

studi somali

14

**A COUNTRY CALLED SOMALIA:
CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY
OF A VANISHING STATE**

edited by

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L'Harmattan Italia

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è stata direttrice dal 1993 al 2005 collaborando
in maniera decisiva al suo avvio e alla sua affermazione

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Mara Frascarelli

FOREWORD

UNIVERSITY OF ROMA TRE

*Qalinkaa wax suureeya
Kugu sima halkaad doonto,
Saaxiib kal furan weeye,
Sunto fara ku hayntiisa,
Weligaa ha sii deynin.
"Sahra" – M. I. W. Hadraawi*

This volume is not simply a collection of papers that happen to be published together on the occasion of a Festschrift. This work is the outcome of a real desire: the desire to celebrate Annarita Puglielli for what she means as a linguist, as a project leader and, most of all, as a person. For years I have nurtured this plan in my heart, and I could not even imagine that such a volume might not exist one day. So here it is and, I must say, its production was really a pleasure for me. It was a pleasure to picture it in my mind: its title, sections, format, cover, colours, everything. In this respect, it was a privilege to work with Elisa Pelizzari and the L'Harmattan publishing company. She liked my project, supported it from the very beginning and helped me with her invaluable suggestions. My greatest thanks go to her.

It was a pleasure to contact the (prospect) contributors, selected from those friends I have in common with Annarita in the 'Somali project'. People I knew who had met Annarita at different times and places, studying with her, working with her, sharing projects and dreams, travelling together around the world. It was a joy for me to receive their enthusiastic acceptance, even their gratitude. Eleven contributors – quite a few, one might say. Of necessity a strict selection for which I am fully responsible, I must confess. They have all been friendly, collaborative and (mostly!) punctual in submitting their papers. I thank them all!

Annarita's interest for Somalia and the Somali people has ranged over different aspects of social life and linguistic investigation. This is the reason why *A Country Called Somalia: the Culture, Language and Society of a Vanishing State* comprises papers dealing with a number of subjects that can provide a comprehensive picture of a life-time project and concern. In particular, Section I is concerned with «Linguistic investigations and comparative issues»: the link between naming system and social organization (Roberto Ajello), the semantic values of the imperfective aspect (Lucyna Gebert), the morphosyntactic properties of relative clauses and determiners (Giorgio Banti, John Saeed), phonological analysis and related theoretical considerations (Marco Svolacchia). The authors of Section II («Essays on society and culture»), on the other hand, concentrate on diverse subjects, such as children's games (Barbara Turchetta), law and tradition (Abdalla Omar Mansur), the social role of Somali women with respect to feminist values (Cristina Ali Farah) and immigration problems (Gianfranco Tarsitani with Abdulaziz Sharif Aden, Halima Mohamed Nur and Ranieri Guerra), teaching and transcultural drawbacks (Milena Bandiera, Massimo Squillacciotti), also making specific reference to Annarita's personal engagement and activity in Somalia.

Other people also contributed to this volume, in different ways. I'm referring here to Peter Douglas and Giorgio Testa, who checked the English of authors who asked me to, and to Francesca Ramaglia who read the papers checking for typos, cross-references and formatting. Their help was invaluable to me. Thanks, my friends!

A special mention in this foreword must go to the Director of the *Centro Linguistico di Ateneo* ('Language Centre') of Roma Tre, Professor Vincenzo Zeno Zencovich, who sponsored this volume. It was delightful to have his appreciation of my initiative and obtain his immediate positive answer to my request. I truly and deeply thank him (and the Institution he represents).

Finally, I wish to thank Annarita for having filled my heart

with joy as I write this foreword. Meeting Annarita was a turning point in my life. She started my interest in linguistics and, in particular, through Somali she taught me the beauty of cross-linguistic investigation, of typological comparison, of thinking beyond 'received generalizations'. With her I learnt how to investigate phenomena, how to search for data, how to be strict in analysis and, at the same time, open to new hypotheses. With her I enjoyed the pleasure of infinite discussions, the cheerfulness of our talks, the releasing power of laughter. Indeed, I have always admired her extraordinary capacity to combine scholarship with a special gift for human relationships. Her tireless organizing capacity despite (too) often adverse conditions.

The Somali project still needs you for a long time, Annarita. And I'll be there to help you – rely on it!

With greatest love,
Mara

Section I
**Linguistic investigations
and comparative issues**

Roberto Ajello

**ANTHROPONYMS IN THE GIZEY SOCIETY
(N-E CAMEROON)**

UNIVERSITY OF PISA

Và má kòææà, sùùnà lí sùndà ú nàmú, lí ní vòò varàæ dáy lày, àzì lí sùndà
ú nàmú. Àæ màlàmmà ká lí sùn ú nàm éì, ní mì gé? *Ní sèmmà.*
*You own something which people can utilize even when you are far from
home, but which you cannot utilize. What is it? Your name*
Bertoni (2005: 326)

Introduction

In the Gizey society (a community of approximately 12.000 people in N-E Cameroon, speaking a variety of central Chadic) children are given their main name by the paternal grandfather, or, in case he is dead, by the father. Beside this name, children can receive a nickname by other members of the family or even by friends, but nicknames are not necessarily permanent in the life of the individual. After the ceremony of initiation (*liáida*) a young male's main name is added a particular suffix denoting the new social status of the young man and his transformation into a real man. The choice of the suffix among a limited set is a prerogative of the *chef d'initiation*. Men will be called by the non-initiated (women, children and the males who didn't feel like undergoing the initiation ceremony) only by the

complete name. Proper names (and nicknames) are semantically transparent and transmit – although cryptically – important messages concerning the main events inside the family: circumstances of pregnancy or birth, history of the family (weddings, conflict between bride and bridegroom or among co-wives, etc), usually conflictual relationships with neighbours or other members of the family. Since the interpretation of the names is usually extremely ambiguous, the A. contacted the name givers of 14 families in order to reconstruct the reasons underlying the choice of about a hundred proper names.

1.

The data I'm going to present, concerning the Gizey anthroponymic system, are all first-hand data I collected during three successive research periods in the Gizey territory in Northern Cameroon (Genuary-February 2004; November-December 2004 and July-August 2005).¹ The Gizey language has never been described so far² and not even recognized as an autonomous idiom, but has been usually considered by the anthropologists as the same as the Masa language,³ while there is no linguistic intercomprehension between the Masa and the Gizey ethnic groups, although their languages undoubtedly share some common features on the phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical levels, belonging to the same linguistic subgroup, the so called central Chadic.⁴

The Gizey ethnic group occupies a canton in the Cameroon province called Extreme North (department of Mayo-Danay, *arrondissement* of Guéré) and a small area beyond the Chadian border. According to the last census of population, the Gizey group amounts to roughly 12.000 people,⁵ but these data are inevitably far from being precise.

Their society is acephalous, they recognize the authority of a supreme *chef de terre* (*búm nìgítà*), but his authority is only religious and in no way political: they completely lack any structured power, their political and judiciary organization

being traditionally based upon the council of the family chiefs, who are the *patres familias*, who live independently in dispersed so called *concessions* (family units) each of which comprises, besides the family chief, his usually numerous wives and their progeny.⁶ Their matrimonial system is exogamous and proscribes, both for male and female Ego, one's own lineage as well as the lineage of one's mother, of the father's mother and of the mother's mother.⁷ They cultivate sorghum and other kinds of millet, they breed cattle (which represents the wealth exchanged to get the bride) and do some fishing.

My insistence on these few details concerning their social organization is due to the fact that recently it has been proposed an interesting correlation between different sociocultural organizations and different naming patterns, as we'll see later on.⁸

2.

The name is given to the baby one week after its birth, after numerous birth rites have been performed by the baby's parents:⁹ on the seventh day after birth, a child is sent to the *pater familias*, who is usually the grandfather of the newborn,¹⁰ to ask him to 'cut the name' (*ká sèm*) for the baby. The *pater familias* decides the name very early in the morning, before eating and urinating. As soon as the child comes back with the name, the baby is anointed on the head and on the navel with a mixture of red ochre (*giæáynà*) and oil.¹¹ This name will be the only personal name during all the life of the individual. Besides the personal name, all sorts of nicknames can be conferred on the individual by whomsoever in any period of the individual's life: nicknames are not permanent and can be substituted; only the personal name is permanent, although only to a certain extent.¹²

2.1.

Differently from other African societies where an infancy name is bestowed on the baby, which is usable until the initia-

tion time (if it is a male), when he receives a new name reflecting “the change of status from private to public individual”,¹³ the Gizey, when the initiation practice (*liãidã*) used to be performed,¹⁴ didn’t change the child’s name completely, but used to add to the personal name a suffix,¹⁵ chosen from among a limited set of possible ones, whose meaning is allegedly unknown to the name bearers themselves: as a matter of fact the initiated might pretend ignorance of the secret language of the initiation for fear of consequences in case they happened to reveal the unrevealable. Although some missionaries have taken note of many details of the ceremony that have been told them,¹⁶ much of the practice of *liãidã*, of its origin and history is still unknown. What is certain is that the same practice used to be performed in the same manner by a neighbouring population, the Tupuri, who speak a language of the Adamawa-Ubangi family, so very different from central Chadic, and who used almost the same set of suffix added to the birth name as the Gizey. But the expert of Tupuri language, S. Ruelland (1992) herself declares that “nous ignorons les valeurs attribuées aux dix termes suffixés, les Tupuri refusant de révéler à une femme quoi que ce soit concernant l’initiation”.¹⁷

The ten terms alluded to in Tupuri are the following:

-*bêlé*
 -*dândî* /-*ândî*
 -*kâgû*
 -*kâmlâ*
 -*kîsâm*
 -*kêrêw*
 -*libüy*
 -*sâlâ*
 -*sândü*
 -*tüwäy*¹⁸

The Gizey initiation suffixes recognized by P.Jean Goulard in his notes and a few others I have collected in my corpus of data are on the whole the following:

-*bè*
 -*k(e)rèw*
 -*dândî*
 -*sêlà* (for birth names ending with the interrogative particle –*su* or with the 3rd pers. pron. - *síyà*)
 -*tòæè/-tùæày*
 -*tùwàæ*
 -*yálà*.

The initiated are addressed with their initiation name, especially by non initiated (women and young people or people who refused to undergo the terrible experience of initiation); two people who are both initiated have the choice of addressing one another using the birth name or the initiation name.

3.

The main characteristic of Gizey personal names is that in the vast majority of cases they belong to an open class and usually categorize not the bearers but the name donors and the vicissitudes of their lives and thus correspond to the naming system Lévi-Strauss, C. (1962) quotes as second in his schematization of the two main types of proper names.¹⁹

Very often these free creations are short sentences, although they may also be clauses, noun phrases or simply nouns. There is no difference between male and female names, except when the name consists of a single noun followed by the determinant: the determinant is in this case a mark of gender. The common denominator of these names anyway is that they fulfill the function of sending messages to unspecified addressees. For this reason I’ll define them as “message names”, which I prefer to other definitions present in the literature on the subject, such as “proverbial names” or “jealousy names”.²⁰ Even when the name is a sentence, its meaning is seldom clear unless one knows the vicissitude it refers to. The name has an intentionally cryptic meaning, because it usually is a complaint

on behalf of the name donor against specific individuals, relatives or neighbours, whose behaviour was wicked or unjust and made him suffer. In this sense the Gizey naming system, as other African naming systems,²¹ belongs to the class of those rhetorical devices aiming at indirectness in communication, such as the frequent use of proverbs to approach a subject without focusing it immediately, or as circumlocution, innuendoes, evasion, idioms, metonymy and so on. As has been already emphasized,²² in African societies indirectness is a suitable mode of communication, since it avoids open confrontation, leaves the way open to negotiation and above all leaves the identities of the target addressees unspecified. Personal names, even when represented by a sentence, are always ambiguous and obscure, since the subjects or objects of the sentences are often missing and in Gizey the only category which is marked on the verb form is the category of aspect (accomplished vs unaccomplished). But even when morphologically clear, the sentence, as the clause, the noun phrase or the noun, is obscure because it is contextually anchored and only those who know the extralinguistic context can understand.²³ For this reason I enquired the name donors in order to have an explanation of the intended meaning of the approximately 100 names I collected. Here follows only a limited set of names, chosen as representative of the various morphosyntactical categories (ie: nouns+ determinants; verbal forms; phrases; sentences in the affirmative, negative, interrogative, negative, imperative forms):

(1) *Æár-vùn-siyà*

'They equalize their mouths' = they conjure against him
explanation: his relatives didn't consider his own words
 initiation name: *æárvúnsélà*

(2) *Sùwí-ná*

'He who is superior'
explanation: he has overcome many difficulties

(3) *Biyé-nà*

'Multiplication'
explanation: he has had a wide progeny
 initiation name: *bìyédàndì*

(4) *Húm-gát-su*

'Does he accept advice?'
explanation: the name donor was said to be stubborn
 initiation name: *húmgàtsélà*

(5) *Kálá*

'Gone'
explanation: his father was not at home during his birth
 initiation name: *káládàndì*

(6) *Plàn-siyà*

'Aloof from them'
explanation: he was kept aloof
 initiation name: *plànsikrèw*

(7) *Gòr-su*

'Is he little?'
explanation: the pater familias is not little within the family

(8) *Bàháw-èì*

'He never loses'
explanation: he wins since he has a son

(9) *Súw-siyà*

'He has dominated them'
explanation: he has overcome those who ran him down

(10) *Yáw-jùm*

'They gather slanders'
explanation: they slandered his father

(11) *Æà-bòy-èì*

'He doesn't utter a word, he has nothing to say'
explanation: his family considered him very little

(12) *Vòk-óæ-sù*

'(What is) in front of you?'
explanation: the name donor has nothing

(13) *Fít-æàà-sù*

'Is it possible to find the good?'
explanation: since his father has not male progeny, can he ever attain happiness?

(14) *Dàm-àn-èì*

'Don't bother me!'
explanation: the name donor's brothers always made requests for something

(15) *Jò-sù*

'Is he upset?'
explanation: the name donor was said to be always upset
 initiation name: *jòsélà*

The typology of “message-names” represents the vast majority of proper names in the Gizey society.

4.

Only a small percentage of proper names are not free creations of the name donor, but are in a way compulsory, i.e. linked to situations the Gizey society considers particularly meaningful. These names thus seem to characterize classes of individuals, rather than individuals:

a) in the case of a twin birth, the first born will be named *müllà* ‘the chief’ (if male) or *mùldà* or *kàyà*²⁴ (if female). The second born will be *tùgù*²⁵ or *òunèynà* (if male), *mèèrà* or *sáyà* (if female). Twins are considered under the protection of a particular deity and consequently their parents will be devoted to this deity for all their lives. Also the baby coming to light after a couple of twins will have a compulsory name, i.e. *ÿämmá* (properly: ‘stool’, used for both male and female).

Other “class names” are:

b) *mátnà* (m.) / *máttà* (f.) ‘genius of death’ (given to babies born after the decease of an elder brother/sister); in the same circumstance other names may be assigned, such as: *mitnà* (m.) / *-tà* (f.) ‘death’ or *zùllà* (m.) / *-dà* (f.) ‘the grave’.

c) *b(à)lámmà* (m.) / *b(à)lámbà* (f.) ‘footprint’, or *bùgólná* (m.) / *bùgóldá* (f.) ‘subsequent’ or *jònà* (m.) / *jòdà* (f.) ‘heritage’ are “class names” assigned to babies who have been born after their father’s death. No particular name is conferred when the baby’s mother dies in childbirth.

4.1.

Partially similar to the above typology are the names which could be defined as “survival names”, i.e. names referring to entities of no value which should render the name bearer uninteresting and unworthy consideration and thus, in an apotropaic manner, keep death far away from the newborn, such as *bùdùwdà* (f.) / *-nà* (m.) ‘ashes, filth’; *wànà* ‘nothing’; *cúpmittà* (f.) / *-nà* (m.) ‘wait for death’ and *lòptùwàæfi* ‘don’t get tired!’ (as an invitation to the mother for the inanity of her efforts, since all her babies are bound to die soon). Apart from the last

example, generally speaking this kind of names are in a way exceptional, since they refer to the bearer rather than to the name giver.

4.2.

Another typology of names refers to occasional circumstances which have taken place during the baby’s birth, such as *kùnà* (m.) / *-tà* (f.) ‘fire’, *gùlòægà* (f.) / *-æà* (m.) ‘pond’, *fùllà* (m.) / *-dà* (f.) ‘savanna’. These names mean that the birth has taken place when a fire broke out, or while the mother was fishing in a pond or was wandering in the savanna. These names share some semiotic features with “class names”, in that they make reference to circumstances which the Gizey society considers particularly important, and which involve the whole society, not only the baby, but differ from other “class names”, since their usage is not compulsory. Thus semiotically death is considered structurally integrated in the life of the society, while other circumstances have an accidental character.

4.3.

Although rare, names of places dear to the name giver may be chosen as personal names, but in no way are they linked to circumstances of the baby’s birth, e.g.: *jàminà* ‘the capital of Chad’; *gizèydà* (f.) / *-nà* (m.) ‘the Gizey canton’; *nùldà* (f.) / *-là* (m.) ‘place name in the Gizey territory’; *dibisnà* (m.) / *-tà* (f.) ‘the place where the forefather’s horse is buried’.²⁶ Again the reference is to the elder generations and their mood.

4.4.

Differently from other African cultures, the Gizey have only one “day name”, which is *dimàstà* / *-nà*, ‘Sunday’ and it obviously derives from French and from the Christian influence; as a matter of fact, the other days of the week are named accord-

ing to the place where the market takes place in the Gizey territory;²⁷ if a baby is named in reference to one of these market places, this means that it happened to have been born in that market place, not that he was born on that day of the week.

4.5.

There are “festivity names”, which may be generic, as *jùldínà* (m.) / -*tà* (f.) ‘feast’, or *friydà* (f.) / -*nà* (m.) ‘joy’, when the baby comes to light on a day corresponding to a festivity whatsoever, traditional or Christian, or may be specific, such as *nùldà* ‘traditional festivity’, *krófà* (f.) / -*na* (m.) ‘another traditional festivity’ or *nùéllà*, *pàscàl*, to honor of the two main Christian festivities.

4.6.

Another very restricted typology of personal names can be defined as the one of “positional names”, or “birth order names”, limited in Gizey to the first two positions: thus the first born may receive the name of *dèwnà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘one’ and the second born may be named *mànà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘two’ if both have been born from the same mother.

4.7.

“Animal names” are also rarely used, such as *vùdókæà* ‘myrmecophaga tridactyla’; *øiyna* ‘euxerus erythropus’, *dùkkà* ‘gazella rufifrons’; *díydna* ‘mantis religiosa’; *hùfúæolla* ‘agama sp.’. It’s not clear whether these are names of totemic animals: certainly they are not chosen in case one of the baby’s parents inadvertently kills one of these animals, which is a custom typical of the neighbouring Masa ethnic group, who e.g. may name the baby *vùdókæà* ‘myrmecophaga tridactyla’, or *dìyà* ‘dog’, or *dìymàtì* ‘dead dog’ as a compensation for killing one of these animals unintentionally.

4.8.

“Plant names” are rare as well: see e.g. the generic *gùnà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘tree, plant in general’, or the more specific *gìyàpmà* ‘terminalia’, *cìndà* (f.) / -*nà* (m.) ‘tamarind’, *bòrgìnà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘figus sp.’.

When such names are conferred, usually it is a consequence of a precise episode in the life of the name donor: the tree has saved his life. It is a common belief that if someone is pursued by hostile people, he can find shelter under a tree, bite its bark and ask for the protection of the tree. The pursuers will not kill him for fear of being exterminated by the tree.

4.9.

“Religious names” constitute another possible typology of anthroponyms: babies may receive the name of one of the supernatural beings of the traditional pantheon to whom the parents of the baby are devoted: e.g. *cìwnà* (m.) / *ciwtà* (f.) ‘star’, but also ‘superior soul’; ²⁸ *fàttà* ‘the sun’; *mùnùnnà* (m.), *mùnùndà* (f.) ‘water genius’; *fùllà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘genius (in general)’; *bàgàwdà* (f.) / -*nà* (m.) ‘savanna genius’; *làwnà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘supreme god; sky’; *tìllà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘moon’; *f(à)léynà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘zenith’; *æár fàttà* (f.) / -*nà* (m.) ‘afternoon’; *témmà* (m.) / -*bà* (f.) ‘savanna genius’; *gùydà* (f.) / -*nà* (m.) ‘totemic snake’; *nìgítà* ‘the earth’; *màsnà* (m.) / -*tà* (f.) ‘the sacred earth’; *grèynà* (m.) / -*dà* (f.) ‘divination’; *màgààrdà* (f.) / -*rà* (m.) ‘prayer’.

5.

In the process of acculturation due to the evangelization of the country, a change has taken place in the anthroponimic system: people who receive baptism tend to acquire a French name, mostly of biblical origin (but frequent are also names such as Thérèse, Philippe, André, Marcel) beside their traditional

name. A scrutiny of the baptism registers from the apostolic vicariate in Garoua concerning the years 1958-63 shows such a change: a comparison between the names of the baptized people and the names of their parents, namely of the non converted generation, shows that the former always have double names (i.e. French name + traditional name), while the latter only have the traditional names. It is not by chance that, differently from the natural parents, the “spiritual” parents of the baptized, namely the godfather and the godmother always have double names.

Evangelization had an impact also on the choice of the traditional name, introducing new religious contents into the themes expressed by the anthroponym: thus in *Dieudonné jibétnà* ‘Dieudonné the sweetness’ the reference is to the sweetness of God’s word; *François l-ùn-nàmú* ‘François He has made me’ recalls the Christian faith rather than the traditional religion.

For modern beaurocratical aims, such as the anagraphic registration that follows the European model which identifies the individual through a first name linked to the person and through a surname, linked to the offspring, the Gizey people mainly use their traditional name as surname and as a first name a name whatsoever, which can be a European name, or their father’s traditional name. But the choice is absolutely personal, since some people may decide to choose their father’s name as a surname and their own traditional name as a first name. Sometimes the name of an ancestor may be chosen as a surname. Only in the latter two cases two brothers may reveal their common offspring, which is untraceable in the other cases.

6.

There are cases in which an ancestor on whom a numerous offspring confers a particular importance is recognized by his descendants as the founder of an agglomerate of homesteads:

thus the anthroponym becomes a toponym: in the Gizey territory these toponyms derive from the ancestors’s anthroponyms: *jùgumtà* (maybe ‘taste it’); *màydà* (‘famine’, or ‘let’s remain’); *nàháydè* (‘let’s go’); *dàháw* (ancestor’s name without satisfactory etymology), *bòæòr* (the first inhabitant of the Gizey territory; no plausible etymology²⁹).

Curiously enough, this last name of the ancestor who first arrived in these lands, *bòæòr* is also the name of a lunar month, namely half of March-half of April.³⁰

7.

The personal name may undergo slight changes inside the family or inside the groups of intimate friends: these changes tend to reduce the phonic body of the name or result in a *jeu de mots* on the meaning. The resulting names are commonly called “hypocoristic names”: e.g. *làwmànà* ‘my god’ may become *làwdà*; *màlàkèi* ‘don’t forget’ may become *màlkèynà* ‘forgotten’; *kálvòksù* ‘are you going ahead?’ > (*kál*)*vòkæà* ‘going ahead’; *firyimèi* ‘they are not satisfied with him’ > *fúriyùm* ‘they are satisfied with him’; *æúlziyà* ‘insult them’ > *æùllà* ‘the insult’; *cénsù* ‘are you laughing?’ > *cénnà* ‘the laugh’; *bláklìyà* ‘who creates disorder’ > *blági* ‘disorder’; *báhàwèi* ‘he can never lose’ > *bá*; *fítæààsù* ‘can he find good?’ > *fítà* ‘good luck’.

The same phenomenon concerns European names, which may undergo unexpected modifications: thus, f.i. *Pàskàl* > *pàskàlíno*; *pyèr* > *pètèr*; *pól* > *pàblò*, etc.³¹

8.

The structure of nicknames is not different from the one of permanent personal names: they may consist in one single morpheme, like *gòòjè* ‘will o’ the wisp’; *sààjò* ‘will o’ the wisp’; *kiléæ* (ideophone) calm, serious’; *bèmmà* (ideophone) very short person/with big belly’; *gàrgà* ‘will o’ the wisp’;

gùkùní ‘stout’; *lòæmú* ‘slender’; or in two morphemes (noun and determinant): *jìməkæà* ‘sugar cane’, *húnà* ‘he-goat’; or in a phrase: *glikmú* ‘wall for us = stout’; *gìyànòòynà* ‘whose feet are made from the øoyna tree = who can walk a lot’; *hèækélé* ‘small eyes’; or in a sentence: *húkàæ* ‘(people) attack you’; *jà-zèw-nà* ‘to break the rope’; *mùd-mìgè* ‘what is he/she going to become?’; *mút-kúlóy-nà* ‘who chews the pipe’; *bùr-vàm-çi* ‘he/she doesn’t spend the night alone’; *mâr-tùw-àn* ‘I take my own body = I come alone’.

Nicknames differ from personal names mainly in their orientation towards the bearer, emphasizing certain physical or behavioural characteristics, rather than in the direction of the upper generation as happens with the personal name. The reason is obvious, since nicknames may be conferred by whomsoever and have no unique source.

9.

As is evident from what we have said before, the main typologies of Gizey personal names give information not about the name bearers but about the name donors and the kind of information is extremely variable. Since recently an interesting interpretative proposal has been put forward by Herbert, R.K. (1998), connecting two different typologies of naming practices with two opposed social organizations, the Gizey naming system would fit perfectly into one of the slots of the proposed dichotomy. As a matter of fact Herbert, R.K. (1998) proposes to correlate the opposition, put forward by Lévi-Strauss, C. (1962), between two types of naming systems (type I, categorizing bearers vs type II, categorizing namers) with different marriage patterns: a pattern that proscribes marriage with a person from the “clan” of any of the four grandparents and where exogamous marriage links are spread over considerable distances, since people live in independent dispersed homesteads, is connected with a naming system where the name is a free creation on the part of the name giver who predominantly

tends, through name giving, to give information about his own life. On the contrary, where there is a widespread preference for matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, and where what counts is the exact relationship between the parties, the naming systems uses “commemorative” family names, which are passed from one generation to another, allowing the bearer to be easily located within the familial context, which happens to be an important resource for people who live in large settlements, such as towns and villages, since personal names mark an individual as belonging to a particular group and this belonging marks someone as being a suitable marriage partner.

The Gizey are then a typical example of an ethnic group that has an exogamous marriage pattern that proscribes marriage with the family of the four grandparents and has a social organization that doesn’t know aggregation in villages or towns, but entails living in scattered independent homesteads formed by a single family unit. The Gizey case would then confirm the proposed link between naming system and social organization.

Notes

¹ This research on Gizey anthroponyms is part of a project of description of this language which has been financed by The Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) for the years 2004-2005.

My main informants have been Pascal Bahawçi, Patrice Balakliya, Jean Fernand Malakçi, all of them Gizey/French bilinguals.

² For this reason it seemed reasonable to transcribe it in IPA characters, as has been done for the compilation of the central Chadic lexicon, see Ajello *et al.* (2001). The symbols of acute and grave accent stand for phonologically high and low tones respectively.

³ One of the outstanding scholars who has worked in this area, Igor de Garine, considers the inhabitants of the “canton de Gizey” as Masa people under all respects, see De Garine (1964).

⁴ For problems of affinity among the Chadic languages, see Melis (2002: 37-38).

⁵ According to Seignobos & Iyebi-Mandjek (2000).

⁶ Since the times of colonization (beginning of the XXth century), the state imposed a *chef de canton* in charge of administering justice, but the traditional organization has survived, although it is now weakly operative.

⁷ Under this respect the marriage customs of the Gizey do not differ from the Masa ones, which have been thoroughly illustrated by Dumas-Champion (1983).

⁸ See Herbert (1998).

⁹ The baby's mother, just after delivery, undergoes ritual food interdictions until the ceremony called *vi yámna* (literally: 'to take the head', i.e. 'presentation'), during which both parents are subject to a particular diet. At the end there is a special rite to drive off the evil that might attain the baby.

¹⁰ Only in case the grandfather is no longer alive, can the baby's father impose the name.

¹¹ Other rituals are successively performed: after harvesting, the *si má búmbà*, i.e. the old man who prepares the ritual beer for his own dead father, performs a purification ritual for the baby in front of its mother: he chews a piece of coal coming from the fire upon which the beer has been cooked, and spits on the baby.

¹² A slightly different naming ceremony has been observed among the Musey, an ethnic group linguistically belonging to the same subgroup as Gizey: they introduce the baby to the guardian deities and the other deities invoked for the birth, to the *chef de terre*, and to the *sà má gàrinà* (the divination man). The father of the baby is in any case the real name donor. The baby is also given a motto, which consists in the tonal reproduction of a particular name and is used mainly by the parents, to call their son/daughter. Moreover, when the baby is introduced to its mother's parents, the maternal grandfather confers a nickname or another personal name on the baby, which might turn out usefull in case he/she happened to reside by the mother's family (see Bertoni 2005).

¹³ Herbert (1998: 190).

¹⁴ Initiation has been prohibited under President Ahmadou Ahidjo's government (1960-1982).

¹⁵ The term affixed at the end of the birth name might not be a bound morpheme, but an autonomous morpheme, which, in combination with the birth name might result in a compound form.

¹⁶ In particular I came across the notes by P. René Jaouen on Tupuri initiation and the ones by P. Jean Goulard O.M.I. on Gizey initiation.

¹⁷ Ruelland (1992: 301).

¹⁸ Ruelland (1992: 302). I stick to her transcription.

¹⁹ See Lévi-Strauss (1962: 199) of the Italian translation.

²⁰ See E.G. Obeng (2001) and Tonkin (1980).

²¹ See E.G. Obeng (2001); Saulnier (2001); Tonkin (1980).

²² Obeng (2001: 51).

²³ Dog names are also permanent and have the same function of transmitting a message to someone. If the addressee wants to reply to the message, he will be compelled to adopt the same strategy, namely acquire a dog and give it a name. Here is a list of dog names: *màsànéààmáyèi* 'among the Masa there

is no single right person'; *vikànèi* 'I cannot accept'; *gúmláwí* 'God has engendered him'; *æàrvùndà* 'the agreement'. Sometimes dog names refer to qualities of the animal, as for *pòlís* 'police' *tínyèrè* (< fulfuldè 'onion'); *liyón* 'lion'.

The functional similarity between dog names and human names may be due to the fact that dogs are a constant part of the daily social life, since they stay the whole day close to the homestead and offer thus a good chance for sending an indirect message to people who live nearby. The only other category of animals worth receiving a name is the category of cows, which the Gizey "parasite" as the Nuer do, according to the description given by Evans-Pritchard (1940). Cows (usually not bulls) are named as a rule according to their physical or behavioural characteristics: e.g. *gwòldà* 'cow without horns'; *gàryàm* 'hippopotamus'; *dùkkà* 'gazelle'; *mlòridà* 'cow which is bigger than those of the local species'; *gòlòæ* 'that gives much milk'; *bótæòrò* (perhaps < *bótæòrà*) 'antelope horse'; *vèttà* 'very often pregnant'; *witæagè* 'on the point of generating'; *gòbònjò* (ideophone) 'moving slowly either out of heaviness or old age'; *dùnyà* 'life'. Otherwise they may receive fantasy names, often loanwords from neighbouring ethnic groups: e.g. *lùkkèrè* (< fulfuldè) 'the cultivated territory'; *gùlòndày* (Tupuri nickname); *gùlòndàgrè* 'name of a Tupuri *quartier*'; *bònànjò* 'name of a village in southern Cameroon'; *màydùgùrì* 'a town in Nigeria'; *màdàgàskàr* 'the island Madagaskar'; *nàygiyà* 'let's go'. Cows cannot fulfill the function of conveying messages, probably because they mainly live outside the *enclos familial* and they are usually not present when there is need to send the message. Ovines are identified on the basis of their colour. Pigs and poultry don't receive any name.

²⁴ Maybe derived from the preposition *kay* 'upon, over'.

²⁵ *Tùgù* in Masa means 'weak': if the relation with the Masa word is acceptable, then the word would imply the belief that the second born of a twin couple is weaker than the first born.

²⁶ The word literally means 'the ashes which are gathered in order to prevent the tomb's erosion'.

²⁷ For the sake of completeness, here are the names of the market places (*lómò*) in the Gizey territory and their correspondance with the days of the week: *lómò súwéy*, or *gòbò* correspond to Monday; *lómò kálvòksu* (from the anthroponym of a powerful *chef d'initiation*, who started this market) or *fyáæga*, or *mùtà* correspond to Tuesday; *lómò àrdáf* is in correspondance with Wednesday; *lómò gàywànà* or *rùwán* correspond to Thursday; *lómò jèn-rèn*, or *dòmò* to Friday; *lómò øuyá* takes place on Saturday, while *lómò jùgùmtà* or *dàʔnà* correspond to Sunday.

²⁸ While the inferior soul is *æùstà* 'shadow'.

²⁹ There is a homonymous village in the Chadian territory. Also in this case the name belongs to an ancestor who was the first to come to that land; the paraetymological explanation given by the descendants of the Danay lineage

interprets the name as 'dog that barks behind the house' (*diy má bùw àòr zìynà*), cfr. Melis (2002: 42). Other toponyms within the Gizey territory (included the *enclave* beyond the Chadian border) are not recognized as derived from anthroponyms of ancestors (*Mùkà, Lòkò, Mùtàæ, Øòlóm, Øàrdàf, Wàrkàlàk, Gibi, Vòlmèy* (in Chadian territory)).

³⁰ The names of the months and their correspondance to the western calendar show an incredible variation: according to my informants, even the *chef de terre*, the supreme religious authority, is at a loss with this typology of names. All the numerous people I interviewed anyway agreed with the name *bòàèr* and its correspondance with March-April. The same name designates a lunar month also in Masa, but in this case the correspondance with the western calendar is a bit different: it corresponds to January-February. Other month names are numerals (from 5 to 10, namely: *và'vi, kàrgiyà, sífìyà, kàlvàndi, jèèèèè, dòògò*), others are festivity names, or names referring to specific activities which take place in specific periods.

³¹ The phenomenon of hypocoristic names is a linguistic game that has nothing to do with the widespread practice of the so called "baby talk".

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INTERNALLY-HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES IN LITERARY SOMALI?

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1. Background

It is with great pleasure that the present author has written this short paper for Annarita Puglielli. Thanks to her, he was involved in the team that was preparing the Somali-Italian Dictionary (Agostini *et al.* 1985) when he had just got his university degree, more than thirty years ago. This was the beginning of a long-standing interest in Somali and its linguistic and historical context in the Horn of Africa for him, and of an equally long-standing friendship and fruitful cooperation between him and her.

Literary Somali (LS) refers here to the Somali language as it has been written by educated Somali's for at least six decades, even though some people had been already writing it since the last decades of the 19th century using both Latin, Arabic and locally developed scripts. For a very short history of this the interested reader may refer to Banti (2010: 694b f.) and the literature that is cited there. One should note that the Somali's don't only have a written literature, but also a much richer oral literature that already existed many centuries before the development of Somali literacy, and that is still quite alive both in the Somali heartlands and in the diaspora. It includes both elevated and folk poetry, different genres of narratives and of wisdom literature, as well as historical and legal texts (see, e.g., Andrzejewski 1985), and circulates in different partly koineized dialects. Written LS, however, in the official Latin orthography that was introduced for it in 1972, is now a largely homogeneous language mainly based upon Northern

Somali. It is not fully standardized *stricto sensu*, because it displays a considerable degree of orthographical variation – even in its two major monolingual dictionaries (Yaasiin 1976 and Saalax 2004) – as well as some phonological, grammatical and lexical differences between writers with different regional backgrounds. Beside written LS, the corresponding spoken Somali koine displays a higher level of regional variation or “accents”, even though it is also perceived as being a single language by its speakers. Quite detailed studies on the different registers of both written LS and spoken Somali, and of their main peculiarities have been published by Biber and Mohamed Hared (1992) and Biber (1995), yet without discussing regional variation in depth.

The corpus from which the data of this study are drawn has been chosen in order to represent different varieties of written LS:

(i.) Muuse Galaal (1956), written by one of the major Somali intellectuals during the central decades of the 20th century, born in the Burco district of Somaliland and well versed in oral poetry. His *Hikmad Soomaali*, a collection of traditional narratives that also includes some poems, was published with Andrzejewski's detailed notes ca. 15 years before the official introduction of the present Somali orthography, and still displays several phonological features that were later reduced in written Somali, such as the extensive coalescence of enclitic particles and grammatical elements with the final rhymes of their host words, e.g., *kaloo* for *kale oo* ‘other and’, or *dameerii* for *dameeri-hii* ‘donkeys-M:ANAPHORIC.ART’. The examples drawn from his book have been adapted here to the present Somali orthography, e.g., by replacing *h* with *x* (a voiceless pharyngeal fricative), ‘ with *c* (a voiced pharyngeal fricative that is frequently realised as an epiglottal), etc. His language represents LS as it was written in those years by a native speaker of north-western (or strict) Northern Somali. For instance, it systematically has a voiced retroflex flap, i.e., *dh* after vowels as in *yidhi* ‘he said’ instead of *yiri*, *aan-ay* as a clitic chain composed of ‘not-she’ (or ‘not-they’) instead of *ays-an* or *ay-nan* ‘she-not’, etc.

(ii.) Idaajaa (1994), by one of the major living Somali intellectuals; a poet himself and author of many books and essays on Somali literature and politics. This paper deals with the organisation known at that time as *Al-Itixaad Al-Islaami*, and the looming issue of armed religious fundamentalism among the Somali's. His language represents LS political prose as it is written by a

native speaker of Northern Somali from the Gaalkacyo area in Mudug, near to the linguistic border between Northern and Benaadir Somali dialects. For instance, it systematically has *r* for *dh* after vowels, as in *yiri* ‘he said’, and *hartay* ‘she/it remained’ instead of more northern *hadhay* [haq;ay], it alternates the types *ays-an* and *aan-ay* in clitic chains, etc. It also displays some kinds of nominative case marking that don’t occur in other varieties of LS, as *bixiyeeni* ‘that they gave’ instead of *bixiyeen*, as nominative of the dependent 3PL. *bixiyeen* [bihiyê:n] in example (1a).

(iii.) Kaddare (1983), one of the first Somali novels, written by one of the major intellectuals from the area that includes Middle Shabeelle, southern Galguduud and southern Mudug. A poet himself, and an expert of traditional poetry and other oral genres, his novel incorporates several examples of poetic and wisdom literary genres from all the Northern and Benaadir Somali speaking regions, and represents LS as it is written by a native speaker of a central Benaadir Somali variety. For instance, it has systematically *yiri* and *hartay* like Idaajaa’s paper, but it generally only has the *ays-an* type of clitic chain (the other type, e.g., *aan-u* ‘not-he’, only occurs in quotes from northern poetry), etc. In addition to this, it has some types of nominative case marking that rarely occur in Northern Somali writers, such as *wadaahu* ‘who drives’ instead of *wadaa*, as nominative of the subjectal relative 3SG.M *wada* [wadá] in example (1b). Other examples are *caleemu* ‘leaves’ instead of *caleemi* as nominative of *caleen* [ʕalé:n], and *saaranu* ‘who are on’ instead of *saarani* or low-toned *saaran*, as nominative of the subjectal relative 3PL. *saaran* [sa:rán] in examples (1c) and, respectively, (1d).

