary and getting recognition from the president, for example), but "impressive symbolic splashes" are not as important as the long term effort to pass on the language to the next generation (Fishman 1991, 12).

2.6.2 Grenoble & Whaley's *Evaluating the Impact of Literacy* (2003)

An alternative, cautionary perspective from *When Languages Collide: Perspectives on Language Conflict, Language Competition, and Language Coexistence* warns that while the impact of literacy is usually beneficial to a society, it is not always "uniformly positive" (Mesquita and Joseph 2003, viii). For those who believe deeply in

literacy development and multilingual education, this case study “Evaluating the Impact of Literacy: The Case of Evenki” (Chapter 6 of a fifteen-chapter volume) of literacy development among the Evenki people of Russia is an example of what can go wrong.

Though the United Nations recognizes literacy as a fundamental human right, and while it may seem like common sense that mother-tongue literacy would protect a minority language, there is the possibility of causing harm if the implementers ignore “the confluence of social, historical, economic and demographic currents” (Grenoble and Whaley 2003, 109). In the case of the Evenki language of Siberia, Grenoble and Whaley argue that mother tongue literacy efforts were not effective in preserving the vitality of the language “because the circumstances under which it was introduced all but guaranteed that it would [not]” (2003, 109). For the nomadic reindeer herders in Siberia, literacy had no role in traditional society. Literacy was implemented in a top-down fashion during the Soviet era. The highly centralized Soviet model with its comprehensive policy of eradicating illiteracy nationwide was an ambitious project, but it was not successful because it did not invite the Evenki community to take initiative or ownership.

In the early days of Soviet language planning, it was the policy that no single language should be given the prestige of a state language. The Declaration of Rights of the People of Russia (1917) proclaimed equality for all people ensuring the free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups living in the USSR (Grenoble and Whaley 2003, 111). All citizens were promised education in their native language. Despite these initial good intentions, the actual result was domination by Russian language and Soviet Russian culture.

A group of government linguists created an Evenki literary language in 1931 (112). The government then started boarding schools to implement literacy and to enculturate children in the basics of Western-style living. The promise to educate children in their indigenous languages was not fulfilled because there were no Evenki teachers and no Evenki teaching materials. The only language of instruction was Russian, with Evenki only as a supplementary subject. In many cases, children were punished for speaking their mother tongue (2003, 113).

Meanwhile, the policy of collective farms run by Russians went against the traditional way of life for the nomadic reindeer herders. Instead of a literacy developed from a need by its people, it was imposed by nationwide policy decisions by a highly centralized government. Soviet indoctrination and collectivization policies caused abrupt changes to the Evenki traditional nomadic lifestyle (113). An Evenki autonomous district was established, but top officials were usually Russians, not Evenki (2003, 114).

Sadly, but predictably, written Evenki never became associated with any aspect of Evenki culture. As a traditionally oral culture, Evenki maintains an oral literature, some of which has been published. Few Evenki authors have written in their native language, and written literature has not become an authentic aspect of the culture (2003, 115).

Though Evenki is taught in school, the children are actually losing their language as they use Russian language taught by their teachers and spoken by their classmates. In contrast, Mohawk literacy development (in Canada) has been successful for at least two reasons. The first success factor is Mohawk textbooks for all subjects. The second factor, which is different from the Evenki case, is that Mohawk literacy is a community-driven decision implemented at a local level (2003, 116).

Standardization was another challenge with Evenki literacy due to the large number of dialects. Fifty dialects are spoken within a population of only around 40,000 (113). In the attempt to create a literary language that could serve all the dialects, “in actuality the literary language is an artificial norm which no one speaks as a first language” (117). Literary Evenki has a symbolic value which is a source of community pride; however, “literacy has not had a positive impact on the survival or vitality of Evenki” (2003, 117). However, this is not to say that a literary language cannot be supportive of sustainable language use. Luther’s Bible translation into German is a counterexample to the Evenki standardization problem, because it was so widely accepted, it actually unified the various dialects.

Therefore, a successful literacy program needs to consider all the multiple variables from local, regional, and national contexts. In this case, one variable was that Soviet literacy programs were so driven by national political ideology “[the Evenki literacy campaign] was destined to fail by not considering the unique features of the Siberian minorities” (119). Another reason for failure was the lack of any community perceived need or desire for native tongue literacy. For the Evenki, literacy was artificially imposed in boarding schools, which altered their traditional lifestyle by taking children out of their reindeer herding culture. The Soviet system seemed to view literacy “as a possession that needed to be bestowed rather than a habit of daily life which needed to be nurtured” (119). Lastly, there was a failure to recognize the lack of community motivation for Evenki literacy. Since only people working directly with the herders and hunters are motivated to speak Evenki, there is little incentive for the people to read or write Evenki. Meanwhile, there is a strong economic motivation to learn Russian, the

language of the government and national economy as well as English, the language of the internet and global economy (Grenoble and Whaley 2003, 119).

In summary, the Evenki case is an example of mother-tongue literacy failing to improve language vitality. However, it seems that the problem was not a literacy program per se that caused harm and disruption, but the way it was implemented by forced bureaucracy. It would have been good if Evenki were taught by native Evenki teachers with Evenki materials, but boarding schools with no Evenki teachers had a disruptive effect on community life.

What if literacy had been done in an indigenous, “nomadic” way, for example, according to community-based language and identity development principles? Instead, the Soviets took an opposite approach to CBLID. This unfortunate example may serve as a warning against pushing literacy at all costs. It is certainly a warning against doing literacy in the wrong ways. A better approach is to listen to the community as they reach a consensus on their desired future. In the case of the Jiiddo, if they decide that a literacy program is in the community’s best interest, then the program should be implemented by Jiiddo leaders and teachers with Jiiddo materials.

In the next chapter the Jiiddo way of life will be introduced with a mention of their prehistorical origins, where they live, their traditional livelihood and their religious affiliation. Chapter 3 takes a closer look at their linguistic ecology and sociolinguistic pressures facing Jiiddo, as well as a brief investigation into language status planning issues.

3 Cultural, Geographical, and Sociolinguistic Background

3.1 Livelihood, Location, and Religious Affiliation

Today, the Jiiddo are farmers and livestock herders with a special love for cattle who live in Somalia, southwest of the capital Mogadishu, mainly on the western bank of the Shabeelle River, which runs parallel to the coast of the Indian Ocean, just inland between the port cities of Merca and Baraawe (Fig. 10).⁷⁶

Mukhtar reported in his *Historical Dictionary of Somalia* that “Af-Jiddu is one of the Digil languages spoken by the Jiddu clan inhabitants of Qorioley District,⁷⁷ Lower Shabeelle region; Diinsor District, Bay region; and Jilib District, Middle Jubba region” (2003, 30). He added, “Ethnic Jiddu inhabiting Ethiopia, especially in Bale Province, speak Oromo widely” (Mukhtar 2003, 30). That there is a group living in Bale who identify as Jiiddo but speak Oromo was confirmed by an interview with a Jiiddo elder in Bale Goba Ethiopia by this researcher in September 2018.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Alternate spellings are Merka and Barawa, Barawe or Brava.

⁷⁷ Qoryoley

⁷⁸ Interview with Yunus, M. Haji. 2018. “Bale Goba, Ethiopia Jiiddo Swadesh Word List.” Unpublished field notes.

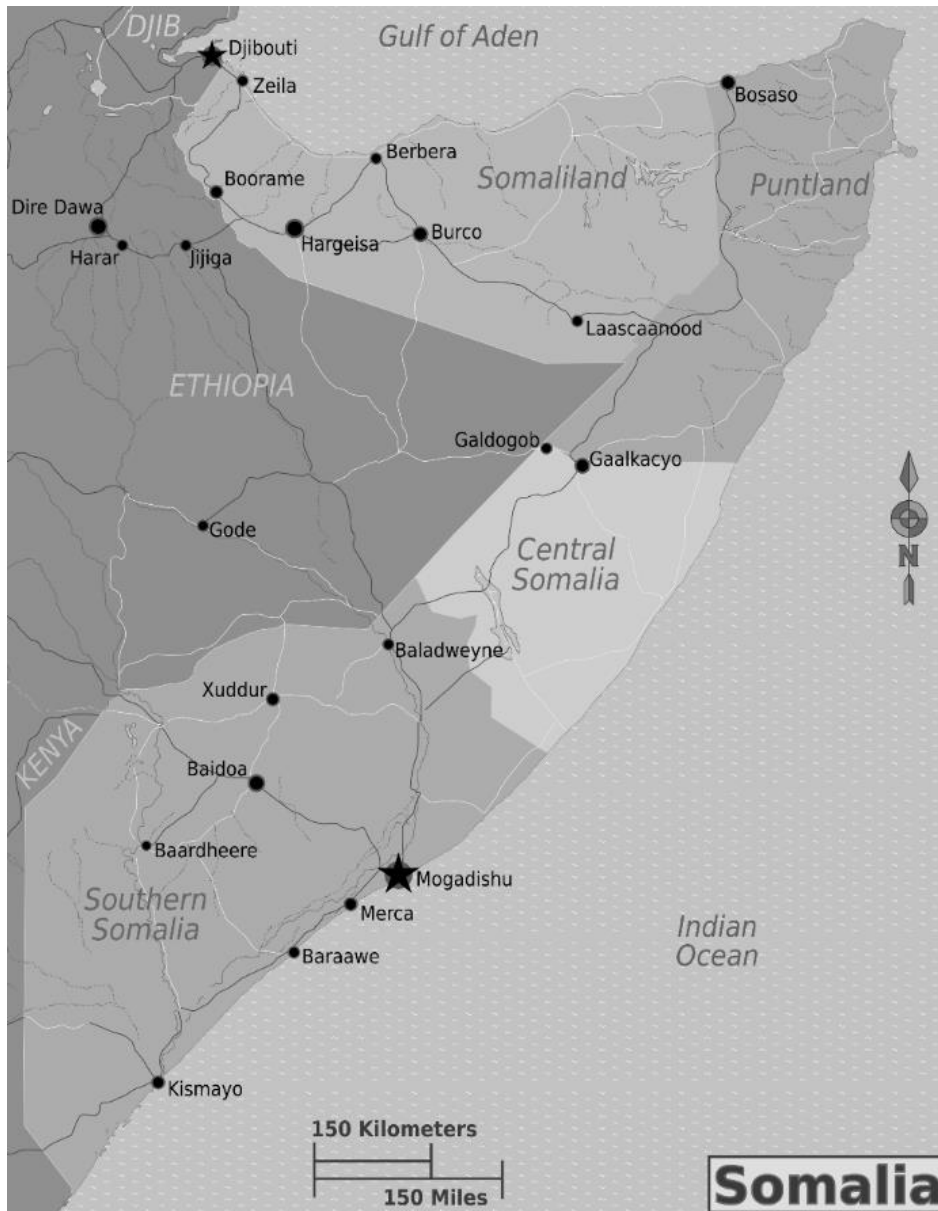


Figure 10. Somali Regions Map (Peter Fitzgerald, CC BY 3.0)

In contrast with the nomadic tribes of Somalia who practice camel herding, the Jiiddo and other Maay speaking peoples of the South are land-owning farmers who grow their crops in the fertile soil between the two rivers. They may also own camels and practice seasonal nomadism,⁷⁹ but cattle are their pride and source of wealth.

⁷⁹ Especially in times of drought, Jiiddo men will set out in search of resources but leave other family members behind to maintain a presence in their settled areas.

The Jiiddo have their own breed of cattle called the *Jiddu*, or sometimes *Tunni*, after their tribal name or that of their close neighbor's name (Mwai et al. 2015). This breed is described as *zenga* which is a cross between zebu (*Bos indicus*) and sanga cattle (Rege 1999, 1, 16). Sanga cattle are classified as “indigenous Sanga” or (*Bos taurus africanus*) (Strydom et al. 2001, 181). “The location of the *zenga* forms a natural division between the zebu country in the north and the predominantly sanga country in the south” (1999, 17). A disconcerting report by the International Livestock Research Institute titled “The state of African cattle genetic resources I. Classification framework and identification of threatened and extinct breeds” categorizes the *Jiddu zenga* cattle breed as “at risk” with the “main cause of threat [being] neglect and conflict” (Rege 1999, 20). In light of language development concerns, it is telling that both the *Jii* language and traditional *Jiiddo* livelihood of cattle raising are “at risk”. If these issues are connected, then perhaps the solution to reversing language shift will also include revitalization efforts for the *Jiddu zenga* cattle herds.

The *Jiiddo* live in the fertile “inter-riverine” land between the *Shabeelle* and *Jubba* Rivers which flow from the *Bale Mountains* of the *Ethiopian highlands* (Fig. 11). Normally it is a well-watered land, but in 2011, drought caused thousands to move to *Mogadishu*. By 2015, the drought had eased, and they were anxious to return home to resume farming. In a community meeting in *Mogadishu*, these displaced farmers spoke about the great potential of their land in the *Lower Shabeelle* for growing traditional crops including bananas, beans, tomatoes, *simsim* (sesame), and corn. They reported ample land for farm sizes over ten acres per family where they keep goats and cattle, and their crops are rain-fed and irrigated via canals dug into the farmland (Nzuki 2015, 6).

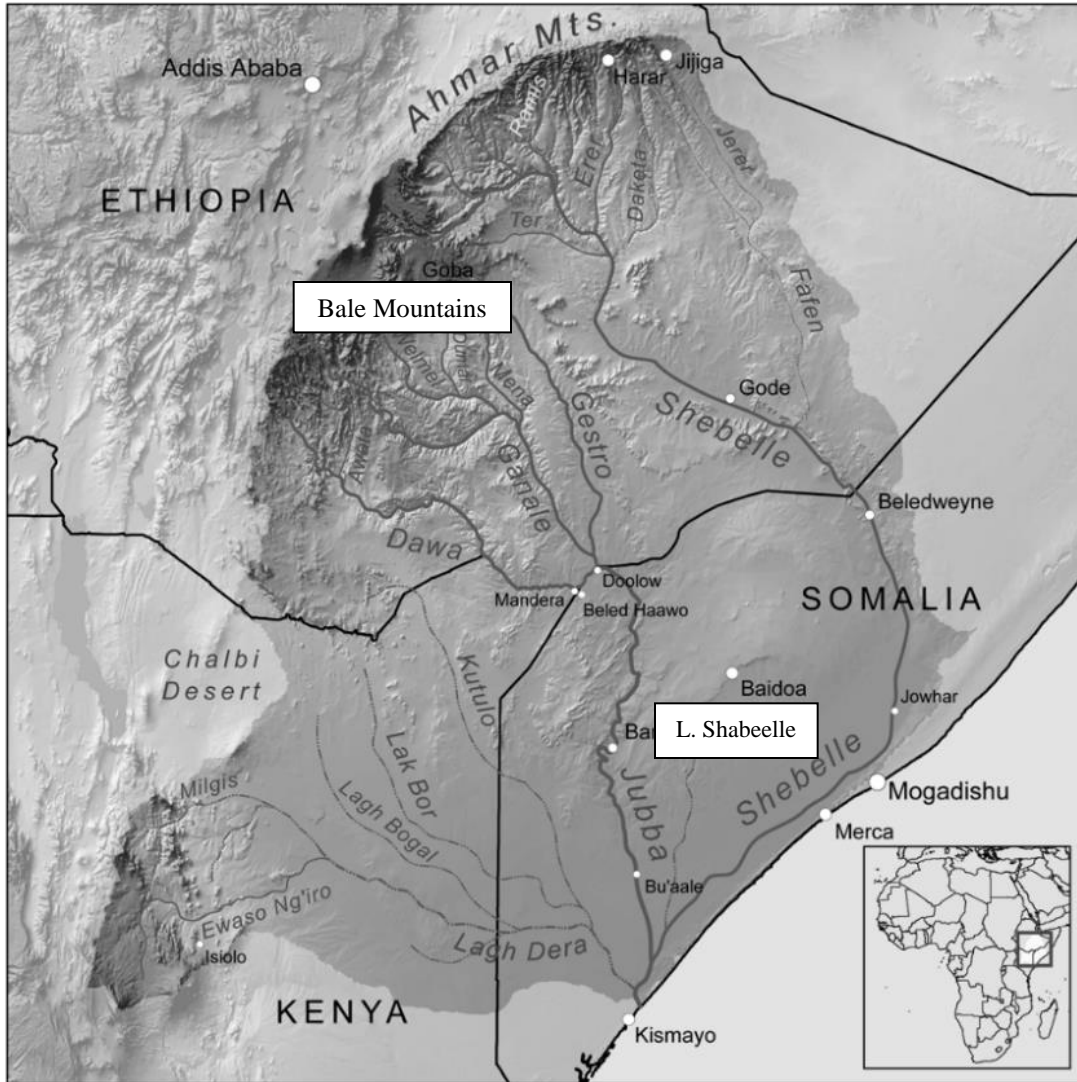


Figure 11. Shabeelle and Jubba Rivers (K. Musser, 2010, CC BY-SA 3.0)

3.1.1 Population Estimates

It is difficult to estimate the population of the Jiiddo with any precision from published sources. Somali government census methods never reported according to tribe or clan. Moreover, census figures have not been taken since the government collapsed in 1991. The most recent census published was in 1975. There was a census taken in 1985-86, but those numbers were never released publicly. The UN produced a population survey estimate for Somalia in 2014, but did not count according to tribe or language

(“Newly Launched Population Estimation Survey Report” 2014). The most recently published population estimate of twenty thousand Jiiddo goes back to Leclerc (1998).⁸⁰ It is unclear as to how Leclerc obtained or estimated this number. The Ethnologue estimated twenty-three thousand as of 2006 (Simons, Lewis, and Fennig 2014).

This lack of clarity points to the need for a new sociolinguistic survey. According to Ayub Osman, leader of the JYA, the population is much higher now. He counts 105 Jiiddo settlements in three districts in the Lower Shabeelle alone (Correspondence, May 30, 2018). Many Jiiddo live in the district of Qoryoley (Fig. 12)⁸¹ and southwest in Kurtunwarey and Sablaale, as well as other villages in the Lower Shabeelle. Osman estimates that the Jiiddo are “subdivided into thirty-three sub-clans with an estimated population of 260,000–300,000” (Correspondence, May 30, 2018).⁸²

⁸⁰ The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada reference Leclerc’s twenty thousand population estimate (“General Information on the Jido” 2005).

⁸¹ Qoryoley (Fig. 12) is the hometown of Sultan Alio and his predecessors.

⁸² Banti commented, “Colucci should provide also data about the Jiiddo subclans” (Giorgio Banti, Email, March 21, 2021).

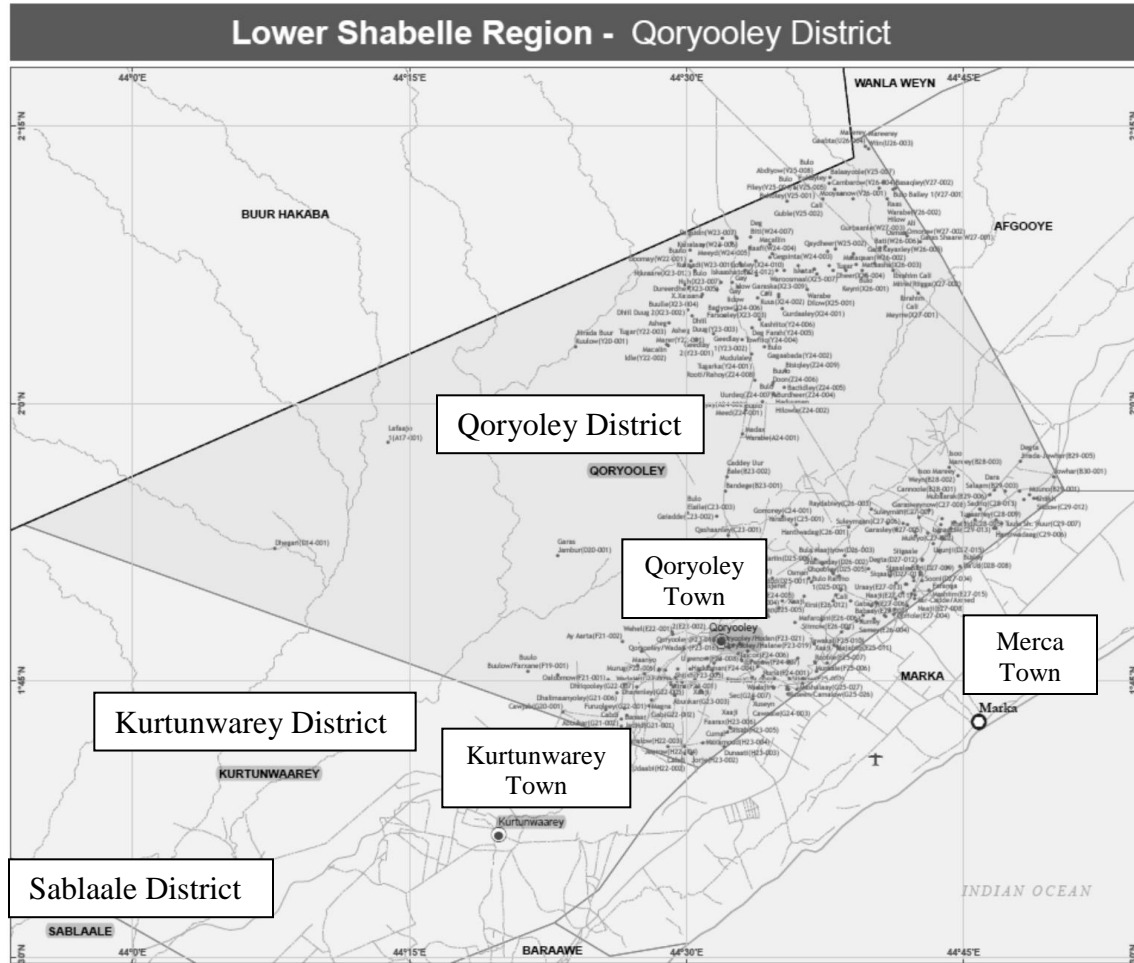


Figure 12. Map of Qoryooley, Kurtunwarey, and Sablaale Districts (OCHA 2012)

3.1.2 Geographic Range and Dispersion

Beyond their traditional home areas of Qoryooley, Kurtunwarey, and Sablaale, Jiiddo also live in the Baraawe district of the Lower Shabeelle, the Bay region, as well as the Lower and Middle Jubba regions of Somalia (Fig. 13). When Lamberti was collecting data for his 1983 PhD, for example, he interviewed Jii speakers from Qoryooley, but also from Buur Hakaba (Hakaba Mountain), Dhiinsoor, and Yaaq Baraaway in the Dhiinsoor district, all in southwestern Bay region, as well as Jilib which is located even further south in the Middle Jubba region (Lamberti 1983a, 18–23). M. Haji Mukhtar’s dictionary entry on “Jiddu” in the *Historical Dictionary of Somalia* is as follows:

Oldest sultanate at Qorioley⁸³ in the southern Shabeelle valley. Marka and Barawa are among its major coastal towns.⁸⁴ One of the ancient peoples of the Horn, the Jiddu speak one of the oldest languages, Af-Jiddu. They are composed of 69 subclans inhabiting an area including Buulo Marreerto [Buulo Mareer], Anoole,⁸⁵ Dhagaai [Dagaay Malableey],⁸⁶ Gaduud [Iidow Guudow], Muki Dumis, Sablaale, and Egherta [Eyaarta]. (Mukhtar 2003, 129)

Michael Madany, an aid worker in Somalia in the 1980s, described the village of Homboy (south of Jilib in the Middle Jubba), where several Jiiddo families lived, as being “just on the [south] edge of [Jiiddo] territory” (Email, July 22, 2010). The Jiiddo live mostly in the Lower Shabeelle region, which is southwest of Benaadir, the federal district that includes the capital city Mogadishu (Fig. 13).

⁸³ Note the alternate spelling for Qoryooley

⁸⁴ Port cities of Merca and Baraawe (or Brava)

⁸⁵ *Anoole* ‘where there is milk’ (caano leh)

⁸⁶ *Malableey* ‘where there is honey’



Figure 13. Eighteen Administrative Regions (“States of Somalia Map” 2020).⁸⁷

Currently, and for decades, thousands of Jiiddo internally displaced persons (IDPs) have lived in camps in the capital Mogadishu and as far north as Hargeisa and

⁸⁷ Map of 18 regions found at <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/somalia>

Berbera (in Woqooyi Galbeed), Somaliland. They were dislocated by the drought of 2015-16, or the famine of 2011-12, or by waves of violence since the 1991 civil war.

Living in the camps has made them vulnerable to exploitation, as Sultan Alio explains,

Today there are over 300,000 families populating the IDP [Internally Displaced Person] camps of Mogadishu. The overwhelming majority of these families come from the southern farming communities of the Lower Shabeelle, Bay, Bakool, Gedo and Middle Jubba regions. Historically these regions have always been the breadbasket of the country and, as they languish in these camps, a great effort in food security and therefore peace for Somalia is being lost. These camps have become poverty, rape and crime-infested areas and, worse yet, it is the prime recruitment center for Al-shabab resulting from the abundance of disparate idle youth.

Unfortunately, these displaced people have not met with the humanity they deserved when they arrive the camps. The IDPs have been put into camps whereby the “famine entrepreneurs” in the form of some local NGOs [Non-Governmental Organizations] use them through an enriching scheme. After some investigation, the elders noticed that the food donations from the international community have mostly been squandered in the following way:

First, the food is received on behalf of the IDPs by the local NGOs, and while some of these do deliver the food in an honest way, however, the majority of the NGOs are in the business of lining their pockets. Take, for example, a camp that has been assigned 100 tons of food. Immediately the IDPs will be summoned to sit by the food and have their picture taken. After the picture is taken, the “gatekeepers” and their militias take the food back by force. Then the NGOs sell 95% of the food to businessmen.

Second, in some cases, IDPs receive a resettlement grant from INGOs⁸⁸ e.g. UNHCR and various Islamic Relief organizations. The first action is to shut down that particular camp and load the families on trucks in order to satisfy the charity organization. Instead, the IDPs will be taken only to the outskirts of Mogadishu “sold” to another NGO and its gatekeepers as new IDPs for a nominal fee. Often, each family is allocated US \$2000 towards their resettlement. Unfortunately, only 10% goes to the family and the rest will be divided between the NGO, gatekeepers and middlemen.

Third, and finally, the beneficiaries of this scheme are currently campaigning for relocation of these IDP camps to the outskirts of Mogadishu, rather than repatriation to their original farmlands. The Somali traditional elders have advocated that this is a wrong-headed policy, that only recycles the current squalid existence of the IDPs in Mogadishu. Moreover, this policy will hinder Somalia’s peace and

⁸⁸ International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO)

prosperity and we believe that it will create ghettoized shantytowns that only produce crime, poverty and human rights violation (Facebook, Ibro 2014).

Outside of Somalia, populations of Jiiddo live in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda.

Jiiddo are now living in Ethiopia, Finland, Germany, Kenya, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, the UK, the U.S., Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Djibouti, India, Kuwait, Malaysia, Netherlands, Norway, and South Africa (Osman, correspondence May 30, 2018).

3.1.3 Jiiddo Clan of Oromo in the Bale Mountains of Ethiopia

As described by M. Haji Mukhtar and Lamberti, Sultan confirms that there is a population of Jiiddo living in the Bale Mountains of Ethiopia, also known as the *Boran Ali*, from whom they became separated perhaps two thousand years ago (Sultan Alio Ibro, 2015). This timeframe corresponds with Ehret who believes that the ancestors of the Jiiddo, “proto-Jiiddo”, migrated down the Genale river valley from Ethiopia to reach their present-day homeland along the Shabeelle River near Merca, arriving sometime in the first century A.D (1995, 240).

The SIL Ethnologue also reports a population of Jiiddo, which has been adopted as a clan into the Oromo tribe, in the Bale Mountains near the headwaters of the Jubba and Shabeelle Rivers. The two populations reconnected when refugees from Somalia fled across the border and found shelter with their rediscovered relatives (Sultan Alio, correspondence 2018). It seems that the Jiiddo of Bale now speak Oromo, the language of their adoptive tribe (Interview with M. Haji Yunus 2018).⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Per an interview with Jiiddo elder M. Haji Yunus by this researcher when he visited the Bale mountain region of Ethiopia in September 2018.

3.1.4 Traditional Sufi Affiliation and Recent Influence of Salafi Ideology

Like all Somalis, virtually the entire Jiiddo population is considered Muslim. “According to the federal Ministry of Religious Affairs, more than 99 percent of the population is Sunni Muslim” (“Somalia International Religious Freedom Report for 2019” 2020, 2).⁹⁰ Traditionally Jiiddo practiced Sufi Islam. In fact, “most Somalis were more or less close followers of a Sufi order” (Giorgio Banti, Email, March 21, 2021). More recently, they have been influenced by the Salafi interpretation of Islam. According to anonymous sources, the smaller tribes, because of their minority status, have been vulnerable to recruitment to the Al Qaeda affiliated Al-Shabaab, which teaches that there should be no tribal favoritism since all Muslims are equal under Allah. The Lower Shabeelle is a major stronghold of the terrorist group. Note that, as of 2017, half or more of Southwest State, which includes Lower Shabeelle, Bay and Bakool, is occupied by Al-Shabaab, also known as Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen (Fig. 14).

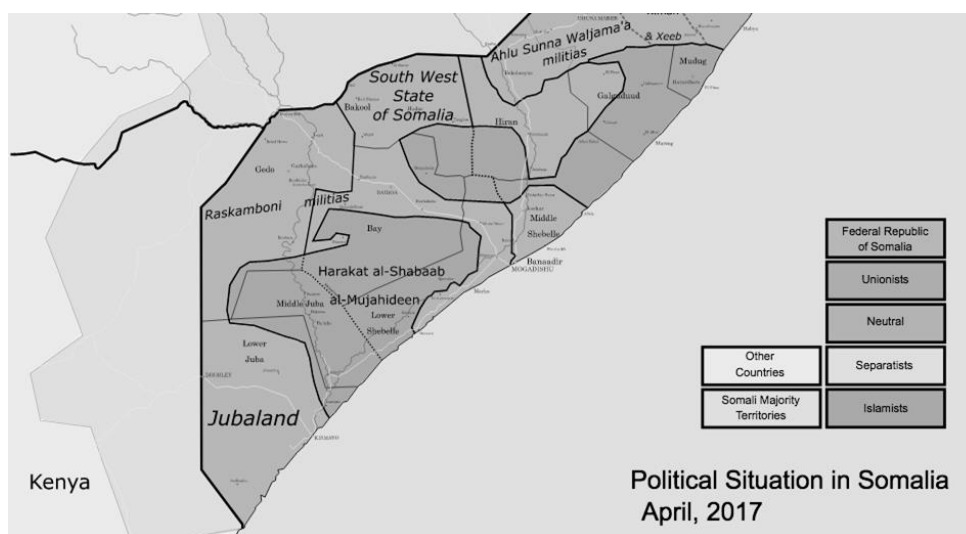


Figure 14. Political Situation in Somalia (Dahl 2017)

⁹⁰ “members of other religious groups combined constitute less than 1 percent of the population and include a small Christian community of approximately 1,000 individuals, a small Sufi Muslim community, and an unknown number of Shia Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, and those not affiliated with any religion” (“Somalia International Religious Freedom Report for 2019” 2020).

However, many have come to resent the jihadist insurgents, abetted by foreign fighters and funding. Most are tired of war and weary of extremist ideology. Perhaps it is time for a new era where peace and stability foster literacy development and greater educational opportunities.

3.2 *Linguistic Ecology*

According to the Sustainable Use Model (SUM), language development is best accomplished by assessing how the heritage language fits in relation to all languages used in the broader context, rather than focusing on the heritage language in isolation. This key term “linguistic ecology”, which is a core concept of the SUM, was first used by Voegelin & Voegelin, who wrote, “In linguistic ecology one begins not with a particular language but with a particular area, not with selective attention to a few languages but with comprehensive attention to all the languages in the area” (1964, 2).⁹¹

This section will follow the ISO 639-3 standard which identifies Jiiddu as (jii) and assigns a code for every known language name in the world. This is the three-letter coding system that the Ethnologue pioneered (“ISO 639-3 Registration Authority” 2020).

In Jiiddu’s (jii) linguistic ecology, it is distinct from the official national language(s), Somali *Mahaatiri* (som) and Maay (ymm), as well as from the cluster of three other neighboring Digil dialects in the Shabeelle-Jubba inter-riverine region, which includes its closest neighbor Tunni (tqq), as well as Garre (gex), and Dabarre (dbr). Yet, these six language varieties are all classified as Afro-Asiatic East Cushitic, Omo-Tana,

⁹¹ This reference is from Lewis and Simons, “Ecological Perspectives on Language Endangerment: Applying the Sustainable Use Model to Language Development”, in which they note that Voegelin & Voegelin have since been cited by Haugen (1972), and in turn cited by Hornberger (2002:32) (2011, 7).

according to Tosco (2000, 94–95) (2012, 265, 278) (2020, 292). §3.2.1 Neighboring Languages: Digil (Tunni, Garre, Dabarre) provides more detail on this cluster. See also Appendix 20.2.3 *Map of Somali Dialects* (Lamberti 1986).

Further south, Jii has some contact with Chizigua (xma), also pejoratively called Mushungulu, which is a Bantu language belonging to the Niger Congo language family. The Mushunguli community is descended from a composition of indigenous groups and fugitive slaves who escaped from Somali masters in the Middle Shabeelle region (Eno 2008, 93). One other non-Cushitic Bantu language on the edge of Jii territory, Chimiini, is categorized with Swahili, ISO 639-3 (swh).⁹² Chimiini is also called Bravanese because it is spoken in the port city of Brava (Barawa) (Mumin and Dimmendaal 2020). “Chimiini, the northernmost Swahili dialect, was spoken in Baraawe until the collapse of the central government of Maxamed Siyaad Barre.”⁹³ Afterwards most Bravanese fled abroad” (Giorgio Banti, Email, 3/21/2021).

All of these various groups are believed to use one or more dialects of Af Maay (ymm) as the language of wider communication (LWC).⁹⁴ Thirty-plus clans, with an estimated population of 1.5 to 2 million living in the Jubba and Shabeelle river basins, speak Maay as their first or second language.

3.2.1 Neighboring Languages: Fellow Digil (Tunni, Garre, Dabarre)

The map below (Fig. 15) shows the neighboring language groups surrounding and living among the Jiiddo. The neighboring Digil languages are classified, like Jii, as Lowland Eastern Cushitic. However, the name Digil is more of a clan-reality label

⁹² ISO 639-3 is an international three-letter code used to identify unique languages, <https://www.iso.org/iso-639-language-codes.html>. (jii) is for Jiiddo. <https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-info#LangId>

⁹³ *Maxamed Siyaad Barre* is the Somali spelling for Mohamed Siad Barre.

⁹⁴ *Af*, literally ‘mouth,’ also means ‘language’ (in Af Mahateri) thus Af Maay or Af Jiiddo.

regarding the four neighboring groups in the confederacy, rather than a socio-linguistic term. Lamberti called the Digil the “most heterogeneous” of Somalia’s “dialect groups”, and he questioned whether they actually form a single group or whether each dialect should be classified separately (1986, 24–25).⁹⁵ He was more confident about grouping Tunni and Dabarre but admitted that Garre, and especially Jii, are quite different (Lamberti 1986, 24). He tentatively included Jii in what he called the “Digil dialect group”, but he allowed that Jii could also be classified separately (1986, 13). Banti commented, “Lamberti adopted the term Digil from Moreno, who used this term for Maay. Both of them used tribal names extensively as labels for different dialects. This practice is now used only when it is absolutely unavoidable as with Jiiddu, Garre, Tunni or Dabarre” (Giorgio Banti, Email, March 21, 2021).

Dabarre is spoken mainly in the districts of Dhiinsoor and Qansax Dheere, as well as in the entire Middle Jubba, along the Jubba river (Fig. 15), because of immigration in the decades before 1980 (Lamberti 1986, 25). In terms of vocabulary, Garre, which is spoken in the districts of Baidoa, Dhiinsoor, Buurhakaba and Qoryoley, is one of the most heterogeneous dialects (Lamberti 1986, 25).⁹⁶

⁹⁵ See Appendix 20.2.3 regarding Lamberti’s Map of Somali Dialects (1986)

⁹⁶ Potentially confusing because there are two languages called Garre: 1) Karre or *Mahaaw* – the Somali dialect classified as Digil (Hussein 2018), and 2) a homonymous Oromo dialect (Lamberti 1986, 47).

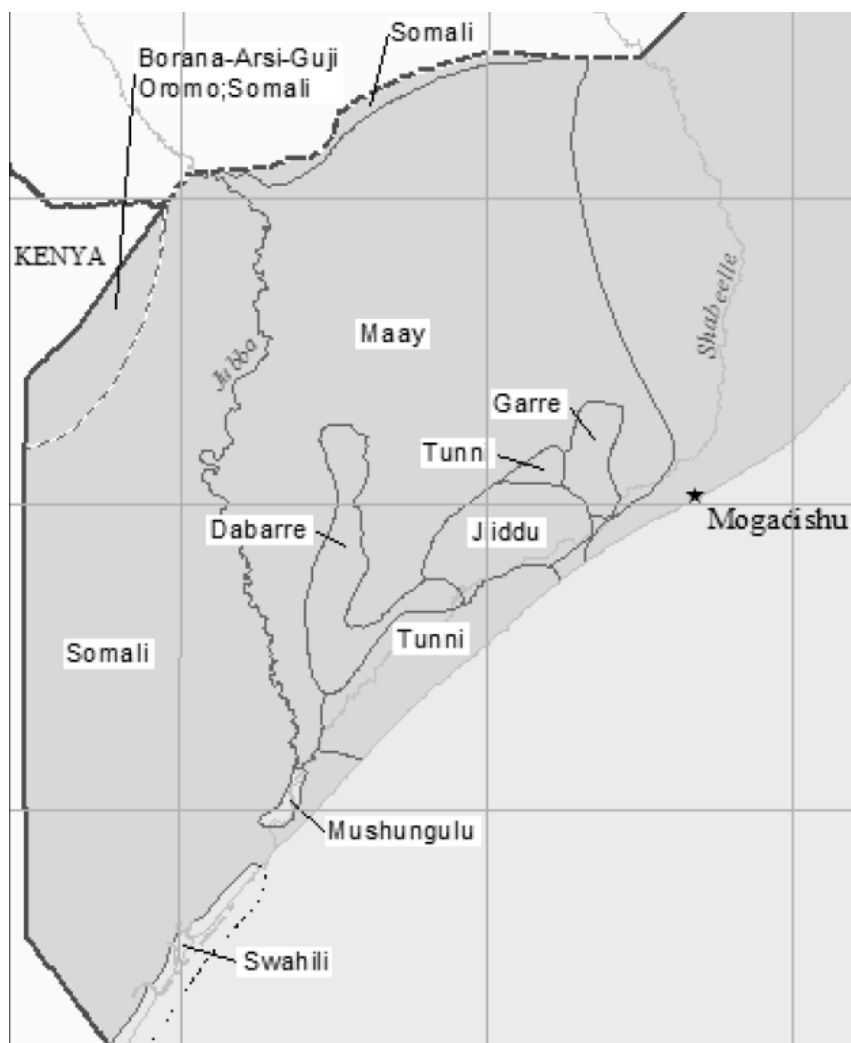


Figure 15. Somalia Language Map, Ethnologue 23rd edition 2020

3.2.2 Tunni, Jiiddu's Closest Digil Neighbor

Tunni nomads and herdsman live in the districts of Dhiinsoor, Baraawe and Jilib where they raise cattle, sheep and goats but not camels, according to Lamberti. He observed that, of all the Digil dialects, Tunni has been influenced most strongly by Maay (1986, 25). The Tunni, who live on both sides of the Jiiddu, are their closest neighbors relationally, if not linguistically. When Sultan Alio was appointed as the leader of the Jiiddu in 2011, for example, the Sultan of the Tunni travelled from Columbus, Ohio to Minneapolis to attend the ceremony.

In his *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, M. Haji Mukhtar provides a legendary account of the Jiiddo – Tunni relationship as follows:

The Tunni, composed of five sub clans (Da'farad, Dakhtira, Goygali, Hajuwa and Waridi), were the latest to drive the Jiddo into the interior where they established their own sultanate in Qoryoley. The Tunni made a treaty with the Jiddu,⁹⁷ so that they settled on the west bank of the Shabeelle, and the Jiddo on the east bank.⁹⁸ Both also agreed to resist foreign penetration, with the exception of *seddah saamood* “the three footprints” which are the Tunni, Jiddo and the wild beasts (2003, 50).

Also, in *History in the Horn of Africa*, M. Nuuh Ali references a quote from Lewis⁹⁹ (I. M. Lewis 1969, 33):

Support for important Tunni-Jiiddo interactions is found in the oral tradition that, from Baraawa,¹⁰⁰ some Tunni groups joined with the Jiiddo to defeat the Ajuraan, dividing their land between them. With Oromo help, the Tunni then defeated the Jiiddo at Balleli and attacked the Biamaal, pushing them into Merka (M. N. Ali 1985, 177)

According to Ayub Osman, another legend about the origin of the Jiiddo people recalls the motif of welcome and adoption that prevails in the region:

Traditionally Jiiddo were on the move from one place to another in search of water and pasture for their animals. They used to leave their newly surveyed location if another group resided there.

The guardians of Jiiddo community noted that a group of five men with their families were coming after them. They reported to the elders and they were ordered to take some of the elders with them and examine the kind of community they were and the reason they were following after the community.

The elders noted that the five men were not of the same clan but had met each other on the way, as they were moving and had decided to unite, so the Jiiddo elders welcomed them and allowed them to join their team until they got a permanent hometown, which is now the place they live in the Lower Shabeelle (Osman, Email, May 30, 2018).

⁹⁷ Note the variation of spelling (Jiddo/Jiddu) in published literature.

⁹⁸ However, this account seems to have the cardinal directions east and west mistakenly opposite here.

⁹⁹ This reference needs to be clarified as to which Lewis – I.M. Lewis or Herbert Lewis.

¹⁰⁰ Baraawe

3.2.3 Maay – Language of Wider Communication, and Culture of Adoption

While the larger, nomadic tribes in the north celebrate their tribal lineage and ethnic homogeneity, the confederation of Maay-speaking tribes in the south, including the Jiiddo, has a cultural value of welcoming and adopting new people groups displaced by drought, violence, or other reasons. For example, in the late 1970s, the Jiiddo community, led by the late Sultan Ibrahim Alio, was asked by the president of the Somali Democratic Republic, Mohamed Siad Barre, to settle drought-affected communities from the north. The Jiiddo community assisted these IDPs by “...building shelters, providing utensils and fetching firewood for them from the bush though these people were new to the districts” (Ayub Osman, correspondence May 30, 2018).

This practice of adoption has also included welcoming escaped slaves into their heterogeneous social structure (Neumann 2010, 15). Sultan Warsame Alio, the current leader of the Jiiddo, remembers asking his mother when he was a student, why there were Bantu Somali children in his class with his same family name. She told him that their families had previously been enslaved, but that Sultan’s grandfather (or great-grandfather?) had freed them and given them his family name (Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro, Personal communication, 2018).

The language name *Maay* comes from the question word *Maay?* ‘What?’¹⁰¹ in contrast to the “common Somali” question word *Maxa?* [maħa] ‘What?’ In Maay language, *Maayteri?* means ‘What did you say?’ (Mukhtar and Ahmed 2007, 6).

¹⁰¹ *Maay?* can also mean “why?” in context (Mukhtar and Ahmed 2007, 209–10).

Correspondingly, Maay speakers label the majority Somali language as *Mahaatiri* (*Mahaa tiri*) ‘What did you say?’ (Mukhtar 2003, 31).¹⁰²

Approximately 1.86 million (estimated in 2006) Somalis speak the minority language Maay, compared to 6.46 million speakers of the majority language *Af Somaali* inside Somalia and 14.7 million total speakers worldwide (estimated 2002), according to the SIL Ethnologue (Simons, Lewis, and Fennig 2014, 225) . As part of the Eastern Lowland Cushitic language family, *Af Maay* is closely related to, but is significantly different from the majority *Af Somaali* which Maay speakers call *Mahaatiri*. There is an overlap in vocabulary of roughly seventy percent, and similar grammar, but they are separate languages with different sound systems. Sixty-eight percent cognation exists between the Maay spoken in Baidoa and *Mahaatiri* spoken in Hargeisa in the north (see Fig. 44 in Appendix 19.2) according to a lexicostatistical analysis of “Soomaali” dialects (Ehret and Ali 1983, 203). I.M. Lewis compared the relationship to how closely Spanish and Portuguese are related without being mutually intelligible (1998, 74).

Phonological/phonetic differences as well as other linguistic variances exist between Maay and *Mahaatiri* which are beyond the scope of investigation of the present study.¹⁰³

3.2.4 *Dhoobey* Dialect of Maay

The focus of this study is on Jii, but *Dhoobey* is featured here because of the SUM theory’s strong emphasis on healthy multilingualism and the importance of accounting

¹⁰² *Mahaa tiri* (with the voiceless glottal fricative represented by *h*) is how Jiiddu and Maay-speakers pronounce the Maxaa tiri [x] (voiceless pharyngeal fricative).

¹⁰³ For example, neither Maay nor Jii have pharyngeals, (pharyngeal consonant sounds produced in the pharynx). These sounds are represented in *Mahaatiri* orthography by C for voiced pharyngeal fricatives and X for the voiceless equivalent. Another notable phonetic difference is an implosive feature in certain Jii and Maay consonants, which is absent in *Mahaatiri*. For example, in Jii, “<dh> is [d] sometimes implosive [d̥], <j> is [d͡ʒ], but <jh> is implosive [ʃ]” (Banti and Ibraaw 2020, 1).

for the community’s entire repertoire of speech varieties in the linguistic ecology surrounding it. The *Dhoobey* dialect deserves special mention since it has emerged in this study as an important language variety for several of the Jiiddo individuals interviewed.¹⁰⁴

In this case study, Ayub Osman himself grew up speaking *Dhoobey* as his first language. He did not learn Jii, ironically, until he was living in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya where he attended school. There, he realized that he was learning English and Swahili but had never properly learned his father’s Jii language. Similarly, as *Dhoobey* Maay was his first language, he did not learn “proper” Maay until he went to live with some maternal uncles in Baidoa, who teased him for his accent until he adjusted to the dialect of the Baay region (Ayub Osman, conversation, 2018).

In the case of the Jiiddo clan, it seems that *Dhoobey* is often their second language used to communicate with neighbors who are not Jiiddo. In this study, the topic of the *Dhoobey* dialect initially came up in first-hand interviews. Since then, three published (possible) references have been discovered. The first, and clearest, appears in *From Linguistic Imperialism to Language Domination: “Linguicism” and Ethno-Linguistic Politics in Somalia* and specifically links the Jiiddo clan to this variety of Maay (Eno, Eno, and Dammak 2016, 21–22).

To the extent that Maay and Maxaa “are not intelligible to each other” (Kusow, 1995:93), it is our contention that the peasant Maay speaker in the Dhankafaruur village of Buur Hakaba District or the Jiiddo pastoral or agro-pastoral who speaks only his ethnic Jiiddo mother tongue (and possibly a variety of the Maay language as spoken in the hinterland of the *Dhoobooy* area in Lower Shabeelle) are linguistically hindered from

¹⁰⁴ *Dhoobey* was mentioned by interviewees only as an afterthought in the first set of interviews in 2018. The JYA did not think to put *Dhoobey* on the map when they created a visual illustration of their linguistic ecology. It was only later as they were writing a list that it occurred to them to mention it.

communicating with their fellow citizens in the north or in central Somalia.

The second possible reference to *Dhoobey*, in this case spelled and/or pronounced *Dhoboy*, is from the *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*.¹⁰⁵ Mukhtar seems to confirm what was footnoted earlier, that the dialect name likely refers to the type of soil found in the places where it is spoken because *doobih* [*dhoobə*] in Af Maay is glossed as ‘clay, mud, soil.’

Unlike other clans, the Reewin identify themselves more on a territorial than a strictly genealogical basis:¹⁰⁶ Reer Bay (people of Bay region), Reer Dhoboy (people of Dhoboy land), and Reer Manyo (people of the sea), for example, show how important territorial identification is (Mukhtar 2003, 189).¹⁰⁷

The third reference to *doobay* (and *doollo*) soils, which are rich and irrigated for “wet farming” maize, as opposed to the upland *adableh* soil more suitable for dry-farming” sorghum millets, comes from I.M. Lewis’ “Nomadism to Cultivation: The Expansion of Political Solidarity in Southern Somalia” (I. M. Lewis 1969, 60)

Another source indicates that *Dhoobey* is a Maay dialect spoken by a Somali Bantu clan called *Reer Shabeelle*, which would mean it is spoken by the ethnically (Somali) Bantu Reer Shabeelle in the areas surrounding the River Shabeelle. (Mohammed M, personal communication Feb 25, 2021). In summary, the sociolinguistic situation in South Somalia and the Lower Shabeelle region is quite complex, and more investigation is needed.

¹⁰⁵ Part of the socio-linguistic question is whether *Dhoobey* is the same as *Dhoboy* (noting a difference in both vowel length and quality, though it could simply be a matter of inconsistent spelling), and whether it has some (socio) linguistic indicators (pronunciation/vocabulary) or is more a clan/ethnic and/or territorial designation as opposed to an actual speech variety (C. Follingstad, p.c. 2021).

¹⁰⁶ Reewin (sometimes spelled Reewing) is a variant of Rahanweyn, referring to the large confederacy of Maay-speaking Digil-Mirifle clans.

