

Taxanaha Darsidda Afka iyo Suugaanta Soomaalida
Somali Language and Literature Studies series

1

Afmaal

*Proceedings of the Conference
on the 40th Anniversary
of Somali Orthography*

Djibouti, 17th – 21st December 2012

Tifaftireyaasha/Editors

Cabdirashiid M. Ismaaciil

Cabdalla C. Mansuur

Saynab A. Sharci



Akadeemiye-Goboleedka Af-soomaaliga

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Mahadcelin

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Waxa kale oo aanu u mahadcelinaynaa Madaxweynaha Soomaaliya, **Md. Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud** iyo Guddoomiyaha Baarlamaanjka, **Md. Maxamed Sh. Cusmaan** Jawaari oo labaduba taageero hagarla'aaneed isla garab taagay daryeelka Af-Soomaaliga iyo dhisidda Akadeemiyihiisa.

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Qorista iyo soo saaritaanka buuggan suurtagal ma noqodeen la'aanta shir-cilmiyeedka kor ku xusan oo ah halkii uu ka soo arooray. Sida darteed waxaa mahadnaq weyn naga mudan madaxda Jaamacadda oo uu ugu horeeyo Guddoomiyaheedu, **Dr. Jamaac Maxamed**, iyo macallimiintii shirkaas abaabushay, **Dr. Cabdirashiid Maxamad**, **Dr. Ladan Caafi**, **Dr. Hibo Muumin**, **Dr. Saalax Muumin**, iyo ardaydii gacanta ka gaysatayba. Sidoo kale, waxaan u mahadcelinaynaa **Idiris Yuusuf Cilmi**, **Cusmaan Buux Odowa** iyo inta kale ee taageero iyo gacan ku lahayd shirkaa kor ku xusan.

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Tifaftireyaasha

Foreword

This volume is a partial result of a Conference on the Somali language held at Djibouti University in December 2012. The event came as a culmination of a series of conferences, festivals and workshops on the subject held throughout the last two or so decades primarily in Djibouti but also in different countries. Through these events and other forms of activities, concerned scholars and language promoters made extensive efforts towards the protection and development of the Somali language.

The efforts were motivated by the growing awareness of the importance of the Somali language as a main source of communal identity and as a vehicular, regional language on the one hand and the realisation of the potential threats facing it on the other. Over two decades of a devastating civil war in Somalia and the subsequent collapse of state institutions, including cultural and linguistic establishments, the disbursement of Somalis to other parts of the world, where their children adopted other languages, and the deluge of foreign languages and foreign-based curriculums in latter-day Somalia have all constituted a serious threat to the survival and development of the Somali language and its literature.

The aforesaid efforts made by concerned individuals and institutions came in response to this challenge. The Djibouti Government, led by President Ismail Omar Guelleh, and the Somali-speaking Writers Club of International PEN, often referred to as Somali PEN, played a leading role in the above efforts. It was in this context that the abovementioned conference on the Somali language was organised jointly by Somali PEN and the University of Djibouti, with financial support from the Djibouti Government. The event took place in December 2012 as part of a broader festival organised in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the introduction of an official orthography for the Somali language in 1972.

Tens of language and literature experts and other concerned scholars from around the world engaged in three days of intense discussions focusing on various aspects of the Somali language and its literature. As the central recommendation of the Conference, the participants validated a suggestion put forward in previous conferences on the subject, stressing the need to establish a sub-regional academy responsible for

the safeguarding and development of the Somali language. The result was the creation of the Intergovernmental Academy of Somali Language jointly declared at a high profile ceremony in Djibouti on 17 December 2012 led by the Presidents of the Republic of Djibouti, the Federal Government of Somalia, Somaliland and the Somali Regional State of Ethiopia (represented by his deputy). Later, the Academy was formally launched by an official declaration jointly signed by the ministers of culture of the above states and regional governments in the Horn of Africa where the Somali language is spoken.

This volume carries the core contributions presented at the Djibouti Conference. It contains the papers of those participants who have been kind enough to submit written versions of their work. The papers are published in this volume in their original languages of authorship. Most papers are either in English or Somali with one paper in French. As previously mentioned, the authors highlight various aspects of the Somali language and literature, from tracing the painstaking attempts to establish a writing system for the Somali language since the 19th century to proposing the use of new information technology to modernize Somali.

Structurally, the papers are grouped by theme. In the first essay Cabdalla Cumar Mansuur ventures to investigate the thorny issue of standardisation of written Somali, highlighting how crucial this issue is. Taking issue with certain arguments raised by some commentators, he asserts that neither the dialectal variations nor the divergence encountered in Somali orthography constitute a real obstacle for the development of a common language. Rather, the real problems hindering the development of a standardised written Somali are of institutional and political nature.

Further examining the problems of standardisation from a different perspective, Giorgio Banti and Abdirachid Mohamed Ismail highlight some controversial aspects of the Somali writing system. They offer interesting arguments which lead to proposed practical solutions. Mustafa Abdullahi Feiruz, deals in the following paper with aspects of grammar. The author offers innovative analysis of the conjugation of some controversial verbs in different dialectical forms. To contribute to the standardisation of these forms, Feiruz proposes a set of unifying formations that may be chosen. Annarita Puglielli on her part focuses on the evolution of Somali studies using the example of Somali lexicography. In this context she underscores the importance of dictionaries asserting

that the creation of Somali dictionaries was accentuated by the need for terminologies covering all fields of knowledge, following the introduction of the official Somali orthography. Furthermore, the author argues that Somali modern lexicography cannot do without a thorough knowledge of the structure of the language (phonological, morphological, syntactic).

The next chapter on literature opens with a paper by Maxamed Daahir Afrax which provides an introduction of Somali literature. The author offers an intense discussion of major aspects of Somali literature including nomenclature, classification into genres and the unsettled issue of terminology. He also touches upon the place of literature in Somali society and the universal recognition it has received. The following paper on literature is a critical analysis of an interesting poem, 'Macaan iyo Qadhaadh' [Sweet and Sour] by the late Somali poet, Axmed Ismaaciil Qaasim. In this piece, linguist Maxamed X. Raabbi examines the structural aspect of the famous poem. He devices certain rules of Somali grammar and writing systems to provide a fresh analysis of the poem.

In the chapter on the linguistic use of modern technology, Jama Musse Jama and Nimaan A. Kaourah separately venture to investigate innovative ways to use modern information technology to develop and preserve the Somali language. They both deal with the issue of automatic language processing from different perspectives. Jama attempts to examine whether, through an algorithmic programming on the Somali verse, a computer is able to compose a Somali poem that is semantically and structurally valid. Kaourah, on the other hand, engages in a new experiment examining whether it is possible to device the computer as a tool for the preservation of oral heritage by transforming audio storage into written data with the use of an electronic voice recognition device based on the Somali language. In the next paper, Abdirachid Mohamed Ismail focuses on the thorny issue of teaching the national languages in the Republic of Djibouti. The author offers illuminating analysis of the situation, then moves on to propose an approach that, in his view, can be helpful to the problematic implementation of the official decision taken by the Djibouti Government years ago to teach the Somali and Afar languages in schools. In a collaborative essay, Zuhur Hassan Ahmed and Anwar Maxamed Diiriye highlight the importance of translation and interpreting. They particularly emphasise the use of the Somali language in the context of health services serving the Somali community in the Diaspora. Abdulkadir O. Farah discusses the centrality of language in

identity construction and nation building. He argues that the creative forms of expression in the Somali language, such as rhetoric, literature, myths, imagery, etc., can be utilised as effective vehicles to promote peace and development in Somalia.

Axmed F. Cali "Idaajaa" opens the chapter on the historical development of Somali orthography with a paper giving tribute to one of the greatest pioneers in the search for an adequate orthography for writing Somali, Shire Jaamac Axmed. Idaajaa sheds light on the tireless efforts made by Shire over the years in pursuit of a written Somali. He describes Shire's innovative contribution to the development of a modified version of the Latin script which later became the basis for the current writing system officialised by the military Government in Somalia led by Maxamed Siyaad Barre in 1972. Shire did not only propose the use of the new script but he illustrated its validity by using it in actual writings which he published frequently in a serious periodical entitled *Iftiinka Aqoonta* (Light of Knowledge) which he founded and edited in the 1960s. In a more general paper, Mauro Tosco offers an intense description of the different stages of the long journey towards establishing a writing system for the language: the early attempts to use Arabic alphabets mainly by religious leaders, the invention of indigenous Somali scripts first pioneered by Cusmaan Yuusuf Keenadid in the early 20th century, followed by other scholars such as Sheekh Cabdurraxmaan Sheekh Nuur and Xuseen Sheikh Axmed "Kaddare"; the devoted efforts made by promoters of the use of the Latin script, notably Shire Jaamac Axmed, Muuse Galaal and B.W. Andrzejewski; and finally the decision by the military regime of 1972 to use Latin as the official orthography for writing Somali. Among the indigenous scripts, Tosco gives special attention to Osmania script, named after its inventor, Cusmaan Yuusuf Keenadiid. He describes this script as the most serious or most developed one.

As a complementing addition, we have decided to conclude this volume with a superb piece by the late Prof. Andrzejewski, the elder statesman of Somali studies, entitled, *The Introduction of a National Orthography for Somali*. Written a few years after the introduction of the official Somali orthography by one of the pioneers of the development of this orthography, this piece appeared to us as an essential complementary to the volume. Highly informative and instructive as it is, the piece provides illuminating background information to the contents of this collection. That is why we have attached it as an appendix.

In conclusion, we believe that the work showcased in this new volume brings to the intellectual world of linguistic and literary studies fresh reflections and perspectives on Somali language and literature in the context of the current Somali situation. Though not exhaustive and not a systematic work but a collection of different papers presented at a conference, we still believe that it will be very useful to anyone interested Somali studies and/or in the study of African languages and literatures.

Maxamed Daahir Afrax, PhD.

President of the Intergovernmental Academy of Somali Language

Gogoldhig

Kaddib markii uu burbur ku dhacay qarankii Soomaaliya, waxaa burburay hay'adihii u xilsaarnaa u adeegga iyo horumarinta Af-soomaaliga. Sidaa darteed dhibaato badan ayaa soo wajahday afka.

Si looga hortago dhibaatooyinkaas, waxaa u guntaday ururro iyo shakhsiyaad Soomaaliyeed oo deggan dalal kala duwan. Sidoo kale dawladda Jabuuti ayaa samaysay dadaal uu hormuudka ahaa madaxweyne Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle. Jabuuti ayaa waxaa lagu qabtay shir-cilmiyeedyo is dabajoog ah oo looga hadlayay sidii looga guulaysan lahaa dhibaatooyinka soo wajahay Af-Soomaaliga. Qabanqaabinta shirarkaas badankooda waxaa hormuud ka ahaa Naadiga PEN ee Qalinleyda iyo Hal-abuurka Soomaaliyeed (Somali PEN). Shir-cilmiyeedkii ugu dambeeyey ee ku saabsanaa Af-soomaaliga waxaa lagu qabtay Jabuuti 17kii-20kii Disember 2012, qabanqaabintiisana waxaa iska kaashaday Naadiga Somali PEN iyo Jaamacadda Jabuuti. Shir-cilmiyeedkaasi wuxuu qayb ka ahaa dabbaaldeeg weyn oo lagu xusay 40-guuradii ka soo wareegatay rasmiyayntii qoraalka Af-Soomaaliga ama hirgalintii far-Soomaalida rasmiga ah sannadkii 1972^{kii}. Munaasabaddaas oo heerkeedu ahaa kan ugu sarreeya waxaa ka soo qaybgalay oo si wadajir ah xaflad weyn ugu furay Madaxweynaha Jamhuuriyadda Jabuuti, Madaxweynaha Dawladda Federaalka Soomaaliya, Madaxweynaha Soomaaliland, iyo Mas'uulo sare oo ka socda Dowlad Degaanka Soomaaliyeed ee Itoobiya. Natiijadii ugu weyneyd ee ka soo baxday munaasabaddaas waxay ahayd oo si wadajir ah loo go'aamiyey in dhidibbada loo taago Akadeemiyad Af-Soomaaliga u xilsaaran oo ay yeeshaan waddamada Geeska Afrika ee Af-Soomaaliga lagaga hadlo, taas oo magaceedu noqday Akadeemiye-Goboleedka Af-Soomaaliga (AGA).

Shircilmiyeedkaas kor ku xusan waxaa ka soo qaybgalay aqoonyahanno fara badan oo ku xeeldheer cilmibaarista Af-Soomaaliga, kuwaas oo ka kooban Soomaali iyo shisheeyaba, oo dunida daafaheeda ka kala yimid. Qoraallo cilmibaariseed oo badan ayaana madashaas laga soo jeediyey, laguna falanqeeyey.

Haddaba, buuggan oo diyaarintiisa iyo daabacaaddiisa ay iska kaashadeen Jaamacadda Jabuuti iyo Akadeemiye-Goboleedka Af-

soomaaliga (AGA), wuxuu xambaarsan yahay qoraalladii shirkaas lagu soo bandhigay, kuwaas oo ah intii qoraal ee ay noo soo gudbiyeen ka qaybgalayaashii curiyey.

Qoraalladani waxay ku kala qoran yihiin saddex af-soomaali, ingiriisi iyo faransiis, waxay giddigoodu ku saabsanyihiin baaritaanno ay aqoonyahanadaasi ka sameeyeen Af-Soomaaliga, waxayna u qaybsan yihiin shan mowduuc:

- Habqoridda iyo daraasaadka Af-soomaaliga
- Suugaanta Af-soomaaliga
- Af-soomaaliga iyo Teknolojiyadda cusub ee warisgaadhshiinta
- Af-Soomaaliga iyo adeegsiga bulshada
- Taariikhda qorista farta soomaaliga

Ugu dambayn waxaan halkan ugu mahadnaqaynaa aqoonyahanada ka soo qaybgalay shir-cilmiyeedka dusha ku xusan, inta qoraalladoodana na soo gaadhsiisay si halkani loogu daabaco iyo inta isku hawshay in uu buugan soo baxo.

Tifaftireyaasha

Cutubka 1d / Chapter 1

Habqoridda iyo Darsidda Af-Soomaaliga

Issues on Standardization and Study of Somali writing system

Cabdalla Cumar Mansuur

Midaynta iyo Horumarinta Af-soomaaliga¹

Kaddib markii loo kala qaxay dalal afafkoodu kala duwan yihiin, waxaa la dareemay ahmiyadda uu leeyahay afka hooyo iyo qoraalkiisuba. Gaar ahaan xagga qoraalka, afku wuxuu noqday midka keliya ee laysku afgaran karo. Arintan ayaana keentay in ay sare u kacdo danaynta afka hooyo iyo in adeegsigiisa la badsado.

Soomaalidii uu faranjigu ku tilmaami jiray dad wada gabyaa ah, haatan waxay noqdeen dad wada qoraa ah. Geedkii hoostiisa lagu doodi jirayna waxaa lagu beddelay internet iyo qalabka warbaahinta kale. Tiro badan iyo tayo fiican laysla waa. Sidaa darteed waxaa dhashay doodo badan oo ku saabsan Af-soomaaliga. Dad ayaa aaminsan in afku aanu xasilnayn, waxayna u aanaynayaan: kala duwanaanta lahadaha iyo farqoraalka Af-soomaaliga.

Haddaba, anigu ma qabo in lahadaha kala duwan iyo farqoraalka Af-soomaaligu ay yihiin caqabadaha hortaagan midaynta iyo horumarinta afkan, waxaana muujinaya arrimaha soo socda ee aan ku soo bandhigayo qaybta hore (qodobbada: 1 & 2), qaybta dambana (qodobbada 3 & 4) waxaan wax ka tilmaamayaa dhibaatooyinka dhabta ah ee ka jira afka oo u baahan in wax laga qabto.

1. Kala duwanaanta lahadaha

Lahjadaha Af-soomaaliga, oo tiradoodu ka badan tahay 25 afguri ama lahadood², marka laga eego sida qaababkoodu ay isugu dhowyihiin, waxaa guud ahaan loo qaybin karaa 5 ama 4 koox lahaddeed³:

- 1) **Lahjadaha Maxaatiri** (oo ka kooban 10 farac lahaddeed) waxaa looga hadlaa dhammaan degaamada soomaaliyeed, marka laga reebo inta u dhaxaysa labada webi. Guud ahaanna waxaa loo qaybin karaa laba koox hoosaad: *Maxaatiri Woqooyi* iyo *Maxaatiri Koofureed*.

¹ Halkan waxaan uga mahadnaqayaa aqoonyahannadii gacan igu siiyay diyaarinta qoraalkan, waxaana ka mid ah barayaashan jaamacadeed: Cabdirashiid Ismaaciil Maxamed, Mustafa Abdullahi Feiruz iyo G. Banti.

² Afafka *Boni/Awera* iyo *Rendille* (Kenya), *Gariirre* iyo *Bayso* (Itoobiya), oo ah afaf ay aad ugu dhowyihiin Af-soomaaliga, waxay ka mid ahaan lahaayeen lahadaha Af-soomaaliga haddii looga hadli lahaa gudaha dalka soomaaliyeed. Sidatan ayayna af ahaan isugu dhowyihiin afafkaas iyo lahadaha soomaaliyeed: *afka Rendille & lahadaha Maxaatiri*, *afka Boni & lahadaha May*, *afafka Gariirre iyo Bayso & lahadaha Dabarre*.

³ Lamberti (1984) wuxuu u qaybiyay 5 koox lahaddeed: lahadaha *Woqooyi*, *Banaadir*, *Maay*, *Digil* iyo *Ashraaf*.

2. **Lahjadaha Maay** (oo ka kooban 5 farac lahjadeed) waxaa looga hadlaa degaanka u dhexeeya labada webi, gaar ahaan dhanka koonfur-galbeed Soomaaliya.
3. **Lahjadaha, Maa-dhati/Ashraaf** (oo 2 ah) waxaa looga hadlaa degmada Shangaani (Muqdisho) iyo magaalada Marka.
4. **Lahjado beeleed** (oo 8 ahi) waa lahjado beelo u gaar ah, laba kooxood ayayna ka koobanyihiin:

a) **lahjadaha Digil** (oo ah 5 lahjadood oo kala duwan) waxaa ku kala hadla beelaha: *Garre, Jiiddu, Tunni, Dabarre, Oroole*, waxaana looga hadlaa deegaanka ku teedsan webiyada ee dhanka koonfureed ee Soomaaliya.

b) **lahjado jacbur** (oo 3 ah) waxaa ku hadla beelaha: *Hubeer, Reer Aamiir, Riibo*.

Lahjadahani waxyaabo badan ayay ku kala duwanyihiin oo la xiriira: codaynta, sarfiga, weeraynta iyo ereyadaba. Isla markaana waxaa muuqata in Af-soomaaligu, qoraal ahaan iyo hadal/oraah ahaanba (oraly), uu aayar aayar u midoobi rabo. Waxyaabaha caddaynayana waxaa ka mid ah:

1.1. Kala duwanaanta xagga sarfiga falka

Waxa aan halkan tusaale ahaan ugu soo bandhigaynaa habka ay lahjaduhu u adeeg-sadaan fal amminkiisu yahay joogto socoto, sida falka "qaado".

Lahjadaha Maxaatiri:

- 1) waan qaadanayaa
- 2) waan qaadanaayaa
- 3) waan qaadana hayaa
- 4) waan qaadan hayaa
- 5) waan qaadanaa
- 7) waan qaada haa
- 8) waan qaadanooyaa

Lahjadaha Maay:

- 9) qaadadoo haya

Lahjadaha Digil

- 10) qaadaal hasha (Jiiddu)
- 11) qaadad aaya (Tunni)
- 12) qaada sheyay (Garre)
- 13) qaadadoo heesha (Dabarre)

Lahjadaha Maadhati (Ashraaf)

- 14) qaadadoo haasha (Shangaani)
- 15) qaadasha reebe (Marka)

Iyadoo aan cidna amar ku bixin in la qaato lahjad gaar ah ayaa dhammaan soomaalida ku hadasha 25ka afguri isku dayda in ay qoraal ahaan u adeegsato laba qaab sarfi oo ka mid ah **10ka** lahjadood ee *Maxaatirida*, qaabka labada tusaale ee hoosta ka xarriiqan ayaana loo badanyahay (waan qaadanayaa & waan qaadana hayaa).