(1)

a. (Idaajaa 1994: 9)

<i>Jawaabtii</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>bixiyeeni</i>	<i>waxay</i>	<i>noqotay</i> ...
answer:F:the	they	gave:3PL:NOM	waxa:it	became:3SG.F

‘The answer they gave was ...’

b. (Kaddare 1983: 32)

<i>Shufeerka</i>	<i>baabuurka</i>	<i>wadaahu</i>	<i>waa</i>	<i>nin</i>
chauffeur:M:the	bus:M:the	drives:3SG.M:NOM	<i>waa</i>	man
	<i>waayeel</i>			
	elder			
	<i>ah</i>			
	is:3SG.M			

‘The chauffeur who drives the bus is an elderly man.’

c. (Kaddare 1983: 34)

<i>Laamo</i>	<i>cargeeyay</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>caleemu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>gaafan</i>	<i>tahay</i> ...
branches	greened:3PL	and	leaves:NOM	on	covering	is3SG.F

‘Branches full of sap and covered with leaves ...’

(lit. ‘that leaves cover them’).

d. (Kaddare 1983: 32)

<i>Dadka</i>	<i>kale</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>baabuurka</i>	<i>saaranu</i>	<i>waxay</i>
people:M:the	other	and	bus:M:the	are_on:3PL:NOM	waxa:they
<i>u</i>	<i>badan</i>	<i>yihiin</i>	<i>rag</i>	<i>da'</i>	<i>dhexaad</i>
to many	are:3PL	men	age	middle	are:3PL

‘The other people who are on the bus are mostly middle-aged men.’

2. Northern Somali relative clauses

Northern Somali relative clauses have been described in the literature as “post-nominal external relatives with the relativised position in the clause marked by a gap” (Saeed 1999: 210; see also Andrzejewski 1964, 1968 and 1979; Antinucci 1981: 228 ff.; Abdalla & Puglielli 1999: 211 ff.). Indeed, it is true that they usually follow their head nouns, without any complementizers or relative pronouns nor any overt anaphoric pronouns that refer to their heads. The head noun is thus matched by a \emptyset -element in the relative clause, or by the agreement morphemes of its verb, when the relativized item is the subject. A good example is (1c) above, where the two relative clauses *cargeeyay* ‘that are full of sap’ and *caleemu ku gaafan tahay* ‘that leaves cover them’ are coordinated by means of the conjunction *oo* and follow their head noun *laamo* ‘branches’.

A few features of Northern Somali relative clauses are typologically interesting. First of all, they tend to display OV word order more rigidly than main clauses, where different phenomena, partly related to information structure, often cause one or more constituents to occur after the verb.

Secondly, many affirmative and negative verbal forms are different from the corresponding verbal forms that occur in main clauses. For instance, the affirmative non-past in relative clauses whose subject is different from the relativized element has final high-toned *-o* in the SG and 1PL, whereas it has low-toned *-aa* in main clauses whose subject is not focussed; affirmative past verbs have high-toned final syllables in relative clauses but low-toned ones in main clauses; negative non-past

verbs are identical to negative past verbs in relative clauses, whereas they differ from them in main clauses, etc.

Thirdly, relative clauses are clearly distinguished from main clauses not only by their different verbal forms, but also by their using *aan* as negative particle rather than high-toned *ma*.

Fourth, focus marking by means of the well-known focus particles *baa*, *ayaa* and *waa* or of the so-called *waxa*-clefting only occurs in main clauses, never in relative clauses.

Fifth, there is a clear-cut distinction between subjectal relative clauses, i.e., clauses with a relativised subject like *cargeeyay* 'that are full of sap' in (1c), and non-subjectal relative clauses like *caleemu ku gaafan tahay* 'that leaves cover them' in the same example, where the subject of the relative is *caleemu* 'leaves' rather than its head noun *laamo* 'branches'. The difference is given by (i.) the use of different affirmative verbal forms and (ii.) the lack of subject clitics (*aan* 1SG, *aad* 2SG, *uu* 3SG.M, *ay* 3SG.F, etc.) in subjectal relative clauses vs. their frequent occurrence in non-subjectal ones. As for feature (ii.) examples (1a) and (2c) show non-subjectal relative clauses with the subject clitic *ay* meaning 'they' and, respectively, 'she', while the non-subjectal relative in (1c) lacks it. On the other hand, the subjectal relative clauses in (1b), (1c: *cargeeyay*), (1d: *baaburka saaranu* and *da' dhexaad ah*), and (2a) all lack subject clitics. As for feature (i.), the verbal forms that occur in subjectal relative clauses are identical with those that are used in main clauses with focussed subjects, as shown in examples (2a) and (2b) vs. the corresponding verbal form in a non-subjectal relative clause in (2c). The verbal paradigms that occur in subjectal relative clauses and with focussed subjects in main clauses typically display a reduced agreement pattern, whereby the 2SG, 2PL and 3PL are identical with the 3SG.M (see also Table 1).

(2)

- a. *Gabarta ku arkaysa* [árkaysá]
 girl:F:the the sees:PROG:3SG.F
 'The girl who is seeing you ...'

- b. *Gabarta ayaa ku arkaysa* [árkaysá]
 girl:F:the ayaa thee sees:PROG:3SG.F
 'The GIRL is seeing you.'

- c. *Maalintii ay gabartu ku arkaysa* [árkaysó]
 day:F:the she girl:F:the:NOM thee sees:PROG:3SG.F
 'The day that the girl will see you ...'

Finally, since the nominative case is marked phrase-finally, when the last word in the subject NP is a verb it has to get nominative case marking (notice that focussed subjects and predicate NP's in equative clauses have to be in the absolute rather than in the nominative case). As a consequence, all dependent verbal forms have a double paradigm: a non-nominative and a nominative one. This is shown in Table 1 below, where however only the 3SG.M, 3SG.F and 3PL forms of the affirmative non-past and past forms are reported, together with their corresponding forms that occur in main clauses.

Table 1. Sample affirmative relative-clause and main-clause tenses of the verb *keen* 'bring' (1st conjugation) in north-western Northern Somali (and in Muuse Galaal 1956)

(a) Non-nominative relative clause tenses

	Non-nominative non-subjectal relative clause	Non-nominative subjectal relative clause
Non-past		
3SG.M.	keeno [ke:nó]	keena [ke:ná]
3SG.F.	keento [ke:ntó]	keenta [ke:ntá]
3PL.	keenaan [ke:ná:n]	keena [ke:ná]
Past		
3SG.M.	keenay [ke:náj]	keenay [ke:náj]
3SG.F.	keentay [ke:ntáj]	keentay [ke:ntáj]
3PL.	keeneen [ke:nê:n]	keenay [ke:náj]

(b) Nominative relative clause tenses

	Nominative non-subjectal relative clause	Nominative subjectal relative clause
Non-past		
3SG.M.	keena [ke:na:]	keena [ke:na:]
3SG.F.	keentaa [ke:nta:]	keentaa [ke:nta:]
3PL.	keenaan [ke:na:n]	keena [ke:na:]

Past		
3SG.M.	keenay [ke:na:j]	keenay [ke:na:j]
3SG.F.	keentay [ke:nta:j]	keentay [ke:nta:j]
3PL.	keeneen [ke:ne:n]	keenay [ke:na:j]

(c) Main clause tenses

	Main clause non-focussed subject	Main clause focussed subject
Non-past		
3SG.M.	keena [ke:na:]	keena [ke:ná]
3SG.F.	keentaa [ke:nta:]	keenta [ke:ntá]
3PL.	keenaan [ke:na:n]	keena [ke:ná]
Past		
3SG.M.	keenay [ke:na:j]	keenay [ke:náj]
3SG.F.	keentay [ke:nta:j]	keentay [ke:ntáj]
3PL.	keeneen [ke:ne:n]	keenay [ke:náj]

It appears that instead of having twelve different verbal paradigms, there are two patterns of syncretism whereby: (i.) main clause forms with focussed subjects are identical with non-nominative subjectal relative forms, and (ii.) main clause forms with non-focussed subjects are identical with nominative non-subjectal relative forms. These two patterns of syncretism hold not only for suffix-conjugated verbs of the 1st conjugation like the above *keen* and of the 2nd and 3rd ones, but also for prefix-conjugated verbs and for those of the 4th conjugation. Obviously enough, varieties of Northern Somali such as *Idaajaa's*, that have nominative non-subjectal relative forms like past 3PL *bixiyeeni*, only display pattern (i.).

Several authors, e.g., Antinucci (1981: 240 ff.), Abdalla & Puglielli (1999: 229 ff.), and Saeed (1999: 217 ff.) have remarked that many kinds of Northern Somali subordinate clauses of time, manner, condition etc. are transparently “relative clauses on noun phrases of time, manner, etc.” (Saeed 1999: 217). Such NP’s are, e.g., *mar-kii* ‘the time, when’, *wix-ii* ‘the thing, the event, while’, *in-tii* ‘the part, when, while’ for temporal clauses, *si-dii* ‘the manner, how’ for manner clauses, *had-dii* ‘the time, when, if’ for conditional and some temporal clauses, etc. Example (3) shows that such subordinate clauses

share several features with non-subjectal relative clauses, in so far as they have the same verbal forms and have subject clitics:

- (3)
Hadday ku aragto, way farxaysaa
 time:F:the:she thee sees:3SG.M waa:she rejoices:PROG:3SG.F
 ‘If she sees you, she’ll be happy.’

Notice that *in* with no article is used as a generic complementizer ‘that’, both in complement clauses such as (4a), in purpose clauses (4b) and in some other contexts. In these two examples, the clauses introduced by *in* ‘that’ display the same two major features of non-subjectal relative clauses that have been pointed out above for subordinates introduced by *haddii*, *markii* etc.

- (4)
 a. *Inaanu Xamar tegayn baan u malaynayaa*
 that:not:he Mogadishu go:NEG:PROG baa:I to think:PROG:1SG
 ‘I think that he will not go to Mogadishu.’
 b. *Wuxuu gurigii uga tegay inuu shaqo doonto*
 waxa:he house:M:the for:from went:3SM that:he work
 looks_for:3SG.M
 ‘He went away from home in order to find work.’

Some authors like Saeed (1999: 224) regard this generic complementizer as being etymologically related with the above *in-tii* ‘the part, the amount’, even though Andrzejewski (1975: 134) remarked that synchronically they are different words. Indeed, the path of grammaticalization whereby a word meaning ‘part’ becomes a generic complementizer like English *that* or Italian *che* is a bit complex. A more straightforward possibility is that the Northern Somali generic complementizer *in* has no etymological relation with *in* ‘part, amount’, and that the *in*-clauses it introduces are a syntactic loan from an Arabic dialect, where *in* is the inherited generic complementizer derived from collapsing medieval Arabic *'an ~ 'anna* and *'in ~ 'inna*. Indeed, the very feature of having a generic com-

plementizer and complement clauses introduced by it seems to be a Somali innovation, because most other East Cushitic languages lack them.

3. Internally-headed relative clauses?

Scanning texts in LS such as the three that were mentioned in § 1, one finds a considerable number of relative clauses that display the grammatical features listed in § 2. But one also finds relative clauses such as those in the following examples:

(5)

a. (Muuse Galaal 1956: 38. A group of spying scouts have been generously received by a poor man, who tells them that he has done this “because of the fear of the Lord, and in the hope of reward from men and Divine Protection” for his family. Going away one of the scouts asks his companions)

Waar, [ninkii] hadalkuu ina yidhi ma
 ALLOC man:M:the words:M:the:he us said:3SG.M INT
maqlayseen?
 heard:2PL

‘Men, did you hear the words this man told us?’

b. (Muuse Galaal 1956: 48. A character called Cigaal Bowkax cuts the ropes that tie a herd of donkeys and shouts in order to drive them away with him)

Markaasaa dameerii, intay qoob iyo qaylo
 time:M:that:baa donkeys:M:the part:F:the:they hoof and bray
isku dareen, [xaggii Cigaal Bowkax u socday]
 REC:to added:3PL direction:M:the Cigaal Bowkax to went:3SF.M
waddadii qaban jirtay u dideen
 road:F:the lead:INF existed:3SG.F to ran:3PL

‘Then the donkeys (*dameerii* = *dameerihii*), galloping fast and braying (lit. ‘mixing hoof and bray’), ran in fright (*dideen*) to the road which led (*qaban jirtay*) in the direction in which Cigaal Bowkax was going (*xaggii Cigaal Bowkax u socday*)’.

c. (Muuse Galaal 1956: 52. The soothsayer tells the serpent that his sultan has ordered him)

[Sannadka soo socdaa] wuxuu noqon
 year:M:the VEN go:3SG.M:NOM thing:M:the:he become:INF
doon ka warran!
 will:3SG.M about tell:IMPT:2SG

‘Tell (us) what (*wux-*) the coming year (*sannadka soo socdaa*) will be!’.

d. (Idaajaa 1994: 4. During a meeting held by the Al-Itixaad Al-Islaami organisation after it was defeated in the north-eastern region in 1992 a number of important decisions were taken)

Waxaa kaloo la go'aamiyey kooxaha
 waxa other:and IMPS decided:3SG.M groups:M:the
ururku inay ku laabtaan [qabaa'ilka
 organisation:M:the:NOM that:they to go_back:3PL tribes:M:the
ay u kala dhasheeni] meelaha ay
 they in separately were_born:3PL:NOM places:M:the they
kala degaan, halkaasna ay ku dhex-fidiyaan
 separately live:3PL place:M:that:and they in inside spread:3PL
mabaadi'da Al-itixaad Al-islami.
 principles:F:the Al-Itixaad Al-Islaami

‘It was also decided that the groups of the organisation should go back to the places where the tribes they were born in (*qabaa'ilka ay u kala dhasheeni*) were settled, and that they should spread there the principles of the Al-Itixaad Al-Islaami’.

e. (Kaddare 1983: 44. When the two elders, Waasuge and Warsame, ask a young boy the reason of a street demonstration they see upon their arrival in Mogadishu, he answers them ill-manneredly)

[Dadkan] waxa isu keenay waxba
 people:M:this thing:M:the REC:to brought:3SG.M thing:EMPH
kama gashaan, mana garan kartaan
 into:not enter:2PL not:and understand:INF can:2PL

‘You have nothing to do with the reason (*waxa* lit. ‘the thing’) that brought together these people, nor can you understand it’.

In the five above examples, the head noun of a relative clause, marked in boldface, is preceded by a constituent that semantically belongs to the relative clause and would be expected to follow, rather than precede the head noun. In (5a) and (5e) it is a noun with a determiner, whereas in (5b), (5c) and (5d) it is a complex NP that includes a second relative clause. This second relative clause is a subjectal one in (5c) but a non-subjectal one in (5b) and (5d). It appears that the constituents that precede the head nouns are informational topics that redirect the listener’s or the reader’s attention towards a highlighted referent: ‘this man’ who received us in (5a), ‘the coming year’ in (5c), ‘these people’ in (5e). The picture is slightly more complex in the other two examples: the topic of the main clause of (5b) is *dameerii* ‘the (already mentioned)

donkeys’, but the relative clause headed by *waddadii* ‘the road’ has a different topic ‘the direction in which Cigaal Bowkax was going’, and this is highlighted by the fact that the complex NP that expresses this different topic precedes the head *waddadii*. Not very dissimilarly, an informationally new topic is introduced by *kooxaha ururku* ‘the groups of the organisation’, that is provided information about by the subordinate *in*-clauses whose verbs are *ku laabtaan* ‘should go back to’ and *ku dhex fidiyaan* ‘should spread’, but a separate informationally new topic is highlighted by *qabaa’ilka ay u kala dhasheeni* ‘the tribes they were born in’, that is subsequently referred to by the subject clitic *ay* ‘they’ and by the 3PL agreement marker of the relative verb *degaan*. The subsequent *halqaas-* ‘there’ refers back anaphorically to the entire complex NP ‘the places where the tribes etc.’

The relative clauses that allow these pre-head topics are both subjectal ones like those in (5b) and (5e), and non-subjectal ones as in (5a), (5c) and (5d). Topics that occur at the beginning of main clauses in Northern Somali can optionally lack nominative case marking even if they are non focussed subjects, but in (5c) and (5d) the verb of the relative clause that is embedded in the pre-head topic is a nominative form: *socdaa* instead of non-nominative *socda*, and *dhasheeni* instead of non-nominative *dhasheen*. It can thus be a generative linguist’s delight to find evidence for proving that such pre-head topics of relative clauses moved from a position to the right of the head noun, and whether they are separate constituents that precede the head and the rest of the relative clause or not, i.e., whether the syntactic structure is [*ninkii*] [*hadalkuu ina yidhi*] or rather a more typical internally-headed relative clause like [*ninkii hadalkuu ina yidhi*] ‘the words this man told us’.

For the purpose of this short paper suffice it to remark that such pre-head topics occur both with lexical head nouns as in the above examples, and with head NP’s that have been partly grammaticalised as subordinate complementizers:

(6)

a. (Kaddare 1983: 60. After describing Muuse, one of the two elders’ son, and his Italian wife Maria, the author adds)

[*Asaga iyo xaaskiisaba*] **markii** *aad ficilkooda*
 he and wife:M:his:the:EMPH time:M:the thou act:M:their:the
iyo qowlkooda dhuuxdid waxaad dareemaysaa
 and voice:M:their:the examine:2SG waxa:thou perceive:PROG:2SG
inay fikrad ahaan isku raacsan yihiin raaricinta
 that:they opinion being REC:in following are:3PL dropping:F:the
dhaqankiisa iyo raacidda midkeeda.
 way_of life:M:his:the and following:F:the one:M:her:the
 ‘When (*markii*) you look at the behaviour and the words of him and his wife, you perceive that they fully agree upon the idea of getting rid of his way of life and following only hers’ (lit. ‘that they follow each other ideally in dropping his way-of-life and following hers’).

b. (Muuse Galaal 1956: 58. After being richly rewarded by the sultan, the soothsayer travels back to his home)

[*Jidka*] **hadduu sii socday** *buu waxay*
 road:M:the time:F:the:he ITI went:3SG.M *baa:he thing:M:the:they*
maskii ku ballameen xusuustay.
 snake:M:the on promised:3PL remembered:3SG.M
 ‘While (*hadd-*) he travelled along the road, he remembered what he had promised to the snake’ (lit. ‘what they [i.e., he and the snake] had promised’).

c. (Muuse Galaal 1956: 50. People tell the sultan about the abilities of the soothsayer)

Markaasaa suldaankii markuu [ninkii] sidii
 time:M:that:baa sultan:M:the time:M:the:he man:M:the manner:F:the
loo ammaanayay arkay is yidhi: “Bal
 IMPS:to praised:PROG:3SG.M saw:3SG.M REF said:3SG.M EXCL
ninkaa inta cilmigiisu gadhsiisanyahay
 man:M:that amount:F:the knowledge:M:his:the:NOM reaching:is:3SG.M
hubso”.
 find_out:IMPT:2SG

‘Then, when he saw how (*sidii* lit. ‘the way’) that man was praised, the sultan thought (lit. ‘said to himself’): “Well, I’ll find out how far this man’s knowledge arrives” (lit. a 2SG imperative clause)’.

Even *in*-clauses occur with topics that precede the complementizer, as in examples (7) and (5d): *kooxaha ururku inay ku laabtaan* etc. ‘that the groups of the organisation should go back to etc.’). Notice that also in (7) the verb of the relative

clause that is embedded in the pre-head topic, i.e., *hadlayaa*, is marked as a nominative form, because it is the subject of *yahay* ‘is’.

(7)

(Kaddare 1983: 62. Muuse’s father Waasuge is addressed in a very ill-mannered way by a friend of Muuse, who is unaware that Waasuge is his friend’s father)

<i>Markay</i>	<i>intaasi</i>	<i>dhacday</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	<i>Muuse</i>
time:M:the:it	amount:F:that:NOM	happened:3SG.F	<i>ayaa</i>	Muuse
<i>hadalkii</i>	<i>maqlay,</i>	<i>soona</i>	<i>orday</i>	<i>markuu</i>
talk:M:the	heard:3SG.M	VEN:and	ran:3SG.M	time:M:the:he
<i>arkay</i>	[<i>qofka</i>	<i>lala</i>	<i>hadlayaa</i>]	<i>inuu</i>
saw:3SG.M	person:M:the	IMPS:with	talk:PROG:3SG.M:NOM	that:he
<i>aabbihis</i>	<i>yahay,</i>	<i>yirina:</i>	...	
father:M:his	is: 3SG.M	said:3SG.M:and		

‘While this happened, Muuse heard those words, and rushed there when he saw that (*in-*) the addressed person (*qofka lala hadlayaa*) was his father, and said: ...’

Such relative and, more generally, subordinate clauses with pre-head constituents occur quite frequently in Muuse Galaal (1956) and Idaajaa (1994), but are markedly less frequent in the prose portions of Kaddare (1983). They are also quite frequent in poetry, also when Kaddare quotes Northern Somali poems. Interestingly, while in the prose portions of the corpus that was scanned for this paper only one constituent may occur before the head noun, in poetry there are also several examples with two constituents before *haddii*, as in (8) below, where this syntactic possibility is exploited for introducing a succession of new images to the listeners’ attention.

(8)

(Kaddare 1983: 36. A quote from a *gabay* poem by Cumar Isteliya in praise of the *awr* ‘camel bull’, and alliterated in vowels)

[<i>Aminkhayrka</i>	<i>galabtii</i>]	<i>hadduu,</i>	<i>aaran</i>	<i>soo</i>
late_afternoon:M:the	afternoon:F:the	time:F:the:he	young_camels	VEN
<i>didiyo</i>				
urges:3SG.M				

[<i>Usha</i>]	[<i>kol</i>	<i>iy</i>	<i>laba</i>	<i>jeer</i>]	<i>haddaad,</i>	<i>yara</i>
stick:F:the	time	and	two	time:GEN	time:F:the:thou	a_little_bit

ogeysiiso

give_a_wink:2SG

[<i>Umalkii</i>	<i>uu qabay</i>]	[<i>doob</i>]	<i>hadduu,</i>	<i>awda</i>
excitement:M:the	he had: 3SG.M	red_palate	time:F:the:he	IDPH:F:the
<i>kaga</i>	<i>siiyo</i>	...		
with:from	gives:3SG.M			

‘When he drives home the younger camels in the late afternoon (*aminkhayrka galabtii*),

‘When you give him a small wink one or two times (*kol iyo laba jeer*) with your stick,

When he inflates his red palate because of the excitement he feels (*umalkii uu qabay*), ...’

Finally, a slightly ambiguous case is example (9), a well-known saying that has become a proverbial example of how powerful people twist the rules to their own advantage.

(9)

(Muuse Galaal 1956: 35. A sultan has ruled that if somebody’s cow grazes in another person’s field, the owner of the cow should pay compensation by covering a raised stick with sorghum. But when the very sultan’s cow grazes where it should not, he decides what follows)

[<i>Hadda</i>]	[<i>usha</i>]	<i>haddii</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>jiiifshona</i>
time:F:the	stick:F:the	time:F:the	IMPS	lays_down:3SG.M:even
<i>bannaan</i>				
is_all_right:3SG.F				

‘Even if the stick is placed horizontally now, it is all right’.

Hadda in (9) is the Benaadiri adverbial NP ‘now’, and is a deictic frame-setting topic of either the entire sentence or just the conditional clause. In the second case, *hadda* and *usha* are two different constituents that precede the head *haddii* as in example (8). Notice that proverbs frequently display several features of poetic diction not only in Somali, but in most other traditions as well (cf. Banti & Giannattasio 2004: 310 f.). Here *hadda* is followed by the second topic *usha* ‘the stick’ that the conditional and the main clause are about. Notice furthermore that *usha* is not the overt subject of *bannaan* ‘it is all right’, because it is in the absolute and not in the nominative case. (The subject of *bannaan*, a 3SG.F of the 4th conjugation archa-

ic tense that is called present comparative by Andrzejewski 1975: 18, but old affirmative non-past in Banti 2004, is either the whole conditional clause *usha haddii la jiiifsho*, or a Ø anaphora of *usha*).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND WORDS IN THE GLOSSES

1PL	first person plural	IMPS	impersonal subject clitic
1SG	first person singular	INF	infinitive
2PL	second person plural	INT	interrogative particle
2SG	second person singular	ITI	itive preverbal particle
3PL	third person plural	LS	Literary Somali
3SG.F	third person singular feminine	M	masculine
3SG.M	third person singular masculine	NEG	negative verbal form
ALLOC	allocutive	NOM	nominative
<i>ayaa</i>	NP focus particle	NP	noun phrase
<i>baa</i>	NP focus particle	PROG	progressive
EMPH	emphasising particle	REC	reciprocal clitic
EXCL	exclamation	REF	reflexive clitic
F	feminine	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	VEN	ventive preverbal particle
IDPH	ideophone	<i>waa</i>	predicate focus particle
IMPT	imperative	<i>waxa</i>	introductory word of a <i>waxa</i> -cleft

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STATIVE, ITERATIVE, HABITUAL: SLAVIC-SOMALI PARALLELS

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This paper examines the ways in which some of the semantic values underlying the imperfective aspect forms in Russian, a Slavic language, are conveyed in Somali, a Cushitic language. As is well known, phenomena characterizing one language can be better understood in the light of analogous data regarding another language that is typologically different and genetically distant. In addition, such confrontation allows for a better interpretation of linguistic categories on the universal level.

1. Russian

In contrast with the case in Somali, the verbal aspect in Slavic languages is a grammaticalized category, obligatory with every single occurrence of a verb form (be it finite or infinite) and expressed by the perfective/imperfective opposition marked by verbal affixes (mostly prefixes, derived from spatial prepositions, but also by suffixes).

As scholarship has established, aspectual behavior of verbs in aspect-prominent languages, such as Slavic ones, is strictly dependent on verb semantics, that is, on the lexical class of the verb¹. The basic distinction is between change-of-state verbs (whose “natural” form is the perfective) on the one hand, and, on the other, verbs denoting homogenous situations (such as state and activity verbs that involve no change). The latter occur in the imperfective form even when they denote a past, completed and finished event,² thus contradicting some commonplaces about aspect, according to which, roughly speaking,

completion is expressed by the perfective, whereas the imperfective conveys a durative-continuous meaning. The following examples of Russian illustrate the above use of imperfectives for accomplished facts:

- (1)
Ja uže govorila s etim čelovekom
I already speak.PST.F-IMPF with this man
'I have already spoken to this man'
- (2)
My videli etot fil'm dva dnja tomu nazad
we see.PST.PL-IMPF this movie two days from-this ago
'We saw this movie two days ago'
- (3)
Včera rebjata guljali a potom pošli domoj
yesterday children take-a-walk-PST.PL-IMPF and then go.PST.PL-PERF home
'Yesterday children took a walk and then went home'
- (4)
On uže slyšal etu istoriju
he already hear-PST.M-IMPF this story
'He has already heard this story'

These examples are puzzling to those who know the most “obvious” meaning of the Slavic imperfective aspect: the durative-continuous one, which corresponds to the imperfect tense in Romance languages.

In Slavic languages, the imperfective aspect is not only a “natural” form of stative and activity verbs, but it is also found when the verb expresses a repeated, habitual, or potential situation, illustrated respectively in (5-7):

- (5)
Vse vremja rebenok brosal igrušku na pol
all time child throw-PST.M-IMPF toy on floor
'All the time the child kept throwing the toy on the floor'
- (6)
Ego syn izučaet francuzskij jazyk
his son study.PRES.3SG-IMPF French language
'His son studies French'

(7)
Pticy letajut
 birds fly.PRES.3PL-IMPF
 'Birds fly'

Habitual and potential values can be considered as an abstract repetition of single events: (5) expresses repetition on the same occasion, habituality in (6) refers to the repetition that takes place on different occasions, whereas potential in (7) denotes a possible repetition. All these differences apart, semantic values underlying the predicates in (5-7) can be summarized by the same common superordinate concept: iterative.

The encoding of both activity and iterativity values with the same morphological form (cf. (1), (3), (5-7)) can be explained by the fact that either the iterative or the activity verbs convey the idea of a sum of elementary, single-action events. In addition, Slavic languages suggest the analysis of activity verbs in terms of 'inherently iterative' situations, since a limited set of activity verbs exhibits semelfactive perfective counterparts with a single-action value marked by the infix *-n-*. When referring to an iterative event, such semelfactives become activity verbs, as shown by the following examples of Russian:

(8)	
SEMELFACTIVE (PERF)	ACTIVITY (IMPF)
<i>kriknut'</i>	'to utter a cry'
<i>kričat'</i>	'to shout'
<i>machnut'</i>	'to make a single gesture of waving'
<i>machat'</i>	'to wave'
<i>mignut'</i>	'to flicker'
<i>migat'</i>	'to flash intermittently'
<i>drognut'</i>	'to make a single motion of shivering'
<i>drožat'</i>	'to shiver, tremble'
<i>skripnut'</i>	'to make a single act of creaking'
<i>skripet'</i>	'to creak'
<i>čichnut'</i>	'to make a single act of sneezing'
<i>čičat'</i>	'to sneeze'
<i>trognut'</i>	'to make a single gesture of touching'
<i>trogat'</i>	'to touch'
etc.	

The semelfactives (which are available for only a limited set of activity verbs in Russian and other Slavic languages) are an explicit expression of a single, elementary act conveyed by these verbs; however, the analysis in terms of 'inherent iterativity' also holds for many other verbs of this lexical class. Accordingly, the activity of smoking (*'kurit'*) can be seen as the sum of a series of puffs on a cigarette; the activity of talking (*'govorit'*) as the sum of sentences pronounced by a person; the activity of walking (*chodit'*) as the sum of steps producing the walking, etc. Nevertheless, for conceptual reasons, some other activity verbs (such as, for example, *work*) cannot be easily represented as the sum of elementary acts.

As far as the meaning of both states and activities is concerned, the common feature is the fact that they imply no change, but at the same time imply continuity (extension) on the time axis. On the other hand, activity and iterative change-of-state verbs have in common the semantic value of repetition (which in activity verbs, as seen above, is an inherent one). A repetition, or in other words an action constantly identical to itself, can be seen from this point of view in a more abstract way, as a sum that has also an extension on the time axis, and hence is similar to a state. All the above mentioned semantic values in Slavic languages are expressed by the same aspectual imperfective form. The common denominator is their being extended on a time axis which produces different results according to the type of situation. Thus, if referring to temporally extended situations, telic verbs (including punctual verbs) can only express a repetition of events, giving rise to the meaning of iterativity. On the contrary, stative and activity verbs, as a result of extension in time of the situations they refer to, express continuity.

2. Somali

The existence of a common denominator between states, activities and iterativity is confirmed by the way they are

encoded in Somali. The strategy adopted by Somali to express the iterative meaning morphologically is stem reduplication, a highly iconic operation. The transparent character of iconicity allows for a better and more insightful understanding of the relationship between iterative and stative semantic values. As is well known, reduplication in languages is an icon of the plurality in nouns and an icon of a repeated action in verbs (see, for example, Heine 1978; Ajello 1981; Heine & Reh 1984). The latter is illustrated by the following Somali examples of iterative and habitual meaning³:

- (9)
- a. *Wuu qurquriyay*
DECL.he drink-one-draught-after-another.PST.3SGM
'He drank one draught after another'
- b. *Wuu labayaa*
DECL.he fold.PRES.PROG.3SGM
'He is folding'
- c. *Wuu laalaabayaa*
DECL.he fold.REDUPL. PRES.PROG.3SGM
'He is folding many times'
- d. *Wuu tegayaa*
DECL.he go.PRES.PROG.3SGM
'He is going'
- e. *Wuu tegteyaa*
DECL.he go.REDUPL.PRES.PROG.3SGM
'He is going every time'
- f. *Ninku waa xidhan yahay*
man.the.SUBJ DECL tied be.PRES.3SGM
'The man is tied'
- g. *Ninku waa xidhxidhan yahay*
man.the. SUBJ DECL tied.REDUPL be.PRES.3SGM
'The man is tied in several places'

Some other examples of repeated action encoded by stem reduplication (a), as opposed to their non-reduplicated counterparts (b), are the following⁴:

- (10)
- a. *Wuu qorqoraa*
DECL.he write.REDUPL.PRES.3SGM
'He writes many times' or 'he usually writes'
- b. *Wuu qoraa*
DECL.he write.PRES.3SGM
'He writes'
- (11)
- a. *Maalin walba suuqa ayaan dhax warwareegaa*
day every market FM.I center wander.REDUPL.PRES.1SG
'Every day I wander at the market place'
- b. *Magaala kale ayuu u wareegay*
town different FM.he to move.PST.3SGM
'He moved to another town'
- (12)
- a. *Halkaas ayaan ku noqnoqdaa maalin walba*
there FM.I to return.REDUPL.PRES.1SG day every
'I go back there many times every day'
- b. *Wuu noqdaa*
DECL.he return.PRES.3SGM
'He goes back'
- (13)
- a. *Halkaas ayaan ku noqnoqonayaa maanta*
there FM.I to return.REDUPL.PRES.PROG.1SG today
'I am going back there many times today'
- b. *Wuu noqonayaa*
DECL.he return.PRES.PROG.3SGM
'He is going back'
- (14)
- a. *Ma guurguurin karo xaaska*
NEG move.REDUPL.NEG can.NEG family.the
'I cannot make the family move all the time'
- b. *Xaskayga Rooma ayaan u guurin doonaa*
family.my Rome FM.I to move want.PRES.1SG
'I will make my family move to Rome'
- (15)
- a. *Ha jeexjeexin warqadda*
EXHORT tear.REDUPL.NEG letter.the
'Do not tear the letter into pieces'
- b. *Jeex warqadda!*
tear.IMP.2SG letter.the
'Tear the letter!'

(16)

- a. *Wax ayuu doondoonyaa*
thing FM.he search.REDUPL.PRES.PROG.3SGM
'He is searching something everywhere (repeatedly)'
- b. *Rooti ayuu doonayaa*
bread FM.he wantsPRES.PROG.3SGM
'He wants bread'

What is interesting is that reduplication apparently loses its iconic function when used to derive stative predicates such as (17)⁵:

(17)

fur ('to open') vs. *furfuran* ('to be open, communicative' – of a person)
xir ('to close') vs. *xirxiran* ('to be closed or linked'; also: 'to have a closed character').

Stative meaning marked by reduplication is a feature found in a number of other African languages, as observed by Heine and Reh (1984: 47): "The transition from process to state, for example, which is a widespread characteristic of Reduplication in Africa, tends to be paralleled by a change in word category: in this way, action or process verbs change into state verbs, or verbs into adjectives or nouns, e.g.: Ewe⁶ *dzò* 'to leave'; *dzò-dzò* 'left, gone away (adj)'; *dzo-dzò* 'leaving, departure' "

As has been mentioned, stem reduplication, being an icon of a sum of events if referring to a verb, also underlies the idea of plurality when referring to nouns: in this respect, events can be seen as abstract objects having a temporal dimension. However, the repetition of events produces different effects according to the lexical class of the predicate. Again, what is crucial here is the telic/atelic distinction: thus, when applied to telic events, a sum of events that immediately follow each other and share the same participants produces repetition. This result is due to the fact that telic (change-of-state) events, if added together, imply an interval, since a change from p to q, in order to be immediately followed by the same event of change from p to q, has to go back to p (cf. Kamp 1979).

On the other hand, the sum of atelic events gives rise to what

Dowty (1979) defined as cumulativity (cf. Rothstein 2004). Cumulativity, as distinguished from iterativity conveyed by verbal predicates, can be compared to the difference between mass and count nouns (cf. Krifka 1998, Rothstein 2004). This means that, in contrast to telic verbs, a sum of atelic events with the same participants produces not just a sum but a new, singular event, since such a sum implies temporal adjacency of its parts, due to the lack of stages in atelic situations (cf. Rothstein 2004).

This is particularly evident in stative events, since no change takes place while the state holds (for example: *sleep*, *believe* or *sit*): the state consists of a sequence of adjacent instants, at all of which exactly the same thing occurs. Similarly, the activity verb *run* is cumulative since an event *running from 1 pm to 3 pm* can be divided into sub-events of running (for example, from 1 pm to 2 pm and from 2 pm to 3 pm), and the sum of these two sub-events still falls within the overall denotation of *run* in much the same way as the sum of two measures of *water* is still simply denoted as *water*. On the other hand, the sum of two distinct telic events such as *closing two windows* will not yield a new singular event (*closing two windows*) but will produce the final result of closing four windows.

Therefore, a sum of atelic events forms a singular homogeneous entity expressing only the extension in time of an event of activity or state. This feature of atelic verbs can explain the fact that the same morphological means are selected for conveying both iterative and stative value in Somali. As we can see, not only Russian (and Slavic in general), but also Somali marks both iterative and stative meaning in the same way. In this respect, the Slavic imperfective marker (conveying the repetition of events with telic verbs on the one hand, and temporal extension with a single occurrence of stative events, on the other) corresponds to Somali stem reduplication. Such parallelism between the two languages confirms the hypothesis about a common denominator underlying the semantic values discussed above. In the first presentation of the aspect model

referred to in this paper (cf. Antinucci & Gebert 1975/76), the common denominator responsible for the imperfective marking of stative, activity and iterative meanings was indicated by an abstract semantic component of STATE. From this point of view, Somali also exhibits semantic coherence between habitual meaning (which we include under a more general label of iterative) and stative markers occurring in the habitual past tense forms. As we can see below, the habitual auxiliary selected in this grammatical paradigm is the past tense of the stative verb *jir* meaning 'stay, exist':

(18)
Wuu keeni jiray
 DECL.he bring stay.PST.3SGM
 'He used to bring it'

(19)
Xamar ayaan degganaan jiray
 Moqdiscio FM.I live stay.PST.3SGM
 'I used to live in Moqdiscio'

(20)
Waagi aan Xamar ku nolaa jaamacadda ayaan ka shaqayn
 time.the I Moqdiscio in live university.the FM.I at work
jiray
 stay.PST.3SGM
 'When I lived in Moqdiscio I used to work at the university'

In general, stative verbs are a frequent lexical source for marking habituais in many unrelated languages of the world (cf. Bybee *et al.* 1994). The stative marker on habituais (see (13 - 15)) is a different way of marking iterativity (as a superordinate term for habitual eventuality) that Somali also encodes by stem reduplication, when a repetitive event is concerned.

The different but parallel morphological strategies chosen respectively by Russian and Somali to convey the iterative, habitual and stative values (such as the imperfective aspect marker on the one hand and reduplication and stative marker on the other) provide evidence of the semantic homogeneity underlying such values.

Notes

¹ See for example: Antinucci & Gebert (1975/76), Gebert (1991), Chung & Timberlake (1985). For a general survey, see Sasse (2002).

² This is not the case in Romance languages where the perfective tenses (such as Italian *passato remoto* or *passato prossimo* or French *passé composé*) can be used with any verb, regardless of its lexical class.

³ The examples in (9) are quoted in Ajello (1981).

⁴ I am indebted to Cabdallah Omar Mansuur for these examples.

⁵ See A.A.V.V. (1985).

⁶ Ewe is a Kwa language spoken in Togo, eastern Ghana and parts of Benin (Heine and Reh 1984).

⁷ Notice that the present habitual in Somali is marked by the simple present, such as: *wuu tegaa* ('he goes'), as opposed to the continuous form: *wuu tegayaa* ('he is going').