¹⁰⁷ *Reer* means ‘people’ or ‘family of’

3.3 Sociolinguistic Pressure on the Jiiddo Community

3.3.1 Historical Pressures for Linguistic Conformity

There is a saying that was widely promoted during the “scientific-socialist” regime of Mohamed Siad Barre, and unfortunately widely repeated to this day, that Somalia has “One people with one language, one culture, and one religion”. As Ahmed Samatar, Somali studies scholar, asked,

...why and how could this society, one of the few nations in the continent with one ethnic group, one culture, one language, and one religion, find itself in such parlous circumstances – verging on self-destruction?’ (A. A. Osman 2007, 96).

Governments tend to promote and attempt to enforce uniformity for the sake of simplicity and control. However, linguistic diversity is a reality in most countries, and Somalia is not an exception, especially in the Southwest State where the Jiiddo live. The SIL Ethnologue lists thirteen languages spoken in Somalia (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2020). There are ten indigenous languages, all spoken in the Southwest State, in the inter-riverine area (between the Shabeelle and Jubba rivers). The challenge for the nation of Somalia remains how to promote national unity, rather than uniformity, within the diversity of cultural linguistic expression.

By necessity, many Jii and Maay speakers have learned to understand Mahaatiri Somali, the national language, but Mahaatiri (“standard Somali”) speakers have more difficulty, and less incentive, understanding Maay or Jii. Banti suggests that “common” Somali may be a better term than standard, because Somali has not been standardized yet (Giorgio Banti, Email, March 21, 2021).

There are linguistic reasons for not understanding minority languages, and there is social pressure against their members using them in certain speech contexts. Members of

smaller speech communities have an incentive to learn the prestige language for the sake of interacting with the government and doing business with the majority clans. In contrast, from the Jiiddos' perspective, the majority Somali community who speak *Mahaatiri* often “look down on other language groups as inferior, so they do not want to learn or speak in any of the minority languages” (Osman, correspondence May 30, 2018). Nevertheless, Jiiddo elders who were interviewed in 2020 reported a growing respect for Jii, and even outsiders who are interested in learning their language.¹⁰⁸

3.3.2 Constitutional Recognition of Maay and “Local Dialects” in 2012

In the new 2012 Somali National Constitution, *Mahaatiri* and *Maay* are together recognized as the official Somali language(s), that is, there is one Somali language with two variants. According to Article 5: Official Languages, “the official language of the Federal Republic of Somalia is Somali (*Maay* and *Maxaa-tiri*),¹⁰⁹ and Arabic is the second language” (“Somalia’s Constitution of 2012” 2020, 9). Further support for indigenous languages is found in Article 31: Language and Culture, which declares, “The state shall promote the cultural practices and local dialects of minorities (“Somalia’s Constitution of 2012” 2020, 14).

Speakers of Jii and other language varieties are hopeful that this will support the process of reversing discrimination. In this regard, the treatment of *Af Maay* is representative of how Jii and the other *Digil-Mirifle* languages should be treated.

Discrimination has sometimes been a result of official state policies, and other times cultural prejudice. The national literacy campaign that began in the early 1970s

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix 12 for Interviews with Jiiddo Elders.

¹⁰⁹ Note the alternate spelling *Maxaa-tiri* which is spelled/pronounced *Mahaatiri*, according to Jii and *Maay* speakers.

made *Mahaatiri* Somali the standard and only official language of the nation. The spelling system that was chosen was not suitable for Af Maay and by implication, also the other Southern Somali languages like Jii which are more closely related linguistically to Af Maay.

Even before then, discrimination was evident when, in the pre-Independence period, Radio Mogadishu dropped Af Maay programming in favor of *Mahaatiri*. This began a compounding problem by which representatives from the south who spoke Af Maay were overlooked for roles in the national government. Instead, favoritism was shown to representatives from the north who could speak *Mahaatiri*.

The southern Somali inhabitants became more and more marginalized as less representation resulted in less development and government services for their region. Moreover, even those projects and government services implemented in the South were often managed by leaders from the North who had difficulty communicating with the local population, which resulted in the failure of those projects.

This injustice of linguistic marginalization began to be remedied during the Somali Peace and Reconciliation Conference of 2003 at Mbegathi, Kenya. The delegates decided that Af-Maay would be an official language of the nation. Article 7 of the 2003 Transitional Federal Charter of the Somali Republic stated, “The official language of the Somali Republic shall be Somali (Maay and Maxaatiri [Af-Maxaa]) (Mukhtar 2013, 20). Thus, this earlier proclamation in 2003 paved the way for the official constitutional declaration of 2012.

3.4 Jii Language Ecology according to the JYA

Language use data for the Jiiddo was collected during a five-day language development workshop in Nairobi with Ayub Osman and three other members of the JYA in October 2018. When asked to map out the languages they use in everyday life, the Jiiddo youth created the following visual representation (Fig. 16 and Table 2). Only later, after they created the conceptual linguistic ecology map, as they were filling out the data for Table 2, they mentioned that they speak a special variety of Maay in their region that they called *Dhoobey*.¹¹⁰ According to these Jiiddo youth, who live in Mogadishu but maintain frequent communication/travel to family in “the districts”,¹¹¹ these are their community’s most commonly used languages.

Notes are visible in the top left corner of the map regarding Jii language functions, such as working on the farm during harvest, or visiting someone who is sick. Other common domains for Jii are weddings where songs are sung, funerals, and conflict resolution meetings (Fig. 16).

¹¹⁰ *Doobih* in Af Maay is glossed as ‘clay, mud, soil.’ This dialect name likely refers to the type of soil found in the places where it is spoken.

¹¹¹ As a reminder to the reader, the three main districts where Jiiddo live are Qoryooley, Kunturwarey, and Sablaale of the Lower Shabeelle Region.

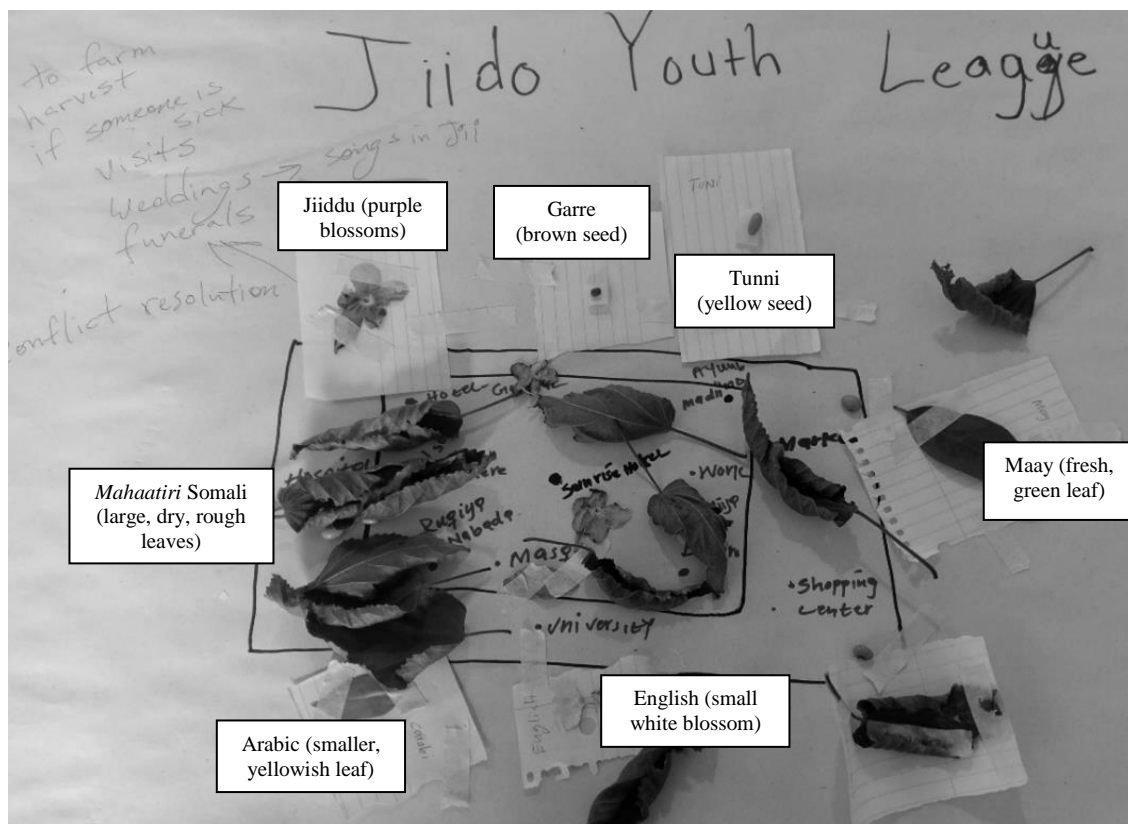


Figure 16. JYA Linguistic Ecology Map: Languages We Speak, Where? (2018)

Note that in Table 2, the map “legend” for identifying language symbols, the large, dry leaves represent *Mahaatiri* Somali, spoken by “most”, which dominate the map. Also shown on the map, but not listed in the table, are Tunni (yellow seed) and Garre (brown seed). Not shown or listed, interestingly, are Dabarre or Mushungulu.¹¹² Jii is represented by a purple blossom placed in the center and top left, representing the direction up to Afgooye from where the road goes southwest back to the Jiido districts. This choice of a flower calls to mind the words of S.A. Ibro who, in a speech to the JYA, compared Jii to a flowering tree that requires watering and nurturing to prevent withering. He told the Jiido youth, “The language is like a flowering tree. If the flower is not given

¹¹² Perhaps the omission was intentional for some reason, or due to lack of knowledge, or perhaps simply an oversight.

water, it will dry. We are the water. We should try to develop Ey Jii for our children” (S. Ibro 2020). His simile of language as a living tree is reminiscent of the “root” metaphor Fishman used in *Reversing Language Shift*, “The destruction of a language is the destruction of a rooted identity” (1991, 4).

Table 2. Map Legend, JYA Linguistic Ecology: Languages We Speak, Where (2018)

Languages spoken by our community (and representative symbol)	How many speakers				
	Few	Some	Many	Most	All
Jiiddo (purple blossom, center and top left)				X	
Maay (fresh green leaf)		X			
<i>Dhoobey</i> dialect of Maay (an afterthought, not shown on map)			(X)		
English (small white blossom?)			X		
<i>Mahaatiri</i> Somali (large, dry, rough leaves)				X	
<i>Carabi</i> ‘Arabic’ (smaller, yellowish leaf)			X		

3.5 Language Status Planning

Further research is needed to discover if any decisions or plans have been made by the Jiiddo, or by any of the minority language communities. Besides published literature in Maay, Ibro’s *Jii Mini-Dictionary* (1998) is the only text yet published in any of the minority languages in South Somalia, as far as research has hitherto uncovered.

Many questions remain regarding the status of Jii, as reflected in domains of language use, and regarding the other South Somalia languages. Has Jii or any of the other languages ever been used in an educational setting? One could imagine local teachers using the vernacular language(s) to explain their lessons, even as they teach literacy in *Mahaatiri* Somali. How much is Jii, or other vernaculars, used for religious instruction? This seems to be one domain for Jii. Ayub Osman reports,

I have not heard of any school that teaches Jii, but I have attended many Islamic lectures by many sheikhs from the clan preaching in Jii. The religious studies are also translated in Jii (Correspondence May 30, 2018).

When, the chairman of the JYA was asked about language domains, “When do you speak Jii? When do you speak Maay? And when do you speak Mahaatiri?” He replied, “I speak Jii if the other person speaks Jii, and Maay if that’s the language I have in common with that person, and *Mahaatiri* if that is the language best understood.” When asked if he prays in Jii. He replied, “Of course! Yes! We have the terminology to pray” (Adan Hajji Omar, WhatsApp, May 20, 2018).

Much work remains to engage the Jiiddo community in understanding their linguistic ecology, Jii language status, and goals for development. Chapter 3 has provided a baseline understanding of Jiiddo cultural, geographical and sociolinguistic context. Chapter 4 now develops a theory and methods for language development.

4 CBLID: SUM Theory and Methods

4.1 Theory of Community-Based Language and Identity Development

Chapter 4 will now offer the Jiiddo community a plausible theory and practical method for achieving their goals. §4.1 explains the theory of Community-Based Language and Identity Development by reviewing *Sustaining Language Use* (Lewis and Simons 2016) in §4.1.1 and by appraising how the theory has been applied in Pakistan, in §4.1.2 *Planning Language Use: Case Studies in CBLID* (Eberhard and Smith 2021). §4.2 describes the interview methods used in this study, which were based on two practical tools developed from the SUM – §4.2.1 *A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language*, and §4.2.2 the ‘Language and Identity Journey’. Finally, §4.3 touches on the issues and rationale regarding security risks and human subjects research.

4.1.1 *Sustaining Language Use* (Lewis and Simons 2016)

Before presenting the Jii milestones and results in language development, it will be helpful for the reader to understand the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) theoretical framework from this review of *Sustaining Language Use: Perspectives on Community-Based Language Development* (Lewis and Simons 2016). This 267-page textbook provides guidance for indigenous community development practitioners and outside consultants who are confronting the question, “How does a language community sustain their language in the face of ever-increasing forces of language shift?” (Lewis and Simons 2016, back cover).

The science of sociolinguistics is dependent on a series of transmissions and syntheses from one generation of scholars to the next. Lewis and Simons base their language development theory on Fishman, especially *Reversing Language Shift* (1991), as well as Charles Ferguson, Robert Cooper, and others like Fishman's predecessor Einar Haugen. They also draw on the experience of SIL fieldwork among minority language groups accumulated over the previous 80 years (Lewis and Simons 2016, xi).

Lewis and Simons address the three traditional components of language planning according to Cooper's definition of status, corpus and acquisition planning (1989).¹¹³ They also highlight a fourth element of "prestige planning" (Lewis and Simons 2016, 59), which they call "motivation" (Lewis and Simons 2011, 43–59).¹¹⁴ Rather than language planning, however, Lewis and Simons instead use the term "community-based language development" to accentuate the importance of local community initiative and ownership and to de-emphasize the concept of centralized government policy planning.

To clarify terminology, Lewis and Simons offer an expanded, three-part definition of language development. The first sense of the term is the more commonly used reference to childhood language acquisition, which they call "the micro-sociolinguistic focus on language," which they differentiate from "the macro-sociolinguistic focus on language development at the level of society" in the second and third senses of the definition (2016, 47). This can be summarized below:

1. the process starting early in life by which a person acquires language
2. the process by which a language takes on new functions within a society

¹¹³ Cooper (1989) considered "prestige planning" as part of acquisition, but in agreement with Haarman (1990), Lewis and Simons give prestige planning special and separate consideration.

¹¹⁴ Motivation was discussed at length in Lewis and Simons' (with Mark Karan) presentation "Ecological Perspectives on Language Endangerment: Applying the Sustainable Use Model to Language Development" at the American Association for Applied Linguistics conference in Chicago (26 March 2011).

3. activities undertaken within a language community specifically for the purpose of developing new functions for its language or for restoring lost functions (Lewis and Simons 2016, 47)

Figure 17 provides an overview of the SUM approach, which starts with a big picture assessment before establishing a plan for language development (agreed upon by the community) and moving to action steps as early as possible (2016, 5).

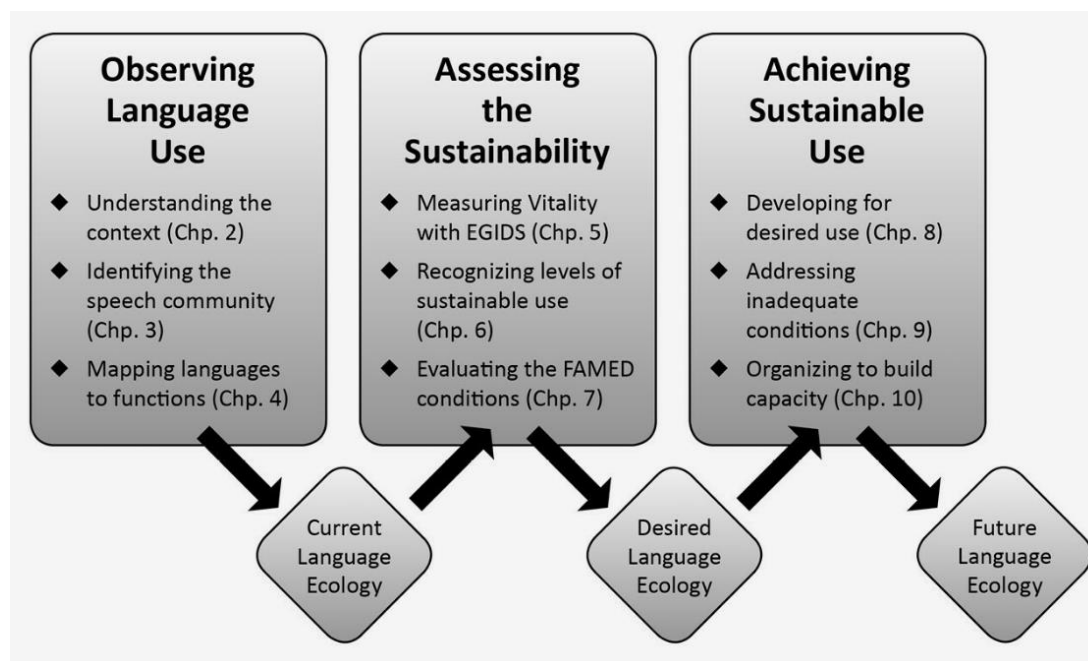


Figure 17. Overview of the SUM (Lewis and Simons 2016, 5)

They acknowledge that language development is just one aspect of community development, but the SUM approach emphasizes the holistic nature of community-based language development. By beginning with the community, and how the community communicates, this approach encourages attention towards all aspects of community life, especially strengthening communal identity (2016, 36). Rather than focusing narrowly on the maintenance of one language, this approach concentrates on the importance of intergenerational transmission of “life-crucial knowledge” (2016, 19).

Fishman emphasized the term “intergenerational” in this regard and stressed the importance of intimate, face-to-face transmission of language use from one generation to the next. He created the eight-level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) to measure language vitality by evaluating the level of disruption in the transmission of a language to the next generation. This scale measures both the loss of users and the loss of uses of the language (2016, 96).

Lewis and Simons built on Fishman’s foundation by expanding to a “finer-grained” thirteen-level scale, which is more useful for evaluating languages that are being developed (Lewis and Simons 2010). The SUM provides local language communities the EGIDS assessment (Fig. 18 and Table 3) as a means for them to gauge current language status and to envision their desired sustainable level for the future.

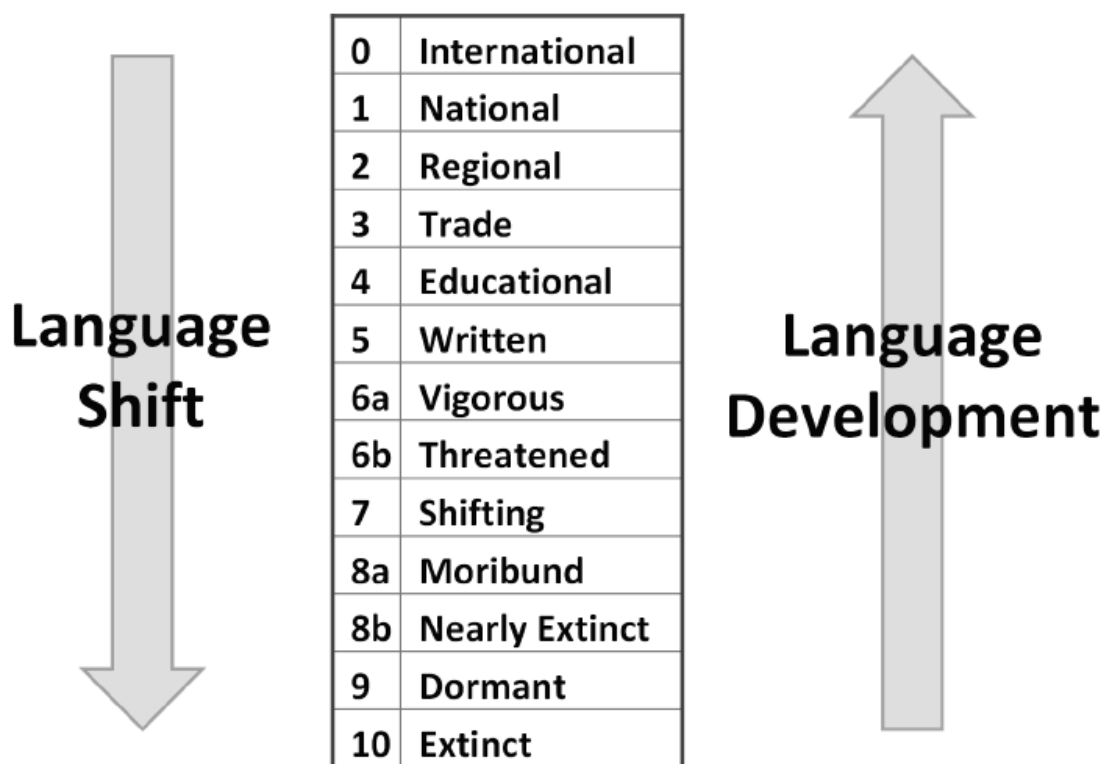


Figure 18. EGIDS Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Simons 2011)

EGIDS, shown in Fig. 18 above and Table 3 below, is the expanded version of Fishman’s GIDS. “The EGIDS [scale] forms the centerpiece of the Sustainable Use Model as it is the primary tool within the model that language development facilitators and implementers can use both to identify the current state of vitality of a language and to establish a desired sustainable level of use to be aimed for” (Lewis and Simons 2016, 80).

Table 3. EGIDS Description (Lewis and Simons, 2016)

Level	Label	Description
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.
2	Regional/ Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.
3	Trade/Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.
5	Developing/ Written	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form used by some, though not yet widespread or sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations, and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened ¹¹⁵	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only users of the language belong to the grandparent generation or older with little opportunity to use the language.
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used, and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

¹¹⁵ Jii has been assessed at 6b “Threatened” for orality, even though many (or most?) Jiido children are learning, not all are, and this rate may be declining.

Only three levels, according to a core concept of the SUM, are actually sustainable. One way to envision these three sustainable levels is by the illustration of a pyramid (Fig. 19), which is founded on sustainable identity. That is, without sustainable identity, it is not possible to sustain orality. Moreover, without sustainable orality, it is impossible to sustain literacy or education in the language.

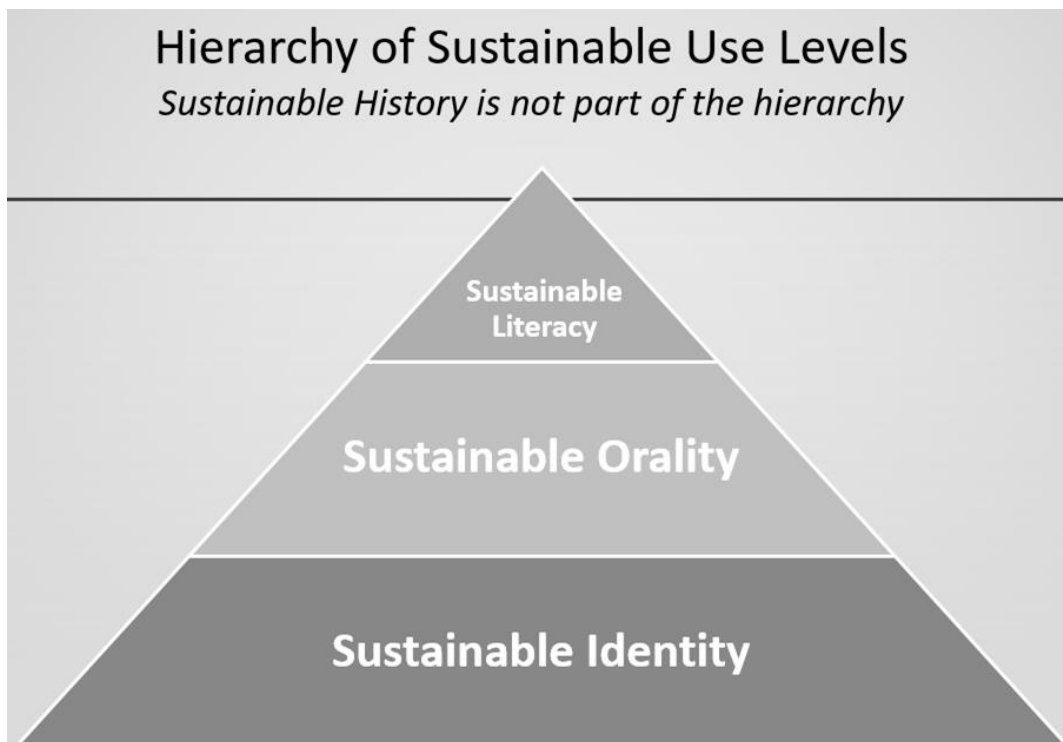


Figure 19. Hierarchy of Sustainable Use Levels (Seguin 2020)

Level 10 “Extinct”, is not considered sustainable because a “dead” language may be “sustained” only as a history of an extinct language (Fig. 20). The three sustainable levels are described thus:

- 4) “Educational”: Sustainable Literacy in which both written and oral use of the language are maintained over the long term,
- 6a) “Vigorous”: Sustainable Orality in which only oral use for everyday communication is maintained, and
- 9) “Dormant”: Sustainable Identity in which the on-going use of the language is limited to functions that maintain ethnic identity (2016, 6).

Without intentional development efforts, all other levels are unstable and subject to sliding down to the next lower sustainable level. In the SUM mountain metaphor (Fig. 20), sustainable levels are depicted as plateaus on the slope (Lewis and Simons 2016, 116). It is the community's decision which level they desire to attain and/or maintain.

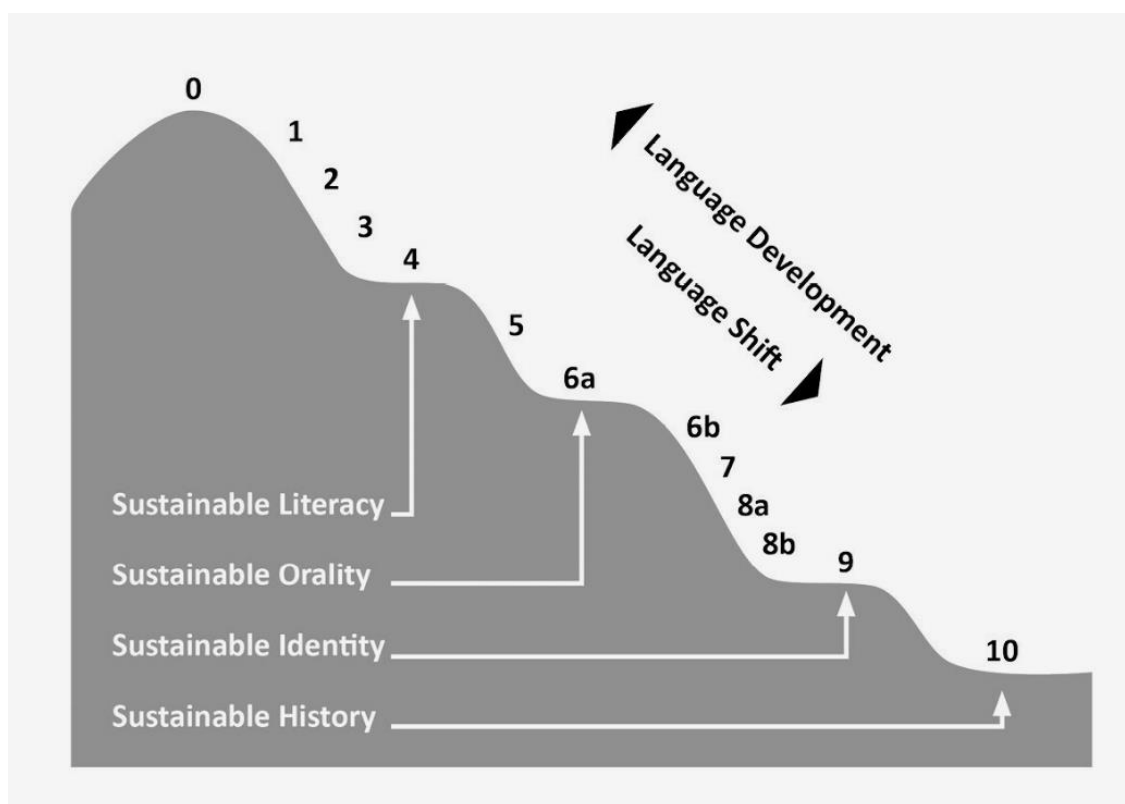


Figure 20. Sustainable Levels: Mountain Metaphor (Lewis and Simons 2016, 116)

The SUM identifies five necessary conditions for sustainability, which form the acronym FAMED – functions, acquisition, motivation, environment, and differentiation. The community benefits from understanding these five conditions as they bring clarity to complex sociolinguistic dynamics. Value is derived by diagnosing more precisely where language vitality can be strengthened by investing resources strategically (2016, 124). The FAMED conditions are defined as below (125):

- Functions — Functions (uses, bodies of knowledge) associated with the language must exist and be recognized by the community.
- Acquisition — A means of acquiring the needed proficiency to use the language for those functions must be in place and accessible to community members.
- Motivation — Community members must be motivated to use the language for those functions. They must perceive that the use of the language for those functions is beneficial in some way.
- Environment — The policy environment (including at national, regional, and local levels) must not be hostile to the use of the language for those functions.
- Differentiation — Societal norms must clearly delineate the functions assigned to the local language marking them as distinct from the functions for other languages in the speech community's repertoire.

Realistically, this model acknowledges that the multilingual community will perform different communication functions in different languages. As such, the recommended goal for indigenous language communities is reaching a place of “stable multilingualism” (2016, 70). Stability means the community stops the dominant language from taking over more and more functions by agreeing together to “carve out and preserve a ‘space’ where the language is safe” (Lewis and Simons 2016, 215).

This is reminiscent of Fishman's reference to the process of “sanctifying profane vernaculars” (2002, 123). In practical terms for language development, this means setting apart an increasing number of communication functions, (that is uses and bodies of knowledge) only for the local language. See §5.9 about a recent translation of part of the Qur'an by the JYA. It seems this effort is a demonstration that Ey Jii is capable of communicating the sacred texts of the community.

By way of illustrating the importance of preserving a ‘space’ where the language is safe, imagine a goat and a garden. If the goat is not tied, it will eventually eat up the entire garden (Seguin 2020, 34–39). In an application to Jii of this image, the garden is the place for Jii language, and the goat may represent the larger *Mahaatiri* or Maay language. The goat is not bad. It is good for milk and meat, as long as it is kept in its proper place to protect the garden. In the same way, if Jii is to be preserved, the Jiiddo must agree on a safe, special place for Ey Jii to flourish.

The SUM theory brings clarity to strategic planning for language development by dispelling the fallacy of an “all or nothing” approach. Just as Fishman advised language communities to pick their battles carefully, focusing on small-scale community life first before trying to achieve larger goals like national policy changes (1991, 6), so the SUM helps language communities focus their efforts on achievable goals that lead to incremental vitality measures. According to the SUM theory, as the number of uses increases, the number of users will also increase, thus increasing language vitality and sustainability.

4.1.2 Planning Language Use: Case Studies in CBLID (Eberhard and Smith 2021)

Since 2013, CBLID experiments have been conducted in over 100 language communities in 15 nations (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 4). This book measures the impact of Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID) through six case studies of (two individual and four regional) language communities that have used SIL methods since 2013 based on the Sustainable Use Model (SUM). In each case, the community’s goal was strengthening their traditional languages in response to the problem of language loss, language shift, and endangerment (Eberhard and Smith 2021).

In this 2021 evaluation, the “most remarkable example of language development occurred in northern Pakistan” (216). An innovation that came from Pakistan is a refined EGIDS 5D level where D represents digital use of the language for literacy (Fig. 21). More about that case will be discussed, after some background is presented.

0	International
1	National
2	Regional
3	Trade
4	Educational
5(D)	Written (Digital)
6a	Vigorous
6b	Threatened
7	Shifting
8a	Moribund
8b	Nearly Extinct
9	Dormant
10	Extinct

Figure 21. EGIDS Levels with 5D Digital Writing (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 99)

The Pakistan case study may parallel the situation in Somalia most closely with similarities in religious and tribal contexts, as well as in the initiative taken by local leaders over an extended time. What stands out from the Pakistan case are the long-term relationships that have been built on a personal and organizational level. Most notable is a strategic partnership between SIL and the Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI), a regional language development agency of northern Pakistan. In this case, FLI recruited local leaders and did all the training, consulting and follow up. “The lead role of FLI in these applications was critical to its success” (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 208).

Another success factor related to localized structure was the ability to do ongoing, “just in time” application (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 209). In this case, the mother-tongue (MT) facilitators immediately put into practice what they had learned in the morning training sessions, by going out in the afternoons to engage discussion groups in the community.

Rather than fitting (or cramming) the training and discussion activities into the tight schedule of an outside visitor, the Journey should be accomplished according to more normal, local rhythms of life. “When we first started applying the Guide, it was usually taught in a five-day workshop to mother-tongue facilitators, and then they were expected to go back to their communities and apply it there. That rarely happened” (Dave Eberhard, Email, March 19, 2021).¹¹⁶ Now, as a result of this experience, the Journey process is usually offered as a series of three weekends spread out over a sufficient period that fits the community’s timetable. This also gives the participants time for application and engagement in community group discussions between sessions.

In Pakistan, all six languages involved strengthened their language vitality via new social media functions, such as WhatsApp groups, Facebook pages and YouTube channels (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 216). Other developments were adult literacy classes and poetry competitions (216). To show pride in their local language, one group began using local names for their cricket teams instead of national or international names as they had previously (216). Other new and restored functions are preaching sermons, conducting community gatherings and, most importantly, using the local language more in their homes (217). Another group began a radio broadcast with their local language

¹¹⁶ Also see “Theory and Praxis in Community Based Language Development: preliminary findings from applications of the Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language” (Eberhard 2017).

and entered into an agreement with provincial authorities to use their local language in school curricula (2021, 217).

Eberhard and Smith caution that language development is one of the most difficult endeavors a community can undertake. Fishman used the metaphor “swimming upstream” (2001) to describe the arduous effort required to overcome “...some of the strongest forces of modernity” (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 223).

Translating materials into the local language and involving top local leaders and influencers will be key factors for success. Other crucial factors which have been distilled from evaluating and reflecting on these case studies are captured by the Journey “Core Values” as follows: 1) Community Owned, 2) Leader Based, 3) Neutral Stance, 4) Realistic Goals, 5) Long-term Approach, and 6) Culturally Sensitive (Eberhard et al. 2020).

Maintaining an appropriate focus on the individual speech community balanced with the existing language ecology is also vital (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 226). When asked to elaborate on this point, Dave Eberhard wrote:

Yes - one needs to start with a broader language ecology view - which includes all of the languages in a particular area, and their inter-relationships. Then, when one focuses on a single language community within that ecology, those relationships with the greater ecology will still inform any understanding of their particular language use patterns, and will still help guide any future language development strategies. A particular language repertoire is a consequence of a particular language ecology. (Dave Eberhard email, March 19, 2021).

CBLID experts warn against “put[ting] a literacy band-aid on an orality problem” or “pushing literacy in situations where orality is being lost” (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 229). That is, if fewer members of the community are speaking the local language, and fewer children are learning to speak it, then literacy will not be the first solution. Rather,

a more primary remedy should be efforts to reclaim vital community functions for which the local language will be used. Furthermore, patience is required to wait for fortuitous timing, realizing that minoritized communities often need to deal with more urgent survival issues before they are ready for language development. CBLID is a tool for “such a time as this” (2021, 229).

The most beneficial corollary impact of CBLID is the relationship with external partners. "The value of such third-party pan-indigenous national organizations... cannot be over-emphasized" (219). This is what stands out most prominently in relation to the Jii language development project, how critically important is the language community's long-term relationship with trained language “specialists/champions” who have been trained in CBLID (2021, 220).

This relationship with a trusted outsider, an “alongsider”, who walks with them to train, empower, and build capacity among local language practitioners is the “secret sauce” of CBLID (220). Relationships at a regional level are more valuable than international ones for the sake of mutual understanding and long-term involvement. Eberhard, Smith and their team of contributors recommend prioritizing relationship with those communities who value the relationship "more for the future possibilities of communal help and transformation more than [for] any specific tangible goods they might provide" (220). These relationships must be mutually beneficial with outsiders learning from insiders, so that community agency is genuinely fostered. The authors predict that CBLID will be viable “to the extent that we are able to train and empower regional/national organizations to use and continue developing this approach in ways they feel is most appropriate” (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 230).

Now that the theory of Community-Based Language and Identity Development, expressed by the Sustainable Use Model has been clarified by reviewing *Sustaining Language Use* in §4.1.1 (Lewis and Simons 2016), and by reviewing case studies where the theory has been applied in §4.1.2, this next section will examine two available tools for putting the method into practice which are *A Guide for Planning Our Language Future* and the ‘Language and Identity Journey’.

4.2 Interview Methods: ‘A Guide’ and ‘The Journey’ with Jiiddo Leaders

This section is focused on the interview methods used in *The Guide for Planning Our Language Future* (Hanawalt et al. 2016) and the ‘Language and Identity Journey’ website (Eberhard et al. 2020). Both the Guide and the Journey are practical tools based on the Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID) theoretical rationale called the Sustainable Use Model (SUM), which this study uses to identify those factors likely to shape the trajectory of future Jii development.

This researcher conducted four sets of interviews with Jiiddo leaders, starting with preliminary questionnaires administered by email in May 2018, followed by a five-day, in-person training with four JYA leaders in Nairobi in October 2018. Then, in April 2020, five¹¹⁷ Jiiddo elders in Mogadishu were interviewed by video from Minneapolis. The fourth set of interviews was conducted by audio and video on November 24, 2020 from Minneapolis, with eight participants, in Mogadishu and Qoryoley, including one in Nairobi. Beyond these formal interviews, near daily communication has been available via WhatsApp and Zoom as needed for exploration and clarification.

¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, due to a poor connection, the interview with S.A. Ibro was not recorded in April 2020 along with the other four elders. A “retake” was done with Ibro in December 2020 (See Appendix 20).

Face-to-face meetings have been an important part of research, when possible, but have been infrequent due to political and social instability in Somalia. For example, this researcher met with Sultan in June and July 2018 when he visited the US. Later in July 2018, a follow up meeting was planned with S.A. Ibro in Gothenburg, Sweden at the Maay linguistics conference. Unfortunately, due to a death in the family, Ibro was unable to attend. Later that year, Sultan intended to accompany the JYA to Nairobi for the language development training, and a Jiiddo MP had planned to attend the closing ceremony; however, a political crisis in Somalia prevented both of them from leaving the country. In 2020, a planned research trip to Mogadishu and Mombasa, Kenya, to interview Jiiddo speakers was cancelled due to Covid-19 travel restrictions. In the US, in-person conversations with key Jiiddo leaders in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and Atlanta, Georgia, also remain on hold. Thankfully, connections via communication technology remain available and usually effective.

This project is a work in progress, but it has always been guided by the conviction that the proper role for international literacy specialists and outside consultants is “to enable and empower minoritized language groups to do their own language planning and to control their own language development” (Eberhard 2017, 251). Both methods described below are based on that conviction. The first, in §4.2.1 was utilized in 2018, and the second, described in § in 4.2.2, was only introduced to the Jiiddo community in 2020 and remains a proposed roadmap they may accept or decline.

4.2.1 *A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language* (Hanawalt et al. 2016)

The first interviews for this project were performed in early 2018 as this researcher was completing the Language Development and Planning class at GIAL.¹¹⁸ Informed by that coursework, and with an introduction to the Guide, the preliminary queries were: *What is the status of Jii language development? What status do Jii speech communities desire for their language in the future? How did the Jiiddo arrive at their decisions about their vision and desires for the future of their language?*

At that point in the process, the research plan was to define and measure language status according to the results of the community discussions structured largely by *A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language* (Hanawalt et al. 2016), which had already been utilized in at least 84 other language communities globally (Eberhard 2017, 251). The guide was designed to be used by mother-tongue (MT) facilitators, in this case, Ayub Osman and other JYA youth leaders, to convene community discussions. The researcher's role, according to guidance from Eberhard, would be to train Osman and members of the JYA how to use the Guide.

According to the method, MT facilitators must be Jii speakers, but not necessarily from the same speech community. "A speech community is a group of people who live in community with one another, speak the same set of languages, and use those languages in the same way, in the same places and with the same people" (Hanawalt et al. 2016, 5).

MT facilitators may be both men and women, if this is culturally acceptable, who are/have:

¹¹⁸ "The name Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics once represented the entire university. When the name changed to Dallas International University in 2018, GIAL came to represent the original departments: Applied Anthropology and Applied Linguistics" (<https://www.diu.edu/gial/>).

- a good relationship with the rest of the community
- at least a high school education
- good at interacting with people
- able to relate abstract concepts with concrete examples
- chosen in pairs whenever possible so that facilitators can work together and share the task and
- received training from an outside training organization in how to use the Guide before using it among their own community members (Hanawalt et al. 2016, 6).

Based on these criteria, Sultan and S.A. Ibro nominated two men and two women to accompany Ayub Osman to the training in Nairobi for a total of five nominated participants. Unfortunately, demanding responsibilities in his government position prevented one of the men from travelling, so it came down to four participants.

The first criterion for the trainer is someone who “firmly believes the community has the right and is able to make their own decisions regarding how they want to use the languages at their disposal” (Hanawalt et al. 2016, 6). Therefore, an important guideline for the researcher’s role is to, as much as possible, adopt a “neutral tone.” The Guide Development Team cautioned,

We who developed the Guide have felt all along that it should be administered as a neutral tool - not advocating for any specific outcome for any specific community. If we truly want community ownership, we need to get serious about what communities are actually saying they want, not what we would like them to want. (Personal correspondence, April 30, 2018)

Plans were made to organize a training in September 2018. After Jiiddo leaders determined it was too dangerous to convene a multi-day training in Somalia, the venue was changed to Nairobi. The original proposal was for the MT facilitators, once trained in Kenya, to go back to Somalia to facilitate discussion groups starting in Mogadishu among the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), and then further south in the home districts of

Qoryoley, Kurtunwarey, and Sablaale. This assumed that they could manage to meet discretely without recrimination from Al Shabaab. This method, without the presence of an American outsider, seems like an appropriate way to gather data without putting local residents at risk. Unfortunately, this goal of conducting discussion groups with Jii speakers in multiple locations within Somalia has not yet been realized, at least in a formal way.

Thankfully, despite visa delays for the Somali youth visiting Kenya, the five-day training did take place. Following Eberhard's advice to encourage community leadership and community ownership, this researcher usually sat to the side listening during sessions while Ayub Osman led the discussions. The results and conclusions from that training are presented in Chapter 5, §5.7 Jiiddu Language Development Training, Nairobi, September 28 – October 2, 2018.

4.2.2 'Language and Identity Journey' (Eberhard et al. 2020)

Following up on the 2018 *Guide for Planning Our Language Future* workshop with the JYA, a series of interviews in 2020 with elders was a logical next step to see if there was buy-in from community leaders, as well as from the youth. After the tedious, sometimes arduous, five-day process of working through the Guide, it became apparent that a more simplified approach would be desirable. An inquiry to Dave Eberhard, one of the designers of the Guide, revealed that, indeed, SIL had developed a new approach after several years of field-testing, which “takes the slow process of language development more seriously than the Guide” (Correspondence, April 7, 2020).

The first evaluation of SUM methodology, published in 2017, showed that only 6% of the eighty-four communities who used *A Guide for Planning the Future of Our*

Language demonstrated positive results in language use. And yet, communal awareness proved to be a great benefit of the method (Eberhard and Smith 2021, 218). There is optimism that the new ‘Language and Identity Journey’ method will be more effective than the Guide, as previous weaknesses have been corrected, especially now that the Journey emphasizes the long-term relationship between an outside CBLID specialist and local community leaders (2021, 222). Eberhard wrote:

Our revised methodology ended up being quite different in scope, purpose, and method such that a new name was required. This approach is called the ‘Language and Identity Journey’ - or just ‘The Journey’. The Journey is not just a new version of the Guide. It’s a new product based on what we learned from the use of the Guide. The three main differences are that the Journey website is meant to be:

- not a book; [but rather] downloadable files of each activity¹¹⁹
- accessed by language specialists who have been trained in the method (it was not written for communities to access and use without help)
- applied with groups of community leaders and not random mother-tongue facilitators (Dave Eberhard email, April 7, 2020).

Eberhard emphasized that the Journey is not a one-off workshop to train language facilitators who then go out and “somehow convince their leaders to make changes,” which does not actually work usually. Rather, the Journey is “a long-term experience of language specialists walking together with community leaders to effect change over the long term within a community” (Dave Eberhard email, April 7, 2020).

He explained that the new approach typically involves three workshops— one for communal awareness, one for communal assessment, and one for communal planning— of two days each (spaced out over several months), plus the “long haul of a couple of years of applying the plans made by the community leaders” (Eberhard email, April 7, 2020). Eberhard offered future training assistance and this final advice, “The important

¹¹⁹ <https://sites.google.com/sil.org/thelanguageidentityjourney/the-journey>

thing is to make sure that leaders are involved from the beginning. Otherwise, our data shows that nothing happens” (Eberhard email, April 7, 2020).

The six interview questions listed below were used, as recommended, as the Preliminary Phase to “begin initial contacts/relationships with community leaders who are interested” and to “interview leaders before Phase 1” (Eberhard email, April 7, 2020). The interviews with Jiiddo elders were video-recorded in April 2020. Analysis of those results are presented in Chapter 5 Milestones, §5.8 Interviews with S.A. Ibro and Four Jiiddo Elders, April 10, 2020. Then, in November 2020, Ayub Osman and seven other JYA members were asked the same six questions (plus a bonus question for an opportunity to share a word in Ey Jii).

- 1) Tell us a bit of your life story. And what is your role in the Jiiddo community?
- 2) What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn each of them? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?
- 3) Tell us your own assessment of how strong you think your traditional language is. Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?
- 4) What is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use?
- 5) Do the Jiiddo have a language committee? If so, what is the committee’s plan to develop your traditional language?
- 6) Would you be interested in participating in a future language-development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

The final bonus question asked was, “Is there something you want to share now in Ey Jii that you want your children to remember? Can you share a story, song, proverb or even one word or short phrase you would like to be recorded?” See §5.9 Interviews with Ayub Osman and JYA, November 24, 2020, in Chapter 5 Milestones for their responses.

4.3 Security Risks and Human Subjects Research

When Sultan visited Minneapolis in June 2018, he was asked how much danger the youth might be exposed to by simply visiting and being associated with outsiders. He was also asked how safe the youth could be when they go out to villages where they might be threatened by Al Shabaab. He confirmed that he understands the risks more than anyone does and that he considers the potential reward to be worth the risk. He promised that he would caution his people about the risks they would be taking and provide oversight for future discussion forums.

5 Milestones and Results in Jii Language Development (2015-21)

In the previous sixteen years, progress on language development in the Jii language and Jiiddo community has been uneven and a matter of seizing appropriate opportunities when they arise. This reflects the social instability in Somalia and interruptions from political upheavals.

As stated in §1.4, tension exists in this case study between providing a chronological narrative account and academic analysis. This chapter is an attempt to do both by telling the story while offering theoretical insights along the way. A key lesson learned from this narrative, and confirmed by *Planning Language Use: Case Studies in Community-Based Language Development* (Eberhard and Smith 2021), is the importance of patience and perseverance in building trust with individuals and within community relationships. “Overall, we are learning that patience is also a virtue in CBLID” (David Eberhard, Email, March 19, 2021). As important as having a theoretical framework, strategy, technology, training and hard work are, trust-building seems to be the most vital component in the Jii language development initiative.

5.1 Kurtunwarey Visit (February 8th–12th, 2015)

Before he died on November 15, 2010, Sultan Ibrahim, with his son Warsame, made an ambitious appeal for educational development assistance. In addition to a request for help with the dictionary project, they also asked SALT leadership,¹²⁰ to consider the need for building and outfitting as many as 85 schools in South Somalia.

¹²⁰ Somali Adult Literacy Training (SALT), based in Minneapolis, MN.

That request prompted a survey trip to Somalia for in 2015.¹²¹ Upon arrival, we confirmed that education was indeed a pressing need, but more basic humanitarian requirements, like healthcare for mothers and children, were even more urgent. While the focus of this thesis is language development, those issues are addressed here because it is important to consider the broader context of extreme challenges this community is facing.

One purpose of the trip was to follow up with residents who had been repatriated the year before to their farming villages after the famine of 2011 had caused them to seek help in Mogadishu where they found themselves stranded in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps (*BBC News* 2013). The Jiiddo homeland in the Lower Shabeelle was the epicenter of the famine (Fig. 22).