1.2. Kala duwanaanta xagga weeraynta, sarfaha iyo codaynta

Isla lahjadaha Maxaatiri, gaar ahaan labada qaab lahjadeed ee loo badanyahay adeegsigooda, ayaa waxay leeyihiin qaabab qola walba u gaar ah, haddana qoraal ahaan lama adeegsado, tus.:

Waa la qoraa

Markaasuu yiri
Waan baxayaa
Waxaan idin oran lahaa
Waxaan ku iri
Anaa cuna
Ma rabo
Maxay tiri?
Wuxuu yiri/yidhi
Gar/gadh

Lama qoro

suu yeen (Bari)
waa baxayaa aan (Bari)
waxaa nii oran lahaa (Jabuuti)
waxaan kaa idhi (Jabuuti)
anaa cuno (Koofur)
ma rabi (koofur)
xay tiri? (Koofur)
wuxuu dhahay (Koofur)
gaj/ger

Qaababka qaybta midig, qoraal ahaan lama adeegsado, cidna ma oran yaan la qorin, isla markiina, hadal ahaan, qolo waliba si caadi ah ayay u adeegsataa qaababkeeda. Labadan tusaale (1.1 & 1.2) ee kor ku xusan waxay astaan u yihiin horumarka habsocodka midaynta Af-soomaaliga (standardization process).

1.3. Kala duwanaanta xagga ereyada

Waxaa jira laba qaab ereyeed oo micnahoodu isku mid ah, oo lagu muransanyahay midkii la qaadan lahaa. Ereyadaas waxaan u kala saaraynaa saddex qaybood.

1.3.1. Erey laba siyood oo yara kala duwan loogu dhawaaqo:

Ereyo micnahoodu isku mid yahay, qaabkooduse wax yar kala duwanyahay, oo afafka qalaad lagu yiraahdaa « variant/variante », ma aha wax Af-soomaaliga u gaar ah, tus. :

-Af-soomaali :

sheekh & shiikh
dayaarad & dayuurad
xiriir & xidhiidh

-Af-ingiriisiga (UK & US) :

Grey & gray (US)
colour & color (US)
anaemia & anemia (US)

-Af-carbeedka:

Allaatii & allawaatii (kuwii dh.)

-Af-talyaaniga:

Comprare & comperare

1.3.2. Ereyada sammiga ah (synonyms):

Sidoo kale, waxaa jira ereyo qabkooda kala duwan yahay, oo haddana isku micne leh:

Af-soomaaliga: gudin & masaar
gaari & baabuur

Af-ingiriisiga: postman (UK) & mailman (US)

Ereyada sammiga ahi af walba waa ku jiraan, waxayna kordhiyaan hodantinnimada afka:

Qaarkood adeegsigoodu wuu yara kala duwanyahay, sida:

- **Soomaali:** Wadne iyo qalbi (wadnaxanuun & qalbixumo)
weji iyo fool (weji malaha & foolxumo)

- **Ingiriisi:** house & home (house work & home work)

a) Waxtarka badnaanta ereyada sammiga ah waxaa ka mid ah:

- **Soomaali:** guri, aqal, hoy, **min** (Kush.*min/man) **minfiq**, **minyaro**, **minxiis**; (**min** = ilmagaaleen).

“**Min** daroof leh aqal daahyo weyn dadab la heedaamay” (Ina Cabdulle Xasan)

- **Carabi:** daar (sar), bayt (guri, reer), manzil, sakan..

- **Ingiriisi:** car, auto, automobile, motorcar

b) Ereyo ka soo jeeda lahadaha kale (Banaadir, Maay iyo Digil) ayaa buuxin kara kaalin bannaan, sida:

Walax (substance), eysin (“nephew”), bed (area)

1.3.1. Ereyo laba siyood ama ka badan loo wadareeyo

Waxaa jira ereyo laba siyood loo wadareeyo oo labadaba sax ah, waxaana ka mid ah:

Maro (marooyin/maryo)

huuri (huuriyaal/huuriyo)

Buug (buugaag, buugag, buug(ta))

Arrintan waxaa la wadaaga Af-carabiga, tus.:

Taalib (tullaab/talabah) طالب طلاب/طلبة

Jaamicah (jaamicaat/ jawaamic) جامعة جامعات/جوامع

Cabdi (cibaad/cabiid) عبد عباد/عبيد

Haddaba, waxaa qaybtan aan ku soo gunaanadaynaa, sida laga dheehan karo

falanqayntan kooban, in aanay jirin dhibaato badan oo hortaagan geedisocodka midaynta Af-soomaaliga. Taas micnaheedu ma aha in Af-soomaaliga, qoraal ahaan loo adeegsado, uu wada sax yahay. Qaladaad badan baa la sameeyaa oo la xiriira, inta badan:

1) Higgaadda ereyga (spelling) oo aad looga liito, gaar ahaan, shibbanayaasha labanlaabma iyo shaqallada dhaadheer ayaa gafafka ku badan, sida :

*gudiga (guddiga), *arin (arrin), *ogol (oggol), *xaruun (xarun) iwm.

2) Qaladaad naxwe oo ka soo jeeda lahadaha qaarkood. Tus.:

Waa *yimiday/*yimidday⁴, (waxaa ka saxsan: waa yimi(d))

laba *qofood⁵ (waxaa ka saxsan: laba qof)

3) Ereyo qaarkood oo loo adeegsado si aan habboonayn, tus. :

waxaa laysku qaladaa adeegsiga labadan magacuyaal:

annaga⁶ & innaga,

kaayaga & keenna

Afalkii qarniyaal hore la qoray ayaaba dadka ku hadlaya qaladaad ka fakadaan, sida :

Af-Carbeedka :

((lasnaa *mucallimmuuna (waa qalad) mucallimiina (baa sax ah) لنا معلمون معلمين

((lanaa *waladayni (waa qalad) waladaani (baa sax ah) لنا ولدين ولدان

4 Falalka dibkabayaasha lehi waxay iska rogrogan falka dhammaadkiisa, laakiin shanta fal ee horkabayaasha leh waxay iska rogrogan falka hortiisa oo keli ah, (waan imi(d), waad timid...waan nimid), markii laga reebo idinku iyo iyagu oo falkooda hor iyo gadaaba iska rogroga (sida: waad timaadeen, way yimaadeen).

5 Magacyada lagu wadareeyo dibkabaha -o ayaa dibkabaha -ood qaadanaya, sida: gabdho (labo gabdhood), fardo, kabo iwm, laakiin ereyga "qof" kuma wadaroobo dibkabaha -o, sida: dardar, naxwe ahaan, kuma habboona in la yiraahdo *2 qofood .

6 Annaga & kaayaga waxaa la adeegsadaa marka lalahadluhu uu ka baxsanyahay waxa laga hadlayo (exclusive) (tus. annagu arday baanuu nahay, adiguse macallin baad tahay). Innaga & keenna iyagana waxaa la adeegsadaa marka lalahadluhu uu ka mid yahay dadka hadlaya (inclusive) (tus. innagu Soomaali baaynu wada nahay).

Af-Talyaaniga:

- dad baa isdaba dhiga laba xiriiriye: *ma pero (laakiin haseyeeshe)

- qaarkood waxay qaladaan adeegsiga qaab faleedka loo yaqaan "subjunctive":

credevo che tu *arrivavi (waa qalad) arivassi oggi (baa sax ah)

Haddii qaar ka mid ah kuhadlayaasha afalkan la qoray qarniyaal ka hor ay weli ka fakanayaan qaladaadka oo kale, maxaa laga filayaa dadka ku hadla af qoran nus qarni ka yar, haddana aan lahayn dugsiyo laga barto naxwihisa oo sax ah iyo adeegsiga qaamuuskiisa?

Haddaba, arrinta midaynta lahadaha Af-soomaaliga, guud ahaan, waxaan u kala saari karnaa saddex qaybood:

1. Kuwa iskood u midoobay (sida aan ku soo muujinay qodobbada 1.1 & 1.2)

2. Kuwa yara kala duwan oo aan dhibaata lahayn, sida afaf kaleba ay u leeyihiin (sida ku cad qodobka: 1.3)

3. Kuwa kala duwan ama yara qaldan, iyaguna iskood ayay u xallismi doonaan, sida Yaasiin C. Keenadiid (1976) uu horeyba ugu xusay gogoldhigga qaamuuskiisa:

"Af-soomaaligu waa af qorid lagu bilaabay, oo hadda weli qolo waliba moodeyso in ereyada gobolkeeda u gaarka ahi, ay af-soomaaliga «sare» yihiin, kuwa kalena «afguri» ... Muddo kaddib, isaga ayaa inta isku darma oo is dheeha, isku dubbadhici doona oo midoobi doona."

2. Maxaa ka jira doodaha ka taagan xagga farta Af-soomaaliga?

Doodahan badan ee ku saabsan xasilloonidarrada Af-soomaaliga, xagga hab qoraalka, labo qaybood ayaan u kala saari karnaa: dood ku saabsan in farta Af-soomaaligu ay qabyo tahay iyo dood ku saabsan in qoraalka ereyada qaarkood aanu midaysnayn. Doodahan badankoodu waxay ku salaysanyihiin waxyaabo aan u gaar ahayn Af-Soomaaliga, arrintanna waxaa la wadaaga afaf kale oo la qoray qarniyaal badan ka hor, waxaana muujinaya qodobbada soo socda.

2.1. Doodda qabyannimada farta Af-soomaaliga

Sideedaba, way adagtahay in, guud ahaan, afafka adeegsada alifba'da laga dhex helo af alifba'diisu ay wada koobayso dhammaan codadka uu afkaasu leeyahay, Af-Soomaaliguna waa la mid, waxyaabaha caddaynayana waxaa ka mid ah labadan qodob ee soo socda.

2.1.1. Shibbaneyaasha Af-soomaaliga

Inkastoo shibaneyaasha qorani ay yihiin 22, haddana waxaa jira in Af-Soomaaligu uu leeyahay codad ama shibbaneyaalka kale oo aan la qorin⁷, waxaana ka mid ah:

qoran ma qoran

- bad /b/ dab /p/
- dal /d / edeb / ð /
- nalka / n/ fanka /ŋ /
- jilib /j/ jaamac / tʃ /
- dhal / d / badh / ɽ /

Laba arrimood ayaa loo aanayn karaa sababta aan loo qorin xarfahan.

1) Xarfahan, oo midkiiba uu leeyahay dhawaaqyo yare kala duwan, marka uu ku sugan yahay billawga alanka iyo marka uu ku sugan yahay alanka dhammaadkiisa, oo haddana wax isbeddel ah aan ku sameynayn micnaha ereyga (sida: dab & dap), in xarfo gaar ah loo kala sameeyo waa dhaqaaladarro.

2) Waa xarfo codkooda aan cid kasta si fudud u dareemi karin farqigooda, marka laga reebo labada xaraf ee dambe (/ tʃ // & / ɽ /).

3) Xarfahan codadkooda waxaa laga helaa meelo u gaar ah oo ka mid ah ereyga, waxayna ku yimaadaan xaalado gaar ah. Waxaa tusaale ahaan u soo qaadanaynaa sababta loo qori waayay codka dha'da fudud (/ ɽ / sida badh), waxaana ka mid ah:

- Dha'dan fudud marna lagama helo erey billawgiisa, tus.: *dhar*, *dhiil*, *rati*, *run* (labada cod ee labadan xaraf (*dh* & *r*) si isaga mid ah ayaa Soomaalida oo idil ugu dhawaaqdaa).

⁷ Arrintan ma aha ilduuf iyo kubaraarugid la'aan ee kas iyo ogaal ayaa looga tegey! Cilmi-afeedka, gaar ahaan cilmiga "phonology"-ga ayaa si faahfaahsan uga baaraandega. Codadka la qoray waa nooca loo yaqaan "phoneme" (sida ereyada *dal* & *bal* micnahooda waxaa kala duway labada cod d & b), codadka laga tegayna waxaa loo yaqaan "allophone" (oo ah codad aan u keeneyn wax farqi ah marka ay ku kala jiraan laba erey, sida: dab & dap).

- Waa in shaqal ka horreeyaa, sida: *adhi*, *badh*.
- Ereyo kooban ayaana leh codkan, sida.: *foodhi*, *gabadh*, *yidhi*, *xidhiidh*, *maydh*, *adhi*, *badh* iwm.
- Soomaalida oo dhan sida la rabo uguma dhawaaqi karto, sidaas ay tahay waa la wada fahmayaa. Haddaba, sida qurub diiradeedka *baa* & *ayaa* oo qoloba midka ay doonayso ama taqaan ay u adeegsato (*Cali baa yimid* / *Cali ayaa yimid*) ayaa habboon in sidoo kale, qoloba dhawaaqii u fudud labada cod (r/dh) ay adeegsato, sida: *xidh* / ɽ /⁸ & *xir* / d /.

- a) Sidoo kale, 7da shibbane ee laballaabma (kooxda A) ka sokow, waxaa jira shibbanayaalka kale oo laballaabma oo haddana aan la qorin (kooxda B).

A. Shibbanayaasha laballaabma ee la qoro	B. Shibbanayaasha laballaabma ee aan la qorin
<i>b: xabad</i> <> <i>xabbad</i> (laabta & rasaas/ hal)	<i>f: affar</i> <i>afar</i>
<i>r: carab</i> <> <i>carrab</i> (nin carab ah & carrabka)	<i>t: ratti/ gattay</i> <i>rati/gatay</i>
<i>g: ruuga</i> <> <i>ruugga</i> (ruug(id) & jilib/law)	<i>y: iyyo</i> <i>iyo</i>
<i>d: rido</i> <> <i>riddo</i> (tuuro & gantaal)	<i>dh: gabadhdha</i> <i>gabadha</i>
<i>l: shilin</i> <> <i>shillin</i> (lacag & nooc geed (kedi))	<i>c: magacca</i> <i>magaca</i>
<i>m: dhamaan</i> <> <i>dhammaan</i> (cabbaan & kulli)	<i>x: madaxxa</i> <i>madaxa</i>
<i>n: keena</i> <> <i>keenna</i> (ina keena! & waa keenna)	<i>h: rahha</i> <i>raha</i>
	<i>q: diiqqa</i> <i>diiqa</i>
	<i>s: assaw</i> <i>asaw</i>

Sababta ay khasab ku noqotay in la qoro shibbanayaasha laballaabma ee qaybta bidix (*kooxda* A) waxay tahay si aan loogu wareerin micnaha kala duwan ee ereygu yeelan karo marka shibbanaha laga dhigo mid keli ah (sida: *carab* & *carrab*); laakiin shibbanayaasha kale (*kooxda* B) iyagu isbeddel micne uma keenaan ereyga haddii shibbanuhu uu laballaabanyahay iyo haddii kale (sida: *iiyo* & *iyo*), hadday keenaanna waa dhif. Sidaa darteed, iyadoo la raacayo xeerka dhaqaalaynta

⁸ "Dh"-dan fududi / ɽ / waa cod iskiisa u madaxbannaan, kamana imaan codka "r", waxaana caddaynaya afaf la hayb ah Af-Soomaaliga ayaa la wadaaga (Prof. Giorgio Banti ayaan si toos ah uga soo xigtay warkan), tus.: Soomaali: *wuu yidhi*, Saho: *yedhxe*, Oromo: *yedhe*

qoraalka farta, ayaa looga tagay in la qoro iyagoo dhawaaq ahaan labanllaabma.

Sida aan korba ugu soo xusnay, codka *dha*'da fudud oo aan ahayn mid Soomaalida oo dhan wada adeegsan taqaan, sidaa darteedna looga yeelin xaraf gaar ah, ayaa dhici karta in ay keenaan, mararka qaarkood, micne kala duwan, siiba marka ay qoraal tahay, sida: *Cali wuu maydhay*, weertan waxaa loo fasiran karaa in *Cali uu mayrtay (maydhay)* iyo in uu wax *mayray (maydhay)*. Markan oo kale "context"-iga ama warka raacsan ayaa laga garan karaa micnaha loola jeedo⁹. Arrintan afafka oo idil ayay wadaagaan, waxaana la yiraahdaa "ambiguity" oo ah in erey ama weer loo fasiran karo laba micne oo kala duwan. Af-Ingiriisiga ayaa ka mid ah afafka ku badan arrintan, sida ku cad weerta soo socota: *Each of us saw her duck*. (It is not clear whether the word "duck" refers to an action of ducking or a duck that is a bird¹⁰).

2.1.2. Shaqallada Af-soomaaliga

Shaqallada qoran waa 10 (5 gaagaaban iyo 5 dhaadheer), haseyeeshee, dhawaaq ahaan, shaqalkiiba 2 cod ayuu leeyahay cod fudud iyo cod culus (10 x 2 = 20 cod shaqaleed), tus.:

shaqalka "u" iyo "uu" iyo mid kasta labadiisa cod ee kala duwan:

2 shaqal oo cululus:	<i>duul(ka)</i>	<i>dul(ka)</i>
2 shaqal oo fududud:	<i>duul(id)</i>	<i>dul(dusha)</i>

Arrintani ma aha wax Af-Soomaaliga u gaar ah, waxaa la wadaaga afaf kale ee badan, tus.: Af-Ingiriisigu wuxuu leeyahay 20 cod shaqalleed oo kala duwan, sidaas ay tahay 5 shaqal oo qura ayaa la qoraa, tus. : shaqalka "a" iyo afarta siyood ee loogu dhawaaqo:

- arm / a: /
- ago / ə /
- father / a /
- hat / æ /

Af-iswedishka, isna 19 shaqal ayuu leeyahay, waxaana qoraal ahaan la adeegsadaa 9 shaqal, oo saddex iyaga ka mid ahna astaamo u gaar ah ayay dusha ku leeyihiin. Astaamahasna waxaa loo yaqaan « *diacritic* ».

⁹ Marka la hadlayo labada macne dhegtu way kala garan kartaa, oo iskuma khaldamaan; laakiin marka ay qoraal tahay ayaa labada macne laysku khaldami karaan, markaasna, waxaa loo baahanyahay in la eego "context"-iga ama warka raacsan si loo fahmo micnaha loola jeedo ereygaas.
¹⁰Waxaan ka soo dheegey: Definition and Examples of Literary Terms: <http://literarydevices.net/ambiguity/>

2.1.3. Ereyo isku dhigaal kala dhiihid ah

Waxaa jira ereyo aan badnayn oo qolo lab ka dhigta qolana dheddig. Labadooduba waa sax, waa arrin ku xiran hadba meesha uu codkacu (*high tonal*) ku dhacayo.

árrin-ka *arrín-ta*
bállan-ka *ballán-ta*

Haddii codkacu uu ku dhaco shaqalka ka horreeya shaqalka dambe ee ereyga (sida: *árrin-ka*), magacaasu waa lab, haddiise uu ku dhaco midka dambe (sida: *arrin-ta*) magacu waa dheddig, waxaana la mid ah ereyada soo socda:

(Erey: lab / dheddig) *ínan (ka)* *inán (ta)*
(Erey: lab keli. /dh. wadar) *díbi (ga)* *dibí (da)*

Ereyada noocaas oo kale ah, qoraal ahaan, iyagana waxaa cayntooda laga garan karaa hadba "context"-ga ay ku dhex jiraan, hadal ahaanna, codkaca ayaa laga garan karaa.

Xitaa qoraalka dhigaalka Af-carabiga, oo caadi ahaan, shaqal & shad midna aan lahayn, weerta ayaa laga garan karaa waxa uu yahay ereygu, sida: ereyga كسر (ksr) 4 siyood ayaa loo akhrin karaa oo micnahooda kala duwan, waa kuwan iyagoo loo ::yeelay shaqallo iyo shadba

- *Kasara* (waa jebiyay) *Kusira* (waa la jebiyay)
- *Kassara* (waa jebiyay) *Kasr* (jebin, jab...)