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A PRAGMATIC ACCOUNT OF THE REMOTE DEFINITE ARTICLE IN SOMALI

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1. Introduction

This study is concerned with the role of a particular determiner in Somali: the remote definite article *-kii* (M) / *-tii* (F). We will attempt to characterize more accurately than in previous accounts the range of meanings this determiner conveys. More generally, although this might seem a very small area of the grammar, it is interesting because it raises general questions about the balance between the information coded in the grammatical system and the inferential processes hearers have to use to construct their version of the speaker's intended meaning. Our proposed analysis will reveal how much interpreted meaning is underspecified by the linguistic form in this area of Somali grammar. This particular determiner has become quite well known in the wider linguistics literature, especially generative grammar, because of an analysis by Jacqueline Lecarme (1996, 1999, 2003, and 2004). This account analyses the determiner as a formal marker of tense. Her proposal is that noun phrases, or determiner phrases in her approach, have their own tense system in Somali, independently of the verbal or clausal tense system. This naturally has raised general questions about the possible marking of this semantic system in language. We will argue that though there are tense effects associated with this determiner, these are not grammatically coded but are part of a group of interpretations that fall out from the inferential process that it motivates in the hearer. In short we will argue that the tense effects are a pragmatic rather than semantic feature.

We will assume as background the so-called *relevance theory* (Sperber & Wilson 1995; Carston 2002; Wilson & Sperber 2004). This is one of the post-Gricean family of pragmatic theories and is distinguished by its interest in discourse-based inferential processes. In the next section we provide a brief overview of this theory's approach to definite articles.

2. Relevance theory and definite articles

Relevance theory (RT) is an approach to communication which builds on the view that people are predisposed to pay attention to phenomena in their environment when doing so is likely to bring about improvements in their belief system. The notion of relevance is the key to explaining what this is. In this view a phenomenon is relevant to an individual as in (1):

- (1)
(a) to the extent that the cognitive effects achieved when it is processed in context are large, and
(b) to the extent that the processing effort required for achieving the effects is small.
(adapted from Sperber & Wilson 1995: 153)

This definition of relevance provides the basis for two principles of human cognition and communication, the cognitive and the communicative principles of relevance:

- (2)
The Cognitive Principle of Relevance
Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance.
(Sperber & Wilson 1995: 260)
- (3)
The Communicative Principle of Relevance
Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance. (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 260)

And the presumption can be described as in (4):

- (4)
Presumption of Optimal Relevance
(a) The ostensive stimulus is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's while to process it.
(b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences. (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 270)

Consequently, in this account, there are certain assumptions about economy, as in (5):

- (5)
Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Strategy
(a) Construct interpretations in order of accessibility (i.e. follow a path of least effort);
(b) Stop when your expectation of relevance is satisfied.
(Carston 2002: 380)

Of course expectations of relevance may vary across different situations of utterance and in practice adult speakers have developed strategies to account for speakers' fallibility or deceptiveness; and other type of communicative noise. Giving a schematic view of the sub-tasks in the comprehension process, Wilson & Sperber summarize these in (6):

- (6)
SUB-TASKS IN THE COMPREHENSION PROCESS (Wilson & Sperber 2004: 615).
a. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about explicit content (in relevance-theoretic terms, explicatures) via decoding, disambiguation, reference resolution, and other pragmatic enrichment processes.
b. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumptions (in relevance-theoretic terms, implicated premises).
c. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual implications (in relevance-theoretic terms, implicated conclusions).

From a relevance theory point of view, the processes of recovery of explicatures and implicatures are both equally inferential and interact freely. Though the information from linguistic form is included in (6a), it is not the case in this view that all procedures leading to a truth-bearing proposition take place before pragmatic inferences. As we can see from (6) the tasks in constructing a proposition involve context-dependent

inference. In this way RT reflects the influence of context in the most basic of what has sometimes been seen as coded semantic meaning.

A definite article, such as English ‘the’, is an example of procedural encoding. It encodes a semantic constraint on explicit content. Definite articles indicate to the hearer that the proposition the speaker wants to explicate contains an individual concept that is accessible in a pragmatically retrievable or constructible context. An individual concept is a mental representation of an individual consisting of a dossier of information taken to relate to that individual. On this account, definite articles or determiners contribute to utterance comprehension by indicating that the individual (in a simple case) denoted by content of the nominal is available in a context accessible to the hearer. Consider English examples (7) and (8):

(7)
I'm going to buy a car

(8)
I'm going to buy the car

The indefinite NP ‘a car’ in (7) may in one reading be taken to refer to a particular car – so the speaker has an individual concept in mind – but there is no linguistic indication that this concept is available in the hearer’s immediate context. In other words, the speaker may or may not have a particular car in mind, but there is no linguistic indication that forming an individuating conceptual representation would lead the hearer to derive cognitive effects that the speaker considers worth conveying. By contrast, the NP ‘the car’ in (8) indicates that the speaker’s intended representation of an individual concept is available in the immediate context of the hearer. Note that a speaker aiming at optimal relevance would not be justified in using the definite article unless she intended to communicate that the utterance is optimally relevant when the hearer forms an individuating conceptual representation of ‘car’. This is presented in relevance-theoretic terms as in (9):

(9)
Determiners impose constraints on explicatures (explicitly communicated propositions): they guide the search for the intended referent, thus constraining the inferential phase of comprehension (adapted from Wilson & Sperber 1993: 21).

In other words, they encode a set of mental processing instructions. This procedural content establishes the role that the conceptual content, or descriptive content, of the noun and its modifiers may have in the interpretation of the NP. Informally a definite article, like English ‘the’, is used when the speaker wishes to indicate that it is sufficiently clear from the situation which particular thing (animal, person) or group of things (animals, people) the speaker has in mind. Note that the hearer may actually have very little information, as we shall see later, about the exact thing (animal, person) that the speaker has in mind. What matters is that the speaker has indicated that the little information that is available to the hearer in the immediate situation is all that the hearer needs to know.

3. Definite articles in Somali

Somali has a rich set of suffixed determiners, including the definite articles discussed here, demonstratives, possessives and interrogatives.¹ Within these, descriptive grammars, for example Bell (1953), Puglielli (1981) and Saeed (1999), have tended to identify a distinction between a remote suffixed article *-kii* (M) /*-tii* (F) ‘the’ and a non-remote suffix *-ka* (M) /*-ta* (F) ‘the’. These works identify two parameters of remoteness: temporal and situational. There is a strong association with time: simple reports of events in the past will occur with remote articles; non-remotes in these are treated as unacceptable by speakers:²

(10)
a. *Ninkii* *ayaa* *tegay*³
 man-the.R FOC went
 ‘The man went’

b. */?/#Ninka ayaa tegay
 man-the.NR FOC went
 'The man went'

As shown by the multiple diacritics in (10b) a crucial question is whether the source of the unacceptability is grammatical, semantic or pragmatic. I will argue here that it is the last. In contrast, as we shall see in later examples, events in the non-past, for example present or future, can occur with either form. Here we can show the situational distinction with a couple of examples. Remote forms used in present tense sentences mark a shift of context away from the default context of the here and now of the conversation. So for example they can mean that the referent is not present or visible, as in (11) and (12):

(11)
 Ninkii méé?
 man-the.R where
 'Where is the man?'

(12)
 Oo dadkaagii meeye?
 and people-your-the.NR where
 'But where are your relatives?' (Xaange 1988: 62)

Example (13) below is from the story *Dhaghar Dawaco* 'Cunning Jackal' where a sick lion is within a cave and the clever jackal refuses to go in but converses with the lion from safety outside:

(13)
 Haa! Ma adigii baa dawacoy?
 INTERJ QM you-the.R FOC jackal.VOC
 'Hah, is it you, Jackal?' (Xaange 1988: 83)

Compare this with (14):

(14)
 Ma adigaa (= adi-ga.baa)?
 QM you-the.R.FOC
 'Is it you?', 'Is that you? (in front of somebody)'

Staying for the moment with stories of lions and jackals, (15) is a further example.

(15)
 War dawacadii ku dheh:
 VOC jackal-the.R to say.IMP
 libaaxa iyo aniga na sii lo'da inteeda badan
 lion-the.NR and I-the.NR US(CL) give cattle-the.NR portion-their much
 'Hey, say to the jackal:
 Give the lion and me the greater part of the cattle' (Xaange 1988: 86)

Here the speaker in the story is a lion, who is telling the hyenas to go off to talk to a jackal in another place. While they're away he eats all the cattle himself, as Somali lions tend to do in stories. So the absence of the jackal is important to the plot of the tale.

This context shifting function means that the distinction between these articles can be employed as a form of discourse anaphora. (16) below is an example from the play *Shabeelnagood* 'Leopard Among the Women' (Mumin 1979: 54):

(16)
 SHALLAAYO:
 Aabbo, naga daa ye, aabbo, hee dhee.
 Father us(CL).from leave and father hee say
 Anigu waxaan rabaa Xajkii wax inaan
 I what.I want pilgrimage-the.R thing that.I
 kaaga dirsado. Aabbo, waa inaad iga
 from.you(CL).in ask.for father DM that.you me(CL).for
 ballan qaaddo inaad ii keenaysid.
 promise take that.you me(CL).for bring
 GUULEED:
 Xajkaa?
 Pilgrimage-the.NR.FOC
 SHALLAAYO:
 Haa.
 yes
 GUULEED:
 Maandhay, weesaq iyo murriyad laga ma
 Dear earrings and gold.necklace one.from not

helo *Xajka*.
 find pilgrimage-the.NR
 SHALLAAYO:
Aabbo, waxaas aad u malaynaysid ma
 Father thing.that you in think not
aha ee wax laga helo Xajka iga
 is and thing one.from find pilgrimage-the.NR me(CL).to
ballan qaad inaad adigu, aabbo ii keenaysid!
 promise make that.you you-the.NR father me(CL).for are.bringing
 SHALLAAYO:
 ‘Father, stop now; father, listen. I want you to bring me back something from
 the pilgrimage. Father, you must promise to bring it back for me.’
 GUULEED:
 ‘The pilgrimage?’
 SHALLAAYO:
 ‘Yes.’
 GUULEED:
 ‘Dear, one doesn’t find earrings and gold necklaces on the pilgrimage.’
 SHALLAAYO:
 ‘Father, it’s not what you think. It is something that one does get from the pil-
 grimage. Promise me that you, Father, will bring it for me.’

In this extract, the nominal *Xaj* ‘the Hajj pilgrimage’ is underlined. This referent is introduced as distal from the current context, signifying a new topic. As we can see from the articles in bold, thereafter it is referred to using the non-remote definite, marking it as part of the current contextual assumptions. Having briefly reviewed the function of these articles in the next section we provide a brief sketch of Lecarme’s DP tense theory approach.

4. Lecarme’s DP tense theory

Because of the use of remote definite articles with past tense events, Jacqueline Lecarme (1996, 1999, 2003, and 2004) has argued that tense is formally marked on noun phrases in Somali. She proposed that the remote definite be viewed as carrying a grammatical feature [+PAST] and the non-remote [-PAST]. This tense marking is, she claims, potentially independent of the clausal tense marking on verbs, and is marked

formally by the opposition between the article suffix *-kii* (M) / *-tii* (F) ‘the’ which she regards as [+PAST] and *-ka* (M) / *-ta* (F) ‘the’, which she regards as [-PAST]. Subsequently she has argued that other interpretations of this opposition, in terms of remoteness, are derivative of this primary semantic distinction. So in this view tense is a grammatical feature, like gender, marked by the definite articles on nominals:

- (17)
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>-kii</i> (M) / <i>-tii</i> (F) | ‘the’: [+PAST] |
| <i>-ka</i> (M) / <i>-ta</i> (F) | ‘the’: [-PAST] |

In the generative syntactic theory used in these arguments, this involves positing a tense position in the phrase structure of the DP/NP analogous both to the tense architecture of the verb phrase and of other nominal inflectional categories. We are not concerned with the syntactic proposal here, but with the assumption that a tense distinction is formally coded on nominals by the use of definite articles.

Additionally, and consistently with this position, Lecarme (2004) has claimed that the grammatical feature [past] on the article means that the definite nominal must agree with time words, as follows:

- (18)
- | | |
|---|--------------|
| a. <i>Sánnadka</i> /*- <i>kii</i> | <i>dambe</i> |
| year-DET.M[-PAST]/ * [+PAST] | next |
| ‘Next year’ | |
| b. <i>Sánnadkii</i> /*- <i>ka</i> | <i>hore</i> |
| year-DET.M[+PAST]/ * [-PAST] | before |
| ‘Last year’ (adapted from Lecarme 2004) | |

We may begin our disagreement with this position by noting that in fact the starred forms are not ungrammatical, merely inappropriate for an assumed present tense utterance context. In other words these apparently decontextualised examples carry with them an assumed context that produces the acceptability judgments starred. If we shift the context to a past tense narrative then *sánnadkii dambe* (starred in (18a)) would be

appropriate and mean ‘the following year’, as in (19):

(19)
Waxa uu yidhi: “Sannadkii dambe, waxa dhacday
 what he(CL) said year-the.R next what happened
in ciyaartoydii aanu sannadkii hore wada ciyaaraynay
 that players-the.R we.CL year-the.R before RECIP played
ay iskuulkii ka baxeen oo ay dhamaysteen
 they(CL) school-the.R from went and they(CL) finished
 ‘What he said was: “The following year what happened was that the players
 we had played with the previous year had left school and finished...”’
 (Haatuf News, August 18th 2003 at: <http://www.haatuf.net/Archive2003/00039900.htm>)

In this example we have what we can define as ‘a future within a past, within a past’. Similarly the phrase *sannadka hore* marked as ungrammatical in (18b) is appropriate in the right context. Used in a present tense context, it may mean ‘the first year’, as in:

(20)
Ardeyda cusub ee sannadka hore ee jaamacadda
 students-the.NR new and year-the.NR first and university-the.NR
Minnesota
 Minnesota
 ‘The new first year students of the University of Minnesota’

We would argue that this behaviour is possible because there is no tense agreement between the defined nominals and these adjectives. The latter simply encode a deictic relationship in space or time to a reference point, next before/ forward, next after/back; the nature of the relation being clear from related lexical items like the noun *hor* (F) ‘front’ from which *hore* ADJ is derived.

5. Functions of the remote/non-remote distinction

We will argue that the functions of the articles reflect a procedural and inferential context-dependent process. We begin by identifying a number of functions that are not consistent with the analysis of the remote definite article as a formal

grammatical marker of tense. Subsequently we will suggest a pragmatic approach that will account both for these and the time effects. The pragmatic nature of these becomes clear from the balancing that speakers may make between the temporal and situation remoteness parameters. We can start with a relatively simple example, involving the following pair, where the articles on the relative clause heads are shown in bold:

(21)
Wiilka dhintay reerkiisu waa kan
 boy-the.NR died family.his.the.NR DM this
 ‘The boy who died his family are here/this is his family’
 ‘This is the family of the boy who died’

(22)
Wiilkii dhintay reerkiisu waa kan
 boy-the.R died family.his.the.NR DM this
 ‘The boy who died his family are here/this is his family’
 ‘This is the family of the boy who died’

Both sentences are acceptable but are appropriate in different contexts. The first, with the relative clause in the past but the non-remote article could be said at the boy’s funeral for example. The second with the remote definite article would be appropriate if the boy had died at sometime in the past before the meeting. The situational immediacy may overrule the temporal association. A simple example like this is not in itself destructive of the temporal theory. We will try to show however that only an inferential pragmatic account can cope with the range of functions that we find.

5.1. Non-referential nominals

The first type of example is non-referential readings i.e. non-specific or predicative readings, where only the non-remote definite article is found. We can discuss some examples of these. The first is in non-specific uses, including general and universal statements, for example:

(23)

Waxa kale oo duurka ama baadiyaha
 thing-the other and forest-the.NR or countryside-the.NR
 Soomaaliya, gaar ahaan dhanka koonfurta
 Somalia special being part-the.NR south-the.NR
 ku nool xayawaano fara badan. Waxaana ka mid ah:
 in live animals fingers many what.and in one be:
 dhurwaaga, dawacada, libaaxa, haramcadka,
 hyena-the.NR jackal-the.NR lion-the.NR cheetah-the.NR
 doofaarka, gorayada, cawsha, biciidka
 warthog-the.NR ostrich-the.NR Soemmering's gazelle-the.NR, oryx-the.NR...
 'Also many animals live in the forest and countryside, especially in the
 southern region. These include: the hyena, the jackal, the lion, the cheetah,
 the warthog, the ostrich, the Soemmering's gazelle, the oryx...'
 (Somalitalk website: <http://www.somalitalk.com/somalia/beauty/dhulka/index.html>)

Here each generic use of the nominal occurs with the non-remote article. If for example the writer were to switch the account into the past by replacing *ku nool* 'live in' by *ku nooli jiray* 'used to live in' the most appropriate use of article would still be the non-remote *-ka/-ta*.

A second non-referential use is with predicate nominals, for example in relative clauses. Here a process of syntactic agreement ensures that Somali predicate nominals in relative clauses agree in definiteness with the head noun:

(24)

Nin Carab ah
 man Arab is
 'An Arab' (lit. 'a man who is an Arab')

(25)

Nin-ka Carabka ah
 man-the Arab-the is
 'The Arab' (lit. 'the man who is an Arab')

If the head noun is definite the predicate nominal must also be definite. However the remote article is never marked on predicate nominals: the nominal in (26) is appropriate in a past tense sentence but while the head noun is marked with the remote article, the predicate nominal occurs with the non-remote article:

(26)

Ninkii Carabka ahaa
 man-the.R Arab-the.NR was
 'The Arab (past), the man who was an Arab'

The same pattern is shown in the following examples:

(27)

Nimankii askarta ahaa
 men-the.R soldiers-the.NR were
 'The men who were soldiers', 'The soldiers'

(28)

Nimankii macalimiinta ahaa
 men-the.R teachers.the.NR were
 'The men who were teachers', 'The teachers'

The generalization is that the remote article is not used for non-referential nominals. We discuss this feature in section 6 below and relate it to the behavior of demonstratives. A second context where the remote is not used, contrary to the tense theory prediction, is in a function that we could call the first mention or 'hot news' use.

5.2. First mention or 'hot news' use

In the examples (29-31) below of headlines and first lines of news stories, the relevant verbs are in the simple past but the nominals occur with the non-remote definite article, marked in bold. This we can call, following McCawley (1971), a *hot news* function of the definite article. That is, though necessarily these referents have not been mentioned previously the hearer/reader is are invited to treat them as if they are accessible. While one might argue that for a Somali audience Mogadishu might always be salient or background context, it far less likely that the Ugandan Parliament is so.

(29)

Weeraro ka dhacay magaalada Muqdisho
 attacks in happened town-the.NR Mogadishu
 'Attacks occurred in the city of Mogadishu'
 (BBC Somali Service news headline 12 February 2007)

(30)

Meydka 60 qof oo Baqdaad laga heley
 bodies-the.NR 60 persons and Baghdad one.in found
 'The bodies of sixty people discovered in Baghdad' (lit. 'The bodies of 60
 people which one found in Baghdad')
 (BBC Somali Service news headline 12 February 2007)

(31)

Baarlamaanka dalka Uganda, ayaa ansaxiyay ciidamo
 Parliament-the.NR country-the.NR Uganda FOC approved soldiers
nabad ilaalin ah oo la geeyo dalka Soomaaliya.
 peace search be and one sends.to country-the.NR Somalia
 'The Parliament of the country of Uganda approved peace keeping soldiers
 to be sent to the country of Somalia'
 (Article first line, BBC Somali Service webpage 13 February 2007)

The point is of course that although the action is marked as bounded and in the past, and Uganda is physically remote to most of the audience, the non-remote article is used. We will assume that this use of a non-remote definite article with new information is a reflection of the high topicality of the new information. In relevance theory terms this can be seen as an invitation to the hearers/readers to create a context in which the referent will be grounded. The high cost of accommodating a new entity as if it were known, carries in this use a guarantee from the speaker/writer that the contextual effects of a highly topical element will be great enough to offset the effort involved. The principle effect is of updating the cognitive environment of the hearer.

Since we are arguing that the selection of the articles is a pragmatic process we would not expect this usage to be exceptionless, but it is interesting to note that in Issa & Murphy's (1984) newspaper reader, there are fifty one Somali newspaper articles. Of these thirty seven have headlines including a definite article; and of these 36 occur with the non-remote form. We can now move to another important function of the non-remote article that sheds light on the pragmatic nature of the distinction. This is when it is used in past tense narratives to indicate a shift in perspective or viewpoint.

5.3. Non-remote in past as perspective shift

An example of this use is in (32) below from a story about giants in Somalia from Xaange's (1988) collection. We will suggest that the shift in the use of articles here marks a shift between the viewpoint of the narrator and audience versus that of the characters.

(32)

Waxaa la weriyeey in waa hore ay dalka ku noolayeen
 What one told.PAST that time former they(CL) land-the.NR in lived
labo tiirriyaal Midkoodba wuxuu talin jiray dalka
 two giants each.one FOC.he(CL) rule used.to country-the.NR
qaybtiisa Xabbaad waa la necbaa oo ceelasha lagu
 part-his-the.NR Habbad DM one hated and wells-the.NR one.from
cabbo buu dhardhaar weyn oo isaga mooyee aan cid
 drinks FOC.he(CL) stone big and him-the.NR except not person
kale qaadi karin ku gufeyn jirey. Wuxuu qabsan jirey
 another lift can.NEG up plug used.to FOC.he(CL) seize used.to
hasha ama ratiga ugu buran geela
 female.camel-the.NR or male.camel-the.NR most fat camels-the.NR
u soo aroora ceelasha ku yaal dalka uu xukumo.
 to VEN water wells-the.NR in are country-the.NR he(CL) rules
 'It was said that in a former time there lived in the land two giants...Each one
 used to rule his own part of the country. ... Habbad was hated and he used to
 block up the wells which one drinks from with a large stone that nobody but
 him could lift. He used to seize the fattest female or male camel of the herds
 which water at the wells which are in the country he rules.' (Xaange 1988: 42)

This episode is introduced by a past tense verb 'one said' and a time adverbial that locates it in the past of the time of narration: *waa hore* 'a former time'. Thereafter, however, the tense used is not the simple past, which is perfective and bounded but instead we find a combination of two unbounded aspects, the habitual past (e.g. *ku gufeyn jirey* 'used to plug up') and past statives (e.g. *waa la necbaa* literally 'one was hating him' where *necbe* is formally an adjective). As has been noted for many languages, including French and English (Caenepeel 1995; Toolan 1990) this shift is of tense while aspect is often used to signal a shift of viewpoint. As noted by Toolan (1990)

the English progressive may be used to indicate the viewpoint or perceptions of characters in a narrative, as distinct from the narrator's viewpoint. We can see this as what Dowty (1986: 56), discussing the English progressive's ability to sequence a narrative, calls 'a psychological effect on the protagonist'.

At the end of this habitual/stative part of the narrative (which we have shortened) we find a summing up of the whole episode, switching back to the narrator's viewpoint:

(33)
Sidaas awgeed bayna uga qaxeen dalkii.
 way.that cause.its FOC.they(CL).and in.from fled country-the.R
 'For this reason they fled from the country' (Xaange 1988: 42)

The sentence has the simple past bounded/perfective, marking the switch back and closure of the mini-episode or section of the narrative. What is interesting for our present discussion is the use of definite articles in example (32), which are marked in bold. Although the episode has been signalled as being in the past of the narration, we find the non-remote article *-kal-ta* being used throughout the main part of this episode of the story. This we would argue is a further mechanism for marking the shift of narrative perspective. As we might predict, the summing up sentence in (33), which switches back to the narrator's viewpoint, has the instead remote definite article *-kii* on the nominal *dal* 'country'. We would argue that the choice of article reflects the perspective shift, alongside the aspectual change.

Another example of this use of the non-remote in the past to indicate perspective shift is in (34) below. This is taken from the story *Geeridii Dhegdheer* 'The Death of Dhegdheer' (Xaange 1988: 27-29). The story is a narrative, again in the past, and marked by the combination of past simple/perfective and use of remote articles we have already seen. An interesting and gruesome example is the following where the cannibal Dhegdheer's daughter colludes with two fugitive girls to kill her monster mother, who keeps her daughter tied up every day

while she hunts people. This part of the story is where the girls figure out a way to kill the monster and then do it. The first sentence is (34):

(34)
Fuudkii kululaa baa durba ka gubey maskaxdii
 broth-the.R hot.PAST FOC immediately from burned brain-the.R
Dhegdheer, aleeshiina xiidmaheedii bay
 Dhegdheer shells-the.R-and intestines-her-the.R FOC.they(CL)
cadcad u jarjartay.
 small.pieces in cut.up
 'The hot broth immediately burned Dhegdheer's brain out and the small shells cut her intestines into small pieces.' (Xaange 1988: 28)

In this sentence the definite articles, marked in bold, are all remote. In the next sentence, at this cataclysmic moment in the story, the perspective switches to that of Dhegdheer herself, signalled by the use of *iyadu* the nominal pronoun 'she, her' as topic in (37):

(35)
Iyadu waxba iskama dhicin karin oo
 she-the.NR nothing self.for.NEG do can.PAST.NEG. and
gacmaha iyo lugaha bay ka xirnayd
 hands-the.NR and feet-the.NR FOC.they(CL) from tied.up
 'She could do nothing for herself because (lit. 'and') her (lit. 'the') hands and feet were tied up.'

In this sentence we find the articles switching to the non-remote set, marked in bold, and once again signaling the shift of perspective to the non-canonical third person: the protagonist Dhegdheer. The articles are an important part of the mechanisms the narrator uses to draw the reader psychologically into the context of the protagonist. Subsequently when the narrator 'pulls back', so to speak, to the external perspective the articles switch back to the remote series. Having seen these examples of the use of the non-remote in the past, which counters the account of them as formal non-past tense markers, we can turn our attention to some quite sophisticated uses of the remote in the present which only emerge in discourse.

5.4. Remote in present as perspective shift

We mentioned earlier that one of the basic uses of the remote in present tense contexts is to signal distance from the currently constructed context, or what might be called in mental spaces theory the base space or space of speaker reality (Fauconnier 1997). This main function has a number of more subtle effects, related to the perspective shifting we have just seen. One interesting use of the remote in a present situation relates to identity, but specifically identity perceived from the point of view of the protagonists. Example (36) is from another story about a giant, Gannaje, from *Xaange* (1988: 45). The giant's in-laws attack him in the guise of a hostile band. When the giant has killed some of them, the rest, speaking in the present tense of direct speech say:

(36)
Gannaje, war Gannaje! Noo arxan, waa annagii, xididkaaye
Gannaje VOC Gannaje us(CL).to spare DM us-the.R relatives-your.and
'Gannaje, O Gannaje! Spare us, it is us, your relatives' (Xaange 1988: 45)

The first pronoun 'us' is the clitic or verbal pronoun *na*. The second pronoun 'us' is the independent or nominal pronoun *annagii* 'we/us' EXCL, which combines with the definite article. The important point to notice is that though the characters are talking to each other in a narrative present (shown by the use of the imperative forms), and in the scene are located physically together (close enough for Gannaje potentially to lay hands on them) the pronoun occurs with the remote definite article *-kii*. This, we would suggest, signals a perspective shift, from the point of view of the characters as they change identity: they reveal themselves to be (bad) relatives.

We can find extended and subtle examples of this use of the distal article to express identify shift from the non-canonical perspective of a third person character. A further example is in (37), again from the play *Shabeelnagood* (Mumin 1979: 54-55), where two of the characters are an older married couple,

Guleed and his wife Shammado. In the scene (p47-55), Guleed's amorous advances have been rejected by his wife, who is hinting that he is too old. The dialogue is in direct speech in the present tense and the articles used are non-remote. For example, Guleed says:

(37)
GUULEED:
... ina keen aqalka!
... us(CL) bring.IMP house-the.NR
'Let's go into the house!' (Mumin 1979: 54)

The next two lines are:

(38)
SHAMMADO:
Waar waxba ka dooni maayo aqalka
VOC.M nothing from want am.NEG house-the.NR
ee i daa!
and me(CL) leave.NR
'I don't want anything from the house; leave me alone!'
GULEED:
naa adigu xaaskaygii baad tahay,
VOC.F you-the.NR wife-my-the.R FOC.you are
sow kula ma ballami karo?
Q you(CL).with not meet can
'You are my wife. Can't I arrange a meeting with you? (Mumin 1979: 54-55)

Here the interesting point is the use of the remote article on 'wife' where the speaker is facing and talking to his wife and firstly in the same sentence uses the non-remote article on *adigu* 'you' but where his use of the remote article on wife comes as part of his implication that she is not behaving properly in the role of a wife. In other words we can see this as a metaphorical use of distance, based on the more conventional uses we have seen.

6. A pragmatic account

We have seen a number of uses of these definite articles that could be described as marking shifts of context, and derivatively, of shifts in perspective or viewpoint. Essentially our proposal will be that the remote article *-kii/-tii* bridges the distinction made for languages like English between definite articles and demonstratives. Recall that in relevance theory terms a definite article is an example of procedural encoding. It encodes a constraint on explicit content. Definite articles indicate to the hearer that the proposition the speaker wants to explicate contains an individual concept that is accessible (at perhaps a lower level than say pronouns) in the pragmatically retrievable or constructible context. The content of the nominal of course helps the addressee in forming an individuating conceptual representation. This account can be applied in a straightforward way to the use of the non-remote definite article *-ka/-ta* in Somali.

The remote article on the other hand indicates that the context to be constructed is non-immediate to what we could call the ground of the act of speaking, to borrow another use of the term ground, this time as used by Langacker (1991), who defines the notion contextual ground as the “speech event, its participants, and its immediate circumstances (such as the time and place of speaking)” (Langacker 1991: 318). This non-immediacy to the current context of communication can be interpreted in a number of ways, appropriate to the other cues in the utterance. This may be, as we have seen, temporally (non-immediate to the time of speaking) or situationally (non-immediate to the place of speaking). This function differs from demonstratives, whose function is to direct the addressee’s attention to entities within the current context. Informally we can distinguish the function of *-kii/-tii* as in (39) below from the function of demonstratives given in (40):

(39)

The remote definite article switches from this-context-of-situation to that-context-of-situation

(40)

Demonstratives distinguish between this-referent-in-the-current-context-of-situation and that-referent-in-the-current-context-of-situation.

In this view the remote article restricts the set of contexts that are called up and established, relative to an established context, the current ground. This, as we have seen, does not necessarily correspond to the hear-and-now of the act of speaking or writing.

We mentioned that the remote definite article in some sense bridges the distinction between definite articles and demonstratives: the remote article shows some features associated in the literature with demonstratives. As (39) and (40) try to reflect, it has the article’s feature of deixis. It also has a requirement of specificity, common to demonstratives, which explains why it is not appropriate with generic and predicative nominals, as discussed earlier. This feature of demonstratives was noted by Hawkins (1978) and has been commented on in various writers such as Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993) and de Mulder (1997). Leonetti (2000: 2) makes a similar point:

... a demonstrative requires the hearer to search for the intended referent relying on some link to the deictic centre, and this is enough to distinguish demonstratives from definite articles, given that articles do not encode any deictic feature. This implies that the constraints imposed by demonstratives on referent identification are stronger, or more specific, than those imposed by the definite article.

We assume that it is the indexical nature of this article that is identified by Gebert (1981) in her adoption of the label *anaphoric* for this morpheme: *il determinante anaforico*. However, the Somali remote definite article retains features of definite articles within the shifted context created. For example, demonstratives are generally assumed to be distinct from definite articles in being unavailable for both indirect anaphora or bridging reference; and similarly unavailable for refer-

ence to situationally unique entities, for example the sun. Both of these are possible with the remote article: for example the first mentions underlined in examples (41) and (42) below:

(41)
Markay *qorraxdii* *ku kululaatay meeshii ka tageen*
 time-the-she(CL)⁴ sun-the.R in heated place-the.R from went
 ‘When the sun heated the place that they left’

(42)
Neef baa loo qalay... hilbihii oo weli kulul
 animals FOC one.for slaughtered... meats-the.R and still hot
loo keenay gabdhihii...
 one.to brought girls-the.R
 ‘Animals were slaughtered for them... and the meats still hot were brought to the girls... (Xaange 1988: 51)

Our brief discussion has sought to highlight indicative examples of the discourse uses of this remote article. They are, we hope, sufficient to reveal the important role of pragmatic interpretation in its use. The variety and context dependence of its use are characteristic of pragmatic processing. From a core procedural meaning roughly characterised in (39) above, which routinely signals temporal and spatial relations, speakers and hearers may manipulate a wide range of context shifting effects. We would suggest that the attempt to characterise this in terms of a formal tense marking rule is inadequate in both descriptive and explanatory terms.

7. Further semantic and syntactic issues

There are a number of related issues on the distinction between the remote and non-remote articles that for reasons of space are not discussed here but which merit further investigation. We mention two here: the first concerns habitual aspect.

7.1. Habitual aspect

Time words in habitual sentences in the present occur with the remote article. See for example (43):

(43)
Habeen-kii laamaha geed-ka ugu dheer baan fulaa...
 night-the.R branches-the.NR tree-the.NR SUPERL long FOC.I.CL sleep
subax-ii waxaan ku quraacada miid-da ubaxa...
 morning-the.R what.I.CL on breakfast dew-the.NR flowers-the.NR
 ‘At night I sleep in the tallest branches of the tree...in the morning I break-fast on the dew of the flowers...’ (Xaange 1988: 78)

This use consistent within our proposed account if we accept the suggestion that has been made in the literature on aspect that habitual aspect, though sometimes coded with present tense forms as in English and Somali, is conceptualized as external to the current context of communication. Danaher (2001, 2003) for example identifies a strong association of habitual aspect with conceptual distancing in Czech. Similarly Langacker (1991: 104-7), writing in a cognitive grammar framework, argues that habitual aspect creates a mental space that is distinguished from the current space of the context of communication. Essentially we suggest that the remote articles signal the habitual in the present as a shift away from the current specific context of communication.

7.2. Complex nominals

Grammatically it makes sense to view the non-remote as the unmarked or default form of definite article. For example the remote article is marked only once on complex noun phrases, where it occurs attached to the head; all other definite nominals will be marked with the non-remote article. We can see this behavior in the relative clause bracketed in (44); the possessive construction in (45), where the NP *naagtii* ‘the woman’ is the head of the construction and is marked with the remote article while the dependent *ninka* ‘the man’ the man is not; and the genitive constructions in (46):

(44)
Abwaankii saddexdii wiil iyo [dadkii]
 wise.man-the.R three-the.R boy and people-the.R

beesha degganaa] isugu yeeray

community-the.NR settled.were REC.to.in called

'The wise man called together the three boys and the people who were settled in the community' (Siyaad 1985: 55)

(45)

... [Nin-ka naag-tiis-ii] waxay aragtay nin-kii...

man-the.NR woman-his-the.R waxa.she(CL) saw man-the.R

'The man's wife what she saw was the man...' (Xaange 1988: 52)

(46)

Warqaddii odayaasha

letter-the.R elders-the.NR

'The elders' letter'

The general rule is that the remote article is only marked on the head of the complex NP and not on dependent nominals. In this behavior it is unlike the non-remote definite article, as the examples show, but it is like the demonstrative determiners, providing another indication, this time grammatical, of its distinction from the non-remote definite article.

Notes

¹ There is no indefinite article, nor as exist in some Cushitic languages, paucal or individuating suffixes. However Maay Somali dialects, which are quite distinct from the Standard Somali varieties described here, do have as described in Saeed (1982: 89-90) a singulative suffix *-kol-to* which belongs to this set of determiners, e.g. *náŋ* 'man' *náŋko* 'a (single) man'

² Examples are in the Somali standard orthography; see Saeed (1999) for details. The articles, like all suffixed determiners, undergo phonological adjustment when attached to nominal stems. This is not explicated here; see Saeed (1999: 28-29) for details.

³ Abbreviations: ART: article; CL: clitic (pronoun); DET: determiner; DM: declarative marker; EXCL: exclusive; EXPL: expletive; F: feminine; FOC: Focus marker; IMP: imperative; INTERJ: interjection; M: masculine; NEG: negative verb form or nominal suffix; NR: non-remote; QM: question marker; R: remote; VEN: venitive; VOC: vocative;?: semantically anomalous; #: pragmatically inappropriate, *: ungrammatical.

⁴ This clitic pronoun is co-referent with the feminine noun *qorraxdii* 'the sun'.

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PHONOLOGICAL PITFALLS IN THE BUSINESS OF GETTING A LIVING: THE STRANGE CASE OF SOMALI STOPS

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1. Introduction*

Among the phonological phenomena of Somali still not fully understood, stop voicing is particularly interesting for a number of reasons.

The first is descriptive: notwithstanding the familiarity of the process, Somali stop voicing, as is stated in the literature, qualifies as a “crazy rule”. Surprisingly, this fact does not seem to have attracted the attention of scholars, in spite of its pervasiveness in the derivation of Somali. The first aim of this paper is to provide a better analysis to the phenomenon (§§1–3).

The second reason is more ambitious: in order to solve the descriptive puzzle, some current outstanding phonological issues must be confronted with, what qualifies it as a case study. Topics such as synchronic chain shifts, opaque domains, and the nature of the architecture of the phonological component will be addressed (§4).

1.1. Some background¹

As a general reference for the discussion to follow, take note of *the inventory of Somali obstruents*. The classification of segments in the table is superficial, in that no assumption is made concerning *underspecification* (e.g., /s/ is listed as “voiceless”, according to its phonetics) or exact *feature specification* (e.g., gutturals are conventionally subcategorized with the IPA

labels). Finally, /dʒ/ (/tʃ/ in the centre-northern varieties) is conveniently listed here among the stops:

LABIAL		CORONAL		DORSAL		RADICAL		
FRONT		BACK		UVULAR		PHARYNG	LARYNG	
		-DIFF +DIFF						
b	t d	ɖ	dʒ	k g	q		ʔ	
f	s	ʃ			χ	ħ ʕ	h	

Because of their relevance for the phenomena at issue, take notice of the following properties:

- the absence of /p/;
- the presence of *gutturals* (“uvulars”, “pharyngeals”, “laryngeals”);
- the presence of /d/, retroflex voiced, either described as “glottalised” (von Tiling 1925; Amstrong 1934; Moreno 1955) or “pharyngealised” (Cardona 1981).

The *syllable inventory* of Somali is (C1)V1(V2)(C2), in which V2 can be the 2nd half of a geminate (e.g. *moos* ‘banana’), or a glide (e.g. *weyn* ‘big’).

1.2. Distribution of stops

Voiceless stops do not occur in syllable coda position in Somali. The alternations showed by the following examples, both verbs and nouns, illustrate:

- (1)
- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. <i>ilko</i> ‘teeth’ | b. <i>ilig</i> ‘tooth’ |
| <i>adkee</i> ‘toughen’ | <i>adag</i> ‘be tough’ |
| <i>arkay</i> ‘he saw’ | <i>aragtay</i> ‘you saw’ |
| <i>gunta</i> ‘bind (PL.)!’ | <i>gunud</i> ‘bind (SING.)!’ |
| <i>guntay</i> ‘I bound’ | <i>gunudday</i> ‘you bound’ |

In the forms in (1.a) – ending in a suffix beginning with a vowel – the stops in syllable onset position are *voiceless*, whereas in the forms in (1.b) – unsuffixed or ending in a suffix beginning with a consonant – the stops in syllable coda position are *voiced* (recall that *p* → *b* does not occur because /p/ is not part of the inventory of Somali).

Note that voiceless and voiced stops are not in complementary distribution, as voiced stops do occur freely after a consonant:

- (2)
- mindī* ‘knife’
xargo ‘ropes’
hilbo ‘meats’

1.3. The Prepausal Voicing rule

There is a long tradition in Somali studies of accounting for the aforementioned alternation with a voicing rule in “syllable final position”, neutralising the contrast between voiceless and voiced stops, that can be made explicit as follows in a SPE format:

- (3) PREPAUSAL VOICING
- $$\begin{bmatrix} \text{[-cont]} \\ \text{[-voice]} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+voice] / _ _]_{\sigma}$$

The formulation is mine, since Moreno (1955: §8.b) – the first, as far as I know, to describe the process in such terms – gave an informal description of it. Since then, this has become the standard analysis (see, among others, Cardona 1981: 12-18). (Abraham (1968: 326) advocates for a rule in which both the coda position and a preceding vowel are, *redundantly*, relevant: [-cont, -voice] → [+voice] /V__]_σ).