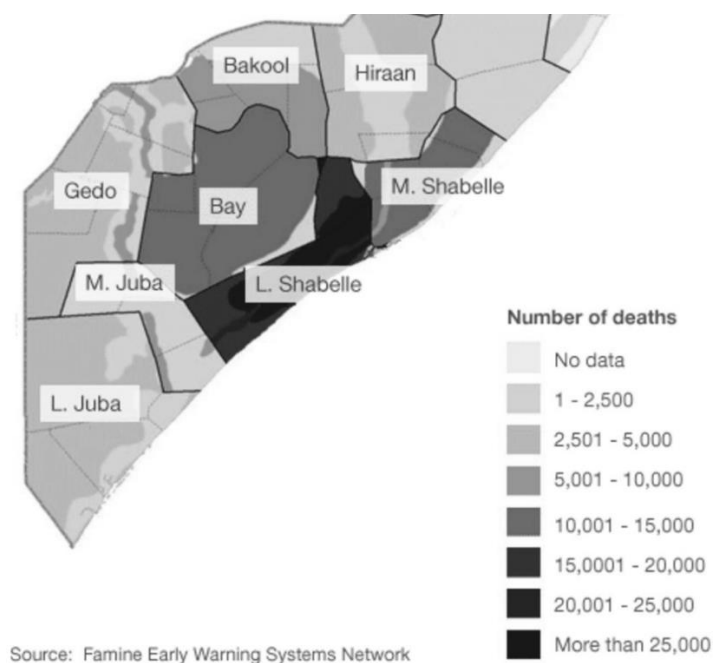


Figure 22. Somalia Famine Death Toll, October 2010--April 2012 (BBC 2013)

¹²¹ Until then, levels of violence and instability were such that Sultan deemed it unwise to welcome visitors, but in 2015, Sultan identified a window of security that allowed this researcher to visit the country for five days, February 8-12, by joining a small group of relief and development specialists from Kenya. Most of that time was spent in the capital city, but with access to a UN helicopter and accompanied by an AMISOM commander, a one-day visit was possible to Kurtunwarey, 211 km SW of Mogadishu. Kurtunwarey had recently been liberated from Al Shabaab by a Ugandan contingent of AMISOM troops, which maintained a presence in a military compound to maintain security, assisted by local Somali national forces.

A group of families bravely shared about the bounty of their land in normal conditions and their hopes for the future.¹²² However, when asked to identify their needs back home, they said, “The list of our needs is endless compared to the list of what we do not need” (Community meeting in Mogadishu, 2015).

It is important to keep the larger context in view, remembering that development is a holistic, multi-faceted endeavor even while focusing on language development. As the Jiiddo count the cost of investing time in language development for the sake of literacy and education, they are pressed with the immediate needs of daily survival. One elder from Kurtunwarey lamented:

- There is no hospital because the one that existed was closed by Al Shabaab
- There is no public elementary or high school education for their children
- Livestock were lost in the displacement. Those surviving need veterinary services
- Their homes were destroyed so they have nowhere to return

A female representative shared:

- Women suffered more during conflict as they remained with the children. Some end up widowed.
- No Maternal and Child Healthcare – (MCH) leads to high mortality rates. Many women and children die during childbirth.
- Women are not involved in governance, which allows their issues to be ignored.

Another elder added:

- They need income-generating means both in the camp and when they return home.
- The road network is dilapidated, thereby making it hard to transport farm produce.
- The canals have been destroyed by erosion and silting due to lack of maintenance.
- The land has lain fallow for long, and needs clearing before it can be ploughed.

¹²² Before travelling to Kurtunwarey, a meeting was arranged with representatives from the existing IDP camps in Mogadishu who had originally come from Lower Shabeelle’s Qoryoley, Kurtunwarey and Sablaale districts. They were remaining, unfortunately, after 3,000 other families had been resettled from the camps back to their farms in 2014.

After landing in Kurtunwarey the district commissioner led a tour to the abandoned school.¹²³ Priority findings from the tour and the community meetings are outlined here and described in detail in a report available by request.¹²⁴ Note that education was only the fourth priority in a list of five challenges needing to be addressed: 1) agriculture 2) animal health, 3) human health (no hospital or any health care facility for a population sixty-five thousand) 4) lack of education 5) lack of donor awareness.

There are no public schools in Kurtunwarey, population sixty-five thousand, among which over twenty thousand are school age. The public school was closed many years ago and converted to an IDP camp. The structures are sufficient to host many children and look repairable, but no space is remaining for children, and there are no teachers. As dismal as the current situation is, the question arises whether Jii language development efforts could be part of the revitalization process? Could development of mother tongue instructional materials and training of local teachers bring a greater sense of purpose and enthusiasm to educational leaders, parents and students?

There are seven privately run elementary schools in the region. These schools charge fees, thus limiting access to the majority of the residents. One such school, struggling to serve 236 children, was built fifty meters from the abandoned government school buildings with the help of an international NGO. It sits on a private plot whose

¹²³ Upon arrival in Kurtunwarey town on February 11, 2015, by UN helicopter, the AMISOM security team and district commissioner provided a warm welcome and orientation to the mission at hand and the places to be visited. Then they led a tour by armored personnel vehicles to the abandoned school and hospital buildings, as well as farm canals and a drive through town to see commercial activities of the residents. After the tour, despite security concerns, several hundred residents gathered in a large community-meeting hall earlier used as grain holding storage during Siad Barre's regime.

¹²⁴ Mogadishu & Lower Shabeelle Rapid Assessment Report (Nzuki 2015) is available from salt@arriveministries.org

owner is the headmaster of the school. Even such private schools have their own challenges:

- The school charges fees, which the majority of the community cannot afford. The enrollment of 236 kids is comprised of one hundred girls and 136 boys taught by only eleven teachers, one being a female.
- Few are able to pay consistently, so there is not enough money to pay teachers.
- School uniforms are expensive.
- The privately run schools are elementary only, with no secondary school nearby.
- Many school-age kids are seen loitering in town.
- There are **few books, only in *Mahaatiri* Somali – none in the home language.**

In light of the challenges noted above,¹²⁵ Reuben Nzuki, Kenyan development specialist and trip leader, offered these recommendations (2015). It is of special relevance to this study that Nzuki noticed the lack of books in any of the local languages and his point g) below, that “...educational programs will reach out equally to every tribe and clan in this multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic region.”

Accessible Education:

Schools will be necessary to turn back the wave of illiteracy that has covered the largest part of Somalia population since the early 1990s. The most vulnerable clans such as Garre, Jiiddo and Bantu are too poor to afford education for their children. Conflicts have rendered them displaced but they are willing to settle down.

- a) Set up an elementary school with equal opportunity for boys and girls.
- b) Boarding facilities will be necessary to keep pupils in school and to provide security from any attack.
- c) Children in the elementary schools should have breakfast and lunch served to provide energy to concentrate on learning. Most of them come from homes where reliable meals are considered luxury.
- d) Secondary school(s) for both boys and girls will be crucial in enabling transition to higher learning and sustainable livelihoods.
- e) Probably set up a teacher training college to produce teachers for elementary schools in the region. International tutors can be brought in to assist the institution.

¹²⁵ Sadly, exacerbating the listed challenges, shortly after this February visit, in early September 2015, Al Shabaab recaptured Kurtunwarey, ending the short-lived respite the area had enjoyed since it was liberated one year earlier. Al Shabaab maintains control up to the publication date of this thesis.

f) Help set up vocational training centers for post elementary training in courses that will enhance support for the community in different sectors. It will also provide capacities for the youth who have energy but have never gone to school to learn a trade.

g) **All educational programs will reach out equally to every tribe and clan in this multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic region** with this ethos:

Jilaati soohin ha lihaanid (in Jii) ‘Love does not belong [within] borders’

Jacayl aan Xad lahayn (in Mahaatiri) = ‘Love with no borders’.

In 2020, one bright spot regarding this district regarding education was the news that Ayub Osman, leader of the JYA, was appointed District Education Officer for Kurtunwarey. In July, he conducted national exams for Standard 8 and Form 4 students from Kurtunwarey district who travelled to the coastal city of Merca, which was considered more safe and secure. According to Osman, this was the first time national exams have been conducted in Somalia since the 1991 collapse. This educational leadership role for Osman may provide an opportunity for him to implement Jii language development achievements for the benefit of multilingual education for Jiiddo students.

There was a significant security event in 2020 also—the liberation of Kurtunwarey from the militants by Somali forces.¹²⁶ Unfortunately, it was only temporary. It remains to be seen if the federal government can muster the political and military will for a lasting liberation.

Despite the brevity of the visit in 2015, one accomplishment was achieved for the cause of language development. A welcome speech, in Jii, by Maday Jeylani Ali, a local

¹²⁶ On August 2020, a report came that the Somali *Danab* (‘Lightning Strike’) Special Forces, trained by the US, had liberated Kurtunwarey once more. This was true, but only for about three days since they did not remain to occupy the town. The militants fled to the neighboring district of Sablaale, but then returned after *Danab* moved on (Harun Maruf 2020).

youth leader, was recorded on video. The speech has been transcribed, translated, and entered into the FLEx Jiiddu project software to be analyzed for morphology and syntax.

This was before the relationship with Ayub Osman and common use of WhatsApp, so having captured the video and returning to the US, it was unclear how to get the message translated into English. In Minneapolis, there was one Jii speaker able to translate, but he was not confident in his English, so he only translated from Jii into Somali. Later in the fall of 2017, when this researcher was studying linguistics in Dallas, his Somali language teacher finished the next step of translating the text from Somali to English. Then in the spring semester of 2018, a fellow classmate who had taken classes on phonetics and field data management attempted to transcribe the Jii audio text into IPA script. This turned out to be an extremely difficult task even for a skilled linguist who was not actually familiar with the Jii sound system.

The notes from that attempt have been preserved (Appendix 10: ‘Welcome to Kurtunwarey’ 2015) and perhaps will be a useful exercise in comparing what was actually said with what was heard and attempted to be recorded phonetically.¹²⁷

The preceding §5.1 regarding the situation in Kurtunwarey and the following §5.2 about Qoryoley provide an assessment of the complicated challenges that hinder language development activities. Overcoming those challenges will require creative and concerted community-based efforts. In the face of urgent needs for basic survival, might it be possible to devise a language development initiative that actually addresses the short-term problems while investing in long-term educational development at the same time?

¹²⁷ Later, with the connection to Jiiddu youth leader Ayub Osman in Somalia, it was possible via WhatsApp and email for Osman to correct and finish the transcription and translation.

5.2 New Secondary School Building in Qoryoley (2016-2017)

Hopes were raised in 2016 for expanding education in the Lower Shabeelle with the construction of a secondary school, funded by international NGO Mercy Corps. Built in the Hodan area of Qoryoley, this is the only secondary school in the district. The building project was completed in early 2017 and outfitted with desks and chairs (Fig. 23, 24). At that time, the community was seeking funding to pay the headmaster's salary of \$200/month and teachers' salaries at \$150/month, and to purchase student uniforms.

If Jii language lessons and other Jii teaching materials were developed, would those be a benefit to Jiiddo teachers providing multilingual instruction in this school? This is part of the future that the JYA envisioned when they listed their hopes in 2018.



Figure 23. Secondary School Building in Qoryooleey Completed 2017

Those hopes have been deferred, unfortunately, as it seems the school has not been opened or used at all. Sadly, due to threats from Al Shabaab, the community considers it too dangerous to send their children. The school building sits empty with only a night watchman on guard to prevent looting.



Figure 24. Unused desks in Qoryooley

5.3 JYA Community Assessment in Mogadishu (April 2018)

This gathering of the JYA, with their Sultan, to welcome an international visitor, Jay Perske from Minnesota, was a significant milestone because it gave the Jiiddo youth an open forum to voice their hopes and concerns. Perske was visiting Somalia to follow up on food relief donations from Minnesota to the residents of IDP camps in Mogadishu in response to the devastating *Sima* ‘Equal’ drought of 2016—2017 (“A Drought so Severe It Has a Name” 2019). In this meeting, Perske simply asked two questions, “What are you thankful for?” and “What challenges are you are facing?” Ayub Osman recorded the responses of Sultan, the nine other men, and five women. Later he translated their statements to English and provided the summary report found in Appendix 11.

Given an open forum, only two of the youth thought to mention education as a top priority. Surprisingly (to this outsider’s perspective), only two talked about security challenges and the threat of militant violence.

Fifteen individuals shared nine challenging issues.¹²⁸ The top concern was the immediate problem of food insecurity. Next was health concerns, especially the need for hospitals and mother-child health (MCH) care in their districts. Sultan was one of two participants who highlighted the need for formal education for IDPs and children back in the districts.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ This data, while instructive and perhaps indicative, is only a representative sample and inadequate for conclusive findings. A larger sample will be necessary to confirm the findings.

¹²⁹ These are the tallied results of nine JYA concerns: 1. food insecurity (five mentions), 2. health (four), 3. water development (two), 4. education (two), 5. security (two), 6. shelter/ resettlement for IDPs (two). Then one each mentioned the following: 7. gender-based violence (GBV), 8. female genital mutilation (FGM), and 9. environmental challenges including energy development and scientific labs.

As the Jiiddo youth evaluate, and consult with their elders to make plans for developing their language, they must consider how to maintain this priority while dealing with other pressing concerns. Perhaps they can find a way to integrate language and literacy development as part of the solution to these other problems. For the sake of giving this marginalized community a voice to express the hopes and concerns of the Jiiddo people, their statements are published in full in Appendix 11.

5.4 Jiiddu - English Dictionary App, Dallas International University (April 2018)



Jiiddu - English Dictionary

Somali Adult Literacy Training (SALT) Education

E Everyone

i This app is compatible with your device.

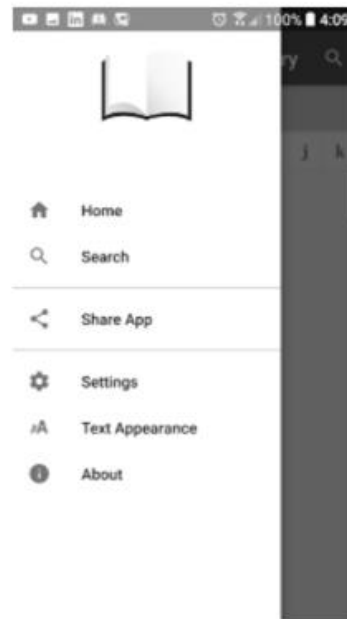


Figure 25. Jiiddu-English Dictionary App for Android

With the advice and expertise of faculty and students at Dallas International University (DIU), the process of revising and expanding S.A. Ibro's *English-Jiiddu-Somali Mini-Dictionary* (1998) was boosted, twenty years later in April 2018, by the publication of the Jiiddu-English Dictionary App for Android devices (Fig. 25 above) ("Jiiddu - English Dictionary - Apps on Google Play" 2018). With help from DIU's Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics (GIAL) Field Data Management class, S.A. Ibro's dictionary was scanned and uploaded into FLEx (FieldWorks Language Explorer) program, which interfaced with SIL's Dictionary App Builder for publication ("Dictionary App Builder" 2021). So far, the app has only been installed less than a hundred times, but it has stirred attention among Jiiddo leaders, and even neighboring language communities, and has created momentum for ongoing efforts.

5.5 Preliminary Language Status Survey with JYA Leader Osman (May 2018)

At the beginning of engagement with the next generation of Jiiddo leaders and the preliminary research process, JYA Leader Ayub Osman responded to six questions (Correspondence May 30, 2018). Note that he deferred answering Questions 7 and 8 until he obtained community consensus later in the year:

1) Who are the Jiiddo, and what makes them special?

The Jiiddo community are a peace-loving people who were not ever found to be engaging in any immoral acts in the history of Somali communities. They are ever known in their primary activities, which include farming and livestock keeping of which they are so proud, especially cows.

2) What is their secret of maintaining their unique language and cultural identity?

Traditionally, there was no intermarriage between other language groups so this preserved both the language and culture. The youth were not allowed to leave their home areas to seek formal education. This was seen as a wastage of time and energy rather than looking after the cattle and

growing crops so, this also enabled them to preserve their culture and language.

3) What are the strengths of the Jiiddo people?

Strengths include respecting and tolerating their wrong ones [people who have made mistakes?]¹³⁰.

4) What are the natural resources with which they have been blessed?

Allah (SW)¹³¹ has placed our community in a region that is rich in the following natural resources: fertile soil, natural vegetation and forests, animals as prestige, plenty of sunlight and water.

5) How can they be even more fruitful in agriculture, education and enterprise as they multiply in numbers?

They can be fruitful in agriculture if only they can get ample water for livestock to drink and irrigation for farms. This can also be fruitful if wells are drilled for them for domestic use. We thank Michael and his team for their support. Our community appreciates you for raising funds for wells. In the education sector, we need to establish schools and train our educated youth for teaching their community with their dialect.

6) What makes them suited to be a blessing to the entire nation of Somalia?

This community is known well in the markets that sell both animal and other farm products. They are also role models to other Somali communities by teaching the following: 1) forgiveness, 2) tolerance, 3) being good neighbors, and 4) generosity.

7) Specifically for the focus of this research paper – what is the status of Jii?

8) What are the community's hopes for the future of their language?

To prepare Osman for his role as facilitator and to familiarize him with the content of the Guide, practice sessions were rehearsed over the phone and by email.

Osman provided preliminary answers to these five questions, from the five core topics in the Guide (Ayub Osman. Email communication. May 30, 2018):

¹³⁰ This point needs to be clarified.

¹³¹ SW stands for the Arabic phrase *Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala* 'Glory to Him, the Exalted'.

1) What are all the languages used, who uses them and how they are used?

The language groups are Jii, Garre, Tunni and Mushungulu. Each language group uses its own language. The uses are many including:

- a) During community meetings they use their own dialect.
- b) During ceremonies e.g., weddings, they sing and recite poems to entertain
- c) Preaching at gatherings

2) How is Jii being used currently?

It is used in the normal way for example:

- a) Warning the youth against a threat.
- b) Educating the young generations about their roles in the family.
- c) Storytelling and entertaining the children.
- d) Educating the community in Islamic laws.

3) What does current language use mean for the future?

It predicts that it will continue in the near future, and will be used by coming generations in the community as well.

4) Has Jii been sufficiently documented?

I am terribly sorry for this, but it has not been documented well, except for the mini-dictionary authored by Professor Salim Ibro.

5) What goals and plans does the community want to make for how they would like to use Jii in the future?

- a) The community wants to educate the younger generation with their own language for better understanding.
- b) They also want schools that teach Jii.
- c) The community also hopes to have course books written in their language for some subjects, if not all.

In further preparation for the upcoming Jii Language Development Training, Ayub Osman filled out this chart (Table 4) with answers to training related questions, additional information needed, and where/how data would be collected:

Table 4. Guide for Planning Our Language Future, Pre-training Questionnaire (2018)

Training Related questions	Information needed to answer the questions?	Where and how will this data be collected?
Do Jiiddo suspect that their language is gradually being lost over time? Do they want to understand why?	Yes, we need to understand how this can be improved. You will find the current generations are not fully educated on the language. They lack the history and the literature part of the language.	This can be done inside their districts if the security is good – otherwise thorough phone conversion, e-mail, WhatsApp and any other social media available for both.
Training Related questions	Information needed to answer the questions?	Where and how will this data be collected?
Do Jii speech communities want to develop their language? Do they want to see how they currently use their language and what steps they can take to maintain or strengthen it?	The Jiiddo need to develop their language on every side. So far, there is a mini-dictionary. We also need to document the alphabets and the literature part of the language very strongly.	Organizing meetings with the knowledgeable elders to collect words by requesting them to provide a range of 20 – 50 words to sort out and then record.
Are the Jiiddo seeking development help for their language from an outside organization?	Yes, they do because outside organizations may give vital guidelines on how to develop the language and then they apply and finally achieve what they are missing.	This depends on the location of the organization requested to help.
Do the Jiiddo make decisions by trusting a group of representatives to build consensus?	They do if the team representing them is not biased to any other group who are not the well-wishers of this community.	They can find the community in order to make them aware and gain their support thorough any social media.
Where in Somalia and Ethiopia is Jii spoken?	It is spoken in Somalia.	This can be found in the regions of Somalia but mostly Benaadir and Lower Shabeelle where the majority of this community live.

How many Jii ‘speech communities’ are willing and able to host discussions about the future of their language?	Most of them are willing to hold such vital discussions among Jiiddo if the security enables them.	During group discussions done by either WhatsApp or any available social media for both.
How similar is the language spoken in each community?	There is slight change in terms of pronunciation and wordings e.g. 1) <i>Nugle– Dhuldhiif</i> ‘suck’ 2) <i>Weedhe – Noqol</i> These are some of the differences in wordings.	This can be randomly done by collecting words from the gathering or examining a group of community with different sub-clans.
Training Related questions	Information needed to answer the questions?	Where and how will this data be collected?
Who are the traditional elders who will select, confirm and support the MT facilitators?	These can also be elders who are rich in the language and history of the Jiiddo. They may include Sultan Warsame, Professor Saalim, Borille and Osman Nuug.	They can be reached through either the Sultan or Professor Saalim.
Who will serve as trainers of the MT facilitators?	They are also decided by the Sultan Warsame and Professor Saalim for the best trainers of the MT facilitators. These will be people who have the knowledge and experience of such exercise.	They are available through any social media
How many hours, how many days, and when in the agricultural calendar should these meetings take place?	Almost 3 – 4 hrs. per day and the number of days to be trained depends on the status of the trainees.	They can be reached through their available means.
Should meetings be divided by gender? Or can men and women meet together?	Both male and female can meet in one place and discuss and exchange their views.	They can be reached through any means available like WhatsApp or any other media.

Osman’s preliminary answers above offer insights for language development specialists who may become involved in the Jii initiative in the future. Especially telling

is his acknowledgment that Jii language use is losing ground. His identification of supportive elders indicates that there is likelihood of the wider community becoming involved. At this stage, a significant benefit of this survey for the community is the awareness of language status that Osman is gaining and discussing with others.

5.6 Somali-Maay Language & Culture Conference, Sweden (July 27-29, 2018)

Though the focus of the “Towards Unity in Diversity” conference was on Maay, it also held significance for Jii language development because Jii and other language varieties from Southwest Somalia were featured (Fig. 26).¹³² In particular, *Mahaaw* (also known as Garre or Karre)¹³³ which is spoken in Qoryooley alongside Jii, was presented by Adam Hussein,¹³⁴ himself originally from Qoryooley, (A. Hussein 2018).¹³⁵



Figure 26. Somali-Maay Language & Culture Conference

¹³² A Maay dictionary app is in pre-draft and is being prepared for public launching in Android and iOS after adding more entries and updating the spelling in 2021 (c) afmaaymaay.com, all rights reserved.

¹³³ Actually, more commonly called Karre or *Mahaaw* in the Lower Shabeelle (A. Hussein 2018).

¹³⁴ Hussein’s presentation is on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZHfOjRJSbU&t=47s>

¹³⁵ Also see *Grammatical Sketch of the Karre (Garre) Dialect of Qoryooley* (Tosco 1989).

Jii was also featured as a case study as part of a presentation, “The Future of Somali Indigenous Languages” (Neterer 2018).¹³⁶ The Jiiddu-English Dictionary App was also highlighted and demonstrated. Mohamed Haji Mukhtar, keynote speaker and editor of the *English-Maay Dictionary* (2007), shared with participants that S.A. Ibro’s dictionary (1998) was an inspiration to his own work (2018).

Also significant at the Sweden conference for the future of Jii language development was a mini Rapid Word Collection, which is a strategy the Jiiddu plan to use to expand the Jii lexicon. In this session, attendees competed among twelve groups with twelve assigned semantic domains. In just 20 minutes, the winning team collected 108 words for animals, and won the prize which was a copy of Mukhtar’s *English-Maay Dictionary* (Mukhtar and Ahmed 2007). In total, the twelve teams collected 593 words. After watching an SIL video of a successful Rapid Word Collection Workshop in Ghana¹³⁷, and then by doing it themselves, some may now be inspired to repeat the process with other dialects back in Somalia. As ideas and resources were shared and connections made among participants, awareness grew that progress in development for one dialect can readily benefit neighboring languages.

5.7 Jiiddu Language Development Training, Nairobi, Sept. 28 – Oct. 2, 2018

This five-day training in Nairobi was a significant milestone in the journey of language development as the four participants¹³⁸ from the Jiiddu Youth Association

¹³⁶ This researcher was invited to make a presentation, and interviewed by Somali media afterward: <http://amaandhoorey.com/articles/28983/Southern-Media-Interviews-With-A-Well-Educated-Experienced-Delagate-Micheal-From-Dallas-Taxes-Usa-Attending-Somali-Language-Forum-At-Boras-In-Sweden>

¹³⁷ Rapid Word Collection Workshop in Buli language of Ghana <https://vimeo.com/44131617>

¹³⁸ Rukio Mohamed Madey, Khadija Abukar Omar, Abdisalam Ibrahim Mohamed, and Ayub Osman.

wrestled with the question, *Am lahjatuna jiini?* ‘Where is our language going?’ as illustrated in the mountain image (Fig. 27).

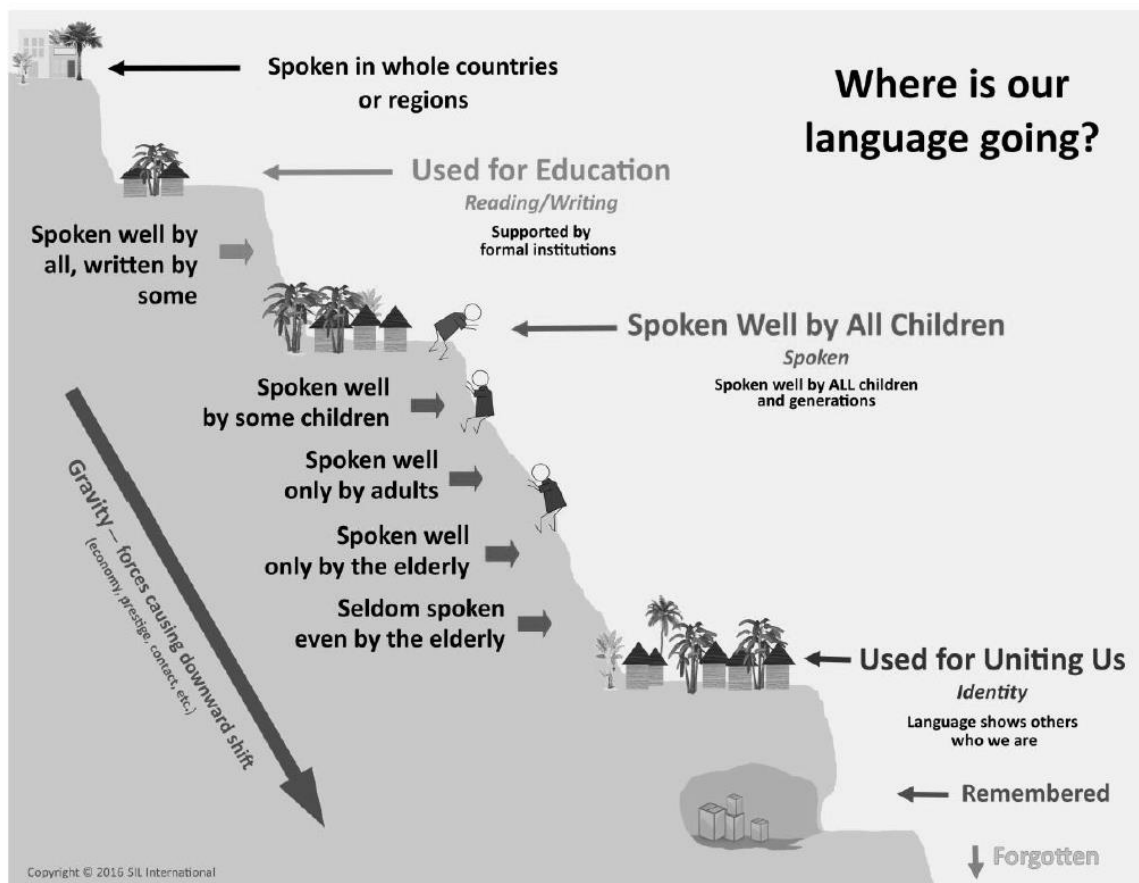


Figure 27. “Where is our language going?” (Hanawalt et al. 2016, 25)

Ayub Osman, JYA leader, reported two years later that it was a historic moment for him and the group as it was the first time any of them had ever seriously attempted to write in their own language. He talked about how difficult it was to decide on spelling, and how inconsistent spelling was in the beginning. Looking back, he said that now he feels more confident in recognizing patterns and knowing how to spell Jii words and affixes (Ayub Osman, WhatsApp, November 11, 2020).

There were two main purposes for the training.¹³⁹ First, was learning from the four youth their perception of the status of Jii in Somalia, and the status they desire for Jii in the future. The second purpose was to give the youth the tools and practice needed to repeat the process with their families and other speech communities back in their home areas.

The first purpose was accomplished during the five days, as they worked through the content and structure of *A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language*, which they translated (orally, and recorded) into Jii. As described in §4.2.1, this guide was created by SIL and designed to be used by community leaders who are trained to be mother-tongue facilitators (Hanawalt, Varenkamp, Lahn, & Eberhard 2016).

Regrettably, the second purpose has not yet been accomplished. The goal was for the newly trained mother-tongue facilitators, having experienced the process in Nairobi, to immediately put into practice the techniques they learned when they went back to their home areas in Somalia. The hope was that they could at least elicit data through group conversations in one or more IDP camps (with predominately Jiiddo inhabitants) on the outskirts of Mogadishu, in Hodan District, even if they could not reach the Jiiddo districts in the Lower Shabeelle. Due to security issues, the task remains to organize group discussions in these various speech communities, even as serious risks persist, which must be evaluated.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Handling the logistics to organize this training was no small task, especially the work that went into obtaining visas for the four youth (two young men and two women) and their flights. The original proposal was to meet in Mogadishu, but it became apparent that the situation in Somali was too risky, and it would be better to meet in a safer location, despite the higher costs involved in travel and lodging. Sultan Alio Ibro and Reuben Nzuki deserve appreciation for their efforts from Somalia and Kenya, respectively, in working with appropriate officials to make this gathering possible.

¹⁴⁰ At that time, it was not known how feasible or how difficult travel might be to the Sultan's hometown of Qoryoley, seventy-five miles southwest of Mogadishu, even though Ayub had been able to reach the district for relief and development efforts in December 2017. The other two predominant Jiiddo

After a series of exercises and discussions, the JYA concluded that Jii is spoken by virtually all members of the community, but written only by a few. They reported that some are using Jii for messaging in various phone apps. Although they could not say that all children speak Jii well (which would be a good sign that the language is thriving as it is passed to the next generation), they did report that it was spoken well by some children (Fig. 28).¹⁴¹

READING & WRITING	SPOKEN	IDENTITY
<input type="checkbox"/> Used for education	<input type="checkbox"/> Spoken well by all children	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Used for uniting us
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Spoken by all, written by some	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Spoken well by some children	<input type="checkbox"/> (on the slope below 'Used for uniting us')
	<input type="checkbox"/> Spoken well only by adults	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Spoken well only by the elderly	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Seldom spoken even by the elderly	

Figure 28. JYA Assessment of Jii Language Status

S.A. Ibro confirmed that the general pattern of children in the districts is to speak only Jii in the home until they reach the age of seven or so and begin interacting with children from other tribes. At that point, they begin learning Maay (*Dhoobey* dialect) as the LWC.¹⁴² In conclusion, they agreed strongly that their language was a powerful force for uniting the Jiiddo people.

When asked to locate Jii on the language-use “mountain” illustration (Fig. 29) to determine the status of Jii and its trajectory, the JYA agreed that it should be located on the steep slope at the place where it is “Spoken well by some children”. They confirmed

settlements, Kurtunwarey (twenty miles further southwest of Qoryoley), and Sablaale (fifty miles further southwest of Kurtunwarey) were, and still are, under Al Shabaab control.

¹⁴¹ Rukio Mohamed Madey, Khadija Abukar Omar, Abdisalam Ibrahim Mohamed, and Ayub Osman, Oct. 2, 2018.

¹⁴² Ibro, Salim A. 2020. Jiiddo Language Assessment Interview December 16. See Appendix 13.

that many parents are speaking the language with their children in the home, but a number of children or younger adults are no longer speaking it well. The steep slope is meant to illustrate the vulnerability of the language to decline if fewer children are learning from their parents and peers (Fig. 29).

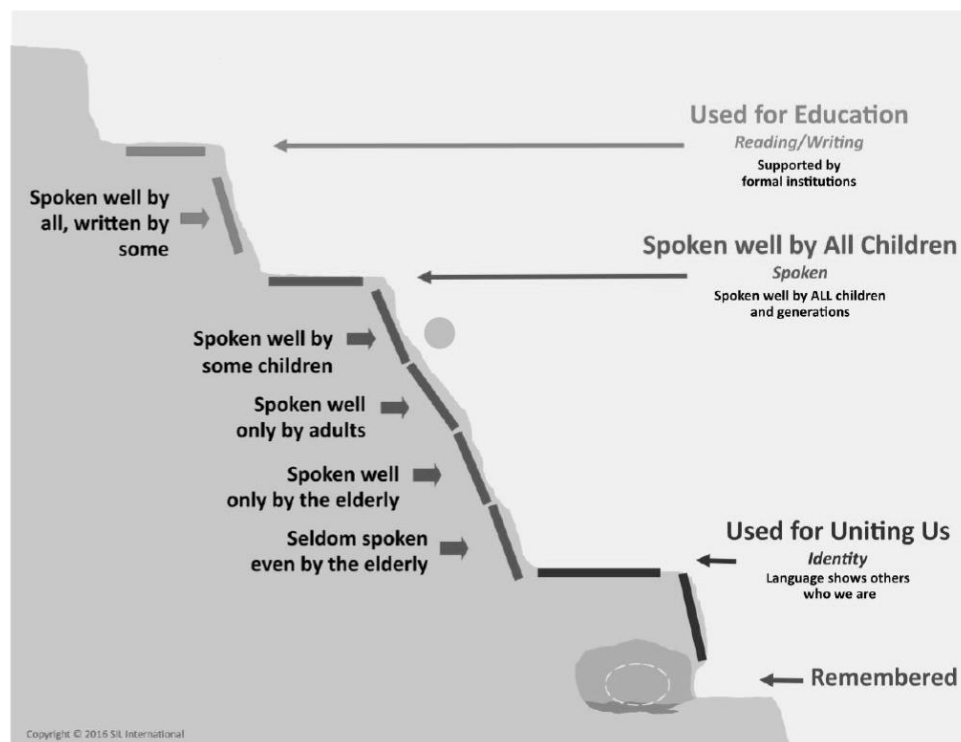


Figure 29. Language Use Mountain Diagram (Hanawalt et al. 2016, 54)

This is a sensitive and challenging subject, but in other correspondence Osman has acknowledged that there is a need for “protection of our Jiiddo dialect from elimination, as we feel the threat currently” (Osman’s Request Letters to Lamberti and Moreno Family, 2020). The reality is that their current leader, Sultan Alio Ibro, does not speak Jii fluently himself. The fact is that, because his mother was from another clan, Jii was not his mother tongue. Moreover, because Sultan’s family is living in the US, his children are growing up without immersion in their heritage language.

Facing these stark realities, the JYA were also united in their desire to strengthen their language use to reach a more stable place. When asked to declare their goals and hopes for the future, they stated that they were willing to invest the strenuous effort required to reach the strongest place of language stability. Specifically, they insisted that they want Jii to be used for reading & writing and ultimately for education, supported by formal institutions. They believe this step will also strengthen their goal that Jii be spoken well by all their children, and not just as a marker for identity and unity.

In hindsight, and with counsel from David Eberhard, contributor to the *SIL Guide* (2016), it would have been more impactful and likely more successful in the long term to have had a senior leader participating with the youth. In fact, this was proposed and planned, but last-minute political urgencies prevented the Sultan and another Jiiddo Minister of Parliament from travelling to Nairobi as intended. Another setback was the absence of Adan Haji, Chairman of the JYA, who had also planned to participate but was prevented by urgent responsibilities in his role with the government of Southwest State, Somalia. One lesson learned is that, as well intentioned as youth may be, the oversight, encouragement and accountability of senior leadership is necessary for follow through on actionable goals, such as Rapid Word Collection Workshops.

Despite not yet accomplishing the ultimate purpose of replicating the community discussion groups, the JYA managed to finish their own five-day series of fifteen community discussions as they learned the concepts, then translated and debated the questions presented in the guide. To gain more confidence in translating, they also benefitted from a full day of training in translation theory and practice. The visiting SIL

linguistic consultant also led the youth in an exercise of carefully surveying the inventory of Jii phonemes, both consonants and vowels.

The JYA participants also learned how to conduct a Rapid Word Collection workshop and practiced doing it as a small group focusing on the semantic domains of body parts and family relations. At the end of the week, they had the satisfaction of seeing their *Jiido Dictionary*¹⁴³ re-printed with the 88 new words they had added to the lexicon. They took home with them 50 copies to distribute among their community for testing to elicit feedback.¹⁴⁴

5.8 Interviews with S.A. Ibro and Four Jiido Elders, April 10, 2020

Based on Eberhard's recommendation to include top leaders, both Sultan and Minister of Parliament (MP) S.A. Ibro joined the three-way conference call from (another location in) Mogadishu to Minneapolis with Ayub Osman and four other elders to demonstrate their commitment and to encourage the community.¹⁴⁵ Besides the formal roles of Sultan and MP, the others' role of elder was defined as "resolv[ing] disputes, [and] solving community problems". S.A. Ibro opened the meeting with this introduction.¹⁴⁶

In the name of Allah the most gracious and the most merciful, I am called Saalim Alio Ibro born in Qoryoley in 1946. I learnt in Qoryoley and Marka, both primary and secondary, and then I went to Mogadishu for

¹⁴³ Jiido was the youth's spelling choice for their language.

¹⁴⁴ Since the training, each youth has gone on to greater levels of responsibility. One of the young women, after finishing training in medicine and a practicum in a Mogadishu hospital, has taken a position in Qoryoley, where she continues to contribute to building the Jii dictionary. Abdisalam now works for the government of Southwest State Somalia as Director of Security Operations & Migration. Ayub serves as Education Officer for Kurtunwarey District.

¹⁴⁵ Preliminary Language Assessment Interview by WhatsApp with Jiido elders Osman Nuuq Mohamed, M. Hajji Osman Hassan, Mohamed Hassan, Ibrahim "Boray", in Mogadishu, April 10, 2020.

¹⁴⁶ The Wi-Fi signal was not strong enough at the hotel, so Ayub and the group of four elders were not able to use Zoom. The format was switched to WhatsApp.

study. I went to Italy for studies, I learnt veterinary. I chose veterinary since my community is known to be pastoralist.

Each of the four Jiiddo elders,¹⁴⁷ who ranged in age from fifty to sixty-six, and S.A. Ibro, aged seventy-six, responded in turn to the six preliminary ‘Journey’ interview questions that Ayub Osman asked:¹⁴⁸

- 1) Tell us a bit of your life story. And what is your role in the Jiiddo community?
- 2) What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn each of them? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?
- 3) Tell us your own assessment of how strong you think your traditional language is. Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?
- 4) What is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use?
- 5) Do the Jiiddo have a language committee? If so, what is the committee’s plan to develop your traditional language?
- 6) Would you be interested in participating in a future language-development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

All five men were born in rural districts, in what is now the Southwest State of Somalia.¹⁴⁹ All but one of the elders reported their occupation as herding livestock. Three of the men reported their occupation as cattle herders or agro-pastoral nomads.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Originally, five men planned to participate, but one was prevented from attending.

¹⁴⁸ Ayub recorded the audio with a backup handheld device and translated their responses. Unfortunately, S.A. Ibro’s interview failed to record that day in April. His answers were re-recorded December 16, 2020. See Appendix 13.

¹⁴⁹ One was born in the Buur Hakaba District of the Bay Region, but as an “agro-pastoral nomad” he roamed “in the three districts” (O. N. Mohamed et al. 2020). Qoryoley is the first of those three primary districts for the Jiiddo clan. Besides S.A. Ibro, two other elders reported Qoryoley as their birthplace. One was born in a village in Kurtunwarey district. Sablaale, the third Jiiddo district, was not represented.

¹⁵⁰ One worked for a fruit company. S.A. Ibro worked as a veterinarian and professor of veterinary science as a way of supporting his people’s primary livelihood. Only one elder, Mohamed Hajji Osman Hassan “Jeeri”, reported an occupation not related to livestock. Instead, he travelled to the northern city of Hargeisa, in Somaliland, where he sold clothing before working in the ministry of Public Works and Housing. He also served as District Commissioner (DC) of Qoryoley.

After S.A. Ibro (who is the only one with university training),¹⁵¹ “Jeeri” had the most formal education, having studied at the secondary level in Qoryoley. The other three said that they studied the Holy Qur’an as youths. One elder remembered being “told to leave education” in order to work with livestock. This confirms what Ayub Osman reported in an earlier interview, that in the traditional Jiiddo way of life, formal education was seen as a waste of time compared to the more valuable pursuit of raising cattle.

The youth were not allowed to leave outside their home areas to seek formal education. This was seen as a wastage of time and energy rather than looking after the cattle and growing crops so, this also enabled them to preserve their culture and language (A. Osman 2018).

The number of languages reported spoken by the five men reveals the complex linguistic ecology of the Lower Shabeelle and Southwest State Somalia. Each of the five shared Jii (jii), Maay (ymm) (especially the *Dhoobey* dialect), and Somali *Mahaatiri* (som) in common. Other neighboring languages spoken include Tunni (tqq), *Heer Baraawe*,¹⁵² Dabarre (dbr), and its related dialect *Uroole*.¹⁵³ A Digil language not noted was Garre/Karre (gex), even though this tribe shares territory in Qoryoley. Perhaps a larger group interview would reveal one or more elders who also speak Garre. S.A. Ibro was the only elder who reported speaking the international languages of Italian, English, and some Arabic.

In terms of language functions, the elders reported using Jii for as much as 70% to 90% of their day, but this depended upon with whom they were communicating. One elder said he speaks Jii “when I am with my Jiiddo community in any place.” Another specified that they speak Jii “at home or any place we meet, [especially at] weddings,

¹⁵¹ See Appendix 4 S.A. Ibro Curriculum Vitae.

¹⁵² *Heer Baraawe* also called Bravanese, or Chimiini, is spoken in the coastal city of Barawa.

¹⁵³ *Uroole* is likely a spelling variant of *Iroole*, a dialect of Dabarre.

[other] ceremonies, or wherever the society gathers”. Another stated, “Even if we are [only] two from the community, we speak Jii 80% of the day.” He clarified, “If the majority is from another community, we speak in [their] dialect(s) so everyone can understand” (2020). S.A. Ibro said, “Whenever I speak to my family, I speak to them in Ey Jii. I have some nephews here, and I speak with them in Ey Jii at least 10 minutes every time [we talk]” (S. A. Ibro 2020).

When asked for an assessment as to the vitality of Jii, each man responded with a positive appraisal.¹⁵⁴ They agreed that the Jiiddo are proud of their language and that Jii is respected and “admired” by other communities. Former Qoryoley District Commissioner, Mohamed Hajji Osman Hassan “Jeeri” and one other elder noted that people from other language communities are even learning Jii. “Jeeri” continued, “Jiiddo will endure forever due to the large areas where it is spoken – in the [three] districts and other places like Bay (Buurhakaba), Middle Jubba (Bualle), Kismaayo and Jilib” (2020). Ibrahim “Boray” emphasized the uniqueness of Jii saying, “It is hidden from others as if it were in a box.” S.A. Ibro also stated, “All the other Somali dialects can understand each other but Ey Jii is different. No one from the outside can understand when Jiiddos speak. Ey Jii is a unique language, not just a dialect.”

However, in a more detailed follow-up interview with S.A. Ibro regarding vitality using the SUM Assessment Grid (Oral and Literacy), see §5.10 SUM Assessment Grid Interview with S.A. Ibro (December 16, 2020) and Appendix 14, it became apparent that, despite some positive developments with regard to literacy, Ey Jii is in danger of losing

¹⁵⁴ Interview by WhatsApp with Jiiddo elders Osman Nuuq Mohamed, M. Hajji Osman Hassan, Mohamed Hassan, Ibrahim “Boray”, April 10, 2020.

ground orally due to interruptions in intergenerational transmission. The fact is, as Eberhard noted after reviewing the assessment,

Some children speak it, and some don't. That is a clear 6b. It appears that overall what you have is a split EGIDS - with literacy at EGIDS 5 and orality at level 6b" (Dave Eberhard, Email, January 15, 2021).¹⁵⁵

The implication for this assessment is that the Jiiddo community has work to do in lifting Jii to a level of oral stability (6a) if they want to ensure that virtually all Jiiddo children learn to use their family language.

In response to the question, "What is your personal goal...?" two elders gave a troubling answer that is incompatible with the theory of community-based development, "We want you to develop it." If the Jiiddo tribe decides to continue a journey of community-based language development, it should be clarified in future discussions that the community must take initiative and ownership for developing their own language. The role of outside specialists is simply to walk alongside to advise strategies, training and technical resources.

They were thankful for the progress made on the dictionary. Mohamed Hajji Osman Hassan "Jeeri" said, "Once we saw the mini-dictionary, my whole family grew its interest more and more. We are gladdened by its sight. Even now, my wife is learning." The elders agreed they hope to develop the dictionary further, and to see it placed in libraries globally. Besides expanding the dictionary, one elder elaborated that he wanted to see the "alphabet completed,¹⁵⁶ grammar enhanced, and literature emphasized". Other specific goals expressed were to establish a Jii TV channel with Jiiddo reporters, singers,

¹⁵⁵ 6b is "Threatened", that is, "The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users."

¹⁵⁶ Perhaps by "alphabet completed" he meant to standardize spelling?

and other performers. Another elder proposed, “to have an official international office in Mogadishu, [a place] for Jiiddo meetings, and for our educated youth [to raise] community awareness.” One elder replied wistfully, “I need to get peace in my country and get education for my children and then...”

S.A. Ibro expressed his goal to “improve and develop education by [opening] many schools teaching Somali, English and Arabic”. He also purposed to “improve economically by opening agricultural market cooperatives”. When asked if there is an economic incentive to speaking Jii, he replied that there is an economic benefit for herders and farmers.

Jiiddo people own a lot of land, especially agricultural lands. If anyone speaks Jii, it will be easy for him, because he will be welcomed and trusted to get land and to live with them. There will be an advantage for them (S.A. Ibro, WhatsApp December 16, 2020).

Conspicuous in its absence is any expressed goal of teaching Jii as a subject in school, or of using Jii as the language of instruction. This contrasts with the JYA who did express a goal of using Jii in formal education (Madey et al. 2018). S.A. Ibro specified that Somali, English, and Arabic should be taught, but he did not mention Jii. This does not mean that the elders are necessarily opposed to this idea. It may be that they have not considered the possibility, or that other goals rank higher in priority.

The elders agreed that forming a Jii language committee is a good idea, and they are ready to join,¹⁵⁷ if S.A. Ibro is willing to take the initiative for leadership. S.A. Ibro declared, “It is a good idea to improve the language [so it does] not end up as a dead

¹⁵⁷ Interview by WhatsApp with Jiiddo elders Osman Nuuq Mohamed, M. Hajji Osman Hassan, Mohamed Hassan, Ibrahim “Boray”, April 10, 2020.

language”. He promised, “I will participate with and support that committee.” He continued:

[I want to] see Jii raised up to the level of other languages, to update the study of this language. A lot of improvements [can be made]. I want Ey Jii to be studied in all forms and to have a position among all the Cushitic languages. I would like to learn from other languages, and for others to learn Ey Jii (S.A. Ibro, WhatsApp December 16, 2020).

In conclusion, it seems that the elders are most interested in elevating the prestige of their language. They have specific ideas about how to do that, such as establishing a Jii television broadcast and opening a center for the advancement of Jii language and culture.¹⁵⁸ These two worthy goals would be “heavy lift” objectives in terms of expense and effort, which could be appropriate in the longer-term. In the shorter term, the elders and wider community may benefit most from an outside development consultant who can help them identify smaller, doable, incremental steps of development.

5.9 Interviews with Ayub Osman and Seven JYA Members (November 24, 2020)

This online (Zoom) discussion on the topic of Jii language development was a milestone moment because it brought together a wider representation of five men ranging in age from twenty to thirty years, including JYA leader Ayub Osman, and three women ages twenty-one to twenty-four, living in both the capital city and the rural district of Qoryoley. It was also significant because MP S.A. Ibro participated in the meeting to demonstrate his support and bring encouragement. Sa’dio Omar Ibrahim, from Qoryoley District transcribed his speech,¹⁵⁹ and Bakar Mo’alim Musse in Mogadishu translated to English, as follows:

¹⁵⁸ Interview by WhatsApp with Jiiddo elders Osman Nuuq Mohamed, M. Hajji Osman Hassan, Mohamed Hassan, Ibrahim “Boray”, April 10, 2020.

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix 15 for Ey Jii transcription of S.A. Ibro’s speech

S.A. Ibro addressed the youth with a word of encouragement in Ey Jii

In the name of the God, the most gracious and the most merciful.

I think that you all know and understand Ey Jii. I hope that is so. I am welcoming you happily. It is good, this job. This project was started in about 1950.¹⁶⁰ To develop Ey Jii much has been done [already]. Now it is needed for every person to develop his own language. Where the development is being done by you and Ayub, you are needed to continue that. Thanks to Michael for giving us help to develop Ey Jii. When I made the dictionary, my older brother Sultan Ibrahim, may God grant him paradise, knew Michael and related with him. And Michael made a promise to him to develop Ey Jii. Ey Jii is found in printed sentences [all over] the world. Michael is fulfilling the promise he made. He is developing the language. Even if you and Michael finish the language, still this language will need development from your children. Now you are needed to help Ayub. Every person should [proceed] and continue the development at his side. If you are not proud of your language, no one will be proud of it. We are so lucky. This language is a part of Somali language, but it is the oldest one, as Professor Nuuh told us.¹⁶¹ I hope that you will not [take it lightly]. I know everyone is busy. Try your best to get 10 minutes per day to put new words in the dictionary of Ey Jii. 10 or 15 minutes is good, but if you can find a half hour per day that is the best. Because, if you do not develop this language, your children will not see this language. Do not let this language be a private language only for you, but let it be used by your children. How will this be possible? It depends on us. It depends on you. The language is like a flowering tree. If the flower is not given water, it will dry. We are the water. We should try to develop Ey Jii for our children. Time is short. May God be with you. The meeting is now officially open. Thank you.