Sababaha ugu doorka roon ee loogu yeeli waayay astaamo gaar ah (*diacritic*) Af-soomaaaliga shaqalladiisa cululus iyo codkacba waa labadan arrimood:

1) Haddii loo yeelo astaamo gaar ah sida Swedeshka, farsame ahaan iyo dhaqaale ahaanba, arrintaa dhibaataadeeda ayay leedahay, oo waxaa loo baahnaanaayaa qalab qoraal oo gaar ah.

2) Dadweynaha aan badankoodu wax baran way ku adkaan lahayd kala saaridda qoraalka shaqalka culus iyo midka fudud iyo adeegsiga codkaca.

Haddaba, alifba'da Af-soomaaligu, sida afafka kale ee dunida ka jira, kama wada koobna dhammaan codadka uu afku leeyahay. Aqoonyahannada ku xeeldheer cilmiga codaynta ayaa ku shaqa leh inay baaraan inta cod ee luqadi leedahay iyo wixii la xiriira, waana cilmi heer jaamacadeed. Sababaha looga dhigay alifba'da mid aan wada koobayn codadka ee luqadi leedahay waxaa ka mid ah arrimahan hoos ku taxan, oo badankooda uu horay u adeegsaday Guddiga Af-soomaaligu 1961¹¹.

¹¹ Guddiga Af-soomaaliga, oo ka koobnaa 9 xubnood oo ka mid ahaayeen: Muuse Galaal, Shire Jaamac, Yaasiin C. Keenadiid iyo Kaddare, oo loo igmaday in ay ka warbixiyaan 17 far ee markaas la soo bandhigay, ayaa sannadka 1961 soo saaray qoraalkan: «The Report of The Somali language Committee». Warbixintaas waxaa ka mid ahaa in xulashada farta ku habboon Af-soomaaligu ay buuxiso 17 shardi, qaar kuwaas ka mid ahi waxay ka mid yihiin kuwa kor ku xusan.

• Waa in la fududeeyaa qoraalka farta, si dadweynuhu si sahlan ugu adeegsan karo, gaar ahaan inta aqoonta yari iyo carruurta.

• In la raadiyo sidii looga maarmi lahaa in xarfaha loo yeelo astaamo gaar ah (*diacritic*), iyadoo la tixgelinayo arrimaha farsamo iyo dhaqaale.

– *Qoraalka farta waa in la dhaqaaleeyaa, oo laga tagaa wixii laga maarmi karo.*

• Waa inay noqotaa far lagu garaaci karo qalab qoraalka aad ugu baahsan dunida (international keyboard)¹².

• Waa in fartu ay ka koobnaato xuruufo codkooda laga heli karo lahjadaha badankooda.

• Waa inayna ahaan mid jahawareer u keenta akhristayaasheeda.

Farta waxaa loogu talagallay dadka ku hadla afkaas, sida aan ka dareemayno afafka: Faransiiska, Ingiriisiga iyo Carabigaba (oo shaqal & shad la'aan loo adeegsado). Haddii lagu saleeyo baahida shisheeyaha aqoonta leh waxaa la dulminayaa dadka u dhashay afkaas oo badankooda aqoonta yar.

2.2. Doodda habdhigaalka ereyada qaarkood ee Af-soomaaliga

Ereyo badan ayaa habqoraalkooda lagu kala duwan yahay, sida:

2.2.1. Qoraalka ereyada lammaanan

Qoraalka ereyada lammaanan ee Af-soomaaligu waxay u kala baxaan labo nooc:

a) Kuwo aan lagu kala duwanayn, sida:

horumar (hor+u+mar), habdhis (hab+dhis), maragmadoonto (marag+ma+doonto) iwm.

¹² Natijadeedana, waa taa fartaas maanta u suurtaggelisay soomaalidu meel kastoo ay ka joogto dunida daafaheeda in ay hesho « keyboard » si fudud loogu qori karo farta Af-soomaaliga, sida Af-ingiriisiga.

b) Kuwo aan laysku raacsanayn isqabadkooda, sida:

<i>biyamareen</i>	<i>waayo-aragnimo</i>
<i>biya-mareen</i>	<i>waayoaragnimo</i>
<i>biyo-mareen</i>	<i>waayo aragnimo</i>
<i>biyommareen</i>	<i>waaya'aragnimo</i>

Xitaa Af-igiriisigu wuxuu leeyahay ereyo lammaanan oo siyaabo kala duwan loo qori karo, sida:

-*Airbed, air-bed, air bed* (Catherine E.Love 1985)

-*Head-master, headmaster, head master* (Hornby A.S. 1986)

Haddaba, uma arko in dhibaato weyn tahay in ay kala duwanaadaan habka laysugu lifaaqayo ereyada lammaanan, waqtiga ayaana sixi doona, waxaase aan ku talin lahaa:

1. Markii ay isu yimaadaan laba shaqal, halka ay iska qabanayaan labada erey ee laysku lammaanayo, waxaa habboon in loo dhaxaysiiyo xarriiqinta yar, sida *waayo-aragnimo, cilmi-afeed* iwm.
2. In hamsada aan loo adeegsan meel aan ku habboonayn, sida: **waaya'aragnimo*, maxaayeelay hamsadu waxay leedahay cod hakasho oo gaar ah, sida *la'aan, go'doon*, waxaaba loo yaqaan "glottal stop", waxayna ka mid tahay shibbanayaasha (astaanteedaa xagga IPA waa sidatan [?]).
3. Ereyadii isqaban kara in la xiriiriyo ayaa habboon, sida: *biyomareen, cilmibaaris, gaarigacan, sheekabaraaley* iwm.

2.2.2. Dhaqaalaynta Qoraalka

Qoraalka sidiisaba waa in la fududeeyaa, lana dhaqaaleeyaa. Haddaba in ereyada qaarkood aan kala dhigdhigno ma habboontahay? Sow ma habboona in hadalka loo qoro sida loogu dhawaaqo marka la hadlayo?. Bal eeg labadan weerood, oo laba siyood loo qoray, habkeeba u dhow sida, caadi ahaan, loo hadlo?

-Soomaali : -*Dubai*¹³ *baa na aad soo mari /baa aad na soo mari*
 Dubai baadna soo mari
 -*Gabadhu wax baa ay igu tiri*
 Gabadhu wax bay igu tiri

¹³ Waxaa habboon in magacyada shisheeye loo qoro sida caalamku u adeegsado, (sida: Dubai, NewYork, Kenya, Newton, Paris iwm), markii laga reebo magacyo la Soomaaliyeeyay, sida: Mareykanka, Itoobiya, Ruushka iwm.

- Tirada sannadka, lambarka telefonka iwm waxaa loo adeegsada Af-Ingiriisi, tus.:

2009 (*tuu tawsan nayn*),

4.5 (*foor boynti fayf*),

90% (*naynti bersenti*),

Garawe2 (*Garowe tuu*),

SYL2 (*es waay el tuu*)

- Ereyada siyaasadda: election, commission, condition, transporence, Hiiran State, mayor...

- Magacyada hooteellada, shirkadaha iyo dacaayadahoodaba iyaga lamaba soo koobi karo.

- Qalabka warbaahinta oo laga sugayay inay wax ka saxaan afka, waa kuwan magacyadooda:

- *SNTV, STARTV, UNIVERSAL, SOMALI CHANNEL, ROYALTYV, HCTV, iwm.*

Haddii dadka waaweyn hadalkoodu uu sidaas noqday maxaa laga filayaa dhallinta yaryar ee haatan af shisheeye uun wax ku barata (gudaha iyo dibaddaba)?

Haddii xaaladda ereyguurku ay sii socoto, ma sii jiri doontaa oraahdii shisheeye oo ahayd “*Nation of poets*” oo salka ku haysay hodantinnimadii af-Soomaaliga? Haddaan la xakamayn adeegsiga badan ee ereyada af shisheeye, waxaa dhici karta in ereyo badan ee Soomaaliyeed ay lumaan, kaalintoodana ay galaan ereyo af shisheeye. Ereyada soomaaliyeed ee habkaas ku lumay ama ku lumi raba saddex nooc baa loo qaybin karaa:

- a) Ereyo soomaaliyeed oo ka lumay gobollada qaarkood, oo kaalintooda galay erey shisheeye, sida:

– *beed (ukun), milix (cusbo), xashiish (qashin), masax (tir/tirtir) iwm (waxay ka lumeen degaannada woqooyi).*

– *wasakh (dhusuq/uskag), deris (ollog), naf (rubad) iyo caqli (dhug), denbi (gabood), nooc (jaad) (waxay ka lumeen degaannada koonfureed).*

- b) Ereyo soomaaliyeed oo ku dhacay isbeddel micne (shift meaning), oo micnahoodi hore ee asalka ahaa lagu beddelay ereyo carbeed, sida: *weji (fool)¹⁴, garaac (dhaw)¹⁵.*

- c) Ereyo badan ee shisheeye oo adeegsigooda batay ayaa ereyo soomaaliyeed shiiqin raba, sida:

- d) lambar (tiro), barlamaan (gole shacbi), looyar/abukaato (qareen), tiibii/tiibisho (qaaxo), maraq (fuud), malaariyo (duumo), nasiib (dhur), boos (jago, goob), wiig/usbuuc/Sitimaan (todobaad), jaalle/yalaw (huruud) iwm.

Adeegsiga badan ee ereyada af shisheeye wuxuu muujinayaa in Soomali badan ay lumisay waxa cilmi-afeedyahannadu ay yiraahdaan “*language loyalty*”, yacnii qaddarinta afka hooyo ayaa ka luntay, waxaa la waynaaday ama haybad la yeeshay afafka qalaad.

4. Gabaggabo

Haddaba, si loo hormariyo Af-soomaaliga, loogana gudbo caqabadahan hortaagan afkan agoontoobay waxaa loo baahanyahay:

4.1. In la helo dawlad iska xilsarta:

- a) Sidii Af-soomaaliga looga dhigi lahaa afka waxbarashada dugsiyada (hoose ilaa sare)
- b) In jaamacadaha soomaaliyeed ay lahaadaan waaxo u gaar ah daraasaadka Af-soomaaliga.
- c) In ay ka qaybqaadato hirgelinta Akadeemiya goboleedda Af-soomaaliga “AGA”.
- d) In heer qaran loo sameeyo ereybixinno badan oo midaysan si loo dhameystiro casriyaynta (modernization) Af-soomaaliga, si Af-soomaaligu ugu suurtagasho in uu noqdo af lagu cabbiri karo fikradaha la xiriira aqoonta iyo farsamada casriga ah oo dhan.

14 In ereyga *fool* uu ahaa midka asalka ah waxaa caddaynaya ereyadan lammaanan iyo maahmaahda raacsan : *fool-ka-fool, foolxumo, fooltub, foolbaxsi, “far keliyahi fool ma dhaqdo”.*

15 Ereyga *dhaw* in micnihiisi asalka uu ahaa *garaac* (*qaraca, carabi*) waxaa caddaynaya ereyadan: *carrabdhaw, fardhaw, suuldhabaale, dhawdhawle, dhagadhabasho, „Afdhabaandhab aayar ah nin ku aamusaan ahaye”* (Raage Ugaas). Lahjadaha Maay iyo *Digil, Jabuuti* iyo Galbeed shishe, intuba ereyga *dhaw* waxay weli u adeegsadaan sida uu ahaa micnihiisi hore, sidoo kale ayaa afkii Kushiitkada Bari ee hore (PEC) qaabkiisi iyo micnihiisi u ahaa **dhaw*.

4.2. Dad u hiiliya afkan

Sidoo kale, waxaa loo baahanyahay in qof ahaan aan ugu hiillino afkan, sida arrimaha soo socda:

- In aan waxba lagu kordhinin farta Af-soomaaliga, laguna socda habkii wax lagu qori jiray inta ay ka hirgalayaan arrimahaas hay'adaha ama dowladdu u xilsaaran yihiin.
- In laga faa'iidaysto cilmibaarisyadii horey loo sameeyey, waqtina la isaga lumin in haatan dib loo bilaabo wax la baarayay muddo 134 sano¹⁶.
- Maadaama bahda warbaahintu saamayn weyn ay ku leedahay wacyigelinta bulshada, waa in ay isku daydaa adeegsiga Af-soomaaliga hufan, yareeyaanna ereyada shisheeye ee laga maarmi karo.
- Inteenna wax qorta, waxaa inala gudboon, in aynu u guntanno ka qayb qaadashada "Ololaha u hiillinta afka hooyo", innagoo ku billaabayna sidii aan u yarayn lahayn adeegsiga Af-Soomaaliga barxan, laga bilaabo madasha aynu haatan joogno!!

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Some issues in somali orthography

Habqorista af-soomaaligu si habboon ma u xasili kartaa?

The debate on the writing of the Somali language (SomL) began in the late 19th century, when different formal proposals for writing this language were first made. From those years, there has been a long debate and, since 1951, several successive committees were appointed for choosing a script for SomL. Among them, with the exception of the first committee for the SomL (1951) who could not choose any writing, the following three official committees (1960, 1965, 1970) all suggested some adapted Latin-based orthography as the most appropriate. However, although the *Guddi* set up by the Somali Republic in 1961 preferred this writing, it took 12 years for it to be accepted and the might of a mainly military government to impose it.

Already in 1951, linguists knew that the Latin script was an easier (*sahlan*) and more economical writing, which would allow a rapid harmonization of the educational and administrative systems between the northern and southern parts of the country. At the same time there was an ideological polarisation between the supporters of the Arabic script, those of local ones such as the so-called Osmaniya script and the Latin-based one was almost out of the competition. As already pointed out, twenty years had to pass for the latter to be accepted. We should recognize that the different committees of the SomL worked and produced much. Many of the questions that arise today were previously raised by them, to which they found several solutions even if some of them were not implemented.

What are the difficulties that arise in writing the SomL? What were the solutions that were recommended and why did it happen that some of them were not implemented? What might be the prospects for improving and stabilizing the writing of Somali? Here are some questions we try to answer in this article.

1- The issues addressed by the 1960 Somali language Committee (SLC)

The SLC established these seventeen rules concerning the script and the orthography of SomL (cf. *Linguistic Report*, 1960, pp.11-12) which have been followed successfully:

1. "It¹⁷ must be phonetic.
2. It must be simple in setting.
3. It must not have any diacritic except by those which have been approved by the committee, i.e. one for accent and one to modify sound.
4. It must not have any sign which has more than one function.
5. It must not have signs which are differentiated only by means of diacritics.
6. It must not have any diacritics which are representing basic sounds of the language themselves.
7. It must have printing machines available in the country.
8. It must conform to the International Telegraphic Notations.
9. It must be standardized.
10. It must be based on an alphabetic system.
11. It must be economical in all aspects.
12. It must be cursive as all well as printing forms.
13. It must be susceptible to further modification without altering its basic foundation.
14. It must be applicable for all the Somali dialects.
15. It must be taught in schools.
16. It must be unique; i.e. it must not be composed of letters normally known to belong to other script.
17. It should not cause any confusion to its readers."

As the committee was composed of scholars who had been debating about how to write this language for almost twenty years, they had acquired a sound knowledge about the phonetic and grammatical structure of this language. Among the rules listed above, although each of them addresses a specific problem about choosing a script and/or an orthography, some have been particularly productive. In fact, they pointed out certain phonetic particularities of SomL, proposing an orthographic solution for each of them.

For instance, the third rule states that letters should not contain diacritics. This rule has been successfully implemented although many have tried to review it, because writing *inan baa libaax arkay* does not permit to distinguish sentences like: *inàn bàà libàax àrkày*, "a lion saw a boy" and *inàn bàà libáàx àrkáy*, "a boy saw a lion".

¹⁷ That is the writing of SomL.

Second, the context is often sufficient to avoid ambiguity of the sentence as Cabdalla states in his article of the present volume (*id.*:29). This is allowed by the fact that in SomL tonal accent only encodes grammatical categories (gender, number, case), most of which can be generally recovered from the discourse context or the word order.

This fact also answers the question whether back and front vowels should be distinguished by means of diacritics, e.g. *caḍ* (+ATR)¹⁸, “meat” or *cad* (-ATR), “white”. The SLC (1960) answered negatively, probably according to the simplification rule (cf. n°2) and economical rule (cf. n°11) they had established. To this day this rule is observed, because again the context is sufficient to avoid ambiguity even if, in a very restricted number of construction, we may feel ambiguity in the sentences: *guur iyo guur kala da'a*¹⁹:/ literally “do not associate marriage and the fact of leaving early in the morning” (meaning: marriage is not compatible with the fact of leaving early in the morning).

The fourth rule in the list imposes a unique correspondence between graphemes and sounds (a letter for a sound). This rule has been implemented partially since back and front vowels are written with the same symbols. The economical necessity of the written form has prevailed (cf. n°11) against the total application of it. But this has not caused significant damage for the reading of SomL, specifically when it is done by Somali speakers.

In fact, these two rules have induced the fact that to read SomL one first needs to understand the meaning of the words. We can understand that for the SLC as for everybody entitled to establish a script for a specific community, the Somali script was first of all a need of Somali speakers, specifically developed for their literacy.

2- Standardization and linguistic variation of Somali language

The first difficulty we meet in Somali writing is not properly due to the writing itself but to the regional variation. As the Northern Somali includes several varieties (cf. Banti 2010, Ismail, 2011), which are more or less divergent, the question of deciding which form should be considered as a standard and be written, often arises. This issue has been addressed by different authors among which, Yaasiin (1976), Mustafa (2015) and especially Cabdalla (2015) who differentiates three cases of writing divergence, each one of them finding an appropriate solution.

¹⁸ The symbols used to mark fronting or backing varies according to authors: *cæd* (Saeed, 1999:10), *cäd* (Morin, 2011:374-381), *caḍ*, Puglielli & Mansur (2012:116), etc.

¹⁹ The Djiboutian poet and artist Cumar Kuul has written poems for children based on minimal pairs. They have been published by the Cripén (Centre de Recherche et d'Information Pédagogique de l'Éducation Nationale) of Djibouti. See also Salaax Xaashi Carab, 2003.

The second difficulty is due either to the fact that there has been an insufficient standardization of SomL, or to the natural evolution of writing which tends to be economical. The 1961 SLC decided to use phonetic transcription of isolated words, as is always the case for first transcriptions of a language using the alphabetic script. But the question of using a morphemic or a phonetic transcription arises for sentences or groups of words, e.g., *waa uu yimi(d)* or *wuu yimi(d)* “he came”. In this case Cabdalla (2015:29) proposes to use phonetic transcription, which is most economical. This rule is conclusive most of the time without changing the register of language, such as the examples given by the author: *Dubai baadna soo mari* is more economical and less critical for understanding than *Dubai baa na aad soo mari /baa aad na soo mari* (meaning: “And you will pass through Dubai.”). There is strictly no difference of register between these sentences.

But what can be added to this statement is the fact that there can be two different registers of writing, as in several languages with a longer tradition of writing. The registers of language have not been discussed by the different committees, because syntax and discourse levels were not among their objectives: they didn't intend to discuss the relation between the different registers of SomL and writing. But it is obvious that a careful style of writing, which as much as possible clarifies the different parts of speech, will mark a difference, e.g., “...*maantoo ay ka soo wareegtay...*” (“that today has returned from...’ Yaasiin, 1976-ix) can also be written either as “...*maanta oo ay ka soo wareegtay...*” or as “...*mantooy ka soo wareegtay...*” The first sentence, which is intermediate from an economical point of view is often used in the writings, and belongs to the standard oral production. The second way of writing is encouraged by some authors such as Maxamed X. Raabbi, whereas the last one should not be encouraged in careful writing because it may cause ambiguities and confusion.