Prepausal Voicing, which can be provisionally considered as observationally adequate, entails some obvious problems as far as the understanding of the process is concerned. The syllable

coda is clearly not a typical voicing position; on the contrary, it is the standard devoicing position, as evidenced by a great number of languages, some of them very well known (say German, Russian or Turkish, among many others).

Another puzzling fact about the Prepausal Voicing rule is that there is a different rule in Somali by which voiced obstruents (partially) devoice in the very same context, syllable coda position (Cardona 1981: 11-13). That is to say that the same phonological element triggers two opposite processes in the same language.

As a consequence, there does not seem to be any chances to give some substantial support to this rule – call it “phonological naturalness”, “phonological explicativeness” or related notions – which in past phonology would have been regarded as a manual example of a “crazy rule”. However, this is not a conclusive point, since the relation between phonological naturalness and descriptive adequacy is a long debated issue, which has been dealt with differently in different frameworks and in different decades, and which is far from being solved.

Leaving aside this outstanding problem, in the next section we will investigate the Somali voicing rule in more detail to ascertain if there is a better alternative to the Stop Prepausal Voicing rule. Minimally, this quest would be an exercise in determining how a historically natural rule becomes “crazy” as a consequence of the reanalysis processes performed by new generations of native speakers. More ambitiously, this investigation could offer a better synchronic (I-grammar) analysis of the voicing rule.

2. A reanalysis of stop voicing

2.1. The Postvocalic Voicing rule

A fact that does not seem to have attracted the attention of previous investigators is that, due to the syllable structure of Somali (which does not license a [VCC]_σ sequence), every

consonant which occurs in syllable coda position also occurs after a vowel. Thus, in order to reanalyse the stop voicing rule, a good candidate as the triggering context is “preceding vowel”, as illustrated in (4) below:

$$(4) \text{ POSTVOCALIC VOICING} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---cont} \\ \text{---voice} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+voice] / V _$$

It goes without saying that (4) is a very familiar rule, extremely widespread among languages. One obvious advantage of (4) over Prepausal Voicing is that it embeds its motivation: it is that specific type of assimilation process that is conventionally named “lenition”, which spreads the two features associated with vowels: [continuancy] and [voice]. The triggering context varies slightly among languages: it often consists of a preceding vowel (or just a sonorant), as in the Somali case, or of both a preceding and a following vowel (or sonorant) in other cases. Some instances of postvocalic lenition are the /s/ voicing for most Northern Italian speakers (as in *gas* ‘gas’ [gaz]), or the spirantization in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic (commonly known as the “*begadkefat* rule”), or, again, the spirantization of voiced stops in Spanish.

Another advantage of this analysis is that it overcomes the phonetic ambiguity of the trigger context: while the voicing rule is triggered by a preceding vowel, the (partial) devoicing rule is triggered by the coda position, the standard context for devoicing, as expressed in (5) below:

$$(5) \text{ PREPAUSAL DEVOICING} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---cont} \\ \text{+voice} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow C_0 / _]_{\sigma}$$

Besides the general interpretation of the process, Postvocalic Voicing yields some other descriptive advantages. A pervasive process in Somali is the voicing of the initial stop in every functional morpheme when attached to a base ending in a vowel.

The most familiar case is determiners, which are affixed to the headed noun ((6a) and (6b) exemplify masculine and feminine nouns, respectively):

- (6)
- nin-ka/kii/kan/kaas/kayga/kee* 'the/this/that/my/which man'
man-the/the (aforement.)/this/that/my/which?
 - naag-ta/tii/tan/taas/tayda/tee* 'the/this/that/my/which woman'
woman-the/the (aforement.)/this/that/my/which?

The point is that when the noun ends in a vowel the determiner's initial stop becomes voiced:

- (7)
- ey-gee* 'which dog?'
dog-which?
 - aqalla-daas* 'that house'
house-that

(To be precise, in some conditions that it is not relevant to discuss here, masculine determiners undergo *debuccalization*: e.g. *bare-ka* (teacher-the) → *baraḥa* 'the teacher'; or *deletion*: e.g. *rah-ka* (frog-the) → *raḥa* 'the frog').

The same process occurs in *clitic clusters*. Prepositions (sometimes referred to in the literature as "postpositions")² beginning with a voiceless stop (*ku* 'in', *ka* 'from') become voiced after a clitic pronoun (8a) or preposition ending in a vowel (8b); the clitic object pronoun *ku* 'you' (the only specimen of its category beginning with a stop) switches to *gu* when preceded by *la*, the impersonal pronoun, the only element that precedes clitic pronouns in the Verbal Complex (8c):

- (8)
- na-ga* 'from us'
us-from
 - u-gu* 'into'
to-in
 - la-gu*
IMP. PRON.-YOU

Other instances of the same process take place in *verbal* inflection or derivation. A number of verbal endings begin with the voiceless stop /t/ (no verbal ending beginning with /k/ occurs in Somali), which converts to /d/ when preceded by a stem ending in a vowel. Compare the forms in (9a) with the forms in (9b) :

- (9)
- cun-tay* 'you ate'
eat-2S.PAST
cun-teen 'you (pl.) ate'
eat-2P.PAST
 - akhri-day* 'you read'
read-2S.PAST
lahay-deen 'you (pl.) had'
have-2PL.PAST

A verb initial voiceless stop becomes voiced after a derivational prefix ending in a vowel. As an example, the forms of *ahaansho* 'to be' beginning with /t/ (*tahay* 'you are/she is', *tihiiin* 'you (pl.) are') alternate with forms with a beginning /d/ after *lee-*:

- (10)
- lee-dahay* 'she has'
lee-dihiiin 'you have'

The middle formative {-at} becomes *ad* after a stem ending in a vowel. Compare the alternations in the following examples:

- (11)
- dub-t-ay* 'I baked for myself'
bake-MIDDLE-1S. PAST
gur-t-ay 'I collected for myself'
collect-MIDDLE-1S. PAST
 - joogs-ad-ay* 'I stopped myself'
be- MIDDLE-1S. PAST
iibs-ad-ay 'I bought for myself'
buy-MIDDLE-1S. PAST

The middle formative shows up as *t* when its vowel undergoes syncope, but as *ad* when syncope does not apply (in stems ending in a consonantal cluster): i.e., it is voiceless after a consonant, whereas it is voiced after a vowel (syncope will be dealt with below). There is one more variant of the middle formative, *a(t)*, that requires special attention (for which, too, see below).

Another instance of what looks overtly the same phenomenon takes place in words whose stem, both verbal and nominal, ends in a *guttural*. What follows is a sample of verbal forms whose stem ends in a *guttural* (in (12b), in which *kh* = [χ]; *x* = [ħ]; *c* = [ʁ]), compared with the normal forms, in (12a):

- (12)
- a. *cun-tay* ‘(you) ate’
eat-2S.PAST
fur-tay ‘(you) opened’
open-2S.PAST
- b. *faq-day* ‘(you) consulted’
consult-2S.PAST
raac-day ‘(you) followed’
follow-2S.PAST
tookh-day ‘(you) boasted’
boast-2S.PAST
go'-day ‘(you) cut’
cut-2S.PAST
bax-day ‘(you) went out’
exit-2S.PAST
sooh-day ‘(you) wove’
wave-2S.PAST

As noted in Cardona (1981: 20), who makes reference to the instrumental evidence by Farnetani (1981: 84), voicing is triggered by an epenthetic vowel (not marked in the orthography) which is inserted between the *guttural* and the inflectional ending. So, a form such as *baxday* is actually pronounced as [bax^aday], in which “^a” stands for a reduced vowel (i.e. a moraless vowel) with the same features of /a/. The epenthetic vowel varies depending on the preceding vowel, i.e. it is a shortened copy of the last vowel, in accordance to the fact that *gutturals*

do not block spreading of place features (see McCarthy 1994). This resembles a rule occurring in Biblical Hebrew, according to which the *hatep*, or “composed schwas”, occur as epenthetic vowels between a *guttural* and a following consonant.

The same rule occurs in feminine nouns, when a determiner (e.g. *-ta* ‘the’, as in *naag-ta* ‘the woman’) is attached to a stem ending in a *guttural*, as illustrated below:

- (13)
- buq-da* ‘the book’ *bac-da* ‘the sound of a slap’
taarikh-da ‘the history’ *lo'-da* ‘the cattle’
qorrax-da ‘the sun’ *bah-da* ‘the noble person’

The rule can be expressed as such:

- (14) GUTTURAL EPENTHESIS
 $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ }^{\text{v}}\text{/V}_i \text{ [“gutt”] } _ \text{C}$ (in which “^v” is a reduced vowel)

In a rule governed approach, the voicing rule must follow the epenthesis rule (in which, as is common practice, “UR” is short for “Underlying Representation”):

- (15)
- | | | |
|---|---|---------------------|
| [[cun] _V tay] _{2S.PAST} | [[bax] _V tay] _{2S.PAST} | LEXICAL FORM |
| cuntay | baxtay | UR |
| — | bax ^a tay | GUTTURAL EPENTHESIS |
| — | bax ^a day | POSTVOCALIC VOICING |

2.2. More evidence for Postvocalic Voicing

There is some more evidence in favour of Postvocalic Voicing, which comes from domains other than the strict descriptive evidence.

Lenition

Nearly the same context, intervocalic position, triggers a similar rule, spirantization of voiced stops (see Cardona 1981: 11-12), as illustrated below in (16a) and formulated in (16b):

(16)

VOICED STOP SPIRANTIZATION

- a. *laba* [laβa] ‘two’
hodon [hoðon] ‘wealthy person’
xigaal [hiGaal] ‘relative’
- b. $\begin{array}{|l} \text{-cont} \\ \text{+voice} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{[+cont]} / \text{V_V}$

As is well known, spirantization is the other face of lenition: the fact that stops in Somali undergo intervocalic spirantization harmonizes pretty well with Postvocalic Voicing, but it collides with the idea of a prepausal voicing rule. Put in other words, we could imagine for the stops of a language to be characterized by the feature [+lenition] (or, in an Optimality Theory approach, by a low ranking of the IDENT(voice) and IDENT(cont) constraints), which determines, according to the specification of the requirement, that stops in a language would undergo either both voicing and spirantization, or only spirantization, or, finally, only voicing. In this view, Somali would be a language that generalizes lenition, a situation by no means uncommon among the languages of the world, both on a synchronic and a diachronic basis.

Prepausal voicing in a constraint based framework

In a constraint based framework, such as Optimality Theory, there is no obvious way of deriving Prepausal Voicing, or any other crazy rule for that matter. The reason is fairly obvious: in order for the theory to have some predictive force, the constraints must be universal, restricted in number, well motivated and non contradictory among each others. The fact that, among other things, there is a conjunction of constraints such as *VOICED-OBSTRUENT & NO-CODA (see Smolensky 2006) rules out the possibility for a prepausal voicing of stops process to exist. Either this or the conclusion that standard Optimality Theory must be inadequate in some respect.

To be sure, this is not a dramatically compelling argument, in that it is clearly theory internal. Nonetheless, since Optimality

Theory, a purely constraint based theory, has been the indisputably dominant paradigm in the last fifteen years, the argument should retain some force.

It is not the aim of this paper to deal with the problem of how to derive unnatural derivations in a constraint driven framework. I will limit here to suggest a couple of possibilities.

One is to distinguish, as Chomsky (1981) did for syntax, between a “core grammar” and a “peripheral grammar”, in which the peripheral grammar would either consist of specific rules or of specific constraints.

The other possibility is to integrate in the inventory of standard constraints – which are based on markedness properties of performance nature – some acquisitional markedness constraints, that determine the strategies by which a child constructs its grammar on the basis of the state-of-the-art data. These acquisitional constraints (e.g., “input recoverability”, to make one rough, tentative example) could explain the emergence of phonological restructuring processes in languages (phonologization, dephonologization, reinterpretation of alternations, etc.), and consequently the existence of crazy rules.

One last consideration that has to be mentioned is that “crazy” rules must remain as such: there must be some reason why the system prevents that unnatural processes become normal. This seems to suggest that performance constraints have a tendency to be ranked higher than acquisitional constraints, or, maybe put in a more perspicuous way, acquisitional constraints become compelling only when some serious derivational opacity emerges due to some intricate language change.

Diachrony

It is noteworthy that Postvocalic Voicing has a diachronic mirror image rule, which singles out Somali among the other East Cushitic languages (see Sasse 1979), as the following forms, all reflexes of the reconstructed Proto East Cushitic word **math* ‘head’, show:

SOMALI *maḁah*
 BAYSO *meṭe*
 RENDILLE *maṭah*
 ARBORE *meṭe*
 ELMOLO *meṭe'*
 OROMO *maṭaa*
 KONSO *maṭṭa*

Note that the diachronic rule has brought a neutralization in voice between stops in all the contexts in which the voiceless stop is no longer recoverable, i.e. when it is preceded by a vowel which is both underlying (i.e. non epenthetic) and does not delete (because does not meet the requirements of the syncope rule):

(17) STOP VOICE NEUTRALIZATION

SOMALI	OROMO	
<i>aḁi(-ga)</i>	<i>aṭi</i>	'you'
<i>lug</i>	<i>luḁ(-a)</i>	'foot'
<i>maḁax</i>	<i>maṭaa</i>	'head'
<i>gaḁ-</i>	<i>gaṭ-</i>	'sell'

In contrast, when the stop is preceded by an epenthetic vowel (as formulated in (18a) and exemplified in (18b) below), the voiceless stop is recoverable from the alternation (19):

(18) EPENTHESIS

- a. $\emptyset \rightarrow V_i/V_i \text{ __ } CC] \sigma$
 [insert a copy of the stem vowel before an unsyllabified consonant]
- b. *hiḁib* 'meat' *hiḁb-o* 'meats'
qoḁob 'article' *qoḁb-o* 'articles'

(19) STOP VOICE ALTERNATION

iliḁ 'tooth' *ilk-o* 'teeth'
gunuḁ 'knot' *gunt-ay* 'I knotted'

3. Developing the analysis

In this section will deal with some problems, both of a descriptive and a theoretical nature, that the analysis we have proposed faces.

3.1. Apparent counterexamples

An outstanding empirical problem that Postvocalic Voicing seems to confront with is the fact that voiceless stops do occur in postvocalic position, both in nouns (20a) and verbs (20b):

(20) POSTVOCALIC VOICELESS STOPS

- a. *bakayle* 'hare' *rati* 'camel'
luki 'hen' *ukun* 'egg'
- b. *fetesh* 'search!' *hitiq* 'walk slowly!'
cakis 'hinder!' *sukul* 'pound!'

A closer examination, though, shows that what you see is not what you get. First of all, there is a curious gap in the phonemic inventory of geminate consonants in Somali: while all non guttural consonants may geminate, both underlyingly and in derived environments, geminate voiceless stops do not occur. Forms in (21) below exemplify voiced stops:

(21) GEMINATE VOICED STOPS

aabbe 'father'
saddex 'three'
caggo 'feet'

This fact is bewildering for two reasons:

- a. it is a gap in the phonemic inventory of Somali for which no obvious explanation is available;
- b. it is in contrast with known markedness properties, which state that a voiceless obstruent is less marked (then more expected) than a voiced one.³

Both inconsistencies can be explained in a straightforward way if it is assumed that the gap in the inventory of geminate stops holds only at surface level, as voiceless stops do occur at underlying level, as we are going to bring evidence for.

3.2. Anti-syncope

In previous discussion we came across the syncope rule, which is crucial for the point we are going to make. Consider

the following forms, alternating between singular and plural:

- (22)
xàrig ‘rope’ *xarg-ò* ‘ropes’
maàlīn ‘day’ *maalm-ò* ‘days’
gàrāb ‘shoulder’ *garb-ò* ‘shoulders’

In a word, an unstressed short vowel is deleted, modulo syllable constraints are not violated. Some examples of a violation of syllable requirements that blocks rule application are in (23) below, in which the intermediate vowel is preceded by a consonant cluster or a geminate (for the *n/m* alternation, note that /m/ → [n] word finally in Somali):

- (23)
shimbir ‘bird’ *shimbir-ò* ‘birds’
gumbur ‘hill’ *gumbur-ò* ‘hills’
xuddun ‘navel’ *xuddun-ò* ‘navels’

The rule can be formulated as follows:

- (24)
 SYNCOPE
 [-stress]
 $V \rightarrow \emptyset / [VC_CV]_w$

The interesting fact is that when the preceding consonant is a voiceless stop the syncope does not take place:

- (25)
khatar ‘danger’ *khatar-ò* ‘dangers’
ukun ‘egg’ *ukun-ò* ‘eggs’
bukur ‘small container’ *bukur-ò* ‘small containers’

The conclusion to be drawn is that postvocalic voiceless stops behave like geminates. The context which blocks syncope is formulated in (26) below (in which a bar over V indicates its deletion):

- (26)
 ANTI-SYNCOPE CONFIGURATION

$$V \begin{array}{|l} \hline \text{[-cont]} \\ \hline \text{[-voice]} \end{array} * \Psi C V$$

Owing to a number of reasons that it is not relevant to discuss here, the other virtually possible anti-syncope configuration (VC*Ψ [-voice, -cont] V) never seems to occur.

More evidence in favor of this analysis comes from stems in which the consonants which flank the target vowel are identical; here too the rule is blocked:

- (27)
 ANTIGEMINATION CONFIGURATION
 $V C_1 * \Psi C_1 V$
òlòl ‘flame!’ *olòlay* ‘(it) flamed’
fududèe ‘enlighten!’ *fududeeyey* ‘(he) lightened!’

The process involved here, Antigemination, is not triggered by a syllabic constraint, but by OCP (see Goldsmith 1976; McCarthy 1986); nonetheless the situation is identical: the syncope takes place provided some major constraint (i.e. higher ranked) is not violated.

It must be stressed that Syncope and Anti-syncope are not confined to nouns; on the contrary, they are wholly productive. As an example, the stative verb formation rule is as follows (see Puglielli & Ciise M. Siyaad 1984):

- (28)
 STATIVE VERB FORMATION
 Verb + *an* → Stative Verb

The examples below illustrate:

- (29)
kars-an-aa
 cook-STAT-3S.PRES. ‘(it) is cooked’
caagg-an-aa
 reject-STAT-3S.PRES. ‘(he) abstains’

When the requirements are met, syncope occurs, as the following examples show:

- (30)
taag-n-aa ‘it stays’
bad-n-aa ‘it is numerous’

Again, if one of the adjacent consonant is a voiceless stop, syncope is blocked, thus behaving like a geminate (cf. *caagg-an-aa* in (29) above):

- (31)
cok-an-aa ‘(it) is full of water’
mool-an-aa ‘(it) is dead’

Therefore, there is good reason to posit an unconditioned rule of voiceless stop reduction, such as the following:

- (32)
 VOICELESS STOP REDUCTION

-gutt
-cont
-voiceless

$C_i: \rightarrow C_i$

As a consequence, the following derivations for Syncope and Anti-syncope can be assumed, in which Syncope must precede Voiceless Stop Reduction (the formalization adopted here is unorthodox: a barred form does not undergo the process under consideration for the violation represented; as is common practice, “SR” stands for “Surface Representation”):

- (33)
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| xarig-ò | xuddum-ò | khattar-ò | UR |
| xar.gò | xud.(d).mò | khāt.(t).rò | SYNCOPE |
| — | — | khatarò | V.LESS STOP REDUCTION |
| xargò ‘ropes’ | xuddumò ‘navels’ | khatarò ‘dangers’ | SR |

Like Postvocalic Voicing, Stop Reduction has a diachronic support, as evidenced by the comparison with other varieties of

Somali. Singleton voiceless stops of Standard Somali correspond to geminates in some Southern Somali dialects, as the following examples show (see Reinisch 1904):

STANDARD SOMALI	SOUTHERN SOMALI
<i>ukun</i> ‘egg’	<i>ukkun</i>
<i>maṭaan</i> ‘twin’	<i>maṭṭaan</i>

Words with a geminate voiceless stop also occur in the toponyms of Southern Somalia (see Svolacchia 2009):

Buur-ti Bakkal ‘Poinciana Mountain’ (cf. STAND. SOMALI *bakal* ‘poinciana’) mountain-the poinciana
Ceel Mokkoy-le ‘Sycamore Mountain’ (cf. STAND. SOMALI *mokoy* ‘sycamore’) pit sycamore-with

Finally, in loanwords from Arabic or Italian, even recent ones, geminate voiceless stops adapt in Somali with singletons (see Zaborsky 1967):

ARABIC	SOMALI	
<i>dukkaan</i>	<i>dukaan</i>	‘shop’
<i>rukkaab</i>	<i>rukaab</i>	‘passengers’
ITALIAN		
<i>baracca</i>	<i>baraako</i>	‘cabin’
<i>salotto</i>	<i>salooto</i>	‘sitting room’

Interestingly, in the yet recent Somali orthographic tradition there is a stigma against double *t*’s and *k*’s (I am indebted to Giorgio Banti for this personal communication). Since orthographic stigmas exist in relation to systematic violations, this calls for speakers who pronounce underlying voiceless geminate stops long. In effect, speakers of Central Somalia pronounce postvocalic voiceless stops with distinctly more length and tension than expected, as the instrumental data confirm (see Farnetani 1981: 72). All these considerations advocate for the psychological reality of geminate voiceless stops in Somali.

3.3. More evidence for Voiceless Stop Reduction

There is more evidence that Voiceless Stop Reduction is part of the grammar of Somali and not just a rule of its history: it also applies in derived environments.

In given configurations, when a voiceless stop adjoins to another voiceless stop (either stem or suffix initial), the result is not a geminate stop but a singleton. As an example, the middle formative rule (already mentioned in (2.1) above) is as follows:

(34)
MIDDLE VERB FORMATION
Verb + *at* → Middle Verb

When an agreement suffix beginning with /t/ is adjoined to the middle stem the result is not a geminate but a singleton:

(35)
UNDERLYING SURFACE
aha-at-tay *ahaatay* ‘(you) became’
be-MID-2S.PAST
iibs-at-teen *iibsateen* ‘(you PL.) bought’
buy-MID-2P.PAST

Notice that the expected anti-syncope effect takes place, as the following examples, agent noun derivations from a middle stem, illustrate (from Puglielli 1984: 21-26):

(36)
UNDERLYING SURFACE
a. gur-at-tó *gur-at-ó* ‘who gathers for herself’
gather-MID-F.AG.
b. fiirs-at-tó *fiirs-at-ó* ‘who looks for herself’
search-MID-F.AG.
c. gur-at-é *gur-t-é* ‘who gathers for himself’
gather-MID-M.AG.

The form in (36a), with an underlying voiceless geminate stop, does not undergo syncope, likewise the form in (b), with

a consonant cluster preceding the target vowel; in contrast, the masculine form in (c), with an underlying singleton voiceless stop, undergoes syncope.

The same reduction process occurs when it is fed by assimilation of a stem final voiced stop to a following voiceless stop at the beginning of a *derivational* suffix. Cases in point are the by now familiar middle formative {-at}, in (37a) below, and the abstract noun derivational suffix {-tooyo}, in (37b):

(37)
REGRESSIVE VOICE ASSIMILATION

	UR	SR	
a.	gaad-at-ay	<i>gaatay</i>	‘(I) chose for myself’
	choose-MID-1S.PAST		
	daad-at-een	<i>daateen</i>	‘(they) overflowed’
	overflow-MID-3P.PAST		
b.	qaad-tooyo	<i>qaatooyo</i>	‘fast (N)’
	fast(VERB)-NOUN ^{ABSTR}		
	xad-tooyo	<i>xatooyo</i>	‘theft’
	steal-NOUN ^{ABSTR}		

Recall that in the forms in (37a) above the adjacency between the coronal stops is derived through syncope; e.g., the derivation of *gaatay* would be as follows:

gaad-at-ay	UR
gaad-t-ay	SYNCOPE
gaat-t-ay	REGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
<i>gaatay</i>	V.LESS STOP REDUCTION

3.4. Domains of application

In the discussion so far we have not specified the domain of application of Postvocalic Voicing, nor the domain of the rules Postvocalic Voicing interacts with. The evidence for Postvocalic Voicing is as follows (in which the numbers refer to the examples and rules discussed above):

- it is phonetically motivated;
- it does not have exceptions and does not require morphological information;
- it applies to productive derivational (10-11) and inflectional morphemes (9);
- it applies in derived and underived environments;
- it applies within words or clitic groups (i.e. in determiners, which are cliticized to the right of nouns (6); within clitic groups (7));
- it is structure-preserving;
- it is not cyclic, as shown by the middle formative {-at}, in which the stop is not affected by Postvocalic Voicing even though it is preceded by a vowel at the underlying level. In fact, if the rule applied cyclically, the derivation of forms such as *gurté* (from /gur-at-é/ 'who gathers for himself'; see (35) above) and *iibsateen* (from /iibs-at-teen/ 'you bought'; see (36) above), would be as follows:

(38)

[[gur] at]	[[iibs] at]	1 ST CYCLE
[gurad]	[iibsad]	POSTVOCALIC VOICING
[[gurad] é]	[[iibsad] teen]	2 ND CYCLE
[gurdé]	_____	SYNCOPE
_____	[iibsaddeen]	PROGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
*gurdé	*iibsaddeen	SR

In order to derive forms such as *gurté* and *iibsateen*, Postvocalic Voicing must not apply to the 1st cycle; it must apply after Syncope, for the former, and C_i-C_i Fusion caused by affixation of {-at}, for the latter:

(39)

CYCLIC PHONOLOGY		
[[gur] at]	[[iibs] at]	1 ST CYCLE
[gurat]	[iibsat]	
_____	_____	SYNCOPE
[[gurat] é]	[[iibsat] teen]	2 ND CYCLE
[gurté]	_____	SYNCOPE
_____	[iibsateen]	C _i -C _i FUSION

POSTCYCLIC PHONOLOGY

<i>gurté</i>	<i>iibsateen</i>	
_____	_____	POSTVOCALIC VOICING
_____	_____	PROGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
_____	<i>iibsateen</i>	V.LESS STOP REDUCTION
<i>gurté</i>	<i>iibsateen</i>	SR

A remark is in order as far as Progressive Voice Assimilation is regarded. Regressive Voice Assimilation occurs before a derivational suffix, but before an inflectional suffix the assimilation is progressive. To see this, compare the form in (37) above, repeated below in (40a), a middle stem with an inflectional suffix, with the form in (40b) below, a base stem with an inflectional suffix:

(40)

PROGRESSIVE VOICE ASSIMILATION		
a.	b.	
gaad-at-ay	gaad-tay	UR
gaad-t-ay	_____	SYNCOPE
gaatt-ay	_____	REGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
_____	gaad-day	PROGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
gaatay	_____	V.LESS STOP REDUCTION
<i>gaatay</i>	<i>gaadday</i>	SR
'(I) chose for myself'	'(I) chose'	

Clearly, Regressive Voice Assimilation occurs at an earlier stage with respect to Progressive Voice Assimilation. This is in line with the fact that inflectional affixes are adjoined after derivational affixes.

Finally, Epenthesis (see (18) above) must precede Postvocalic Voicing and follow Syncope:

ilk	[[ilk] o]	UR
—	_____	SYNCOPE
ilik	_____	EPENTHESIS
ilig	_____	POSTVOCALIC VOICING
<i>ilig</i>	<i>ilko</i>	SR
'tooth'	'teeth'	

As for the upper limit, Postvocalic Voicing does not apply

between words, as in compounds (e.g. *hiyikac* ‘become emotional’, from *hiyi* ‘emotions’ and *kac* ‘rise’), or phrasal verbs (e.g. *ku tuf* ‘bless’).

The conclusion that can be drawn from the aforementioned properties of Postvocalic Voicing (PV) is that it is a *postcyclic lexical rule*. This conclusion is consistent with the intrinsic order of rules. No cyclic rule is fed by PV, and PV is fed by a rule, Guttural Epenthesis – see (12-15) above – that is patently a very late rule (phonetically motivated, not structure preserving, applies without exceptions, applies within the clitic group), but not postlexical (it does not apply in compounds: e.g. *libaaxbadeed* ‘shark’, from *libaax* ‘lion’ and *bad-eed* ‘sea-GENITIVE’ is pronounced without an epenthetic vowel).

Some derivational problems still persist: why do verbs with a derivational suffix ending in /t/ to which an inflectional suffix beginning in /t/ is attached resist Postvocalic Voicing (via C_i-C_i Fusion), as in (a) below, while underived verbs whose stem ends in /t/ do not (i.e. Postvocalic Voicing bleeds C_i-C_i Fusion), as illustrated in (b) below?

a.	b.	
gaad-at-tay	sumat-tay	UR
_____	sumad-tay	POSTVOCALIC VOICING
_____	sumad-day	PROGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
gaadattay	sumadday	C _i -C _i FUSION
gaadatay	_____	V.LESS STOP REDUCTION
gaadatay	sumadday	SR
‘(you) chose for yourself’	‘(you) branded’	

One might assume that C_i-C_i Fusion is blocked in cases like (b) above because of the Strict Cycle Condition. The difference between the two cases is that, while the inflectional suffixes belong to the same cycle of the middle voice formation rule, as in (a) above, they belong to a previous cycle with respect to the root. Hence, the root (*sumat*, in the example) is an opaque domain for C_i-C_i Fusion:

a.	b.	
gaad	sumat	ROOT
[gaad] at	[sumat] Ø	1 ST CYCLE (STEM DERIVATION)
[gaadat] tay	[sumatØ] tay	2 ND CYCLE (INFLECTION)
gaad-at:ay	_____	C _i -C _i FUSION
_____	sumad-tay	POSTVOCALIC VOICING
_____	sumad-day	PROGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
gaadatay	_____	V.LESS STOP REDUCTION
gaadatay	sumadday	SR

This contrast shows up in nouns as well, as evidenced by a root both verbal and nominal, such as {moot:} ‘die/death’, which exhibits a voiceless geminate stop underlyingly. Compare the pair below:

- a.** /moot:-ta/ → *moodda* ‘the death’
a. death-F.the
b. /moot:-an-aa/ → *mootanaa* ‘he dies’
b. die-STAT-3S.PRES.

The form /moott-ta/ undergoes Degemination (because the 2nd part of the geminate is not syllabified), then Postvocalic Voicing, and finally Progressive Voice Assimilation; the form /moott-an-aa/, on the other hand, resists Postvocalic Voicing because it does not degeminate (as it is fully syllabified) and finally undergoes Voiceless Stop Reduction. The derivation is illustrated below:

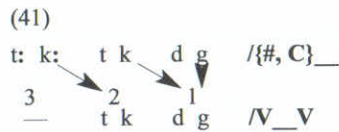
a.	b.	
moot:	moot: ROOT	
[moot:] Ø	[moot:] an	1 ST CYCLE (STEM DERIVATION)
[moot] Ø	_____	C _i ^{UNSYLL} DEGEMINATION
[[mootØ] ta]	[[moot:an] aa	2 ND CYCLE (INFLECTION)
_____	_____	C _i -C _i FUSION
mood-ta	_____	POSTVOCALIC VOICING
mood-da	_____	PROGR. VOICE ASSIMILATION
mood:a	_____	C _i -C _i FUSION
_____	moot-an-aa	V.LESS STOP REDUCTION
<i>moodda</i>	<i>mootanaa</i>	SR
‘the death’	‘he dies’	

4. Issues of interpretation

The analysis we have been carrying so far is unsatisfactory in at least one major regard: it does not offer a unified interpretation of facts. This is the issue we are going to deal with in this section.

4.1. Chain shifts

An obvious fact that has been ignored so far is that Postvocalic Voicing and Voiceless Stop Reduction are closely related: Voiceless Stop Reduction is triggered, in a manner of speaking, by Postvocalic Voicing. The reason is that Postvocalic Voicing leaves a gap in the system of stops (because voiceless stops merge with voiced stops), which is filled by voiceless geminate stops, as is illustrated below:



The shift reduces the contrast among three series of stops (apart from voiced geminates, of no relevance here) to a contrast among two. Nonetheless, the contrast between series 3 and 2 is maintained, but at a lesser degree of consonantal force.

More light on the phenomenon is shed by some data from Lower Juba Maay (LJM), a southern dialect of Somali which differs considerably from Standard Somali (see Comfort & Paster 2009: 208-209). In LJM underlying (non implosives) stops surface as voiced “fricatives” (actually, approximants) intervocally, due to “Intervocalic Lenition”, exemplified below (N.B. There is a rule of devoicing in syllable final position not mentioned by the Authors):

- (42)
- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>irbit</i> ‘needle’ | <i>irbið-o</i> ‘needles’ |
| <i>ɖek</i> ‘ear’ | <i>ɖeɣ-o</i> ‘ears’ |
| <i>ilbap</i> ‘door’ | <i>ilbaβ-o</i> ‘doors’ |

There are surface exceptions to this rule within lexical items, as shown below in (43a):

- (43)
- | | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| a. <i>hidik</i> ‘star’ | b. /hiddik/ |
| <i>mukulal</i> ‘cat’ | /mukkulal/ |
| <i>buubun</i> ‘snail’ | /buubbun/ |

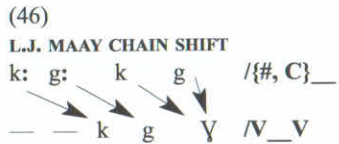
However, since there are no surface geminate stops, the Authors assume a rule, “Geminate Reduction”, which changes all geminate stops into their singleton counterparts. As a consequence, they propose that intervocal stops are geminate underlyingly, as shown in (43b) above. One major evidence for the rule is that it also applies in derived environments, as shown in (44):

- (44)
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| UR | SR |
| <i>diik-ki</i> | <i>diiki</i> ‘the rooster’ |
| rooster-the(MAS) | |
| <i>gedut-ti</i> | <i>geɖuti</i> ‘the red one’ |
| red-the(FEM) | |

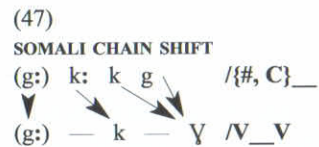
The point is that, as the Authors remark, the underlying C_i : vs. C_i distinction is still preserved intervocally because, while geminates are reduced to singletons, singletons undergo lenition: e.g., /k:/ surfaces as [k] intervocally, while /k/ surfaces as [ɣ]. The pair of examples below illustrate:

- (45)
- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| UR | SR |
| <i>diik-ki</i> | <i>diiki</i> ‘the rooster’ |
| rooster-the(MAS) | |
| <i>dibi-ki</i> | <i>diβiɣi</i> ‘the bull’ |
| bull-the(MAS) | |

The situation is then as follows (in which velar stops stand for the entire set of stops):



The system undergoes a reduction of one series out of four; however, the contrast between geminates and their singleton counterparts is preserved, even though, as in Standard Somali, at a lesser degree of consonantal force. The difference is that the chain shift is more complex than in Standard Somali, because also voiced geminates are part of it. Nonetheless, the Standard Somali chain shift is more similar to that of LJM than it seems. Recall (see in (16) above) that intervocalic stops, both derived and underived, undergo a process of spirantization; as a consequence, a more accurate description of the Somali chain shift is as follows:

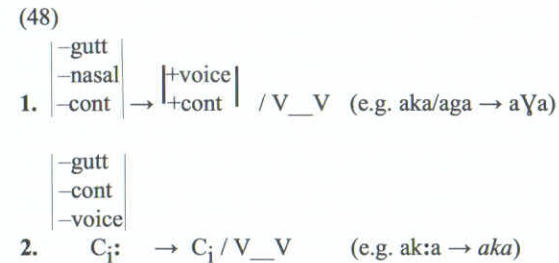


Voiced geminates do not alternate and no [g] surfaces intervocally. Historically speaking, it seems that LJM, having generalized the chain shift, has taken a step ahead of Standard Somali in the process.

4.2. The analysis of chain shifts

In current phonological theory, both rule-based and constraint-based, there is no obvious way of capturing this sort of generalizations. In the European structuralist phonology, on the contrary, such considerations were at the very heart of its concern, both in synchronic and diachronic analyses. However,

because of the intrinsic differences, there is no consistent way of integrating these ideas in a rule-based approach. A *rule-based approach* does have the machinery for deriving the desired surface forms, but the result comes at a high price: breaking the chain shift into distinct rules, and then imposing the convenient counterfeeding order on the rules. In this vein, the Somali lenition would be treated as follows (in which the numbers indicate the order of application):



The first problem with this analysis is that the order of rules is arbitrary, because it does not descend from some independent property (e.g., cycles of morphological or syntactic derivation). One might wonder why, in spite of this, a particular rule order works. The answer is probably that (at least in most cases) it works because it echoes the actual historical change (a “drag chain”). Whatever the reason, chain shifts like the ones we have been discussing are obviously not rules of sound change but synchronic rules of sound alternation. In other words, they express a generalization about the pronunciation of stops in a specific domain (intervocalic) that a child who is construing his mother tongue grammar can’t fail to take into account. In this regard, it is totally unclear what notions such as rule precedence could possibly mean.

The second problem is that the description fails to give a unified account of what is blatantly a single phenomenon, and its motivation is simply disregarded. This drawback is not accidental: SPE (and further refinements) is based on an atomistic notion of phonological processes, in which any rule is con-

sidered *per se*, without concern for the other rules in the system (modulo order of application, when required). In this regard, SPE phonology is a (hugely) refined version of Neogrammarian phonology.

As far as *Optimality Theory* (OT) is concerned, on the other hand, the very reason which led to its development was the existence of “conspiracies” (see Kisseberth 1970), i.e. indefinitely different phonological rules having in common a functional motivation, most typically to prevent the system from surfacing ill-formed outputs. Consequently, OT is in some sense more connected with Saussurian phonology than SPE phonology. Still, standard (or “classical”, as someone call it) OT has little to say about chain shifts. The reason is that OT has done a lot more work on defining the universal constraints of the phonological component and their relations among them than on defining the effects that the processes triggered by the constraints have on the system.

Another reason why OT is at pains with chain shifts – involving stepwise shift on a phonetic scale, and consequently overlapping – is that they necessarily create opaque domains. Opaque domains are, notoriously, one of the most difficult phenomena to come up with in OT. The reason is that in OT constraints cannot refer to information which is not present in the surface representation, nor relevant information can be inherited by derivation, which is flat in OT (underlying/“input” vs. surface/“output” representation). Nonetheless, some more or less ingenious proposals to overcome this shortcomings have been advanced.

Flemming (1996) proposes an OT analysis of a vowel shift (in Nzebi) relying on constraints which refer directly to the preservation of contrasts within a given phonetic dimension (the raising is constrained by the need to maintain at least two vowel height contrasts). Leaving aside some descriptive issues in this analysis, the intrinsic problem is that it relies on constraints which refer to contrast, a property of underlying representations, a solution which is inconsistent with one of the

basic tenets of OT, i.e. constraints only refer to output representations. It is not surprising that McCarthy – in a recent book devoted to explaining how to perform analyses in an OT framework – in discussing how to proceed with the proposal of new constraints, explicitly recommends to avoid constraints (among others) that refer to “contrast” (McCarthy 2003: 38). Indeed, the approach advocated by Flemming (1996) is inconsistent with most theories of phonology: it is a “global” procedure, which defines a system in which constraints can both refer to underlying and surface information. This is theoretically highly undesirable because it multiplies the number of potential grammars, thus creating huge problems of unpredictability, indeterminacy, and learnability.