S.A. Ibro stressed the critical issue of intergenerational transmission and warned of the possibility of language death if this generation of young parents does not teach their children. He instilled a sense of pride by linking the history of Jii scholarship back

¹⁶⁰ When S.A. Ibro's uncle, Cavaliere Ábdio Ibraú welcomed Italian linguist, Martino Moreno, and shared with him the Jiiddu phrases that would become the first published in an academic paper, *Brevi notazioni di ġiddu* (Moreno 1951).

¹⁶¹ Referring to a video of a lecture by M. Nuuh Ali, hosted by Amoud University ("Somali History" 2019).

to 1951, with his personal involvement and that of his late brother, Sultan Ibrahim, up to the present with a reference to linguistic historian M. Nuuh (Nuh) Ali (1985).

With the simile of a flowering tree needing to be watered, he emphasized the urgent need for daily, personal nurturing from each JYA member. His practical suggestion of investing ten to fifteen minutes per day is reminiscent of the question Joshua Fishman’s father used to ask him, “What did you do for Yiddish today?” Fishman recounted that this question inspired him to speak Yiddish with his wife and children and to make sure that his grandchildren were raised as fluent speakers (Spolsky 2017).

Ayub Osman recited *Al Fatiha*, Surah 1 (Opening chapter of the Qur’an)

Marking the significance of the meeting, Osman recited the opening chapter of the Qur’an. The *sur* ‘path’ imagery in verses six and seven happens to fit the metaphor of “journey” used to for this community-based language development project. This recitation in Arabic prompted the question of the possibility and potential value of translating this passage into Ey Jii. Osman declared that this would be a valuable endeavor if it were entrusted to one or more senior Jiiddo elders who are fluent in both Arabic and Jii. A draft of that translation (with interpretation/explanation in Jii) was finished in January 2021. The interlinear format begins with an English version (Itani 2014) with the Jii translation below, with English glosses and free (back) translation following.¹⁶²

¹⁶² *** signifies unknown morphemes that have not yet been back translated to English.

1. In the name of God, the Gracious, the Merciful.

Miji Ilaahey ya ha balaaw-anii, Ilaahey ekaako naxrisaas
 Name God *** from begin-*** God who mercy
 waasac yas wul-ey yad ekee muslimiin-aka ee yad
 extended to them create-3M.PST people who Muslims-that and people
 ekee muslimiin ha aatened, Ilaahey ekoo yas nahriis-anii muslimiin-ad
 who Muslims not God that to them mercy-*** Muslim-PL
 maalin qiyaame
 day judgement

In the name of Allah the most gracious and the most merciful. His general mercy (rahman) he gives to all his creatures. His (special) mercy (ar rahim) is for Muslims on the Day of Judgement.

2. Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds.

Mahad ay yas suknaa-tey Ilaahey eke caalamiina,
 gratitude who to Him deserved by-3M.PST God DEM.M creation
 (Caalamiin in etee, Ilaahey awuur-ey oo
 (everything created that which God create-3M.PST for instance,
 yan lihi, ir lihi, oo maaya lihi, buur lihi, gaay lihi,
 earth have, sky have, for instance sea have, mountain have, tree have,
 malaaiik, jini ee insi lihi
 angels, spirit and humans have
 in edaate asal dardaraa ya caalamiin eniyaa.)
 that all those combined/added be creation called/defined)

Gratitude is meant only to God who created everything. He created the earth, sky, sea, mountains, trees, angels and spirits, and humans -- all those combined are called his creation.

3. The Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

Ilaahey ekaako naxrisaas waasac yas wul-ey yad ekee
 God who mercy extended to them create-3M.PST people that
 Muslimiin-aka ee yad ekee muslimiin ha aatened, Ilaahey egaage
 Muslim-*** and people that Muslims not God which
 yas nahriis-anii muslimiin-ad maalin qiyaame.
 to them mercy-full Muslims-PL day judgement

4. Master of the Day of Judgment.

Ilaahey eke ori etee abaal marshaala lihi
 God this day which reward has

To God belongs the Day of reward.

5. It is You we worship, and upon You we call for help.

Ilaah-ow Adiyooow ku caabud-nene, wana Adiyooow kaalma ku sugu-nene
 God-Oh You you worship-1PL and You help you wait-1PL

Oh God, You we worship. And we only wait for help from You.

6. Guide us to the straight path.

Ilaahow nuhortuusisi sur ekee tuusana
 God-Oh direct us path which straight

God, lead us to the straight path.

7. The path of those You have blessed, not of those against whom there is anger, nor of those who are misguided (Itani 2014).

Yad ekee sur-aas Adi yas nicmeeystey oo yas,
 People that path-3PL.POSS You to them full mercy for instance to them

barwaaqestey yad ekee yas dherfin ha aatened
 you prospered people that to them you were angry with not

sur-aas, yad ekee baay-ey sur-aas-na maake.
 path-3PL.POSS people that lose-3M.PST path-3PL.POSS-*** not be

The path of those to whom give mercy and prosperity, and not those you were angry with, nor those who lost their path.

In the same way Fishman sought to elevate the status of Yiddish, as a “holy” language (2002), perhaps this translation effort will be a valuable demonstration that Ey Jii is capable of communicating the sacred texts of the community and other important literature of high moral value. Note that the *Mahaatiri* Somali translation of the Qur’an was published about twelve years after the nation adopted the Latin script (Cabdi 1984).

Ayub Osman Welcomes the Group

Dear brothers and sisters, please understand this is a community-based project. We are here tonight to develop our Jii dialect. Let me say that. But [actually], when you look at it, it seems that it is just a pure language because it does not share [many similarities] in terms of wordings or even

cultural activities. It is automatically different [from other Somali varieties]. But until we reach that point [of full development], we need to remain as the Jii dialect until we realize our potential.

Michael is here, and [I thank him for] all the time [he has invested] to develop [our] language which [he] is not born of it or for it... but it happened without my wish [request] but I'll say *alxamdullilah*, thank you to God. And, as every one of us is aware, we need to actually provide our inputs. This is a program, a huge program, where every one of us is important and is valuable. So welcome tonight with this meeting!

So welcome everybody. You are important! You are as valuable as, even more than the language! So welcome everybody. Feel free and do not even hide the little knowledge you have about the Jii dialect. So share with us. We need you and we need your inputs. So, welcome everybody. Thank you, a lot. Michael, take the role and lead us.

The current researcher offers some encouragement and orientation

Thank you Ayub. Let me share my screen and give you some encouragement tonight. If you look at the Jii dictionary, which Ayub also has on his computer, which we synchronize frequently to keep up with each other, we have reached number 4,772 [entries]!¹⁶³ Could we rejoice and take pride in this growing dictionary?

When Professor Salim published this in Australia in 1998, there were almost two thousand words, so he did a great job by himself. Now with the community joining, I believe it is possible to reach ten thousand words – even more than ten thousand. The [short-term] goal that Ayub has challenged us with is to reach five thousand. Then we will publish it again to the Google Play store as an app for the Android platform. We will publish it on the Apple store for the iPhone platform. And we will publish again in book format so that, again, Professor and Sultan can give a gift copy to the government – to the president of Somalia and other dignitaries. So this book will be put in libraries and universities around the world – back in Australia, here in the United States, as well as Mogadishu, Qoryoley, Kurtunwarey, Sablaale, Baido, Jilib and everywhere.

I want to give you a quick look at the progress that is on the computer. Here is my challenge – we also have a wonderful gift. This [Language Forge] is software for crowdsourcing. This is your invitation,¹⁶⁴ and your opportunity to join the project, wherever you are. This is an app that you can put on your phone, and/or your laptop computer. Then you can go to

¹⁶³ With additions from S.A. Ibro, Banti, and the JYA, the lexicon reached 5,480 entries by Mar. 18, 2021.

¹⁶⁴ The Jiiddu FLEx project is available for viewing, commenting and/or editing by invitation at: <https://languageforge.org/invite/5f6b6e1935d6d>

your uncles, your aunties, your grandparents, and other elders and you can record more Jii and enter directly into the computer. Does that make sense? Does anybody have any questions?

Ayub Osman describes progress made, and future goals

As you my fellow brothers and sisters can realize, this work has taken time and [we have] reached just a little bit of our goals. [We have not reached] our destination. Maybe this is not even a third of our destination. It is just a kickoff [toward] our destination. It is a good start. Let me confirm to everybody that, as Michael shared with you, all these software programs are available and I have the FLEx program whereby we developed the words up to 4,777, if I am not wrong.

We have another section, which is grammar. That particular section, Michael is mainly undertaking it, but we normally crosscheck and confirm [the morphological] break down. He is breaking down the whole sentence. As we know, a sentence is combined of different words and we join them so the whole sentence makes sense. And we classify the words that it is composed of according to their part of the speech. We normally give the classification, [whether] it is a noun, a verb, an adverb, or an adjective etc. So, you are all aware about that. And it is the hardest work, by the way. My role was only to insert the word in Jii and to give an English corresponding meaning. The list has been shared with me. Now we are struggling with the grammar part.

As we know, when we want to focus on language development, we [can] only give our strengths in terms of what we know, as every one of you has learned a language and knows ways of learning a language. So tonight, at the end of our meeting, inshallah, each one of us will have an assignment whereby each one of us is going to go with a semantic domain. We are [each] focusing on a class of words. Words do underfall a category. [For example,] when you look at the words used in hospitals, they are totally different from the ones used in restaurants. We are going to [each] have a semantic domain whereby we are going to do a Rapid Word Collection. Because the assignment should have a timeframe, we will have a starting point and an ending time. By the way, the semantic domains are taken from FLEx,¹⁶⁵ as Michael is now showing us on his screen. We have broken those nine domains into eleven smaller groups, according to our number, including me. The eleven of us will, inshallah, have an assignment. As Michael has asked me, I am taking the hardest part, number 9, which is the grammar domain. I just wanted to shed light on where we are going, but now Michael, go ahead and begin the interviews.

¹⁶⁵ The (9) semantic domains questionnaire (564 pages) is integrated with FLEx and available for export via FLEx (File > Export > Semantic Domain Worksheets > English > Export), or from this site: <http://rapidwords.net/resources/files/rwc-questionnaire>

Osman emphasized that this is a community-based development project and stressed the importance of each member contributing knowledge and effort. As the daunting challenge of language development might seem to be an overwhelming task better left to experts, Osman attempted to break down one aspect into manageable steps. With the goal of expanding the lexicon, he divided nine semantic domains among eleven JYA members and asked each youth volunteer to reach out to their older family members to elicit and record the words and phrases within the assigned category of meaning.

However, since this meeting on November 2, 2020, until February 1, 2021, there have been no new words submitted from this semantic domain assignment. Perhaps the JYA were overwhelmed with the assignment, as they each received thirty-plus pages of questions, in English, for eliciting data. It is apparent that a new strategy is needed. Likely, a further breakdown into smaller steps, and perhaps a translation into Somali Mahaatiri, would make the task more manageable.

Of the eight interviewed, four (including one married couple) are young parents. It seems that only two have steady employment – one as a teacher and the other a healthcare worker. One is a full-time university student. One is a stay-at-home mother. The other four find short-term employment as they can, often with international NGOs in relief and development projects. Five of the eight have university-level education – four studied in Mogadishu, and one is studying in Kenya.

Each of them said that their role in the Jiiddo community is to enhance community life in various ways. Four specified language development as their contribution. Three others variously specified encouraging education, youth development, hygiene and sanitation awareness, and child protection awareness.

All of those interviewed share the ability to speak Jii (with varying levels), Somali Maay (at least the *Dhoobey* dialect) and Mahaatiri, and English. Three also reported learning Swahili while living in a refugee camp where they received Kenyan primary and/or secondary level education. Four also said they could speak Arabic, and one had learned a little Turkish by working in a Turkish operated hospital.

Pointing at the reality of language shift due to inter-marriage (mothers from other tribes), dislocation due to conflict, and urbanization, four of those interviewed reported learning Jii later in life. Ironically, Ayub Osman described how he learned to speak Jii in Kenya in the Ifo (Dadaab) refugee camp. Growing up, he recounted how his father would communicate in Jii only when relatives visited, or “when he would go down to the Jiiddo locations, but not when he was with us, because my mother could not understand.” Ayub became convicted that, as he was learning Swahili and English, he should also learn to speak his father’s language. Therefore, he covenanted with Jiiddo friends that when they were together, they should always speak Jii to each other. This successful “covenant” strategy for promoting sustainable orality has also been used by the Navajo language community in the US where learners sign contracts promising to practice speaking with their teacher (Lewis and Simons 2016, 230).

When asked for an assessment of the strength of Jii, each one said that they, and the community as a whole, are proud of their distinct language. Ayub said, traditionally, “If you are Jiiddo, but you don't speak in the language, they do not consider you as a [true] Jiiddo.” Jii language use is strongest among the elderly in the rural districts, and in families where both parents are Jii speakers. However, there are signs that its use is declining in some ways. Ayub continued, “Now the norm is getting eroded as the people

are civilizing and most [many?] of them are moving to the towns and cities.” Another interviewee stated:

My siblings do not speak Jii, but my father does and my mom [learned]. Whenever I talk to them, I will sometimes speak Jii. Those people who are in the countryside, they can speak better than us, [because] they start speaking [Jii] when they are young. They do not even speak Somali there. Although most of the Jii words are remaining with the old people, it seems like also, the youth, they are learning these days. And they are proud of their language. So the language is spreading day by day in the whole country.

The summary assessment was positive, with statements like, “Yes, my people have a positive attitude – so much that they don't like using other dialects. And [they are proud of the fact that] Jii was one of the first dialects spoken in Somalia.”

As for their personal goals for language development, each one stated that they wished to promote the use of Jii because “it is essential for future generations”. All but one desired to engage in more training to achieve outcomes such as more effectively teaching their children, specifically the alphabet, sentence structure, opposites and synonyms, and names of objects. Two interviewees said their goal is to facilitate the writing and publishing of “Ey Jii books to teach our Jiiddo people how to write their own language”. Another said he would like to see “a complete reference guide [for Jii]”. Ayub Osman wants to “establish schools, perhaps through the Jiiddo scholars we already have”. He also committed to creating a Jii Facebook page. Another woman expressed a similar goal, to ensure that information about and resources in Jii are available and easily searchable on the internet.

5.10 SUM Assessment Grid Interview with S.A. Ibro (December 16, 2020)

Further study with a broader assessment of the community is needed to measure what percentage of Jiiddo children are learning their parents’ language. The purpose of

the proposed ‘Language and Identity Journey’ (Eberhard et al. 2020) would be to gain a wider perspective from a larger number of individuals representing a number of speech communities.

The following is only one person’s opinion, though it is an informed opinion from a respected leader. On December 16, 2020, ten years after the Sultan made his request, his brother S. A. Ibro filled out the “SUM Assessment Grid”, which “is a worksheet that can be used to determine the EGIDS level of a language by assessing its degree of sustainability with respect to the five FAMED conditions of sustainable language use for oral and literate use” (Lewis and Simons 2012).¹⁶⁶ This assessment resulted in a more positive appraisal of 5 “Developing” rather than 6b “Threatened” as this researcher expected. It seems this appraisal was skewed higher by the recent literacy developments, namely the Jii dictionary.¹⁶⁷ See Appendix 14 for an explanation of the Grid, instructions for use and scoring, and details of Ibro’s responses. His assessment resulted in an Orality score of 12 and a Literacy score of 5, which qualified Jii as EGIDS level 5 “Developing” (Fig. 30).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ The SUM Assessment Grid is available here: <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/57632>

¹⁶⁷ The overall score may be skewed unrealistically high due to the existence of the dictionary, because very few Jiido are actually using it yet. Technically, according to his truthful responses, Jii qualifies as “Developing”, but if not all children are learning their parents’ language, then there is real danger of shift.

¹⁶⁸ Despite positive developments with literacy, Ey Jii is in danger of losing ground orally due to interruptions in intergenerational transmission. The fact is, as Eberhard noted after reviewing the assessment, “some children speak it and some don’t. That is a clear 6b.” Eberhard clarified, “It appears that overall what you have is a split EGIDS - with literacy at EGIDS 5 and orality at level 6b” (David Eberhard, Email, January 15 2021).

Language name:	Jiiddle	ISO 639-3 code:	jii
Country in focus:	Somalia	Date:	12/16/2020
Assessment made by:	Professor Salim Ibro, with Mike Neterer		
EGIDS 4 (Educational)	The Orality score is at least 12 and the Literacy score is at least 12.		
EGIDS 5 (Developing)	The Orality score is at least 12 and the Literacy score is at least 3. (5)		
EGIDS 6a (Vigorous)	The Orality score is at least 12.		
EGIDS 6b (Threatened)	The scores for both Orality Functions and Orality Acquisition are at least 1.		
EGIDS 7, 8a, 8b	If Orality Functions or Acquisition is 0, then the determination of EGIDS level is based on the generation of youngest fluent speakers (7 if parents, 8a if grandparents, 8b if great-grandparents)		

Figure 30. Ibro's Jii SUM Assessment Grid

His assessment choice rationale is explained below, in §5.10.1 Orality Famed Conditions for Jiiddle, S.A. Ibro Assessment and §5.10.2. Literacy Famed Conditions for Jiiddle, S.A. Ibro Assessment, after this review of the five FAMED conditions. For whichever of the three levels the community chooses, five crucial conditions must be met for sustainability, according to the SUM approach. These are spelled out by the acronym FAMED (Lewis and Simons 2011). F, for Functions, implies that Jiiddle, in this case, must be used to communicate life-crucial bodies of knowledge, and the community must endorse those vital functions (uses) of the language. A, for Acquisition, means the Jiiddle community must provide ways to learn Jii in order to perform those life-crucial functions. M, for Motivation, means community members must be motivated to use Jii for those functions. E, for Environment, means the external environment (e.g., policy, attitudes) must not be hostile to the use of Jii for those functions.

D, for Differentiation, (or distinct niche) requires that “societal norms must keep the functions assigned to the local language distinct” from functions performed in the regional or national language (Lewis and Simons 2011, 5). For Jii, the Jiiddo community must agree to use only Jii for certain special purposes instead of Somali Maay or Mahaatiri, or international languages like Arabic, Turkish, or English. “The point of Differentiation is to mark and re-enforce the boundaries between local and dominant language use” (Lewis and Simons 2016, 195). Again, the “goat and the garden” illustration is a poignant way to understand and explain this concept. If the “goat” (dominant language Mahaatiri, or other) is not tied up, away from the “garden” (sacred Jii functions), it will devour the garden. The goat is valuable and necessary for the family, as long as it is kept in its proper place (Seguin 2020).

5.10.1 Orality FAMED Conditions for Jiiddo, S.A. Ibro Assessment

The way the SUM Grid Assessment works (See Appendix 14) is by evaluating each of the FAMED conditions (Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment, and Differentiation) for sustainable language use, on a scale of 0 to 3, (Absent, Uncommon, Common, or Sustainable) first for orality and then literacy (Appendix 14). Ibro selected “Common” (2) for Orality Functions, which states, “the language is used orally among all generations to meet the many functions of communication within the domains of home and community”. This agrees with the JYA description from 2018, how Ey Jii is used for a variety of functions whenever Jiiddo people gather, especially for weddings, funerals, visiting the sick, and conflict resolution.

Ibro also selected “Common” (2) for Orality Acquisition, which states, “It is still the norm that the language is transmitted to children in the home and community;

however, it has become common that many children do not learn the language”. He said that a large majority of children are learning Ey Jii in the home.

For Orality Motivation, he chose “Sustainable” (3), “As a general rule, members of the language community perceive multiple benefits (e.g. economic, social, religious, identificational) of speaking their language,” because the Jiiddo community does perceive multiple benefits for using Jii. He emphasized the importance of trust in working together and doing business together that is formed by speaking the same language.

He evaluated the Orality Environment condition as (2) because the government policy is not hostile. He agreed with the statement, “Neither official government policy nor the wider society is hostile to the use of the language.”

For the condition of Orality Differentiation, he debated between (3) “Sustainable” and (2) “Common”, which states, “There are many functions for which L1 [Jii] is predominantly used, but L2 [Somali Maay or Mahaatiri] is sometimes used for those same functions. He finally decided that (3) “Sustainable” is a more accurate statement, that “Members of the [Jii] language community have a set of shared norms as to when to use the local language in face-to-face interactions versus when to use a more dominant language. There are many functions for which L1 is always used and L2 is virtually never used.” According to Ibro, it all depends on where interactions take place. If they are in Jiiddo villages then, of course, Jii is used nearly 100%, but in mixed villages or towns then other languages will be used.

5.10.2 Literacy FAMED Conditions for Jiiddo, S.A. Ibro Assessment

For the Literacy Functions condition (See Appendix 14), Ibro selected “Uncommon” (1), “There is some L1 literature and some L1 writing practices, but they

are not yet widely known or used throughout the community.” He chose this description for Jii because the dictionary is the only published text. Jii is almost never used in writing, but a few people are beginning to use it for text messages and Facebook posts.

He scored Literacy Acquisition as (1) “Uncommon” also. Again, this is justified because of the existence of the dictionary and beginning distribution of the alphabet chart, which could be used for acquisition. This score means that, “Materials to support L1 literacy instruction exist but are not being widely used throughout the community.”

For Literacy Motivation, Ibro assigned a (1) “Uncommon” because there are a few Jiiddo community members who do perceive the value of reading and writing. This score is defined as, “Some members of the language community perceive the value of reading and writing their local language, but the majority perceive no benefit for L1 literacy.”

He also gave the Literacy Environment condition a score of (1) “Uncommon”. This score is defined as, “Government policy calls for the cultivation of this language, but does not yet put that policy into practice”. Ibro considers it a favorable indicator that the Somali Constitution recognized the Maay language and has allowed the publication of Maay textbooks. So, while the constitution does not mention Jii by name, Article 31 (Language and Culture) affirms, “The state shall promote the cultural practices and local dialects of minorities (“Somalia’s Constitution of 2012” 2020, 14). This would seem to bode well for Ey Jii. Worryingly, however, a Chimiini language (Swahili dialect) radio station in the Lower Shabeelle was reported closed for a second time. The cause for the

shutdown was not disclosed, so it may have been for ideological, rather than linguistic reasons (*AllAfrica.Com* 2021).¹⁶⁹

Finally, for Literacy Differentiation, Ibro at first considered a score of (0) “Absent”, but he decided on (1) “Uncommon” because there is one literary function for Jii, which is the growing enthusiasm from the JYA to help build the dictionary, and to provide Jii texts for grammar analysis. This score is defined as, “There are some literacy functions for which either L1 or L2 is clearly preferred; however, for most, both are used without a clear preference.” Looking ahead to the future, whether other literacy functions will be adopted is a question to be decided by the Jiiddo community.

Beyond documenting the history of Jii language development since 1951, this thesis is also an attempt to predict a trajectory for further development efforts based on Jiiddo community awareness, assessment, planning and implementation activities as of 2021. The first aim of documenting history was accomplished in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5. Chapter 2 provided a comprehensive review of published literature. Chapter 5, “Milestones and Results 2015-2021”, offered a narrative account of recent development efforts by Jiiddo leaders in collaboration with outside consultants. Chapter 6 next attempts to suggest and predict next steps the Jiiddo community can take to achieve their goals for strengthening their Jiiddo identity and Jii language.

¹⁶⁹ However, S.A. Ibro did not seem troubled by the report, and commented, “There is no restrictions for the Jiiddo and other languages to broadcasting. That incident in Brawa was an isolated one. The radio station of Brawa was silent for [only] 24 hours” (WhatsApp message, January 4, 2021).

6 Next Steps of the Journey

For a literacy specialist with the privilege of focusing narrowly on the topic and task, language development may seem obviously straightforward, and perhaps the next few steps could go something like this:

- 1) form a Jii language development committee,
- 2) expand the lexicon to 10,000 entries by means of one or more Rapid Word Collection workshops,
- 3) test and confirm the Jii orthography with the help of a linguistic consultant,
- 4) publish the revised and expanded dictionary including newly elaborated, terminology for the modern world along the lines of S.A. Ibro's term *lohi baabuur* 'tire' (literally "leg of the auto").
- 5) Beyond the dictionary, more training, funding and coaching for new writers could help them create reading material in Jii including a literacy primer, school grammar, collections of poems and stories for pleasure reading, and textbooks for multilingual education.

This linear path may be logical and doable, but it would be naive to expect these goals to be achieved quickly. In reality, the Jiiddo community faces multiple, simultaneously urgent and complex challenges which act together to diminish the priority of the longer-term development goal of literacy. That is why a holistic development approach is required that convincingly demonstrates the value of mother-tongue literacy as a means to make a living and solve urgent problems, such as maternity healthcare.

For language and literacy development to be sustainable, there must be wide agreement in the community among all generations that it is a high priority worth pursuing in the midst of daily survival and frequent crises. Respected leaders will have to

set the pace by their personal example of learning and teaching their children in the face of powerful forces of urbanization and globalization. In 2018, the delegation of youth leaders made the following commitments recorded in Table 5. Now that they are rising in influence as parents and community leaders, these action steps, if accomplished, will have growing impact.

6.1 Action Step Commitments of the JYA (2018)

In October 2018, the JYA expressed their desire to strengthen and expand Jii language use for the following domains, in this priority order: 1. Religion, 2. Culture, 3. Health, 4. Education, 5. Economics (especially Agriculture), 6. Language, 7. Environmental protection, 8. History, and 9. Technology. Specifically, they committed themselves to these five action step assignments (Table 5):

Table 5. Action Step Commitments of the JYA (2018)

Taking Action -- top 5 activities	Begin	Progress	Completed
Meeting with elders: to build awareness, encouragement, elicit storytelling, follow up, speak Jii together, and hold a competition	21 st Oct, 2018	?	24 th Oct, 2018
Sharing files: we have already started sharing audio, video and documents, also shared FLEx project. Also share with community how to access.	2 nd Oct, 2018	yes	FLEx in 2018 but ¹⁷⁰
Pride in our culture: Parents speak Jii with their children. Meeting with elders every weekend to speak Jii, share stories, and gather vocabulary.	26 th Oct, 2018	?	Ongoing
Preservation: Recording history, poems, and collecting more words for dictionary.	2 nd Oct, 2018	yes	Madoowe poem April 2020
Rapid Word Collection: formally in large gatherings, and informally in homes. (Every time we meet, and in our spare time, with the elders, etc.)	10 th Oct, 2018	yes	not yet

¹⁷⁰ FLEx project was introduced and shared with the JYA in 2018, but not used actively until 2020. Use of Language Forge was also activated in 2020.

The JYA further challenged each other in this summary conclusion of the 2018 training to the following practices and projects (Fig. 31). However, without the presence of their elders and leadership and the accountability that would have provided, they have not yet followed through on certain proposals, like Rapid Word Collection.

When we return to Somalia, we must meet with elders from three districts to learn Jii from them, and to record and write down what they teach us, to record in the dictionary. We will also meet with our Jiiddo representatives in the government, and our soldiers, and sit with them for a day to discuss language policies, to ask for more support. We will also have a weekly meeting with our youth to promote Jii. We will make special efforts to teach and encourage mothers so they can teach their children.

Also, through the internet, we will invite Jiiddo in the diaspora in the West and other parts of Africa to invite them to participate in Rapid Word Collection by assigning them specific semantic domains. We will seek out and find the best speakers of Jii to learn from them, wherever they are in the world. We can also invite the District Commissioners from Qoryoley, Sablaale and Kurtunwarey (Notes, Jii Lang. Dev. Training, 2018).

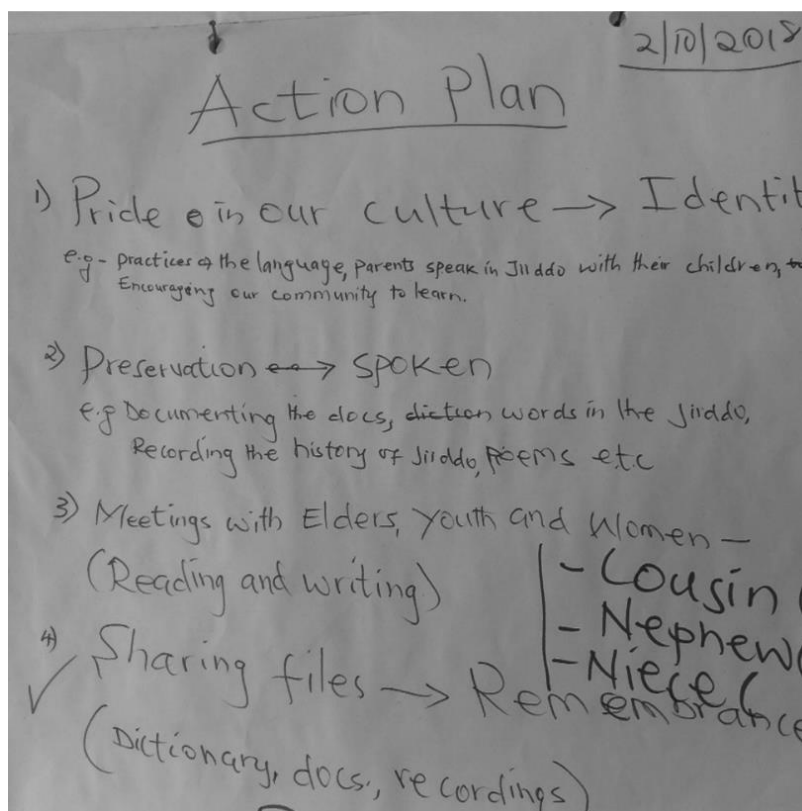


Figure 31. JYA Action Plan October 2, 2018

6.2 A Proposed Road Map: 'Language and Identity Journey'

In the context of the realization of the importance of the involvement of top leaders, the 'Journey' is presented here in outline form as a road map for the Jii language community (and neighboring speech communities) to consider (Eberhard et al. 2020). The 'Journey' is meant to involve leaders and is designed to provide a discussion framework for planning in a holistic way to address multiple concerns.

At this stage of engagement, much of the prescribed "Preliminary Phase" has already been accomplished. Contacts with interested community leaders have been established, and strong relationships have been built. Leaders have been interviewed – the four elders, and eight JYA representatives, with the support and involvement of Sultan and S.A. Ibro. However, one suggested element for the Preliminary Phase, which has not yet been implemented, is a discussion to elicit a broad view of the community's whole language repertoire. Eberhard suggested the following activity as a way of introducing the idea of healthy, stable multilingualism as a goal to pursue.

If there is a typical L1 and L2 split, split a chalkboard down the middle and write Benefits of L1 on one side, and Benefits of L2 on the other. Ask them to go up and write specific ways these languages benefit their community. Step back and ask – if these are all good things - how do we hold on to the benefits on both sides of the board? Is it possible? How? Is it really an either/or decision? (Dave Eberhard, Email, April 2020)

Each of the twelve interviewed has stated a desire for more training. If the JYA and elders confirm a plan to go on to Phase 1, this conversation will be included then. Furthermore, everyone has already expressed a willingness to join and/or support the formation of a language development committee. Perhaps committee formation could be decided as a top priority outcome in the implementation phase of the 'Journey,' once the participants decide what would be required of the committee.

If one or more SIL consultants can offer their service, then Ayub Osman and other local language specialists can obtain prior training in the SUM and the ‘Journey’ method. He and the three JYA leaders who went through *A Guide for Planning Our Language Future* (Hanawalt et al. 2016) in 2018 already have a head start. Part of their role would be to assist their own leaders through the entire process.

The Journey designers offer two options, depending on context and culture, for a four-phase approach of working with community leaders – either a series of three (usually weekends) guided discussions or three workshops, plus the implementation phase. In the case of the Jiiddo, it must be determined which of these two would work best. The Journey designers recommend workshops if decisions are typically made by larger egalitarian groups in discussion. In communities where there are only one or two authoritarian decision makers, guided discussions with those leaders are suggested. If those leaders are highly educated, it is advised that they take a course on Community-Based Language and Identity Development (CBLID) and the Sustainable Use Method (SUM) before or at some point along the way.

Whether the format is a set of leadership discussions or larger group workshops, the outline of objectives for the four phases is as follows:¹⁷¹

Phase 1 - Awareness (Joint meeting with various ethnicities represented)

Objective #1: Introduce the overall method

Objective #2: Build awareness of language use patterns

- Understanding our History
- Understanding our Ecology (including Repertoire & Speech Community)
- Understanding our Domains of Use

¹⁷¹ Journey website: <https://sites.google.com/sil.org/thelanguageidentityjourney/the-journey>

- Understanding our Multilingualism
- Understanding our Language Vitality
- Planning for Interval #1
 - Stakeholders Analysis
 - Sharing Key Concepts
- Initiating Planning for Phase #2

After Phase 1, leaders must decide whether to continue the journey. If so, in the intervals before Phase 2, and again before Phases 3 & 4, their assignment is to share what they have learned with the wider community and to invite other stakeholders to engage.

Phase 2 - Assessment (Ethnic-specific workshop)

Objective: facilitate community self-assessment

- Understanding our Language Functions
- Understanding our FAMED conditions
- Final vitality assessment
- Understanding our Digital Use (if appropriate)
- Adding Texting to Vitality
- Choosing a Development Goal (a sustainable one)
- Re-assessing speech community
- Planning for Interval #2
 - Stakeholders Analysis
 - Sharing Key Concepts
- Initiating Plans for Phase #3

Phase 3 - Planning (Ethnic-specific workshop)

Objective: facilitate community planning for language development

- Revisiting Identity (if appropriate)
- Understanding Language Change (if appropriate)
- Revisiting FAMED Conditions and Language Functions
- Counting the Cost - is development goal realistic?
- Considering Documentation
- Introducing Optional Strategies/Products for Development
- Deciding Planning Timeline (how long planning will take)
- Coordinating Plans with CBLID Specialist
- Choosing a master development plan
- Choosing next year's strategy
- Assessing Helps/Hindrances
- Planning next year's strategy

- Monitoring and Evaluation - setting guidelines
- Sharing with and Motivating the Community

Phase 4 Implementation (Ethnic-specific implementation)

- Conduct ongoing monitoring
- 6-month and year-end evaluations
- CBLID specialist assists as needed

As stated earlier, if the Jiiddo community decides to take the ‘Language and Identity Journey’, this researcher is willing to walk with them as they consider “how they will transmit life-crucial knowledge to future generations” (Seguin 2020).

6.3 Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats: A SWOT Analysis

A SWOT analysis (Table 6) is a tool that can be used by leaders for planning and project management. It is a means for making a rapid assessment of multidimensional factors of strengths and weaknesses, as well as opportunities and threats involved in the decision-making situation. Facing the reality of the extreme difficulty of recovering from language shift, the Jiiddo community must appraise the obstacles that lie ahead. The creators of the ‘Journey’ quote Fishman’s warning (2001, 6),¹⁷² that this task is almost impossible for any speech community (Eberhard et al. 2020).

There are no guarantees of success in this type of work. Developing minority languages (whether by creating new functions or by restoring lost functions) is almost ‘impossibly’ hard work and always will be, regardless of the method employed. That is because the odds are stacked against all minority languages. Those odds grow even less favorable the weaker the vitality of a language is. Very few highly endangered languages have been brought back from the brink of extinction to a level where oral vitality is now the norm. The forces coming against them are some of the most powerful forces known in today’s world (Fishman 2001, 6). These facts need to be taken into account before embarking on any type of revitalization or language development endeavor.

¹⁷² (Fishman 2001. “Why Is It so Hard to Save a Threatened Language?” In *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?*, edited by Joshua Fishman, 1–22. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, Ltd.)

When S.A. Ibro was asked to evaluate the barriers that have hindered progress, he cited one issue– the lack of security. That factor was certainly on everyone’s mind in 2018 as Ayub Osman showed the men in the group the scars covering his body from the October 14, 2017 explosion he had narrowly survived just one year previously. Ayub was one of 316 injured (H. Mohamed, Schmitt, and Ibrahim 2017). He recovered consciousness after two weeks in a coma, but his companion that day was one of the 587 people killed. Two weeks after that horrific attack, S.A. Ibro was rescued from a hotel siege in Somalia’s capital after a bombing and shootout that killed twenty-three people (Guled 2017). These brutal acts of shocking terror have become so common in Somalia, it is understandable how the compounding effects of trauma have mired almost every endeavor. Yet, with remarkable resilience and ingenuity, Ayub (and so many others) continue to find ways to survive and even thrive.

While terror attacks are a particular challenge to Somalia, perhaps an even greater challenge facing members of small local language communities seeking to maintain their indigenous language is the inundation of media and social communication in English, the Somali national language, and other influential international languages, such as Arabic and, more recently, Turkish. One troubling weakness for the community is that children, even of key leaders, may not be learning Jii as they grow up outside Jiiddo territory.

The following SWOT analysis is a simple four-quadrant grid with key factors affecting the potential of success for Jii language development initiatives (Table 6). These factors are based on this researcher’s outside perspective. It is up to the Jiiddo community to consider this analysis, to identify other challenges, and to work together to overcome these difficulties while making the most of opportunities presented.

Table 6. Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats: SWOT Analysis (2021)**Strengths**

- Multi-generational, multilingual leadership with cross-cultural experience and education
- Pride in Jii language and identity
- Long-term relationships with outside scholars, literacy specialists, and community development practitioners
- Opportunistic – ability to recognize and seize opportunities
- Accomplishments such as orthography and dictionary
- Recognition from President of Somalia and other leaders

Opportunities

- Leverage language development for progress in economic & community development...
- Unemployed youth have time and energy to work and learn.
- Expert linguistic/literacy consultants available
- Program planning training available, such as ‘Language and Identity Journey’
- Software available, e.g. FLEx, Language Forge, Webonary, Dictionary App Builder.
- Jiiddo family in the diaspora have resources and connections
- Communication technology and (fairly) reliable internet access
- Small beginnings, teaching children in the home, reaching out to learn from elders
- Publish Jii to social media, other appropriate platforms, to benefit other families in the IDP camps, home villages, and diaspora

Weaknesses

- Sultan does not speak Jii
- Kids are not learning Jii
- Disconnection from villages due to violence, drought, now flooding
- Many Jiiddo, especially IDPs are living on the edge of survival leaving little time margin or mental/emotional energy for creative thinking and planning
- Unemployment
- Lack of planning due to multiple unpredictable factors
- General instability due to:
 - Lack of income
 - Insufficient healthcare
 - Lack of education

Threats

- Intimidation from militants
- Resulting chaos from terror attacks
- Natural disasters
 - Droughts/Flooding
 - Locusts
 - Disease
- Mindset of fatalism in unpredictable situations– “why plan for the future when so little is under our control?”
- Linguistic “competition” - pressure to learn and use international, national, and regional languages
 - Arabic for Islam and Arab world (like Sudanese doctors)
 - English, global language for education, business, tech etc.
 - Maay/*Dhoobey* for Southwest State government, and region
 - Somali *Mahaatiri* for federal government and intertribal communication
 - Turkish for educational/economic opportunities

The Jiiddo community has many strengths, especially multi-generational, multilingual leadership with cross-cultural experience and education. Their leaders have cultivated relationships with linguists and literacy specialists who have collaborated with the Jiiddo to assist with orthography development and dictionary making. With a strong pride in their Jii language and identity, the community will most certainly discover other strengths as they come together to discuss the future of Jii language development.

The list of opportunities suggested by this researcher could be much longer and is meant to be a conversation starter. Certainly, the most impactful opportunity is for children to learn at home from their parents and elders. From this foundation, further opportunities may be discovered that somehow leverage language development into economic success. Of course, the Jiiddo community will have the final say as to which language development priorities are worthy of pursuit.

6.5 Future of Ey Jii?

Jii has borrowed the *Mahaatiri* word *mustaqbal*, which is itself borrowed from Arabic, but no indigenous word for ‘future’ as such, has yet been provided for the Jii lexicon. Perhaps this reflects a worldview that is more focused on the here and now. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely for these devout Muslims, if God alone holds the future, is it not presumptuous for the children of Adam to attempt to predict the events of days ahead? They should be humble as they try to plan. However, does not God also reward faith that seeks a good future to honor Him and bring blessing to the next generation of children? Therefore, the statement “God willing” is uttered humbly:

Hon Ilaaheey raali ha yaati

hon Ilaaheey raali ha y-aat-i
if Allah permission from 3M.PST-be.FUT-3M.PST

‘If God [gives] permission [it] will be.’

‘If God is willing’ what could be the future of Jii? Moreover, what are the Jiiddo community’s goals for language development? That was the question the JYA addressed in October 2018 when four of their representatives met in Nairobi to translate and discuss *A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language* during the course of a five-day workshop on language development. See §5.7 for a more detailed report of what the youth identified as the current status of Jii. Their goals for their language community were presented in §6.1 Action Step Commitments of the JYA (2018).

Looking forward, the fundamental question is, “Does the wider community share the vision of the late Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro for a legacy of language development for future generations?” Will a sufficient number of contributors respond to his plea to, “...preserve our ethnic and linguistic heritage as indigenous peoples?” How committed is the community, both in Somalia and the diaspora, to take the necessary next steps in collaboration with outside experts to achieve their goals? This remains to be seen. Perseverance will be required for all stakeholders to overcome significant barriers.

The goal set by the JYA is to re-publish an expanded version of the *Jiiddu-Somali-English Dictionary*, online and to phone apps, as well as in traditional print format, now that they have collected more than five thousand (5,480 as of March 2021) words and grammatical items (Forthcoming 2021).¹⁷³ A smaller prototype version was

¹⁷³ Hopefully in 2021, Maay glosses will be incorporated into the Jii Dictionary from the Maay Dictionary app after its revision and incorporation of more entries. The app is in pre-draft and is being prepared for public launching in Android and iOS (c) afmaaymaay.com, all rights reserved

published as an app for Android phones in April 2018 using SIL's Dictionary App Builder program.¹⁷⁴ Later in 2018, in Nairobi, the JYA participated in republishing an expanded edition. Since then, SIL has added the capability to publish for iOS smartphones and tablets, which will meet the needs of some Jiiddo youth who use that platform.

Coupled with this effort, the JYA has set forth a goal of creating a Facebook page dedicated to Jii. Ayub Osman suggested an immediate next step should be printing alphabet charts like the one the JYA created in 2018 (Fig. 32 and Appendix 2). In the future, a Jii grammar and literacy primer for teaching their children could be created, along with folk stories, proverbs, and other literature. In the midst of these promising current efforts by the JYA, longtime friends and collaborators, Giorgio Banti and S.A. Ibro have discussed a plan to publish an anthology of Jii poetry (Banti, WhatsApp 2020).

¹⁷⁴ <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=org.salt.jiiddo.dictionary>



















<p>B b</p>  <p>bel</p>	<p>D d</p>  <p>dermih</p>	<p>F f</p>  <p>fali</p>	<p>G g</p>  <p>gerih</p>
<p>H h</p>  <p>haqad</p>	<p>J j</p>  <p>jaranjarih</p>	<p>Jh jh</p>  <p>jhamuulih</p>	<p>K k</p>  <p>kepeera</p>
<p>L l</p>  <p>lam</p>	<p>M m</p>  <p>malaw</p>	<p>N n</p>  <p>nal</p>	<p>Q q</p>  <p>qoj</p>
<p>R r</p>  <p>ruuw</p>	<p>S s</p>  <p>soki</p>	<p>Sh sh</p>  <p>shal</p>	<p>T t</p>  <p>tithi</p>
<p>W w</p>  <p>wiisi</p>	<p>Y y</p>  <p>yaabi</p>		

Figure 32. Jiiddu Consonants (JYA 2018)

As the year 2020 has humbled many with ambitious goals, the tentative timeline is offered cautiously, not as a proposal, but as a conversation starter for the community (Fig. 33). Having said that, some steps are already being taken to achieve some of the goals listed for 2021. It is hoped that successfully achieving those goals will build momentum for greater opportunities in the years ahead.

This researcher is committed to walking alongside the Jiiddo community in the years ahead to offer assistance in achieving their language development goals. Besides the Jii Dictionary, other 2021 publishing goals might include a seventieth anniversary English translation of Moreno's 1951 *Brevi notazioni di Ĝiddu* and a fortieth anniversary translation of Lamberti's 1981 *Der Dialekt Der Jiddu*.

Besides a FaceBook page dedicated to Ey Jii, Ayub Osman has also proposed a Wikipedia page about Jiiddo history and culture. As S.A. Ibro and Banti have been discussing, perhaps an anthology of Jii wisdom literature - proverbs and poetry could be featured on Facebook and Wikipedia.

It seems that investing in training the next generation of Jiiddo youth would be the most strategic use of resources. That is why training workshops for Jiiddo writers could lead to the creation of a Jii literacy primer for primary students. Teacher training workshops could generate a Jiiddo school grammar for secondary students. Mother-tongue Jiiddo teachers could be commissioned.

In the long term, with community and government support, it could be possible to build and refurbish primary & secondary schools. A print shop/publishing house for Jii authors could result in libraries with Jiiddo books. These ideas are offered as possibilities. With God's help, it is the Jiiddo community's privilege to determine their steps (Fig. 33).

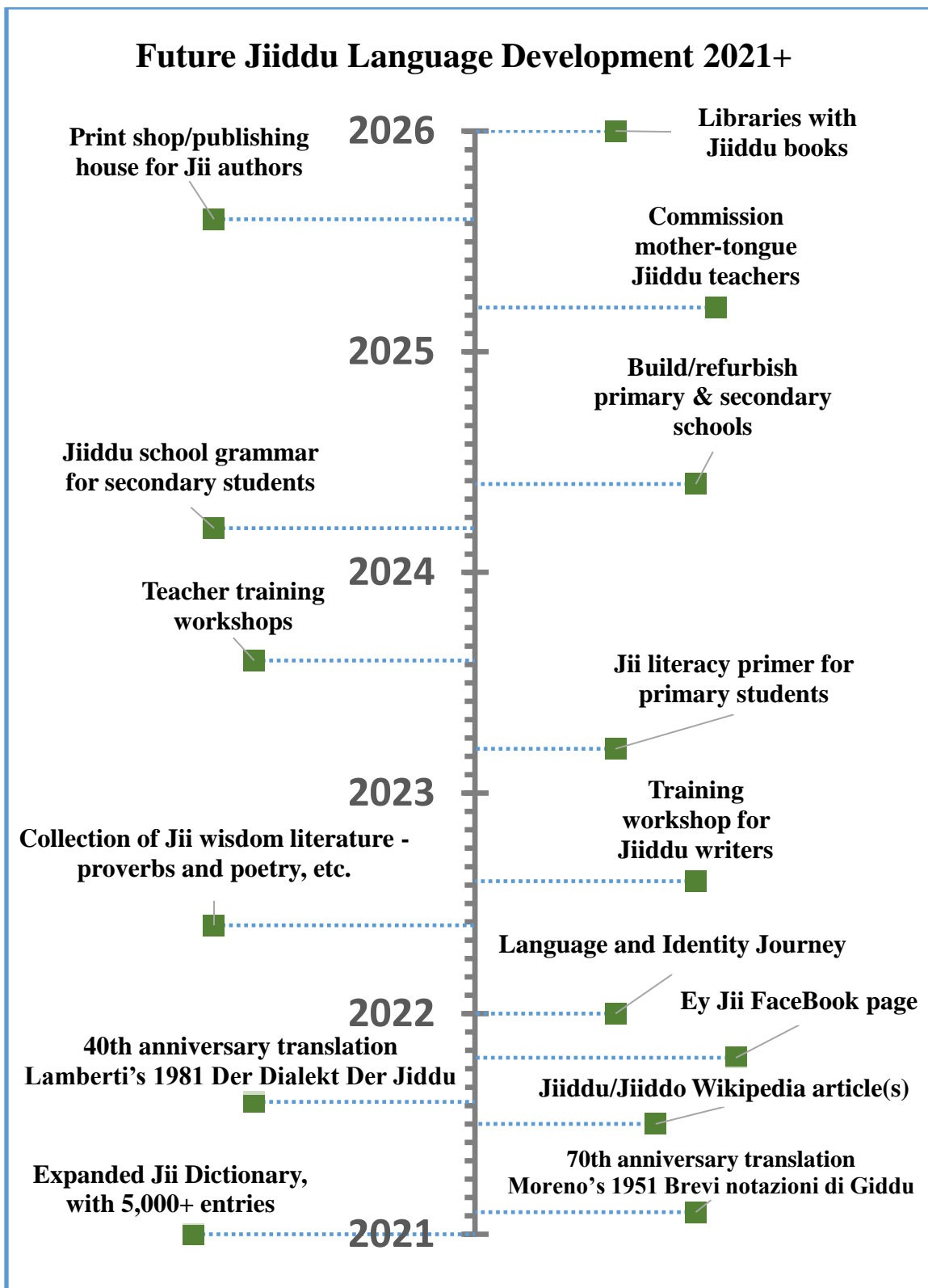


Figure 33. Future Timeline of Jii Language Development?

7 Conclusion

7.1 Research Problem and Question

The problem facing the Jiiddo community is a potential loss of cultural identity and the danger of declining Jii language use. Joshua Fishman, in *Reversing Language Shift* introduced the term “Intergenerational Disruption” to describe the problem of children not learning their parents’ home language (1991). Fishman created the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), as a tool for assessing language status. On the Expanded GIDS (EGIDS), which was retooled to include endangerment categories, Jii has been assessed at level 6b, “threatened”, according to this study.¹⁷⁵ This means, “the language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users” (Lewis and Simons 2016, 81). This decline for Jii indicates language shift as the language is losing functions. The task for language development, should the Jiiddo community decide to take on the challenge, will be increasing the number of functions to climb up the scale.

From an action-oriented, practitioner’s viewpoint, this case study has approached the problem of Jii as a threatened and endangered language within a framework known as Community-Based Language and Development (CBLID).¹⁷⁶ This approach is not limited to documentation and preservation but is a holistic plan which the community initiates, owns, drives, and invests resources, with the invited assistance of language development

¹⁷⁵ Lewis and Simons harmonized the scale with the Ethnologue and UNESCO in 2010.