3- Harmonisation of writing

There are some issues which have been discussed by the 1960 and 1972 SLCs, such as the gemination of consonants, and how to spell compound words, but several open questions remain. For instance, the 1972 SLC identified seven consonants, i.e. *b, d, g, l, m, n, r*, which can geminate (cf. Yaasiin, *id.*, p.xxv). Saalax X. Carab (2003, p.19) added four more consonants, which geminate (*dh, s, f, j*), whereas Cabdalla (2015 : 27) considered that all Somali consonants can geminate, except the glottal stop or *hamza*.

This divergence is due to the fact that for some words only the phonetic aspect of the variation is taken into account: *ama* vs *amma* “but”, *affaf* vs *afaf* “mouths, languages”, *hadda* vs *hada* “now”, etc. For some others, only the phonemic aspect is considered and some minimal pairs are given, such as *xabad* “chest” vs. *xabbad*

“bullet” or “one”; *carab* “Arab” vs. *carrab* “tongue”, *kabo* “shoes” vs. *kabbo* “to sip”, *walac* “spark” or “light” vs. *wallac* “signs or sickness of pregnancy”, etc. This creates considerable difficulties, and many literate Somali speakers don’t know which form is wrong and which is right when writing.

When we consider consonantal gemination in Somali language, it is easy to note that there is more variation on the phonetic level than on the phonemic one. For instance, the distinction between *ama* vs *amma* “but”, or *dhammaan* vs *dhamaan* “all”, *affar* vs *afar* “four” and the like, are more a matter of an idiolectal or dialectal variation. If we consider the dialectal survey done by Ehret & Nuuh (1984), we see that the word *afar* “four” is given for all the *maxaa-tiri* dialects, but for the word “all” they register *dhamman* for most of the dialects, but *dhamaan*, for Hargeisa. We can observe this kind of variation in many words: *annaga* “we” (exclusive) vs *anaga* and *annagga*, *saddex* “three” vs. *sadex*, *xiddid* “root” vs *xidid*, etc.

In a purely phonetic aspect, we can consider with Cabdalla (2015:25) that all the Somali consonants can geminate, except the glottal stop [ʔ]. But most of the time, this gemination does not induce a change in the meaning. This is the case of certain consonants, such as *c*, *h*, *q*, *x*, *dh*, which can geminate when the article is assimilated; i.e. *magacca* “the name”, *madaxxa* “the head”, *rahha* “the frog”, etc. Instead, Saeed (1999, p. 31) takes into account a simplification rule which can follow the assimilation one, giving words like *sicii* “the cow” and not *siccii*, *subixii* “the morning” and not *subixxii*, etc.

Some phonetic realisations which indicate a gemination are even against the morphological structure of the words. The *fg* gemination in *affaf* is against the rule of plural formation of the monosyllabic words ending with a consonant. This rule only implies a reduplication of the last consonant and a supplementary vowel *a* which precede the consonant: *jiir* > *jiirar* “mouse”/”mice”; *aas* > *aasas* “burial”/”burials”, etc.²⁰, in the same case, we should have *af* > *afaf* “mouth”/”mouths” as Mansur & Puglielli (1999:31) write. Besides this, the accentual pattern or the change of position of the high tone induces a sense of gemination felt by certain speakers, where there is no grammatical justification for it. It is the case of the gemination that we find sometimes in the causative form of certain verbs, such as *bax* “go out” > *bixi* “push someone outside, give something” and not **bixxi*, or *mar* “to pass through, to go through” > *mari* “to put through, to make pass through”, and not **marri*, etc.

If the harmonisation of writing is considered for this issue, it could be based on the phonemic level which are recognized by all, rather than the phonetic level which displays considerable variation. In this case, only the consonants with

20 Cf. Saeed, 1993, p. 48.

distinctive gemination can be selected. This harmonisation can be also based on the morphological structure of the words and the correspondence between morphemes and pronunciation should be maintained when it is possible.

As pointed out above, another issue about Somali writing concerns the compound words which show a noticeable variation in their spellings. This has been commented by Cabdalla (2015:33), and we refer readers to his article. We only add here that the morphosyntactic aspect should be considered, and that compound words having a similar morphological structure should not be differentiated in their spelling: if we write *cilmi-afeed* “linguistics” as proposed by Cabdalla, in principle we should write *cilmi-beereed* “agronomy”, and not *cilmi beereed* as proposed by the author. These two last spellings can also co-exist but not *cilmi-afeed* and **cilmiafeed*, since phonetically these vowels in hiatus would cause an epenthetic semi-consonant *y* to be added, *[ʃilmiafeed]. Some people have used an apostrophe in similar cases, i.e., *cilmi'afeed*.

4- The spelling of borrowed words

There is a great deal of variation in the spelling of terms borrowed from other languages, such as Arabic or some European languages (English, Italian, and French). The late Academy for Somali language did not establish any rule for the writing of these terms and this explains somewhat this variation, at least for the recent borrowings. For the old borrowings, the problem is generally solved when the words developed a widely accepted and used Somali form: *wasaarad* from *wazaara* (Arabic, “ministry”); *makiinad/makkiinad* from *macchina* (Italian, “machine”); *iskuul* from *school* (English); *filin* from *film* (English); *kooraan* or *koronto* respectively from *courant* (French, “electricity”, in the Djibouti variety of SomL) and *corrente* (Italian). These borrowed words are so well integrated in SomL that their written forms make no difficulty for the readers to recognize them. For instance the word *kombiyuutar* (from *computer*), even if it is very different in its transcription from the original one, is easily recognizable by Somali readers.

But the main problem concerns the new borrowings. If one looks at those linked with new communication technologies, such as *mail*, *chat*, *roaming*, etc., these words become more or less unrecognisable when they are transcribed in Somali writing, particularly in their definite forms: *maylka*, *shatka*, *ruuminga*, etc. The lack of a harmonisation institution which proposes the most adapted transcription is the reason of this variation.

Another type of writing variation regards borrowed proper names, especially place names (towns, cities, countries, etc.). We can meet sometimes the name *Landhan*

London, Raashia for Russia, Jineefa²¹ for Geneva, etc. As Cabdalla (2015:29) proposes, it is preferable to keep the most common way to write these names. It can be a necessary phase given to Somali writing to be sufficiently implemented among Somali readers. The Somalisation of foreign proper names especially those of places can come through education.

5- Typography of Somali language

This issue is the least discussed in Somali writing, whereas this aspect is also essential to understand written sentences or discourses, and has to be standardised. The usage of periods, commas, semicolons, colons, ellipses, dashes, etc. depends on an author's inspiration or training. For instance, on the back cover of Jaamac C. Isse's book, *Hilimada Maansadii Hore* (vol.2), we can read:

Ummad kasta waxay Qaran ku noqon kartaa Afkeeda Taariikhdeeda iyo dhaqankeeda, Af Soomaaliga aqoonyahanadii cilmi barista ku sameeyay shisheeye iyo sokeeye mid kasta ha ahaadeene markay u dhabba galeen dhuuxeen waxay ka marag fureen oo qireen in Af Soomaaligu yahay Afhodan ah cilmi ahaan iyo suugaan ahaana loogu dhaqmi karo²².

This passage shows a minimal use of punctuation, and this can disrupt the reading as well as understanding. Besides, the writer uses the capital letter A for Af (language) which is very common. This is maybe justified by the fact he wants to distinguish it from *af* "mouth".

Most young Somali writers adapt the typography rules of the foreign language they have learnt. In general, this helps to achieve a better organization of texts:

Maxaabbiistii dhawr iyo tobanka qof ahayd ee aannu ku wada xidhnayn Saldhiga Booliska ee Boosaaso qaarkood ayaa jeelka ka baxay. Sababaha keenay in la sii daayo way kala duwanayd. Wiil dhallinyaro ah, oo ahaa kii maxaabbiista²³ ugu da'da yaraa, isaga markiiba waa la sii daayey, sababta oo ah wuu ku xanuunsaday jeelka²⁴.

21 Cf. Axmed Sheekh Jaamac, 2013, p. 39.

22 "A people can become one nation because of its language, history and culture. The scholars who have made research on Somali language, both foreigners and locals, everyone has noticed, witnessed and reported that Somali language is sufficiently equipped to be used for science and literature."

23 Note in the same paragraph, the variation with geminate b: *Maxaabbiistii vs maxaabbiista*.

24 Cf. Abdibashir Ali, 2013, p. 74. "Some of the people that had been arrested and kept in the Police Station of Boosaaso have been released. The reasons for their release were of different kinds. A young boy, who was the youngest of the arrested people, was also released immediately, because he has fallen ill while in jail".

To offset an appositive clause with double commas is rare in Somali writings. If this is made, it shows a perception, not only of the rhythm of the language, but also of its syntactic structure. Here, the author separates the pre-posed direct object phrase *wiil dhallinyaro ah*, the appositive relative clause "*oo ahaa kii maxaabbiista ugu da'da yaraa*" and the phrase "*isaga markiiba*", with commas; this shows a greater awareness of grammatical relations of different parts of the text. Notice that this kind of punctuation is closer to the French use of punctuation than that of English, which is more synthetic:

Engl: *A young boy, who was the youngest of the arrested people, was also released immediately.* Fren: *Le jeune garçon, qui était le moins âgé parmi les prisonniers, a été, quant lui, immédiatement relâché.*

We observe in many Somali writings, the authors paid less attention to the typography, the consequence of this being a great variation of the use of punctuation; the reason of this being the lack of sufficient standardisation of this aspect of the language too. And yet, typography helps to read and understand more efficiently the written text. It is the reason that this issue also needs to be discussed for Somali writing standardisation.

6- Reference works for orthography and model of writings

The SomL is one of the most studied among sub-Saharan languages. Many monolingual dictionaries (cf. Yaasiin, 1976; Saalax. X. Carab, 2004; Khaalid Cali-Guul-Warsame, 2008; Puglielli & Mansur, 2012; Aadan Xasan, 2012) have been published, the two latter dictionaries containing several tens of thousands of words each. On the other hand, the number of bilingual dictionaries translating Somali into a foreign language or vice-versa is difficult to establish. From the *English-Somali* of Larajasse (1897) to the more recent and voluminous dictionaries of Agostini & al. (1985) and Puglielli (2010), there have been innumerable lexicographical works translating Somali to another foreign language (English, Arabic, Russian, Japanese, French, etc.) or vice-versa.

These works play a role in the standardisation of Somali writing. It is remarkable that the last two most recent monolingual dictionaries in Somali (Puglielli & Mansur, 2012, and Aadan Xasan, 2012) have few differences in their orthography. The most perceptible difference is in the variation between *dh* and *r*, between vowels and at the end of syllables, which is quite common and differentiates roughly the north western pronunciation against most other varieties of Northern and Benaadiri Somali.

Besides, the grammar of SomL has been widely and deeply studied for more than a hundred years, and described in many publications. This has permitted the publication of grammatical description of high quality (cf. Saeed, 1993, 1999; Maxamad Xaaji X. Raabi, 2003; Mansur & Puglielli, 1999, Puglielli & Mansur, 2012, etc.) which can serve as a reference and will help standardisation.

Behind the standardisation of a language there is often a language policy, but behind a variety of reference or a literary language there are often one or more great authors of this literature, i.e. Homer for Greek, Shakespeare for English, Goethe for German, Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio for Italian, Cervantes for Spanish, Molière for French, Pushkin and Dostoevsky for Russian, etc. In its oral literature the SomL has plenty of reference, from Raage Ugaas to the contemporary Maxamed Ibrahim Warsame "Hadraawi", going through Sayid Cabdalle Maxamed Xasan, Qamaan Bulxan, Cilmi Boodhari, and so many others who are considered as the classical poets of Somalis.

However, for the written literature there isn't yet a work or a group of works that can be regarded as being the reference, even though some writings have had a relatively great echo among Somalis when they appeared, such as *Aqoondarro waa u nacayb jacayl* of Faarax M.J. Cawl (1974) translated by Andrzejewski in 1982 with the title "Ignorance is the Enemy of Love"; the play of Xasan Sheekh Muumin, *Shabeelnaagood*, translated also by Andrzejewski in his "Leopard among Women", 1974; the famous story of Cilmi Boodhari told by Rashiid Maxamed Shabeele in his book *Ma dhabbaa jacayl waa loo dhintaa?* written in 1975; the writings of Shire Jaamac Axmed in his *Iftiinka Aqoonta*, in the mid-sixties, Muuse X. I. Galaal, Hikmad Soomaali, 1956²⁵, or Afrax's *Maana Faay* that was first published in 1979.

Some of these writings were not of a good quality in their orthography, even if the language style was, on the contrary, of a high level. On the one hand, this was due to the fact that SomL had not yet an established orthography when some of these works were published, or had acquired it only from a short time. The second reason was that the editing work and proofreading was very poor, since it was not done by professional editors.

Between the seventies and nineties, most of the Somali writings were published by the Academy of Sciences, Arts and Literature of Somalia, the National Printers, *Madbacadda Qaranka*, or the Ministry of Culture and Education, such as those of Shire Jaamac Axmed (1973), Axmad F. Cali Idaaja (1974, 1976), Jaamac Cumar Ciise (1974, 1976; re-edited, 2005), Yasiin Cismaan Keenadid (1976), Faarax M. J. Cawl (1980), Boobe Yusuf Ducale, (1983), Axmed Cartan Xaange (1984), etc. Even if these authors were quite versed in writing Somali, the edition quality of these works was not sufficient to serve as a model.

25 The last two quotations have been written before the formal Somali writing has been established.

In contrast, in the last thirty or twenty last years, we observe a noticeable increase of the quality of Somali writings. The new challenge faced by Somali writers, regarding the quality of editing, after the nineties and more particularly after 2000's can be seen through three publishing events which are outstanding. The first is the novel published by Xuseen Sh. Axmed Kaddare, *Waasuge iyo Warsame* in 1983, which is particularly well edited, even though the author belongs to the first generation of Somali writers, who paid less attention to editing. The second is the new 1997 edition of *Maana-Faay*, one of the most famous novels in Somali written literature, by Mohamed Dahir Afrax, with a quality which can be envied by major editors. Lastly, there is the emergence of professional Somali editors such as Ponte Invisible and Red-Sea On-Line, Haan Associates, ILD, Kasmoo Publishing LTD, Halabuur/Hal-abuur, Galool, AMA books, Iftiin Publishers, etc., who have published texts of considerable editing quality during these last years. The re-edition of Aw Jamaac Cumar Ciise books (2005), the conspicuous production of Salaax Xaashi Carab (2003, 2004, 2009), as well as the beautifully written books of Axmed Sheekh Jaamac, *Cadlidoonaha Daal Allaa Baday*, Rashiid Sheekh Cabdillahi, *Adduun iyo Taladii*, or Siciid Jaamac Xuseen's *Safar aan Jaho lahayn*, or *Xabbaddii Dunida Gilgishey* of Shukri Aaden Shire, among others, show this improvement of editing written Somali literature. Among magazines, we can quote the *Halabuur/Hal-abuur* magazine and many electronic Somali journals, which help to promote the emergence of a written Somali variety of a high quality.

Conclusion

The main problem of the Somali language is linked to the fact that the central institution which had been in charge of its standardization collapsed with the central government of Somalia in 1992. From then, and even some years before, the Academy of Sciences, Arts and Literature stopped working on the improvement of this language and its writing. The Somali language Committees, especially those of 1960 and 1972, achieved remarkable results in terms of the standardization of the language.

However, with the dispersion of Somalis all around the world and the emergence of a more educated generation, the development of the new technology of communication increased the usage of Somali writing. This has created the need of an institution, which continues the work begun by the different SLC and the Academy of Sciences, Arts and Literature. All the issues evoked in this article need to be discussed so that this language can be reinforced and given the position it has among its speakers, and is beautifully evoked here by Aw Jamaac C. Ciise (2005b, voll, p.13):

“Af-Soomaaligu waa af ballaaran, ereyadiisuna badan yihiin, dhan loo eegaba waa af hodan ah, hadal iyo hawraar, maanso iyo maah-maah, gabay iyo geeraar, masaafo iyo madadaalo, hees iyo heelo, sheeko iyo shararaaxin, qorriin iyo qun-u-hadal, gees loo raacaba waa af tanaad ah oo ay murti iyo hadallo macno weyn xambaarsani ka buuxaan.”

“Somali is a copious language, with a great number of words; in every respect it is a rich language, its words and expressions, its poetry and proverbs, its odes and elegies, its poems and plays, its songs and ballads, its stories and tales, its written and oral genres, whatever aspect we consider, it is a great language, full of wisdom and sayings that convey profound ideas”.

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Mustafa Cabdilaahi Fayruus

Isrogrogidda Falka Af-soomaaliga : Aragti ku aadan Midaynta Qoraalkiisa

1. Hordhac²⁶

Afka Soomaaligu waxa uu ku abtirsadaa afafka Kushitigga (*Cushitic Languages*), gaar ahaan Kushitigga Bari, waxa ay isu dhow yihiin afafka Cafarta iyo Oromada. Afafka Kushitigga waxa ay ka farcamaan bahwaynta afafka Afroo-Aasiya (*Afroasiatic Languages*). Afafka Kushitigga ee xilligan lagu hadlaa waa 29 af, oo lagaga kala hadlo toddobada dal ee Soomaaliya, Jabuuti, Itoobiya, Eritereya, Kiiniya, Suudaan iyo Tansaaniya²⁷. Waxaa dadka ku hadla lagu qiyaasi karaa 75-80 milyan oo qof²⁸. Af Soomaaligu waa afka labaad ee Kushitigga xagga tirada dadka ku hadla, oo afka Oromada keliya ayaa ka badan.

Af Soomaaligu waa afka ay ku hadlaan dadka Soomaalida ah ee ku faafsan Geeska Afrika, dalalka Soomaaliya, Jabuuti, Itoobiya iyo Kiiniya. Waxaa soo raaca tiro aan yarayn oo ah jaaliyadaha Soomaalida ee ku firirsan dunida daafaheega. Waxaa lagu qiyaasaa dadka Af Soomaaliga ku hadla qiyaastii in ka badan 25 Milyan oo qof²⁹.

²⁶ Qoraalkani wuxuu ka faa'iidaystay doodihii iyo fikradihii aqoonyahanka kala duwani ii soo jeediyeen kulamo dhowr ah, oo aan fikradda "Midaynta qoraalka falka Af Soomaaliga" ku soo bandhigay. Waxaa ugu mug waynaa kulankii " Afartanguuradii Qoraalka Farka Soomaaliga; Jabuuti, Diisambar 2012". Bilowga fikradda waxaan ku soo bandhigay Kulankii " The First Annual Education Conference: Improving the Quality of Education for Somali Speaking Children; Hargeysa, Sebtember 2011". Halkan waxaan uga mahadnaqayaa dhamaan aqoonyahannadii fikrado iyo xog labadaba igu kordhiyay; iguna dhiirrigeliyay inaan fikraddan iyo qoraalkeedaba halka ay maanta joogaan inaan soo gaarsiyo. Magacyadooda ma soo koobi karo, waxaase ugu muuqday bahda Akaademiya-goboleedka Af Soomaaliga (AGA), oo ay ugu horeeyaan guddoomiyaha Dr Maxamed Daahir Afrax, iyo guddoomiyekuxigeenka Dr Cabdirashiid Maxamed Ismaaciil; iyo Naadiga Halabuurka iyo Qalinleyda Soomaaliyeed " Somali Speaking PEN", oo uu horseedka u yahay guddoomiyaha Naadiga, ahna wasiirka wasaaradda Awqafta iyo dhaqanka ee Jamhuuriyadda Jabuuti, mudane Aadan Xasan Aadan "Beleloo". Dhamaantood way mahadsan yihiin; la'aantoodna qoraalku heerka uu maanta joogo ma soo gaareen. Qoraalkan badidiisa waxaan diyaariyay Diisambar 2012, waxaan mar kale tifaftiray Oktoobar 2014.