Kirshner (1996), in a paper devoted to vowel shifts, maintains that a substantial class of synchronic chain shifts can be handled within a non-derivational theory of phonology. Beside familiar markedness constraints, requiring vowel raising in given conditions (e.g., morphological conditions), he adopts “distantial faithfulness” constraints, which are in fact a sort of “quasi-faithfulness constraints”, i.e. they impose a limited range of departure from the input vowels, assuming some phonetic scale. For ingenious this solution may be, it faces some problems:

- (a) distantial faithfulness could work for some cases of chain shift, but not for all;
- (b) distantial faithfulness constraints are a global devise in disguise. The whole idea of faithfulness means nothing more than underlying forms do not alter, modulo they conflict with properties of some sort of the phonological component. Imposing restrictions that filter the output representation on the basis of properties of the input representation is, once again, a double access to phonological information. Whatever the reality of the phonological component may be, this is not consistent with OT. Then either distantial faithfulness constraints are not a solution to (some) chain shifts, or OT must be significantly revised (or both).

Kirshner (1998), a remarkable study specifically dedicated to consonant lenition, presents a different approach, consistent

with the basic tenets of OT, in which particular patterns arise from conflict between a principle of effort minimization (“LAZY”), relative to specific contexts, and faithfulness, in combination with perceptually-based fortition constraints (building upon some proposals of Jun 1995 and Flemming 1996). As for effort minimization, specific constraints are derived via threshold values (e.g., one for voiced stops, one for voiceless fricatives, etc.). There are many aspects of this proposal that make it appealing:⁴

- it can deal with both the categorical and gradient effects of lenition, and with both the stable and variable behavior of lenition;
- it builds on a notion, effort minimization, which is explicitly and consistently defined in terms of measurable (albeit hypothetically) articulatory parameters (expressed in numerical values) assigned to specific segments in relation to specific contexts;
- building on a trans-featural notion, effort minimization, lenition can be treated in a unified way, a result which is impossible in feature-based analyses (recall that, cross-linguistically, lenition affects features, among others, as different as [voice], [continuancy], [sonority], [stridency], [place], [length], and “[segment]”).

In the next paragraph we will discuss an analysis of the Somali lenition that builds on Kirshner (1998)’s proposal.

4.3. A constraint-based analysis of the Somali chain shift

Following Kirshner (1998), the threshold values of articulatory effort in *intervocalic* position, for the segments which are relevant for the present analysis, are illustrated below:

(49)
THRESHOLD VALUES OF ARTICULATORY EFFORT INTERVOCALLY

STOPS		
voiceless		147
voiced		144
SINGLETONS		
voiceless		85
voiced		75

The relevant constraints are as follows:

FAITHFULNESS CONSTRAINTS

[IDENT(+long) & IDENT(+voi)] (= local conjunction of [+long] and [+voice]): requires an underlying voiced geminate to have an identical correspondent at surface level.

[IDENT(+long) & IDENT(-voi)] (= local conjunction of [+long] and [-voice]): requires an underlying voiceless geminate to have an identical correspondent at surface level.

MARKEDNESS CONSTRAINTS

LAZY₁₄₇: do not expend effort ≥ 147 intervocally.

LAZY₇₅: do not expend effort ≥ 75 intervocally.

On this basis, a possible account of the Somali intervocalic lenition is represented in the following tableaux (in which velar stops stand for the entire set of stops):

(50)

INTERVOCALIC VOICED STOP SPIRANTIZATION

/VGV/	[ID(+long) & ID(+voi)]	LAZY ₁₄₇	[ID(+long) & ID(-voi)]	LAZY ₇₅
a. → VγV				
b. VGV				*!*
c. VKV				*!***
d. VG:V		*!		*****
e. VK:V		*!		*****

By this ranking, the best candidate for an underlying singleton voiced stop is a non strident fricative (strident fricatives, not considered here for sake of simplicity, are ruled out by LAZY₇₅ because their effort value, intervocally, is allegedly higher than 75). Geminates are, obviously, ruled out on effort minimization grounds (by LAZY₁₄₇, redundantly, given LAZY₇₅). Singleton stops, finally, are ruled out by LAZY₇₅ (note that the number of violations is determined by the number of the effort threshold values that are exceeded by a segment). With a singleton voiceless stop in the input, the situation is perfectly identical, as illustrated below:

(51)

INTERVOCALIC VOICELESS STOP SPIRANTIZATION AND VOICING

/VKV/	[ID(+long) & ID(+voi)]	LAZY ₁₄₇	[ID (+long) & ID(-voi)]	LAZY ₇₅
a. → VγV				
b. VGV				*!*
c. VKV				*!***
d. VG:V		*!		*****
e. VK:V		*!		*****

As for geminate stops, the ranking must ensure that it yields the different behavior between voiceless and voiced stops. This is achieved by ranking the effort constraint LAZY₁₄₇ (banning intervocal geminates) over the faithfulness constraint relative to voiceless geminate stops (see (52) below), but the reverse with voiced geminate stops, in which [ID(+long) & ID(+voi)] is sufficient to rule out all the other candidates (see (53) below):

(52)

INTERVOCALIC GEMINATE VOICELESS STOP REDUCTION

/VK:V/	[ID(+long) & ID(+voi)]	LAZY ₁₄₇	[ID (+long) & ID(-voi)]	LAZY ₇₅
a. → VγV				
b. VGV			**!	*!*
c. VKV			**!	*!***
d. VG:V		*!	*	*****
e. VK:V		*!	*	*****

(53)

INTERVOCALIC GEMINATE VOICED STOP STABILITY

/VG□V/	[ID(+long) & ID(+voi)]	LAZY ₁₄₇	[ID (+long) & ID(-voi)]	LAZY ₇₅
a. → VγV	*!		***	
b. VGV	*!		**!	**
c. VKV	*!		*	***
d. VG:V			*	***
e. VK:V	*!	*		****

To account for the L.J. Maay lenition (see (42–46) above), on the other hand, in which also voiced stop geminates undergo reduction, the ranking need be as follows (in which the two faithfulness constraints rank together):

(54)

CONSTRAINT RANKING FOR L.J. MAAY LENITION

LAZY₁₄₇ >> IDENT(+long) & IDENT (+voi), IDENT (+long) & IDENT (-voi) >> LAZY₇₅

4.4. A systemic view of chain shifts

Notwithstanding the many advantages of Kirshner (1998)'s proposal (some aspects of which transcend a specific phonological theory), it is dubious that it can satisfactorily account for chain shifts. Indeed, it is dubious that standard OT framework (Prince & Smolensky 1993), in general, is a good basis to deal with chain shifts, both synchronic and diachronic.

One reason is that it does not explain many instances of asymmetrical behavior displayed by the segments involved in the shift. A case in point are geminates in Somali: why is it that voiceless geminates undergo reduction, whereas voiced geminates do not? In other words, why does the phonology of Somali conspire to prevent voiced geminate stops to lenite? There is nothing related to effort minimization that seems to explain such an asymmetry. In fact, on the basis of Kirshner (1998)'s threshold values, the opposite is to be expected: the difference in articulatory effort between voiceless and voiced geminate stops is hardly impressive, whereas the improvement in effort minimization for geminate reducing to singletons is more advantageous for voiced stops (144–75=69) than for voiceless stops (147–85=62).

One possible answer is that outputs are scanned for the effects that they have on the system, a notion that was more or less explicitly assumed in Saussurian phonology. In order to clarify this, let us consider again the effects of Somali lenition, which exemplifies a situation which takes place in many lan-

guages. When a geminate voiceless stop reduces to a singleton at surface level, it comes to contrast with a voiced fricative and a geminate voiced stop (as illustrated in (47) above). The derived perceptual distance between the akin segments, in terms of the features involved and their saliency, remains robust:

g:	≠	k	≠	ɣ
		O.K.		O.K.

On the other hand, when a geminate voiced stop reduces to a singleton at surface level, it comes to contrast with a voiced fricative and a voiceless voiced stop. The derived perceptual distance between the voiced stop and the voiced spirant is much less robust:

k	≠	g	≠	ɣ
		O.K.		?

The assumption that the contrast [g] vs. [G] is not robust comes from typological evidence: few languages have a contrast between a stop and a non strident fricative in their phonemic inventories, the contrast between a stop and a strident fricative being preferred (see, among others, Clements 2004).

In Kirshner (1998)’s proposal, and in similar approaches, a chain shift is treated as an epiphenomenon, arising from an articulatory constraint (some kind of effort minimization) that affects all the segments involved. The very idea of a “drag chain” (or “push chain”, for that matter) – the notion that when a segment of the system changes, the entire system restructures, mediating between the conflicting forces of effort economy and maximal contrast – is totally lost. This is not an accidental state of affairs in standard OT, but it derives from its

assumption of the architecture of the phonological component: markedness constraints are well-formedness conditions on output forms, competing among them and with the structure preserving vocation of input forms. Contrast considerations, then, can only apply at input level. As a consequence, the tacit assumption is that the system does not care about *real* contrast, i.e. at surface level, the level at which this property is really relevant. So, if this line of reasoning is correct, in OT contrast itself is treated as an epiphenomenon.

Notwithstanding the possibility that chain shifts (even diachronic chain shifts) are ultimately a cognitive delusion, there is some evidence deriving from developmental phonology that casts some light on the problem.

Phonological chain shifts are a well-documented phenomenon in phonology acquisition. In a seminal case study by Smith (1973), an interesting phenomenon of chain shift adaptation was identified (and later dubbed by Macken 1980 as the “puzzle-puddle-pickle problem”). The following examples illustrate (drawn by Dinnsen & McGarrity 2004: 6-7):

- (55)
THE PUZZLE-PUDDLE-PICKLE PROBLEM
a. ‘puzzle’ → ‘puddle’ (STOPPING)
 pʌd| ‘puzzle’
 pent| ‘pencil’
b. ‘puddle’ → ‘pickle’ (VELARIZATION)
 pʌg| ‘puddle’
 bak| ‘bottle’
c. ‘pickle’ → ‘pickle’ (PRESERVATION)
 pIk| ‘pickle’
 tʌɪk| ‘circle’

Interestingly – while a coronal stop undergoes velarization before /l/ in final position (neutralizing with velar stops) for some reason (either due to assimilation to the velarized lateral, or due to coronal dissimilation) – a coronal stop derived by a fricative stop does not. In a rule-based approach the descriptive problem is trivially solvable by means of rule-ordering, as

illustrated below, even though no explanation is provided:

pʌz]	pʌd]	pik]	UR
—	pʌg]	—	VELARIZATION
pʌd]	—	—	STOPPING
pʌd]	pʌg]	pik]	SR

A standard OT approach, on the other hand, is challenged by a typical opaque domain via counterfeeding: /d/ → [g], /z/ → [d], [d] *→ [g]. So, the output is not explainable simply on the basis of output well-formedness conditions, because whatever the constraint on [dl] sequences is, this is not a surface-true generalization.

Some analyses have been proposed to solve the puzzle-puddle-pickle-problem puzzle in an OT framework. Interestingly, Dinnsen *et al.* (2001) remark that a solution in terms of pure constraint ranking is impossible, and propose an analysis which crucially relies on a locally conjoined constraint, ID(manner) & ID(place), requiring that corresponding segments must be identical in terms of either [place] or [manner] features. So, /z/ → [g] is eliminated because it violates both faithfulness constraints, while /z/ → [d] wins because it only violates ID(manner). In other words, surface segments are allowed to depart from underlying segments, but up to a point, even when high-ranking well-formedness constraints exert pressure on the system.

The interesting point is that, while this stepwise-restrained nature of (both synchronic and diachronic) phonological processes is a familiar pattern in chain shifts, no explanation is offered. Since this shortcoming can hardly be accidental, it must derive from some serious limitation in standard OT. If these considerations are true, this suggests that a general notion of some sort (e.g., a general constraint on divergence from an underlying item) is at work here and need be incorporated in OT. Finally, one could suggest that this constraint is a reflex of a general property of phonological systems, contrast, sometimes treated as an epiphenomenon in OT (see Kirshner 1995

for an example). We will leave this question open, pending further investigation.

4.5. Counterfeeding opacity in Somali lenition

Similar considerations are suggested by some other derivational problems we have already met in the foregoing discussion. One such case is Anti-syncope, discussed in (26) above, which occurs in words with a voiceless stop preceding the target vowel (e.g. *khatar* ‘danger’ → *khatarò* ‘dangers’, vs. *xarig* ‘rope’ → *xargò* ‘ropes’). Recall that, as far as syncope is concerned, an intervocal voiceless stop behaves like a geminate (cf. *xuddun* ‘navel’ → *xuddumò* ‘navels’), even if it undergoes reduction (i.e. reduction counterfeeds syncope).

In order to derive this result in a rule-based approach, it is sufficient to order Voiceless Geminate Stop Reduction after Syncope, as shown in (33) above (i.e. the derivation of, e.g., *khatarò*, ‘dangers’ is as follows: /khatar-ò/: 1.(SYNCOPE)→ n.a.; 2.(V.LESS GEM. STOP RED.)→ [khatarò]).

In a standard OT framework, the analysis of Anti-syncope does not follow straightforwardly. To show this, let us assume that the constraint responsible for vowel reduction in weak position is FT-BIN, requiring for a metrical foot to be binary. Since this constraint does not produce syllable structure violations, *C^{unsyll} (banning unsyllabified segments, as candidate (b) in tableau (56) below) must have a higher rank than FT-BIN, i.e. *C^{unsyll} >> FT-BIN. Moreover, in order to permit syncope to apply, FT-BIN must be ranked over MAX-V (= no vowel deletion), i.e. FT-BIN >> MAX-V. Finally, [ID(+long) & ID(+voi)] (non deletion of a geminate voiced stop) must outrank FT-BIN to prevent outputs such as [xud.mò], with geminate reduction, i.e. [ID(+long) & ID(+voi)] >> FT-BIN.

The resulting tableaux, integrated by the other relevant constraints already discussed above, are in (56) below, which represent the analyses of a word, respectively, without a preceding geminate (i), with a preceding voiced geminate (ii), and with a preceding voiceless geminate in the UR (iii):

i. /xarig-ò/	*C ^{max} _{OT} [ID(+long) & ID(+voi)]	LAZY ₁₄₇ [ID(+long) & ID(-voi)]	FT-BIN	MAX-V
a. xarigò			*	
b. → xargò				*

ii. /xuddumò/	*C ^{max} _{OT} [ID(+long) & ID(+voi)]	LAZY ₁₄₇ [ID(+long) & ID(-voi)]	FT-BIN	MAX-V
a. → xuddumò			*	
b. xud.d.mò	*!			*
c. xud.mò		*!		*

iii. /khattar-ò/	*C ^{max} _{OT} [ID(+long) & ID(+voi)]	LAZY ₁₄₇ [ID(+long) & ID(-voi)]	FT-BIN	MAX-V
a. khat.ta.rò		*!		*
b. khat.t.rò	*!	*		
c. kha.ta.rò			*	*!
d. *→khat.rò			*	*
e. khað.rò			**!	*

While the constraint hierarchy yields the right results for the first two forms, for forms with an underlying voiceless geminate stop it wrongly predicts **khatrò* to be the winner, instead of the extant form, *khatarò*.

It would be trivial to come out with a solution to this problem by positing a high ranking constraint prohibiting voiceless stops in syllable coda position. However, there are a couple of reasons to discharge this solution. The first is that, a bit ironically, such a constraint is the OT parallel to the crazy rule that was the starting motivation for this study: substituting a crazy rule with a crazy constraint does not seem a great improvement. The second reason is that assuming this *ad hoc* constraint would result in hocus-pocus phonology: the alleged “no

voiceless stop in syllable coda position” is the very candidate the OT analysis I have been trying to develop needs to prevent to win.

As a result, my assumption is that there is no solution in a standard OT approach to the Somali opacity problem induced by lenition in a counterfeeding relation with syncope, an instance of “underapplication opacity” (following the typology of opaque generalizations in Baković 2007).

Many proposals have been advanced in order to overcome this sort of problems. What they have in common, though, is that they adopt solutions that depart more or less significantly from the standard OT view of the architecture of the phonological component.

It goes beyond the purpose of this study to discuss these proposals (for which I refer the Reader to Anntila 2005). I will only remark that the essence of the problem is that in a form like *khatarò* the voiceless stop is phonologically ambiguous: it shows up at surface as a singleton, but it still behaves for some phonology as a geminate. This calls for some derivational history, as it is explicitly recognized by Stratal/Derivational OT, and in a more disguised manner in some more or less deviant OT analyses – e.g. Comparative Markedness theory (see McCarthy 2003), among others, on which some recent analyses of lenition have built (see Jacobs & van Gerwen 2009, to make an example).

5. Conclusions

In this final section I will try to sum up the results of the foregoing discussion. First of all, I have argued for an analysis of Somali stop voicing which is strikingly different from the traditional one, “stop voicing in syllable final position”. I have brought evidence that there is no such “crazy rule” in the grammar of Somali, the responsible of stop voicing being the familiar postvocalic voicing rule.

Secondly, I have shown that voicing is just part of a more

general phenomenon in the phonology of Somali, lenition, which results in a chain shift, determining a number of processes as different as voicing, spirantization, and geminate reduction.

Thirdly, I have discussed some theoretical issues related to the analysis of chain shifts, a well attested phenomenon among the languages of the world and in developmental phonology, arguing that both a rule-based approach and a constraint based approach are inadequate to give a full account of them, and suggesting that some general, systemic constraint, ultimately related to contrast, must be incorporated in the OT framework.

Finally, I have discussed an instance of underapplication opacity, whereby syncope fails to apply in expected contexts on the surface as a result of lenition in a counterfeeding relation. I argued that there is no principled account in a standard OT approach, and that the OT analyses that have been proposed to come to terms with opaque rules rely on some device that keeps track of information belonging to the underlying representation. This suggests that strict OT (flat derivation, parallel computation, richness of the base, constraints only) is not a plausible theory of the phonological component.

Notes

* I am more delighted than I can say to dedicate this paper to Annarita Puglielli, giving her back (a small amount of) what she has given me (generously) during all these years. Many thanks to Mara Frascarelli for the idea of this book (... and, of course!, her patience).

¹ For a sketchy description of the phonological system of Somali, see Cardona (1981), and Puglielli (1997). The examples mentioned in the following discussion are taken from a number of sources, but I owe specially to Saeed (1999).

² In fact, they are both and neither: they are prepositions incorporated in the so called Verbal Complex, i.e. head moved to the governing head, yielding the familiar mirror effect, and showing as postpositions in Phonetic Form (for an analysis of these and related facts, see Svolacchia & Puglielli 1999).

³ This has been expressed in at least a couple of ways: by means of an *implicational universal* (in OBSTRUENTS, [+voice] → [-voice]; see Jakobson

1941), or a constraint (*VOICED-OBSTRUENT, as in OT).

⁴ It is not our goal to give a full account of this work, which is richer than it might appear here, due to space limitation. Readers are referred to the original work.

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Section II

Essays on society and culture

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SOMALI FEMALE DOMESTIC WORKER'S SOCIAL AND HEALTH PROBLEMS IN ITALY

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1. Introduction

Migration from Somalia to Western European countries mainly started in the early 1970's during Siad Barre's regime (cf. websites [1], [2]). Most of them fled from this military dictatorship and ran for safety and for a better life in Europe, particularly in Italy where they had cultural ties. The majority of these immigrants were women from the big cities. They were mostly uneducated thus they started to work as domestic workers in Italy. Thereafter, they started to send money home to help their family members. This has attracted a great many more Somali women over time to immigrate to Italy and work as domestic-workers (*boyeeso*) particularly during the 1980's when the Somali political situation was deteriorating.

But the immigration of the Somalis became more dramatic in January 1991, after clan militia overthrew the military regime without a political program in place and as a consequence civil war broke out and the moral framework of society collapsed (cf. websites [3], [4]).

Since then hundreds of thousands of Somalis have been killed or died as a result of clan-warlords fighting as well as subsequent hunger and disease in both Somalia and in the refugee camps in neighbouring countries. Many more have drowned in the Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea while trying to reach safe refuge abroad. During the civil war, over a million Somalis migrated abroad to Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand as well as Middle East and Africa (cf. websites [5]-[10]).

The number of Somalis who lived in Italy early 1990's was estimated to be 20,000 (cf. [11]). The overwhelming majority of these were women. Data from ISTAT suggested that in December 1993 there were 10994 Somalis with residence permit ("permesso di soggiorno") of which 3954 were men against 7040 women (cfr. [12]). Many of these female immigrants who worked in Italy as domestic workers or family maids experienced restricted freedom, limited access to resources, racial discrimination, poor housing, isolation and the lack of interaction with local people due to mainly to language barriers and cultural differences. Some get lost between the two cultures, their own and the local one. Many others may not go along with the host social environment due to cultural and religious beliefs. Therefore, they have opted to create enclaves around the main Roma's railway station (Termini Station) and other Italian big cities. These hardships can combine with infections, unwanted pregnancies, alcohol and drug abuse (*khat* chewing), accidents, child care problems, violence and mental stress, all increasing the burden (Seminar Anonymous Report, 1990). Therefore, this study focuses on the exploration and description of Somali female domestic workers social and health problems in Italy. There have been

some gender-related studies focused on Somali women (cf. Aden *et al* 2004, Wiklund *et al* 2000 and an Anonymous Unpublished Report) however, we found a very few studies focused on the Somali females domestic workers in Italy (cf. [13]).

2. Method and Participants

A Cross-Sectional Survey with a standardized, semi-structured, open-ended and home-based questionnaire for individual interviews was designed (cf. Pope & Mays 2000, Patton 1990). The questionnaire was originally prepared in Somali then translated into English by the first author of this paper (Abdulaziz Sharif Aden). A total number of 43 study participants were successfully interviewed. With regard to the research participants residence area, 22 were from Rome, 12 from Milan and 9 from Padua. Since there was neither a list of their names nor their home addresses was not available for the sampling purpose of this study.

Thus, Abdulaziz Sharif Aden, in collaboration with Somali women friends, contacted all potential research participants with “rolling ball effect” in identifying the research subjects. The interviews took place September 2004. The questionnaire was tested with 7 women who inhabited in Rome and their interviews were incorporated to the 22 participants from Rome study.

Criteria for inclusion were being Somali, having been living in Italy for the last 12 months, working or having worked as a domestic worker in Italy, and willing to share her experiences with us on the issues of interest to this study.

2.1. Data management and ethical consideration

Almost all women who participated in this study were interviewed at their households however; there were 6 women who were interviewed at a friend’s place upon their request. The

reason for this was simply that they were staying with friends at that particular time, thus they asked the researcher to come there for their convenience and interview them. All potential research candidates that we approached were very positive and collaborative. The research participants were requested by the principal investigator ASA to participate in this research but only on their own free will, and they were told that they had the right to quit the interview any time they wished to do so. They were also informed that both data collected and the identities of interviewed participants would be kept strictly confidential.

The basic information collected from study participants included age, gender, education, civil status, profession, occupation, employment status, type of job activities, housing conditions, exile situation related problems (social, health, and economic problems); monthly income, years lived in Italy and type of residence possessed, maltreatment experienced in Italy and elsewhere or gendered experience. The principal investigator, Abdulaziz Sharif Aden, carried out all the research interviews with full assistance by madam Halima Mohamed Nur, co-author of this paper. Data collected was entered into an electronic database EpiInfo6 Version 6.04b 1997 (cf. Pope *et al* 1999). Data analysis, interpretation, and first draft report writing and its revision were shared by the all authors of this study.

3. Findings

The participants interviewed came from different regions of Somalia such as Somaliland, Puntland, Central regions, Middle Shabeelle, Lower Shabeelle, Bay region, Middle Jubba, and Lower Jubba as well as the neighbouring countries where a large ethnic Somali population live such as Djibouti, Ogaden of Ethiopia and the Eastern Regions of Kenya.

Looking at the educational background of the female domestic workers it was revealed that 16 out of the 43 women interviewed had been to intermediate school, 12 had been to secondary school, 7 had been to elementary school, another 7

never went to school and only 1 had university degree. Describing the civil status of the participants, it appeared that 18 were still married, 9 divorced, 5 were widowed, 9 were still single, and 2 were engaged.

With regard to the participant's residence situation, it was revealed that only 5 (who had been living in Italy between 12-32 years) had Italian citizenship, 15 had permanent residence ("carta di soggiorno"), 17 had a residence permit ("permesso di soggiorno"), 5 were without it and 1 had political asylum.

The main reason that these female immigrants came to Italy was, for 30, to get a job and avoid poverty; 13 came for other reasons such as to study, health reasons, for tourism, to forget abusive husband.

In describing their professional background, it appeared that 26 were housewives, 4 were secretaries, 3 were students and 10 comprised of other occupations such as nurses, heads of government offices, shopkeepers, basketball-players.

With regard to the research participant's ability to read and write Italian, 33 could not read and write Italian though they roughly understood it and spoke it; only 10 expressed that they could read and write Italian. When asked how they had learnt Italian, 35 stated that they had learnt by hook or by crook (by sheer determination from the street); only 8 stated that they had learnt it at school. A female research participant underlined the importance of knowing Italian for both communication and orientation reasons and she commented:

"... First it was very difficult to communicate with others due to a lack of knowledge of the Italian language, and then there was difficulty getting back home due to orientation problems".

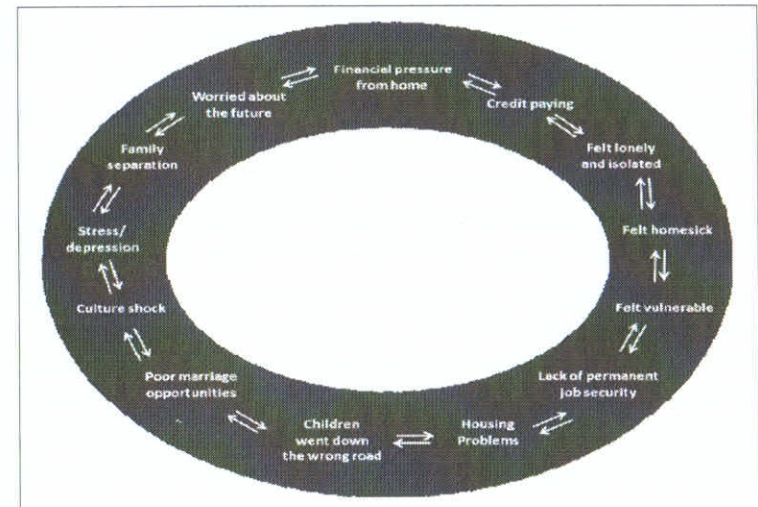
According to the participants the major socio-economic problems they had experienced in Italy were (in multiple responses): 40 had financial pressure from home (Somalia), 39 felt vulnerable, 38 felt loneliness and isolation, another 38 felt homesick, 29 lived with stress and depression, 30 were confronted with poor marriage opportunities, 32 experienced cul-

ture shock, 31 were very worried about their future, 29 were struggling pay back debts to Somali shop keepers and mobile vendors that they got in advance without paying items such as dresses, perfumes, gold accessories, and incense (Figure 1):

Table 1. Major socio-economical problems experienced by the female domestic-workers

<u>Major Socio-economical problems</u>	<u>Absolute figures</u>
Financial pressure from home	40
Credit paying	29
Felt lonely and isolated	38
Felt homesick	38
Felt vulnerable	39
Lack of permanent job security	25
Housing problems	21
Children went down the wrong road	3
Poor marriage opportunities	30
Culture shock	32
Stress/depression	29
Family separation	2
Worried about future	31

Figure 1. The cycle of major socio-economic problems experienced by the Somali female domestic workers in Italy



One of the women interviewed stated that she ended up in psychiatric hospital for treatment due to stress/depression (*islahadal*):

“... Due to stress and depression (*islahadal*) I was taken to psychiatric hospital by friends. After some treatment, I was transferred to another hospital where I stayed a total of two months”.

Regarding their present housing situation, only one female respondent out of the 43 women interviewed had her own apartment with a mortgage; 33 women lived in a room or an apartment that they had found through mainly the help of Somali friends; 9 women had used other channels to find a place to live. A common comment that we heard from many respondents was that:

“... renting a room or an apartment is a very difficult matter. First of all, most of the time it is not available to us due to we being strangers in the eyes of house renters or owners. Secondly, the rent is very expensive considering our monthly salary. For instance, monthly rent of one bed (sharing a room with another woman) in Rome costs around € 350; and the rent of one room (sharing services with others) costs between € 450 and 500 per month”.

In addition, they complained that since the introduction of the Euro, prices for shelter, foodstuffs, clothing, gas, electricity and so forth have been going up incredibly but their salary has remained as the same as when they were employed.

Enquiring the type of work contract they possessed, it emerged that only one woman out of 43 had a permanent job; 20 had a regular fulltime flexible or precarious job, 7 had a regular part-time precarious job, another 7 had irregular part-time job, 2 had an irregular full-time job, 2 were unemployed, 4 were pensioners. In examining the type of employment the participants had, it revealed that 27 out of the 43 women research participants were domestic workers, 8 were elderly-care assistants, 8 comprised of other occupations (such as baby sitter, stretch bearer, office cleaner, pensioner and factory worker). Turning to the female domestic workers' monthly salary, it was

revealed that 6 out of the 43 participants received a monthly salary ranging between € 140-390, 16 received € 450-690, 14 received of € Euro 700-900, only 4 received monthly earnings of € 1000 or little bit more, and 3 were unemployed.

Assessing the participants' opinion on the status of the female domestic worker job, it appeared that 28 out of 43 had a low opinion and they qualified their own position as “forced by the circumstances”, 4 even went further and described it as “exploitation”, although 11 did qualify it as “good” as they get from it their living. Somalis often have a low opinion about the status of the job of a domestic worker. A female respondents gave the following quotations and complained about the indignation surrounding the job of the female domestic worker:

“... female domestic worker's job is tedious. It is very bad when the maid assists an old and very heavy lady or man”.

When enquired the interviewed women experience of indent behaviour committed by their employers; it was found (multiple responses) that 21 out of the 43 female domestic workers' reported to have personally experienced yelling, 11 experienced humiliation, 9 experienced verbal insults, and 16 experienced troublesome behaviour from their employers. The discriminatory terminology and segregation expressions experienced by the women interviewed were: “you nigger get out of my home”; “you cannot sit on my sofa as you are coloured”; “you black, you cannot use my cups”; “nigger, you are wild”; “You nigger, we civilized you”.

A respondent commented on the behaviour of some male employers in the following statement:

“When the man employer wants to have a sexual relationship with you, he tries to kiss you, he comes into your room almost naked while his wife is away or she is in the toilet, and puts money on your bed. Sometimes he waits for you outside his home when you are setting off on your off- days and offers a lift. If you do not comply with his wishes then he starts to shout at you saying the shirts are badly ironed, the food is full of salt, the toilet is not cleaned properly. When he sees you becoming nervous because you do not

want to lose your job, then he is back to encircling one and giving you a lot of excuses and hugs and some money. He often concludes, I do not want to dismiss you but I want you to understand me.' Thus, he lays down his black-mail and dirty-tricks".

Information on physical accidents experienced while at work at their employer's place, revealed that 31 out of 41 women interviewed reported "Yes" they had experienced physical accidents, and 10 had not experienced any and 2 were missing. Among those who reported to have had experienced physical accidents, 22 of them were women who worked as family maids performing activities such as cleaning, cooking, ironing and lifting heavy household furniture and similar items. The physical accidents experienced by female research participants were (in multiple responses): 20 out of 41 experienced burning, another 20 experienced eye, hands and body irritation caused by caustic substances, 17 reported breathing problems after handling caustic substances, 13 women experienced a nasty fall which resulted in injuries, and 3 experienced other accidents such as knee injury and miscarriage resulting from employer aggression. A woman interviewed described in the following quotation the tragic experience she went through after a nasty fall while washing her employer's office floor:

"I slipped and fell down while I was washing the floor at my workplace and I was taken to the hospital where I remained for 3 months due to a head injury. I am still continuously taking a follow up treatment for that accident which took place in 2002".

Another female maid complained about her suffering after she had handled caustic substances in the following quotation:

"... I went to hospital after handling caustic substances; first I was treated then I was given one month of rest to recover".

The Somali immigrant women sometimes get together and socialize, particularly when they organize a party for female friends who come from Canada, the United States of America, Britain and Northern Europe as well as Australia, and else-

where. They also meet and socialize when there are marriage opportunities, which involve their Somali followers. During these occasions they often dance and sing Somali songs and poems are written by some of them. These poems often reflect the Somali immigrants' sense of their own exile situation.

Major health problems reported (in multiple responses) by the respondents were workload related symptoms: 25 women out of 43 mentioned backache and foot ache due to workload and stress, 14 of them mentioned menstrual pain due to female genital mutilation (FGM) but aggravated dramatically by working in a standing-up position for many hours daily, 8 mentioned headache due to mainly to magic rites known in Somalia like (*zar*, *borane*, *sharax*), and 5 stated they did not know.

According to the women interviewed the types of medical and traditional treatment experienced in Italy were (in multiple responses): 8 women used traditional folk treatment, 20 women experienced *Qur'an* (Quran) healing, 40 women experienced modern medicine, and one young female never experienced any treatment in Italy. The traditional folk treatments experienced by the respondents include drinking milk or water with powdered black pepper or ginger or herbs (*xabatu-zowda*) or roots from trees (*diinsi*). These folk treatments are used as painkillers in general but in particular against menstrual pain. However, the side effects of these substances are unknown. Other traditional treatments experienced by the research participants were *zar*-type magic rites. The respondents expressed to have practiced the *zar*-type magic rites after they were possessed by evil-spirits (*jinni*). The processes of *zar*-type treatment consist of drums, group dance, incense fumigation and use of perfumes.

4. Discussion

The data that we discuss here is from the Somali immigrant women in Italy who resided in Rome, Padua and Milan. The general outline of the understanding of the Somali female

domestic workers' social and health problems in Italy is in general the same. Many of them have provided descriptions that may help improve our understanding of people's definition of their social situation according to their cultural meanings, experiences, social and power relations.

The meeting between Somali female domestic workers and their Italian employers in Italy was a multicultural event from the perspective of the former. Thus, the present study disclosed some interesting and relevant findings with regard to social, health, cultural, gender and communication problems. These Somali females were a homogenous group concerning their cultural identity, characteristics of immigration, and motives for exile. Though they came from different social and demographic backgrounds, their experiences, feelings and modes of expression were an indication that the internalised norms from their home culture are challenged by the Italian norm system and socio-cultural environment. Thus, they are confronted by a large amount of foreign attitudes, behaviours and basic values transmitted by different Italian actors and actresses in different sections of Italian society.

These research participants expressed that there have been a bewildering and immense array of culture shocks, and communication barriers with Italian people who they worked with and interacted with on a daily basis. A woman participant described in the following quotation the cultural shocks she had experienced in Italy:

"... There were some men with red lipstick on their lips and dressed like women called homosexuals; other men with body piercing and their hair tied in a pony-tail; naked women on television; people who kissed unhindered in the streets, and the snow fall were all terrifying cultural shocks!"

Somalis can be described as a traditional society and often everybody respects those who are older than themselves by calling him/her an appropriate title such as sister, brother, uncle, aunt, grandmother, grandfather and so forth. One of the female respondents complained that she had received a dis-

crimatory reply when out of respect she had called her elderly woman employer 'grandmother'. She commented:

"... Once I worked for an elderly lady employer and I used to call her 'grandmother' out of respect, but sadly she used to reply, 'how can you call me grandmother as my grandchildren are white skin coloured!'"

Another respondent was shocked when she saw her employers grieving desperately for the death of their dog, because in Somali culture dogs are religiously considered impure animals and are therefore not respected, and it is forbidden to touch them or keep them. She commented:

"I was shocked with disbelief when one day I assisted my employers, who were an elderly couple and grieving tragically for the death of their dog. However, their sorrow was so moving that they made me cry myself!"

In the eyes of Bauman's (1993) analysis of *the stranger* as well as the host country people's perspective, the Somalis can be considered as strangers. These women being immigrants and seen as a burden and culturally unfitting, had to endure all negativity that is associated with them as new immigrants in Italy. This contrasted sharply with the fact that many of these women had come from middle class families and had had comfortable lives in their home country. However, this study's findings demonstrated that they arrived here with very limited work experience, limited language skills, no education and with a background of a lifetime of gendered segregation experience.

These female immigrants who worked in Italy as domestic workers or family maids experienced restricted freedom, limited access to resources, discrimination, lack of permanent job security and poor housing, isolation, lack of respect for their basic human rights, and the lack of interaction with local people due to mainly language barriers and cultural differences. Some of these women remain totally at the mercy of their employers if they lack immigration status. Most of them are facing a highly gendered labour market and in practice they are

exploited and even working as cleaners and doing other humiliating jobs. Some of them face sexual harassment and abuse by employers. Some of them are highly dependent and vulnerable to those who can hire and fire them at will. Working in this semi-feudal conditions and lack of regulations for this sector is downgrading the human rights of these female domestic workers.

In Somalia, among the many things that the civil war left as scars on Somalis are changes in the role of women. In traditional Somali culture men are known as the sole breadwinners of families; they are supposed to provide the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing for members of their families. But when the civil war erupted in the breakaway republic of Somaliland in late 1988, and in Somalia in January 1991, women's roles in the family and in the society changed for the worst. On top of grave social injustices like cultural, economic and legal discrimination as well as disinheritance, FGM practice, polygamy, domestic violence and illiteracy suffered by Somali women, most of them were forced to assume the harder economic role of providing for basic family needs. This new turnaround was necessitated by several factors that included deaths of their spouses due to the war, widespread use and abuse of *khat* a stimulant chewed by most men in Somalia, displacement and divorce (cfr. [14]).

We observed during the field work that many Somali women and men in Italy practice chewing the green-leaves of *Catha Edulis* Plant (*khat* or *chaat* or *qaad*) (cfr. [15]), whilst socializing and or trying to kill their evening time. Nencini et al (1989) reported earlier on the *khat* chewing of the Somali community in Rome.

Cathione (Scientific name of *khat*) is illegal in Italy (see the "Tabelle contenenti l'indicazione delle sostanze stupefacenti e psicotrope e relative preparazioni". Decreto Ministeriale 27 07/1992 - G.U. n. 189, August 12th 1992), like many other European countries, the United States of America and Canada. *Khat* is a natural stimulant and its effects include euphoria, extreme talkativeness, and inane laughing. Adverse side effects

can include dizziness, heart problems and anxiety. Other names for the drug include Abyssinian tea, *mirraa* and African salad.

Figure 2. Bundles of *Catha edulis* plants ready to be sold and chewed (Source [15])



Khat is a social enigma in Somalia (cfr. Odenwald et al 2005, Elmi 1983 and [16]). It is firmly associated with the following negative social aspects: family disintegration, high crime rate, waste resources, health risks. Many Somalis chew this psycho-stimulant for pleasure and while socializing at the expense of not only family resources but it is also cited as a cause of sexual violence which threatens the well-being of women and their security. A 24 year-old *khat* seller and mother with a family of 5 members in Somalia eloquently said in the following statement:

"... This is a paradox, because I earn my income from selling the same item whose effect is threatening my safety. I know it's bad but I feel I haven't got a choice. My husband is unemployed. He chews khat regularly and I have been supporting his habit for the past one and half years. Because of the limited profit I gain from selling khat, sometimes I can't afford to cover the food expenses for the family let alone buy his drug. But rarely does he understand our predicament, often accusing me of lying, becoming quite violent towards me, and taking the little hard-earned money that I have by force."