¹⁷⁶ Following the lead of Eberhard and the evolution to a greater focus on “Identity”, the acronym has been expanded from CBLD to CBLID (Community-Based Language and Identity Development).

specialists. Specifically for this study, the research question is, “How to respond to an appeal for assistance from the Jiiddo tribe’s leadership to ‘preserve our ethnic and linguistic heritage as indigenous peoples?’” (Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro, 2011).

7.2 Documented History and a Proposed Pathway

This thesis is part of an attempt to respond to Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibro’s request for assistance using a two-pronged approach. First, all known Jii language efforts have been documented, including previously unpublished accounts as well as published literature. Second, this thesis has introduced Community-Based Language and Identity Development CBLID based on the theory of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM). SUM is the foundational theory for two practical guides that this researcher offered to the Jiiddo community as tools for them to assess the status and sustainability of their current language use and to envision together to build consensus for their desired future.

The first tool was *A Guide for Planning Our Language Future*, which the JYA worked through in a five-day training in 2018 (Hanawalt et al. 2016). The second tool, which has so far only been proposed, is a revision of the “Guide” called the ‘Language and Identity Journey’ (Eberhard et al. 2020). If the Jiiddo leaders agree that “The Journey” is a worthwhile endeavor, then a next step would be planning a series of three weekend gatherings of key stakeholders. The guided discussions should help the community reach a consensus on which sustainable level of language use they desire to attain and maintain. The community could also reach an agreement on which language functions they want to develop and specific activities for reaching their goals. Ideally, they will create a strategic plan that makes the most effective use of community resources while also taking advantage of the expertise of linguistic and literacy consultants.

7.3 Prospects for Success

The increased number of practitioners, representing three generations of Jii speakers, evidenced by their recent contributions to the Jii lexicon and literature, indicates an improving likelihood that they may achieve their goals for literacy and education. The next generation of linguists and literacy practitioners will find a base on which to stand, owing to the foundational scholarship of Moreno in 1951 and Lamberti in 1981, which is now accessible in English. Ehret and M. Nuuh Ali contributed to that foundation with their Jii fieldwork and analysis (1983, and 1985).

Jiiddo leaders developing relationships with outside consultants has proven to be one of the critical factors in the attempt to ensure that their cultural and linguistic heritage endures. The ongoing collaboration between Banti and S.A. Ibro that started in 1979 is vital as it continues in 2021. The special attention given to Jii by Banti, even while he was involved in the project to develop *Mahaatiri* Somali as the national language, provided immense value to Ey Jii development. The correspondence between Banti and S.A. Ibro while he was building the dictionary in Australia helped ensure that the Jii orthography was established on solid linguistic principles. Since both men retired in 2020, the Jiiddo community hopes their partnership will be even more fruitful in the coming years as they may have extra time for publishing poetry and other texts they have collected. Their combined wisdom will be best utilized if the generation following them contribute their energy and technical skills.

7.4 Final Remarks

The vital challenge will be maintaining the bonds between generations (to repair “intergenerational disruption”) for language development to succeed even as young

adults struggle to make a living, marry and begin having children. How many parents will actually nurture their children in Jii? This will be the proof: whether Jii grows or declines depends on how many mothers and fathers teach the language to their children.

This commitment to teach children Ey Jii will inevitably be tested by the urgency of crises, as well as by subtle but powerful pressures of globalization. Though the JYA did not rank security threats high on their list of challenges in April 2018, it seems that the persistent threat of terror attacks is a significant hindrance to progress because of immediate delays and uncertainties of what may happen next. For example, on Friday, November 27, 2020, Ayub Osman was sitting down in Mogadishu for a Zoom call to record an interview for Jii language development when he heard a loud explosion. He discovered that a suicide bomber had killed seven and wounded ten people, most of them youths, at a popular ice cream shop on a main road that leads to the airport (*Voice of America - English* 2020).

With resilience, Ayub persevered despite the tragedy. Within two days, he managed to meet with S.A. Ibro to organize a WhatsApp group of Jii speakers and to divide up semantic domain assignments for word-collection activities among their respective families and home villages. If the Jii language development project succeeds, Ayub's leadership, with the support of his elders and willing participation from his family and fellow JYA members, will be one of the main reasons.

Another reason for hope is the Jiiddo community's willingness to embrace new tools such as FLEx and Language Forge software, which they are learning to use in conjunction with communication technology like Zoom, and platforms they have already

mastered like WhatsApp. Using these tools may expedite the work, especially as Somali entrepreneurs have succeeded in building a reliable internet connection.

Youthful, tech-savvy activists will need to work together with older, wiser leaders to achieve both smaller steps highlighting early success, like publishing a colorful alphabet chart, for example, along with slower, long-term projects, such as a curriculum for primary education. Along the way, they may find the most “buy in” from the greatest number of stakeholders if they can demonstrate practical ways that Jii literacy improves daily life. Captivating hearts and minds via oral and printed literature that entertains, informs and inspires will certainly be important but in the long term, the greatest success may be in somehow leveraging language development into economic development.

Ultimately, the foundational factor for language development success is trusting relationships. The Jiiddo community has wisely built inter-generational relationships of trust for the past seventy years among themselves and beyond their cultural and national boundaries. Their efforts in developing leadership within their own community, while also reaching out to international specialists, has served them well to this point.

For the journey ahead, a sustained drive to develop and assure the future of the language is going to require political and cultural unity at the highest level of leadership. If the Jiiddo persevere in this wise way, working to unite the community by healing any divisions of distrust, the future of Jii language development promises to provide blessings of life-crucial learning for generations to come.

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Appendix 1: Five Endangered Languages of Somalia

The Ethnologue, 24th Edition, identifies five endangered languages in Somalia 1) Jiiddu, 2) Dabarre, 3) Tunni, 4) Boon, and 5) Mushungulu (Chizigua) (2021). A language is considered endangered “when its users begin to teach and speak a more dominant language to their children” (Fig. 34).¹⁷⁷ Jii is one of 3,018 languages in the world assessed as endangered. That means Jii is part of the 42% of the world’s 7,139 total languages.¹⁷⁸

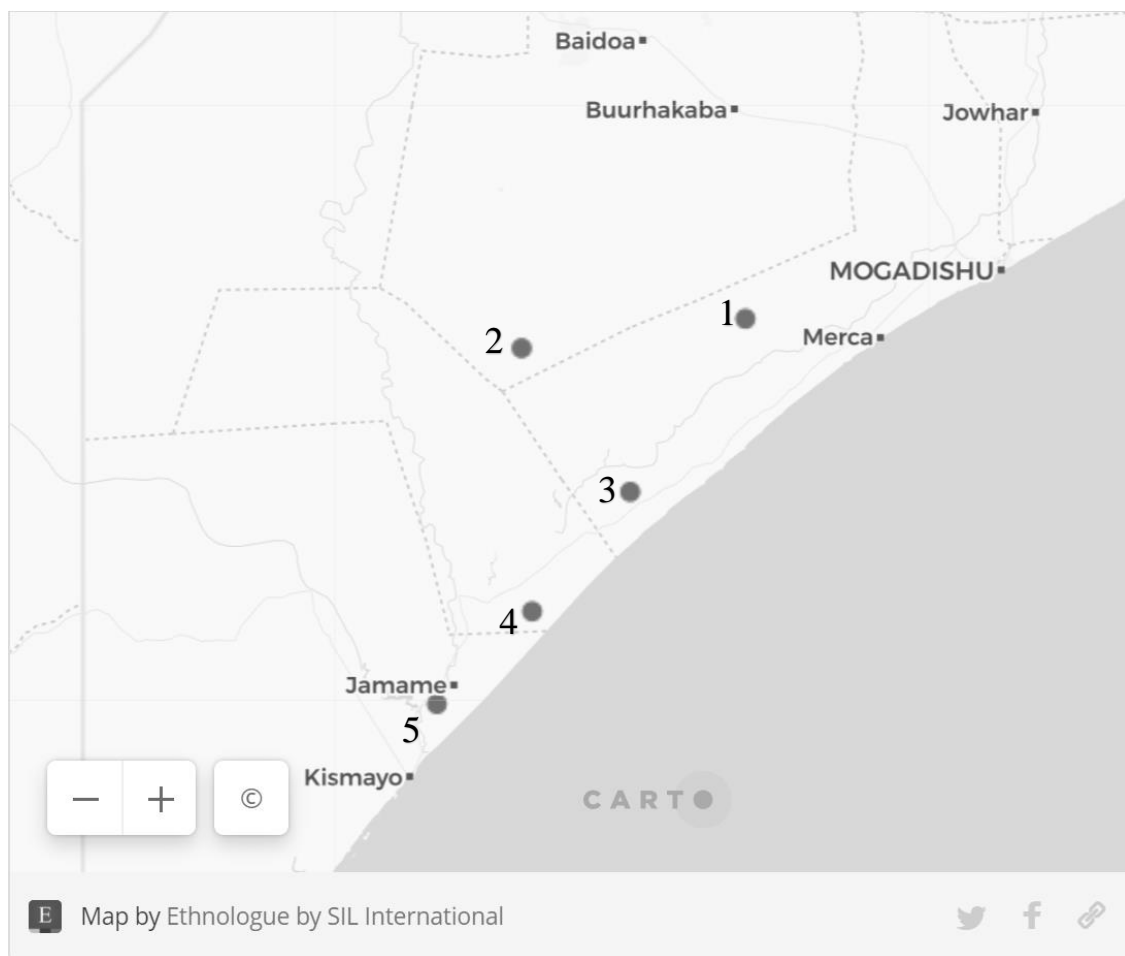


Figure 34. Ethnologue Map of Endangered Somali Languages (2021)

¹⁷⁷ “How Many Languages Are Endangered? | Ethnologue.” 2021.
<https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/how-many-languages-endangered>

¹⁷⁸ “How many languages are there in the world? | Ethnologue.” 2021.
<https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/how-many-languages>

Appendix 2: Jiiddu Consonants (JYA 2018)













<p>B b</p>  <p>bel</p>	<p>D d</p>  <p>dermih</p>	<p>F f</p>  <p>fali</p>	<p>G g</p>  <p>gerih</p>
<p>H h</p>  <p>haqad</p>	<p>J j</p>  <p>jaranjarih</p>	<p>Jh jh</p>  <p>jhamuulih</p>	<p>K k</p>  <p>kepeera</p>
<p>L l</p>  <p>lam</p>	<p>M m</p>  <p>malaw</p>	<p>N n</p>  <p>nal</p>	<p>Q q</p>  <p>qoj</p>
<p>R r</p>  <p>ruuw</p>	<p>S s</p>  <p>soki</p>	<p>Sh sh</p>  <p>shal</p>	<p>T t</p>  <p>tithi</p>
<p>W w</p>  <p>wiisi</p>	<p>Y y</p>  <p>yaabi</p>		

Figure 35. Jiiddu Consonants (JYA 2018)¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Created by the Jiiddu Youth Association (JYA) in Nairobi, October 2, 2018.

Appendix 3: Jiiddo Safar & Wajis Clan Family Tree

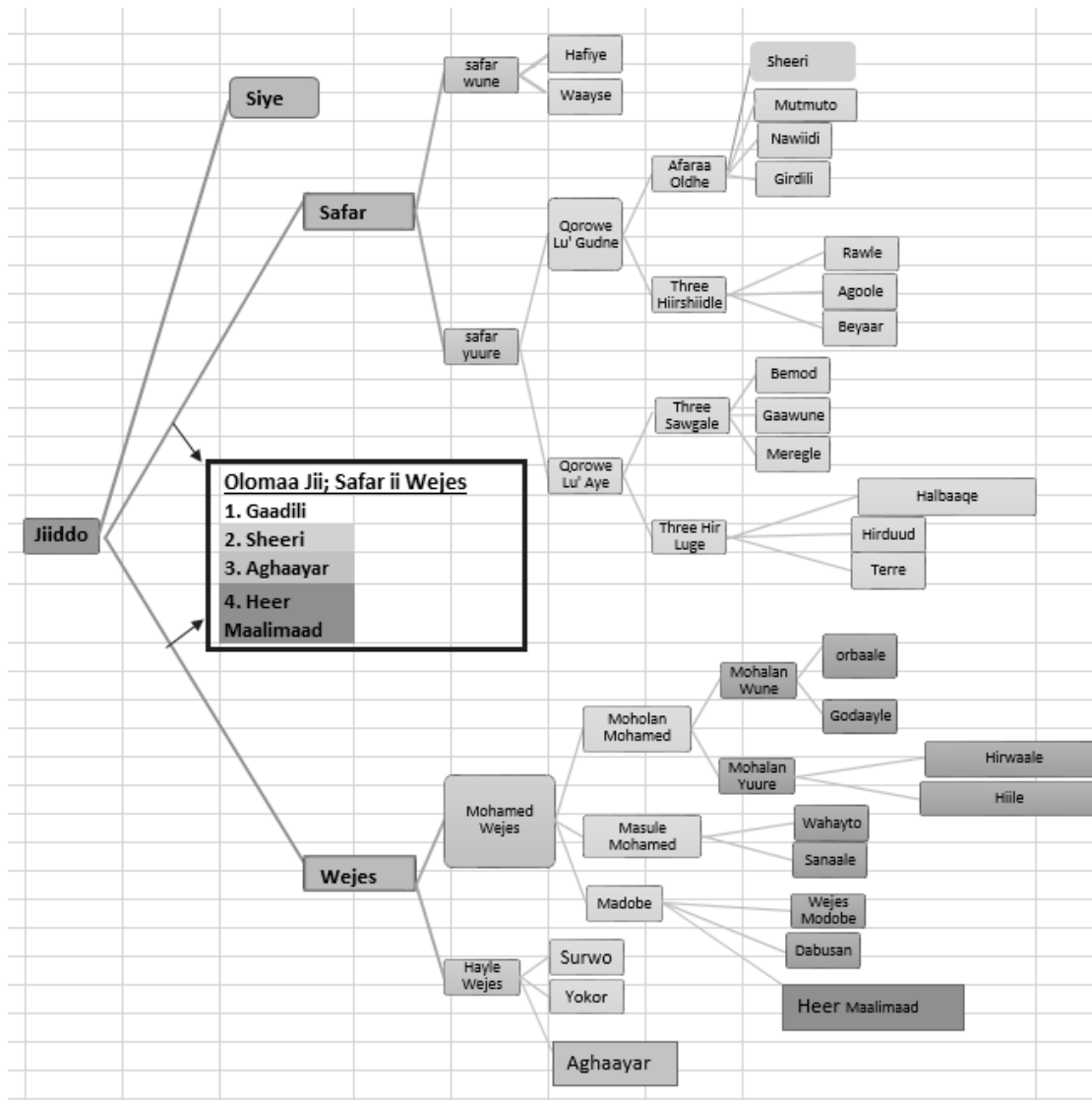


Figure 36. Jiiddo Safar & Wajis Clan Family Tree (Osman 2021)

Besides the *Safar* and *Wejes* (or *Wajis*), the *Siye* is the third, called *Abu sayaa Jii*, ‘the elder brother of the three’.¹⁸⁰ That line died out, however, with no surviving progeny.

The *Olomaa* group (Fig. 37), found on both branches among four sub clans: the *Sheeri* and the *Gaadili* (of the *Safar*), and the *Aghaayar* and the *Heer Maalimaad* (of the *Wejes*). There are four main groups of such type, plus one more that completely dissolved into *Beymuud*, since the mother was from *Beymuud*. They are deeply respected for their knowledge and active practice of Islam.¹⁸¹ “Their prayers are accepted. And they don’t take sides, if there is a fight among Jiiddos” (Ayub Osman, Zoom, March 12, 2021).

¹⁸⁰ Family tree provided by Sultan Alio Ibro on 6/25/2013, revised by Ayub Osman 3/18/2021 in consultation with his father-in-law, former MP Ahmed Borille.

¹⁸¹ Olomo is a term in Maay, Mahaatiri, and Jiiddu, which seems to name a sort of a priestly class.

Every Somali clan has such a segment of society, like the *Asharaf*. They are entrusted with keeping religion strong. Their prayer for the community and advice is sought out, especially in hard times. For example, back in the early history of the Jiiddo, when they left Ethiopia because they were being pressured to convert to Christianity, it was the *Olomaa* who gave directions about when to leave and where to go. When you speak to an *Olomo*, one uses a term of respect *Oona*, or *Ooniya*, to address them with reverence.

The *Gaadili* and *Aghaayar* are called *Lamaa Wiilaal*, ‘two girls’ meaning they will practice intermarriage with any sub-subbranch of Jiiddo.¹⁸² By contrast, the *Sheeri* and *Heer Maalimaad* are called *Lamaa Wulaal*, ‘two calves’ meaning they don’t practice intermarriage, but will only exchange gifts.¹⁸³

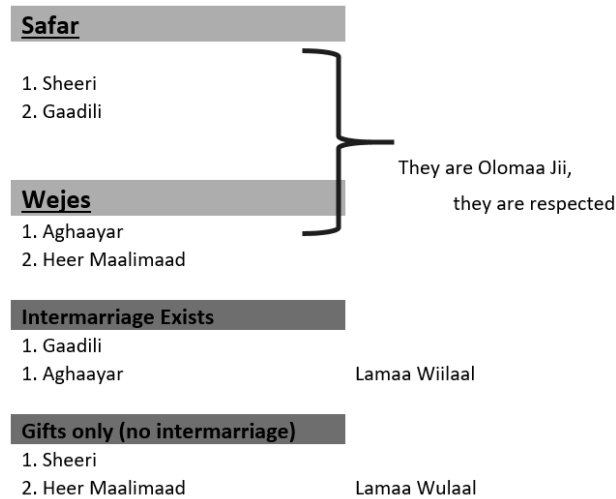


Figure 37. Olomaa Jii, Lamaa Wiilaal and Lamaa Wulaal

“If you want to know the deep history, you need to consult the *oljik*, people who are expert in oral history and can even sometimes predict the future based on their experience and knowledge from past events” (Ayub Osman, Zoom, March 12, 2021). *Owliya* means ‘prophet’, in the sense of one who can prophesy the future, but they do not qualify as [true] prophets [in Islam], since prophets are sent by Allah. *Owliya* are people who have complete faith in Islam and act accordingly without association to God (Ayub Osman, Email, March 18, 2021).

¹⁸² Ayub is from the *Safar* branch, specifically the *Rawle* family. He has married within the *Safar* side from his *Rawle* sub-clan, and also from the *Hafiye*.

¹⁸³ *Wule* ‘weaned calf’ is a two or three year old calf that makes a good gift. Plural *wulaal*?

Appendix 4: Curriculum Vitae Salim Alio Ibro¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Salim Alio Ibro CV received by WhatsApp attachment 11/25/2020

PERSONAL INFORMATION	<p>Name Salim Alio Ibro</p> <p>Address Somali Federal Parliament Mogadishu, Somalia Tel +252615502533; +252695502533</p> <p>Email: salim_ibraw@hotmail.com adanow1944@gmail.com</p> <p>Nationality Somali / Australian</p> <p>Date of Birth 18 August, 1944, Qoryooleey, Somalia</p> <p>Gender Male</p> <p>Marital Status Married with children</p> <p>Profession High Level Politician Veterinary Scientist and Livestock Consultant Environmental Management Development Educationist Diplomacy both secular and traditional</p>
EDUCATION AND TRAINING	<p>1998 –2000: Research Scholar Name of institution: La Trobe University of Melbourne, Australia Faculty of Science Technology & Engineering, Agricultural Department. Post graduate studies in Infectious Diseases, Veterinary Medicine Main studies included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Infectious and Parasitic diseases <input type="checkbox"/> Basic concepts of Applied Epidemiology <input type="checkbox"/> Research methodology <input type="checkbox"/> Lecturing activities <input type="checkbox"/> Planning and coordination of veterinary activities <input type="checkbox"/> Zoonotic diseases by infectious and parasitic agents <p>1993 - 1995 Research Scholar Name of institution: Faculty of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine University of Turin, Italy.</p>

**WORK AND POLITICAL
RESPONSIBILITY**

2014 -2015 (Feb)
Minister of Livestock, Forestry and Range
Cabinet of PM Abdiweli Sh. Ahmed under President Hassan Sh. Ahmed
Somali Federal Republic

27th December 2016 – Present
Member of Federal Parliament of Somalia

Jan- Dec 2008
Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Justice & Religious Affairs.
Also Acting Minister of Labour & Social Affairs
Cabinet of PM Nur Hassan under President Abdullahi Yusuf
Somali Transitional Federal Government

Nov 2007
Prime Minister (CARETAKER)
Nominated by President Abdullahi Yusuf

Feb-Oct 2007
Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Higher Education
Cabinet of PM Ali M. Gedi under President Abdullahi Yusuf
Somali Transitional Federal Government

Aug 2006 – Jan 2007
Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Livestock, Forestry & Range
Cabinet of PM Ali M. Gedi under President Abdullahi Yusuf
Somali Transitional Federal Government

Dec 2004 – July 2006
Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Finance
Cabinet of PM Ali M. Gedi under President Abdullahi Yusuf
Somali Transitional Federal Government

August 2004
Member of Transitional Federal Parliament
Somali Transitional Federal Republic

Oct 2002 – Aug 2004
Delegate
Somali National Peace Conference
Eldoret – Mbagathi, Kenya

Feb 2002 – Oct 2002
State Minister for the Ministry of Livestock

	<p>Cabinet PM Hassan Abshir under President Abdiqasim Salad Somali Transitional National Government</p> <p>Oct 2000 – Jan 2002 Deputy Minister of Livestock Cabinet PM Ali Khalif under President Abdiqasim Salad Somali Transitional National Government</p> <p>June 2000 Delegate Somali National Peace Conference Arta, Djibouti</p> <p>Oct 1991 – March 1993 Minister of Livestock, Forestry and Range Cabinet PM Omar Arteh under President Ali Mahdi Somali Republic</p> <p>Jan 1991 Minister of Finance Cabinet PM Omar Arteh under President Mohamed Siyad Barre Somali Democratic Republic</p> <p>Dec 1990 Delegate Member Somali National Reconciliation Committee</p> <p>1975 – 1990 Deputy Dean of Faculty and Senior Lecturer Faculty of Animal Husbandry & Veterinary Medicine Somali National University. Mogadishu, Somalia</p>
PROFESSIONAL BODIES	<p>1987 – Present Member of World Association of Veterinary Educators Universite De Montreal, Faculte'de Medicine Veterinaire C.P. 500 St-Hyacinth, Quebec-Canada J25-7cb</p> <p>ILRI (International Livestock Research institute) P. O. BOX 5689. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. P. O. Box 30709 Nairobi, Kenya</p> <p>Founding member of the Somali Livestock Professionals Forum (SLPF) 1999 – Present.</p>
SOCIAL SKILLS	Team player and excellent interpersonal skills

<p>AND COMPETENCES</p> <p>ORGANISATIONAL SKILLS AND COMPETENCES</p> <p>TECHNICAL SKILLS AND COMPETENCES</p> <p>OTHER SKILLS AND COMPETENCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good chairperson; recognises skills • Ability to see all options • Strength in management of special projects and creative project design • Good team coordinator and effective organiser • Has the drive and courage to overcome obstacles • Ability to work under both harsh environment and risky security situations • Ability to work with minimal or no supervision <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Computer literate – Microsoft Window (MS Word, Excel, PowerPoint and Access, statistical packages) <p>Management skills that include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Writing project proposals • Staff management • Development of foreign contacts with International Organisations and other government departments • Report writing • General office management • Preparing work plans and budgets 																				
<p>LANGUAGES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reading skills • Writing skills • Verbal skills 	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Somali</th> <th>English</th> <th>Italian</th> <th>Arabic</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Reading skills</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Good</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Writing skills</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Good</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Verbal skills</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Good</td> <td>Excellent</td> <td>Fair</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Somali	English	Italian	Arabic	Reading skills	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent	Good	Writing skills	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent	Good	Verbal skills	Excellent	Good	Excellent	Fair
	Somali	English	Italian	Arabic																	
Reading skills	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent	Good																	
Writing skills	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent	Good																	
Verbal skills	Excellent	Good	Excellent	Fair																	
	<p>(Page 4 of 4)</p>																				

Appendix 5: Swadesh¹⁸⁵-100 list (ranked)¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ (Swadesh 1955)

¹⁸⁶ Listed with Swadesh numbers and relative stability (Holman et al. 2008)

Table 7. Swadesh 100 Word List¹⁸⁷

English	Bale variety	Somali Jii (S.A. Ibro)	Somali Jii (JYA)	Somali Mahaatiri
1. 12 *two ¹⁸⁸ (39.8)	lama	lami	lami	laba
2. 75 *water (37.4)	bishaan	wori	wori/wari	biyo
3. 39 *ear (37.2)	gurra	dhagi	dhagga	dheg
4. 61 *die (36.3)	dua	yowaal	yowaal	dimasho
5. 1 *I 1sg (35.9)	ani	ani	ani	aniga
6. 53 *liver (35.7)	kali (tiruu)	truw	turuw	beer
7. 40 *eye (35.4)	ija	el (eti wuli ha degniyaa)	el	il (isha wax lagu arko)
8. 48 *hand (34.9)	harka	jinni	jini	gacanta hore
9. 58 *hear (33.8)	dhagaya	dhaagaal	dhagaal	maqlid
10. 23 *tree (33.6)	muka	gaay	gaay	geed
11. 19 *fish (33.4)	qurxummi	mallay	mallay	kalluun/ mallay
12. 100 *name (32.4)	maqaa	miji	miji	magac
13. 77 *stone (32.1)	dhaqaa	shid	shid	dhagax
14. 43 *tooth (30.7)	ilkaan	eleh	eleh	ilig
15. 51 *breasts (30.7)	harma	eneg	enek	naas
16. 2 *you (30.6)	si	adi	athi/adi	adiga
17. 85 *path (30.2)	karaa	sur yuuri	jalat	wado yar ee lugta loogu talagalay
18. 31 *bone (30.1)	lafee	lafi	lafi	laf
19. 44 *tongue (30.1)	araba	arnaw	arnaw	carrab
20. 28 *skin (29.6)	googa	maqaar	maqaar	maqaar
21. 92 *night (29.6)	galgala	hamin	hamin	habeen
22. 25 *leaf (29.4)	marga	dhoo ¹⁸⁹	habales	caleen
23. 76 rain (29.3)	rooba	ruuw	ruuw	roob
24. 62 kill (29.2)	ajjeesuu	legdaal	legdaal	dilid
25. 30 *blood (29.0)	dhiga	?	dhiig	dhiig
26. 34 *horn (28.8)	gaanfa	gaas	gaas	gees
27. 18 *person (28.7)	nama	nam	nam	nin/qof
28. 47 *knee (28.0)	jilba	jolow	jalow	jilib
29. 11 *one (27.4)	tokko	koow	koow	kow
30. 41 *nose (27.3)	funya	soki	soki	san

¹⁸⁷ “Bale Variety” data is from a Sept. 2018 interview with M. Haji Yunus, Jiiddo elder, Bale Goba, Ethiopia who identified his language as *Oromigna* (Oromo, also known as Afaan Oromoo or Oromiffa).

¹⁸⁸ Asterisked words appear on the 40-word list

¹⁸⁹ Highlighted words need to be double-checked.

31. 95 *full (26.9) satisfied	qufe	omogni	omognaati	buuxa
32. 66 *come (26.8)	kotu	ootaal	hooy	imaanshow; imaaw
33. 74 *star (26.6)	urjii	hidiq	alle	xiddig
34. 86 *mountain (26.2)	gaara	burti	buur	buur
35. 82 *fire (25.7)	ibidda	fali	fale	dab
36. 3 *we (25.4)	nuhi	unnih	uni	
37. 54 *drink (25.0)	dhugi	waraawaal	warawaal	cabbid
38. 57 *to see (24.7)	lalu	degaal	degaal	arag
39. 27 tree bark (24.5)	quncee	eraash ¹⁹⁰	qolof	qolof geed
40. 96 *new (24.3)	haaraa	esbi	esbe	cusub
41. 21 *dog (24.2)	sare	ohooti	ohooti	eey
42. 72 *sun (24.2)	adu	aryi	aryi	qorrax
43. 64 fly (24.1) n.	tisisa	tidi	tithi (.d)	tixsi
44. 32 grease/fat (23.4)	mora	qaf ¹⁹¹	ayiini	dufan
45. 73 moon (23.4)	jiaa	bel (hereqaay)	bel	dayax
46. 70 give (23.3)	kenu	jisaal	jisaal	la siyo
47. 52 heart (23.2)	onnee	weyni	weyni	wadno
48. 36 feather (23.1)	baale	?	baal	baal
49. 90 white (22.7)	adi	a'yi	ayi/ayaati	cad
50. 89 yellow (22.5)	bora	hurud	hurud	hurdi
51. 20 bird (21.8)	simbire	shaweera	shaweere	shimbir
52. 38 head (21.7)	mata	midi	mithi	madaxa
53. 79 earth (21.7)	lafa	yen eki ha nuuleni	arle	dhulka aynu ku nool nahay
54. 46 foot (21.6)	luka	lohi	lohi???	cag
55. 91 black (21.6)	guraacha	dhaayni	dhaaye	madow
56. 42 mouth (21.5)	afan	ow	o	af
57. 88 green (21.1)	magariisa	agaar	aqaar	cagaar
58. 60 sleep (21.0)	iriba	hiyyi	hiyyi	hurdo
59. 7 what (20.7)	maali	gaami	gaami	waa maxay
60. 26 root (20.5)	hidda	hey	hey	xidid
61. 45 claw (20.5)	qunxuxa	ijji ¹⁹²	suul?	ciddi
62. 56 bite (20.5)	cinina	jhanaal	jhanaal	qaniinid

¹⁹⁰ Banti, Extended Basic Word List (2020)

¹⁹¹ M. Nuuh Ali (1985)

¹⁹² Banti, Extended Basic Word List (2020)

63. 83 ash (20.3)	dara	borboh	borboh	dambas
64. 87 red (20.2)	dima	gudi	gudi	casaan
65. 55 eat (20.0)	nyaachuu	aamaal	aamal	cunid
66. 33 egg (19.8)	kilee	okon	okon	ukun
67. 6 who (19.0)	enu	ayi'	ayi	kee
68. 99 dry (18.9)	goga	egesaal	egesaal	qallajin
69. 37 hair (18.6)	rifeensa	dheger	dheger	timo
70. 81 smoke (18.5)	ara	bun	bun	qaac
71. 8 not (18.3)	miti	p 33 miiri	maaki' laate (without)	midna
72. 4 this (18.2)	kana	eki	eki/eti	kan/tan
73. 24 seed (18.2)	sanyii ¹⁹³	awuur	awuur	iniin
74. 16 woman (17.9)	beeri/ dubarti	hudheski	ne'eski/nam i	naag
75. 98 round (17.9)	gingo	wereek ¹⁹⁴	okon maleke??	wareeg
76. 14 long (17.4)	dheera	dhiiri	dhiiri	dheer
77. 69 stand (17.1)	dhaabachu	dhekaal	dhekaal	sare joog
78. 97 good (16.9)	gari	yaalawi	eger	wanaagsan
79. 17 man (16.7)	nam	lam	nam/lam	nin
80. 94 cold (16.6)	dhamote	qawi	dhima/qawi	qabow
81. 29 flesh (16.4)	foon	suu	suu	hiblib
82. 50 neck (16.0)	morma	qoj	khoj	qoor
83. 71 say (16.0)	dubachu	eraal	eraal	dhihid
84. 84 burn (15.5)	guubu	gowaal	gowaal	gubid
85. 35 tail (14.9)	ege	duw	dow	dabo
86. 78 sand (14.9)	caracha	haari	haari	ciid
87. 5 that (14.7)	sani	akaaki	egaagi/ ekaaki (male) ethaati (female)	kaas m. taas f.
88. 65 walk (14.4)	demu	dareer	dareer	socod
89. 68 sit (14.3)	tauu	hawuuseraal	hoos'eraal	fadhiisasho
90. 10 many (14.2)	"guda" baye	badni	badaani/ bathaani	badan
91. 9 all (14.1)	mara	kulli/ asiqow ¹⁹⁵	kulli	dhamaan
92. 59 know (14.1)	beku	hasaal	hasaal/ xoqnaadhal	garasho
93. 80 cloud (13.9)	duni	hugaan/	hogol	daruur

¹⁹³ From Oromo dictionary since Yunus didn't know

¹⁹⁴ M. Nuuh Ali (1985)

¹⁹⁵ Banti, Extended Basic Word List (2020)

		meeran ¹⁹⁶		
94. 63 swim (13.6)	dhagu	dawaldhaal	dawaldhal	dabaalasho
95. 49 belly (13.5)	garaa	bog (stomache)	bog	bog
96. 13 big (13.4)	guda	wuni	wuni (infinitive form)	weyn
97. 93 hot (11.6)	o'aa	sokri	sokri	kuul
98. 67 a lie (11.2)	kijibu	melli	milli	been
99. 15 small (6.3)	dhiqa	yuuri	yuuri (infinitive)	yar

¹⁹⁶ Banti, Extended Basic Word List (2020)

Appendix 6: Brief Biography of Martino Moreno

Martino Moreno (1892–1964) was an Italian diplomat with posts in Libya, Egypt, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. He served as the General Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry of Italian East Africa before later assignments in Lebanon and Sudan. He was also a prolific linguist who lectured at the University of Rome various years between 1939 and 1952 on the history and languages of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). After teaching assignments in Lebanon on the languages of Ethiopia and Arabia, as well as Hebrew and “Glottology,” he later became the head of Hamitic-Semitic Philology and Somali language at the Oriental University of Naples from 1958 to 1962 (L. Moreno 2014).¹⁹⁷

In addition to Jii, he wrote about Arabic (1910), Hebrew of Libya, (1928), Ometo (1938), “Galla” (1939), Sidamo (1940), and “Persian” (1951). He also published two works specifically on Somali, *Nozioni di grammatica somala*, ‘Notions of Somali grammar’, 1951, and *Il somalo della Somalia. Grammatica e testi del Benadir, Darod e Dighil*, ‘The Somali of Somalia - grammar and texts of Benaadir, Darod and Dighil’ (1955). His son Livio Moreno published a tribute to his father’s life and work with a collection of biographies, photos and manuscripts in 2014, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his father’s death (L. Moreno 2014).

¹⁹⁷ Moreno, Livio. 2014. “Martino Mario Moreno: Diplomat and Orientalist.” 2014. <http://liviomoreno.altervista.org/MartinoMarioMoreno/>

Appendix 7: Permission to Publish from Livio Moreno

For JYA to Publish and English Translation of *Brevi Notazione*

From: Livio Moreno¹⁹⁸

Sent: Friday, August 28, 2020 4:46 AM

To: Ayub Osman <qoomiyow114@gmail.com>

Cc: Michael Neterer <salt@arriveministries.org>; salim_ibraw@hotmail.com; Warsame Ibrahim Aliyow <jiidoow@yahoo.com>; Corinna De León-Jones

Subject: Re: Permission to Republish in English Moreno's Italian Paper - Urgent and Important

Dear Ayub and Dear Michael,

On behalf of my sister Corinna, I am very pleased to hear about your interest to publish an English translation of my father's paper "Brevi notazioni di Ġiddu (1951)". Corinna and I, we both believe that this paper will help in preserving the Jiddu dialect and the Somaly traditions. We are therefore giving you the required permission to include in your dictionary the words found in the paper and to publish a translated version of the paper itself. I would also like to review the translation before its publication.

Best regards
Livio Moreno

Il giorno gio 27 ago 2020 alle ore 22:48 Ayub Osman <qoomiyow114@gmail.com> ha scritto:

Dear Livio,

I hope you are doing great. It is my pleasure to share with you this important and communal p.d.f request letter in line with the above subject.

Kindly, find the attached PDF request letter with the aim of seeking your permission to publish an English translation of your father's paper about the dialect of the Jiido community. FYI, I **copied** to the two most top of the Jiido authorities, the Sultan and prof. Saalim as you will see from the attached request letter.

I hope you will be delighted and accept our communal request to you. I am glad about your cooperation and commitment. I look forward to hearing your feedback as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Ayub Osman Mohamed, JYA Leader in Mogadishu Somalia.

¹⁹⁸ Email message received from Livio Moreno Friday, August 28, 2020

Appendix 8: JYA Request to L. Moreno to Republish *Brevi Notazione*¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ August 27, 2020, letter to Livio Moreno (son of Martino Moreno) from the Jiiddo Youth Association was delivered by email attachment.

URURKA DHALINYARADA EE
BEESHA JIIDDO
XAFIISKA MASUULIYIINTA BEESHA



JIIDDO YOUTH ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF COMMUNITY AUTHORITIES

JIIDDO LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

REF #: JYA, 20/2020

Date: 27th August 202

From: Sultan Warsame Sultan Ibrahim Sultan Aliyow, Jiiido Overall leader
Prof. Saalim Aliyow Ibrow, Member of Parliament of Somali Government
Ayub Osman Mohamed, Youth Leader

To: Livio Moreno

Dear Livio,

RE: Permission to Republish in English Moreno's Italian Paper

We are here to acknowledge and appreciate the great job done by your father his Excellency, Martin Moreno whose presence in this world contributed many useful and everlasting academic data for the members of the same community and/or researchers to take advantage when need be. We are thankful for his generosity in devoting his precious time and energy to collect and combine such helpful data.

Today, we are seeking your permission to publish an English translation of your father's *Brevi notazioni di Giddu* (1951). We see the importance it has for us for the development and protection of our Jiiido dialect from elimination, as we feel the threat currently.

We as Jiiido community leaders hope to share with you the reasons for seeking your permission for allowing us to do republish and they are as listed below:

1. To use it academically by including all the words he collected into our dictionary, which is currently being drafted.
2. To preserve it as a learning material, since it is the first of the few available materials for Jiiido dialect.
3. To honor your father's work and pass to the rest of the Jiiido members to know, as well as the rest of the academic institutions.
4. To use it as a living example to the rest of the Jiiidu community to encourage them to realise their creativity.

We hope that the above listed reasons will be sufficient and we hope for your permission as soon as you can respond.

Yours Sincerely,

Ayub Osman Mohamed, JYA Leader in Mogadishu Somalia.

JYA, Ayub Osman

+252612372883

qoomiyow114@gmail.com

Appendix 9: Correspondence with Jiiddo Leaders

April 29, 2018²⁰⁰

Dear Ayub,

Cc Sultan and Professor Salim

The first class I took here at the Graduate Institute for Applied Linguistics was Multilingual Education. The main idea of the class is that the best way to teach our children is to teach them in the language they speak at home. Research shows that learning to understand abstract ideas, and how to read and write in the home language provides the strongest cognitive (thinking) development. If children are fortunate enough to study in their home language for six to eight years, they can form a solid foundation for academic achievement. With that solid base formed, then they can more easily learn other languages, like Somali, Arabic, and English, which may be needed for further educational, religious, economic and political opportunities.

Think about what happens when children go to school and they are shocked when suddenly they are expected to read and write, do math, and learn history, geography and science in a language that is foreign to them. Perhaps the most intelligent children can survive, or those with good family support. But what about the majority who end up quitting school in frustration because they never learn to read? What was it like for you, learning in English in Kenya? Or Sultan in the US? Or Professor, did you go to an Italian school?

What do you think about Jii? Is it growing, or shrinking? Would it be good for Jii speakers to learn to read and write in their language? Has this been attempted before? Is it happening currently?

I realize that there are more factors involved than best practices in literacy. I realize there are also political, religious and social factors to consider. Thank you in advance for helping me understand. With God's help, I will help you establish 85 schools in the 85 villages of Qoryooley, Kurtunwarey, and Sablaale, as Sultan Ibrahim asked me to before he died. But I need you to pray and discuss and decide the future you desire for your children and your language.

Please read the paper I wrote and correct mistakes I have made, and help me fill in missing information.

Thank you and God bless you,
Your friend,
Michael

²⁰⁰ Email message from researcher Michael Neterer to Ayub Osman, copied to S.A. Ibro and Sultan Warsame Ali Ibro, offering help with language development and educational needs, and asking for feedback on an early draft of this Jiiddu language research project (April 29, 2018).

Appendix 10: 'Welcome to Kurtunwarey' 2015

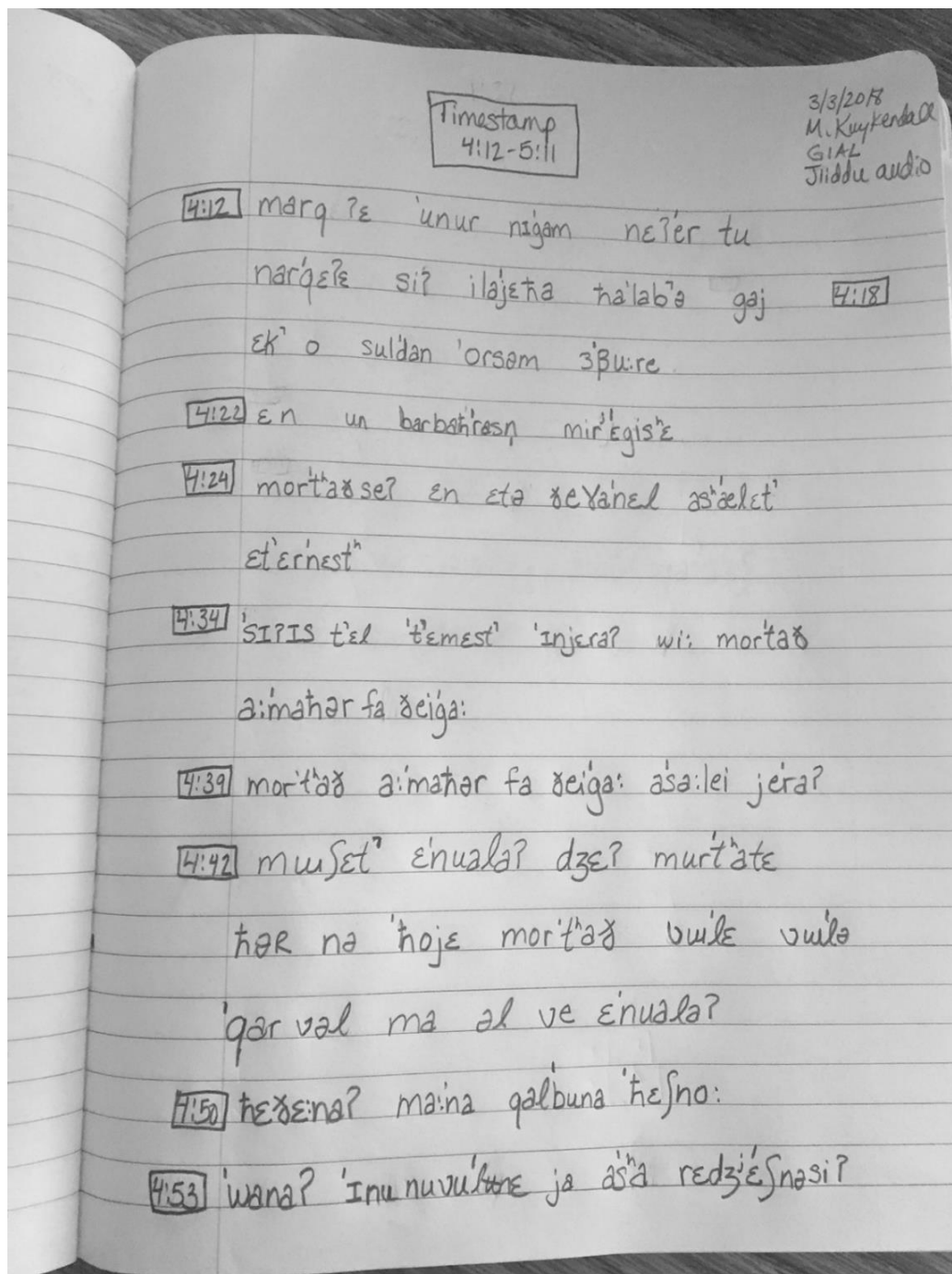


Figure 38. IPA Transcribed Text 'Welcome to Kurtunwarey' GIAL 2018 (J. Ali 2015)²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Ali, Maday Jeylani. 2015. *Dhowaawshabanina* [We welcome him]. Kurtunwarey, Lower Shabeelle, Somalia. Welcome orientation speech recorded on video February 11, 2015.

Appendix 11: JYA Community Assessment, April 23, 2018²⁰²

²⁰² In this April 23, 2018, meeting Jay Perske asked two questions, “What are you thankful for?” and “What challenges are you are facing?” Ayub Osman recorded the responses of Sultan Alio along with nine other men, and five women. Later Osman translated their statements to English and provided this summary report on May 13, 2018.

I, **AYUB OSMAN**, Jiddu youth leader, am hereby highlighting the challenges that the group saw as chronic problems facing the Jiddu community that beg emergency responses whether they are in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps, or in the districts, or locations at large (May 13, 2018, translated report of April 23, 2018, meeting).

SULTAN WARSAME IBRAHIN ALIYOW

The Sultan addressed **two challenges**:

- 1) **Lack of adequate water** in the home area from where IDPs have fled. The Sultan said if the IDPs get to know that wells are drilled back there in their homes, then they will officially return to their fled homes.
- 2) **Lack of formal education** for the children living in the IDP camps and the remaining ones in the home districts and other locations.²⁰³ This is the main challenge across the community. If this challenge is solved the percentage of educated people will increase and the Jiddu community will develop economically and socially as a result.

Hope

He fully hopes that if the above mentioned challenges are discussed with humanitarian agencies and other Samaritans for the development of the community at large that the situation will improve partially, if not fully.

Appreciation

He was thankful to Almighty Allah for giving him health and energy for participating in the session and also to Jay who had travelled all the way from America to Somalia, especially the capital city Mogadishu.

ADAN OMAR HAJJI

Adan Hajji Omar has been the chairman of Jiddu Youth League since the organization was established in November 2016. He first thanked Almighty Allah SW (*Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala* 'Glory to Him, the Exalted') for giving him health and energy in order for him to participate in the session with our guest of honor, his excellence Jay, who had travelled all the way from America to Somalia particularly Mogadishu. He also thanked the Sultan, his excellence Warsame Ibrahim, for sacrificing his precious time and energy for the development of the community at large.

He thanked the Sultan for organizing the session in order to discuss with Jay the challenges of our community and the way forward. He expressed appreciation for Michael and his team for the humanitarian assistance they provided to our community.

²⁰³ "Only 17% of children living in rural areas or IDPs settlements are enrolled in primary schools" ("Somalia - Education in the Southwest State" 2020)

Hope

His hope is to think in a way that we can assist this community so that Allah (SW) will be happy with us and facilitate for us what we need to have in our life.

Appreciation

He is grateful for what Allah (SW) has bestowed on him and our honorable brother Jay for being in Somalia.

LAYLO AHMED ABDI

She found **two challenges** existing in the region:

- 1) The **agricultural sector needs to be improved**, or else there will be serious food insecurity in the whole region particularly in three districts, namely Qoryooley, Kurtunwarey and Sablaale.
- 2) **Gender-based violence (GBV)** is widely practiced in Somalia, particularly in the Lower Shabeelle. There are a lot of hindrances in terms of job opportunities in the region and community meetings, which do not consider girls. Rape cases are increasing these days that beg international intervention because the federal government of Somalia has not taken any action to get resolution regarding these cases. Therefore, we need to protect girls and women against the occurrence of such awful irreligious acts in the region.

Hope

Her hope is to find the above challenges being solved and to kindly consider the above mentioned critical actions. This can only be realized once we work hand in hand and share the same happenings with other helpful communities.

Appreciation

She was thankful to almighty Allah (SW) for allowing us to have such an important meeting, and also she thanked the honorable Jay for his visit all the way from America.

BAHSAN OSMAN ALI

She is the former chairlady of the Jiddu youth. She found two **critical challenges**:

- 1) **Lack of hospitals** in some districts. She pointed out that people residing in the near and far locations in the geographical areas of the Kurtunwarey and Sablaale districts do not have hospitals that provide health services, so in some scenarios you will find mothers who are in serious labor pains but with no hospital to admit in the districts. The nearest hospital is in Mogadishu, which is 180—250 km away.
- 2) **Mother-Child-Health (MCH)** centers. She also found that such centers are helpful for mothers and children for better following up their health status. She is hereby requesting from the agencies and Good Samaritans to establish MCH centers for the

communities living in those districts and locations once the Al Shabaab (AS) are cleared from the region.

Hope

She fully hopes that one day all these critical challenges in the districts will be solved by Good Samaritans, God's willingly.

Appreciation

She was thankful to Allah who made possible for her and the rest of the participants to gather and discuss all these. Last but not least, she is thankful for the honorable Jay who devoted his money and energy to see and hear how the community is living on the outskirts of Mogadishu.

HALIMO OMAR IBRAHIN

She found the following **three challenges**:

- 1) **Education institutions are non-existent** in the districts, except Qoryooley, which has one main secondary school that was built late in 2016. However, even this school is not adequate for the number of children living in this district who cannot afford to get formal education.
- 2) There are **no well-equipped hospitals** that can serve the community fully. There may be sometimes outbreak of diseases like cholera which caused a lot of people in Kurtunwarey district to lose their lives because of lack of immediate aid from any health center in the district. Sometimes you will find mothers who are in critical labor pain but there is no hospital to admit them in the district for providing her health services. The only solution is to take them to Mogadishu hospitals which are 250 – 180kms away from the district and its surrounding that will take 6 – 9hrs on very rough roads.
- 3) **Shelter is a basic human need**, but you will find 4 – 12HHs (households) who are not surviving under a normal shelter day and night. As we are all aware, there are heavy rains in the region such that the IDPs are exposed to harsh cold during the night and scorching sun during the day.