²⁷ Mansuur, Cabdalla C., Bahda Afafka Kushitigga iyo Taariikha Af-Soomaaliga, bb. 32-44. Blench, Roger; *The Afro-Asiatic Languages: Classification and Reference List*; *Cushitic Languages*, retrieved from, <http://www.rogerblench.info/Language/Afroasiatic/General/AALIST.pdf>, accessed on October 16, 2014

²⁸ Way culus tahay in tirakoob hufan laga helo tirada dadka ku hadla afafka Kushitigga. Qiyaastan waxaan ka soo saaray tirakoobyada iyo qiyaasaha shucuubta afafkan ku hadla, oo la faafiyay xilliyo kala duwan; iyada oo aan ku daray isbeddelka tirooyinka ku iman kara.

²⁹ UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles) International Institute, Center for World Languages, Language Material Project, Somali Language Profile; <http://www.lmp.ucla.edu/Profile.aspx?LangID=202&menu=004>; accessed on October 15, 2014.

Afku mar waa hadal, marna waa qoraal. Hadalku badanaa waxa uu ku kooban yahay deegaan gaar ah, qoraalkuse waxa uu gaadhi karaa dad ku kala nool deegaano kala fog, ama nool waqtiyo kala duwan. Qalabka warbaahinta ee aragga iyo maqalkuba, badanaaba, waa qoraalkii oo dib loo akhriyay. Haddaba, waxaa la doorbidaa in la mideeyo afka qoran, si loo xoojiyo isfahmida iyo ka faa`iidaysiga qoraalka.

Waxaa jira baahiyo isa soo taraya oo loo qabo midaynta qoraalka Af Soomaaliga; waxaana ka mid ah faafidda kombiyuutarka iyo internetka³⁰; iyo carruurta badan ee Soomaaliyeed ee qurbaha ku koraya, oo u baahan in afkooda hooyo la baro³¹.

Falku waa qayb muhiim ah oo ka mid ah qaybaha hadalka. Marka falka la adeegsanayo waxa ku dhaca isbeddelo ah laba nooc; isbeddel ah isbeddel sarfiyeed ama "inflection", waxaana loo yaqaan "isrogrogid" ama "conjugation" "فيريصت". Isbeddelka labaad waa isbeddel ah "farcamid" ama "derivation" "قاقاتشا". Diraasaddani waxa ay ku wajahan tahay isbeddelka nooca koowaad ee "inflection" ama isrogrogidda falka ah. Daraasaddani waxa ay falanqaynaysaa, talooyinna ka soo jeedinaysaa, midaynta qoraalka falka, gaar ahaan dhinacyada: Qaabka falka: amar iyo maxaddane, amminta falka, iyo falgargaare. Meelaha falka si kala duwan loogu dhawaaqo, loona qoro, diraasaddani waxay soo jeedinaysaa in hal qaab loo qoro, kaasna la xusho.

30 Faafidda kombiyuutarka iyo internetku waxay sii xoojinayaan baahida loo qabo midaynta qoraalka. Marka qoraalka afku midaysan yahay, waxaa suurtagelaysa in kombiyuutarku u adeego afka, sida sixidda qoraalka (spell checking), macnaynta erayada, tarjamadda (machine translation) iwm. Waxaa soo xoogaysanaya danaynta ay culimada kombiyuutarku u hayaan luqadda, iyo baahida culimada cilmi-afeedku (linguistics) u qabaan in kombiyuutarka loo adeegsado cilmibaarista iyo adeegsiga luqadda. Danaynta isa soo taraysa ee labada dhinac, waxaa ka unkamay cilmi cusub oo loo yaqaan "Natural language processing (NLP)" ama "Computational Linguistics"; cilmigan oo soo koraya ilaa kontonaadkii qarnigii labaatanaad (1950s). (fiiri: Wilks, Y., Computational Linguistics: History, Brown, Keith (ed.), Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics, Elsevier Ltd, 2nd edition, 2006, pp. 761-768).

Hadaba, si Af Soomaaliga uga faa`iidaysto aaladda kombiyuutarka, waxaa lamahuraan noqonaysa in a mideeyo qoraalkiisa. Baahidani hadda ayay jirtaa, sida la filayo, mustaqbalka aad ayay u sii kordhaysaa.

31 Waxaa jira jaaliyado Soomaaliyeed oo qurbaha ku nool, ubadkooduna baahi xoog leh u qabaan in af Soomaaliga la baro, loona diyaariyo agab ka kaalmeeya barashadan, ha noqdo buugaag ama barnaamijyo kombiyuutar iwm. Arintanina waxay sii xoojinaysaa baahida loo qabo in la mideeyo qoraalka af Soomaaliga.

Daraasadan qoraagu wuxuu soo xulay hal qaab, wuxuuna u soo gudbinayaa soojeedin ahaan³². Soojeedinta waxa lagu saleeyay:

1. Badida deegaanada laga isticmaalo
2. Tixgelinta koobidda ka dhalata fududaynta dhawaaqa
3. jihada isbeddelku u socdo (dhanka loo socdo lagama baajin karo)

waxaa iga afeef ah:

1. Lahjadaha guud ee Af-soomaaliga waa "may" iyo "maxaad". Halkan waxaan ku falanqeynay lajjadda "maxaad" oo lagu adeegsado waxbarashada, warbaahinta, maamulka, qoraalka iwm, deedna noqotay midka la isla wada yaqaan "common language".
2. Tusaalooyinka lajjadaha ee aan xusay waa inta aqoontaydu gaartay, waa ay dhici kartaa in lajjado kale jiraan aananse koobin.
3. Soojeedintu maaha in "sax" iyo "khalad" la kala xushay, ee dhammaanba lajjaduhu waa wada sax; soojeedintuse waa kalaxulasho loola jeedo sahlidda adeegsiga iyo baridda afka.
4. Midayntu waxa ay ku aaddan tahay afka qoran, hadalkase qofba waa sida u fudud iyo afguriga uu ku barbaaray..
5. Xeerarka naxwaha Af Soomaaliga, ee qoraalkan ku jira, si faahfahsan looma sharxayo, ee si kooban ayaa loo soo gudbinayaa. Sidaas darteed, qofkii u baahani wuxuu u noqon karaa buugaagta iyo qoraallada faahfaahinaya ee hore looga qoray.

Ugu dambayn diraasaddani waa iskuday qof keli ahi sameeyay, sidaas darteed, layaab maaha in la saluugo, amma dadka qaar soojeedimaha ku jira ay garaysan waayaan. Si kasta oo ay noqotaba, waa tallaabo hore loo qaaday oo u adeegaysa afka Soomaaliga; waxayna mudan tahay dhiirrigelin iyo in hore loo sii wado.

32 Soojeedintu waxay ku socotaa aqoonyahanada iyo maamulada. Waayo, aqoonyahanadu iyagaa lafdhabar u ah aqoonta iyo kasmada umadda, halka maamuladu leeyihiin awoodda go`aaminta iyo fulinta. Sidoo kale, soojeedintani waxay ku socotaa guud ahaanba bulshada Soomaaliyeed.

2. Qaabka falka (verb form)

Falka Af-soomaaligu waxa uu ku yimaaddaa qaabab ay isrogrigiddu ka unkanto, oo kala ah: Qaabka amarka (*Imperative*), iyo qaabka maxaddanaha (*Infinitive*). Marka falku xambaarayo macnenaxweedyada waxa uu ka imanayaa labadan qaab midkood deedna waxaa lagu lifaaqayaa moorfimiyadii macnenaxweedyada (grammatical morphemes).

2.1. Falka amarka (Imperative)

Falka amarka kelidu kooxda 2b waxa uu ku dhamaadaa saddex midkood: -ee (sida: Samee, malee), ama -ay (sida: samay, malay), ama -ey (sida:samey, maley).

Falka amarka badanaaba waxaa loo qoraa saddexdan qaab midkood, samee iyo samay ama samey. Qaamuuska Ileeye ee Saalax Xaashi waxa uu qaatay samay, cadday, cashay, malay (eeg b. D22 ee lifaaqa Qaamuuska Ileeye).

Soojeedin: in la qoro samee

Waxaan soo jeedinayaa in la qaato qaabka ku dhammaada (-ee),

Waayo, qaabkani uma ekaanayo erayo kale, sida (samay-da); wuxuuna la jaanqaadayaa tagtada sahlan iyo joogtada sahlan (sameeyaa, sameeyay); dhawaaq ahaanna wuu sahlan yahay, una dhexeeyaa laba dhawaaq ee “ay” “samay” iyo “ey” “samey”.

2.2. Falka maxaddanaha (Infinitive)

Falka maxaddanaha ah kooxaha 2a, 2b, 3 iyo 4 waa “fal-amar + -n”, waxaase jira “fal-amar + -ni” marna la raaciyo marna laga tago, sida: Karin/Karini, samayn/samayni, buuxsan/ buuxsani, furan/ furani.

Kooxda 2a waxaa kale oo la raacin karaa “-yi” iyada oo “n”dana laga tegayo, sida: akhri akhrin/akhriyi, cafi cafin/cafiyi, layli laylin/laylyi,

Soojeedin: in mar kasta “-n” lagu daro, oo aan la qorin “-ni” iyo “-yi” labadaba.

Falka maxaddanaha ee ay “-ee” uu u dambeeyo (waa kooxda 2b) waxa uu isu roгаа “ey” ama “ay” deedna “-n” ayaa raacda, sida: samee sameyn/samayn, caddee caddeyn/caddayn, cashee casheyn/cashayn, malee maleyn/malayn iwm. Shaqalka “-ee” waxaa beddelay “ay” ama “ey” oo ah shaqal lammaane ah (diphthongs)³³, tanna meelo kala duwan ayaa lagu arkaa.

Soojeedin: in la qoro “-ay” → samayn, caddayn, cashayn, malayn iwm

Falalka ka kooban halka allane (syllable) ee ka unkama shaqalka “a”, waxa shaqalka “a” uu isu beddeli karaa mararka qaarkood shaqalka “e”, sida: gal geli/gali, tag tegi/tagi, iwm. Labaduba (geli ama gali iwm) waa la adeegsadaa, inkastoo deegaanadu ku kala duwan yihiin.

Soojeedin: in la qorogeli, tegi iwm

Taasi, waa in la qaato “-e-”da timid, lagana guuro “-a-”da hore u sii joogtay.

Falalka ka kooban halka allane ee ka unkama shaqalka “a” una dambeeyo shibbaneyaasha qaarkood, waxa shaqalka “a” uu isu beddelaa shaqalka “i”, sida: ba’ bi`i, da` di`i, dhac dhici, kac kici, bax bixi, iwm. Welise jiidashada “a” ayaa meesha jirta, sida ba`i, da`i, dhaci, kaci,..

Soojeedin: in la qoro bi`i, di`i, dhici, kici, bixi, iwm

Taasi waa in la qoro “-i-”da timid, lagana guuro “-a-”da hore u sii joogtay

³³ Waxaa jira shaqallo ka kooban laba shaqal oo isku lamaan, waxaana loo yaqaan ((diphthong)) ama shaqal lamaan. Shaqalka lamaan waxa uu ku bilawdaa shaqal waxana uu ku dhamaadaa w ama y. Af Soomaaliga marka shaqallada /a/, /e/ iyo /o/ ay ka daba dhacaan w iyo y, waxa ay ku yimaaddaan shantan qaab /aw/, /ay/, /ey/, /ow/, /oy/; labada /ay/ iyo /ey/ waa la isku beddeli karaa, sida: samays sameys, weyn wayn. Sidoo kale labada /aw/ iyo /ow/ iyana waa la isku beddeli karaa, sida: gabaw gabow, iwm. Shantan qaab, ma laba shaqal oo isku lamaan baa? Mise waa shaqal iyo shibbane shaqalkawarqab (semivowel) ah oo isku xiga? Af Soomaaligu sidiisaba ma leeyahay shaqal lamaan? Guud ahaan waa dood culimada cilmi-afeedka, gaar ahaan qaybta foonoolojiga, ay ka doodaan. Haddii loo kuurgalo habdhaqanka erayada qaababkani ay ku jiraan, qaarkood waxa ay u dhaqmaan sida hal shaqal oo wada jira, sida: wayn, samayn iwm. isrogrigidda erayadan “y”da qoraalka ka muuqataa uma dhaqanto sida xaraf iskii u taagan, weliba waxaa ka muuqanaya guurguuris codka ah, oo u dhexeeya “ay” “ey” iyo “ee”. Qaar kalena waxa ay u dhaqmaan sida shaqal iyo shibbane wada socda, sida: oday odayo, hoyn hoyasho iwm. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, arrintani waxa ay u baahan tahay cilmibaadhis qotodheer oo ku dhisan isbarbardhig iyo dabagal isbeddelka sarfiyeed ee erayada hababkani ku jiraan.

3. Amminta falka (tense)

3.1. Tagto sahlan (Simple Past)

Amminta tagto sahlan (Simple past) waxa ay ka unkantaa salka falka amarka oo xagga dambe lagaga lifaaqo “-ay” ama “-ey”; sida: mar maray/marey, cun cunay/ey.

Labada habba isrogrogidda way ka muuqdaan, sida: *Maray : martay, maray, ama Marey: mareen, marteen.*

Soojeedin: in la qoro “-ay”, sida: *maray, cunay, keenay, kariyay* iwm; oo aan la qorin “-ey”, sida: *marey, cuney, keeney, kariyey* iwm.

3.2. Timaaddo (Future)

Amminta timaadadu waxa ay ku timaaddaa laba hab oo kala ah: Habka fidsanaanta iyo Habka koobidda.

Habka fidsanaantu waxa uu ka samaysmaa fal maxaddane (Infinitive Verb) + Falgargaare (Auxiliary Verb); Sida: *Mari doonaa, cuni doonaa (waan ku soo mari doonaa)* iwm.

Habka koobiddu waxa uu ka samaysmaa fal maxaddane keli ah: *Mari, cuni (waan ku soo mari)*, oo waa laga tegey falgargaarihii “doonaa”³⁴.

Habka koobidda ee amminta timaadada, qofka iyo tirada iyo caynkuba kama muuqanayaan falka, waxaase laga garan karaa weedha uu ku jiro, siiba magacuyaalka yeelaha ah ee weheliya; sida: *aan, aannu, aad, uu, ay.*

Soojeedin: in la qoro habka fidsanaanta “Fal maxaddane + Falgargaare” sida: *Mari doonaa cuni doonaa (waan ku soo mari doonaa)*

³⁴ Malahayga habka koobiddu wuxuu ku yimid iyadoo laga fududaystay habka fidsanaanta ee lagu dhawaaqayo labada fal ee wada socda, oo lagu kaaftoomay hal fal keliya, lagana tegay falgargaarihii.

3.3. Ammin socota (Progressive aspect)

3.3.1. Tagto Socota (Past progressive)

Amminta tagto socota, deegaanada Soomaalida ee kala duwan, waxay badanaaba ku timaaddaa qaababkan:

*Mari hayay, cuni hayay
Mara hayay, cuna hayay
Mari haayay, cuni haayay
Mara haayay, cuna haayay
Maraw haayay, cunaw haayay
Marayay, cunayay
Maraayay, cunaayay*

Malahayga qaabka asalka ahi waa “falmaxaddane + falgargaare hay oo tagto ah”, sida: *Mari hayay, cuni hayay*. Qaababka kale isbeddelcodeed “phonological changes” ama koobid ay fududaysashadu keentay ayay ku yimaaddeen³⁵.

Soojeedin: in la qoro habka koobidda “marayay”. Sida: “*waan marayay, wuu cunayay, way hadlaysay* iwm”.

“s” iyo “d”

Qofka labaad, , waxaa beddelmaya moorfimka “t” da lalahadlaha,

wuxuuna isu rogayaa “s”, lahjadaha qaarkoodna “d”. Waxaa la mid ah “t” da dheddigoodka ee kelida qofka saddexaad.

Ammintan tagtada socota, marka ay ku dhisan tahay qofka labaad (second person), keli iyo wadar, iyo lab iyo dheddigba, nooc kasta oo uu yahayba; ama qofka saddexaad (third person) ee dhedigga ah, waxa uu ku yimaadaa laba lahjadood:

kelida qofka labaad waxa uu noqonayaa “*waa aad buuxsanaysay/arkaysay/ karinaysay* iwm”; halka wadarta qofka labaad noqonayso “*waa aad buuxsanayseen/ arkayseen/ karinayseen* iwm”.

³⁵ Fayruus, Mustafa Cabdilaahi, Salkordhinta Xarfan ee Falka Af-soomaaliga, qoraal aan la daabicin, b. 9-10.

Qofka saddexaad ee dhedigga ahna wuxuu noqonayaa “waa ay buuxsanaysay/ arkaysay/ karinaysay iwm”.

Deegaanada qaarkood, dhammaadka falka (-say) waxay ka dhigaan (-day), sida: “waa aad buuxsanayday/arkayday/karinayday iwm”. Wadarta qofka labaadna waa “waa aad buuxsanaydeen/ arkaydeen/karinaydeen iwm”. Qofka saddexaad ee dhedigga ahna waa “waa ay buuxsanayday/ arkayday/ karinayday iwm”.

Soojeedin: in la qoro “s”; sida: “waa aad buuxsanaysay/ arkaysay/ karinaysay iwm; buuxsanayseen/ arkayseen/ karinayseen iwm. Waa ay buuxsanaysay/ arkaysay/ karinaysay iwm”.

3.3.2. Joogto Socota (Present progressive)

Amminta joogto socota, deegaanada Soomaalida ee kala duwan, waxay badanaaba ku timaaddaa qaababkan:

Mari hayaa	cuni hayaa
Mara hayaa	cuna hayaa
Mari haayaa	cuni haayaa
Mara haayaa	cuna haayaa
Maraw haayaa	cunow haayaa
Marayaa	cunayaa
Maraayaa	cunaayaa
Maraa	cunaa

Malahayga qaabka asalka ahi waa “falmaxaddane + falgargaare hay oo joogto ah”, sida: *Mari hayaa, cuni hayaa*. Qaababka kale isbeddelcodeed “phonological changes” ama koobid ay fududaysashadu keentay ayay ku yimaaddeen³⁶.

Soojeedin: in la qoro habka koobidda “marayaa”. Sida: “waan marayaa, wuu cunayaa, way hadlaysaa iwm”.

“s” iyo “d”

Arintii “s” iyo “d” ee aan ku soo aragnay amminta tagto socota, ee qofka labaad iyo dhedigga qofka saddexaad; isla sidaasi ayay ammintan joogto socota ugu jirtaa.

³⁶ Fayruus, Mustafa Cabdilaahi, Salkordhinta Xarfan ee Falka Af-soomaaliga, qoraal aan la daabicin, b.10-11.

Qofka labaad kelidiisu waa “waa aad buuxsanaysaa/ arkaysaa/ karinaysaa iwm”; halka wadarta qofka labaad noqonayso “waa aad buuxsanaysaan/ arkaysaan/ karinaysaan iwm”. Qofka saddexaad ee dhedigga ahna wuxuu noqonayaa “waa ay buuxsanaysaa/ arkaysaa/ karinaysaa iwm”.

Deegaanada qaarkood, dhammaadka falka (-saa) waxay ka dhigaan (-daa), sida: “waa aad buuxsanaydaa/arkaydaa/karinaydaa iwm”. Wadarta qofka labaadna waa “waa aad buuxsanaydaan/ arkaydaan/karinaydaan iwm”. Qofka saddexaad ee dhedigga ahna waa “waa ay buuxsanaydaa/ arkaydaa/ karinaydaa iwm”. **Soojeedin:** in la qoro “s”; sida: “waa aad buuxsanaysaa/ arkaysaa/ karinaysaa iwm; buuxsanaysaan/ arkaysaan/ karinaysaan iwm. Waa ay buuxsanaysaa/ arkaysaa/ karinaysaa iwm”.