Both voluntary and forced migration may cause adverse

health condition due to administrative obstacles to care, a lack of awareness about available services, the stress of migration resulting from cultural shock, linguistic and cultural barriers, and the inferior social status of women. In fact these female domestic workers are experiencing a psycho-social process of loss and change that is known in the psychiatry of migration as a grief process. Financial pressure to send money to their extended family, unemployment and economic instability, socio-cultural and racial discrimination, and lack of immigration status eventually will contribute mental health problems. We did not examine specifically the psycho-social problems of these female domestic workers. Therefore, it is paramount important to design and launch a psychosocial study in the near future with regard of both women and men domestic workers in Italy from different countries. The following quotation highlights an interviewed woman's testimonial ordeal and why she ran away from Somalia:

"I mainly came here to forget jealousy, physical and emotional abuse resulting from my abusive husband who is still refusing to divorce me despite the fact that I have lived here in Italy for more than 14 years. He tried to blackmail me with a conditional offer in exchange for a divorce: if I give him a lot of money, he would agree to divorce me"

Another relevant research question for the future is to investigate the dynamics and interaction between the domestic workers from different nations or ethnic groups who roughly speak and understand the Italian language, and who are not trained to assist and handle a wheel-chair bound elderly woman or man who amongst others cannot defend themselves and express themselves properly. In this regard one has to bear in mind that Italy has the highest ageing population in the world thus need to rely the migrant work force to do jobs that the Italians do not want to do.

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[Note that, unfortunately, the links indicated in [2], [5], [7], [11], [13] and [16] are not online any longer. Nevertheless, we have decided to mention them in order to keep a record of their former existence].

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Milena Bandiera

WESTERN SCIENCE: A CASE OF TRANSCULTURAL UNIVERSITY PROPAEDEUTICS

UNIVERSITY OF ROMA TRE

1. The general problem

Many countries are today discovering a need for teaching approaches that respond to a student population made up of diverse cultural backgrounds. The issue is complex and, for that reason, has mainly been the object of attention concerning education programmes carried out in international or inter-ethnic contexts, and of what is known as “dependency theory”.

Emerging within the context of comparative education, this theory describes the risk of assimilationist education policies, i.e. of the adoption of practices that allow the dominant class (the “haves” over the “have nots”, the centre over the periphery, hegemonic over dependent) to reproduce the set of values and system of stratification that marks its continued supremacy (Eckstein & Noah 1985). Thus education becomes the active reproducer in learner peoples of those values, attitudes and skills best suited to serve the interests of the dominant group (Bowles & Gintis 1976). This is especially evident in the case of science education, since it is broadly acknowledged that scientific activity – its forms, intentions and priorities – tends to reflect specific world views and their associated value outlooks (Lacey 2007).

This risk has been recognised in situations in which the cultures encountering one another are not – or do not wish to be – in competition; emblematic are cases of the scholastic integration of immigrants and of targeted formation, e.g. science edu-

cation, in countries where other “sciences” are cultivated and practised.

In Europe a scenario of non-antagonistic cultural encounter was ushered in with political developments (the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the expansion of the European Union), and subsequent migrations from Africa and the Orient. The primary and predominant response could be defined as ingenuous and, indeed, has consisted of raising the linguistic literacy of those “foreigners” for the purpose of giving them to access “ordinary” education. Instead, sector research suggests that it is necessary to practice a sort of interculturalism, starting at the primary school level: an education founded on the ideas of negotiation between cultures that respects the individuals and all cultures, and of mapping out an itinerary leading primarily to mutual understanding and, consequently, to true integration, ensuring that learning is meaningful by rooting it in learners’ own knowledge and experience systems (Coulby 2006).

The task is especially difficult in the situations cited since teachers generally have no knowledge of or means of understanding learners’ cultural backgrounds, and have to teach them in a language different to their native tongue. Analysing the real needs presented by students from diverse language backgrounds, linguist David Corson (2001) authoritatively maintains that children should have the right to learn in a language similar to what is spoken in their homes, and cites effective communication as necessary for creating the conditions by which learners integrate what they learn into their baggage of meaningful and useable personal knowledge.

The communication problem worsens when it comes to teaching adult learners disciplinary specifics in contexts outside the epistemological framework that generated them, and it therefore becomes fundamental to seek out the views and interests of those whose language, lives, and social arrangements provide the focus of any study undertaken. Teachers are advised to be sensitive to the details of the context, and to make

the most of assessment as a tool for monitoring whether learners are actually learning what they are teaching.

In reality, since all communication in a foreign language is intercultural, in the contexts cited the teachers would do well to put themselves in a position to encourage the acquisition of “intercultural competence”, which always implies “communicative competence” (Sercu 2004).

2. The Somalia experience

It has been amply demonstrated that for the vast majority of non-Western students, attempts to enculturate them into Western science are experienced as assimilation into a foreign culture (Aikenhead 2002). Indeed, African universities have been accused of perpetuating cultural dependency despite their record of promoting African nationalism and political independence (Mazrui 1975). It is not surprising, then, that while founding the National University of Somalia (UNS), the Somali government decreed the introduction of Western cultural models (Western scientific topics, a Western conception of university, Western-style university degrees), and chose Italian as the official academic language (teaching and didactic materials were in Italian), so as to ensure the broadest international return on its investment.

For this purpose, in the context of a joint Italia Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Rome “La Sapienza” University convention, a multi-disciplinary research group designed and tested a special preparatory semester in Italian language for those intending to enroll in a science faculty (Serra Borneto 1981), followed by a second propaedeutic “linguistic-cultural” semester (Tedeschini Lalli & Bandiera 1988).¹ This latter assigned disciplinary courses the task not only of verifying and consolidating very fundamental concepts (content knowledge), but also of introducing the student to the specific disciplinary logic and methodology (process skills). Basic skills were exercised, such as learning from a textbook, meta-cognition and testing

personal understanding and knowledge, the use of textbooks for studying, formulating and solving problems according to a logical sequence, reading of images (photos, charts, tables), reading and use of symbols and formulas, observation and description of the features of objects and events, and the construction and use of models and analogies.

A wide range of tests, presented in the form of exercises in the text of the study (Bandiera *et al.* 1989), allowed researchers and teachers to gather information *in itinere* on the cognitive style, learning habits and abilities of the Somali student, his motivations and expectations, specific fore-knowledge, general behaviour and everyday experiences, and to assess the effectiveness of the teaching project (Bandiera & Serra Borneto 1994). These tests, which were called “curricular”, and more traditional ones administered at the start and finish of the semester were a continuous and reliable source of data acquisition and analysis and project-related hypotheses useful for revising teaching materials for regular university activity in support of logistical organisation, teacher training materials and educational methodology.

Without underestimating data indicating very limited and circumscribed disciplinary skills, of the elements that emerged from analysis of test performance – and that were confirmed year after year – three stood out as highly significant (Bandiera 2008). These had to do both with information that it was necessary to consider in order to comply with the Somali government’s mandate, and with clues regarding primary aspects, or deriving from the indigenous culture, that constituted obstacles in the transcultural process to be carried out. In the first place, the conflict between living habits (in particular, resistance to confronting problems in the absence of any reference to real life and lived experience, and to the practical relevance of explanations and solutions) and Somali students’ willingness to embrace problematic situations aimed at testing their disciplinary skills. The most outstanding example was students’ refusal to take a position on the classic test of assessing and

comparing the relative effort exerted by two separate persons holding a car in place on an incline (Watts & Zylbersztajn 1981). Their refusal was based on the fact that “there are no hills in Somalia” or on the possibility of “placing a stone behind the wheels to keep the car from rolling backward”. This result points to the differences in logic, rationality and scope underlined by R. Horton (1967) when comparing Western science and African mythology.

The second element of interference can be identified in the shifts in meaning resulting from the superimposition of the semantic area of a Somali term over the Italian term considered its closest translation. The most vivid and representative case was associated with the Somali term for “distance”, which was synonymous with the terms “route” and “journey”, the consequences of which will be mentioned below.

Finally, scholastic conventions – i.e. that series of features marking student performance and behaviour, being different and not comparable to those of Italian students – ran the risk compromising both the Italian teacher/Somali student relationship as well as the quality of the learning results. Other important considerations include the habit, cultivated in Koranic schools, of memorising without understanding, along with a broad range of unexpected difficulties associated with identifying and using the spaces provided in texts and questionnaires for elaborating data and representing the significant features of the figures, perceiving and reproducing – a Westerner might say, respecting – the qualitative and quantitative features of considered objects.

Even though twenty years have passed since the traumatic interruption of the experience in Somalia, it is legitimate to consider the results of the experimentation conducted for the purpose of building a bridge between Somali secondary schools and Italian university, as useful in mapping out effective scholastic itineraries in the situations of intercultural encounter currently under way in the Italian school system.

A concrete opportunity is offered by the results of the final

questionnaire administered at the end of the last linguistic-cultural semester at UNS. Precisely for the purposes of assessing the project's efficacy, eleven of the items of the initial questionnaire were repeated on the test at the end of the semester.² Comparison was entirely legitimate since students had not been given the results of the initial questionnaire, nor had the items been further illustrated to or discussed with the students. It would therefore be possible to evaluate both their willingness to carry out the task, i.e. their degree of familiarity with it, as well as what specific skills had been acquired or strengthened over the course of the semester. As a result of the research project's sudden suspension, however, the data were never collected, much less analysed.³ Finally note that, in the following sections, the translation into English of the Italian expressions the students used does its best to recreate their errors and distortions:

3. The data

3.1. Perception and use of graphic space

The item presented in fig.1 intends to test both the ability to analyse and take apart the complex figure, as well as the ability to reproduce the elementary figures identified within it.

Willingness to take the test increases (from 83.6% at the start of the semester to 94.8% at the end). The average number of figures drawn rises from 6.2 on the initial questionnaire to 8.9 on the final one; the average number of dimensionally correct figures from 1.9 to 4.8.

While recognising the acquisition of a certain degree of familiarity with the graph paper and with basic plane geometry shapes, it is impossible to miss the tendency to disregard measurements – “count the squares” – in the reproduction of the shapes, 46.5% of which do not match the model (examples in fig. 1) or are sketchily drawn (examples in fig. 2); the problem worsens with shapes “composed” of two or more elementary

shapes (fig. 3): only 38% of trapezoids and 23% of scalene triangles are correctly reproduced.

Fig. 1. “The shape drawn in the graph area below is clearly a complex one, containing many geometric shapes. Draw all the shapes you are able to single out”. Out of 20 geometrical shapes drawn by the student, 5 dimensionally match the ones “located” in the complex shape (left).

Fig. 2. “9” drawn geometrical shapes: only one dimensionally matches the ones “located” in the complex shape (right)

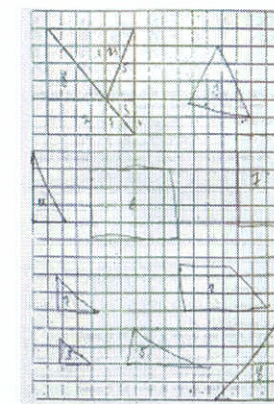
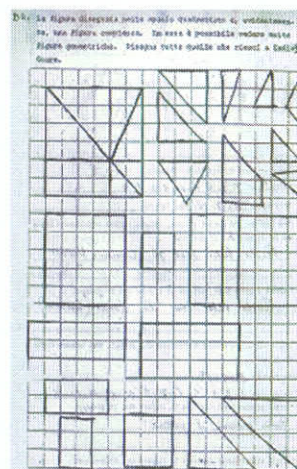
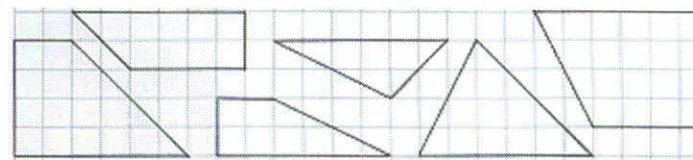


Fig. 3. The complex shape includes 25 elementary shapes. The “simple” ones are 3 squares, 6 rectangles, 8 right triangles. There are also 6 trapezoids and 2 scalene triangles drawn at left.



3.2. Process skills

What is known as a scientific attitude refers, first and foremost, to the adoption of rigorous processes in the examination

of objects and events, and of exhaustive argumentation in the presentation and maintenance of positions taken. The related skill is tested in the item presented in fig. 4.

Fig. 4. "Examine two containers, A and B, that are filled with water. Choose the correct assertion from among the following:
 - A contains more water than B
 - A and B contain the same quantity of water
 - A contains less water than B
 How did you make your decision?"

"A and B contain the same water because A is longer of B but B is wider of A and so B is wide as A is long."

Osserva i due recipienti A e B che sono pieni di acqua.

Tra le seguenti affermazioni scegli quella vera.

A contiene più acqua di B.

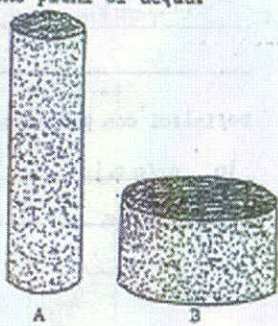
A e B contengono la stessa quantità di acqua.

A contiene meno acqua di B.

Come hai fatto a decidere?

A e B contengono la stessa acqua.

Perche A è più lunga da B ma B è più spazioso da A e così B è ampio quando A è lungo.



Willingness to take a position is high and remains steady (94.4% at the start of the semester, 93.6% at the end). The dominant answer has it that A and B contain the same amount of water: "Recipiente A è lungo in alto, invece B è largo in basso." ("Container A is long up, while B is wide down"). The increase in correct answers (A contains less water than B) is minimal (from 30.9 to 36.4%), while willingness to explain rises considerably (from 76.4 to 92.9%). At the end of the


semester, approximately half of the explanations are not meaningful: "Ho deciso che B è più grande di A." ("I decided that B is bigger than A"), "Ho fatto a decidere che A e B contengono la stessa quantità di acqua perché sono pieni." ("I made to decide that A and B contain the same amount of water because they are full."). Rare are references to radius (4.3%) or calculations of volume (1.3%): "Se vediamo i raggi dei due recipienti troviamo che il raggio di B è quasi doppio di quello di A: possono essere uguali solo perchè l'altezza di A è 4 volte più di B. Come si vede non è così." ("If we look at the radii of the two containers we find that the radius of B is almost double that of A: they can be equal only because the height of A is 4 times B. As we can see it is not.")

3.3. Spatial orientation

The iconoclastic aspect of Islamic culture, and the recent acquisition of the written language and, consequently, of reading verbal and iconic texts, have impacted negatively on Somali students' ability to glean information from images (drawings and photos). The task in fig. 5 could be completed by mentally rotating the cube, as well as by opening it up, in order to mark each of its faces: this appeared to be more doable at the semester's end.

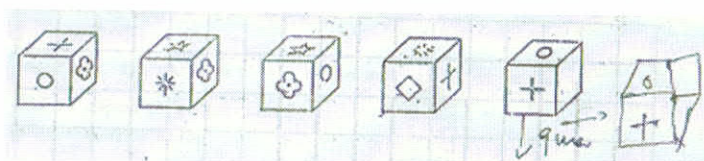
Fig. 5. "Carefully examine the die drawn below. It is the same one in each figure, only its position changes. Decide which symbol should be drawn on the blank side and draw it."

A 2. Osserva attentamente il dado disegnato qui sotto. E' sempre lo stesso, cambia solamente la sua posizione. Individua la figura che deve trovarsi sulla faccia vuota e disegnalala.



Attempts to respond rise from 35.6 to 65.2%, but forms of approach appear inadequate for the most part (fig. 6), and the increase in meaningful and correct responses among those who do the task is very limited (from 18.8 to 26.3%).

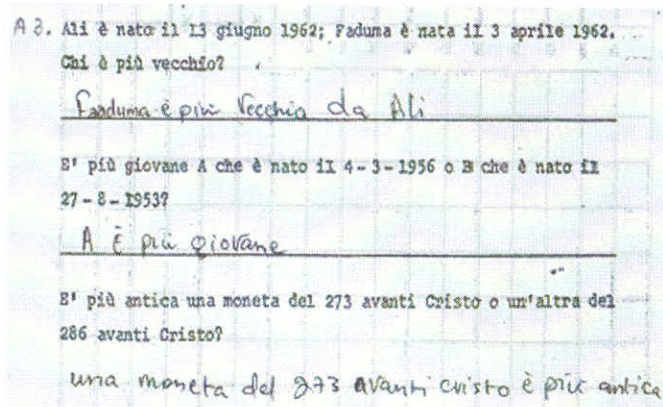
Fig. 6. An attempt at finding the solution that helps realize the difficulty both in understanding the task and in completing it ("here")



3.4. Temporal orientation

A basic skill that is believed to be acquired at a very young age and that is not subject to ethnic/cultural interference. Indeed, the related test (fig. 7) is considered easily accessible, and approximately 99% of the students do it both at the start and at the end of the semester.

Fig. 7. "Ali was born on June 13, 1962; Faduma was born on April 3, 1962. Who is older?" "Faaduma is older than Ali." "Who is younger, A who was born on 4/3/1956, or B who was born on 27/5/ 1953?" "A is younger." "Is a coin from 273 before Christ older than one from 286 before Christ?" "A coin of 273 before Christ is older."



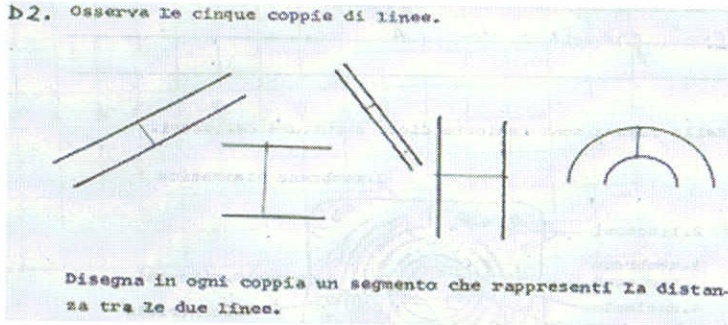
Comparison within the same year of birth is frequently correct (from 70.0 to 83.5%). Nevertheless the idea remains strong that Ali and Faduma are the same age, a notion either expressed categorically or implied: "Se misuriamo i mesi Faduma è più vecchia, altrimenti sono stessa età." ("If we measure months, Faduma is older, otherwise they are same age"). Success rates drop suddenly in the comparison of dates in the period before the birth of Christ: 64.1% correct answers at the start of the semester and 27.5% at the end. Only one student in five correctly answers all three questions.

3.5. Awareness of intercultural status

This is not a canonical skill, but it is a crucial one. It signals the student's becoming conscious of acting in a different educational context than he/she is accustomed to, and of his/her ability to distinguish the semantic area of the terms adopted in didactic communication – and not only in specialised lexicons – from those of the terms that translate them in the mother tongue.

The first year the task shown in fig. 8 (where it is correctly answered) was given, it was possible to ascertain two negative consequences of such awareness. A large number of students drew transversal line segments instead of the expected perpendicular ones, explaining this choice in later exploratory interviews as a reference to "real" distances (e.g. between the banks of the Shebeli river) and to the "real" route dictated by the current's drift or to the need to shorten the route. Others, students that had drawn a line linking all the line pairs admitted having made reference to the meaning of the Somali term for the word "distance", which also encompasses the idea of a walk or a journey; at the same time they admitted not knowing specific Somali terms within the framework of geometry (Bandiera 2009).

Fig. 8. "Examine the five pairs of lines. Draw a line segment in each pair that represents the distance between the two lines."



After attending the semester activities students' willingness to take the test rises considerably (from 55.2 to 89.8%) as does their correct performance (from 41.3 to 67.9%).

Nevertheless, signs of puzzlement associated with their still poor understanding of the task at hand persist, ranging from the unjustifiable completion of the semicircles to the drawing of random segments in the page space below (8%), partial or total reproduction of the pairs in the page space below (13%), or the explicit declaration: "Non capisco questa domanda." ("I do not understand this question.")

Frequently (from 70.3 to 20.2%) they draw line segments at the extremes of each pair to "close" the space between the lines, for which no plausible explanation emerges: "Tutti sono chiusi perchè ha detto scegli la strada giusta. Grazie." ("All are closed because he said choose the right way. Thanks").

Statistically negligible, on the other hand, are some semester-end performances that could, nevertheless, be considered emblematic: there are the occasional "intentional" diagonal (not to be attributed to poor graphic dexterity) or continuous route (fig. 9).

Fig. 9. Adaptation of the figure and cancellation of the distances previously drawn in order to join the pairs by a single line, path, route.

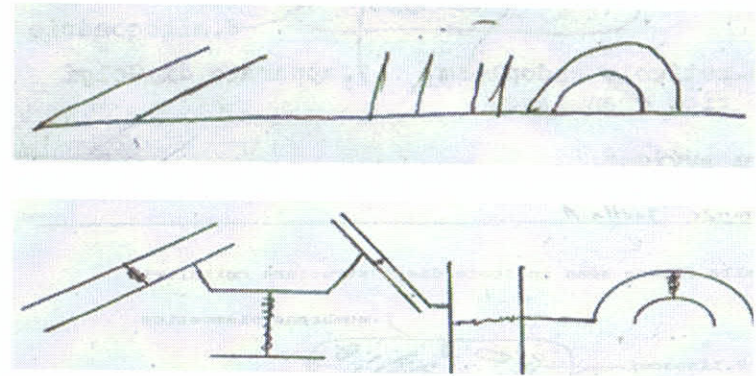
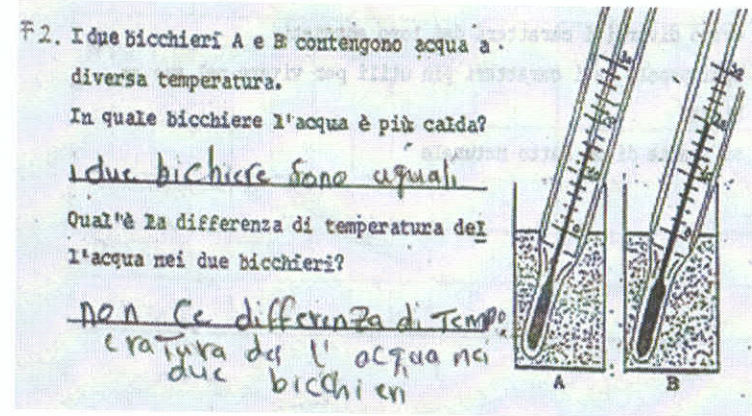


Fig. 10. "The two glasses A and B contain water at a different temperature. In which glass is the water warmer?" "The two glasses are equal." "What is the temperature difference between the water in the two glasses?" "There is no temperature difference from the water in the two glasses" Linguistic skill also influences performances on a test that makes strict reference to Physics skills.



At both the beginning and the end of the semester approximately 90% of the students are willing to do this task. As regards "summary" measurement, i.e. comparing thermometer

temperatures, the correct answer (B) is more frequent in the second semester (from 79.1 to 89.2%), but a noteworthy difficulty in taking an “exact” reading is witnessed by the range of errors in calculating the difference: 0, 0.5, 2, 5, 5.5, 6, 7, 7.5, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20 (50.5% total).

Moreover, the second task is interpreted as meaning “What is the difference between the two glasses” (32%): “La differenza è più caldo, meno caldo.” (“*The difference is more hot, less hot.*”), “La differenza nei due bicchieri è la loro temperatura non è uguale: uno più caldo, l’altro non è più caldo.” (“*The difference in the two glasses is their temperature is not the same: one more hot, the other is not more hot*”), “Uno è caldo, l’altro meno caldo.” (“*One is hot, the other less hot*”).

3.6. Disciplinary skills - Physics

The test is a classic, elementary exercise requiring the application of a basic formula of kinematics:

Fig. 11. “If a car travels at a speed of 80 kilometres per hour, how long will it take to cover 200 kilometres?” “ $v_0 = 80 \text{ km/h}$; $t = ?$; $\Delta s = 200 \text{ km}$; $t = \Delta s/v$; $200 \text{ km} / 80 \text{ km/h} = 2.5 \text{ h}$; $t = 2.5 \text{ h}$ ” “Define speed in words or with a formula.” “*The speed is the ratio between the space covered and the time interval spent for cover it. $v = \Delta s / \Delta t$* ”

F.1. Se un'automobile viaggia a una velocità di 80 chilometri all'ora, quanto tempo impiega a percorrere 200 chilometri?

$v_0 = 80 \text{ km/h}$
 $t = ?$ $t = \frac{\Delta s}{v}$ $\frac{200 \text{ km}}{80 \text{ km/h}} = 2.5 \text{ h}$
 $\Delta s = 200 \text{ km}$ $t = 2.5 \text{ h}$

Definisci con parole o con una formula la velocità.

La velocità è il rapporto tra lo spazio percorso e l'intervallo di tempo impiegato per percorrerlo.

$v = \frac{\Delta s}{\Delta t}$

Their attendance of the physics course seems to have impacted on students' willingness to do the task (from 86.4 to 97.4%), both in their use of the formula and on the correct resulting calculation in 77.8% of responses (compared with 34.7% at the start of the semester). Persistent errors (15.4%) mainly concern the inversion of the terms of the fraction ($t = v/s$, or $80/200$, thus $t = 0.4$) and the transformation of the result of the application of the formula “2.5h”, in hours and minutes (150 s, 2 hours and 30 sec, 2h 5m, 3 hours and 3 sec, 1449 sec, 0.041 min...). Errors are also recorded in ways of applying the formula (200 km: 80 Km/h), which mostly leads to a confused simplification of measurement units and, consequently, to expressing the result not in *h* but in *km*, *km²* and *km/h* (2.5%).

Correct speed formulas rise from 29.1 to 67.7%. Peculiar and thought-provoking are nearly half of the verbal definitions recorded at the end of the semester: “La velocità è movimento di un oggetto che impiega tempo.” (“*Speed is movement of an object that employs time.*”), “La velocità è movimento di un oggetto cioè diverse posizioni che l’oggetto occupato nello spazio durante il moto.” (“*Speed is movement of an object, that is, various positions the object occupied in space during the motion.*”), “Se un'automobile viaggia si dice aumentata la sua velocità.” (“*If a car travels it is said increased its speed.*”), “La velocità è distanza con spiaggia da Mogadiscio a Afgoi.” (“*The speed is distanced with beach from Mogadiscio to Afgoi.*”), “Velocità è quantità che raggiunge un'automobile luogo lui vuole raggiungere.” (“*Speed is amount a car has to reach place he want to reach*”).

3.7. Disciplinary skills: Biology

Two tests: the first (fig. 12) is typically “notionistic”.

A full 97.9% of the students do the task (as compared with the 66.4% at the start).

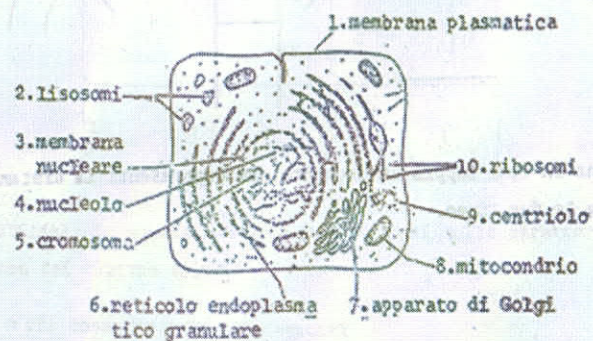
Compared with results at the start (32.5%) 93.9% of the students correctly locate cell respiration in the “mitochondrion”

cited in the figure. The increase in correct responses is lower (from 36.1 to 53.3%) for nucleic acid synthesis: the figure is lacking the classic “nucleus”, which, nevertheless, the students cite frequently (24.3%). They correctly opt for “chromosome” (27.9%) or else are deceived by assonant terms indicated in the figure: “nucleolus” (28.3%) and the “nuclear” attribute associated with “membrane”.

Compared with an initial 21.7%, 75.7% of students correctly locate protein synthesis (“ribosomes” – 68.6% – and “endoplasmic reticulum” – 5.5 – cited in the figure). The choice of “lisosomes” (6.1%) is to be attributed to its assonance with “ribosomes”.

Fig. 12. “Ten cell structures are shown in the figure: 1. plasmatic membrane, 2. lysosomes, 3. nuclear membrane, 4. nucleolus, 5. chromosome, 6. rough endoplasmic reticulum, 7. Golgi apparatus, 8. mitochondrion, 9. centriole, 10. ribosome.” “Specify where the following take place: cell respiration *Mitochondrion*, nucleic acid synthesis (DNA and RNA) *The nucleus*, protein synthesis *The ribosomes*.”

B2. Nella figura sono indicate dieci strutture cellulari.



Indica dove avviene

la respirazione cellulare: Mitochondrio

la sintesi degli acidi nucleici (DNA e RNA): il nucleo

la sintesi delle proteine: I Ribosomi

The second item tests speculative orientation by proposing three alternatives to explain the human population’s diversity of features, all of which are correct to some extent and cannot, therefore, be mutually exclusive (fig.13):

Fig. 13. “Peoples living on various continents have very different features (for instance, skin colour, shape of face, height). How would you explain that? Choose from among the following explanations: a) their ancestors’ features were different, b) each people has the features most suitable to its living environment, c) this is natural.” “*It is not natural, but is a shape that Allah gave it to them.*”

B4. I popoli che vivono nei vari continenti presentano caratteri molto diversi (per esempio, il colore della pelle, la forma del viso, l'altezza). Come lo spieghi? Scegli tra le spiegazioni seguenti.

- erano diversi i caratteri dei loro antenati
- ogni popolo ha i caratteri più utili per vivere nel suo ambiente
- si tratta di un ~~fatto naturale~~ non è una fatto naturale ma è una forma che Allah l'hanno dato.

Despite a limited increase in willingness to take a position (from 87.2 to 94.5%) no significant differences are noted in the choice of various alternatives: around 25% choose the reference to ancestors (a phenomenological observation); around 40% suitability to the environment (indirect adhesion to Darwin’s Evolutionism); “natural fact” (abstention from explanation) drops 8%.

Some explicit references to religion persist, which initially led to some forms of hostility toward the question: “Allah crea così.” (“*Allah creates so*”), “Ma anche altra cosa che non la sapete voi.” (“*But also other thing you do not know it*”).

3.8. Disciplinary skills: Geometry

The item tests familiarity with three primary plane geometry shapes, ability to draw them according to shape and dimensional correctness, and knowledge and application of elementary formulas. The only element of ordinary complexity is the indirect request to calculate the height of the right triangle. Two cases are given in Figures 14a-b:

Fig. 14a. "Draw a square whose side is $L = 3$ cm and calculate its perimeter (P) and its area (A)"

$$P = 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 = 12 \text{ cm}$$

$$A = l^2 = (3 \text{ cm})^2 = 9 \text{ cm}^2$$

"Draw a circle whose radius is $R = 2$ cm and calculate its circumference (C) and its area (A)"

$$C = 2\pi r = 2 \cdot 3,14 \cdot 2 = 12,56 \text{ cm}$$

$$A = \pi r^2 = 12,56 \text{ cm}^2$$

"Draw an equilateral triangle whose side is $L = 3$ cm and calculate its perimeter (P) and its area (A)"

$$P = 3 + 3 + 3 = 9 \text{ cm}$$

$$A = b \cdot h / 2 = (3 \text{ cm} \times 3 \sqrt{3} \text{ cm}) / 2 = (9\sqrt{3}/2) \text{ cm}^2;$$

$$h = \sqrt{3^2 \text{ cm} - (3/2)^2} = \sqrt{9 \text{ cm}^2 - 9/4}; h = (3\sqrt{3}/2) \text{ cm}$$

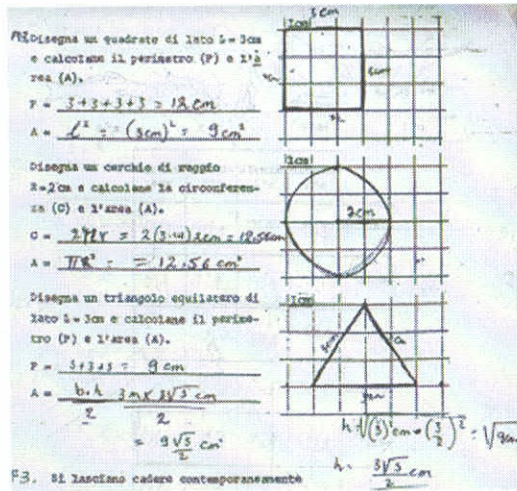


Fig. 14b. "Draw a square whose side is $L = 3$ cm and calculate its perimeter (P) and its area (A)"

$$P = 4 \times l = 4 \times 3 \text{ cm} = 12 \text{ cm}$$

$$A = b \cdot h = 3 \times 3 = 9 \text{ cm}^2$$

"Draw a circle whose radius is $R = 2$ cm and calculate its circumference (C) and its area (A)"

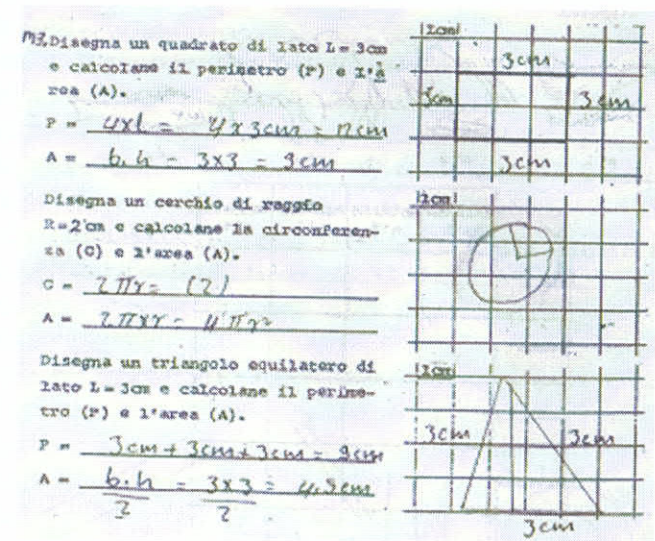
$$C = 2\pi r = (r)$$

$$A = 2\pi r r = 4\pi r^2$$

"Draw an equilateral triangle whose side is $L = 3$ cm and calculate its perimeter (P) and its area (A)"

$$P = 3 \text{ cm} + 3 \text{ cm} + 3 \text{ cm} = 9 \text{ cm}$$

$$A = b \cdot h / 2 = 3 \times 3 / 2 = 4,5 \text{ cm}^2$$



Noteworthy and systematic are the increases in willingness to do the required drawings (from 72.4 to 91.7% for the square, 70.0 to 91.3% for the circle, and 70.0 to 95.0% for the equilateral triangle) as well as the calculations (62.8 to 91.0% for the square, 34.0 to 80.5% for the circle, and 42.4 to 91.2% for the triangle). The correct performance of the students who do the task also shows a large increase (e.g. calculation of area: from 49.6 to 95.0% for the square, 23.5 to 55.3% for the circle, and 2.8 to 11.7% for the triangle).

Despite clear evidence of the semester's general and generic success, some habits persist that are capable of interfering with specific learning or are indications of major cognitive and procedural gaps. Figure 14 provides some insight into that.

4. From past to future

In considering the data presented, first of all, the very long time taken to make a cultural transition on both the linguistic front as well as, we could say, the procedural one, has to be emphasised. The Somali students who underwent full immersion in the Italian language – five hours per day for at least eight months – do not seem to have satisfactorily overcome those comprehension difficulties capable of compromising proper fruition of the didactic offer of the science faculties; nor do they seem capable (as the examples show) of fully and unequivocally expressing their positions, albeit essential and schematic, in Italian. They have, however, acquired a sort of familiarity that induces them to embrace tasks almost systematically, apparently confident in their ability to understand, know, and perform – and certainly understanding, knowing and performing better than at the start of the semester.

4.1. Understanding

There are numerous clues that point in favour of a significant improvement in literal comprehension, from a systematic increase in willingness to engage, to the pertinence of the responses supplied. Margins of inadequacy appear, with “how did you make your decision?” being read as “what is your decision?”; or where “distance”, in a context in which it is applied to “segment” and “line”, continues also to mean “journey”, leading to disorientation in those undertaking the task.

The persistence of cultural specificities occasionally alters comprehension, resulting in not determining which of two persons born in the same year is the older, or to elaborating a per-

sonal definition of “speed” with reference to experiences in daily life rather than to disciplinary constraints.

4.2. Knowing

Literacy training in scientific knowledge results in encouraging progress. It is necessary, moreover, to point out that in the context of a noteworthy level of success in identifying the cell structures in which certain functions take place, the prevalence of memorisation over so-called meaningful learning (Ausubel 1968) can be explained by the positive impact of the availability in the figure of the “name” of the structure chosen (and by the interference of terms named in the figure that sound similar to the ones memorised). This is confirmed, for example, by the frequent reference to nonsensical formulas in calculating the circumference and area of the circle (see $2\pi r/c$, $4\pi r$, $2\pi r^2$, $4\pi r^2$).

It could be hypothesised that this is one of the effects of imperfect memorisation in the absence of the ability to give geometric concreteness to the symbols (“ π ” and “ r ”) that the students, correctly, believe they are to use. The application of knowledge (for example, the use of formulas) is a non-habitual and scarcely cultivated practice, as demonstrated in the positions taken when comparing cylinders, which the students very rarely examine on the basis of geometric coordinates. The analogy with Piaget's well known test for children (Piaget 1950) would legitimate reference, in a Western cultural context, to the pre-operational stage!

4.3. Performing

If one's vision of the world is based on the completion of vital concrete functions, only the object or event that has recognized value (e.g. in Somalia, the dromedary, which is called a camel) requires attention and accurate description (there are over 40 words to choose from when translating the word drom-

edary to describe phases in the life cycle, functions and features). Less important objects are subject to considerable degrees of approximation; summary characterization and sketching are usually sufficient. This could explain the frequency and range of errors in assessing the difference in temperature when observing the two thermometers represented in the figure, which involves the simple observation of the thermometric scale and the position of the mercury column. Even the interpretation of the task ("What is the temperature difference between the water in the two glasses?"), the response to which is that the water is more or less warm, is evidence of a superficial reading of the text and the context.

What also appears significant is the lack of conformity with the shape and size of the geometric forms both extracted from the complex figure as well as those considered in the explicit geometric context, where the frequency of approximation in drawings results as 1 out of 3 in the case of squares, 1 out of 2 for circles, 4 out of 5 for triangles, skewing overall performance of the task.

Indeed, it is possible that the prevailing representation of an isosceles triangle (base and height 3cm) in place of the equilateral one requested, is to blame for the incorrect use of $h = 3$ in the formula " $(b \times h)/2$ " for calculating the area, given that only one student in four applies Pythagorean theorem in calculating the height of the triangle. In the same item 50% of students' inappropriate use of "cm" for linear measurements and of "cm" for surface area – in other words, their absolute randomness of choice – would suggest their lack of recourse to relative skill or critical analysis of the result expressed, but also their acritical trust in the results of a prescribed procedure: application of formula, calculation, simplification.

Two additional observations: the first concerns the rotation of the cube, which is emblematic of a difficulty in gathering information from images in the absence of specific forms of training. It would be necessary to make reference not only to the iconoclastic aspect of Islamic culture and the oral nature of

the traditional culture (Ong 1982), but also to the highly limited diffusion of books and, in particular, of illustrated books (local markets sold biology textbooks without figures!).

The second concerns the rare, but existing, interference of religion in determining the causes for diversity in the features of human populations and the popularity of the "natural fact" alternative, a formula that, in fact, neither compromises nor explains.

At this point an attempt can be made to evaluate the substance and the positive outcome of the linguistic-cultural semester teaching project aimed at westernising Somali students, i.e. at preparing them to attend university science courses taught by Italian professors. Over the years adjustments were gradually made to the curriculum and methodologies employed, based on the data collected and on a type of analysis that led to an increasingly accurate definition of the students' learner profile. A strong constructivist approach was maintained (von Glasersfeld 1989), discouraging memorisation, rote learning and regurgitation, and foregrounding practices that later earned the label of active and cooperative learning (Sharan 1994, Silberman 1996). Foreknowledge, experiences and examples were solicited from students for the purpose of better contextualising the new material learned as it was treated. Reference tended more toward objects and events that could be meaningful to Somali students and "spontaneous" ways of perception and analysis were compared with scientific attitudes. Discussion was prompted, rejecting mere repetition of what had been said or read, as well as the use of paraphrasing.