Hope

If all the challenges she mentioned are solved, then the IDPs will immediately go back to their districts and locations from where they have fled.

Appreciation

She was thankful to first to Allah (SW) for allowing her to attend such a vital session, and secondly our visitor, Jay from America.

SAAFI ALI HUSSEIN

She also found **three critical challenges**:

- 1) Rains have started falling, and every district and location is full of rainwater, but there is **no food to eat** now. The residents have no food stored because they have not been farming for three years, so they need farm inputs and cash transfer for quick recovery from famine and drought that hit them seriously. I am sure if these people are not assisted fully that they will die of hunger.
- 2) There is **no MCH nor hospital** for providing health services to the residents, so I request from the group and Jay from America to work hand in hand so that these people are assisted.
- 3) It is chronic that people are still practicing **female genital mutilation (FGM)**. It will require a lot of energy and time to convince the community to refrain from practicing such a bad habit.

Hope

She is hopeful that these problems will end after we put a lot of time and money in order to better the situation.

Appreciation

She was very much grateful to Allah (SW) and the guest of honor from America for paying both his precious time, energy and money in order to see how the IDPs are living.

YUSSUF MOHAMED ADAN

He is the secretary of the group and one of the victims of Zoobe explosion on 14th October 2017. He mentioned **food security as a challenge** already mentioned by Saafi:

He said that the community needs to improve their economic status by around 60% so that they can fill the remaining gaps by supporting them with distribution of livestock and farm inputs to restore what was lost during the long drought and famine which affected them so seriously. In addition, we need to support them with cash transfer so that they satisfy their immediate needs so they will not resell whatever they are given.

It is true that The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) is assisting some districts like Qoryooley and Kurtunwarey with cash plus interventions, but it is not enough. Sablaale district has not received intervention since the emergency response started because of the AS group who do not care whether the people live or die.

Hope

His hope is to think in a way that we can assist this community so that Allah (SW) will be happy with us and facilitate for us what we need to have in our life.

Appreciation

He is grateful of what Allah (SW) has bestowed on him and our honorable brother Jay for being in Somalia.

MOHAMED ABUKAR

This energetic boy mentioned **Iftar** as a very different **challenge** that has not been mentioned by previous speakers:

He shared with the participants that the holy month of Ramadan is around the corner. He emphasized that the IDPs are going to fast in obedience to Allah's order, but, at the same time, do not have food to eat during the night till Morning Prayer. He suggested to the house that we need to consider the possibility of helping the IDPs in the month of Ramadan. He also requested from Jay to kindly share with his team and anybody who seems to be helpful so that this people will be happy and pray for us.

Hope

He hopes that the above-mentioned point will be prioritized, and the intended objective will be fully achieved. He also said that if every one of us takes the responsibility of realizing whatever we discuss here, then success will come.

Appreciation

He is grateful to Almighty God for allowing all of us to gather and discuss what we can. He also thanked Jay and his team for their commitment and cooperation in order to assist our community.

SAYD ALI MANAY

He is a very important element in the group and also the head of the executive council of the Jiddu Youth League. He is a teacher of holy Qur'an, Arabic and Islamic Religion and he runs an Islamic school.

Three challenges he found:

- 1) When the long drought and famine occurred in Somalia, this community lost their **livestock due to the lack of water and pasture**. As you know, this community is not involved in business. Since the main activity is farming and rearing of livestock, you can understand how hard it is to lose the only source of income on which they fully depend.
- 2) **The river was not fully flowing** for three consecutive years, and there was no rain at all. Imagine such scenarios where a community depends on both farm and animal products but with no rain and the river not flowing for three years. This contributed to a total loss of both animal and human life and the community was totally displaced by this famine and drought.
- 3) **Absence of education** is also a major challenge for this community. This is a common factor across all the three districts. The only way to assist this people is to get a good number of educated youth, so that they raise the economic situation of this community.

Hope

He fully hopes that if all of us work towards success, then Allah will help us.

Appreciation

He thanked Allah for his mercy and also Jay for his human concern.

FARAH MOHAMED MADEY

He mentioned two serious **challenges**:

- 1) The **health** status of the residents of Lower Shabeelle is very poor and this is due to a lack of well-educated and trained doctors in the districts. Therefore, we need to get expert doctors to train us in, or outside of, the country so that we may serve our people. As you have heard there are no good hospitals in the districts, and this begs emergency response regarding the health of the people.
- 2) As we all know, the only way to fight ignorance and hunger is to get an **education**. Once this community's young people are educated, then they will find solutions to these problems. I, therefore, request from all of you to consider these challenges in order to prosper this innocent community.

Hope

He fully hopes that once everybody works on how to get permanent solutions to these problems then our community will be in a better position.

Appreciation

He was thankful to Allah (SW) and secondly to Jay and his team for their help.

ABDIKADIR ADAN DIDOW

He is the coordinator of the Jiddu Youth League internally for its activities and meetings that are conducted weekly, semi and annually. He found **three challenges**:

- 1) **Insecurity** (restriction of agencies) by Al Shabaab
- 2) **Food insecurity**
- 3) Poor **health** (no hospitals, MCH, or trained midwifery)

Hope

His main goal is to find Jiddu community living a prosperous life, Insha'Allah (God willing).

Appreciation

He thanked Allah (SW) and Jay for his concern and Michael's team for their support (pilot project).

BAKAR MOALIN MUSE

Hope

He hopes that one day will come the solutions we are looking for with our efforts and that of Allah (SW)

Appreciation

He thanked Allah (SW) for his bounty, and Jay and his team for their concern.

Luul Heeros

Hope

If all the challenges she mentioned are solved, then the IDPs will go directly back to the districts and locations from which they fled.

Appreciation

She was thankful to Allah (SW) for allowing her to attend such vital session secondly our visitor Jay from America.

ABDIHAMID HUSSEIN

Environmental challenges, for instance **energy** and **lack of labs**.

Hope

His hope is to think in a way that we can assist this community so that Allah (SW) will be happy with us and facilitate for us what we need to have in our life.

Appreciation

He is grateful for what Allah (SW) has bestowed on him and for our honorable brother Jay for being in Somalia.

NOR IBRAHIN SANEY

Challenge: Insecurity

We can get local residents who are ready to be recruited, but the question is who will **arm them and pay them a regular salary?** To remind you that in Qoryooley district the Sultan tried his best and ordered the local people to devote their dear lives to rescuing their people.

Hope

He fully hopes that all the challenges mentioned will be sorted out, if only we work together.

Appreciation

He first thanked almighty Allah (SW) and secondly honorable Jay for his concern and humanity.

Appendix 12: Interviews with Jiiddo Elders, April 10, 2020²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Interviews with four Jiiddo elders, recorded by Ayub Osman April 10, 2020

1) Tell us a bit of your life story. And what is your role in the Jiiddo community?

My name is **OSMAN NUUQ MOHAMED**. I was born in a location called Mowli under Kuntuwarey district in the year 1956. I do not know exactly the year, but I am 64 years old now, I was a nomadic²⁰⁵ so, I could not definitely say the year.

I was a nomadic and I was looking after cattle. We didn't know urban life, so I learnt Koran down location and our way of life was like that in the locations were born in.

When we came to urban areas, we interacted with urban people and urban way of life (culture). When I became/joined Jiiddo community elders, a new way of life began for us (me). We (I) saw many useful or good initiatives/programs when we (I) joined the elders.

2) What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn each of them? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I speak in Jiiddo, Maay²⁰⁶ and Maxaa tiri. Maay (*Af Dhoobey*) when I am/was down in the locations looking after animals. I learnt Maxaa tiri when I joined urban areas.

I speak the two, (Maay and Maxaa tiri) on a need basis. I do speak Jiiddo when I am with the Jiiddos at home or any place we meet. I also speak it during weddings, ceremonies or wherever the society gathers.

3) Tell us your own assessment of how strong you think your traditional language is. Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?

Our arrival to towns led the residents to try to adopt our dialect, for example, other communities like Maay and/or Maxaa tiri are trying to learn it. Even our neighboring communities are learning it.

4) What is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use?

People see it as amazing dialect (language) and we want you to develop it.

5) Do the Jiiddo have a language committee? If so, what is the committee's plan to develop your traditional language?

²⁰⁵ Note: Prof. S.A. Ibro corrected him in the choice of the word, *heer baadiye aawey* to *heer baqan aawey* 'nomad' (literally "home/family bush")

²⁰⁶ Ayub noted, "By Maay, he means *Af Dhoobey*".

There is no assigned committee to develop this language as it was ONLY Professor Saalim²⁰⁷ who developed a mini-dictionary and the youth now are willing to develop it. It is now up to Prof. Saalim to take the lead and form a language committee.

6) Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

I am willing to take part in the two days' workshop²⁰⁸ for developing the language. I particularly want the dictionary to be expanded, the Jii alphabet to be completed, the grammar enhanced, and lastly, literature to be emphasized.

1) Tell us a bit of your life story. And what is your role in the Jiiddo community?

My name is **MOHAMED HAJJI OSMAN HASSAN**²⁰⁹ (**Jeeri**²¹⁰). I was born in Qoryooley district in 1968. I belong to the Wejes²¹¹ branch, which is one of the two main divisions of Jiiddo²¹². I also learnt Holy Koran in the district as basic education. I did my primary and secondary education in Qoryooley, then moved to Mogadishu where I lived one, up to two years.

In 1986 I moved to Hargeisa where I was a hawker, selling secondhand clothes. I later joined the ministry of *Howlaha Guud* 'Public Works and Housing' in Hargeisa, (now Somaliland), but I left when the war broke out in Hargeisa. I came back to Mogadishu in 1991 and immediately the war against Siad Barre's regime broke out.²¹³ Afterwards there was no job in the country [for me] due to the instability. May Allah have mercy on him, Sultan Ibrahim Sultan Aliyow Ibrow²¹⁴ (the ruling sultan at that time) became a close friend to me, and some of the experiences I am now using to rule are the ones I gained from him (Sultan Ibrahim) and many others. The intellectuality and knowledge I am using are from Sultan Ibrahim.

As you said, Prof. Saalim started the establishment of this mini-dictionary so we want you to develop it and place it in libraries globally, in universities and colleges. I became a leader mainly thorough my experience and proven abilities I possess. Once I was working closely with the Sultan and community elders I am/was able to lead. Since, I did not gain university education but was capable to lead better than a fresh graduate individual.

2) What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn each of them? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

²⁰⁷ S.A. Ibro

²⁰⁸ It should be clarified whether he understood there would be three two-day workshops.

²⁰⁹ Mohamed Hajji Osman Hassan is a former District Commissioner (DC) of Qoryooley.

²¹⁰ Nicknamed *Jeeri* because he limps.

²¹¹ Wajis

²¹² See Appendix 3 for the two main divisions of the Jiiddo – the Safar and the Wajis.

²¹³ *Siyad* is a variant spelling for Siad.

²¹⁴ Alternate spelling Ibro

I speak Jiiddo language, since I was born for Jiiddo. I also do speak others like Maay, Maxa tiri, Tunni, and Heer Baraawe.

I speak in Jiiddo when I am with my Jiiddo community in any place. I do speak the other languages when I am with them in their respective communities. I have heard a Somali literate, a Prof. at Amoud University²¹⁵ informing the public that the first spoken Somali language was Jiiddo in Qoryooley.

3) Tell us your own assessment of how strong you think your traditional language is. Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?

I do speak Jii 70% a day. Jiiddo will be there forever due to the large areas where it is spoken – down there in the districts and other regions or districts like Bay region (Buurhakaba), Middle Jubba (Bualle), Kismaayo town, and Jilib. It is seen as a long lasting language and will exist forever. Other communities are now learning it.

4) What is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use?

Once we saw the mini-dictionary my whole family grew its interest more and more. We are gladdened by its sight. Even now my wife is learning. In 1999, when I was with a company called Baruuri, I happened to meet a white man who asked my clan. I replied, “Somali”, but he insisted, “No specifically which clan?” When I told him Jiiddo, he asked me how the language of Jiiddo is doing, and he asked, “How do you say, sit down?” I was not civilized as this, I did not take his contact to communicate.

5) Do the Jiiddo have a language committee? If so, what is the committee’s plan to develop your traditional language?

I would like to join and be part of the language committee. I even request to install a TV channel run with Jiiddo language.

6) Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

Even when Ayub told me that there would be such event I was eager to see the day break. I came today early morning to see how it is developing. I just came here to enhance Jiiddo language not for something else.

²¹⁵ This was Mohamed Nuuh Ali PhD UCLA referenced earlier.

1) Tell us a bit of your life story. And, what is your role in the Jiiddo community?

I am called **MOHAMED HASSAN**. I was born in 1960 in a location called Dhigooley under Qoryooley district. I learnt Holy Koran in Dhigooley up to age 15. When I was born it was the time of Siad Barre's regime. I started to look after cattle in search of water and pasture, since I was told to leave education. At the age of 17, I married a woman. Sometime after a drought occurred. *Awaar Arbadha*²¹⁶ is the local name given to this period in Jiiddo.

I later moved to Qoryooley. May Allah have mercy on him, Osman Hajji Abdow told me to join the farming association in Janaale town to work with them in order for me to cover my basic family needs so then I joined.

In 1980 the farming association was dispersed and then I moved to Mogadishu. After some time again Siad Barre's regime was collapsing so I then moved back to Qoryooley district. There I joined my Jiiddo community and started working as a Jiiddo community elder to resolve disputes among Jiiddos and outside communities. I was with the elders like Haseey Gaale, (a Jiiddo elder in Qoryooley district) and the Sultan in solving community problems.

I again came to Mogadishu as a jobless man. Then Sultan Ibraahim, may Allah have mercy on him, took me to a fruit company called Sambaan where I was working for a 7 years. Then Sultan Ibraahim left for America. The company collapsed, and since then, I am among the Jiiddo community elders.

Back to history – the Jiiddo used to be nomadic. There was a time when we were migrating with cattle, and then we came to an area in Baidoa. The people there knew only Maay and [there were] Maxa tiri speaking communities near Deelab, a water source full of water. The people around could [not?] understand our language so they asked us where we were from. A Rahween subtribe called Leeyaan who settle at Banaaney (Jiiddo territorial land under Kuntuwarey district) came to us and informed the people that we are called Jiiddo tribe from Lower Shabeelle [since they] knew our traditions and language. He then ordered them to allow our cattle to drink from the source and then we started making the cattle to drink. Secondly, Jiiddo has a good position when it comes to language groups in the Lower Shabeelle.

2) What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn each of them? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I do speak Jiiddo, Maxa tiri, Tunni, Dabarre, Uroole, and Maay. Before we were nomadic. Now you will find when Jiiddo members are travelling with other Somali

²¹⁶ This was a prolonged drought in the mid-1970s also known as *dabadeer* 'the long-tailed', in several parts of Somalia.

communities from Macaane (on the outskirts of Mogadishu where mostly IDPs are living) to Mogadishu in a public van speaking in Jiiddo language it [sounds] foreign to other travelers, who look at each other in surprise.

We want to have reporters, singers in Jiiddo, and a TV [broadcast] released in Jiiddo. We are ready for training and will provide our support.

3) Tell us your own assessment of how strong you think your traditional language is. Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?

Even if we are [only] two individuals from the Jiiddo community, we speak in Jiiddo. 80% of the day we speak Jiiddo. If the majority is from another community [who do not] speak in Jiiddo, we speak in [their] dialects so that, we [all] understand.

4) What is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use?

I believe it will exist and last. Speaking in Jiiddo everywhere we are is what I believe in. And I am also interested in our language developing in the future.

5) Do the Jiiddo have a language committee? If so, what is the committee's plan to develop your traditional language?

I am ready to join this committee for the language development, I am ready to engage in programs that are aimed at developing Jii.

6) Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

We need to have an official and international office in Mogadishu, since it is the capital city, for meeting Jiiddo, and for our educated youth [to raise] community awareness for all Jiiddo.

1) Tell us a bit of your life story. And, what is your role in the Jiiddo community?

My name is **IBRAHIM “BORAY”**.²¹⁷ I was born in Afar Ceel Gumur in 1954 and learnt the Holy Koran in that sub-location.²¹⁸ I am an agro-pastoral nomad who has been living in the Lower Shabeelle particularly, in the three districts.²¹⁹ I do not think there is a better language other than Jiiddo language. Jiiddo language is hidden from others as if it were in a box.

2) What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn each of them? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I do speak Jiiddo, since it is my mother tongue. I also speak Maay and Maxa Tiri²²⁰ as I was travelling in the areas where it is spoken. I speak them when I meet with their respective communities.

3) Tell us your own assessment of how strong you think your traditional language is. Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?

Almost 90%, I do speak in Jiiddo language.

4) What is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use?

I believe it is a strong language, which is hidden from other language groups. I also believe it will make [become more?] valuable. Jiiddo view it as a strong language, which is spoken in the Lower Shabeelle and is admired by other neighboring communities.

5) Do the Jiiddo have a language committee? If so, what is the committee’s plan to develop your traditional language?

I need to be part of the language committee and meet always to develop it.

Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

I like to attend the big centers for developing Jiiddo language, I need to get peace in my country and get education for my children and then.

²¹⁷ Boray is a nickname meaning “Black” because of his dark skin.

²¹⁸ Afar Ceel Gumur is in the Buur Hakaba District of Bay Region, Southwest State.

²¹⁹ Qoryooley, Kurtunwarey, and Sablaale are the three districts in the Lower Shabeelle where Jiiddo live.

²²⁰ Literally “What did you say?” Maxa Tiri is the term that Jii and Maay speakers use for “Standard or common Somali.”

Appendix 13: Interview with S.A. Ibro, Dec. 16, 2020²²¹

²²¹ This interview with S.A. Ibro was recorded by Zoom on Dec. 16, 2020. He answered the same questions as the four elders interviewed earlier on April 10, 2020.

Professor could you tell me a bit of your life story and what is your role in the Jiiddo community. I know you have had a long life and you have had a big role so how do you summarize?

I was born in Qoryooley from the Jiiddo clan. My father and grandfather were Sultans of the Jiiddo, so I am part of the Sultan's family. I studied first in Qoryooley town, then I finished secondary school in Mogadishu.

In 1968, I won a scholarship from the European Economic Community. With the scholarship, I went to Italy to study veterinary science. I chose this subject knowing that this was the main livelihood of my people whom I represented. Their livelihood was based on livestock, not just agriculture, but also especially livestock. So I chose that subject to be helpful for them as a veterinarian. I wanted make a contribution towards their development. I was there from 1968 until January 1975. I was in Central Italy near Rome (Beluga).

When I came back, I joined the Somali National University as an assistant professor of animal infectious disease in 1976. Before I joined the University, I was a veterinarian for the local Mogadishu government. They needed a veterinarian to provide services for a pilot project with milk factories. But I spent only eight or nine months there. Then I joined the university as an assistant lecturer in the animal husbandry faculty of the Somali National University.

I followed this career until 1990 when civil war started. Then, I left the country and came to Italy where I continued research for a while in livestock and spent some time with Banti. Then in 1995, I started to participate in political activities. At the end of 1990, when the civil war started breaking out, I was part of a reconciliation committee at a national level. There were different groups representing civil society such as elders, leaders, young people, and educated people. I was there representing professionals.

Out of that reconciliation process there formed a government. I was part of that government I was appointed a minister under the late Omar Arteh. He was the prime minister. He died a month ago (November 18, 2020) in Hargeisa. This government could not work because the civil war was continuing. There was not enough inclusivity for all stakeholders at that point.

I left the end of December for Italy and then I came back in May 1991, back to Somalia. I went back to Italy for a research program. I finished it then I came back to Somalia. Then we formed another government with a new president, Ali Mahdi. I was a member of that government in July. They had a reconciliation meeting in Djibouti. I was part of the cabinet in that government and the prime minister was still Omar Arteh. This government did not work because of the continuing civil war. Mogadishu was divided into two parts and two political parties. This time I fled totally to Italy and restarted a research program from 1993 until 1995. Then I transferred to Melbourne, Australia in November 1995. When I went to Melbourne, I started to improve my English language and then I joined a research program at Latrobe University School of Agriculture until 2000. Then I came

back to Djibouti for the peace process. I came back as a delegate to that conference, and then at the end of the meeting I became involved in the government again. And, I have been involved in government until now. I have been a deputy prime minister for 4 years in different ministry portfolios. I was deputy prime minister as Minister of Finance, Minister of Higher Education, then again deputy prime minister as Minister of Livestock, and then I was deputy prime minister as minister of Justice and Religious Affairs. Then, in March 2018, I resigned my position as Minister of Water and Energy in order to run for the Speaker of the House election, which unfortunately I lost. However, I am a Member of Parliament until now. It has been a long career but in the midst of it, I have continued working on Ey Jii along with Professor Banti. I have not spoken to Professor recently, but I mean to now as we come up to the holidays.

What is your experience with different languages? Your English is good. I know that you are Italian is excellent, and I notice, in your CV, you said your Arabic is okay. Obviously, you speak Mahaatiri. Do you also speak Maay? Can you use the *Dhoobey* dialect very well?

Yes, I grew up speaking both Ey Jii and Maay Maay, that is, the *Dhoobey* dialect.

When did you learn Mahaa tiri?

Well, in Qoryooley there were people speaking that language so I learned it as a child, certainly when I went to school. It was normal life to speak Mahaa tiri. And I learned Arabic in school and also in the *Dugsi* Qur'an school.

These days how much do you and your family use Ey Jii?

Well, it depends, but whenever I speak to my family, I speak to them in Ey Jii. I have some nephews here and I speak with them in Ey Jii at least 10 minutes every time. I will call different people and speak to them for 10 or 20 minutes

I am going to skip question number three because we will do an assessment together later (see Appendix 14).

Professor, what is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use – not just Ey Jii, but for the entire ecology of languages? I realize that today is a day of multilingualism. It is important to know Mahaa tiri. It is important to know Maay Maay, as well as international languages, but what is your goal for your Jiiddo community?

Well it is two things. One is education – to improve and develop education. That means [opening] many schools. Then, on the other side, to improve to improve economically. [My goal is] to create for them cooperatives which will allow them to collect everything they produce from their animals and to find for them markets and buyers. Then, what they gain from their produce they will use to buy instruments that can help increase agricultural productivity. Instead of going every year sometime out to the bush to find more water and better grazing land, I want to help them become more settled and less

nomadic. In order for them to be more efficient, I want them to become more sedentary. I want to make available for them more water wells so they can combine livestock and agriculture together. This will take time, but this is one of my goals.

This will help their kids to be better educated in schools and improve their health and so on. Also, I want to improve the language. They should learn not only Somali, but also other languages in school like Arabic, English and so on. If they are educated then they will be self-sufficient.

Does learning Ey Jii have an economic benefit? Does Ey Jii benefit economically and educationally?

Jiiddo people own a lot of land, especially agricultural lands. If anyone speaks Jii, it will be easy for him, because he will be welcomed and trusted to get land and to live with them. There will be an advantage for them.

What do you think of the idea of a language committee?

It is a good idea. As I said before, it will improve the language. Then also, the language will not end up as a dead language because this committee will make the possibility to improve, and to try to introduce to other Somalis. I will participate with and support that committee.

Would you be interested in future trainings? Language development workshops? If so, what would you like to learn? What outcomes would you like to achieve?

Yes, I would like to see Jii raised up to the level of other languages, to update the study of this language. I am not a linguist but I know that many improvements [can be made]. I want Ey Jii to be studied in all forms. I would like to see it have a position among all the Cushitic languages. Ey Jii is a unique language not just the dialect. All the other Somali dialects can understand each other but Ey Jii is different. No one from the outside can understand when Jiiddos speak. Therefore, I would like to learn from other languages. And I would like others to learn Ey Jii – not only researchers but other Somalis as well, normal people (Ibro, Salim, WhatsApp Interview, December 16, 2020).

Appendix 14: SUM Assessment Grid by S.A. Ibro²²²

²²² Salim Alio Ibro provided this assessment of Jiiddu language (both oral and literacy) vitality, by Zoom December 16, 2020.

ORALITY	0. Absent	1. Uncommon	2. Common	3. Sustainable
Functions 2	The ability to use the language for the many functions of communication within the domains of home and community has been lost, though symbolic use may persist.	The language is still used throughout the community, but only for a limited set of functions. Another language is being used to meet the full range of functions in the domains of home and community.	The language is used orally among all generations to meet the many functions of communication within the domains of home and community.	The language is used orally among all generations not only in the domains of home and community, but in other domains like work and school and religion.
Acquisition 2	The language is no longer being used between any children in the language community as the language they use to communicate with each other.	Some children are still learning the language in the home or community and thus use it with each other, but the majority are not.	It is still the norm that the language is transmitted to children in the home and community; however, it has become common that many children do not learn the language.	There is full transmission of the language to all children in the home and community.
Motivation 3	Members of the ethnic community can see no reason to continue transmitting their language to the children.	Some members of the language community perceive real value in speaking their language and transmitting it to children, but the majority do not.	Most members of the language community see value in speaking their language and transmitting it to children, but it is limited to primarily sentimental or identificational uses.	As a general rule, members of the language community perceive multiple benefits (e.g. economic, social, religious, identificational) of speaking their language.
Environment 2	Official government policy calls for assimilation to an official language	There is no official government policy against use of the language, but the language community feels overwhelming pressure from the society at large to abandon their language.	Neither official government policy nor the wider society is hostile to the use of the language.	Official government policy affirms the oral use of the language.
Differentiation 3	There are no face-to-face functions for which L1 is clearly preferred. If L1 is still used face-to-face, L2 is also commonly used for all the same functions.	There are some face-to-face functions for which either L1 or L2 is clearly preferred; however, for most functions both are used without a clear preference.	There are many functions for which L1 is predominantly used, but L2 is sometimes used for those same functions.	Members of the language community have a set of shared norms as to when to use the local language in face-to-face interactions versus when to use a more dominant language. There are many functions for which L1 is always used and L2 is virtually never used.
ORALITY TOTAL:	12			

LITERACY	0. Absent	1. Uncommon	2. Common	3. Sustainable
Functions 1	There is no literature in the local language and no functions in which it is written.	There is some L1 literature and some L1 writing practices but they are not yet widely known or used throughout the community.	There are enough L1 literature and L1 writing practices in use within the community that the value of L1 literacy can be seen.	Adequate L1 literature and literacy practices are in use for all the functions for which the community wants L1 literacy.
Acquisition 1	There are no materials to support literacy instruction in the language.	Materials to support L1 literacy instruction exist but are not being widely used throughout the community.	There are adequate materials to support L1 literacy instruction and some members of the community are successfully using them to teach others to read and write the language.	Children throughout the language community are being taught to read and write their language by trained teachers under the auspices of a sustainable institution.
Motivation 1	Speakers of the language can see no reason to read and write their language.	Some members of the language community perceive the value of reading and writing their local language, but the majority perceive no benefit for L1 literacy.	Most members of the language community see value in reading and writing their language, but it is limited to primarily sentimental or identificational purposes.	Members of the language community perceive multiple benefits (e.g. economic, social, religious, identificational) of reading and writing in the local language.
Environment 1	Government policy and practice ignore the language or are hostile to it.	Government policy calls for the cultivation of this language, but does not yet put that policy into practice.	Government policy and practice is fostering the development of the language and L1 literacy has a place in the educational curriculum.	Literature in L1 has a role in education throughout primary and secondary grades.
Differentiation 1	There are no literacy functions for which L1 is clearly preferred. If L1 is used in writing, L2 is also commonly used for the same literacy functions.	There are some literacy functions for which either L1 or L2 is clearly preferred; however, for most, both are used without a clear preference.	For most literacy functions it is clear that either L1 or L2 predominates; however, there are some functions for which both are used without a clear preference.	Members of the language community follow shared norms for when to use L1 in writing versus when to use a more dominant language.
LITERACY TOTAL:	5 (if the dictionary project counts as one literary function where L1 is preferred).			

Figure 39. SUM Assessment Grid by S.A. Ibro (2020)

Appendix 15: S.A. Ibro's Speech to JYA (November 24, 2020)²²³

²²³ S.A. Ibro participated in a JYA Zoom discussion, November 24, 2020, on the topic of Jii language development to demonstrate his support and bring encouragement. JYA members Sa'dio Omar Ibrahim from Qoryoley District transcribed Ibro's speech, and Bakar Mo'alim Musse in Mogadishu translated to English (see §5.9).

Bismilahi rahmani rahiim.

Gaam midaalniyoorii kulisan in esen hasniyotaa Ey Jii. Sis ayaa rajeysniiy Asi dhowawshaa biniiy, ha faraxsinake. Ayuub huul eger lihi qowtey.

Gaameyoo huul ete weyashaa gameh balawaayobinee 50 meeyadii. Ey Jii hardha marshaalkis ha shaqeysnin. Nam walbo eykis osii hardhi marsiniiy, ma'mil ete daqasaayobin Ilaah mahad lihi, yed eke dadaalayobiiy Ayub iyo esen iyaa asaa jamniyaa hardha ha weytaa.

Michael mahadsenehee in Ey Jii nukul qaadey hardha marshaalkisiy. Ey Jii neber Dictionary hayaalowshey abuyo Suldan Ibrahim alle yas nahristay. Michael asi hasaalin il hariiray osii habalan qadey Ey eke in hardha marshaa ha shaqeyskaa. Ey Jii berya mad-bacad kast adunyaa yerohoo huul etaat os balan qadey iyaa Michael folshaashi. Ey hardha marshaasha. Ma' hon Ilaahey rali ha yaatuu Ey ha hoow shaqeysniyaa. Lakiin esenaa gam asaa jamniyaa ayub garow jistaa dedaaloku nam walbo meltus wulu ha weyaatobaa.

Ey huuw hon adi hawunaawisniduu nam kus wunaawisniyooro miiri. Uni nasiib lihin, Ey eke Ey Somaliy lakiin mak ey yed nukul hasniyooro adkehee waana Ey Somali madi qadiyad eykis Ey Jii Prof. Nuuh yeriyy. Gaam rajeysniyoorii Ilaahey rali hayaatuu, ha iihaw sitaa agaki ariril yeraa asah dhowin, asaa kalifin maalin walbo 10-15 daqiiq, Ey eke wuluu il darin nus sac hon esen halnitaan eger lihi Ey eke hon esen jiniki ha qownid ayaaldhaa harka esen dhalnitaan daqani miira Ey eke ha yaati, Ey esen asaa aka. Yaatus Ey ayaaldhaaharin ayaaldhaakis kuli daqo.

Simeh daqaniyaa? Esen ha shaqeystaa asaa jamniyaa. Eyee gaameyoo gaay fiyoori ki mahey, hon wara ha halnid egegniiy. Waraa uniyey waraawshal nukuu jamniyaa. Daqasin yed huusan, Ilaahey garow huusan gali shire ases furnehee.

Appendix 16: Interview with Eight JYA Members (Nov. 24, 2020)²²⁴

²²⁴ The following interviews were recorded with Ayub Osman and seven JYA members on November 24, 2020. This online (Zoom) discussion on the topic of Jii language development was a milestone moment because it brought together a wider representation of five men ranging in age from twenty to thirty years, including JYA leader Ayub Osman, and three women ages twenty-one to twenty-four, living in both the capital city and the rural district of Qoryoley (see summary in §5.9).

1. ISMAEL AHMED ABDI in Nairobi – Kenya²²⁵

1.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

To start with, my name is Ismael Ahmed Abdi. That's my full name. I was born in Mogadishu in 1995. In my earlier life I was living in Mogadishu. But, because of the civil war, I went to live in the Dadaab refugee camp. And that's where I started my education up to my secondary level. After that, I came back to Mogadishu. After a while I returned to Nairobi. That's where I'm studying at Mt. Kenya University.

Most of our community, especially Jiiddo people, are not educated. So now I'm studying to become a very important member, to help my community. In order to help my community I will study a lot, and I will encourage them about the importance of education. When it comes to Jiiddo language, I will spread this language to many people. For example, when I'm speaking to my mom, someone will ask me, "Which language is this?" So I will tell them. And I will teach them some of the words.

1.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I speak four global languages including Somali, Arabic, English and Swahili. Of course I speak Somali – Maay and Mahaatiri, and Jii. I didn't speak much Jii as a little boy but learned it later in life.

You know, my siblings don't speak Jii, but my father (native speaker) and my mom (learned) do. So whenever I talk to them I will sometimes speak Jii, and I can also sometimes speak with them Somali.

1.3 Do you, do your Jiiddo people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii? What is your assessment?

Yeah, yeah, yeah. They have a positive attitude although most of the Jii words are remaining with the old people. But it seems like also, the youth, they are learning these days. And they are proud of their language. So the language is spreading day by day in the whole country.

1.4 What is your goal for your community in terms of future language use?

My goal is to promote this language, first of all, to promote my people. You know, most of my people are uneducated. I want to educate them. I also want to teach this language to many, many people who are not even Jiiddo in the future.

²²⁵ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

1.5 In the future, if we had other language development workshop, would you be interested to participate? And, if so, what would you like to learn or achieve?

Yes, I would be interested to join more workshops about language development. First of all, I want to take my language, Jii, to the next stage. I also want to learn from others, from other languages, so that I can compare.

1.6 Is there a language committee²²⁶? What is their plan to develop your language?

I don't know about a committee, but this... You know, those people who are in the countryside, they can speak better than us, so [because] when they are young they start speaking [Jii]. They don't even speak Somali there. So, there's no Jii committee [yet].

2. LEILA AHMED ABDI, Mogadishu²²⁷

2.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

To start with, bismillah, my name is Leila Ahmed Abdi. I was born in Mogadishu, especially Wadajir, in 1996. I have taken my early life in Mogadishu. Later I migrated to Kenya. I lived half of my life there. I'm currently living in Mogadishu. My role in the Jiiddo community has been the youth and the [welfare?] of my people. I would like to promote my people in any way that I can. My personal experience is in the promotion of the language within the community that we live in.

2.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I know three global languages – English, Swahili, and Somali. And the dialects I know are Maay Maay, Mahaatiri, and Jii. My father knows the language very well, and even knows where the Jiiddo originated, and how the Jiiddo came into being. He knows the whole story of Jiiddo. We were not normally with our father, but when we were with our mother and when he would call us on the phone we would talk to him in Jii dialect. And my mother, when she would send the children to places [or to play?] she would use that language in the house.

2.3 Do you, do your Jiiddo people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii? What is your assessment?

²²⁶ Having established that there is no official committee yet (while acknowledging Professor Salim and Ayub's leadership) this question was rephrased, going forward, to **"If a language development committee is formed, would you be interested in participating or supporting that that committee?"**

²²⁷ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

Yes my people have a positive attitude – so much so that they don't like using other dialects. And [they are proud of the fact that] Jii was one of the first dialects spoken in Somalia.

2.4 What is your goal for your community in terms of future language use?

My personal goal is to promote my language, so that everybody around me will understand the dialect that I'm using.

2.4.1. Do you have children? Are they learning Ey Jii from their mother?

Yes, I have three children. No, no they are young but if you just send them something they know.

2.5 If an Ey Jii language development committee is formed, would you be interested in participating or supporting that committee?" If so, what should be the committee's plan to develop your traditional language?

Now we do not have a committee but in the coming near future we will set it up. And I would like to join it.

2.6 Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

Yes I would appreciate future workshops. Yes the reason I would appreciate joining workshops is just to promote my language to different people.

3. KHADIJO ABUKAR OMAR, Qoryooley District²²⁸

3.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

First of all, thank you dear Michael. I thank you for everything you have given – your time and efforts to develop our language. My name is Khadijo Abukar. I was born in Mogadishu, the capital city, in 1997. I graduated from Mogadishu University with a degree in medicine and surgery. Now I am in Qoryooley. As for my role in the Jiiddo community, I will try my best to develop my language for my community as much as I can. That's all.

3.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

²²⁸ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

Thank you. I know four international languages – English, Arabic, Somali language, and a little bit of Turkish. I learned Arabic in my childhood at private schools. Because it is our Islamic language, the language of the Holy Qur'an, that's why we learn it in childhood. Nowadays I've been learning Turkish language, but I know only a little bit, not too much. I know Somali language, both Maay and Mahaatiri. I can speak both of them very well. And also Jii which I learned later in my life. I did not learn in childhood, because my mother was from another tribe. So I learned later in life [even though] my father spoke Jii as his first language. I communicate with my brothers and sisters using Jii, but not with my mother because she does not know it well.

3.3 Tell us your assessment. How strong you think your traditional language is? Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?

Yes of course, because the people feel that they have a different language from others, so they feel that identity. And also, most of them communicate using Jii when they want to talk privately or share secrets. So, they have a different language that others may not understand well. So they feel that identity by using their language.

3.4 What is your goal for your community in terms of future language use?

I want to enhance and promote it in my community for my people to be able to use our language. Also I hope to teach Jii to my child, inshallah, in the future. I will.

3.5 If an Ey Jii language development committee is formed, would you be interested in participating or supporting that committee?" If so, what should be the committee's plan to develop your traditional language?

Yes, I want to take part, to take [give] my time and my efforts as much as I can. I will.

3.6 Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

Of course, yes, it's interesting and I hope to take part if there is a workshop and also other programs to develop Jii. I hope, and I am interested to take part.

On my side, I want to achieve, and I hope that Jii will become, not international, but a language that is local now but will also reach outside of the country. In our country, [I hope it] becomes a famous language that everybody can understand and anybody, if he needs to learn, can find in Google, or other sites, or books. If someone is interested to study Jii [I hope they can] find easily. I hope that Jii will become like this.

4. BAKAR MO'ALIM MUSSE in Mogadishu²²⁹

4.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

First I'm thanking Michael, Professor Salim, and Ayub, who have already participated to improve Jii. So, if I direct your question, my name is Bakar Macalin Muse. I was born in 1997, in a town under the Qoryoole District. I came to Mogadishu in 2012. I have graduated from secondary level and university. I am now a teacher in the secondary level. I am participating to improve the Jiiddo community in language. That is my role.

4.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I am able to use four different languages like Somali -- both Maay and Mahaatiri, Ey Jii, English, and Arabic. Again, I used Jii from my childhood, so it is my own language. I didn't learn it later, but English and Arabic I learned when I came here to Mogadishu after 2012. I used to speak some Somali, but when I came here I learned it well. The first language for both my mother and father is Jii. Now all my family members use Ey Jii. Even me, I use Jii when I'm with my friends, workmates, and Jiiddo youth.

4.3 Tell us your assessment. How strong you think your traditional language is? Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii?

Ey Jii is a great language that only needs to be improved by us. And we are going to do that! May Allah make it easy for us! My people and I have a positive attitude about Ey Jii. And we are proud to use it. Ey Jii is one of the languages used in Somalia, especially in Southwest State.

4.4 What is your goal for your community in terms of future language use?

My personal goal for my community is that they would use their own beautiful language happily. And I will put my efforts into improving it, however I can, to be an international language. And I hope Ey Jii will be used in America someday inshallah.

4.5 If an Ey Jii language development committee is formed, would you be interested in participating or supporting that committee? If so, what should be the committee's plan to develop your traditional language?

Surely we will only need Ey Jii books to teach our Jiiddo people how to write their own language. And then to other neighboring people step-by-step Ey Jii will be a very well-known language. As a teacher, I am good at the science of improving a language.

²²⁹ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

4.6 Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

Yes sir, I'm interested in that (future language development workshops) because I'm hoping to learn different languages and achieve my goal which is to be a language enhancer to develop Ey Jii.

5. SA'DIO OMAR IBRAHIM, Qoryooley District²³⁰

5.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

Thank you guys. My name is Sa'dio Omar Ibrahim. I was born November 27, 1999 in Mogadishu, specifically Howlwadaag District, Benaadir Region. I completed my basic primary in Mamur primary. Next, for my high school level, I completed Ibn Khaldun primary and secondary school. I went to the next level at Jamhuriya University of Science and Technology (JUST). I graduated this year with a degree in information technology (IT). As to my role in the community, I want to promote my people, the Jiiddo.

5.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I know two languages – first is my mother tongue Somali, both Maay and Mahaatiri, then second is English. I also speak Jii. I know it very well. My mother's first language is Jii. Also, my father's first language is Jii. It is actually my first language as well. I speak Jii with my two sisters and my brother, my aunt and uncle, my mother, and also my grandmother – all of them.

5.3 Do you, do your Jiiddo people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii? What is your assessment?

Jii is a famous language. It is the second language spoken in the Lower Shabeelle region. Jii is not an international language but a local language

5.4 What is your goal for your community in terms of future language use?

I hope to improve the Jii language.

²³⁰ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

5.5 In the future, if we had other language development workshop, would you be interested to participate? And, if so, what would you like to learn or achieve?

Yes, of course.

5.6 Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

Yes, to promote Jii for other communities so they will understand very well.

6. YUSSUF ADAN MOHAMED, Qoryooley District²³¹

6.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

I am Yussuf Mohamed Aden. I was born in Qoryooley District in 1990. I am a father with two sons, holding a University degree in Public Administration from Himilo University in Mogadishu. I am now working as humanitarian worker in Qoryooley district. For the Jiiddo²³² community, I usually carry out hygiene and sanitation awareness, plus child protection awareness.

6.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

I have learned English, Kiswahili and Arabic. I worked as a teacher of English and Kiswahili in Ifo camps in Kenya, so this enabled me to develop an experience. I speak Somali, English, Kiswahili and I'm good in Arabic. I learnt Arabic language in 2004 in Mogadishu Somalia and English and Kiswahili in 2010 at Ifo refugee camp - Kenya. My parents played the lion's share in learning [teaching me] Jii and I usually communicate to them in Jii only at all times.

6.3 Do you, do your Jiiddo people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii? What is your assessment?

I believe that I am fluent in speaking Jii. The Jiiddo community speaks Jii well, rather than even Maay and Mahaatiri.

6.4 What is your goal for your community in terms of future language use?

My goal is to develop and nurture Jii so that it would be familiar across the continent.

²³¹ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

²³² Yussuf used a variant spelling *Jido* to refer to both his community and language.

6.5 In the future, if we had other language development workshop, would you be interested to participate? If so, what would you like to learn or achieve?

It would a great job for me to be in the forum and to provide for and develop my language. As a member of the forum, I will be working and following strictly the plan set by the forum.

6.6 Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

Of course because it is essential work for the future generations. I would like to learn:

- How to develop the alphabet.
- Sentences structure
- Opposites and synonyms
- Names of objects like trees, roads and so on.
- I would like to see a complete guide for future reference.

Really, I can't thank you enough!

7. SID-ALI ABDI HUSSEIN, Qoryooley District²³³

7.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

Thank you very much. I want to thank God, Allah, who gives us this opportunity to talk with you. I hope you are [doing well] in Minnesota. I heard your name several times. So, today we [will] talk about Jii. So, I will introduce myself. First, my name is Sid-Ali Abdi Hussein. I am from the Jiiddo community. Currently I live in Qoryooley district. I graduated from both primary and secondary school. I have so many certificates of diploma in social work, and many other diplomas. I currently speak Jii fluently (not even broken). My role is to promote Jii [so that it will] become a famous language in our society.

7.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

As for my father (and for me too), his first language is Jii. Generally, we are Somalis, as you know. We talk Somali language fluently, but in our community, especially in our region we have Jii. My father spoke Jii, but I'm sorry to say he died in 2018. I'm sorry to tell you that. After Jii, secondly, we speak Somali. As for me, I speak Jii, Somali, as well as English.

²³³ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

7.3 Do you, do your Jiiddo people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii? What is your assessment?

Generally, we are Somalis, as you know. We talk Somali language fluently, but in our community, especially in our region we have Jii.

7.4 What is your goal for your community in terms of future language use?

My personal goal is that our [entire] community in our place, especially for those who are living with us, but not just the Jiiddo community, but also other communities, I want to teach them our language very well so that we can all understand each other. That's my main goal.

7.5 In the future, if we had other language development workshop, would you be interested to participate? And, if so, what would you like to learn or achieve?

First of all, I highly welcome the creation of a language committee working to develop our Jiiddo community. But, I'm very sorry that I can't join that committee because I am always very busy. But I would help them in terms of words. And I will support them on every side, as much as I can.

7.6 Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

Yes, yes I'm willing to create a [Facebook] page for Jii.

Really, I thank you for your sacrifice of time in order to make a dictionary for Jii. I'm very, very, very happy to hear you now, even tomorrow, or anytime. So thank you very much. I'm here for you. You can talk to me anytime you want. You can ask me any question you want. I will help you and I will support you as you do this wonderful arrangement. Thank you very much.

8. AYUB OSMAN MOHAMED, Mogadishu²³⁴

8.1 Tell us a bit of your life story. What is your role in the Jiiddo community?

I am called Ayub Osman Mohamed. I was born in Qoryooley District, in a village called Wadajir²³⁵ in Lower Shabeelle, which goes under the administration of Southwest State. I was born in the year 1992, maybe we can say January 1st. I first learned... I went to madrasa in the Qoryooley District. I learned the Holy Koran. In that particular time there was not that much schooling since the collapse of the central government of Somalia, so I was not learning that much. But later on, in 2006, I joined a refugee camp called Ifo [Dadaab, Kenya].

8.1.1 Excuse me, Ayub, I'm curious to know if every village has its own madrassah, or duqsi? Did Wadajir have its own?

I had to travel a distance of about one and a half kilometer to reach a main one.

I joined Ifo Camp around 2008, I joined the first months of that particular year. It's where I obtained both my primary and secondary certificates of education. When it comes to my role in the Jiiddo community, my role is very proud. But when it comes to... because my role now is connected to the language development, now I have to use constantly the language for the other communities to learn it. And I should be proud of it. You know, there was a custom, and even it remains now the same, once you don't speak the language, my community will consider you as someone who is not part of them. So, even if you are Jiiddo but you don't speak in the language, they do not consider you as a [true] Jiiddo. But now the norm is getting eroded as the people are civilizing and most of them are moving to the towns and cities. But my role is to be proud of it, and, at the same time try to spread it more and more.

8.2 What is your personal experience with different languages? How many do you speak? When did you learn them? What is your mother and father's first language(s)? How much do you and your family use Ey Jii and when?

If I start with the first question, you know, learning a language is very important. Even if it is a dialect, you have to learn it. You should not ignore it. It will assist you in one way or another because, if you speak a community's language, you will not be treated like a stranger. You are closer than the other one who doesn't know their language. You know, before I left Qoryooley, I was only speaking in *Dhoobey* dialect. I could hear and understand my own [Jii] language but, in terms of speaking it or constructing a sentence, I used to have a problem. So that [motivated] me to learn my language in speaking. So, I do speak Jii dialect, or language. Also I do speak *Dhoobey*. I do speak

²³⁴ November 24, 2020 Jiiddo Language Development Assessment Meeting. Interview by Zoom with JYA members Ayub Osman, Ismael Abdi, Leila Abdi, Khadijo Omar, Bakar Musse, Sa'dio Ibrahim, Yussuf Mohamed, and Sid-Ali Hussein.

²³⁵ The name *Wadajir* signifies 'unity'.

also Mahaatiri, which is part of Somali language. I also speak English. I do speak Swahili, but not that much. I know a little bit. Those are the five. One is in Somali, [but] because we are talking in terms of dialects, they are actually four (Jii, *Dhoobey*, Maay and Mahaatiri). The other one is an international language which is English. The other one is Kiswahili. So those are the six languages I speak.

I learned most of them in private in Somalia, but I wasn't that strong to support myself. But when I went down there in Kenya I learned [English] very thoroughly. So, that's why I am now strong enough to defend myself or communicate in English language. Kiswahili I learned in a refugee camp [Ifo], when I was going to the schools in the camp because it was one of the compulsory subjects. Because the language is compulsory, and religion, there was no way that I could ignore it. But I was not liking it. At a later time I made myself actually learn. I made up my mind to actually learn. When it comes to Rahanweyn, Maay dialect I learned it very strongly during the time I was working in Baidoa from 2005 up to 2007, because those Maay friends, or brothers from my maternal side, could actually laugh at me when I tried to speak their dialect. Because at that time, I was fluent in *Dhoobey* dialect, but you know sometimes it sounded funny [to them]. It sounded like a different dialect. That's why from there I was very excited, and I had the anxiety to learn it. So that's the time I learned Maay dialect. Mahaatiri, I was speaking throughout my life.

My mother's language was Maay Maay, because my mother is Rahanweyn. At that time, you know, the environment is what was affecting me. Most of the population that I was going with, even the young ones... the young children from the Jiiddo back there when they go back to their homes they were used to speaking their language, but when we met publically we used to speak *Dhoobey*.

8.2.1 Okay understood but your father, his first language was Jii, right?

Yes, when the relatives would come, they would normally communicate in Jii, or when he would go down to the Jiiddo locations he would speak Jii but, but when he was with us, he was not communicating with us in Ey Jii. I don't know why, but I suppose because my mother could not understand, he adapted with it.

8.2.2 On this subject, when did you begin practicing Jii to become fluent as you are today?

You know, when I first joined the refugee camp I decided [to learn], because there I was living with other Jiiddo youth who knew the language, like Adam Sablaale and Yusuf. So I requested from them, "Brothers, you can see that I am a [grown] man, but at the same time I don't know how to speak in my own language." So when they spoke to me I did understand, but when I tried to reply I could not use Jii. So I requested from them, "Whenever we are together, please and please, let me speak in this language. If I make a mistake just correct me. Don't laugh at me." I requested and they promised so that's how I learned it, by speaking it. When I came back to Mogadishu, and went down there to Qoryooley, people were wondering about me how I had learned Jii. So I say,

practice makes perfect. If you try it, and you just decide, you can learn it. So I gained a lot from the camp because I said to my brothers, “You are learning English which is actually not your mother tongue, what about Jii? Why don't you give consideration to your first language?” That's the time I decided to learn.