4. Falgargaare (auxiliary verb)

Falka maxaddanaha ahi marka uu gelayo weedha aalaaba waxa uu kaashadaa “*falgargaare*”³⁷. Dhowr ka mid ah falgargaarayaashaas ayaa siyaabo kala duwan loogu dhawaaqaa. Waana kuwa hoos ku qoran;

4.1. Hay/haay

Falka “hay” waa falgargaaraha falka weli socda ee aan dhamaystirmin “progressive aspect”, oo waxa uu sameeyaa amminta tagto socota iyo joogto socota. Falgargaarahani waxa uu qaataa moorfimyada amminta tagtada iyo joogtada, marba midda uu raaco. Sida: *Roob ayaa da`a haya; Waan arka hayay marka uu tuuggu soo dhaca hayay*.

Mara hayaa/ mari haayaa

Mari hayay/ mari haayay

Labada qaabba waa la isticmaalaa. Qiyaastayda asalku waa qaabka “hay”

Soojeedin: in la qoro “hay”. Sida: *Roob ayaa da`a haya; Waan arka hayay marka uu tuuggu soo dhaca hayay*.

³⁷ Falgargaaraha ayaa xambaara moorfimyada macnenaxweedyada qof, tiro, cayn iwm.

(FG: Marka la qaato habka koobidda ee *marayaa*, *cunayaa* iwm, markaa doodda *hayaa* iyo *haayaa* waa laga maarmayaa)

4.2. Maayo

Erayga “maayo” waa falgargaaraha diidmada, waxaana uu tustameeyaa diidmada ama kamaagashada fal. Waxa aan ku haynaa afar qaab: *maayo/mayo/ma hayo/maa*.

Mari maayo/ mari mayo/ mari mahayo/ mari maa.

Soojeedin: in la qoro “*maayo*”, sida: *mari maayo* iwm.

4.3. Gaadh/tag/rab (gaadh=gaar)

Falka “gaadh” ama “gaar”³⁸ waa falgargaaraha sigashada. Sida badan waa fal waqti la soo dhaafay lagu dhowaaday in la qabto ama la fuliyo, oo la sigay lase fulinin.

Falgargaaraha “*gaadh*” waxa ay isku macne iyo adeegsi yihiin falgargaarayaasha „*tag*” iyo “*rab*”, deegaanno kala duwan ayaase lagu kala isticmaalaa.

Gaadhay: Sagaarada waa aan qaban gaadhay;

Wiilashu baabuurka waa ay ka dhici gaadheen

Tegay: Sagaarada waa aan qaban tegey.

Wiilashu baabuurka waa ay ka dhici tegeen.

Rabay: Sagaarada waa aan qaban rabay.

Wiilashu baabuurka waa ay ka dhici rabeen.

Maadaama saddexda falgargaare ay isku macne iyo adeegsiba yihiin, waxaa ila quman in la kala doorto *gaadhay*, *tegay* iyo *rabay*.

Soojeedin: in la qoro gaadh (ama gaar). Sida: *Sagaarada waa aan qaban gaadhay*;

Wiilashu baabuurka waa ay ka dhici gaadheen.

³⁸ Falgargaaraha “gaadh” ama “gaar” waxaa loogu dhawaaqaa “dh” ama “r”; taasna waxaa la wadaaga erayo badan oo Af Soomaaliga ku jira. Su’aasha taagani waxay tahay, qoraalka, ma waxaan qaadanaaynaa “dh” mise “r”? Tanna, waa arin kale oo doodi ka furan tahay, halkanse maaha. Sidaar darteed, in labada dhawaaqba jiraan keliya ayaan tilmaamay, ee ra’yi kama soo jeedinayo.

(FG: *gaadh/ gaar waxa ay gelayaa doodda dh/r*)

5. Gebagebo

Daraasaddani waa soojeedin ku aaddan midaynta qoraalka isrogrogidda falka Af Soomaaliga. Soojeedinta qaadashadeeda iyo qaadashola’ aanteedu waa arrin u taalla hay’ adaha iyo aqoonyahanka daneeya ama ka shaqeeya ama ku shaqeeya Af Soomaaliga; iyo guud ahaanba qof kasta oo Af Soomaaliga wax ku qoraya.

Waxaa jira dhinacyo kale oo qoraalka falka ah, oo u baahan midayn, daraasaddanna aysan ka hadlin, sida: falma-ebayane iyo tabnaanta falka. Waxa ay u baahan yihiin baadhis dheeraad ah, si loo gaaro meelaha midaynta u baahan iyo soojeedinno ku habboon.

Sidoo kale, waxaa iyana jira qaybihii kale ee hadalka oo uu magacu ugu horeeyo, oo iyana u baahan in qoraalkooda la mideeyo.

Guud ahaan, midaynta qoraalka Af Soomaaliga, waa hawl bilaw ah oo u baahan in la sii wado, lana dhammaystiro.

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Annarita Puglielli

Somali language studies past and future lexicography in the foreground

In 1972 Somali became a national language with an official writing system: a shift then from oral to written language. At the same time it became the language of instruction. All this determined an important development in the research on Somali language and culture and if we look at bibliographies, the amount of research that has developed in the last forty years³⁹ is evident.

The new tasks the language had to perform showed immediately the need for 'development', necessary to cover the areas that did not belong to the previous functions the language was used to cover. Many of the terminologies needed to cover different subjects in the school curricula had to be selected and/or coined. The need for terminologies therefore brought to the attention the need for lexicographic work and dictionary writing but, as lexical research started, there was an increasing awareness that dictionary writing implies a deep knowledge of the whole system of the language being described.

In fact a dictionary is not just a simple collection of words; an adequate description of the lexicon of a language implies the knowledge of the whole system of the language in object. This is because a language is a coherent system where different levels of organization interact (from phonology to text/discourse), and because when we speak we do not use single words but sentences (i.e. combinations of them).

³⁹ The research on Somali language and culture has been promoted by institutions such as the Somali Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Somali National University in Mogadishu, by projects such as Studi Somali within the Technical Cooperation of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs realized by Rome University: 'La Sapienza' and then 'Roma Tre', and of course many individual researchers both in Somalia and all over the world.

A lexical entry in a dictionary therefore must contain not only a description of the meaning of the word in semantic terms but also grammatical information (i.e. classification of words in terms of parts of speech as noun, verb etc.) and morphological information (conjugation for verbs, gender and number for nouns etc.), and finally phonological/phonetic information. This is necessary to understand how words must be used in 'context', that is when combined in sentences.

We shall try to explore two specific subjects with reference to dictionary writing for Somali:

- Words and their grammatical categorization with related morphological aspects
- The relationship between lexical aspects and syntax: i.e. the correlation between the lexicon of the language and its typological characteristics in a syntactic perspective.

Our reflections are based on our lexical research work started in 1978 which has given the following results:

- Dizionario Somalo Italiano (Agostini , Ciise M. Siyaad e Puglielli 1985)
- Dizionario Italiano Somalo (Puglielli 1998)
- Qaamuuska Af-Soomaaliga (Puglielli e Cabdalla Cumar Mansur 2012).

1. Words and grammatical categories

Words are made up of sound and corresponding meaning, and meaning is the union of semantic characteristics as well as functional properties. Consider the following examples:

- (1) *Magoolku wuu biqilay.*
'the bud sprouted up'
- (2) *Cawsku wuu magoolay.*
'the grass germinated'

In (1) *magool* is a noun and is the subject of the sentence, while in (2) *magool* is a verb and is the predicate. In other words the lexical entry *magool*, the meaning of which is 'blossom', can assume a different grammatical category and therefore have two different functions when inserted in a sentence.

We give one more example to illustrate this point:

Aadaan1 ml. 1. *Ogeysiin cod dheer leh oo mu'addinku ugu yeero muslimiinta waqtiyada salaadda.* 2. *Ci' dheer oo neef riyo ahi u sameeyo marka uu xanuunsado*
(1. the singing inviting to pray, 2. sheep groan.....)

Aadaan2 f.mgl 1. *Cod dheer ugu yeriid musliimiinta waqtiyada salaadda.* .2 *Kor u qaylin neef riyo ah xanuun dartiis.*

(1.call for prayer, 2. groan loudly used for sheep).

(3) *Aadaanka codkiisu waa dheeryahay.*

'The muezzin voice/ the prayer is loud'

(4) *Cali baa masaajidka ka aadaamay.*

'Cali called for prayer in the mosque'

Therefore the same word with one sound and one meaning, can assume a different function once it is inserted in 'context'; it is used as NOUN in (1) and (3) and it is used as VERB in (2) and (4).

This situation is very common in Somali therefore the question may rise: should we have in our dictionary a single entry i.e. just plain roots, without grammatical categorization? A root then once inserted in the context of a specific sentence will assume the category N(oun) or V(erb) according to its function and consequently all the other related morphological specifications. Nouns will co-occur with determiners and will have gender and number morphology, whereas verbs will incorporate tense/aspect morphology and person and number agreement with the subject according to the syntactic rules of the language.

This choice has not been adopted traditionally in Somali lexicography and has not been chosen in our dictionaries for several reasons: the most obvious being that at this stage it seemed that the double categorization and two different entries would

make the use of the dictionary more accessible for a larger public.

Therefore the entries for *aadaan* in our dictionary are two different entries:

Aadaan1 ml. 1. *Ogeysiin cod dheer leh oo mu'addinku ugu yeero muslimiinta waqtiyada salaadda.* 2 *Ci' dheer oo neef riyo ahi u sameeyo marka uu xanuunsado*

Aadaan2 f.mg1 1. *Cod dheer ugu yeriid musliimiinta waqtiyada salaadda.* 2. *Kor u qaylin neef riyo ah xanuun dartiis.*

Let us now consider the inventory of grammatical categories introduced in the Dictionary: Noun (*magac*), Verb (*fal*), preposition (*horyaale*), clitic pronoun (*dhimman*), particles (*qurub*), conjunction (*xiriiriye*), adverb (*falkaab*), focus (*diirad*). Given the limited time we have, we will concentrate only on MAJOR lexical categories i.e. **Nouns** and **Verbs**; as you can see **Adjectives** are not included. The choice is based on the analysis proposed by Andrzejewski (1969), according to which words like *waanagsan* 'good', *weyn* 'big', *yar* 'small', *dheer* 'tall', *fudud* 'light, easy' etc. because of their syntactic behaviour must be considered 'hybrid verbs' and assigned to the 4th conj where also other 'stative verbs' are assigned (for ex. *ah, leh, la*', and derived verbs like *furan, maqan* etc.).

This issue of the need of the category Adjective for Somali has been debated by several researchers⁴⁰, and experts have taken different positions on the matter, but I think that if we base our classification on an accurate analysis of the whole system of the language our choice must be maintained.

In fact what we try to capture in our description is that a noun modifier in Somali is necessarily a relative clause, not just an adjective:

(5) *Nin Ingriis ah baan la kulmay.*

'I met an English man'

(6) *Qof weyn waa abwaan.*

'an old person is wise'

40 Banti, G. (1988), Ajello, R. and A Puglielli (1988) and others.

(7) *Qof weynaa baa dhintay.*

'an old person died'

(8) *Rida cad baa luntay.*

'the white goat was lost'

(9) *Shalay baa ridii caddayd la qashay.*

'yesterday the white goat was slaughtered'

It is not the case to go into a detailed description of these examples, but notice that in (5) the N *nin* is modified by a heedless relative clause where *Ingriis ah* is the predicate with the verb in the reduced paradigm.⁴¹

In (6) *weyn* is what is left in the surface from the reduced paradigm of *ahaansho* present tense and in (7) the ending *-aa* attached to *weyn* is what is left of the past tense of the verb *to be*. In (8) and (9) *cad* is the predicate of the relative clause in the present tense of the reduced paradigm and *caddayd* is the same in the past tense.

These are the syntactic reasons for considering those lexical items that in Italian or English have been classified as adjectives, verbs of the 4th conj. in Somali; still it remains that from a semantic point of view they share the characteristics of expressing 'STATES or PROPERTIES' (just like adjectives), that are attributed to nouns.

We now turn our attention to the specifications introduced in our dictionaries for Nouns and Verbs.

1.1. Nouns

As for Nouns the choice to introduce in their entry morphological information such as gender and number was determined, once again, by the intention to make explicit features that are relevant for a correct construction in a sentence.

41 For a description of relative clause structure see Antinucci F. (1981), Puglielli A.e F. Antinucci, (1980), Puglielli A. e M. Frascarelli, 2005

If we consider, for example the noun *inan* we find two identical entries, one for the masculine noun (*inan*) and one for the feminine one (*inán*), since the difference in stress is not registered in writing. But we know that the information about gender is needed, given that in a sentence the verb must agree with its subject and verbs have different endings for third person masculine and third person feminine. Therefore we have:

(10) *inan* (masculine) - *inanku hilib buu cuntay*
'the boy ate meat'

(11) *inan* (feminine) - *inantu hilib bay cuntay*
'the girl ate meat'

As for Number, we introduced the forms for the plural right from our first dictionary, for two reasons:

A) Rules for plural formation are rather complex in Somali with different morphological mechanisms at work such as addition of inflectional endings with related polarity effects (i.e. change in gender), change of stress, etc.⁴² Here are some examples:

(12)

Singular	plural
<i>Buug</i> m..	<i>buugag</i> m.
<i>War</i> m.	<i>warar</i> m.
<i>shabeel</i> m.	<i>shabeello</i> f.
<i>magac</i> m.	<i>magacyo</i> f.
<i>tuke</i> m.	<i>tukayaal</i> f.
<i>habar</i> f.	<i>habro</i> m.
<i>gacan</i> f.	<i>gacmo</i> m.
<i>mind</i> f.	<i>mindiy</i> m.
<i>qaaddo</i> f.	<i>qaaddooyin</i> m.

⁴² For a detailed description of plural formation rules see, Puglielli A. e Ciise Mohamed Siyaad (1984).

B) The nouns that can be pluralized are not necessarily the same in all languages. So, for example in Somali, the nouns related to plant names are subcategorized as collectives and are not used in the plural form. Examples are: *yaaq*, *tiintiin*, *qurac* etc. that are used only in the singular.

More information about subcategorization of nouns appeared as necessary information to be included, in particular for a subclass of words that we named **predicative nouns**. Their behaviour has been accurately described by Ajello (1984). Examples of these nouns are: *irtid* 'reckless', *ceyrin* 'unripe, uncooked', *fircoon* 'cruel', *teneg* 'stupid' etc.

But let us examine their use in context:

(13) *Nin irtid ah baa yimid.*
'a reckless man has come'

(14) *Cali waa irtid.*
'C. is reckless'

(15) ?? *Irtid waa yimid.*

(16) ? *Irtidkii waa yimid.*

In (13) *irtid* has the function of the predicate of a relative clause that modifies *nin*, and in (14) is the main predicate of the sentence. In (15), where that noun is used as subject, the sentence though possible is completely unclear (as signalled by the 2 question marks). The sentence becomes more acceptable in (16) where the presence of the anaphoric article *-kii* allows the identification of the referent of the noun; in fact the anaphoric article can be used only if the person is already present in the context of discourse i.e. has been already mentioned.

A consequence of the peculiar distribution of these nouns is their behaviour in terms of agreement. So in a sentence with a plural subject a noun like *macallin* used as predicate must be used in the plural, as shown in (17) and (18), that is ungrammatical:

- (17) *Cali iyo Cabdalla waa macallimiin.*(pl.)
 'Cali and Cabdalla are teachers'
 (18) * *Cali iyo Cabdalla waa macallin* (sing.)

While a predicative noun as *washensi* must be used in the singular

- (19) *Cali iyo Ahmed waa washensi.*(sing.)
 'Cali and Ahmed are rude'

We must conclude therefore that the subclassification we propose helps us to understand the different syntactic behaviour shown in (17-19) and therefore tells us how to use these words in context. As a consequence this information is useful – if not indispensable – in a dictionary.

1.2. Verbs

The subclassification of verbs is also based on their syntactic structure, i.e. the number and type of argument Noun Phrases (NP) they require in a sentence on the basis of their meaning. Verbs are traditionally subclassified in intransitive and transitive depending on their construction with one or two NP argument. Here are some examples:

- (20)
 Vint. – 1 argument: *dhoof* 'leave', *soco* 'walk', *qosol* 'laugh'...
Cali waa dhoofay.
 'Cali travelled'
- (21)
 Vtr. – 2 arguments: *cun* 'eat', *akhri* 'read', *qor* 'write'...
Cali cambe wuu cunay.
 'Cali ate a mango'
Caasha warqadda way qortay.
 'Caasha wrote the letter'

But there are verbs in Somali that can occur with 3 NP arguments without the addition of any extra element (i.e. a preposition). Those are the di-transitive verbs (*labagudbe*) such as:

- (22)
 1° cnj.: *Duldhig* 'put something over something else'
tus 'show something or someone to someone'
 2° cnj.: *Dhansii* 'make someone drink something'
fahansii 'make someone understand something'
 3° cnj.: *Daaqso* 'make something eat something (1°obj.animals, 2° obj. Grass)
 4° cnj. ---- there are no di-transitive verbs that belong to this group, and this is not surprising since, as we know, the verbs of the 4th conjugation are STATIVE verbs and there are few transitive ones. It does not seem to be possible from a semantic point of view for a verb of this class to be di-transitive.

A last observation on verbs in Somali. Once we understand the interaction between the different levels of organization i.e. the interconnections between meaning, derivational morphology and inflection we are not surprised by the following quantitative data taken from our database:

conjugation	I	II	III	IV
V intr.	2506	574	1178	1993
V tr.	1535	2343	934	42
V di-tr.	11	80	7	--

The number of intransitive and transitive verbs across first and second conjugation is symmetrical. This can be explained in terms of the derivational morphology mechanisms of Somali verbs: by adding to an intransitive root of a 1st conjugation verb a suffix *-i/-is* we derive a transitive verb of the second conjugation:

(23)

Vroot intr. I + *is/in* = Vtr II

as in.

buux in *koobku waa buuxay* 'the glass was full'*buuxi* in *Cali koobka waa buuxiyay* 'Cali filled the glass'.

An adequate description of morphological mechanisms is therefore a prerequisite for lexical work.

2. Relationship between lexical aspects and syntax

In describing sub-categorization of verbs we have somehow started to explore the relation between lexical meaning, semantic structure and morphology (in particular derivational morphology).

The last aspect on which we would like to spend a few words now is how the typological characteristics of the language – Somali in our case - are relevant for lexicography: this is because of the relationship between syntactic structure of sentences and semantic structure of verbs. In fact, as we know a minimal structure for a sentence is made up of a predicate (V) and the arguments (NPs) required by the semantic grid of the verb.

The syntactic structure of a sentence in Somali is characterized by the presence of a Verbal Complex (VC) that is the verb plus a clitic cluster in which the NP arguments related to the verb are realized as clitic pronouns and disposed with other elements such as prepositions in a templatic structure (Puglielli 1981):

Impersonal	one	Preps	Obj cl	deictics	some ad-	Verb
Subj. cl. <i>la</i>	Obj.cl.	(1/2)	(poss.pro.)	<i>soo/sii</i> etc.	verbial	

Table 1

Now let us consider the following sentences:

- (24) *Axmed baa guri-gii nooga* [(= Ø + *na* + *u* + Ø + *ka*)⁴³]
 Axmed fm house-an ocl3s-ocl1pl +for+ocl3s+from
soo qaaday buugga
 take.pst book -the
 'Axmed took the book from home for us'

- (25) *Xaawo baa igu [(i+ku)] kaa aamintay*
 Xaawo fm ocl1sg-to you (lit.: your) entrust.pst
 'Xaawo entrusted me to you'

In (24) and (25) the clitic pronouns present in the Verbal Complex (VC) are the elements that tell us the different function of the NPs (direct object, object of a preposition) while the full NPs are in a dislocated position to the left and /or right of the verb. In these sentences all NP are resumed by a clitic pronoun.

But let us consider now the following sentence:

- (26) *Annag[oo guri-ga fadhina] bay (*na) yimadeen*
 we-prt house-det stay foc.cls3.3pl (1pl) come.prs-3pl
 'They came while we were at home'
 [lit.: we, who were at home, they came]

In (26) the NP *annagoo* cannot be resumed in the VC (as shown by the * in front of the clitic pronoun *na* that cannot be present in that sentence) and this means that the NP *annaga* does not belong to the core structure of the sentence and is rather an additional element (an adjunct or adverbial).