Validation of the "adjustments" was monitored and a gradual increase in the differences between initial and semester-end performance were recorded, leading to that reported here. On the one hand, it was demonstrated that research activity could proceed in close parallel with the practical programme that was its object of study; and on the other hand, it would seem reasonable to surmise that, although students' full satisfactory

competence was not accomplished, it would have been had the research been allowed to continue.

Therefore, it can be considered as well-founded the choice of proposing a propaedeutic activity aimed at heavily foregrounding acquisition of linguistic and transactional skill (Bruner 1986) on both procedural and conceptual terrains. Furthermore, the experience certainly supplied data crucial to the development of educational processes for conveying Western Science to non-Western learners. First and foremost, the need to understand the salient aspects of other cultures, even in the absence of the intention of navigating the intercultural dimension, precisely in order to be able to promote the constructivist teaching approaches that have been acknowledged as the most appropriate to teaching science to non-Western countries and students (Cobern 1996); and to be able, to that end, to carry out transactional and investigative activities with the tools, and within the timeframes, of "normal" academic activity. Last but not least, to adopt an approach to metacognition, i.e. to facilitate all the many aspects of student development ranging from academic skill to self-learning (Lin 2001).

While not directly pertinent, nevertheless significant and encouraging is the realisation that a Western teacher involved as a researcher or teacher/researcher in an intercultural educational project, is in a position to assert that the situation in itself, and the teaching dedicated to it, are a source of rich reflection on the skills, features and attitudes required for science-related learning. The resulting dividend is considerable growth in terms of epistemological and professional awareness.

Notes

¹ A large amount of didactic material was elaborated and validated: two Italian language textbooks; original Mathematics and Physics textbooks; a teachers manual (lexical analysis and classification of images) supplement-

tary to the Biology textbook (H. Curtis and N. Barnes "Cellula, organismi e ambiente", Zanichelli); a lab manual supplement to the Physics textbook ("Esperimenti, esperienze e riflessioni").

² The entrance questionnaire was administered on 28 January 1990 to 388 students (78.5% males; 70.3% between 20 and 22 years of age, and 6.9% >25 years of age). The semester-end questionnaire was administered on 24 May 1990 to 420 students (79.8% males; 67.0% between 20 and 22 years of age; 6.5% > 25 years of age). The students were enrolled in 6 scientific faculties and subdivided into a total of 24 classes of from 15 to 22 per class.

³ In the following paragraphs, devoted to the essential skills and abilities required to define the student profile, the above-mentioned items and their relative data are presented in a concise form. "Willingness" is to be construed as any way of confronting or attempting to complete a task. Percentages regarding student performance assessments refer to the subsample made up of those who proved willing.

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Cristina Ali Farah

**SHABEELNAAGOOD AND THE SOCIAL
ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOMALI SOCIETY.
AN ITALIAN TRANSLATION
OFFERED TO ANNARITA**

UNIVERSITY OF ROMA TRE

1. Introduction

Shabeelnaagood is the first and best known dramatic work written by Xassan Sheikh Mumin between 1968 and 1974. The title is a neologism created by the author himself, a word composed of two roots *shabeel* ('leopard') and *naag* ('woman'), followed by the genitive mark *-ood*. *Shabeel* is a womanizer who deceives a young naïve woman staging a false wedding. *Shabeel* is therefore a leopard, hunting woman. The feminist values and the social criticism expressed in the text have made this drama very popular among women and the intellectual elite of the country, though it was very popular also with a more traditionalist audience. The Italian version proposed here is the translation of an extract published in 2008 in the *Halabuur Journal* (Vol. 3, 1-2). The English translation is adapted from *Leopard among the women: Shabeelnaagood. A Somali play by Hassan Sheikh Muumin; translated, with an introduction by B. W. Andrzejewski*; London, Oxford University Press, 1974.

2. Shabeelnaagood – the dramatic piece

[Siamo in casa di Shammado Liibaan, il marito Guuleed Cawaale è assente per un viaggio. La loro figlia Shallayo è molto malata e Shammado aspetta preoccupata l'arrivo della dottoressa Kulmiya.]
Shammado *Non riesce neppure a camminare! Mio Dio, cosa devo fare? La ragazza è proprio in fin di vita! Oh uomini, queste donne che si fanno chiamare dottoresse non lavorano*

affatto! Hanno prestato giuramento a Dio per non lavorare! Non riescono a liberarsi dal sonno e dal... mmm E se cercassi un altro medico? No, è meglio aspettare ancora un poco.

Kulmiya *Hello, how are you?*¹

Shammado *Cosa hai detto, cara?*

Kulmiya *Come stai?*

Shammado *Io bene. Perché hai fatto tardi?*

Kulmiya *Ho appena finito di visitare alcuni malati. Li ho appena lasciati per correre qui. Allora, qual è il problema?*

Shammado *Come qual è il problema? La ragazza non è forse in fin di vita? Mi si è ammalata la ragazza, mia cara, è in fin di vita.*

Kulmiya *Cosa le è successo?*

Shammado *Veramente non lo so, non si alza dal letto, credo che abbia l'ameba.*

Kulmiya *Cosa è che ha?*

Shammado *Ameba, ameba, le è entrata nella pancia, è in fin di vita.*

Kulmiya *Mmm*

Shammado *Sono soltanto riuscita a dire, Chiamatemi Kulmiya! Ma quando sei tornata? Avevo sentito che eri ritornata, qualche tempo fa.*

Kulmiya *Sì, sono tornata, sono qui da due mesi. Ascoltami, Shammado, prima di tutto.*

Shammado *Sì?*

Kulmiya *Ti voglio parlare delle difficoltà che ho attraversato per diventare dottore.*

Shammado *Si capisce dalla tua magrezza, dalle tue ossa! Allora?*

Kulmiya *Dalla scuola che ho iniziato*

Una volta promossa

Sono partita per un corso

Ho viaggiato per l'Europa

You know [in inglese] Europa?

Sono andata a imparare

Da dottori attempati

Come mostra la calvizie

Sul sapere da loro scritto

Quante volte ho girato pagina!

Shammado *Si capisce dal tuo aspetto. Continua.*

Kulmiya *Oh Shammado, le loro discipline*

Le ho imparate fino in fondo

Questa tua ragazza malata

La devo prima visitare

Laddove è il fegato poi il petto

La parte che è infiammata

Lasciami capire fino in fondo

Se Dio la protegge

Dobbiamo farla guarire

Con il calcio e la penicillina

Curarla con il chinino.

Ma, dimmi un po', cosa mangia la ragazza?

Shammado *Mi chiedi cosa mangia? È proprio grave, cosa vuoi che mangi?*

Kulmiya *Va bene, allora dimmi quello che mangiava di solito, quali vitamine. Vitamina C, vitamina A? Cosa mangiava, insomma?*

Shammado *Non ti serve a niente sapere cosa mangiava, lascia perdere!*

Kulmiya *Mi devi dire cosa mangiava!*

Shammado *Che ti prenda un accidente!*

Kulmiya *Dimmi cosa mangia!*

Shammado *Perché, lo vuoi scrivere?*

Kulmiya *Credi che essere medico sia uno scherzo? Ho studiato [in inglese] three years! What do you mean?*

Shammado *Mia cara, piano con l'arabo!*

Kulmiya [ancora in inglese] *Tell me please! Dimmi, dimmi!*

Shammado *Mia cara, anche se sono una donna di città, non capisco bene l'italiano che mi parli!*

Kulmiya *Mi dispiace². Dimmi, per favore, in fretta!*

Shammado *Mangia peperoncino, e fa uno.*

Kulmiya *Sì?*

Shammado *Fegato crudo*

Kulmiya *Cosa?*

Shammado *Peperoncino, fegato crudo, patate, papaya,*

melanzane, farinafritta³ che a volte le fa bruciare il petto, la fa sentire malissimo, soltanto che le piace.

Kulmiya [in inglese] *Listen, what is the farinafritta? What is the meaning of farinafritta?*

Shammado *Non ti ho forse già detto di non parlarmi più in italiano?*

Kulmiya *Ti ho detto: cosa sarebbero questi fagiolifritti di cui parli?*

Shammado *Ah, ah, ah! Sei stata via per due anni e non sai cosa è la farinafritta? Che ti prenda un accidente!*

Kulmiya *Dov'è la ragazza?*

Shammado *È in quella stanza.*

Mululukh malalakh!⁴

Ehi tu, vieni qui! Che strano sintomo!

Vieni qui dalla tua zia, cara, dimmi com'è la situazione.

Kulmiya *L'ho visitata e la ragazza non ha bisogno di medicine.*

Shammado *Ma cara, questa è in fin di vita!*

Kulmiya *È qualcosa che non puoi immaginarti, questa malattia si manifesta in cento modi.*

Shammado *Ha qualcosa che non va sul lato destro o sul lato sinistro? Ha il fegato malato? Mia cara nipote, questa è in fin di vita! Non è forse scesa su di te la calvizie dei saggi?*

Kulmiya [in inglese] *I am very sorry. Mi dispiace soprattutto non aver portato gli strumenti per la visita⁵. In questi giorni non ne facciamo, è il giovedì il giorno in cui usciamo per visitare le persone. A proposito di tua figlia, qualcuno ha avuto a che fare con lei. Mi sto basando soltanto sulla mia conoscenza, ma credo sia così.*

Shammado *Senti, ti posso dire una cosa?*

Kulmiya *Sì?*

Shammado *Prima di chiamarti ho pensato almeno cento volte di darle un bel po' di acqua benedetta⁶. Poi mi sono detta, Comportati come una donna di mondo e chiama una dottoressa!*

Kulmiya *Allora?*

Shammado *Cara mia, lo sapevo che qualcuno aveva mandato il malocchio alla ragazza!*

Kulmiya *Cosa?*

Shammado *È stato il malocchio!*

Kulmiya *Il malocchio!*

Shammado *Sì perché... è vero che non ha preso da me in quanto a bellezza, ma devi sapere che mio padre ha speso in patrimonio più dei capelli che hai in testa per proteggermi dal malocchio. Si è sfinito a forza di farmi fabbricare amuleti sacri, accendere incensi votivi,⁷ girare da una parte all'altra, portarmi dai religiosi.*

Kulmiya *Dimmi dunque, hai avuto anche tu questa malattia?*

Shammado *Te l'ho detto, sono dovuta rimanere a letto per quattro mesi.*

Kulmiya *È matta? – Allora perché mi hai fatto perdere tempo?*

Shammado *Hai ragione, ho sbagliato dall'inizio. Se mi fossi procurata dell'acqua santa o un amuleto con i versi del sacro Corano, sarebbe sicuramente guarita. Ma ho pensato di comportarmi come una donna di mondo, te l'ho detto.*

Kulmiya *Credo che ci siamo un po' dilungate con i nostri discorsi. Tua figlia è incinta!*

Shammado *Ashhadu...⁸*

Kulmiya *È di quattro mesi.*

Shammado *Mio Dio, sono finita! Perché non mi sono insospettita per il peperoncino e per il fegato crudo? Oh Dio mio, dove potrò nascondermi in questo mondo? E dovrò affrontare Xaaji Guuleed!*

Shallaayo *Mamma vieni, cosa ti è successo?*

Shammado *Oh Dio!*

Shallaayo *Mamma, cosa ti è successo?*

Shammado *Vattene, lasciami in pace!*

Shallaayo *Mamma, smettila, perché piangi?*

Shammado *Il mio lamento è per quello che porti in pancia. Stasera non mi aspettavo questo segno nascosto in te.*

Alle parole della nostra bella dottoressa

Figlia, la mia lingua ha mancato di rispondere.

Il cielo mi crolla addosso, non c'è salute per me

Figlia, la terra è colma di sabbia

*La verginità è oro, non hai forse rovinato il tuo destino?
La gente mi deride e mi insulta per questo-
Che i piedi mi si gonfino, dove andrò con questa vergogna?*
Shallayo *Mamma, cosa dici? Vieni, vieni, mamma! Mi stai
insultando mamma. Perché Dio dovrebbe infliggermi la pena
di partorire un figlio bastardo?*

Shammado *Allora di che cosa avresti piena la pancia?*
Shallayo *Mamma, mio figlio non è un bastardo, ha un padre.
Ora te lo porto davanti. Da tre mesi sono sposata con un
uomo. È molto timido e non si fa vedere. Mamma, perché mi
insulti? è un uomo molto ricco, possiede molte case, è un
uomo molto ricco! L'uomo di cui sto parlando è un giornalie-
ri!⁹ Al mondo non c'è nessuno più ricco di lui e tu mi dici che
porto in grembo un bastardo! Come potrei essere incinta di un
bastardo? Mi insulti, mamma!*

Shammado *Senti un po', ma è stato trasferito a Hargeysa?
Non si può forse vedere?*

Shallaayo *Ma no mamma, è solo timido. Vuoi che te lo porti,
ora?*

Shammado *È un nobile discendente del Profeta?*

Shallayo *No mamma, è uno che non ama la compagnia, è
molto vergognoso.*

Shammado *Mia cara, che Dio lo renda vittorioso in questo
mondo e nell'aldilà, da tutte le parti, a destra, a sinistra, che
Dio lo renda vittorioso sempre! Non gli sarà chiesto niente,
venderò questi gioielli per lui! E se non trovo altro venderò
persino i miei preziosi copricapo.*

Shallaayo *Mamma, ma non ne ha bisogno!*

Shammado *Mia cara, portami qui quell'uomo. Mia cara, ti
aspetto cinque minuti.*

Shallaayo *Te lo porto subito.*

Shammado *Che Dio lo renda vittorioso, portalo qui.*

[We are in Shammado Liibaan's house. Her husband Guuleed Cawaale is out on a journey. Their daughter Shallayo is seriously sick and Shammado is impatiently waiting for Kulmiya, a woman doctor.]

S 'She can't even walk. What shall I do? That girl is very, very ill! Oh men, those women who say they are doctors don't work at all – they have sworn to God not to! They haven't woken from their sleep yet and from... mmm...

Shall I get another doctor? No, I'll wait a little.'

K Hello, how are you?

S 'What did you say, dear?'

K 'How are you?'

S 'I'm fine. Why are you late?'

K 'I've just come from the sick people I was visiting. I left them and rushed here this very moment. Now, what is the matter?'

S 'What do you mean «What is the matter?». The girl's is going to die, isn't she? The girl's very ill, my dear, she is going to die!'

K 'What happened to her?'

S 'I don't know really, but she doesn't get up from her bed, and I think she has amoebas.'

K 'She has what?'

S 'Amoebas, amoebas! She has stomach trouble – she is terribly ill.'

K *Mmm*

S 'Well, I could just say, «Call Kulmiya for me!». When did you come back? I heard a few days ago that you were back.'

Y 'Yes, I came back two months ago, and I've been here ever since. Listen, Shammado, first of all.'

S 'Yes?'

K 'I'll tell you about the hardship I endured becoming a doctor.'

S 'That can be seen from your skinniness and your bones – go on!'

K 'From the school where I first started,

On the day I completed my studies

I went on a course

I travelled a long way to Europe

You know Europe?

I went on learning

From doctors advanced in their skill

And their baldness showed it!

The knowledge which they had written down

Time and time again I turned its pages.'

S 'One can say that from the way you look like. Go on.'

K 'Oh Shammado, the methods of it all

I learned and profited from them.

As for you sick daughter,

Let me first examine her.

The place where the liver is and the chest,

Then the part which is inflamed.

Let me understand that in detail.

If God protects her,

We shall cure her.

And then she will be healthy.

With calcium and penicillin.

And with quinine we shall treat her.

But let me ask you, what does the girl eat?'

S 'You ask «What does the girl eat?». She is mortally ill! What would she

eat?'

K 'I mean, the food she used to eat. Which vitamins? Vitamin C, vitamin A? What did she use to eat?'

S 'What she eats won't help you with anything, stop it!'

K 'You must tell me what she would eat.'

S 'You old devil!'

K 'Tell me what she eats!'

S 'Why? Are you going to write it down?'

K 'Do you imagine that medical knowledge is something of no value? I was learning it for three years! What do you mean?'

S 'My dear woman, slowly when you speak Arabic to me.'

K 'Tell me please! Speak! Speak!'

S 'My dear, even though I'm townswoman, I don't know well that Italian you're talking to me.'

K 'I'm sorry. Tell me, please, quickly!'

S 'She eats peppers, this is one thing.'

K 'Yes?'

S 'Underdone liver.'

K 'What?'

S 'Peppers, underdone liver, potatoes, pawpaw, eggplants, fried flour – and she gets sometimes heartburn from it, she gets mortally sick, but she likes it so much.'

K Listen, what is the *farinafritta*? What is the meaning of *farinafritta*?

S 'Haven't I told you to not speak Italian to me again?'

K 'What I said to you is: what are those 'friedbeans' you mentioned?'

S 'Ha, ha, ha! You were away for only two years and now you don't know what *farinafritta* is! 'You old devil!'

K 'Where is the girl?'

S 'She is in that room.'

Mululukh malalakh!

Come here! What a strange symptom!

Come, my dear, tell me what the situation is, niece.'

K 'I've examined her, and the girl doesn't need any medicines.'

S 'But my dear, she is going to die!'

K 'It's something that you were not expecting, this illness has hundred types.'

S 'Is the illness in her right side or her left? Is there something wrong in her liver? My dear niece, she's very ill indeed! What about all the knowledge which has brought the baldness to your head?'

K 'I'm very sorry. I'm sorry I didn't take the instruments for the visit. This is one of the days we don't go out to people, it's on Thursdays that we examine them. As for your daughter, someone has interfered with her. As far as my knowledge goes, this is how I would interpret it.'

S 'Listen, can I tell you one thing?'

K 'Yes?'

S 'Before calling you, I thought a hundred times of giving her a lot of Holy water. But then I said to myself, Be modern and call a woman doctor

instead!'

K 'So, what?'

S 'My dear, I knew that the girl was being interfered with by the Spell of the Envious Eye!'

K 'What?'

S 'Somebody has cast an evil eye on her!'

K 'An evil eye!'

S 'Yes, because... it's true that she hasn't taken after me in looks. But you must know that my father spent far more wealth on me than you have hair to protect me against the Spell of the Envious Eye. He got dead tired with all the getting of Holy Writ amulets and votive incense for me, and moving me away from places, and taking me to men of religion.'

K 'Tell me then, did you also get this illness?'

S 'I told you, I was laid up with it for four months!'

K 'Is she mad? [aside] – In that case, why did you trouble me for nothing?'

S 'You're right, it was my mistake in the first place. If I had given her some Holy water or an amulet with the Coranic verses written on it, she would be fine now. But I thought, 'Be modern!', I told you.'

K 'I think we've been talking at cross purposes. Your daughter is pregnant!'

S *Ashhadu...*

K 'She is in her fourth month.'

S 'My God, I'm dead! Why did I not become suspicious with all those peppers and that underdone liver? Oh my God, where shall I hide in this world? And I'll have to face Xaaji Guuleed!'

Sh 'Mother come, what's the matter with you?'

S 'Oh my God!'

Sh 'Mother, what's the matter with you?'

S 'Go away, leave me alone!'

Sh 'Stop talking like that, mother, why are you crying?'

S 'I'm lamenting over what is inside your womb

Tonight I did not expect this hidden sign in you

To the words of the worthy woman doctor

Daughter, my tongue found no reply.

The sky has fallen on me, and there's no health in me

Daughter, the earth is full of sand

Virginity is like gold, have you not ruined your livelihood?

People will despise and insult me for this-

Oh, let my feet be swollen, where shall I go with my shame?'

Sh 'Mother, what are you saying? Come, come, mother! You are insulting me, mother. Why should God try me by making me bear a bastard child?'

S 'What is it then that fills your belly?'

Sh Mother, my child is not a bastard, it has a father. I shall show you who he is presently. For three months I've been married to a man. He is very shy and doesn't come to see anybody. Mother, why are you insulting me? He is a very rich man, as far as houses and money are concerned. The man I'm talking about is a *jornalieri*. There is no-one richer in the world and you say that I carry a bastard! How could I be pregnant with a bastard child? You are

insulting me, mother!

S 'Come then, has this man been transferred to Hargeysa? Isn't he someone who could be seen?'

Sh 'No, mother, he's just very shy. Shall I bring him to you now?'

S 'Is he one of the noble descendants of the Prophet?'

Sh 'No, mother, he simply dislikes people's company, he's very shy.'

S 'My dear, that God may give him success in this world and in the next, on every side, right and left, that God may give him always success! He won't be asked for anything, I shall sell these jewels for him! And if I can't find anything else, I shall sell my head-scarf for him!'

Sh 'He doesn't need it from you, mother!'

S 'My dear, bring that man here. I'll wait five minutes for you, darling.'

Sh 'I shall bring him straightway!'

S 'That God may give him success, bring him here.'

3. To Annarita, for having watered my hibiscus hedge

La prima volta che vidi Mogadiscio avevo soltanto tre anni, tre anni compiuti da pochi mesi, ed era il 1976, l'estate di quell'anno. A dire il vero non ricordo niente del viaggio e dell'arrivo, non ricordo niente di mia madre che doveva essere emozionata, perché anche lei vedeva Mogadiscio per la prima volta, non ricordo niente di mio padre che doveva essere emozionato, perché era più di un anno che non ci vedeva, non ricordo niente della lingua, che pure deve essermi risultata tanto diversa dalla lingua a cui ero stata abituata fino ad allora.

Negli anni seguenti, mia madre mi parlò tante volte di quell'arrivo, parlò della lingua, forse perché sperava che la sua memoria fosse un poco uguale alla mia, mio padre invece non parlò mai di nulla, forse perché sapeva che la sua memoria non poteva essere uguale alla mia.

Dico che non ricordo niente dell'arrivo, ma c'è qualcosa che è accaduto dopo ed è rimasto come una piccola perturbazione nella memoria, qualcosa del momento in cui la lingua di prima si è mescolata alla lingua di dopo, si è mescolata così bene che se non fosse per quel ricordo, io penserei che le due lingue sono nate insieme, uno stesso cespuglio nato da due radici, iskadhal, così chiamano in somalo le persone come me.

In questo ricordo, c'è una piccola siepe ed è una siepe di ibisco, dietro alla siepe una sera io mi nascondo, e sono sola a casa

di mio zio Cali e di mia zia Khadija. Sola senza mia madre, intendo, e senza mio padre, che mi possono capire.

Ci sono mio zio Cali e mia zia Khadija e ci sono anche i loro sei figli e mia nonna Barni Xassan, e tante altre persone. I miei cugini ridono, i miei zii ridono, molte persone ridono, non ridono di scherno, ma a me non viene da ridere, non ho proprio voglia di ridere, così corro a nascondermi dietro alla siepe e mi dicono vieni e io rispondo quasi gridando (nella lingua di mia madre, nella lingua che non è quella di mio padre) rispondo quasi gridando che non capisco niente. Tutti ridono, ridono i cugini, ridono gli zii, ridono le persone intorno, ridono tutti tranne me che non capisco niente e lo dico quasi gridando, molto offesa, Non capisco niente! e mia nonna, che quella sera è presente, mi manda a chiamare per consolarmi, mi manda a chiamare con un nuovo nome, un nome solo per me, Ubax, fiore, come l'ibisco della siepe.

Non è un caso allora se questo è l'unico ricordo, come una piccola perturbazione nella memoria, l'unico ricordo in cui le due lingue sono separate, ne capisco una, non capisco l'altra, grido in una, sono muta nell'altra, un unico ricordo in cui c'è una piccola siepe, una siepe di ibisco dietro cui mi nascondo.

Passarono alcuni mesi e andammo ad abitare dietro al Teatro nazionale somalo, io, mia madre, mio padre, un amico di mio padre e mia zia Xamsa. La casa dietro al teatro nazionale è una casa che non dimentico, era una casa con un piccolo giardino e un grande cancello di ferro battuto. Una sera, tornavamo a casa io e mia madre e c'era buio e quella sera non ci deve essere stato nessuno spettacolo al Teatro nazionale, ma io non lo sapevo, perché avevo tre anni e molte cose ancora non le sapevo.

Arrivate sulla soglia di casa, mia madre si accorse che il cancello era un poco discosto, ma non si spaventò, non fece in tempo a spaventarsi. Si spaventò dopo, quando uscirono di fretta due uomini scuri e lunghi, due uomini con la camicia e lo osgunti puntandole una lama al fianco. Dovevano essere due boscagliosi, disse in seguito mio padre, altrimenti non si sarebbero permessi di spaventare una giovane italiana proprio vicino al teatro nazionale, una giovane dumashi con la figlia, nascosta dietro alle gambe.

I due uomini erano scappati portandosi solo le tende, quelle del salotto, perché non c'era niente di prezioso in quella prima casa che eravamo andati ad abitare, a Mogadiscio, dietro al teatro nazionale. Nascosta dalle gambe di mia madre, avevo capito la lingua dei due uomini e quella di mia madre che mi nascondeva, augurandomi una memoria diversa dalla sua.

The first time that I saw Mogadishu I was only three years old – it was the summer of 1976. To be honest, I cannot remember anything about my mother's feelings on that occasion – but she must have been very moved, since it was also her first time in Mogadishu; I cannot remember anything about my father, who must have been moved as well, since he had not seen us for over a year; finally, I cannot remember anything about my impression of the language, which must have seemed so different to me with respect to the language I had been used to until that moment.

In the following years, my mother would talk with me so many times about that arrival-day, she would talk about the language, maybe because she hoped her memories were a little similar to mine. My father, on the contrary, never spoke to me about it, maybe because he knew that his memories could bear no similarity to mine.

I said that I do not remember anything about my arrival, but in fact there is something that happened afterwards which was like a tiny ripple in my memory, something about the moment in which my first language mixed with the next language. They mixed so well that, if it were not for this vague recollection, I would think that the two languages had been born together inside me, like a single bush springing from two roots; *iskadhāl*, this is what they call people like me in Somalia.

In this recollection, there is a small hedge, a hibiscus hedge, and behind the hedge one evening I hide, and I am alone in the house of my uncle Cali and my aunt Khadija. Alone – without my mother, I mean, and without my father, the ones who can understand me. In the house there are not only my uncle Cali and my aunt Khadija, but also their six children and my grandmother Barni Xassan, and many other people. My cousins laugh; they don't laugh out of scorn, but I don't feel like laughing, I don't want to laugh, so I run and hide behind the hedge. They say "come here" and almost shouting I answer (using my mother's language, that is not my father's language) – I answer that they do not understand anything. They all laugh, my cousins laugh, my uncle and my aunt laugh, the people around them laugh, everybody laughs but me, me – who does not understand anything, and I say this almost crying out, deeply offended.

My grandmother, who was there that evening, sends for me to console me; she sends for me using a new name, a name that was only for me, *Ubox*, a flower, like the hibiscus of the hedge.

So it's no coincidence that this is the only thing I can remember, like a ripple in my mind, the only recollection I have in which the two languages are separated: I can understand one, I cannot understand the other, I cry out using one, I'm silent

in the other. A single memory in which there is a small hedge, a hibiscus hedge I use to hide behind.

Some days passed and we went to live behind the Somali National Theatre – my mother, my father, a friend of my father's, my aunt Xamsa and I. I cannot forget that house, a house with a small garden and a big gate, a wrought iron gate. One evening I was going back home with my mother and it was dark – there was clearly no show that evening at the National Theatre, but I didn't know that because I was only three years old and – as I said – there were many things I still didn't know.

When we arrive in front of the house, my mother realizes that the gate is a little open, but she is not frightened, she has no time to get frightened. She will be frightened later, when she sees two dark, tall men rushing out, two men wearing shirts and *macawis*.¹⁰ Probably two people living in the brushwood – my father guessed afterwards – who came to scare a young Italian woman living just next to the National Theatre, a young *dumashi*¹¹ with her daughter, hidden behind her legs. The two men had taken the curtains from the living room, because there was nothing precious to be taken from that house where we were living, in Mogadishu, behind the National Theatre. Protected behind my mother's legs, I had understood the languages of the two men and of my mother, who was hiding me, hoping I would have different memories to hers.

Notes

¹ In English in the original text. English expressions are frequent in this dramatic piece.

² In Italian, in the original text

³ *Bursaliid* (in the original text) is a word composed of *bur* ('flour', though it is also used to refer to fritters) and *saliid* ('oil'). I have decided to translate this word as *farinafritta* ('friedflour') and not simply as 'fritter' to express in Italian Kulmiya's misunderstanding, who will later change *bursaliid* into *digirsaliid* ('oil-beans', translated as *friedbeans*).

⁴ Shammado mimics the gesture of vomiting with these onomatopoeic words.

⁵ In this text shifting from one language to another is a means to change into new communicative contexts, to draw boundaries and hierarchies, to plays with misunderstandings. Here I have decided to keep in the text the two Somali variants of the Italian words that occur more frequently, namely *fisito* ('visit') and *jornalieri* ('day-labourer, someone who is paid every day' – a term that Shallayo probably thinks to be a honorific title).

⁶ *Tahliil* is translated here as 'holy water'. Specifically, it is water in which the ink used to write the Coran has been dissolved.

⁷ In this case, as in the previous one, we have tried to render the meaning of the Somali words *qardhaas* (amulet made with a piece of leather on which Coranic verses are sewed) and *xildiid* (incense having therapeutic and purifying power).

⁸ This is the beginning of the Islamic profession of faith: *Ashshahadu laa Ilaha illa Allah wa Maxamed rasuul Allah* ('I confess that there is no God but Allah and Maxamed is his Prophet').

⁹ See note 5.

¹⁰ Type of men's cloth, 'futa'.

¹¹ Literally, 'sister-in-law'.

Abdalla Omar Mansur

THE TREE OF WISDOM: TRADITION AND MODERNITY

UNIVERSITY OF ROMA TRE

1. Background¹

In this paper I consider an aspect of traditional culture of Somali pastoralists, in order to highlight that even in pastoral culture which is considered the most studied, there are several very important aspects that are still unknown to many Somalis. These issues take on a significance far from irrelevant to the situation that Somalia is now experiencing.

In the pastoral community, the people, following an ancient 'tradition, meet under the shade of a tree, preferably an acacia, for various reasons. Indeed, the relevant tree has the function of: (a) assembly (*gole*), where people discuss the political and social problems related to the clan or inter-clan relationships; (b) court, where arbitration takes place between contenders; (c) art school, where the vast oral literature is transmitted and propagated; and finally (d) place of entertainment, where people can chat and play *jar* (a game similar to checkers).

2. Arbitration

The subject on which I would like to dwell is arbitration (*xeerka geedka*), which literally means "the customary law of the tree", or better, "the law of the tree".

According to this customary law, to carry out an arbitration between two contenders, a number of specific participants need to be present under the tree, namely:

- *Guurti*, the Council of wise men dealing with social and

political problems of the clan, which in this case coordinates arbitration.

- *Xeerbeegti*, the experts on the customary law of theirs and their neighbours' clan. Even though they are illiterate, they know by heart all the details of the customary law inherited from their ancestors; they are the ones who judge the contenders and give the verdict.

- *Buuni/Fiqi*, the expert of Islamic law, who expresses opinions on issues of marriage, divorce, inheritance and so on.

- *Guddoonshe*, the clan leader (the 'chairman');² his role is only to formally validate the judgments made by jurors, (*xeerbeegti*); the community is therefore obliged to follow that decision, unless a contender states an immediate appeal.³

- *Gardoon*, the plaintiff.

- *Garqabeen*, the defendant.

- *Qareen*, the defender; early in the process the plaintiff or the defendant may delegate his case to one of the people present. Note that there is no reward either for defenders or for others.

- *Markhaati*, the witness; to avoid false evidence the defendant has the right to challenge the witness, who is dismissed by the jurors if there occurs one of the following relationships between the witness and the plaintiff:

-- *naas-haye*, that is to say, the nephew (sister's son) of the plaintiff;

-- *lul-haye*, that is the brother in law (i.e., the sister's husband) of the plaintiff;

-- *leg-haye*, namely one that is maintained by the plaintiff;

-- *sokeeye*, that is to say, a close relative of the plaintiff; and finally

-- *deris*, namely a neighbour of the plaintiff.

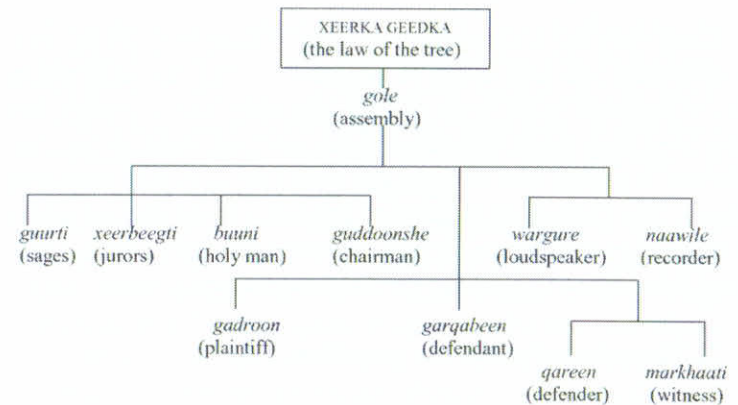
- *Wargure*, who is the person whose role is to repeat aloud the words of each so that everyone can hear. The contender, or anyone who takes the floor has the obligation not to raise his voice too much and to stay calm even if he is very angry. The *wargure* intervenes in order to make the public listen. The person who takes the floor, begins by nominating a preferred *wargure* who also has the task of delivering expressions of approval and stress, indicating that listeners are following the

speech of the speaker. Expressions like *haa...*, *haye...*, *waa tahay...*, 'stimulate', as the sages say, "the speaker's oratory skills as the breasts of a nurse are increasingly filled with milk by a sucking infant". Moreover, during the repetition made by *wargure* the speaker finds the time to reflect and coordinate his speech properly.

- *Naawile* is a person who is closely monitoring and records in his memory all that is said in the Assembly. He reminds the *wargure* of words or phrases that may have been omitted, since the *wargure* is not allowed to modify, add or remove a word from what the speaker says. People ask the *naawile* for clarifications when a dispute arises over what was said by someone. In short, he acts as a recorder.

A graphical representation of this structure is given in Figure 1 below:

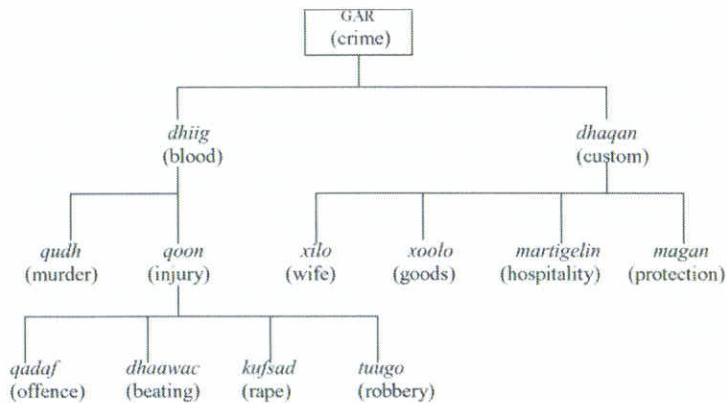
Figure 1: The Law of the Tree



Once all the members needed for the meeting are present, the Council of Sages (*guurti*) starts the process by asking the plain-

tiff what the case for which the requested is. The cases of crime may be one of the following:

Figure 2: Crime classification



Once they have identified the type of case they let the two contenders talk and listen to witnesses. After the contenders have repeated twice each of their speeches and everyone has declared they have finished and has nothing more to say, the debate is ended and nobody can take action or add anything more. The Council of Sages then appoint a committee of jurors (*xeerbeegti*, see Figure 1) who leave the Assembly for a while and then return to give the verdict based on customary law.

3. The prize of guilt: the penalties

Any damage caused to people for any reason has a reparation price established by customary law. Let us examine some of these:

- *Qudh*. For murder you pay 100 camels. Faced with such a serious crime, members of the clan of the person who com-

mitted the crime, must necessarily contribute to the blood payment, and this is an element of cohesion within the clan.

- *Qadaf*: Offence is considered an insult, slap, kick or beating with a shoe that has been taken off (which is the worst of all); all of these are no less serious than physical injury. For each of them there is adequate compensation. For example *muraado* is an insult that is addressed to a high-ranking person such as a clan leader, a holy man or a relative, or his wife. The punishment is to offer a big banquet slaughtering with one's own hands the dearest camel of the family, the one that produces most milk. The victim of the offence is required to hold the animal and express forgiveness when the animal is going to be slaughtered.

- *Kufsad*. For rape the penalty is about 10 camels. The compensation must be paid, with no help, only by the rapist who is considered a despicable person, and then forced to abandon the community.

- *Tuugo*. Theft is also considered a shameful act. The thief pays without help for a value ranging from three to seven times the value of what he stole. It should be stressed that this crime, as well as *kufsad* above, is rare because of the severe punishment that it entails. According to the wise men of the Academy, it seems to occur at most once every 10 years. There is a saying in Somali that goes: *gows tuug iyo gus macsiyo midna xeer uma lihin*, that is to say, "theft and rape (or adultery) are not part of our tradition".

- *Martigelin*. This concerns hospitality: anybody who neglects his guests is punished. It is traditional for travellers not to bring food supplies for their journey, even if it is long. *Martiqadis* is the name given to a person who does not behave according to the rules of hospitality. He is punished in some way and his misconduct is talked about in public and divulged also by means of poetry.

4. The camel

As is clear from the penalties discussed in section 3, the camel is the most used object to repair damage, or to provide

compensation. Cattle or goats would never do for a serious crime like murder. The reason why the camel has such an important role is determined by its fundamental usefulness for the pastoral life of the Somalis. As a matter of fact:

- in relation to other animals, the camel gives more milk and more meat and these are the basic staple of the nomadic shepherd;
- it tolerates better than other animals the extreme climatic conditions prevalent in Somalia;
- it is the best means of transportation for the nomads;
- it is the object most in demand by the groom from the bride's family at weddings;
- it is the usual form of payment in cases of murder;
- anyone who has more camels enjoys greater prestige and respect in their communities.

Owing to its high economic and social value, the camel is central to the life of pastoralists. In fact, there is a well-known proverb that says *geel la'aan waa geeri* ("being without camels means being dead"). So, on the one hand, the camel is an instrument of mediation, but on the other, it is the cause of many inter-clan conflicts, such as raids, and disputes over water wells or pastures. Nevertheless, through the customary law people are able to reconcile the clans in conflict. However, these traditional forms of law fulfil more adequately the need for justice and security within a single clan.

5. The present situation

Nowadays this system of traditional justice still survives in the bush (the natural habitat of the nomadic clans) although it has undergone some changes caused by the urban legal system. However, the majority of Somalis now live in urban areas where, since independence, constitution and laws have been introduced, which are mainly copied from those of industrialized countries.

These changes, nevertheless, have failed to initiate parallel socio-economic development, better suited to the new system institutions.

The preponderance of formal bureaucratic apparatus within development programs, as well as the attempt to enact development according to western models without adequately taking into consideration the area's cultural background has meant that development efforts have been uneven. Not only are results not encouraging, also development efforts have triggered mechanisms of striking social inequality: consider the often ostentatious wealth of the ruling class in comparison with the growing poverty of the increasingly urbanized masses.