8.3 Tell us your assessment of how strong you think your traditional language is. Do your people have a positive attitude about Ey Jii? How much are you using Ey Jii with your wives and your children, in your everyday life?

Actually, not a single hour goes by without speaking in my language. You know, now, I'm interacting with so many different communities, when I'm with them sometimes when I try to speak to them I even forget myself [and accidentally use Jii]. It happens that I use Jii, or a Jii word which they cannot understand. When they reply and ask me, “What are you saying?” that's the time I [realize] then I say, “Sorry, sorry. I meant like this.” So I use Jii mostly now. I encourage my wives to use it. Both [households] of my children are very young now. They don't have ability to make fluent communication, but I have requested all of them to use our language when we're communicating.

8.4 What is your personal goal for your community in terms of future language use? That would include Ey Jii, of course, but realistically I'm guessing it includes other languages for the modern world also?

My goal actually is very big when it comes to speaking, or using any language, because I have realized myself that learning a language that you are not born into is very good because at least it takes you closer to the groups of people who speak in in those languages. So it is very vital. But if you remain if you remain as a Jiiddo and you only learn your language and you deny the rest, you cannot [do that] because we are in a civilized world whereby everything is getting more developed. So at least you have to learn more than your own mother tongue. My plan is... now already *Mahaatiri* Somali in general is written in Maay and *Mahaatiri*. But those books, those textbooks with which are children are learning in Somalia, are not published in Maay, though the constitution is already published in Maay. But those textbooks are in *Mahaatiri*. They already published. So, it is upon us now as native speakers to actually design and take a rigid decision regarding the development of our dialect. But I encourage them all the time. I tell them, “Do not remain”. If you know *Mahaatiri*, at least try to learn other languages, or other dialects. Like people are making fun of learning Maay dialect, because it is related to or [associated with] people who beg (beggars, who ask for social support), which is actually not true (and it's not recommended to talk like that). So I always tell them, just learn.

So my final feedback is I always encourage them to learn. And my decision or role regarding languages is, I always encourage them and it is my decision to just maybe establish schools through maybe the scholars that we have that Jiiddo scholars available now because we need to have these books written down though we don't have those books in Jii yet This is the only way we can spread [knowledge] and fight against

ignorance and that's the only time we can actually realize our potentials and make our people understand that it's good and vital to learn more than your mother tongue.

8.5 Do the Jiiddo have a language committee? If so, what is the committee's plan to develop your traditional language?

I formed the [WhatsApp] group right away. The group is now... in fact, I can see that Ismail from Nairobi is greeting the rest. I officially made the group and I welcomed everybody but I have not yet included the [senior] reference people whom we want to include, [like] Professor [Salim] and [Ahmed] Borille, whom we want to be our guardians. My decision about it, you know, when you're forming a language committee, there are features or criteria that we're supposed to follow when we're making it. Though we don't have it now, we will soon establish it. First, we need to consider a list of specifications whereby we can only select people who speak more than Jii, people who can read and write, and who at least have a primary degree. Ideally, we will choose someone who speaks more than two international languages. Though I've not discussed this criteria with the concerning officials yet, it's something in my mind. The only way we can improve this language is by having people who are well-versed with other languages, who can actually establish templates to use, who can actually assist us in making strategic developments and strategic plans for developing this language. But now, those criteria are not actually set out and have not communicated to them, but these are the criteria I would like to shed light on. Yes, we actually have to form a language committee. This WhatsApp team that I have formed doesn't mean they are [automatically] part of the language committee. But as long as we're going with this team, we will observe the rest of the youth and then [perhaps] invite them from the group. If we have maybe 50 Jii speakers with those criteria, out of them the first priority goes to those people whose parents both spoke Jii. Or, we could also include those whose mothers didn't necessarily speak Jii, but who themselves have learned it, and also speak international languages.

That's the decision I would like to inform, that's the proposal that I will make in the future, God willing.

8.6 Would you be interested in participating in a future language development workshop? Why? What are you hoping to learn/achieve?

I would like to participate more and more in any workshops aimed at developing Jii, or any other language, because, even if you participate in workshops aimed at developing other languages, you can use the same features and processes for developing your own language. So it doesn't matter, but my plan when I'm attending such workshops, is first of all, when it comes to undertaking such a project, you need to learn tools, because there are tools set aside. You need to claim and learn all those tools that help developing or for daily use, like now we are using this software called FLEx. You have to learn how to use it upside and down, then you can actually play around with it and develop your language. Again, to get language development there are very vital courses

related and I would like to request in the future that they would share with us and train us with those courses that are relevant to language development projects.

Very good. I will do my best, God willing, to be the middleman, as I have a relationship with you, and I have a relationship with SIL. I'll do my best to discover the best tools, software, and training and make the introductions, I hope that will be the best for everybody involved. That's my commitment from my side. (M. Neterer)

Michael, I really appreciate the research you are doing. This is some of our first written material in Jii, so in terms of doing research, it's very vital. I really appreciate those courses because, if you don't know how to do research, you may have challenges. Even now, we don't know the actual section of society or the actual part of the language to be interviewed or to be collected so you'll have, like today, an assessment which is not related to the first one or the one we did one month ago. So we need to have chronological events that actually end up with developing the language. In terms of human research courses, I would really appreciate if we could get more and more.

8.7 For example, would you like to help create a website to publish Jii literature? If so, what would you like to have published there?

You know, it's very true. This [would] assist us more and more if we do it. As you know, we are living in a global world that is [becoming] like one village. [Therefore] if we develop a Facebook page aimed at developing our language we can share the daily progress and enhancements that we make. We can share the alphabet. We can share more words. And we can share cultural activities that people are engaging in. That [will be] one way to encourage even more members of the Jiiddo community to actually enjoy it and be proud of remaining Jiiddo. So this Facebook page I actually want to establish it soon, when we actually finalize the alphabet. At the same time, maybe we will have cultural activities recorded. The other time I was with the professor we were talking about [how to observe and preserve] cultural activities because we cannot collect them [in the same] way we're collecting words like Rapid Word Collection. This particular assessment or collection of data would be, for example about marriage ceremonies [which are] actually different today [compared to] the traditional way. It's totally different today. We need to list all those... What were the tools used? How is it connected [to other elements of culture]? What was the bridegroom using as a dowry? What was he expected to bring to the other family? So these are the areas we need to develop. For other examples, we have burial ceremonies and circumcision ceremonies? How [were] these conducted? What were the main activities involved? So we need to display all those in the Facebook page because that would make [people] more interested. I could listen today to that link on Facebook about that professor (M. Nuuh Ali) who was saying that Jii was the first language spoken in the in the Horn of Africa.²³⁶ We have not realized that, you see? This was not a revelation that came from God. [Rather,] he learned it through research. When you do research you can actually understand and know better who we are and how our language was [before]. Though I cannot support it now, I heard from an elder some 15 years ago; he was telling me the

²³⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=538900073313452>

way we're speaking our language now is totally different from before. It has eroded as we were intermingling or interacting with other communities. [Before], the norm for Jiiddo people was not to actually reside or settle with other communities. They were proud of [their independence.] When another settling community came near them, they would move further away. They ended up settling in *Dhoobey* where they remain now.

As you talk about cultural research, I think you're going to find that, when the youth do the semantic domains, you're going to find that those are going to open doors for understanding burial ceremonies and circumcision ceremonies and marriage dowry. I believe all those words are going to be discovered under the semantic domains, so maybe that will be a beginning... (M. Neterer)

Yes I really appreciate that because the semantic domains have been updated [comprehensive]. They discuss [cover] every section or every part of the language. It leaves no section un-discussed. It's updated leaving no stone unturned.

8.8 Is there something you want to share now in Ey Jii that you want your children to remember? Can you share a story, song, proverb or even one word, or short phrase you would like to be recorded?

A proverb... like, you know, my language is very rich really... Recently I was listening to that poet (the one I was telling you about), though he's down there in the location [in the districts] but one day, God willing, I'll meet with him... So let me start with a proverb: "Someone who ran away yesterday can't be reached today just by walking." And, "A key lost in the daytime is hard to find in the nighttime." So those are the little proverbs I'd like to share.

8.9 Can you help build the Ey Jii dictionary? Will you, or someone in your family, download the [Language Forge] App to your phone to add more words and/or give example sentences? What about Language Forge? Is this something you've been able to download? Is it a useful tool?

Sorry for that. It is actually a vitally beneficial tool because, even when you are just taking coffee, when you have time with family or friends, you can actually use it at the same time and insert words [quickly] because you have the smartphone in hand. You may not have a problem with it. But I haven't downloaded yet, so I'll do that right away after this interview. So you will see my words inserted before the night goes.

8.10 Who is another family or individual person you think should answer these ten questions? (Like Ahmed Borille?)

Yes, we have many Jiiddo members to reach out to, to share with them this vital interview because it will give them pleasure and they'll appreciate it a lot once they hear such an undertaking is going on. So I promise that I will invite more and more that we can actually interview.

Appendix 17: Jiiddu Proverbs²³⁷

²³⁷ The following three proverbs were recorded on February 11, 2015 as part of a welcome/orientation speech given by youth leader Maday Jeylani Ali. 2015. *Dhowaawshabanina* [We welcome him]. Kurtunwarey, Lower Shabeelle, Somalia.

Jii gaami enetuu hortu wuli eri ootee yen-a gef-ni miiri
 Jiiddo what saying above thing sky come earth-FOC miss-HAB.3M.FUT not

‘According to Jiddo’s wise saying, “Whatever the sky brings, is fit for the land”’²³⁸

fori maalin baay-eeey hamin yad kuuw-ni miiri
 key day lose-3M.PST night people look for-HAB.3M.FUT not

‘A key that was lost during the day, people won’t find at night’

nam shali ber-ey beryi dareer-ka som-ne miiri.
 man yesterday run away-3M.PST today walk-the overtake-1PL not

‘A man who ran away yesterday cannot be caught up to today by walking’

²³⁸ Maybe more literally, ‘Whatever the sky brings, is not bad for the land’

Appendix 18: Madoowe’s “Are They the Same?” Poem (2018)

*Halmakey ma'agathin? 'Are They the Same?' by Ali Madoowe (2018)*²³⁹

1: ...dhiifniyaaw hoy huusameh haghum iyo hariirmile (a tree, that is poisonous) nam hegere (|H||tana hadal sisii)

2: Hiira horki fuul haysane'h haminke ee haljibi jalbaanta (northern) eray haga'ay (thunder) eray hogol huurshey (falling) galam illahey siiya hala (???), hirabuud shine habuur (saxan) (|H||taana hadal sisii)

3: Widaad hafithul quraan hamin dala haakya'ii horhor dhekey sunna doktay jindhaa huursithay 'horhor' illahow hodon (barwaaqe) nawiiilow (prevailing) human efaay, habarquwe galay hashuud hiira halaf eseey **halmakey ma'agathin?** (|H||tana hadal sisii)

4: Widaad hafithul quraan hal ataaa xalal insaan, huud ee xamiim sayba xarfood oo hanafeseey (completed), nam hiis dheele hamin shiyey hanjarsow (hanjiir,) huriy gobey **halmakey ma'agathin?** (|H||tana hadal sisii)

5: Nam helaa yuuqshey (yangurey) hoge (splash rain) hayananik gurey eral hogol dhiirshay hilow ee horhor dhokothey jindhaa huursithay horhori illahow hogol wayaan, nam heraa hoge (splash rain) ilha'ay haddijow heraa iyo hamisay hawayuur yelaa isahorjaley (asahormudaal, gathered) wucsaa hamoowsaday (fully grabbed) hubaaley (Play recited for the girls to attract their attention) jibsathey **halmakey ma'agathin** (|H| tana hadal sisii)

6: Hirabuud hela gurun hanabali (gadiid, urabe (dowdhaa) – castarated bulls - baqay) sii horaa (rarid) hanaw (gadiid) yarshe (wayaal, leading) hathaqe qowe hogaanshe hardha dugami'h haysaneey (settle) haladhowe (??) halawshuu haqal (herey, hamnadhe, quthu,) gobuu hanaw makey (not suiting to be gadiid) habarnitee ma'agathoo (|H| tana hadal sisii)

7: Nam helaa baashey hoge hanjartoo gay harhare hoowdhayotee berey iyoow halaay holatow hali ma'aaw, iyo nam helaa heshte jini **halmakey ma'agathin** (|H| tana hadal sisii)

8: Haminkaa huy mete'en hiir huusan otokii hardhasha hiytiney wahuusan halooldhatee halaa elifow hagereey waagis (???) habajamey (meaningless talk) (|H| tana hadal sisii)

9: Hilookey (a place about 6hrs journey) howjaldhi' yuu harethooy (rainwater) hafandukle (dek, a place about 6hrs journey) haylami iyo hooran (a place) ma'ar hogol sihoorte hoge xaafandha/eeg (dam, for the rain fed zones for the pastoralist only) haayte wari habuur dhatanite ma'agii heerdha gurisniyaa **Maya maya** (|H| tana hadal sisii)

10: Heray, buuflehubee, hathuumhilowle iyo hakaaw hakaaw, hawaldheri (they are grazing places known for Jiiddo for the livestock) meel ya'aa hogol si huurte hogi xafandha haayte wari habuur dhatanite mayee heerdha gurisniyaa **Maya maya** (|H| tana hadal sisii)

²³⁹ Madoowe, Ali. 2018. *Halmakey ma'agathin?* "Are They the Same?" Lower Shabeelle, Somalia. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9MfJUoIKe0>

**Appendix 19: Jii Origins/Classification – Perspectives by Cerulli, Ali,
Lamberti, & Ehret**

19.1 Cerulli's Perspective (1957)

The following page, translated from Italian, from *Storia Della Somalia L'islam in Somalia il Libro Degli Zengi* references the Jiiddo twelve times (Cerulli 1957, 163).²⁴⁰

Apparently, Cerulli's original source was a document *il Libro Degli Zengi*, 'The Book of Zengi', which was a history of the Zanj translated from the Arabic *Kitaab al-Zunuuj*. For more about the Zanj, see *The Book of the Zanj* (Chittick 1976).²⁴¹

The first Somali population to enter the region between the Webi [Shabeelle] and Juba [Rivers] was that of the Jiiddo, as local traditions unanimously attest. The Jiiddo have long fought against the Galla in the coastal region; and of these struggles, among other things, a curious memory remains in the language of the Galla Bararetta populations today on the Tana River in the Kenyan colony, because the Bararettas give the name of *Jiddo* to all Somalis. The Jiiddo themselves must have assimilated sizeable groups of populations which they defeated; this is proved, not only by the social structure of their tribe, but also by the very dialect that is spoken by them today.

The passage of the Jiiddo in the region north of Mogadishu, which is today inhabited by the Somali Abgàl populations, is remembered by the Somali proverb which says that in that region there have been: the nine Jiiddos, the nine Ajuran (Ajuràn), and the nine Abgàl. Another memory of the struggles of the Jiiddo is the tradition of Àaw Garwèn, a rock near Gandarshe between Merca and Brava (Fig. 40),²⁴² which is said to have been attacked in the wars between Galla and Jiiddo by Galla horsemen who tried to take advantage of the low tide to reach the enemy warriors who had taken refuge on the rock (Cerulli 1957, 163).

²⁴⁰ Cerulli, Enrico. 1957. *Somalia I - Storia della Somalia. L'Islam in Somalia. Il libro degli Zengi*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/handle/2307/1510>

²⁴¹ Chittick, H. Neville. 1976. "The Book of the Zanj and the Miji Kenda." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9 (1): 68–73. <https://doi.org/10.2307/217391>

²⁴² Cerulli spelled *Gonderscia*, which is spelled now: Gandershi, or Gandarshe. "In Cerulli's text there is a mistake. I know a place on the coast with that name, a small village with remains of old coral buildings, which is not between Merka and Baraawe, but to the northeast of Merka, in the direction of Dhanaane and Mogadishu. Here below (**Fig. 40**) you find part of a map with Gandarshe, but Dhanaane is wrongly spelled as Dhahaane" (Banti, Email 3/29, 2021).

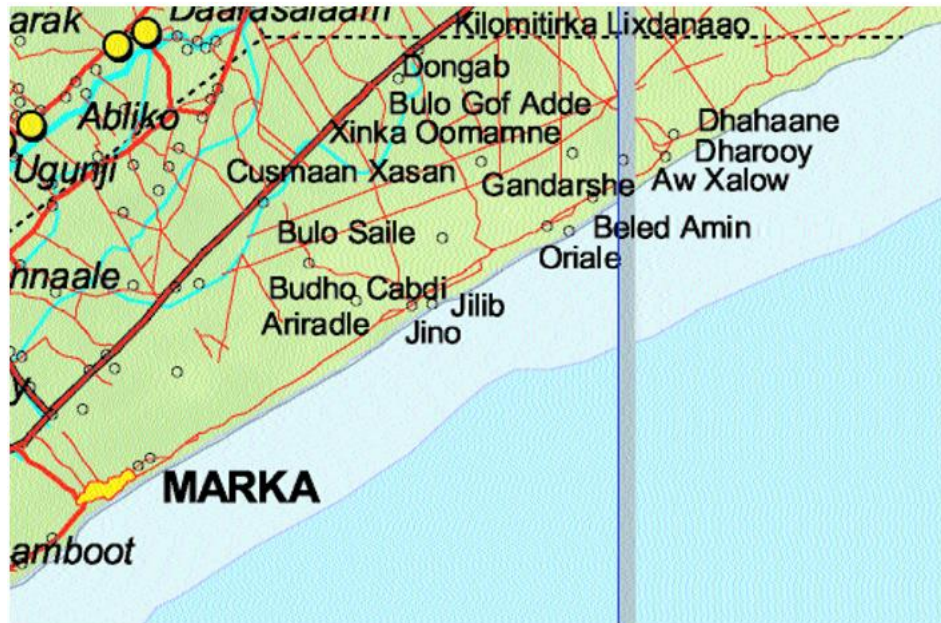


Figure 40. Map of Gandarshe, NE of Merka (Banti, Email 3/29, 2021)

As we have said, the Somali proverb recalls that the nine Jiiddos were followed by the nine Ajuran. The Ajuran population, which must be reconnected to the Somali ones of the Hawiyya group, actually advanced from the north towards the Shabeelle valley and tradition recalls two distinct wars of the Ajuran: one against the Jiiddo, who were driven out from the lower Webi [Shabeelle] valley as far as the region of Brava, whence they had previously driven out the Galla; the other fought by the Ajuran against the Galla, who had occupied the upper part of the Webi [Shabeelle] upstream of the Jiiddo when the Ajuran arrived (Cerulli 1957, 163).

Cerulli's work deserves further investigation as this was just one page (163) in volume 1, while the index to *Somalia I - Storia della Somalia. L'Islam in Somalia* shows multiple references to Ġiddu (on pp. 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 66, 95, 143, 146, and 163) showing that there is Jii data that should be investigated (1957).²⁴³

²⁴³ Special thanks to Giorgio Banti for sharing this Cerulli reference.

19.2 Mohamed Nuuh Ali's Perspective (1983 and 1985)

M. Nuuh Ali and Ehret's proposal to put Jii on the same branch with Bayso was a bold "reorganization of the family tree of Omo-Tana" (Ali and Arvanites 1985, 6).²⁴⁴ Their proposal brought them into conflict with Lamberti's "Origin of the Jiiddu of Somalia" (1988),²⁴⁵ who classified Jii as part of the Digil cluster of Somalia, and Lamberti's teacher Bernd Heine,²⁴⁶ who had earlier classified Bayso of Ethiopia as a unique language on northern branch of the "Omo-Tana" (Fig. 41).²⁴⁷

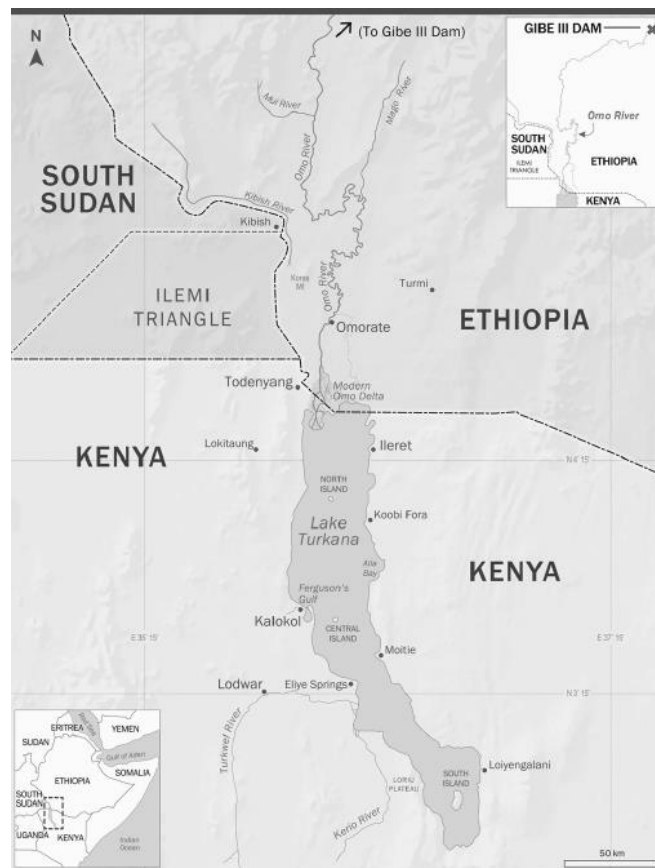


Figure 41. Omo River of Ethiopia (Carr 2017)

²⁴⁴ Ali, Mohamed Nuuh, and Linda Arvanites. 1985. "The Place of Jiiddu in Proto-Soomaali." *Studies in African Linguistics Supplement* 9 (December): 6–10.

²⁴⁵ Lamberti, Marcello. 1988. "The Origin of the Jiiddu of Somalia." In *Third International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Annarita Puglielli, 3–10. Roma: Pensiero Scientifico Editore.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2307/980>

²⁴⁶ Lamberti prepared his PhD in African Linguistics in Cologne with Bernd Heine.

²⁴⁷ "Omo-Tana" is no longer recognized, but the use of it here reflects scholarship in the 1980s.

“Omo-Tana” refers to a branch of the Cushitic family of languages spoken in Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, and Kenya (Tosco 2012),²⁴⁸ with Somali being the largest language group represented (Blench 2006).²⁴⁹ These geographically scattered language groups are named after their ancestral homelands along the Omo and Tana rivers. The Omo River is the largest river fully contained in Ethiopia (outside the Nile basin), which empties into Lake Turkana at the Kenya border (Fig. 41, above) (Carr 2017). The Tana River is the longest river in Kenya, which begins south of Mt. Kenya (roughly three hundred km south of Lake Turkana) and flows NE past Garissa towards the border with Somalia then south to empty into the Indian Ocean (Fig. 42).

²⁴⁸ Tosco, Mauro. 2012. The Unity and Diversity of Somali Dialectal Variants. In: Nathan Oyori Ogechi, Jane A. Ngala Oduor and Peter Iribemwangi (eds.), *The Harmonization and Standardization of Kenyan Languages. Orthography and other aspects*. Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS): 2012: 263-280.

²⁴⁹ Blench, Roger. 2006. *The Afro-Asiatic Languages: Classification and Reference List* (ms). <http://rogerblench.info/Language/Afroasiatic/General/AALIST.pdf>

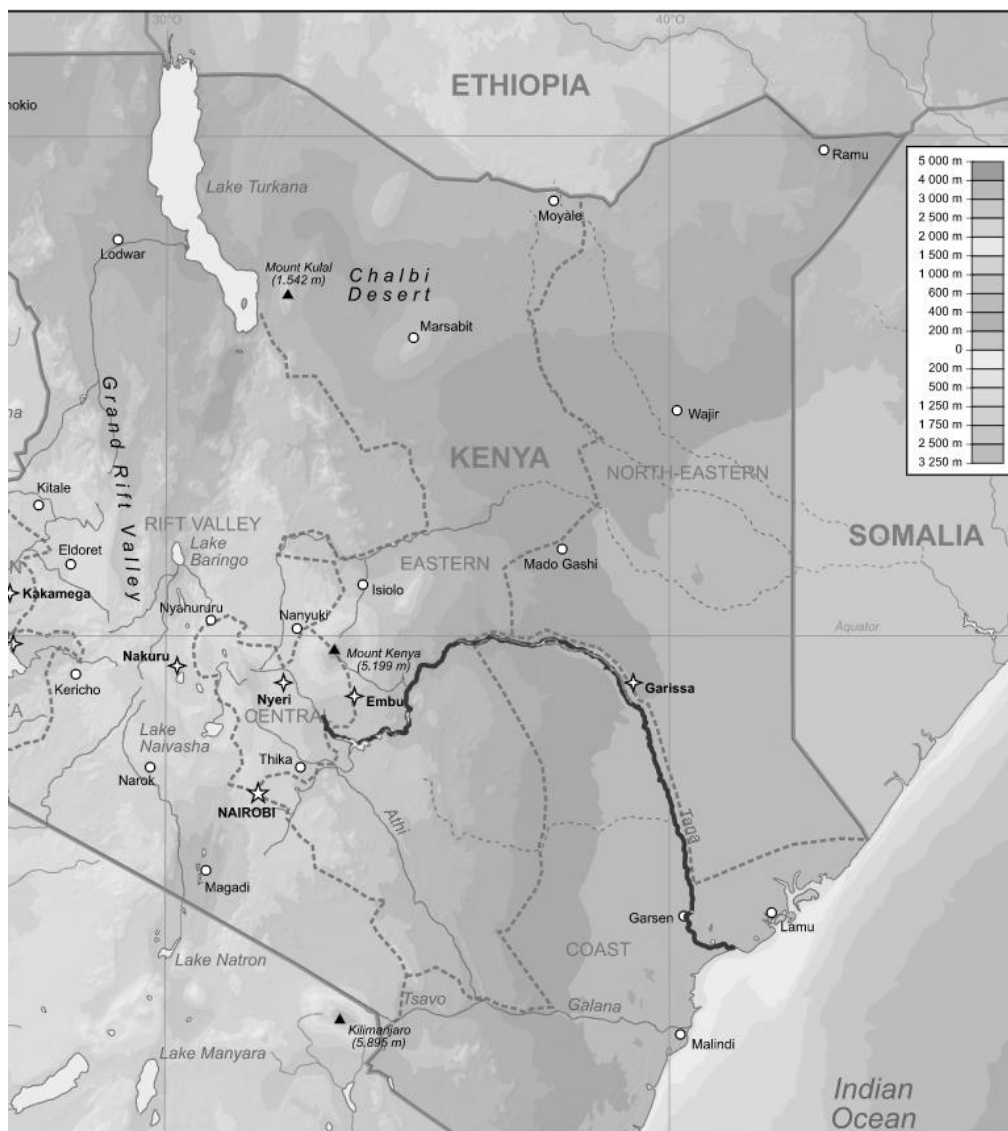


Figure 42. Tana River of Kenya (“Map of the River Tana” 2017) .

This thesis does not examine the details of their argument against Lamberti’s classification of Jii as a Somali dialect (Lamberti 1983a),²⁵⁰ which they find “untenable,” except to say that the dispute involves “‘older’ [phonological] laws” (M. Nuuh Ali and Arvanites 1985, 7–9).²⁵¹ In summary, they are arguing for the placement of Jii and Bayso

²⁵⁰ Lamberti, Marcello. 1983b. In *The Linguistic Situation in the Somali Democratic Republic*, edited by Thomas Labahn, Vol. 1: linguistics and literature:155–200. University of Hamburg: Helmut Buske. <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/handle/2307/2846>

²⁵¹ [Phonological] laws of “spirantization and palatalization,” and “another older law, *a-raising, which Bayso and Jiiddu share which feeds the palatization conditions of Jiiddu” (Ali and Arvanites 1985, 7–9).

together in proto-Somali I, as illustrated (Fig. 43) by Tosco (2012, 275), who combines and reconciles Ehret and Nuuh's classification with Lamberti's placement of Maay and Digil (see dashed line grouping).

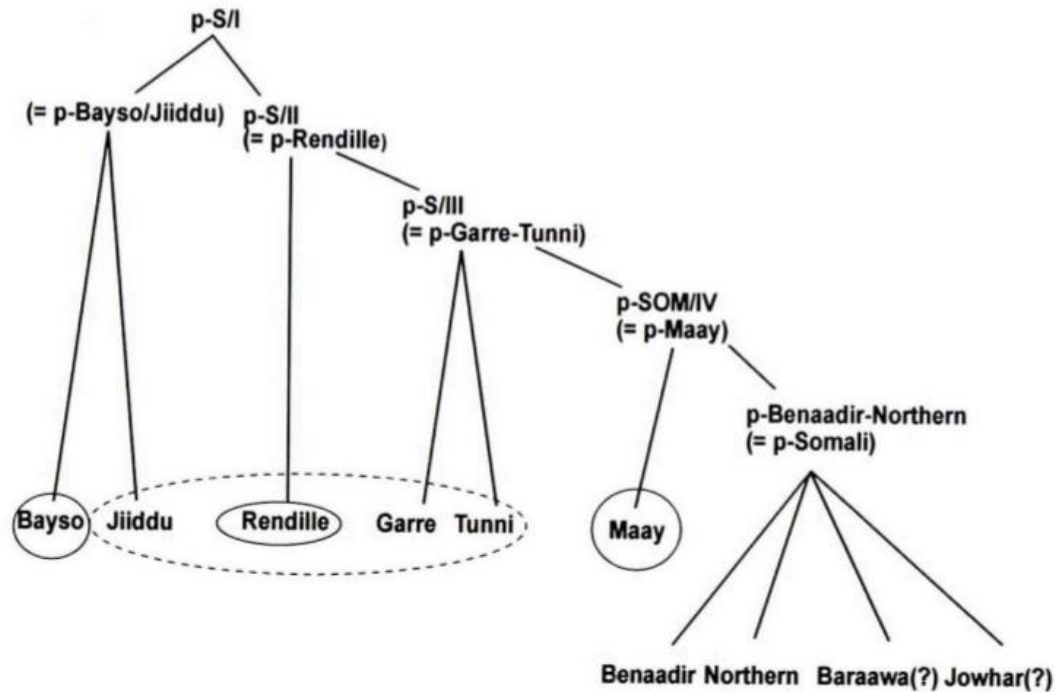


Figure 43. Tosco's (2012) synthesis of Ehret and Ali (1983), and Lamberti (1984)

M. Nuuh Ali (with Ehret) draws his evidence from Jii linguistic data and Jii's closest neighbors, the Tunni and Garre, in addition to Bayso of southwestern Ethiopia and Rendille of Kenya. Three references are of particular interest to the language development goal of expanding the Jii lexicon. The first is the mention of an older Jii-Bayso word for 'water' *behe* that preceded the modern Jii form *wara*. This is significant, as this old word for 'water' had not been encountered by the contributors to the Jii

lexicon.²⁵² The second is another unique contribution to the lexicon, the word *hulkul* ‘sheep's dewlap’.

Third, of special interest is Ali and Arvanite's statement that, “Our data is from C. Ehret's field notes. We have relied on one of the two Jii dialect forms collected by Prof. Ehret, which appears to differ in some respects not only from Moreno's but also from Lamberti's” (M. Nuuh Ali and Arvanites 1985, 7). As the Jii lexicon has so far only included Moreno, Lamberti, and M. Nuuh Ali's data, it would be tremendously beneficial to see Ehret's field notes and to enter his data from both Jii dialects.²⁵³

As noted earlier in §2.1.2 Ali uses a lexicostatistical comparison method to measure “cognition percentages” between word lists of forty Somali languages and dialects to establish historical linguistic classification (M. N. Ali 1985, 22).²⁵⁴ He concludes that Jii and Bayso must share a branch as part of Proto-Somali because, “The Jiddu-Bayso [cognition] relation is markedly higher at 54% despite their great geographical separation, and so they appear to form a separate branch” (M. N. Ali 1985, 26) (Fig. 44).

²⁵² Ayub Osman, JYA leader, was not familiar with the old word for water and promised to ask Jiiddo elders if they remember this word.

²⁵³ This request has been made (Email correspondence, November 24, 2020).

²⁵⁴ Ali, Mohamed Nuuh. 1985. “History in the Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. - 1500 A.D.: Aspects of Social and Economic Change between the Rift Valley and the Indian Ocean.” PhD Diss, Los Angeles: University of California.

Bayso																	
54	Jiiddu																
40	40	Rendille															
43	48	52	Garree														
41	55	49	65	Tunni													
45	51	57	72	76	Baardheere												
47	50	52	64	68	79	Daafeed											
47	52	54	65	70	79	84	Luuq										
43	48	53	62	67	79	85	87	Bay									
44	48	55	67	70	80	82	84	87	Dhiinsoor								
48	52	55	67	70	81	82	86	84	88	Baydhaba							
45	49	54	61	65	76	81	85	82	81	87	Afgooy						
40	51	58	63	72	78	79	78	74	81	76	72	Baraawa					
44	46	54	65	68	69	70	72	66	71	73	72	77	Jamaame				
42	47	51	64	62	64	63	69	62	64	68	64	73	81	Xamar			
40	43	50	58	63	63	65	64	62	68	66	65	69	79	75	Cadale		
43	39	51	58	57	61	60	65	60	65	68	63	69	72	65	78	Hargeysa	
40	41	55	60	62	63	61	62	64	65	68	62	69	74	68	79	88	Qardho

Figure 44. Lexicostatistical analysis of “Soomaali” dialects (Ehret and Ali, 1983)

19.3 Lamberti’s Perspective (1988)

While Lamberti has “no doubt” that the Jii spoken in Somalia is a Somali language (1988, 3),²⁵⁵ he also faces the challenge of accounting for linguistic features not in common with Somali. He notes that, “Somalis themselves find that the Jii dialect presents some unexpected features, which are extraneous to their language...” (4). He says that there are “Somalists” like Douglas Biber who have suggested that Jii could be “something else than Somali” (4). Lamberti’s goal for this paper is to “try to explain the considerable divergences which separate Jii from the other Somali dialects...” (1988, 4).

Lamberti refers to the same origin story this researcher heard when visiting the Jiiddo in Somalia in 2015, of two brothers who founded two clans – Jiiddo, and Boran,

²⁵⁵ Lamberti, Marcello. 1988. “The Origin of the Jiiddo of Somalia.” In Third International Congress of Somali Studies, edited by Annarita Puglielli, 3–10. Roma: Pensiero Scientifico Editore.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2307/980>

the ancestor of an Oromo clan.²⁵⁶ With this history in mind, Lamberti addresses the possibility that modern Jii has an Oromo substratum, but rejects that idea because of lack of evidence. Rather, he believes the best explanation is an “old substratum which still survives in Jii in a few relics” (5). Lamberti notes that there are “two main Jii branches,”²⁵⁷ referring to the Ethiopian-Somali separation. To clarify, besides this ancient historical division, there are also two main branches among the Jiiddo in Somalia, which are the Wajis and Safar clan divisions illustrated in Appendix 3.²⁵⁸

Lamberti goes on to list 18 examples of features of Jii that do not correspond with other Somali dialects but do clearly correspond with other Cushitic languages (1988, 5-6). Comparing the 18 examples with other Cushitic languages, Lamberti finds the strongest correspondence to the Konsoid group of languages (Konso and related languages in the Province of Gamu Gofa). Within that group, he finds “particularly striking” correspondence with the D’iraassh language (6). In fact, he finds “total agreement” for five linguistic features: 1) plural markers *-d’ə*, 2) present endings, 3) spirantization of initial *k-* to *h-*,²⁵⁹ 4) dative/benefactive marker *is*, and 5) negative preterit (1988, 6-7).

According to Lamberti, after the Konsoid group, the next closest languages to Jii are Gide’o and Alaba of the Highland East Cushitic (HEC) group, including Sidamo, Kambatta, Janjero, Wolayta, and Bayso (Baiso) and Ometo languages, which suggests

²⁵⁶ Confirmed in the SIL Ethnologue profile which reports ethnic Jiiddo living in the Bale Province of Ethiopia who speak Oromo as their first language. (2014)

²⁵⁷ Could the two branches also correlate with M. Nuuh Ali’s reference to Ehret’s field notes, with data from two Jii dialects?

²⁵⁸ Appendix 3 shows how the Jiido clan family tree divides into twenty-five (25) Jiiddo subclans (14 Safar + 11 Wajis). This graphic was originally created to track how many families were volunteer returnees from the Mogadishu IDPs (Correspondence, Sultan Ibro, Elder of Digil & Mirifle, June 25, 2013).

²⁵⁹ Spirantization is a phonological process by which a plosive sound (or stop) becomes a fricative in the same place of articulation. In this case *k* changes to *h*.

close contact at some point in history (7). Lamberti provides four examples of these correspondences: 1) object pronoun of the 1pl *noku*, 2) demonstrative forms *ekkə/ettə* ‘this’ (m/f), 3) ending of the negative subjunctive *-n-ekkə*, and 4) preterital endings *-ooku/-tooku/-nooku/-tookun/-ookun* corresponding to *-ukko* and *-akko’o* in the Hadiya language (1988, 7-8).²⁶⁰

Lamberti’s conclusion is that while modern Jii should now be considered a Somali dialect, its differences with Somali can be explained by early close contact, first with the languages of the Konsoid group, and later with Highland East Cushitic languages. Lamberti theorizes that those Jii features with no correspondence to Somali are “relics” of a “substratum” language similar to the Konsoid, especially D’iraassh. Therefore, because of isoglosses that separate Jii from Somali, he concludes that the Jiiddo originated in Ethiopia in Gamu Gofa, from where they emigrated east to Sidamo. There they had close contact with the Highland East Cushitic languages, especially Gide’o (1988, 9).²⁶¹

After that, Lamberti surmises that the Jiiddo separated from the larger group and settled in the Bale Mountain province of Ethiopia, where they were influenced to accept the Oromo language and culture (9). The group that remained became fully “Oromized” to the point they are considered an autonomous clan within the Oromo nation (9).²⁶² This researcher’s visit to the Bale Mountains in September 2018 and interview with one Jiiddo elder confirmed that there is a group known as Jiiddo Oromo. However, the Ethiopian

²⁶⁰ Preterital refers to a verb form serving to denote events that took place or were completed in the past. It combines the perfective aspect with the past tense, and may thus also be termed the perfective past.

²⁶¹ Confirmed by Somali specialist M. Madany, “af-Jiiddo has the most Highland Eastern Cushitic elements...some similar words as in Gedeo, Hadiya, etc, from highland areas of S. Ethiopia” (correspondence, July 2010).

²⁶² See evidence in Appendix 5 comparing Swadesh 100 word lists from Jiiddo of Bale with Jii of Somalia.

Jiiddo elder did not remember his people speaking anything but Oromo and was not aware of the Jiiddo of Somalia (Interview with M. Haji Yunus 2018).

The other group emigrated further southeast into what is now Somalia to settle in the Lower Shabeelle region, where they adopted Somali language and culture (9).

Lamberti could not say whether the Jiiddo of Somali were “Oromized” before leaving Ethiopia, but he concludes by saying, “an Oromo substratum cannot be proved for Af-Jiiddu” (Lamberti 1988, 8).

19.4 Ehret’s Perspective (1995)

In “The Eastern Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. to 1400 A.D.: The Historical Roots”, a chapter in *The Invention of Somalia*, Christopher Ehret asserts that (even without archeological evidence) linguistic research provides historical understanding with “some confidence and in some detail, back into the last millennium B.C.” (Ehret 1995, 233).²⁶³ Ehret’s theory is that all the modern Somali languages—Bayso (of Ethiopia), Jii, Rendille (of Kenya), Tunni, Garre, as well as Maay and Maxaa (Mahaatiri) Somali—find their origins in proto-Eastern “Omo-Tana” language (previously called proto-Soomaali I, or simply proto-Soomaali) (Ehret 1995, 236).

The common ancestors of these language groups were farmers and herders in the grasslands of the far southeast edges of the Ethiopian highlands (Bale Mountains, Fig. 6, 7) where the Jubba and Shabeelle find their headwaters (1995, 235). Jii and Bayso are the only two languages on the Genale branch, according to Ehret. The rest of the Somali languages he places on another branch (previously called “Soomaali-II” or “Sam” by

²⁶³ Ehret, Christopher. 1995. “The Eastern Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. to 1400 A.D.: The Historical Roots.” In *The Invention of Somalia*, edited by Ali Jimale Ahmed, 233–62. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press.

Heine, 1981) which he names the Dawo, after the Dawo River just to the south of the Genale, which also feeds into the Jubba (Fig. 45).

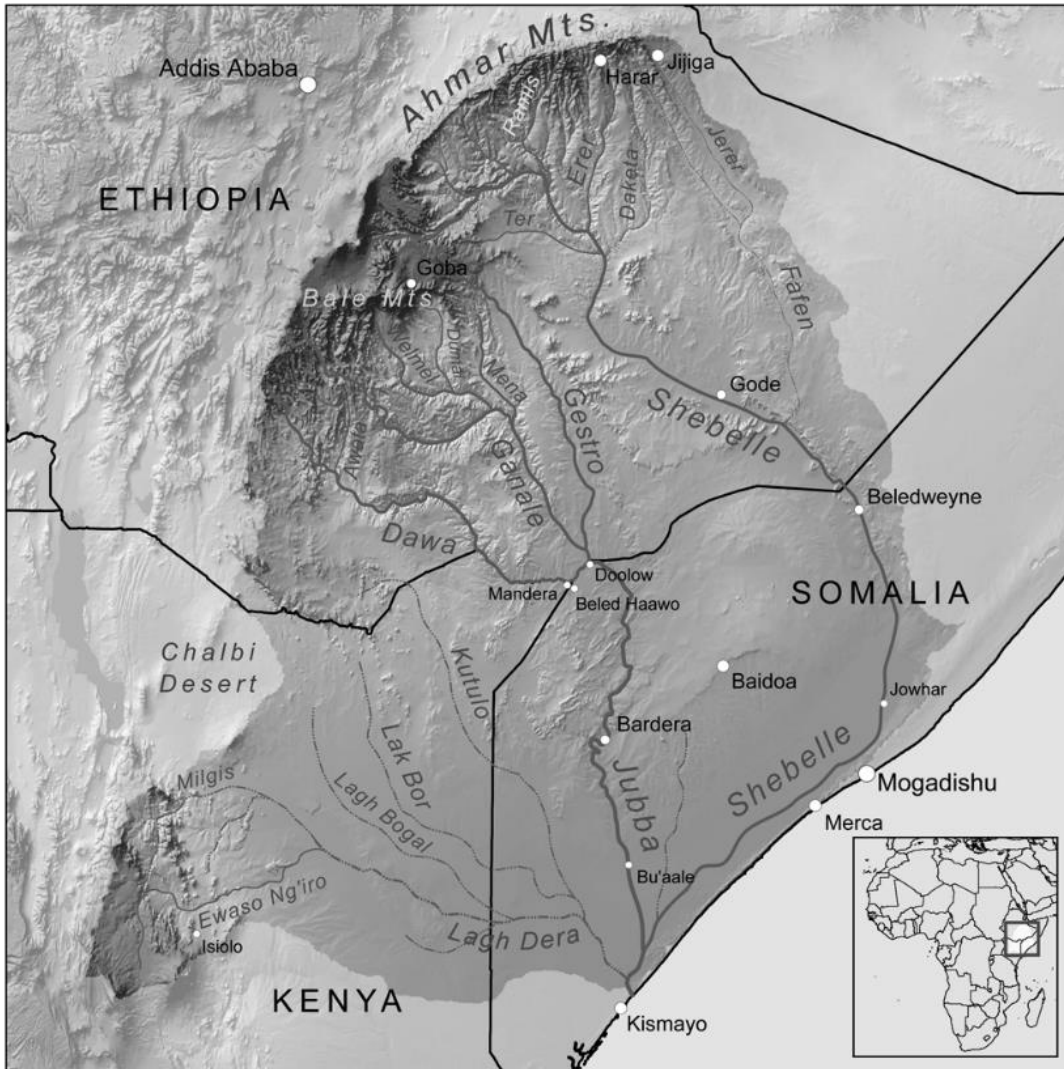


Figure 45. Ganale and Dawa Rivers into the Jubba River of Somalia (Musser 2010)

Ehret's classification is shown in the outline below (Ehret 1995, 257):

Relationships of Eastern Omo-Tana (Soomaali) Languages

The Omo-Tana subgroup of Lowland Eastern Cushitic has the following divisions, as shown in Ehret and M. Nuuh Ali, *Soomaali Classification* (1983).²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Earlier, interim names for the divisions are shown parenthetically within quotation marks.

- I. Western Omo-Tana
 - A. Dasenech
 - B. Arbore, Elmolo
- II. Eastern Omo-Tana ("Soomaali-I")
 - A. Genale ("Bayso-Jiiddu")
 - 1. Bayso
 - 2. Jiddu
 - B. Dawo ("Soomaali-II"; "Sam")
 - 1. Rendille
 - 2. Doy ("Soomaali-I")
 - a. Jubba (Tunni, Geeliidle)
 - b. Garree
 - c. Maay-Maxay ("Soomaali-IV")
 - (1) Maay [Gelede, Afgooye, Diinsoor, Baydhawo,²⁶⁵ Bay, Xudur...]
 - (2) Maxay ("Banaadir-Northern Soomaali") [four dialect-groups:
 - (a) Banaadir: Xamar (Mogadishu), Merka, Biyimaal, etc.
 - (b) Baraawe;
 - (c) Jowhar; and
 - (d) Northern Maxay ("Shebelle-Northern Soomaali"), including all dialects spoken along middle Shabeelle River and to the north and east of the river, also Baali, Digoodiye, and Darood dialects spoken south of Jubba)]

There is linguistic evidence that both the Genale and Dawo branches raised grain crops and herded cattle, sheep, and goats. The Genale branch probably raised barley in addition to sorghum, whereas the Dawo may have only raised sorghum due to the warmer, dryer climate in the lower elevations where they settled (Ehret 1995, 236).

However, the Jii lexicon contains the word for sorghum, but no word for barley.²⁶⁶ Ehret

notes:

Just two terms for a grain species, *mesengo* and *hadhuur* (Northern Maxay *hadhuudh*) are known to have been preserved from proto-Eastern Omo-Tana in the proto-Dawo language. The first of these only and always referred to sorghum. The second term apparently originally meant 'barley,' as it still does today in the Bayso language of the Genale subgroup. It was retained in proto-Dawo but shifted in meaning to 'sorghum' (1995, 255).

²⁶⁵ Alternatively spelled Baidoa

²⁶⁶ There should be a Jii word for barley, since Jii is on the Genale branch whose people probably raised barley, according to Ehret's theory.

To appreciate the broader context, Ehret described the Eastern “Omo-Tana” as one of six major ethnic groupings that lived in the Horn of Africa between the 10th and the 2nd century B.C (233). Another notable grouping relevant to this study were the Southern Cushitic Dahaloans (Fig. 46),²⁶⁷ who lived in the riverine areas of southern Somalia at least by 1000 B.C. and possibly as early as 3000 B.C. (Ehret 1995, 235, 258).²⁶⁸

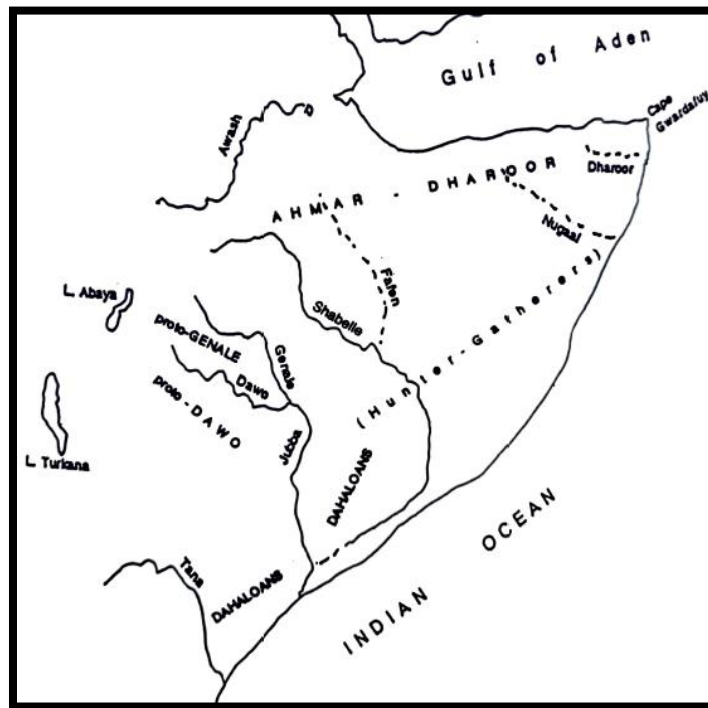


Figure 46. Eastern Horn, c. 500 B.C. (Ehret 1995, 258)

The Dahaloans eventually assimilated into Jii language and culture, presumably after generations of contact, after the “proto-Jiiddu” started arriving sometime in the first century A.D (1995, 240).²⁶⁹ Two other groups immigrated into the region between the Jubba and Shabeelle Rivers around the same time – ancestors of the Somali Bantu called

²⁶⁷ Maps reproduced with permission from Christopher Ehret (Email correspondence, Jan. 4, 2021).

²⁶⁸ “Dahalola language forms by itself one of the three primary branches of Southern Cushitic” (255).

²⁶⁹ The name *Jiiddu* (for the Jiiddo people) is retained when referencing Ehret’s chosen terms.

the Pwani (Fig. 47),²⁷⁰ and a subset of the Dawo that Ehret calls the Proto-Doy (1995, 259). They are named after the inferior *doy* soil, which they found suitable for grazing, if not ideal for growing crops (239). The Pwani settled closer to the riverbanks while the “Proto-Jiiddu” farmed the rich soil (Fig. 47), which the Dahaloans had previously occupied, and thus the three groups coexisted in the inter-riverine region (Ehret 1995, 241).