Therefore not every dislocated NP is resumed by a clitic pronoun in the VC; in fact only those that are part of the semantic grid of the verb are. Therefore we can understand the semantic grid of a verb by putting it in a sentence and observing which of the NPs present in the sentence is resumed by a clitic pronoun. All this can be relevant for a good and complete definition of verbs in a dictionary where the description of the meaning of a verb must contain both its lexical content and the number and type of arguments that that lexical content involve in the construction of the meaning of a sentence.

43 Notice that the object clitic third person is morphologically zero, i.e. not realized (see Puglielli 1981).

Another observation relevant for the description of verb argument structure, is that the morphological mechanisms of derivation of verbs in Somali determine new verbs with new meanings and related changes in argument structure. Here is an example:

-- the verb *buux* 'to be full' is a 1st conjugation intransitive verb, therefore a one argument verb with a 'Stative' meaning:

(26) *koobku waa buuxaa* 'the glass is full'

-- the verb *buuxi* (*buux* + *-is*) 'to fill' is a 2nd conjugation transitive verb, with two arguments and its meaning is 'Causative':

(27) *Cali koobka buu buuxiyay* 'Cali filled the glass'

-- the verb *buuxso* (*buux+is+an*) 'to fill something for himself' is a 3rd conjugation transitive verb, with two arguments, and its meaning is 'Causative + Autobenefactive'

(28) *Cali koobka buu buuxsaday* 'Cali filled the glass for himself'

-- Finally if we add the suffix *-am* to *buuxi* we obtain a verb with passive meaning where the agent cannot be expressed:

(29) *Koobku waa buuxsamay* (*buux+is+am+ay*)
 glass-det-Nom DECL be full-CAUS-STAT-PST3SG.M
 'The glass was filled up'

In fact a sentence like

(30) **koobku waa ka buuxsamay Cali*

cannot be interpreted as the glass was filled up *by Cali*; it could only be accepted, eventually, with the interpretation *for Cali*.

Once again we conclude that an adequate analysis of the derivational mechanisms of the language will be of great help for an adequate description of the lexical items to be introduced in a dictionary and their meanings.

3. The future

The great impulse that research on Somali language and culture has had in the last 40 years has certainly produced a lot of knowledge about it, but there is still a lot to discover. Thinking about Somali language there are still plenty of phenomena that need to be thoroughly described at all levels of linguistic description. We will mention only some in order to illustrate what we mean.

Starting from the description of the sound system and rules in Somali, we should know more about vowel harmony rules, an area still not described, as well as all aspects of intonational patterns and their relation to different pragmatic functions, and we could certainly add more topics.

Moving to other aspects, more relevant for lexicography, one topic that certainly needs further investigation is that of Verbal Nouns.

It is very systematic for each verb to find two corresponding verbal nouns, one with the same form of the verb characterized by masculine gender, and one derived with a derivational suffix - different for different conjugations - characterized by feminine gender. Here is one example for each conjugation:

	Verbal	verbal noun 1 masc.	verbal noun 2 fem.
1st conj.	dhadhan 'have taste'	dhadhan(ka)	dhadhamid(da)
2 nd conj.	dhadhami 'taste sth.'	dhadhamis(ka)	dhadhamin(ta)
3 rd conj.	dhadhansad 'taste sth.'	dhadhansad(ka)	dhadhansasho(ta) ¹
4 th conj.	weyn 'big'	weyn(ka) ²	weynaan(ta)

From a theoretical point of view this system appears to be redundant with two nominal forms for each verb, since apparently there seems to be no semantic relevant difference between the two forms of verbal nouns. If this is so, we should look for other differences; we should try to identify contexts where one can occur and the other cannot. This cannot be easily obtained by asking native speakers, but it could probably be obtained by the systematic and extensive scanning of texts, and this is certainly a topic for future research.

Coming now more specifically to lexicography let us make some consideration about future development. We have now a very good basis, considering the monolingual dictionaries recently produced, and we should start from there if we want to make progress rapidly with the intent not only to increase the number of words defined, but also to work towards a better coverage of all semantic areas. In other words we should start planning actions focused on specific topics and/or lexical areas to enlarge their coverage.

What we should work for, from now on, is a better connection between groups of researchers working on Somali lexicography, and modern technologies make it possible. Different groups could plan and develop their work in a complementary way and this would result in a more rapid development for Somali lexicography.

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Cutubka 2d / Chapter 2

Suugaanta Af-Soomaaliga

Somali Literature

Maxamed Daahir Afrax

Iftiimin Suugaanta Soomaalida : waxa ay tahay, waxa ay tarto iyo waaxyaha ay ka koobanto

1. Hordhac kooban

Qoraallo kala duwan oo uu faafiyey buunigii suugaanta jeclaa, Prof. B.W. Andrzejewski, oo ahaa caalimkii dunida reer galbeedka tusay, jeclaysiiyeyna suugaanta Soomaalida, wuxuu ku dheeraaday hodontinimada ku duugan suugaantan. Dhaxalka suugaanta aan qornayn ee ka soo maaxatay maskaxda Soomaalida wuxuu ku tilmaamay inay safka hore kaga jirto suugaanaha dunida kuwa ugu tayo sarreeya. Dal-mareenkii Ingiriiska ahaa, Sir Rechard Burton, waa kii asna qarnigii 19^{aad} Soomaalida ku tilmaamay 'a nation of pads' (ummad wada gabayaa ah), gabayguna ama maansadu waa hormuudka suugaanta Soomaalida. Ka badbadin ma aha haddii suugaanleyda lagu tilmaamo hormuudka maskaxmaalka Soomaalida.

Intaas oo dhan oo jirta ayay haddana Soomaali ahaan naga maqan yihiin qoraallo cilmiyeed oo xeeldheerayaal Soomaaliyeed qoreen oo qeexaya suugaanta Soomaalidu waxa ay tahay, waxa ay xambaarsantahay, waxa ay u tartay bulshda ay ka soo dhex baxday iyo waddadii dheerayd ee ay soo martay taariikh ahaan.

Soo jeedintan kooban waxay isku dayaysaa inay iftiimin ka bixiso dhinacyo ka mid ah weydiimaha kor ku taxan war-celintooda. Waxaa diiradda la saarayaa iftiiminta 'suugaan' waxa loola jeedo, qaybaha ay u kala baxdo, noocyada ay qayb waliba ka koobanto iyo qiimaha ay suugaantu u leedahay guud ahaan ummadaha dunida gaar ahaanna Soomaalida. Waxaan qeexaynaa sababaha keenay inay suugaantu Soomaalida u yeelato qiime gaar ahaaneed. Hordhac ahaan, qoraalku wuxuu ku furmayaa qeexid kooban oo lagu iftiiminayo, cilmi ahaan, waxa suugaan loo yaqaan guud ahaanba dunida.

2. Waa maxay suugaan?

Soomaalidii hore way u magac-bixiyeen qaar badan oo ka mid ah jaadadka suugaanta, sida gabay, geeraar, buraanbur, sheeko, maahmaah iwm. Haseyeeshee

sooyaalka na soo gaarey kuma wada dhamma magac-bixintii loo baahnaa. Gaar ahaan waxay qabyo ka jirtaa dhanka magac-bixinta guud (generic naming). Noocyada suugaanta ee soojireenka ah, sida gabayga iyo maahmaahda, badankoodu way leeyihiin magacyo dadkii hore u bixiyeen; hayeeshee waxaa maqnaa magac guud oo ay ku wada abtirsadaan. Baraaruggii guud ee lagu tallaabsaday laga soo bilaabo horraantii afartannadii qarnigii labaatanaad ayaa waxaa ka mid noqday cusboonaysiinta iyo horumarinta Af-Soomaaliga iyo suugaantiisa. Taasna waxaa qayb ka sii noqday eray-bixin mugdiga lagaga saarayo in badan oo ka mid ah magac-bixinta muhiimka ah. Xilligaas ayaa erayga 'suugaan' loo aqoonsaday inuu yahay magaca ay wadaagaan dhammaan noocyada kala duwan ee halabuurka afka. Isla xilligaas ayaa la hirgaliyey magacyada ay ka midka yihiin dhaqan, hidde, fan, riwaayad, wargeys, wariye iwm.

Haddaba, eray-bixinta qoraalkani isticmaalayo waxay u kala baxdaa saddex qaybood: qayb soo-jireen ah, mid lagu heshiiyey xilligii casriyaynta, iyo mid markii labadaasba laga waayey an ku buuxinney magac-bixintii nagula habboonaatay annagoo ah xirfadleyda arrimahan ku takhasusay.

Af-Soomaaliga 'suugaan' waxaa loo bixiyey waxa afka Ingiriiska loo yaqaan 'literature' afka Carabigana 'adab'. Af Ingiriisiga iyo afafka ka soo jeeda Latin-ka magac-bixintani waxay ku salaysan tahay erayga 'litera' oo Latin ku ahaa 'xaraf'. Sidaa awgeed dadka dhaqanadaas ka soo jeeda waxay u fahmaan qoraal. Hormuudka qaamuusyada Af Ingiriisiga, sida kuwa Oxford iyo Cambridge, 'literature' marka la soo koobo waxay ku micneeyaan inuu yahay qoraal leh qiime sare oo fan ahaaneed awoodna u leh inuu waaro. Qeexiddaas guud ka sokow, afafka dunida sida badan fasiraado kala duwan ayaa la siiyaa waxa loola jeedo 'suugaan'.

Af-Soomaaligu wuu ka sii xag jiraa maxaa yeelay waa af aan weli la xasilin eray-bixintiisa casriga ah, sidii an soo xusay. Dhaqanka Soomaalida oo aan ka mid ahayn kuwa qoraalku tiir-dhexaadka u yahay, suugaan waxaa lagu tilmaami karaa hadal loo dhisay si hal-abuurnimo ah oo ay ku dheehantahay qurux fannimo, hadalkaas oo noqon kara mid lagu tabiyey dhigid ama dhihid. Waa labada hab ee loo kala adeegsado tabinta hadalka. Waxaa kaloo lagu magacaabi karaa qawl iyo qoraal. Qaamuuska Af-Soomaaliga ee uu qoray Yaasiin Cismaan Yuusuf ayna

ansixisay soona saartay Akadeemiyadii Dhaqanka, suugaan wuxuu ku micneeyey 'wax kasta oo la qoro ama lagu hadlo oo ulajeeddadooda loo jeelo ama loo bogo amase si kale loo jeclaysto'.

Sababta loogu bogayo ama loo jeclaysanayo waa quruxda fan ahaaneed eek u dheehan. Suugaantu waa fan. Waa fanka erayga. Noocyada kale ee fanka waxaa ka mid ah fanka maqalka, sida muusigga iyo cod-qurxinta; fanka muuqaalka, sida sawirka iyo farshaxanka; iyo fanka dhaqdhaqaaqa, sida jilidda iyo ciyaaraha. Fan waa maxay? Waa fikrad ama dareen lagu muujiyey sawir qurux badan. Marka laga cabbir-qaato halbeeggaas guud, suugaantu waa fikrad ama dareen lagu sawiray erayada afka oo loo adeegsaday si qurux badan, si ka duwan oo ka toolmoon hadalka caadiga ah. Waxaa la yiraahdaa hadduu hadalku caano noqon lahaa suugaantu waxay noqon lahayd labeenta caanahaas. Micnaha, suugaantu waa labeenta hadalka. Hadalku wuxuu suugaan ku sifoobaa marka lagu qurxiyo afshaxan ay hibo u leeyihiin dad gaar ah. Sida aan dib ka arki doonno, afshaxankaas ama farsamooyinkaas hadalka qurxiya waxaa ka mid ah hab-dhac miisaaman, xaraf-raac taxan iyo hummaag-abuur lagu hor keenayo sawirro lagu xardhay erayada afka.

Erayga 'suugaan' ma aha eray cusub. Waa soo-jireen. Wuxuu lahaan jirey dhawr micne oo kala duwan, kuwaas oo dhammaantood ku biya-shubanaya duxda ugu qurxoon ama ugu qiima sarraysa waxa markaas laga hadlayo. Hidde ahaan micnaha ugu caansan ee uu eraygani lahaan jirey wuxuu ahaa ugbaadka qurxoon ama cawska yaryar ee soo magoola marka roobku da'o. Waxaa la isku wargalin jirey: 'sahankii wuxuu soo sheegay meel suugaan leh'. Micne labaad oo aan kaas ka dheerayn, suugaan waxaa la oran jirey doogga isugu hara meesha biyuhu isugu shubmaan ee xilliga jiilaalka marka dhulka kale qallalo weli rayska iyo qoyaanka leh. Waxaa la oran jirey 'geelii reer hebel meel hebla' ayuu suugaan ka daaqayaa'.

Saxansaxada roobka ayaa iyadana suugaan lagu tilmaami jirey, degaannada Soomaalida qaarkood. Intaas oo dhan ka sokow hore ayay u jirtey in hadalka qurxoon loo yiqiin suugaan. Keliya eray-bixintan dambe waa la sii cilmiyeeyey lana sii qeexay qaybaha ku abtirsada. In hore loo isticmaali jirey meelaha laga arki karo waxaa ka mid ah murtida tiraahda 'suugaani hadal ma aha, hilib sooryo ma aha, doqoni sokeeye ma aha'. Halkan 'suugaani hadal ma aha' waxaa loola jeedey

hadalka suugaanaysan la mid ma aha hadalka caadiga ah. Tusaale kale waxaa ah in eraygan laga dhex helayo maansadii hore ee Soomaalida, meelo ay gabayaagu maansadooda ku tilmaamayaan suugaan. Waxaa ka mid ahaa gabayaagii caanka ahaa ee Xuseen Xasan, meerisyo uu lahaa:

*Suugaanta gabay maalintaan, sadar ka sheegaayo
Weligay ma saranseeriyee, waan susubiyaaye*

3. Qiimaha suugaanta

Ummada dunida ummad kasta suugaanteedu waxay u leedahay qiime aad u weyn. Astaanta jiritaanka ummad kasta waa dhaqankeeda; udub-dhexaadka dhaqankuna waa afka; halbowlaha nolosha af kastana waa suugaanta. Afla'aan dhaqan ma hana-qaadi karo, suugaanla'aanna af ma noolaan karo ama ma kobci karo. Gaar ahaan ummadda Soomaaliyeed suugaantu waxay u leedahay qiime aan la soo koobi karin oo ay uga duwantahay ummado kale oo badan. Laba arrimood ayaa u sabab ah qiimahaas gaar ahaaneed. Sababta koowaad waa Soomaalida oo wax kasta ku cabbirta kuna diiwaan-galisa suugaan, siiba maanso, ahna ummad halabuurka suugaanta u leh hibo aan caadi ahayn oo dunidu u wada qirsantahay, kuna qiimayso. Sababta labaadna waa suugaanta oo hidde ahaan Soomaalida u gasha kaalinta qalabka war-is-gaarsiinta iyo kaydka qoran oo aynaan ka hayn dhaxal laga tilmaan-qaato. Si kooban, qiimaha iyo waxtarka ay suugaantu Soomaalida u leedahay waxaa lagu tilmaansan karaa qodobbada soo socda:

1. Waa dhaxalka ugu qiima sarreeya uguna hodonsan ee laga hayo waxqabadkii maskaxda Soomaalida, ka ab iyo ka awoowe.
2. Waa diiwaanka ugu weyn uguna run-sheegsan ee uu ku kaydsanyahay soo jireenkii taariikhda Soomaalida iyo hab-dhaqankeedii.
3. Waa halbowlaha nolosha iyo hodontinimada Af-Soomaaliga.
4. Waa dhambaalsidaha ugu saamaynta badan ama ugu waxtarsan ee ay dadka Soomaaliyeed u isticmaalaan ka talinta samaha iyo ka digidda xumaha.
5. Waa muraayadda ay bulshadu iska dhex aragto, dunida dibadduna ka daawato kuna qaddariso.

4. Qaybaha suugaanta

Suugaanta marka la darsayo waxaa loo kala soocaa laba qaybood oo kala tilmaan duwan: suugaantii hiddaha iyo suugaanta casriga ah, ama suugaan-hiddeed iyo suugaan-casri. Tan hore waa suugaantii soo jireenka ahayd ee facba fac ka soo dhaxlayey. Tan labaadna waa jaad-suugaaneedyada cusub ee soo baxay xilliyadan hab-nololeedka casriga ah ee magaalaysan, lana jaan-qaadaya waxa ka socda dunida kale. Jaad-suugaaneedyada ku abtirsada suugaan-hiddeedda waxaa ugu caansan murtida, maahmaahda, maansadii hore, hees-hawleedda, hees-cayaareedda iyo sheeko-hiddeedda oo ay ku jirto sheeko-carruureddu, ama waxa dadka qaar ku magacaabaan sheeka-xariiro. Dhanka kale, suugaan-casrida waxaa ku abtirsada riwaayadaha, sheeko-qorista, maansada cusub, iyo hees-casrida. Dib ayaan ka sii qeexi doonnaa kana tusaale bixin doonnaa jaadadkaas kala duwan. Shax-tuska hoos ku xardhanna waa sii qeexid is garab dhigaysa suugaan-hiddeedda iyo suugaan-casrida, si loo wada fahmo waxa ay kala yihiin.

Shax-tus 1. *Is-garab-dhig suugaan-hiddeed iyo suugaan-casri:*

	Suugaan-hiddeed	Suugaan-casri
Tilmaamaha u gaarka ah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waa soo jireen - Waqtigii ay soo baxday lama yaqaan - Cid alliftay lama yaqaan - Bulshadu way ka wada qayb-qaadataa - Waxay u badantahay maaweelo fudud oo murti xambaarsan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - waxy la timi nolosha casriga - Waqtigii la curiyey waa la ogyahay - Mu'allifkeeda waa la yaqaan - waxay leedahay xirfadley u gaar ah oo bulshada u tabisa - Waxaa ku badan murti culus oo maaweelo lagu qurxiyey
Jaadadka ku abtirsada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sheeko-hiddeed oraah lagu tabiyo - Maanso-hiddeed af lagu tabiyo - Hees-hiddeed ay isku maaweeliyaan dadka qaadayaa. - Murti iyo maahmaah 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sheeko-casri qoraal ah (qiso & sheeko gaaban) - Maanso-casri badiyaaba la qoro ama lagu tabiyo qalabka warbaahinta. - Hees-casri dadweyne loogu talagalo loona adeegsado qalab teknoolojiyadeed - Riwaayad

5. Jaad-suugaaneedyada Soomaalida

Sida loo badan yahay Soomaaliga caadiga ah suugaan wuxuu u yaqaan gabayada iyo heesaha keliya. Kuwaasi waa laba qura oo ka mid ah jaadad badan ama noocyo kala duwan oo ay ka koobanto suugaantu. Noocyadaas ama jaadadkaasi guud ahaan waxay kala hoos tagaan laba rukun oo waaweyn, kuwaas oo lagu tilmaami karo labada lugood ee ay ku taagantahay suugaantu. Waxaa lagu magacaabaa *tix* iyo *tiraab*. Tixdu waa hadal taxan, ku socda xaraf-raac higaadsan iyo habdhac miisaaman oo isu dheelli-tiran. Waxay raacdaa xeerar soo-jireen ah oo aan laga weecankarin, sida aan dib ka sharxi doonno. Tiraabtuna waa hadal asna leh qurux fanimo oo loo adeegsadey farsamooyin ka duwan kuwa tixda. Faahfaahinta hoos ka eeg.