All these factors have activated the worst possible behaviour in a camel based culture, namely raiding. The only difference is that now the objects of raids are no longer camels but power, and the consequences are quite evident today in the never-ending, disastrous war. This war has affected mostly the southern part of Somalia, because in that region people have not managed to combine the three institutional frameworks (government, religion and traditional culture) that could stop the perpetuation of conflicts. The main cause of this serious situation is the fact that the country in these long years has been held hostage by successions of warlords struggling for power, each group with new ideologies. It is thus increasingly unlikely that these people will develop a common vision in any of the three institutional frameworks, since: (i) most of them have not understood the nature of the government system and want to mould it in their own way in order to get the power; (ii) the Islamic religion has been interpreted in different and conflicting ways, mostly for political ends; (iii) there has been a move away from the traditional culture of the wise (custom of the tree), and in particular the voice of the clan leader is no longer respected as it was once. On the contrary, the negative side of traditional culture, namely clan-based power, to effect raids or rise to power.

The situation in northern Somalia is less serious because the

best part of traditional culture still survives. For this reason, it has been possible (at beginning of the civil war, 1991) to establish a government in Somaliland, and later in Puntland. This does not mean that traditional culture is more important than the other two institutional frameworks, but it is well observed by most people, so it is the only institution on which there is almost total agreement, and this has made it possible somehow to amalgamate the three institutional frameworks.

Returning to the beginning of our discussion devoted to one aspect of traditional culture, it is interesting to add some linguistic notations and notice how the current administration of Somaliland uses some important terms which are the same words that we have seen adopted in traditional culture. Not only are they the same in form but their connotations are also very similar. For example:

TERMS	ADMINISTRATION	TRADITIONAL CULTURE
gole	assembly	meeting under the tree
guurti	senate (chamber)	council of wise men
guddoomiye	president	chairman of the board
xeerbeegti	supreme court	experts of customary law
qareen	lawyer	defender

In conclusion, one can hope that the healthier aspects of traditional culture can make a fair contribution towards interpreting the present day, and help bring Somalia to a state of 'peace'.

Notes

¹ The data used for this article come mainly from a set of conversations, recorded in the '80s, on issues of traditional culture and activities among the elderly and of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Mogadishu. Participants in the debate on this particular subject were: Daahir Afqarshe, Ibraahim Fiqi Buraale, Cali Mudiir, Axmed Nuur Yuusuf, Ciise Maxamed Siyaad and

Cabdi Dhegaweyne.

² The chairman has several different titles from clan to clan, such as: *boqor, suldaan, imaan, ugaas, garaad, malaq, islaan, beelaaqe* and so on.

³ The Somali clan leader, unlike other African communities, has no power, but simply executes the decisions of the Council. There is a Somali saying that recites: *boqor waa loo taliyaa ee ma taliyo* ("the king does not require anything but advice (from the council)") and another saying also states that *boqor waa guddoonshe*, that is to say, "the king is the one who validates the decision of the counsel". This custom is part and parcel of the democracy of Somali pastoralism, as described in I.M. Lewis' (1999) volume *A Pastoral Democracy*.

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Massimo Squillacciotti

**INSTRUCTION IN ANTHROPOLOGY
BETWEEN ETHNOGRAPHIC AND
ETHNOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH**

UNIVERSITY OF SIENA

1. Background¹

This contribution is intended to honor prof. Annarita Puglielli, and is the result of my lifelong and partly autobiographical cogitations as an anthropologist who became involved in the Studi Somali project and was confronted with topics bordering ethnography and linguistic research. I would like to retrace some moments in my professional experience with Annarita and the Studi Somali project, which proved an invaluable instrument of cultural and scientific advancement and helped me better characterize my fields of interest. Finally, I will share one of my recent findings in cognitive anthropology: classroom application of the study of cognitive processes involved in classroom teaching communication strategies during one of my university courses.

2. The 'Studi Somali' Project

**2.1. Cultural organization and linguistic expression:
when theory meets practice**

First, I will be referring to my earliest experience as a teacher of cultural anthropology at the Faculty of Foreign Languages at the Somali National University of Mogadishu in 1985. At that time, I had 4 years of ethnographic research with the Kuna of Panamá and a few years of teaching at the University of Siena under my belt. First issue: because that particular cur-

riculum required it, one of the disciplinary courses had to focus on the complex relationship between language and culture, although there was awareness that epistemological critique in ethno-anthropological studies had jeopardized a substantial part of the theoretical conceptualization of the field, in the light of post-colonialism.

I was not very familiar with research in the area of language and culture: I had mostly read linguistics and glottology classic on the topic, rather than anthropology works.

It was a challenge for me to present systematic lessons on this subject: as a teacher, I constantly had to come to terms with the receptive and expressive modes of a classroom of Somali students. Categories such as time, space, number, color, relationality were applied by using a cultural "architecture" of which the Somali language merely appeared to be an expressive epiphenomenon.

Among the Kuna, I had familiarized with the basics of ethnomathematics, including the negation of the concept of "concrete number" and the relative meaning of a "concrete mentality" (i.e. primitive). In Mogadishu, I discovered a deep-rooted knowledge that used different linguistic forms, different paths of reasoning and different logical and cultural connections underlying language. I found out a number of things. When I asked Somali students to "draw the ocean", they would draw the ocean in the foreground and the land in the background (i.e. a view of the ocean from the ocean), whereas in Siena they would depict the ocean as seen from the land. For Somali students, the future could not be foreseen because it came from behind our back, "it flows through us and we can see it only when it is present". Solving crosswords was visually impossible for them, because the boxes that were to contain synonyms or opposites (though linguistically known) were "discriminated against" as if they were all in a vertical position, a structure that imposed itself as vertical, and nothing could be written under those conditions. At the same time, though, bills in Somali bars were calculated by placing all the amounts indif-

ferently in a row or a column, and the operation of summing followed the graphical pattern chosen. The ability for a Somali to write in an alphabetic-linear script did not conflict with her/his previous experience of Arabic script writing as learned at the Coranic school, but it often happened that some letters were written as capitals within words in lowercase. And so on.

There was clearly room for research in cognitive anthropology, a discipline which was not very common in Italy, excluding the study of differences between oral and written codes (see Cardona 1981). Only some years later would a work by Cardona (1985) appear, dealing with the relationship between language and experience. Just the previous year, I had edited the Italian edition of C.R. Hallpike's work (Squillacciotti ed., 1984).

Now, which paradigms should be used? I was perhaps able to formulate sentences about this topic, rather than full-fledged concepts. For example: languages expresses in words whatever it has recorded from a culture, not just in terms of concepts but most of all as a social and embodied practice...

2.2. Teaching researchers

Later on, the Studi Somali projects offered me another chance: to train young Somali researchers towards studying lexical variants in Somali across villages in distinct areas. The tool used was structured questionnaires: I will just mention those about food, hunting and fishing, rearing of cattle, hut building.

Along with the field stage, the instruments and the findings, another issue emerged regarding the hut building questionnaire, when we collected data in the villages of *Mareerey* and *Lama-doonka* (Afgoye district). Our questionnaire, previously tested, was built according to a writing-based structuring rationale. The questions used to collect relevant words were grouped according to functional fields or parts of the hut. We had put the questionnaire together based on a taxonomy that

related parts or objects with words, but that procedure turned out to be a second-level abstraction: an illiterate carpenter hesitated to give answers because his way of giving names to the various parts of a hut proceeded along the process of building one. This shows that the taxonomic classification follows and is shaped by a grouping rationale, and is consequential to its own premises, implicit or otherwise. Here, competence is given by expressive adherence and faithfulness to the classifying principle; conversely, the description of processes is narrative and linear, following the principle of craftsmanlike competence, of knowledge incorporated in the producer and the very production procedures.

This division within the process of thought expression, however, does not mean that there are two separate "mindsets" (a logical, abstract, linguistic one as against an operative, tangible, corporeal), but two forms of thought organization and expression, two different modes or logical forms of experiencing and representing things. Language uses verbalization of concepts to represents things, but does not exhaust the field of expression, as this may follow a different concatenation process, while still being based on concepts. In other words, the different quality of language does not lie at the level of thought, but derives from the culture that the language expresses as one of many possible means (the technology of the medium); there is a difference in culture rather than thought, because the language categories that reveal the underlying thought are not thought categories but expressive, historical, contextualized, located, learned forms (see *Atti dei Convegni dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 1994).

Consequently, my interest in this area of cognitive anthropology, the mental processes underlying conduct and communication, further developed around the questions that these experiences of otherness in teaching and research posed regarding cognitive categories and social forms (see Squillacciotti 1996).

I will just briefly refer to the research experience of those

years (1987-1990) by the group of young anthropologists from the University of Siena, who worked with the Studi Somali project and were led by my colleague and friend Ciise Mohamed Siyad. It was a significant experience: first because it applied an "in-situation" model of training to ethnographic research, and secondly because of the complex of anthropological studies on Somalia it involved (Squillacciotti ed., 1995).

3. Teaching in intercultural contexts

What happens in teaching within intercultural contexts? What happens in the learning relationship of a person between her/his culture and the new culture that is the immigration context? These were the questions that have been discussed during a training course in intercultural issues for basic school teachers working in the Rome area, coordinated by Annarita Puglielli and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Roma Tre in 1999-2000. The title of the course was *Qui è la nostra lingua* ('Our language is here'; cf. Puglielli et al. eds. 2003).

The workshop method used for the classroom interaction was a tool for exchanging views on theory and organizing the teaching experiences that participant teachers developed in their classrooms; at the same time, it was based on a number of propositions of cognitive reference, which had to be verified during the workshop. "Welcome to Babylon!" was the title of this memorandum on teaching differences. I wrote part of it, and the remainder included the contribution of everyone who took part in the course.

(1) WELCOME TO BABYLON

Unity has to do with species, difference has to do with culture.

There are no superior or inferior cultures.

Everyone makes a difference.

Communication is generated in listening.

Language is not learned through purely linguistic elements, but is an instrument to make visible and conscious what is experienced internally.

Language in itself does not organize reality but expresses it, thus becoming the locus where the specific cognitive aspects of a culture reveal themselves. Culture is a network that communicates reality and organizes the meaning of reality.

The Workshop in "teaching differences" is a teaching space for communication among people, based on everyone's own culture (intercultural) and aimed at "translation", as the learning-development of skills-competences required by the culture where one lives.

The forms of communication are a cultural variable.

A text has an anthropological meaning and is a communicative document when its original context is known; otherwise, it is just another text. In this sense, there is no such thing as a "holy scripture", excluding the risk of sacralization and authentication that a written text produces in our culture, whereas image, voice and body "play" and allow for a plastic "movement".

I would like to single out three main issues in "dealing with" otherness and differences:

(a) "Ethnographic reduction" sees the other- the object of this paper - as placed in an a-temporal dimension, where the historical-cultural processes of its transformation are absent, and where the use of the historical present tense leads to an overall dehistoricization of the "other" culture, by deleting its having been created through the relationship of otherness, with its specific relevancies and determinants.

(b) "Negation of inter-subjectivity" sees the communicative relationship as a one-way process, contrary to the principle that communication flows among the actors involved in the contextual relationship.

(c) "Methodological reduction" sees the idea of relationship as limited to the "text" form, whereas the codes of communication involved in the otherness relationship are undoubtedly broader than just written language - even if uttered and listened before being written - and than the relationship strategies and modes applied by both poles of communication.

Narration is a working tool, an interface among people, because it creates a relationship in the individual between subject and object, and forms a mediation with reality. Narration produces performance. It is a flow, and in this sense it produces contexts for communicating sequences.

Learning is the development of cognitive skills that facilitate a transfer of experience acquired in the solution of a new experience. In terms of "teaching differences", learning develops

control of the categories of time and space through coordination and transcodification (see below) of different codes: oral, graphic (written), graphic (depicted), sequential images, plastic images, gestural-theatrical (game-drama) in narrative and performative contexts. Transcodification is the transition from one code to another, which determines a loss but also a gain with respect to the initial code.

The awareness of “translation” and the experience of translatability place the individual at a meta-communicative level: as they communicate, they know that they are communicating and how they are communicating. This process is true among “peers”, but becomes the ground where differences among “non-peers” emerge.

The teaching material of the Workshop must be shared, adaptable and adapted in time. It is necessary to:

- (a) find a field of expression of the self, the cultural “person”, and facilitate the exchange among tangible worlds, so as to develop the awareness of “translatability” of one’s actions in view of a type of “communication” which will be effective as long as it is bilateral and mutual;
- (b) create a classroom “group” where differences are made visible and where a “negotiation” of expressions is applied, following a path that starts from a narration and is then modified by the pupils on the basis of the classroom dynamics and the final agreement;
- (c) use check tools, including the transition from the initial form of expression to other forms (from tales to theatre, to drawing; word, gesture, text; voice, scene, writing).

Ultimately, a definition of cognition emerged as a mental process of comprehension of the rules that govern the world and of signification of the world, an active process where an individual assumes and assigns a meaning to her/himself and her/his natural and cultural environment (see www.media.unisi.it/arlian/lezioni.htm). Based on our workshop practice and the teachers’ classroom experiences, we came to define some theoretical concepts in cognitive anthropology and teaching anthropology. From that experience, and the joint production of a multimedia Cd on the work done (Puglielli *et al.* eds.,

2003), the need arose to approach this topic experimentally, during my university course in cognitive anthropology. The relevant fields here are teaching anthropology, anthropology of cognitive processes and of communication strategies in teaching, the implications that different teaching methods have in university teaching. Two such methods were identified. I will refer to them as: (1) *the book method* and (2) *the cognitive method*. I adopted the latter in my two courses in cognitive anthropology. Here are some ideas that I would like to share.

4. The cognitive method

I don’t mean to be reductive, but while the *book method* is a legitimate and successful approach - as we all know perfectly well, since that was the approach that was used with us from school through university - it always depends on a transmission method where knowledge is passed along from one generation to the next in a uniform way, and where everyone is gauged against this knowledge that they, in turn, need to learn and know.

The identity of a student is shaped in the wake of the teacher’s knowledge, her/his ability to convey knowledge and the depth of her/his very knowledge. Teaching skills and depth of knowledge are, furthermore, the constitutive factors of a teacher’s identity.

The teacher presents the course program (be it an introductory or specialized course) in the classroom, by following the textbooks that have been chosen for the final examination. The teacher’s choice is based on a particular criterion: those books, once they are presented in the classroom, are a learning tool, and they contribute to the subject-specific cultural assets needed for the intellectual function that the student is later going to assume, regardless of the professional area where that function will be performed. The teacher is a demiurge; the student’s culture is the sum of the subjects s/he has studied.

All students are on an equal footing towards the knowledge

taught, and it is assumed that they all have equal opportunities to enter and exit the education system, once and for all. There are differences, though. And they can be attributed to a variety of factors, which ultimately come down to just a few: a previous experience in a failing school (Onofri 2000); individual and familiar conditions involving a previous cultural baggage (i.e. before university); desire and/or ability to apply themselves, etc.

All students are on an equal footing toward the knowledge learned because they do not form a classroom group, and what influences the learning outcome and the teacher's feeling that it was a good classroom is their unique individualities: students' exam results and/or social-occupational successes go to prove it.

The direction of teaching is thus one-to-one ("one" here comprising "many"), and its context is formed by a unidirectional relationship. That direction may at most be reversed (while the relationship cannot): for example, when clarification questions are asked in the classroom; teaching aids are used, etc.

Such teaching aids include technological tools that support the teacher's voice (which is not an aid, but is considered as a premise of the teacher's role), such as: book pages, the blackboard (of various types, but with just one function), schemes/diagrams (both on paper and electronic), and perhaps extremely well-targeted teaching presentations.

The very location of the students and teacher in the classroom is functional to this type of teaching. Many faces look to the teacher, waiting for them to play an objective function. Aspects such as the posture of the people present and the strategies of the communicative relationship are rather immaterial; more than anything, what they do is help create a student mythology of the teacher's presentation style and other personal characteristics. The teacher "represents" culture and her/his own knowledge within a specific "subject", just because s/he has been empowered to give it a representation.

The end-of-course exam is a check of what a student has acquired, how much s/he has profited from classroom transmission and how useful the proposed readings were for him or

her. An individual and objective person confronted with relevant questions, neutral for the opportunity previously offered in the classroom by the teacher-demiurge.

From a cognitive point of view, book teaching mainly uses mouth and ears in the classroom, rather than eyes and hands, although sight defines the attention threshold and hands are used to take notes. Everyone is called upon to mentally establish relationships and links, again by using books and words rather than images, sounds, colors, spaces, times, different types of knowledge... The *cognitive method* is pretty much a reversal of what was said previously. Its starting points are the following:

- (a) teaching is circular with respect to learning, and both form and are included in a context within which a communicative relationship is built among all the people present;
- (b) the students form a classroom group because they work together, relate to each other and the teacher regarding the type of teaching proposed to perform a task, such as place, product, situation for comparison, examination and evaluation.

In particular, classroom instruction has the following founding principles:

- (1) information derives from a difference and creates a difference;
- (2) information is generated in listening;
- (3) the poles of communication are bi-directional;
- (4) the tools of communication are consistent with its efficiency;
- (5) the teacher takes as the starting point of teaching the actual situation of the classroom's knowledge, and proposes classroom or network tools to form a common platform preliminary to the teaching strategy of circulation cutting across the classroom and the content of the course.

The teacher is an expert in a particular kind of knowledge and in the methodology through which s/he proposes a path shaped by expression (creation of contexts/communication of sequences), which has two objectives. First, activating in the student a network of connections between different parts of the path; secondly, training the students to use the various codes and languages applied along the path in relation with the system of meanings that can be created by the path itself. Hence a num-

ber of questions, rather than answers, arise on teaching as cognition. For example, “what happens in our mind” when we link different codes or different reference cultural systems, also considering that we operate within inter-subjective teaching rules and relationships in a given context (teaching/learning), for a function of communication (transmission/acquisition), using different languages and communication technologies.

Again, teaching has a number of premises, considering that it uses a special type of communication and is part of a system of functions. The premises of teaching communication are:

- (1) “competence” as the ability to transfer knowledge among different fields from acquisition to usage;
- (2) use of multiple communication technologies: speaking-writing-audio-video;
- (3) specific qualities of each technology: range and limits;
- (4) interaction among them;
- (5) activated cognitive functions: time/space – user/product.

Before concluding, I would like to cite a teaching example: some “Exercises in Style” (a reference to Queneau 1983) were presented in the course, using video sequences taken from films and included in a new network of signification (see www.media.unisi.it/arlian/documenti.htm). This was a way of extending propositions from the linguistic function to the meta-cognitive function (which is, to a certain extent, the meaning of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*, when the power of adjectivization is identified).

5. Conclusions

We embarked on this teaching game taking our lead from some relevant considerations by prominent scholars: (a) the scientific classification of reality is based on the construction principle of “classrooms-fictions” (see Lévy-Leblond 2007), (b) “Creativity is linking existing elements with new connections, that should be useful (Jules Henri Poincaré) and (c) “To do something interdisciplinary, it is not enough to choose a subject and surround it with two or three sciences.

Interdisciplinarity means creating a new object that does not belong to anyone” (Roland Barthes).

While logically and epistemologically distinct, these proposition identify concepts – in general, and specifically in book teaching – as governed by a binary logic of inclusion/exclusion, especially because they are expressed linguistically: there are no intermediate nuances, the lines established by each concept are splitting signs. This is a classification principle that each of those concepts assumes to define reality (and the word that is referred to by that very concept). On the other hand, those concepts may be effectively subjected to cognitive processes such as dislocation, transfer, translation, transcodification, thus allowing an immediate connection between concepts and images based on images or using images as a place for extra-linguistic expression of concepts related to mental images and producing mental images. Yet, each text produced (by an author or a scientist) has to do with a mental image that might come from within or derive from outside (in Italo Calvino’s 1993 words) when the text is about to be issued. That text, once produced, must arouse a mental image or be associated to an external image when it is read or heard.

In “cognitive teaching”, thus, everyone present (students and teacher alike) attends a representation (in the theatrical sense and in the sense of construction of meaning on the basis of current reality), “measures up” to the data, the shapes and the languages in their givenness, establishes a significant relationship (cognition as a meaning attribution process) between them and the data, using all their sensory organs and being with their whole body in the teaching situation that fulfills the valency of inter-subjectivity as it is a relationship between subjects “present” and participants.

With this in mind, in 2009 we set up the website of ARLIAN (*Laboratorio di Arti e Linguaggi in Antropologia*, see www.media.unisi.it/arlian/), to test a connection between teaching communication tools, content and strategies. We are aware that the material uploaded cannot replace the classroom teaching relationship, nor is it a recording of what has been said in class, but

it can be used as a support and stimulus for personal study. This is one of the meanings of Arlian's opening formula:

(2) *inside : outside = 1 : ∞*

This is where my anthropology studies have led me so far. How can I conclude? Just by thanking Annarita for giving me yet another chance to reflect upon some aspects of our common path which had probably remained implicit until now...

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LET THE CHILDREN PLAY: ETHNOLINGUISTIC NOTES ON SOMALI GAMES

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1. Games and players role

Could we ever imagine a life without games? It is almost impossible. No matter the life's style, the economic condition, the political situation of a society, we will always look around and see somebody playing on the road, running or sitting in a circle.¹ Africa shows an incredibly high number of traditional games which are part of the intangible cultural heritage of the continent and need to be preserved (Yoshida & Mack 2008). Many of them have a wide diffusion in large areas, others reflect the cultural and linguistic contact with Europe or the Near and Middle East, offering a very interesting example of culture flowing and intersecting. Playing is a social practice reflecting self representation and mutual understanding among players, who share rules and roles. Playing games implies a strict definition of social roles according to cultural restrictions which may vary from one community to the other. Most of western societies have a very restricted area of overlapping for games among different ages; once grown, adults are not supposed to play very common games they used to play while they were young, except for some sport games such as football which can be occasionally played at any age. On the other side, most of culturally accepted games for adults (especially card games) can be only played at least by puberty and never in childhood.

Games are normally gender oriented; female games can only be played by girls and male games only by boys. Both of them reflect an acting-like role, in performing what is socially

expected to be their adults' role in the society. In Europe some card games were traditionally played only by men and are still much oriented by gender; in traditional game code, some card games can still be played by men only in non formal meetings, such as the ones you would expect to see in a village square or at the table of a country café. Most of women games in childhood reflect the future role of a woman in society as a mother and wife; the worldwide game of "mother and child" is usually performed with dolls or smaller girls, where the older ones behave like their own mothers in taking care of children; games for boys are often socially oriented toward the attitudes in life they are expected to get once grown up. Boys running and pursuing other with guns show their bravery against cowardice of those escaping.

There is very little literature on games from a theoretical point of view; on the other side, there is a wide choice of books written on games and their rules, though most of them do not consider social and cultural aspects of games, like the ones we have talked about.

The classification of games given by Caillois (1967) is probably the best known, at least from a cultural point of view. It includes all types of games, considering the archetype they are based on. Games are organized according to the kind of self commitment a player is involved in.

Games types	archetype
Competition	rivalry
Games of chance	luck and risk
Performance	mask
Psychophysical shock	vertigo
Patience	contemplation

Almost all games we can observe in a given society can be categorized according to Caillois parameters, though only in traditional societies some of the games are strictly linked to cultural motivation and performed during rites. To make an example, those games provoking a psychophysical shock are

traditionally performed during initiation rites where the new member of a social group would be accepted if he is able to overcome a trial, whereas this kind of games are performed under imitation as sports in Europe, without any special cultural meaning. The best example of this is probably the bungee jumping, which is an ancient initiation ritual called *Gkol* and is performed in the Pentecost Island in the Pacific Archipelago of Vanuatu; it has become a sport performed in Europe where players emulate the same extreme exercise.

If we simply consider games as a leisure activity, competition and patience games teach the player to have a balanced relationship with other members of his society, starting from a correct behavior in playing with them. Performance games are widely diffused in the world and often ritualized with a strict code. Many of them require a proper disguise, according to the role a single player has in the context of the performance. Cultural motivations of performance games fluctuate from the need of representing explicable and non explicable facts (like in magic rituals) to the one of showing oneself personality through the disguise or the mask chosen, as it happens in western celebration of carnival. Competition games are strictly based on a code of rules to be followed once being in the role of a player either in a team or as a single performer. Sport games are all under this category and show a very strict code of behavior.

Most of Somali games hereby presented undergo either the category of competition games or the one of chance, showing luck and risk as the main characteristics. Caillois' classification of games makes highly relevant the following basic elements which might also be used as a meaningful tract to classify games:

- land / soil
- water
- air
- space and hiding place
- tools and implements

Some of these elements are intersecting one the other in several games, some other are opposing one the other. Games such

as hide-and-seek can only be played on the ground but never in water, and they need hiding places. Not all games need tools and implements but most of them show a defined space, like a court or a frame of a given dimension.

2. Games and oral tradition

Transmission of games from one child to the other has something to do with a deep and strong activity we can observe in any human society. Oral transmission of culture is the main implement through which traditional knowledge and common cultural background are transmitted from one generation to the other (Vansina 1985); cultural transmission has a double dimensional level, from one generation to the other and from one individual to the other, no matter the genetic or social relation is. This is to say that, in the words of Sperber (1996: 32), "oral transmission is not a reliable means of reproduction; it generates a fuzzy set of representations which are more or less faithful versions, rather than exact copies, of one another." This is the reason why researchers working on oral literature are very much used to several versions of the same myth, different chronicles of relevant facts in traditional history, high variation of poem contents, claimed to belong to the same poem. If we consider this kind of perspective to be true for any cultural content transmission, it becomes evident the way game are transmitted, giving time by time different results in rules, score keeping, number of players and so on. In fact, the most widely diffused game in West, Central and East Africa, which is the *awele* kind like (Somali *jarkaboodo*), shows a high variety of variants, we will briefly consider in describing the Somali version of it, in the next paragraph devoted to Somali games. This game is surely one of the oldest ones, showing its evidence on carved rocks of prehistoric sites in Eastern Africa. It has hundreds of names and several versions of play, the main difference being in the number of rows. Common *awele* show two or four rows, while the Somali ones have three. The most common *Awele*-like games are normally played with a wooden board or

digging holes on a soft surface like soil or sand. The game is played all over in Africa though several differences in rules and shape of game-board can be observed.² *Awele* tournaments are quite common in many African countries where players spend their leisure time in competing, while others sit around them and watch. Most of the time *awele* are played at the open air, under a tree or a shadowing shelter. Players at their turn move a certain amount of stones or seeds which have been previously put in a pair number into each of the holes. Every player scoops up the seeds from his side of the row, according to rules which may vary from one area to the other. Change of rules and number of players is a common phenomenon we can observe in all games transmitted throughout oral tradition. Even for those games with a written code of rules (such like the very common *scrabble* or *monopoly*) the interaction between the oral and the written tradition is so strong, that it is possible to find variations from one place to the other where the same game is played.

Oral tradition in Africa is the strongest mean of communication, reflecting the general attitude to assume from others, just picking the words and replying the information at one's own interpretation of reported facts. We assume this characteristic to explain how some of Somali games have their origin in the colonial period, when we would presume the contact among Somali and Italian children playing together might have taken place. We can explain in this way how some of these games have been transmitted, manipulated, changed in some of their rules, but still keeping most of the Italian tracts which were there at the time of transmission. Evidence of this is also given in some cases by the game name, where the Italian origin is almost evident. To make probably the best example, the game called by boys *Bistolo-bistooley* is performed by boys, running after one another, and using gun-like objects (stones, pieces of wood); while running they scream: "*uno due tre arma di fako!*" a sentence which is not clear in its meaning for the boys playing today, though being an evident heritage of other boys interacting with Italian children in the past.

Contact induced transmission is a common phenomenon we can observe in social relations; it becomes more interesting when different cultural and linguistic backgrounds of people produce rich examples of intercultural exchange, as many Somali games show.

3. Some Somali counts and rhymes

One of the most common characteristics of counts and rhymes in the world is to produce a rhythmic sequence of words, which are sometimes meaningless but useful to skip from one player to the other while counting. It has been detected a common pattern of number sequence (Zaslavsky 1973: 102); rhymes can go to five or ten (reminding the number of fingers in the hands) or give emphasis to multiples of three or four (as it is for most of the Italian counts). This is the main reason why counts and rhymes are an interesting object of a research in an ethnolinguistic perspective, since their content can also give useful information on cultural aspects of the social background of players. Counts are mainly used to establish turns in playing but they can also be used while counting activities in a game.

In such a kind of text, nonsense words are mixed up with obsolete or foreign ones and the general meaning is not always obvious. When a count or a rhyme has been transmitted through generations of children, it might also give an account of cultural representations of differences which are perceived by the local community. A very clear example of this is offered by a rhyme sang by Somali girls and used to establish who's turn in a game. Some of the words and sentences have no full meaning, being used for the rhythm of the voice performing the count. From a linguistic point of view, Somali words are mixed up with Arabic ones and nonsense words. The general meaning of the count concerns the negative attitude of Somali people toward bantu-like Africans. They wish to neatly distinguish Somali origin and physical character defining "the others" with 'crimpy hair' and 'big nose'. In the last verse an

Ethiopian dictator (*menghistu*) is mentioned; the origin of the count might actually be Ethiopia:

(1) Count (1st version)

Nus shilin (arc. 'half shilling') (count base: 10)

<i>Jagagatun</i>	<i>jareeratun</i>
Those with hard hair	those with crimpy hair
<i>Laacibatun</i>	<i>kafiuratuun</i>
(arc.)Being good in something	(nonsense)
<i>Afrikaantii</i>	<i>ytoobiya</i>
African ladies	from Ethiopia
<i>Sankedhuudhi</i>	<i>sawaaxili</i>
The one who has a big nose	Swahili
<i>Bax naga tag</i>	<i>mangustoah</i>
Go away!	(nonsense, presumably the name of the old dictator Menghistu in Ethiopia)

There is a second version of the same count with a slight different content, showing a girl eager to be Somali. The count also recalls Islamic principles such as the pilgrimage to Mecca and proverb-like sentences in the last four verses:

(2) Count (2nd version)

Nus shilin (arc. 'half shilling') (count base: 3)

<i>Gabar yahay subxaano</i>	you girl you have grown
<i>Mara shabeelle xirato</i>	you use a <i>shabelle</i> Fuuta ³ (leopard-like Fuuta)
<i>Mara khafiifa hugato</i>	covering yourself with a transparent Fuuta
<i>Magacaaga ii sheeg</i>	tell me your name
<i>Magacaygu waa sharaf</i>	Sharaf ⁴ is my name
<i>Sharaf xaaji weeye</i>	It is Sharaf Xaaji ⁵
<i>Aqalada xariirta</i>	Houses made of silk
<i>Dhinac baan ka jogae</i>	I am at a side
<i>Allow yaa u sheega</i>	who will ever tell him
<i>Tinta u shanleeyo</i>	to comb his hair
<i>Shanboqol kadhiubo</i>	let him give his parents 500 shillings
<i>Naahooy sam sameey</i>	you Samsa (female name)
<i>Sabaax nuureey</i>	'female name' (arc. glittering light)
<i>Adoo xajka jira</i>	you doing a pilgrimage (to Mecca)
<i>Xasuus badaneey</i>	you remember everybody
<i>Saaxiibta caasho</i>	your friend Caasho (female name)
<i>Caashaq baa dilay</i>	she died for love
<i>U dambeyna ani iyo geel</i>	finally myself and the camel
<i>Baa isu bannan baxnay</i>	we saw each other in a desert place

<i>Caasho ina baddi baa</i>	did Caasho get lost?
<i>Baddu ma jogsataa</i>	the sea never stops
<i>Baabuurka bisbiska leh</i>	the machine making the hair standing on end
<i>Bisadi ma waddee</i>	a cat does not ride
<i>Nin raga wado</i>	a horse leads (riding)

The following count is used to follow the six sequences of the game. It is performed by girls only, who have to dig a hole in the soil. Five stones are given to every girl playing. While throwing in the air one stone, before catching it, the player must pick as many stones as she can in the hole. The first word is sung while throwing the first stone in the air, the others are sung in a sequence: every single word for any picked stone. If the player is able to pick up the five stones while pronouncing the five words has won.

(3) Song

<i>Owoowow</i>	(first stone thrown in the air)
Grandfather	
<i>garcaadow geelanoobadi</i>	(second and third stones picked up)
white beard gives a lot of camels	
<i>Lugtada jiiskaah oojiircambaarmarsan</i>	(fourth and fifth stones picked up)
his leg lame your leg does not walk	
<i>Hanagwjooinin</i>	(sixth stone picked up)
We say it can stand	

4. A list of Some Somali games

The following Somali games with their rules were collected in 1989 during a field research in Mogadishu. A young Somali lady (*Rooda*) interviewed girls and a young boy (*Alasow*) asked the boys about their most used and beloved games. The two of them were both students at the University of Mogadishu and spent their time in researching on the road where children used to group and play together. A total number of 20 games were investigated and more than 40 game names collected, though for some of them it was not possible to collect the rules. Since then, because of the drastic consequences of civil war in Somalia, it was not possible to go back to our research. We all hope to find again children on the road playing and enjoying life in Somalia

in the future, as it used to be twenty years ago when we collected our data. Most of these games have a restriction on gender; female and male games show an almost equal distribution, while for those games which can be played by both genres it normally happens that the group of players counts boys or girls only. Somali games are mainly based on competition; rivalry is the archetype dominating. Some games are based on risk and show tossing of objects as a main activity. Some of these games have an Italian origin either in their name or in the words to be pronounced and in their rules. We used the Caillois' classification to distinguish them on a typological base.

<i>Bahuul</i> n.f. (marbles game) Boys only	competition, rivalry
2 players throw the marbles against a wall. The marble must fall down within a distance previously agreed upon which is measured by <i>taako</i> . 5 <i>taako</i> are approximately 1 meter. Prize: the marble itself.	


<i>Baluushu</i> n.f. (marbles and stones) Boys and girls	competition, rivalry
2 or more players put on the soil small stones. In throwing marbles they must be touched. Marks are given to those who succeed in it.	


<i>Bistolo-bistooley</i> n.m. (guns) Boys only	competition, rivalry
Boys run after one another, using gun-like objects (stones, pieces of wood) and screaming: " <i>uno due tre arma di fako!</i> " 'one, two, three fire gun!'. The sentence is in Italian, it sounds like a nonsense to boys.	

<i>Cad madow</i> n.m. (head or tail - type 1) Boys only	chance, luck and risk
Two pair groups. One sandal, one team takes the top side the other the sole one; it is thrown in the air, the side coming up is the one of losers, they have to run fast to reach their sacred place, otherwise they are caught by the enemies and they are beaten with the sandal.	

<i>Harsh-mudax</i> (head or tail - type 2) Boys only	chance, luck and risk
Two players guess their chance in throwing a coin in the air.	

<i>Imbibi</i> n.m. (lid) Boys only	chance, luck and risk
3 lids are thrown in the air; all of them must fall down with the top up. If not, the other player will play next. Rules if played with 4 lids:	
4 top up = 4 scores	som. <i>imbibi</i> (all nonsense words probably of Arabic origin)
2 top up = 0 scores	som. <i>warbac</i>
3 top up = 1 score	som. <i>ta'b</i>
1 top up = 0 scores	som. <i>sita</i>
4 back up = 3 scores	som. <i>aas</i>

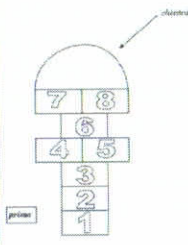
<i>Jarkaboodo</i> n.m. (Somali awele-like draughts)	competition, rivalry
	
<p>15 holes are dug in the soil; two pieces of glass or 2 stones in each of them. 4 players. 1st player takes the 2 stones in the first hole and leaves one in the second hole and the other in the third hole. Every time a hole is left empty it is the next player's turn.</p>	

<i>Jarduqeed</i> n.m. (Somali draughts) Men only	competition, rivalry
<p>It is similar to <i>jarkaboodo</i> and played by young boys.</p>	
<i>Kushineeto</i> n.f. (small car) Boys only	performance, mask
<p>The name of this game probably originates from Italian <i>cuscinetto</i> 'bearing' which is part of a wheel. It is a wide spread game in all Africa (A.A.V.V. CIDIS 1989), a common game in the old the old times in Europe when children used to make toys on their own using recycled materials.</p>	
	
<p>No special rules. The small car is made of wood with 4 wheels and a steering wheel. The boy drives the car using a stick connected to the wheel, performing a car drive.</p>	

<i>Ludhuu</i> n.m. (dice) Adults only	chance, luck and risk
<p>A six sides dice is being tossed at the player's turn, the winner gaining the highest score. It is perceived as an imported game.</p>	

<i>Nacashnacash</i> n.m. (run and catch) Boys and girls	competition, rivalry
<p>Everybody runs, one has to catch all the others. One score every caught. The game has no rule for shelters.</p>	

<i>Shax</i> n.f. (three in a row) Boys or girls	competition, rivalry
<p>Two players; a double cross is drawn on the sand or a piece of paper. Each player in turn places a circle or a cross which is not occupied by the other player symbol. First one drawing a vertical/horizontal/oblique line with three of his symbols has won. A very old game widespread in all the Mediterranean area too. The Somali name might come from Persian <i>shah</i> 'king', the original name of the boarding chess which is widely diffused in the western world and is a Persian game at the origin.</p>	

<i>Primo</i> n.m. (English unknown) Girls only	competition, rivalry
<p>It is a clear borrowing of an Italian game, normally played by girls and called in Italian <i>campana</i> or <i>campanone</i> (it. 'big bell') since the drawing resembles a big bell.</p>	
	
<p>The Somali name sounds like Italian <i>primo</i> 'first' and is a loan, like the Somali word <i>chentrale</i>. It. <i>Centrale</i> 'in the middle' used to call the half cupola like line, which is in the upper part of the drawing. Girls draw on the ground of cement or stone the figure hereby given and throw at their turn a small stone in one of the squares progressively. Every time they throw the stone, they jump and reach it to catch it. If they fail in throwing it or if they touch one of the lines in jumping, they rest for the next turn. The one reaching the <i>chentrale</i> at first will be the winner of the race.</p>	

<i>Skalo</i> n.m. (card game)	competition, rivalry
<p>Rules are the same as for Italian "scala 40"; French cards must be used: it is perceived as a foreign game played by adults only.</p>	

<i>Xarig</i> n.m. (rope skipping) Girls only	competition, rivalry
<p>Rope skipping is one of the most diffused games for girls in Africa and in the Mediterranean area. Players at their turn must skip the rope. The winner counts more skips than the others.</p>	

<i>Ninka beerta falayo</i> (countryman hoeing the land) Boys and girls	competition, rivalry
<p>Boys and girls on a line of 10, screaming toward the 11th the sentence <i>ninka beerta falayo futo gudud</i> 'hey man hoeing the land, check your bottom it is red!'. At this provocation he starts running to catch them.</p>	

<i>Quful quful</i> n.m. (run and catch) Boys and girls	competition, rivalry					
<p>Boys and girls stand on a line of 10, kneeling down and the other team facing them and closing their eyes with the hands. While singing one of those kneeling down touches the one who is closing his eyes. In case he guesses the name of the one standing behind, him the two teams turn over.</p>						
<p>The song:</p>						
<i>Quful</i> keyhole	<i>quful</i> keyhole	<i>quful</i> keyhole	<i>naar</i> hell	<i>Darab</i> nonsense	<i>masakiin, darab</i> poor nonsense	<i>naar</i> hell
<i>Hee'ee'ya</i> and so	<i>aburabrab</i> close the eyes					

Notes

¹ The present paper is based on data collected in 1989 during a research campaign. Because of tragic facts Somalia has been involved in, it was not possible to go back and go into a deeper analysis of games and language matters dealing with them. I hope that children interviewed at that time are still alive and can contribute as adults to a better life for everybody in Somalia.

² See Zampolini (1984: chapters 2 and 3) and Zaslavsky (1973: chapter 11) for a full introduction to the *awele/oware* games in Africa.

³ Traditional women dress.

⁴ Sharaf is an Arabic name meaning 'respectful and wise'.

⁵ *Xaaji* in Arabic means 'who has been as a pilgrim to the Holy Mecca'.

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