Figure 47. Eastern Horn of Africa, c. 2nd century A.D. (Ehret 1995, 259)

“The proto-Jiiddu seem soon to have grown into the most important society of the western half of the inter-riverine region,” Ehret observed, with a larger territory than modern Jiiddo occupy today, which stretched from Baidoa to the Shabeelle River (1995, 239). This is evidenced by the many Jii loanwords that are found in Tunni and Maay

²⁷⁰ Pwani Bantu language survives only in trace, but their dances and “drum-based percussive music” have been passed on generationally and adopted by neighboring peoples in the inter-riverine area (239).

(Ehret 1995, 240).²⁷¹ In fact, according to oral traditions of coastal Swahili towns, the Jiiddo and the Tunni used to raise cattle and crops along the coast further south, even past the Jubba River (253). Ehret claims that the pastoral proto-Doy lived in scattered settlements that divided into the proto-Jubba, the ancestors of the modern Tunni, as well as the proto-Garre, and proto-Maay-Maxay (Fig. 48) (Ehret 1995, 240, 260).



Figure 48. Eastern Horn, c. 5th century A.D (Ehret 1995, 260)

Ehret identifies two powerful innovations that transformed the entire Horn of Africa—the adoption of camel keeping and Islam. He attributes the rise and wide expansion of the Maxay tribes,²⁷² especially the Darood and the Isaaq, to their newfound sense of nobility found in belonging to a world religion [Islam] coupled with the accompanying capacity camels gave them to extend their range deeply, especially into regions with poor, sandy soil (1995, 250). “Camel-keeping seems, from the economic vocabularies of the Doy and Jii languages, to have spread from Danakil to the riverine

²⁷¹ M. Nuuh Ali offers numerous examples in his *History in the Horn of Africa*, Appendix II (1985).

²⁷² Maxay here means Maxaa tiri-speaking tribes.

region no earlier than between about 500 and 800 A.D.” (Ehret 1995, 244). By the 14th century, the nomadic camel herding Maxay tribes had expanded far to the north and to the tip of the Horn. The Jiiddo and other inter-riverine tribes, that is between the Jubba and Shabeelle Rivers, added camels as a supplement to cattle herding and farming, but they did not adopt nomadic camel culture to the extent of the Maxay, or even the Garre, who also greatly expanded their territorial range (Fig. 49) (1995, 262).

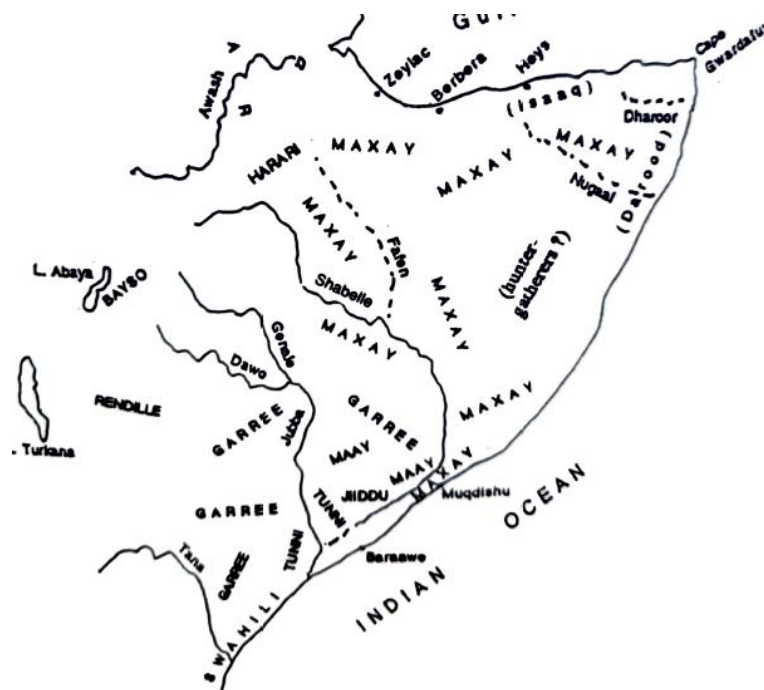


Figure 49. Eastern Horn, c. 14th century A.D. (Ehret 1995, 262)

In more recent history, Ehret cites significant events that would have affected the Jiiddo – the rise of the Ajuraan imamate of the 15th and 16th centuries, and after its fall, the formation of the Rahanweyn (Maay speaking) confederacy (254). In the 18th and 19th centuries, the spread of Darood peoples southward apparently had a distressing effect adding to the complex ethnic mix. Lastly, he mentions the slave trade of the 19th century

that brought an influx of Bantu, Zigula-speaking Gosha that added even more complexity to the mix of peoples that is characteristic of Southern Somalia to this day (1995, 254).

Summary of differing perspectives

From this author's perspective, these differing perspectives seem to be resolved by conceding that the genetic origins of Jiiddo are from Ethiopia, even as Lamberti seems to do in §2.1.3 "Origin of the Jiiddo of Somalia" (1988), while also acknowledging the close contact and features Jii speakers have shared with their neighbors in the Maay-speaking Mirifle and Digil Confederacy for perhaps over a thousand years.

Appendix 20: Jii Linguistics by Italian Scholars (1951-2021)

20.1 Martino Moreno's "Brevi notazioni di Ĝiddu."

With his published field notes,²⁷³ Moreno's pioneering work of transcription preceded the standardized Somali orthography that was adopted more than twenty years later in 1972. How aware the Jiiddo themselves have been of Moreno's work until now is unknown. Did his time with Jiiddo leader *Cavaliere* Ábdio Ibráu plant a seed of inspiration for developing Jii as a written language? Did the *Cavaliere's* interactions with Moreno spark the idea for his nephew, Salim Ibro, to compose the Jii dictionary? These suppositions remain to be confirmed or corrected, but it seems reasonable to imagine, when an outsider like Moreno made the effort to visit with an interest in recording the local language, that the community was honored and inspired to consider the value of writing and further developing their language.

As younger generations of Somalis never learned Italian, which was prevalent during the colonial influence from the late 1880s until 1960, an English translation of Moreno's work is a valuable resource for the newer generation of Jiiddos who are becoming proficient readers of this global language. See Appendix 7 for permission granted from Moreno's son Livio to translate and republish a 70th anniversary (1951-2021) English-Italian edition in response to a letter of request from the JYA.²⁷⁴

The email exchange in Appendix 7 and 8 between Mogadishu and Italy demonstrates a growing commitment to language development by the Jiiddo youth as

²⁷³ Moreno, Martino. 1951. "Brevi notazioni di Ĝiddu." *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, IPOCAN (Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino) 10 (Jan.-Dec.): 99–107.

²⁷⁴ "Dear Ayub, on behalf of my sister Corinna, I am very pleased to hear about your interest to publish an English translation of my father's paper "Brevi notazioni di Ĝiddu (1951)". Corinna and I both believe that this paper will help in preserving the Jiddu dialect and the Somaly traditions. We are therefore giving you the required permission to include in your dictionary the words found in the paper and to publish a translated version of the paper itself. Best regards," (Correspondence, Livio Moreno, August 28, 2020).

they formalize their activities in the name of the JYA. This effort of creating an official letterhead to make this request on behalf of the entire Jiiddo community may provide a template for future language-development actions.

Moreno made history when he seized the opportunity to investigate the “arcane” and “unexplored” language of Jii (1951, 99). For thirty years, his work remained the only published work on the Jii language in the field of linguistics, until 1981 when Lamberti decided to investigate more deeply.

20.2 *Marcello Lamberti’s Contributions*

20.2.1 *Grammar Sketch Der Dialekt Der Jiddu: Af Jiddu (1981)*

Lamberti makes several disclaimers in the introduction to *Der Dialekt Der Jiddu: Af Jiddu* (1981), that he was only able to make a “brief assessment” on his visit to Koryooley (Qoryoley) during the summer of 1980 (Lamberti 1981, iv).²⁷⁵ He mentions that it was difficult for him to find a consistent language informant, so he ended up interviewing several, at least three men and one woman that he thanked by name (iv). Another complication he encountered was that “this vernacular does not seem to be homogenous at all which is demonstrated by the presence of idiolectic variants” (iv).

He acknowledges, too, that he experienced some confusion in communication and misunderstandings in gathering data. These misunderstandings may be evident in this semi-correct statement in the opening sentence of his introduction: “The Jiddu are a nomadic tribe without a permanent dwelling place” (4).²⁷⁶ In fact, the Jiiddo are settled,

²⁷⁵ Lamberti, Marcello. 1981. *Der Dialekt Der Jiddu – Af Jiddu*. Institut für Afrikanistik - Universität zu Köln. <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/handle/2307/2989>

²⁷⁶ Translated 2018 - 2020 from German, by Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics student Rabea Saad of Switzerland.

land-owning farmers and cattle herders, who are not generally nomadic except when forced by drought to seek resources elsewhere.

Qoryoley, where Lamberti visited, is the main settlement of the Jiiddo situated inland, 22 miles northwest of Merca, where Moreno did his fieldwork in 1951. Lamberti acknowledges Moreno in his introduction, writing, “The dialect I’m describing here is without a doubt, and despite slight differences, identical with the one Moreno described in 1951. For a comparison of the two papers, I’ll direct the reader to Moreno’s work” (4).

In terms of phonemes, Lamberti overlooked the existence of implosive *j*, i.e., IPA *ɟ* which can also be represented as *j'* (which also occurs in Maay). This is written as *jh* in current Jii orthography.²⁷⁷ He describes the phonemic inventory as:

... basically identical with the ones of the other Upper Jubba [Maay] dialects.²⁷⁸ It has lost the pharyngeal and velar spirants apart from a few cases of borrowing, and has developed a velar nasal, although it is not phonemic. However, differing from the other types of Upper Jubba dialects, Jiddu, as well as Rendille, can have final *-m*. Also like Rendille, Jiddu has a *y* that equals a *d* in the other Somali dialects. Additionally, Jiddu with its many periphrases displays similar morphology as the other Upper Jubba dialects. (v)

He makes an interesting note about vowels that he would not rule out vowel harmony, as found in *Mahaatiri* Somali, but that his data did not support it (25). Otherwise, just as in *Mahaatiri*, he heard five short vowels and five long vowels in Jii (28, 29). However, with further study, Banti (2020) now describes a more complex inventory of vowels including contrasting advanced versus retracted tongue root positions.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ (Banti, G. Correspondence. June 2020)

²⁷⁸ Lamberti’s “Upper Jubba” = Maay according to Giorgio Banti. (Personal correspondence. June 20, 2020)

²⁷⁹ “Indications of [atr] vs. [rtr] are not wholly reliable. They are based on the assumption of a 20 vowel system as in Somali (5 colors x 2 tongue root positions x 2 lengths), but a more careful analysis seems to

Lamberti describes the foundational morphology of nouns, which are either masculine or feminine gender, singular or plural in number, and which are not inflected for case, but rather “their grammatical function seems to be defined syntactically by word order”(1981, 40). Besides verbs, personal pronouns are “the only part of the sentence that shows real inflection” (48). One intriguing discovery he made is that Jii does not have equivalent comparative words, such as are found in European languages. Rather, comparisons are accomplished by word order rules. Lamberti wrote, “A qualitative comparison is expressed by sequencing *Termini Comparationis*” (47). For example,

nam ekke nam ekaak hajuun
man this.M man that.M bad

‘This man is worse than that one.’

namaa ette namaa etaat igiiril
woman this.F woman that.F pretty

‘This woman is prettier than that one.’

Lamberti concluded his grammar sketch with a brief statement that Jii syntax generally parallels that of *Mahaatiri* Somali with SOV word order – specifically, “subject – object – other complements – (preverbs) – verb” (86). He called for a deeper investigation of syntax, since he focused more on morphology, and ran out of time to search for syntactic rules. He left a challenge for future linguistic exploration of a list of five “preverbs” that he called “rare in my collection and are usually hard to analyze” (85). Also, a question remains regarding morphology whether tone bears any relevance (40).

Until 2020, Lamberti’s *Der Dialekt Der Jiddu* was only accessible to German readers. If Lamberti agrees to the Jiiddo Youth Association’s (JYA) request (as Moreno’s

show that there are more than five vowel colors. Full results are being worked out with the help of speech analyzing hardware and software” (Banti and Ibraaw 2020a) .

children agreed to a translation from Italian), the English translation, which was prepared for this current study, will be published for wider distribution as a 40th Anniversary English-German edition. The JYA have submitted the following request to Lamberti, who is retired in Italy:²⁸⁰

We are seeking your permission to publish in 2021 a 40th anniversary English translation of your work *Der Dialekt Der Jiiddu* (1981). We see the importance it has for us for the development and protection of our Jiiddo dialect from elimination, as we feel the threat currently.

We as Jiiddo community leaders hope to share with you the reasons for seeking your permission to allow us to republish and they are listed below:

1. To use it academically by including all the words you collected into our dictionary, which is currently being revised and expanded.
2. To preserve it as a learning material, since it is among the first of the few available materials for Jiiddo dialect.
3. To honor your work and pass to the rest of the Jiiddo members to know, as well as the rest of the academic institutions who may access more easily in English.
4. To use it as a living example to the rest of the Jiiddu community to encourage them to realize their creativity.

We hope that the above listed reasons will be sufficient, and we hope for your permission as soon as you can respond.

By providing access to the growing number of English literate Jiiddo youth, the value of Lamberti's work will be more fully appreciated. His challenge for further linguistic investigation may be taken up by Jiiddo scholars as they confirm or correct his initial hypotheses and build on the foundation he provided.

20.2.2 PhD Dissertation, *The Somali Dialects* (1983)

Besides the value of mining raw data from Lamberti's Jii examples, his dissertation also provides important insights that may be beneficial to the work of

²⁸⁰ Correspondence with JYA leader, Ayub Osman, September 2020.

language development.²⁸¹ Firstly, he acknowledged the range of dialectal differences that exist within Jii itself. “Ji. from the Lower Shabeelle is not completely identical to the Ji. from Upper Jubba or that of the Jilib district because this is in a different dialectal environment and also exposed to other influences” (11-12).²⁸²

There are “numerous” dialectal varieties of Jii, according to Lamberti, and he mentions “a few” examples: Orbaalo, Beymuud, Aytille, and Gardille spoken in Qoryoley District, Suruugo, which is spoken in Qoryoley & Dhiinsoor Districts, as well as Goydale, Albaako, and Terro, also spoken in Dhiinsoor District. (1983, 46). However, S.A. Ibro emphasized the unity of Jii spoken in all locations and downplayed any dialectal differences.

Lamberti noted that the dialect spoken in the Jilib district seemed to be “by and large the most ‘conservative’” of the dialects he encountered. Alternatively, he observed that the Jiiddo living in Buurhakaba district “seem to have given up their dialect in favor of the local Maay” (Lamberti 1983b, 182). Ibro responded to this observation, saying that the Jiiddo will adopt the language of the local inhabitants when it is necessary to relocate for resources in a period of drought, for example.

Lamberti’s *Map of Somali Dialects* (1986)

At this point in Somali history, the socialist government was attempting to enforce unity and uniformity among the various clans and tribes. While Lamberti noted that the various tribal language varieties were moving towards “convergence”, he highlighted Jii as an exception in maintaining its uniqueness.

Today the tendency is through a strong mutual influencing of dialects to eliminate or at least reduce their diversity, more than ever; it can thus be

²⁸¹ Lamberti, Marcello. 1983a. “Die Somali-Dialekte.” PhD Diss., Universität zu Köln.

²⁸² The region the Italian colonial administration called “Upper” Jubba is now called “Middle” Jubba.

stated that each dialect is constantly under the influence of neighboring dialects. The extent of the influence depends on the linguistic proximity that exists among the dialects themselves, i.e. the more similar the dialects are, the greater their mutual influence. While Jii is the dialect that distinguishes itself most clearly from the others, at the same time, it is also the dialect that can best withstand the influence of others (13).

Lamberti basically agreed with noted Somali scholar (and Maay speaker from the south) Abdalla Omar Mansuur's classification of Jii as part of the Digil group along with Tunni, Dabarre, and Garre (Karre), which are neighboring dialects of the "Upper" (Middle) Jubba and Lower Shabeelle area.²⁸³ He acknowledged that there are numerous isoglosses shared between these four dialects, but, rather than attributing genetic origin, he explained these isoglosses as the "result of a longer stay together in the same geographical area and a strong mutual influence resulting from this" (28). Furthermore, he noted that Jii stands out as distinct. He wrote, "Obviously Jii occupies a special position within the Digil group; even at the lexical level, Jii gives way from all other Somali dialects" (45).

As stated earlier, because Jii is so different in regard to several linguistic features, Lamberti said he could understand why scholars like Biber and Banti have questioned whether it is really a Somali language. He cited certain "sound correspondences" that are not shared with any of the other dialects (except in some cases, with Rendille, Garre, and Ashraaf). For example, of the 17 dialects surveyed, Jii is the only one with a phoneme

²⁸³ Professor Mansuur taught at the Jamaacadda Ummadda Soomaaliyeed, Mogadishu and served as Head of Italian Department of Somali National University (1980–1990). After the collapse of the Somali state he has been teaching Arabic and Somali languages at the Università Roma Tre and he is an active member at the Centro Studi Somali (Università Roma Tre). He has published and co-published several books and papers on Somali language and culture such as *Qaamuuska Af Soomaaliga*, co-editor Professor Annarita Puglielli, Roma 2012 and *Le lingue Cuscitiche e il Somalo*, Studi Somali N. 8, Roma 1988 (<https://wardheernews.com/the-case-of-somali-language/>). He shared this biographical background, "I was born and raised in Diinsoor, 1944. My mother is Dabarre my father is of Yemeni origin, but he spoke Maay because in that district, the dominant dialect is Maay, Dabarre is the second dialect. For this reason, I also speak Maay. A warm greeting." (Cabdalla Mansuur, Email Nov. 9, 2020).

that consists of the three variants *kh/q/g'* (92). It is also unique in that final *-dh* is realized as [-r] or [-ʔ] (Lamberti 1981, 92).

In most (45 of 67) linguistic features Jii, shares commonality with at least one of its Digil neighbors, Tunni, Dabarre, Garre, and/or Maay. Nouns take the suffix *-dhə* to form plurals, a feature shared with no other Somali dialect except Maay. Lamberti described Jii as “isolated” (46) and provided a list of unique features:

- a set of object pronouns in the 2pl: *assee/assoo/essaa/essen* (96)
- possessive pronouns are formed in the singular by prefixing *huu-/too-*
- the plural of possessive pronouns and demonstratives is formed by the prefixing of *haar-* to the basic form of the respective possessives
- interrogative adjectives *hoom/toom* ‘which’
- the ending of the 2pl present indicative *-ta* (98)
- progressive forms according to the pattern *fam-ni/awəs-ni/dhaqan-ni*
- the auxiliary verb of the habitual past *-aaley/-aatey/-aaney*, etc.
- future tense formed by the auxiliary verb *gəw-* and endings *-ni/-nettə/-nin* etc.
- the endings of the 3rd singular jussive are: *-is/-tis* or *-əney /-təney*
- the endings of the 3pl of the jussive are *-aas* or *-aney*
- the 3rd conj. endings of the imperative are *-ada/-adən* or *-tə/-ten*
- infinitives are derived using the verbal stem + *-aal*
- the negative preterital form is formed by the endings *-əb/-təb/-nəb*
- Ending of the 1sg negative present tense *-nimiir*
- the ending of the 2sg of the neg. present is *-nimiite* (100)
- verbs that are still inflected by prefixes: *-oot/-ook-* 'come' *-aat-* 'become' *-aam-* 'eat' *-eeb-* 'bring'
- the singulative suffix *-mee*
- the deictic pronouns *hookə/tootə*, *ekkə/ettə* and *ekaakə/etaatə*
- syncretism in the possessives of the 3rd person,
- the presence of the dative/benefactive preverb *is*, etc.”

In regard to classifying dialects according to lexical criteria (a six hundred word list), Lamberti went so far as to put Jii into a “group” by itself as he divided the whole Somali region into three geographic areas: 1) the northern half of Somalia 2) the southern half along the coast, and 3) the area between the Shabeelle and Jubba rivers. He called the four lexical type groups: 1. Northern Somali 2. Coastal, 3. Upper Jubba, and 4. Jiiddu (164).

He contrasted how much easier it is (usually) for dialects to be influenced lexically by neighboring varieties, compared to morphologically and syntactically, in which cases languages tend to be more stable. “Lexemes offer much less resistance to borrowing than morphological and syntactic features in interdialectal contact” (163). Even so, concerning Jii, which shares the third main geographic area with Maay, made up of all Maay and Digil dialects together, he called Jii “an exception”.²⁸⁴

Ji. forms the fourth and last type of Somalia. Wherever they have wandered, the Jiiddo have maintained the basic stock of their vocabulary and in this respect also demonstrated a much greater resistance to linguistic/dialectal mutual influence among the Somali-speaking ethnic groups. (163-164)

He defended this categorization by citing the very low comprehensibility of Jii, for not only Northern Somali or Benaadir speakers, but even Dabarre (who are Digil neighbors) “have admitted to me that it is very difficult for them to use Jii.” Lamberti attributed this low comprehensibility to the “deviating lexicon and the many sound changes that have occurred in Jii” (170).

Concerning ethno-linguistic origins, Lamberti acknowledged the oral tradition about the fraternity of Jiiddo and Boran (the Oromo). He addressed the hypothesis that Jii originated from Oromo since the Jiiddo of Ethiopia in the Bale Mountain region now speak Oromo, but he did not think that was actually the case. Instead, interestingly, he wrote that he “would be more inclined to assume a Boon substratum, which is also geographically closer. The problem with this is that far too little is known about the Af-Boon so that my assumption cannot be verified” (46).

²⁸⁴ The name Digil is more of a clan-reality label regarding the four neighboring clans in the Digil clan confederacy, rather than a socio-linguistic term. Lamberti called the Digil the most heterogeneous of Somalia’s “dialect groups”, and he questioned whether they actually form a single group or whether each dialect should be classified separately (Lamberti 1986, 24).

Lamberti's PhD dissertation is a foundational contribution to language development but, until now, it has been beyond the reach of most Somalis as it was written in German and stored in an Italian archive. It may be that by having made his work accessible to Ayub and the JYA in English, it will prove to be a helpful resource for future efforts.

20.2.3 *Map of Somali Dialects (1986)*

Somalia has significant linguistic homogeneity, in contrast to most African countries. Lamberti observed that most minorities are so integrated into Somali society that they consider themselves Somali even if their speech is different. He divided the seventeen Somali dialects surveyed into five (or six) groups (Fig. 50), depending on whether Jii is categorized separately (Lamberti 1986, 13).²⁸⁵

These groups are listed as: 1) The “Northern” Somali group, which is actually found all the way along the Ethiopian border down to the southern border and spilling across into Kenya. 2) The Benaadir dialects are located along the coast of Central Somalia. 3) Ashraaf is limited to the urban centers of Mogadishu and Merca. 4) The Maay dialects form a spectrum (not specifically identified in this study) across the Jubba and Shabeelle river basins, but not everyone in the region (not the Digil) speaks Maay as a first language. 5) The Digil cluster of Tunni, Dabarre, Garre and Jii occupy a smaller territory, surrounded by and scattered among Maay speakers, bounded approximately by Bardheere and Baidoa north, and the Shabeelle River south. Lamberti tentatively included Jii in the Digil group (Fig. 50), but he allowed that Jii could also be classified as

²⁸⁵ Lamberti, Marcello. 1986. *Map of Somali Dialects in the Somali Democratic Republic*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske. <https://arts.units.it/handle/11368/1929347#.YEP282hKjSE>.

a sixth separate group (24). The two maps below first show the big picture (Fig. 50), and then a close up (Fig. 51) of the Digil languages (Lamberti 1986, 52, 55).

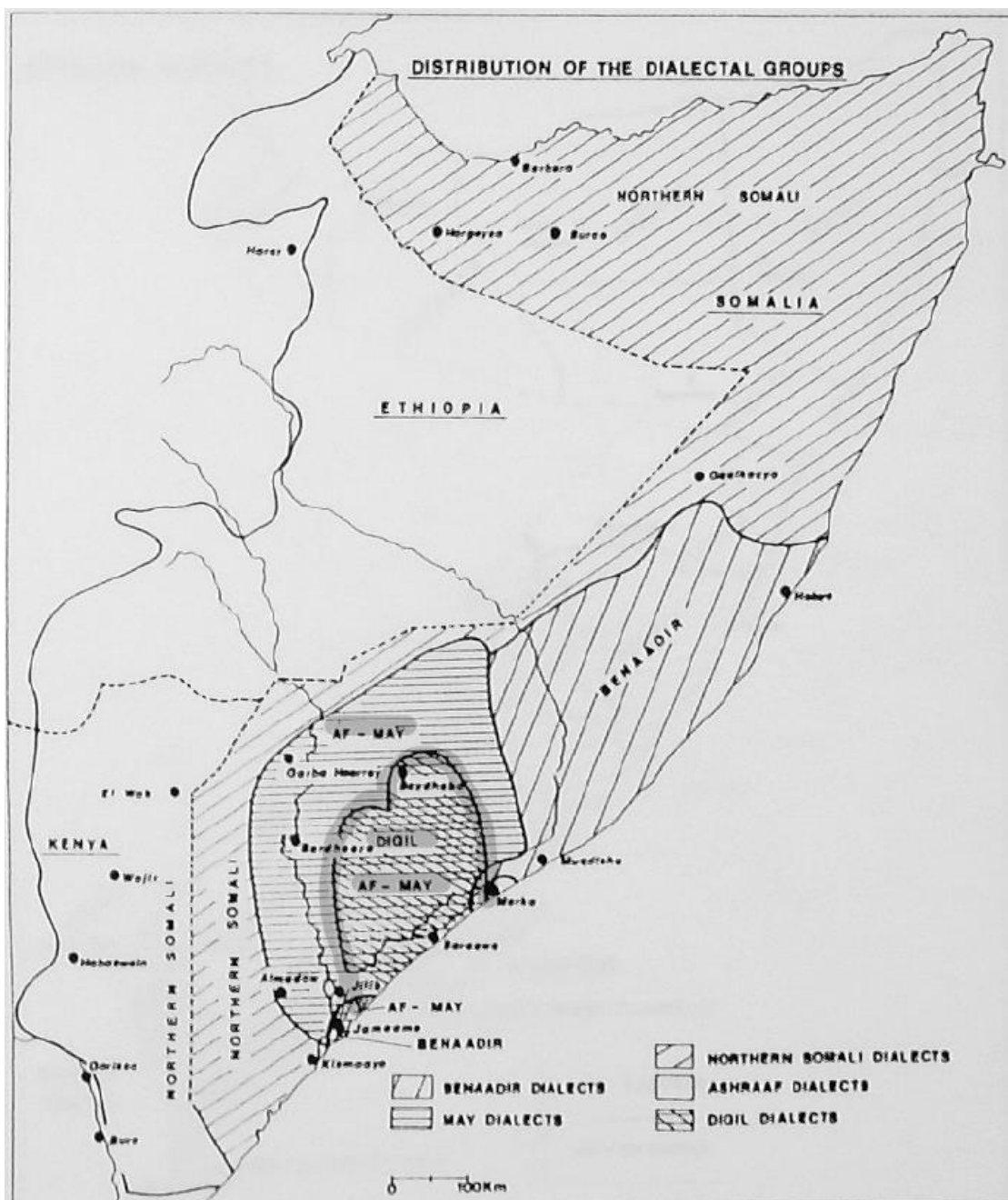


Figure 50. Lamberti's Five (or Six) Somali Dialect Groups (1986, 52)

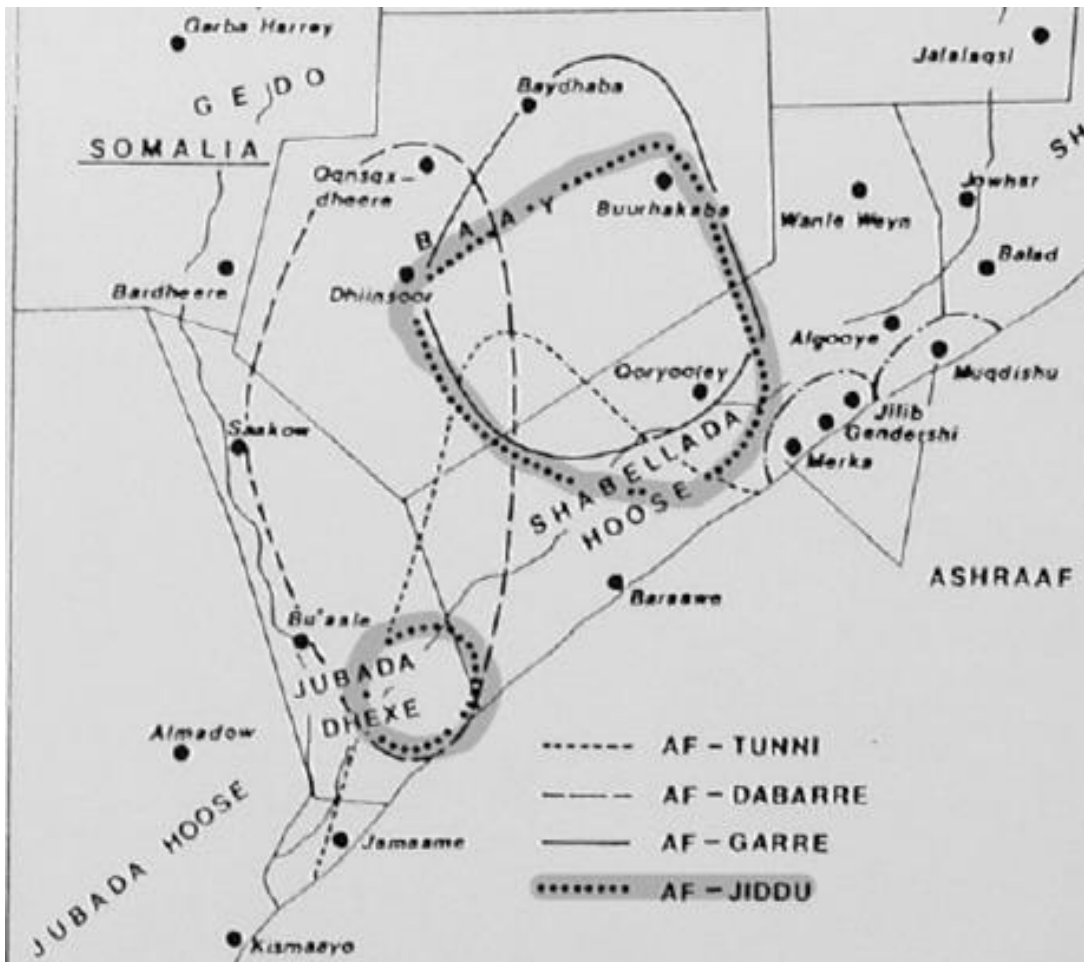


Figure 51. Jii in the Lower Shabeelle, Bay²⁸⁶, and Middle Jubba (Lamberti 1986, 55)

Jii's Digil Neighbors

The Digil are the most heterogeneous of Somalia's dialect groups, and Lamberti questioned whether they actually form a single group or whether each dialect should be classified separately. He was more confident about grouping Tunni and Dabarre but admitted that Garre, and especially Jii, are quite different (Lamberti 1986, 24).

Dabarre is further divided into two subgroups, Dabarre proper and Oroole, with whom they have a generally friendly, fraternal relationship. Lamberti reported that

²⁸⁶ Spelled here on the map as Baay region

Dabarre is a fairly homogeneous dialect, but Maay has also had a strong influence (1986, 25).

Garre, which is spoken in the districts of Baidoa, Dhiinsoor, Buurhakaba and Qoryoley, is one of the most heterogeneous dialects.²⁸⁷ For example, the Buurhakaba and Qoryoley dialects employ prefixes for verb conjugation, while those of Baidoa have lost that feature. In addition, some Garre dialects around by Baidoa have adopted the southern Somali morpheme *-yaal*, rather than the normal Digil plural morpheme *-tə*. Two other groups that are grouped with the Garre are the Reer Amiir (even though they are not actually Garre), and the Boni. Lamberti wrote, “The language of Kenya (described by Heine 1982) is very closely related to Garre. Indeed, one could say that Garre is the Boni of Somalia, or if you want, Boni is the Garre of Kenya” (Lamberti 1986, 25).

Jii, spoken in the districts of Qoryoley, Dhiinsoor, Jilib and Buurhakaba, can be subdivided into several varieties. It has “an exceptional position within the Digil group; especially on the lexical level, Jii differs from all other Somali dialects.” As previously stated, both Biber (1980) and Banti (1981) have questioned whether Jii is properly a Somali dialect. Yet Lamberti references numerous isoglosses, which show Jii’s relationship to Tunni and Maay, and even closer relationship to Dabarre and Garre. Structurally, Jii grammar is very similar to these dialects (1986, 26)

Ironically though, as Lamberti began laying out evidence of “striking peculiarities, which justify referring to [these four] as a single dialectical group (the Digil

²⁸⁷ Potentially confusing because there are two languages called Garre – the Somali dialect classified as Digil (Karre or Mahaaw), and a homonymous Oromo dialect. (47) Also, see *Mahaaw*, A. Hussein (2018).

group)” he immediately encountered exceptions for Jii in the first two examples (Fig. 52). He went on to call Jii “the most isolated dialect within the group” (1986, 27).

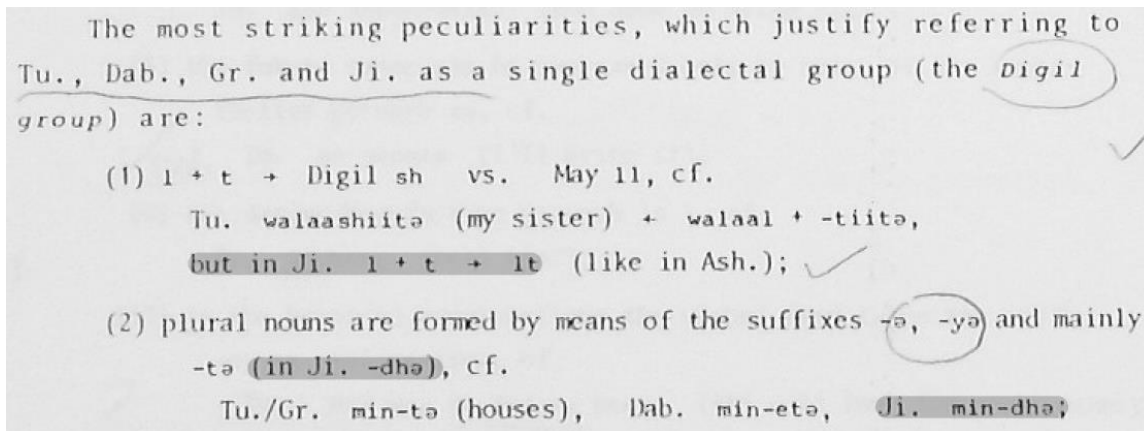


Figure 52. Digil features and exceptions for Jii (Lamberti 1986, 26)

Jii Related to Bayso?

Lamberti included an appendix to dispute Ehret and M. Nuuh Ali’s classification (Fig. 53), which places Jii and Bayso together on the same branch of the family tree (Lamberti 1986, 39–46). He asserted it is simply not true that Bayso is closer to Jii than any other Somali dialect. Rather, “by a simple synchronic comparison of the grammatical structure of Bayso, Jii and other Somali dialects it is plain that Jii is much closer to Somali than to Bayso, an even Bayso itself is not closer to Jii than to other Somali dialects...” (40-41). He went on to claim that Maay and the other Digil dialects are closer to Jii than Bayso. This is a fascinating debate, which calls for further investigation, but is beyond the scope of this paper’s focus on Jii language development.

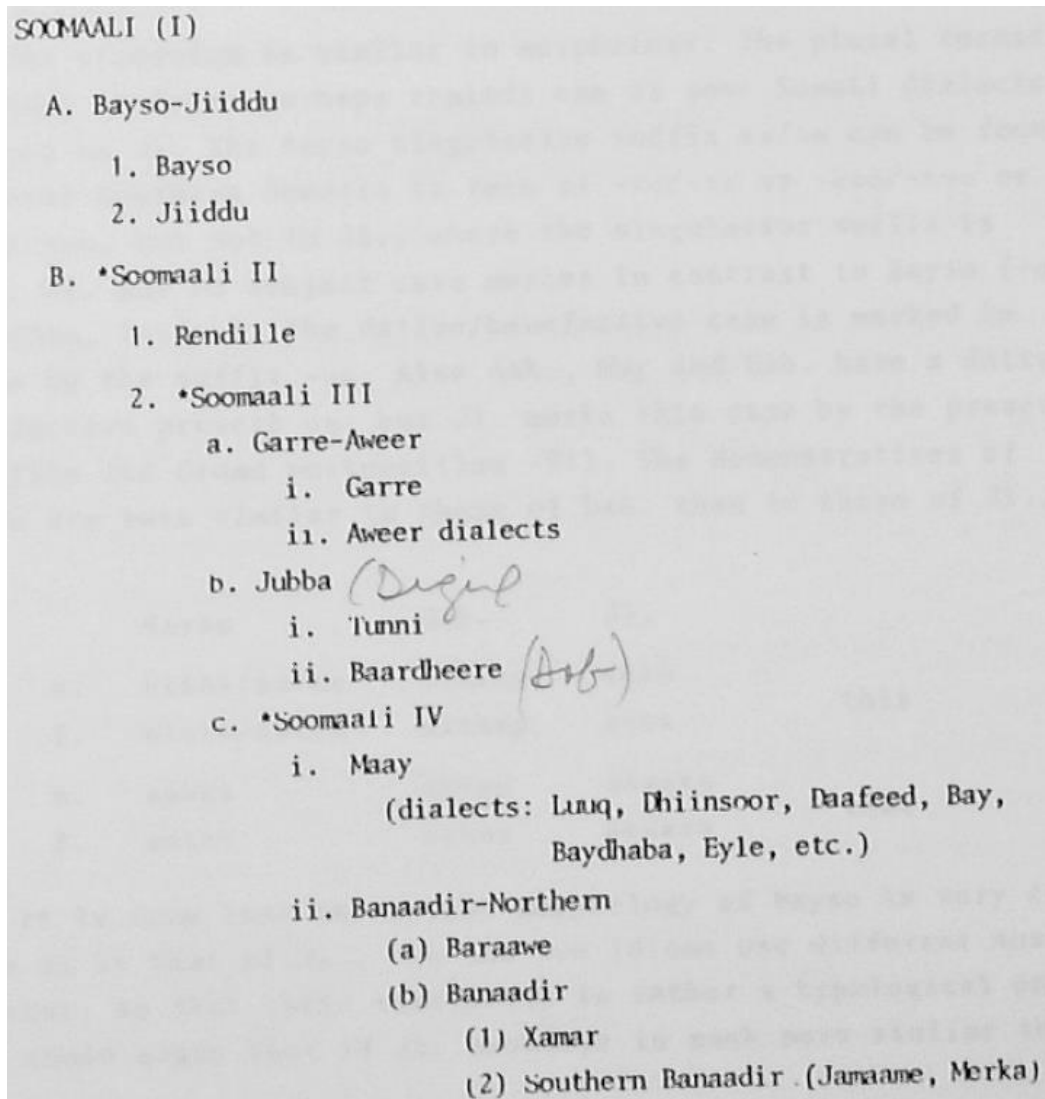


Figure 53. Ehret and Nuuh's classification, according to Lamberti (1986, 39)

In the course of comparing and contrasting Bayso, Jii, Maay, and the Digil dialects, Lamberti provided several valuable insights for this study. He affirmed that Jii syntax is nearly the same as that of Somali. For example, in both Jii and Somali, adjectives, demonstratives, and relative clauses follow their governing noun. Also in Jii, instead of postpositions (as in Bayso), preverbs are used. In Jii, the only plural morpheme is *-dhə*, and such a form was not found at in Bayso (1986, 47).

As for morphology, Jii uses a unique singulative suffix *-mee* (different from Bayso). Also, Jii has no subject case marker in contrast to Bayso and Northern Somali (41). Moreover, whereas Bayso uses a suffix to mark the dative/benefactive case, Jii marks this case by the preverb *is*. However, Lamberti did observe correspondence between the Bayso postposition *ko* ‘from’ with the Jii preverb *ha* (cf. Somali *ka*) (42). Another valuable insight is that “the only postposition of Jii is genitive marker *-l*, which perhaps is connected etymologically with the comitative postposition of Bayso *-ne* ‘with’” (46).

Lamberti concluded that Jii and the other Somali dialects, including Boni and Rendille, form a close linguistic group called “Sam”. Bayso is not part of Sam, “although it is probably the language which is closest to it” (1986, 43).

20.3 Giorgio Banti’s Contributions

Born February 4th, 1949, Giorgio Banti, like Moreno, taught at the Oriental University of Naples. As full professor (It. *professore ordinario*), he lectured in General and Historical Linguistics from 1997 and, since 2009, in Somali Language and Literature until his recent retirement in November 2019. His focus is on Somali, Oromo and Saho linguistics, literature and culture. Banti’s other main topics of research include: Old Harari language and literature, development of literacy for unwritten languages, Ajami writing systems and literatures in the Horn of Africa, language development, and language documentation (Banti 2020a).

As a specialist in Cushitic languages with more than three dozen major publications,²⁸⁸ Banti has studied Jii intensively, though he has not yet published articles

²⁸⁸ Banti’s CV is found at Academia.edu: <https://unior.academia.edu/GiorgioBanti/CurriculumVitae>

singularly devoted to this language. In the course of this study, he provided several valuable unpublished resources to this researcher and the Jiiddo community, especially his 24 page “Jiiddo: An Extended Basic Word List” (Banti and Ibraaw 2020a),²⁸⁹ twenty pages of “Jiiddo Verb Paradigms” (Banti and Ibraaw 2020b)²⁹⁰, and four pages of “Jiiddo Vowels” marked with plus or minus Advance Tongue Root (+/- ATR) (Banti 2020b). In March 2020, he revised and notated this researcher’s English translation of Moreno’s 1951 *Brevi Notazioni* (Notated translation forthcoming).²⁹¹

Besides the special contributions mentioned already, Banti also contributed five works that include references to and/or examples in Jii:

“Possessive Affixes in the Somali Area” (Banti 1984),²⁹²

“Evidence for a Second Type of Suffix Conjugation in Cushitic” (Banti 1987),²⁹³

“New Perspectives on the Cushitic Verbal System” (Banti 2001),²⁹⁴

“Comparative Notes on the Cushitic Imperative” (Banti 2004),²⁹⁵ and

“Somali Variation Across Space and Society: State of The Art” (Banti 2009).²⁹⁶

²⁸⁹ Banti, Giorgio, and Saalim Aliyow Ibraaw. 2020. “Jiiddo: An Extended Basic Word List.” Unpublished manuscript. Italy. (Ibraaw refers to S.A. Ibro.)

²⁹⁰ Banti, Giorgio, and Saalim Aliyow Ibraaw. 2020. “Jiiddo Verb Paradigms” Unpublished ms. Italy.

²⁹¹ See Appendix 7 above for permission granted by the Moreno family to republish an English edition.

²⁹² Banti, Giorgio. 2004. “Comparative Notes on the Cushitic Imperative.” In *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica*, edited by Bogdan Burtea, Josef Tropper, and Helen Younansardaroud, Festschrift für Rainer M. Voigt anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar: 55–91. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag. <http://hdl.handle.net/2307/4723>

²⁹³ Banti, Giorgio. 1987. “Evidence for a Second Type of Suffix Conjugation in Cushitic.” Edited by Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Walter Muller. John Benjamins, *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 44 (Proceedings of the Fourth International Hamito-Semitic Congress): 123–68.

²⁹⁴ Banti, Giorgio. 2001. “New Perspectives on the Cushitic Verbal System.” *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 27 (2): 1–48. <https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v27i2.1076>

²⁹⁵ Banti, Giorgio. 2004. “Comparative Notes on the Cushitic Imperative.” In *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica*, edited by Bogdan Burtea, Josef Tropper, and Helen Younansardaroud, Festschrift für Rainer M. Voigt anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar: 55–91. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag. <http://hdl.handle.net/2307/4723>

²⁹⁶ Banti, Giorgio. 2009. “Somali Variation across Space and Society: State of the Art.” (A conference presentation.) *HH Polylektalität* 27–29 (November): 15.

This author, and the Jiiddo community who have so richly benefitted from his scholarship, thank him and wish him well. If there is more investigation for Giorgio Banti to do in Jiiddu linguistics, they wish it may bring him pleasure even in retirement.

Appendix 21: Family of Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro

Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro's willingness to cross tribal and cultural barriers may be attributed to his predecessors' example starting with his great-uncle Cavaliere (chief/mayor) Ábdio Ibráu who welcomed Moreno and provided the linguistic data for his *Brevi Notazioni di Ĝiddu* (1951). Ábdio Ibráu was the uncle of Sultan Warsame's uncle and mentor S.A. Ibro who welcomed Banti in Somalia, studied with him in Italy before immigrating to Australia where he published the *Jii Mini-Dictionary* (1998).

This sketch of family tree begins with Ibraw (or Ibro),²⁹⁷ who is Sultan Warsame's great-grandfather. Ibraw had two sons – Cavaliere Ábdio (Abdow) Ibráu (or Ibraw/Ibro), and (Sultan) Alio, (who became sultan). In the next generation, Sultan Alio Ibraw (Ibro) had two sons – Ibrahim and Salim. Ibrahim succeeded his father to become Sultan Ibrahim Alio Ibraw. His brother is Professor Salim Alio Ibro. After Sultan Ibrahim died (2010), his son was appointed in 2011 as Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro (Fig. 54).

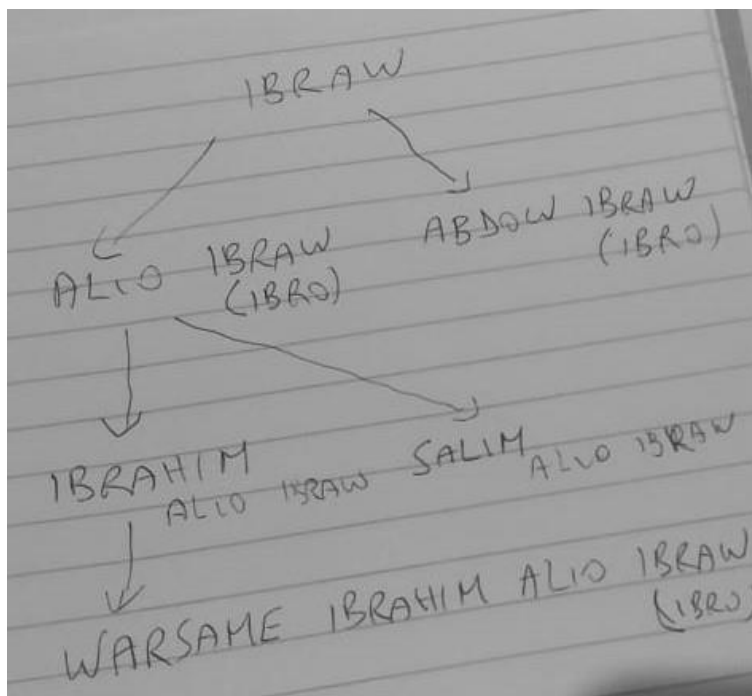


Figure 54. Ibraw (Ibro) Family (by S.A. Ibro, 2020)

²⁹⁷ This Ibro family tree sketch was provided by S.A. Ibro by WhatsApp on December 12, 2020.

Perhaps Sultan's parents' example of a cross-tribal marriage also provided him a model of reaching across cultural boundaries. Almost certainly, living outside of Somalia for 23 years, in Kenya for several years and in the United States for 17 years, gave Sultan a broader perspective.

When asked to describe what shapes his leadership approach, Sultan cited the moral support and accountability from his family. By way of illustration he told the following story from his childhood.

When an older relative noticed that school-aged Warsame was acting spoiled, he asked Warsame's father permission to teach the boy a lesson by taking him to visit an orphan school. One might expect the story to conclude with a more grateful Warsame returning home after a day visit. Actually, Warsame was enrolled and finished his secondary education at the Lafoole orphanage school in Afgoye, which was run by South Korean and German teachers with the European relief agency GTZ.²⁹⁸ "That's where I attended for 3 years and I learned a lot in that that place. It was [a defining] experience. It changed my life" (Sultan Warsame Alio Ibro, WhatsApp, December 18, 2020). This anecdote helps explain Sultan's appreciation for education, concern for the poor, and openness to outsiders.

²⁹⁸ GTZ merged in 2011 to become GIZ: <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/33495.html>

Curriculum Vitae

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Education

2021 Dallas International University, USA; MA in Language and Culture Studies
2010 Concordia University, Saint Paul, USA; MA in Organizational Management
2003, 1999, 1996, Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), University of North Dakota, USA; Graduate coursework in Literacy Programming, Linguistics, and 2LA
1994, Bethany Global University, Minneapolis, USA; Bachelor of Arts in Cross-Cultural Studies, Internship in Uzbekistan & Tajikistan, January-August 1993

Work

2003 to present, SALT (Somali Adult Literacy Training), a department of Arrive Ministries, (previously World Relief Minnesota), Minneapolis, USA; Recruiting, training and mobilizing ELL and literacy volunteer tutors to serve Somali refugees. Developing mother-tongue and culturally specific literacy materials.

1998 to 2003, International Institute of Minnesota, St. Paul, USA; English for Work, Planned and implemented curriculum for teaching English and work-readiness skills to pre-literate adult refugees.

1995 to 1998, Global Language Institute, St. Paul, USA; Provided custom-designed and individualized programs of study to international professionals in GLI's Executive English Program.