Tixda iyo tixaynta Soomaalida

Tixdu waa hormuudka suugaanta Soomaalida. Waa nooca ugu caansan looguna isticmaalka badan yahay hor iyo dibba. Tixdu magac labaad ayay leedahay marka ay tayadeedu sare u kacdo. Waxaa lagu magacaabaa 'maanso'. Maansadu waa tix dhammays ah dhanka murtida iyo dhanka farshaxankaba. Sidii suugaanta guud ayaymaansaduna waxay u sii kala kacdaa laba qaybood oo waaweyn: waxaan ku kala magacawnaa *maanso-goleed* iyo *maanso maaweelo*, Maansada maaweelada waxaa kaloo lagu magacaabaa *hees*. Sidaa awgeed labada qaybood waa *maanso-goleed* iyo *hees*. Maanso-goleed waa tix uu curiyey qof la garanayo, ugu talagalay inuu kula hadlo bulshaweynta, uguna hadlo arrin ama arrimo si weyn uga fekersiiyey. Maanso-goleedda waxaa hormuud u ah amase ugu caansan lix jaad-suugaaneed. Waa gabay (oo hormuud u wada ah), geeraar, guurow, masafo, jiipto iyo buraanbur.

Dhanka kale, xagga maansada maaweelada ama qaybta aan ku magacawnay *hees* way sii kala baxdaa. Waxay u kala baxdaa *hees-hiddeed* iyo *hees-casri*. Hees-hiddeedda ayaa iyana markeeda laba u sii kala kacda: *hees-hawleed* iyo *hees-cayaareed*. Sida laga fahmi karo magac-bixinta, *hees-hawleed* waa heesaha ay dadku isku maaweeliyaan marka ay shaqaynayaan, sida marka xoolaha la shubayo

iyo marka caanaha la lulayo. Shaqo kasta oo ka mid ah shaqooyinkii ay ku dhisnaan jirtey nolosha dadka Soomaaliyeed waxay leedahay hees u gaar ah, taas oo dadku marka ay shaqaynayaan isku illowsiiyaan culayska hawsha. Hees-cayaareedda, oo ah qaybta labaad ee hees-hiddeedda, caado ahaan waxay ku caweeyaan cayaaraha hiddaha ee ay dhallinyaradu ku damaashaadaan amase isku jalbeebiyaan badiyaaba habeenkii, kana dhigtaan fursad ay ku bulsheeyaan oo isku dhex galaan.

Hees-hiddeedda labadeeda qaybood mid walba waxaa hoos yimaada noocyo badan oo heesa ah, kuwaas oo ay mid waliba leedahay hab-dhac ama miisaan u gaar ah iyo luuq lagu qaado oo looga garto kuwa kale. Isla markaas waxaa jira sifooyin guud oo ay wadaagaan, taas ayaana keentay inay isku meel ku wada abtirsadaan; micnaha in lagu wada magacaabo 'hees'. Sifooyinka ay wadaagaan waxaa ka mid ah inay yihiin halabuur wadareed. Waxaa kaloo ka mid ah inay yihiin suugaan fudud oo loogu talagalay maaweelo iyo jalbeebin, in kastoo ay isla markaas xambaarsan yihiin murti wax laga baran karo. Haddaan dib ugu noqono kala soociddii hore ee ahayd 'hees-hiddeed' iyo 'hees-casri' iyagana waxaa jira sifooyin ay wadaagaan iyo qaar ay ku kala duwan yihiin. Kuwa ay wadaagaan waa kuwa sababay in la wadaajiyo magac-bixinta ah 'hees'. Shaxtuska hoos ku qoran (shaxtus 2) waxaan ku qeexaynaa labadan qayb-suugaaneed sifooyinka ay wadaagaan iyo kuwa ay ku kala duwan yihiin, si uu akhristuhu hagaag ugu fahmo.

Shaxtus 2. Hees-hiddeed vs. hees-casri:

	Hees-hiddeed	Hees-casri
Tilmaamaheeda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waa maaweelo fudud - Waxaa raaca luuq, muusik, jib ama jaan - Waa soo-jireen - Gole-ka-fuul baa lagu allifaa - Mu'allif gaar ah ma leh - Heesaagaa isku maaweeliya - Nooc kastaa wuxuu leeyahay miisaan u gaar ah 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waa maweelo mar fudud marna murti culus sidda - Waxaa raaca luuq iyo muusik - Casriga cusub bay la timi - Waa loo fekeraa - Mua'llif la yaqaan bay leedahay - Dadweynaa loo diyaariyaa - Waxaa laga sameeyaa tix ku dhisan miisaannada badan ee maansada caadiga ah midkood
Noocyadeeda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Hees-hawleed</i> sida heesaha shubaasha, salsalka, heesaha badanka, heesta kabdaha, heesta badar-tunka, iwm; b) <i>Hees-cayaareed</i> sida <i>dhaantada, saarka, seylacida, batarka/jiiftada.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Hees jacayl ah</i>(tan ugu badan) b) <i>Hees siyaasadeed ama waddani ah</i> c) <i>Hees falsafadeed</i> (murti cashar bixinaysa).

Tixda iyo xeerarka haga

Noocyadaas badan ee ay leedahay suugaanta tixaysan ee Soomaalidu, intii aan tusaale ahaanta u sheegnay iyo in badan oo kaleba, waxaa jira tilmaamo ay wadaagto iyo xeerar ay u wada hoggaansanto. Suugaanleydu xeerarkaas iyagoo aan cilmi ahaan ubaran ayay waddooda raacaan si otomaatik ah. Hibadooda ayaa ku hoggaamisa. Meeriskii xeerka ka weecda markiiba wuu ka biya-diidaa qofka Soomaaliga ahi, xataa hadduusan ahayn gabayaa. Waa halkii Maxamed Xaashi

Dhamac ka lahaa:

Dhegtaa diidda meeshay xarfuhu, dalab ku yeeshaane!

Xeerarkaas cidina cilmi ahaan umay aqoon ka hor 1970^{nadii}. Xilligaas ayaa ugu horrayntii loo fiirsaday oo la bilaabay in la derso xeerarkaas midka ugu xooggan ee lagu magacaabo 'miisaanka maansada'. Waxaa lagu bilaabay maqaallo is daba-joog ah oo ay wargeyskii maalinlaha ahaa ee Xiddigta Oktoobar si is daba-joog ah ugu qori jireen Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac "Gaariye" iyo Cabdullaahi Diiriye Guuleed "Carraale". Laga soo bilaabo xilligaas (bartamihii 1970^{nada}) aqoonyahanno badan oo Soomaali iyo ajnabiba leh ayaa u tafaxaytey darsidda miisaanka maansada Soomaaliyeed. Xeerka labaad oo lagu magacaabo *xaraf-raac* ayaa asagana wax laga qoray si ka yar sida loo darsay miisaanka. Aqoonyahannada diraadaha ka qoray xeerarka dhismaha maansada Soomaalida waxaa ka mid ah Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac "Gaariye", Cabdullaahi Diiriye Guuleed "Carraale", Maxamed Cabdullaahi Riiraash, Prof. Andrzejewski, Dr. Martin Orwin, Prof. John Johnson, Prof. Giorgio Banti iyo Dr. F. Giannattasio. Halkan faahfaahin badan uma galayno nuxurkii ka soo baxay diraadahaas iyo sida ay u shaqeeyaan xeerarkaasi, annagoo iska ilaalinayna inaan ka weecanno ama ay naga baahdo ujeeddadii loogu talagalay qoraalkan kooban. Qofkii danaynaya faahfaahin intan ka badan waxaan u tilmaamaynaa inuu akhristo qoraallada aqoonyahannada kor ku taxan, kuwaas oo aan tilmaan cad uga bixin doonno dhammaadka qoraalkan, qaybta 'Qoraallada la tix-raacay'. Isla mar ahaantaas waxaan halkan ku xusaynaa tilmaan kooban oo akhristaha ku caawisa inuu helo sawirka guud ee labada xeer ee haga dhismaha maansada Soomaaliyeed, labadaas oo kala ah *miisaan* (metre) iyo *xaraf-raac* (alliteration). Tix kastaa waxay ka koobantahay meerisyo (lines) is dherer le'eg. Dheegga suugaanta ah si loogu aqoonsado inuu yahay tix amase maanso waxaa khasab ah inay u wada hoggaansamaan xeerarka xaraf-raaca iyo miisaanka, taas oo micneheedu yahay inay meerisyadu ku wada taxmaan xaraf maansadu ku wada socoto, isla markaana raacaan hab-dhac isu miisaaman oo isku wada jaango'an, sida hoos ku qeexan.

Xaraf-raac

Xaraf-raacu waa suugaan-bile aad u fac weyn. Miisaanka wuxuu kaga duwan yahay asaga waxaa loo adeegsadaa aftahammada ama hadal-qurxinta guud iyo noocyada kala duwan ee suugaanta, tix iyo tiraabba. Hayeeshee tixda ayaa si gaar ahaaneed ugu khasban oo aan ka weecan karin. Tixda ama maansadu waxay u kala baxdaa beyd-dheer iyo beyd-gaab. Beydku waa meeriska. Meeriska beyd-dheertu wuxuu ka kooban yahay laba qaybood oo lagu kala magacaabo hojis iyo hooris. Gabayga oo ka mid ah beyd-dheerta, an ku tusaalayno meeriska hoos ku qoran, kaas oo ku jirey gabay caan ahoo uu lahaa Qamaan Bulxan:

Baadida nin baa kula daydaya, daalna kaa badane.

Meeriskan inta hakadka ka horraysaa waa *hojis*, inta ka dambaysaana waa *hooris*.

Haddaba, xeerka xaraf-raacu wuxuu khasab ka dhigayaa in tixda beyd-dheerta ah meeriskeedu erayada uu ka koobmo laba ka mid ah ay ka bilowdaan isku xaraf, xarafkaas oo ah kan ay ku socoto tixda oo dhan, labaduna waa in ay ku kala jiraan hojiska iyo hooriska. Haddaba, tixda laga soo qaatay meeriskan kore waxay ku socotaa xarafka **d**. Sidaa awgeed, waxaan arkaynaa erayga 'daydaya' ee ku jira hojiska inuu ka bilowdo xarafkii tixdu ku socotey (d), sidoo kale erayga 'daalna' ee ku jira hooriska asna wuxuu ka bilowdaa isla xarafkii. Dhammaan meerisyada kale ee tixda oo dhanna waa sidaas. Way jiraan waxyaalo kale oo uu xeerku dalbayo, haseyeeshee intan ayaa ugu muhiimsan. Tixda beyd-gaabta iyada waxaa looga baahan yahay uun meeris kasta haleray inuu ka bilowdo xarafka tixdu ku socoto. Eeg meeriskan beyd-gaabta ah (jiifto) ee laga soo qaatay heestii Baladweyne ee Hadraawi, heestaas oo xarafka ay ku socotaa yahay **b**:

Wabigoo butaaco,

Beeraha waraabshoo,

Labada meeris kan hore erayga 'butaaco' ayaa ka bilowda xarafkii tixda (b), meeriska labaadna erayga u horreeya (beeraha) ayaa ka bilowda.

Miisaan

Xeerarka miisaanku way ka murugsan yihiin kuwa xaraf-raaca. Waxay ku

dhisanyihiin unugyo jiidama oo lagu tilmaansado shaqallada. Shibbanayaasha qudhooduna mararka qaar way soo fara galiyaan. Waa hab ku dhisan inay hab-dhac isu wada dheelli-tiran ku wada socdaan dhammaan meerisyada ay ka koobantahay tixdu, tiradoodu intay doonto ha gaadhee. Waa in aanu jirin meeris ka weecda miisaanka tixda loogu talagalay ee laga xushay miisaannada badan ee jira.

Hadii aan u micnayno si fudud oo qof kastaa fahmi karo, xeerkani wuxuu khasab ka dhigayaa inay is la ekaadaan tirada shaqallada ee ku jira meeris kasta, iyo welibaa inay isku mid noqdaan meelaha ay kala galayaan shaqalladaasi. Waxaa kaloo soo raaci kara shibbanayaal gaar ahaaneed oo halka ay galayaan ay saamaynayso hab-dhaca guud. Intaas oo dhan waa in ay ka midaysnaadaan dhammaan meerisyadu. Badaha kala duwan ee maansada, sida gabayga, geeraarka, jiiftada, dhaantada, mid waliba waxay kudhisantahay tiro go'an oo shaqallo ah. Tiradaas ayaa ah waxa kala soocaya ee bad kasta u yeelaya muuqaal u gaar ah. Luuqda ayaa iyaduna saamayn yeelata oo kala saarta laba badood oo meerisyadoodu is dherer le'egyihiin, sida gabayga iyo guurowga, ama dhaantada iyo wiglada. Tusaale ahaan meeriska gabaygu wuxuu ka kooban yahay 20 shaqal oo gaagaaban, marmarna hojiska ayaa qaataa shaqal dheeraad ah oo ka dhiga 21. Codadka Y iyo w marka ay shaqal ka daba dhacaan waxaa laga soo qaadaa hal shaqal oo gaaban. Shaqalka dheer waxaa loo tiriyaa laba gaagaaban. Eeg labadaan meeris:

Baadida nin baa kula daydaya, daalna kaa badane

2 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 = 2 1 2 1 1 1

Oon doonahayn inad heshana, daayin abedkaaye

2 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 = 2 1 1 1 2 1

Tirada ah 1 wuxuu u taagan yahay hal shaqal oo gaaban, 2 nawaxay u taagantahay shaqal dheer oo u dhigma laba gaagaabaan. Sida aad aragtaan labada meeris ee kore mid waliba wuxuu ka kooban yahay 20 shaqal oo gaaban. Sidaa awgeed wuxuu ku jaan-go'an yahay dherarka lagu yaqaan badda gabayga meeriskeeda.

Taa beddelkeeda, jiiiftada oo ah beyd-gaab meeriskeedu wuxuu ka koobmaa 9 shaqal oo gaagaaban, sida uu muujinayo tusaalaha hoos ku qoran:

Webigoo butaaco

1 1 2 1 2 2

Beeraha waraabshoo

2 1 1 1 2 2

Dhula baadku jiifoo

1 1 2 1 2 2

Dhirta ubaxu buuxshoo

1 1 1 1 2 2

Canabkii bislaadoo

1 1 2 1 2 2

Waad aragtaan shantan meeris sida ay isugu wada sargo'an yihiin iyagoo mid weliba ka kooban yahay 9 shaqal oo gaagaaban. Waana dherarka u gaarka ah badda jiiiftada ee ay miisaankeeda ku dhisan tahay tixdani.

Tiraabta

Tiraabtu waa hadal suugaanaysan laakiinse aan tixaysnayn. Kuma khasbana inay raacdo xeerarkii tixda ee aan soo tilmaannay, haseyeeshee suugaanlaha hibada leh tiraabtiisa wuu ku qurxiyaa suugaan-bilayaal ay ka mid yihiin xaraf-raac iyo hab-dhac loo adeegsadey si ka duwan sida tixda ee xakamaysan. Taa ka sokowtiraabtu waxay leedahay suugaan-bileyaal iyo farsamooyin u gaar ah oo u yeela dhadhan ka duwan oo ka qurxoon kanhadalka caadiga ah. Farsamooyinkaas waxaa laga dhex arkaa qaabka dhismaha iyo isticmaalka luqadda. Waxaa ka mid ah sarbeebta, hummaagaynta, afmaldahyada, eray-ku-sawirka iyo murtiyaynta koob-kooban. Si mowduucan loo wada fahmo, anlaba tusaale ka soo qaadano laba jaad-suugaaneed oo ku abtirsada suugaan-hiddeeda tiraabta ah. Kan hore waa maahmaah kan labaadna waa googaale:

- Tusaale 1. Mukulaal minankeeda joogtaa miciyo libaax bay leedahay.

Waa hadal aad u kooban haddana tabinaya wax aad u badan. Waana hadal maqalkiisa dhegtu jeclaysato. Taas waxaa ugu wacan suugaan-bilayaasha la adeegsaday. Waxaa ka mid ah:

xaraf-raac: xarafka **m** ayaa ah dunta weedhu ku taxantahay.

Hummaagayn: waxaa lagu sawirayaa mukulaal ama bisad gurigeediisida libaaxa u fadhida oo sida libaaxa u miciyo-lisanaysa, si ay u muujiso awood-sheegad iyo isku kalsooni.

Sarbeeb: waxa dhabta ah ee la tilmaamayaa ma aha mukulaal miciyo libaax leh. Waxaa lagu sarbeebayaa awoodda dheeraadka ah iyo isku kalsoonida uu qofku leeyahay marka uu joogo waddankiisa ama degaankiisa, taas oo aanu lahayn marka uu joogo meel kale.

Koobid: way caddahay sida erayo kooban loogu sheegay wax qaadan lahaa erayo badan marka lagu sheego hadalka caadiga ah.

U firso faraaqa u dhexeeya hadalka caadiga ah iyo hadalka suugaanaysan, marka wax isku mid ah midba markiisa lagu sheego:

Hadal caadi ah: "Qofku marka uu joogo waddankiisa amase degaankiisa wuxuu yeeshaa awood iyo isku kalsooni ka badan tan uu yeesho marka uu joogo meel kale."

Hadal suugaanaysan: "Mukulaal minankeeda joogtaa miciyo libaax bay leedahay."

Halkaas ayaad ka aragtaa sida suugaantu uga koobantahay, uga macaantahay ugana saamayn xooggantahay hadalka caadiga ah.

- Tusaale 2. Wax so' leh, oo sar leh, oo suun leh, oo seed leh oo aan rag sooryo loogu geyn.

Waa googaale furiiisu yahay *majintaariga*. Haddaad u fiirsato, tuduc-

suugaaneedkani wuxuu isticmaalayaa dhammaan suugaan-bileyaashii loo adeegsadey maahmaahdii aan soo falanqaynay: xaraf-raacii (s buu ku socdaa), hummaagayntii, sarbeebtii iyo eray-koobkii intaba.

Waliba waxaad arkaysaa in halkan farsamooyinkaas qaarkood loo adeegsanayo si ka sii qotadheer sidii maahmaahda. Tusaale ahaan halkii ay maahmaahdu si toos ah noo hor keenaysey hummaagga ama sawirka “mukulaasha minankeeda joogta”, googaalahani maskaxdeena ayuu u dirayaa inay sawirato majinta ariga ee ah shayga leh tilmaamaha la sheegay.

Jaad-suugaaneedyada tiraabta

Halka badiyaaba la garan karo jaad-suugaaneedyada ku abtirsada tixda, dadka intiisa badan mugdi ayaa kaga jira tiraabta iyo noocyada suugaaneed ee ay ka koobanto. Sidaa awgeed waa lagama maarmaan inaan sii qeexno. Jaad-suugaaneedyada tiraabtu waxay ku kala abtirsadaan labada qaybood ee ay ka koobantahay suugaantu, kuwaas oo kala ah suugaan-hiddeed iyo suugaan-casri. Sidaa darteed waxaan ku kala magacaabaynaa ‘tiraabta sooyaalka ah’ iyo ‘tiraabta casriga ah’. Halkan hoose waxaan ku taxaynaa labadaas mid waliba jaadadka uu ka kooban yahay inta ugu waaweyn amase ugu caansan:

Jaad-suugaaneedyada tiraabta sooyaalka ah:

1. Murtida
2. Maahmaahda
3. Sheeka-xariirada
4. Googaaleysiga
5. Baanaha

Jaad-suugaaneedyada tiraabta casriga ah:

1. Qisada (sheeko dheer)
2. Sheekada gaaban
3. Riwaayadda
4. Faaqidaadda
5. Maqaal-suugaaneedka / gorfaynta suugaanaysan.

6. Gunaanad

Suugaantu cilmi ahaan waa laan-aqooneed aad u baaxad weyn, lehna faracyo fara badan iyo micnayaal qota dheer oo aan qaarkood weli meel la isla dhigin. Sidaa awgeed, ma aha wax looga wada bogan karo qoraal kooban oo loogu talagalay inuu bixiyo sawir guud. Waxaanse rajaynaynaa sawirka guud ee aan qoraalkan ku soo bandhignay inuu waxtar weyn u yeelan doono dadka suugaanta jecel ee wax ku akhriya afka Soomaaliga, kuwaas oo aan hore u helin wax af-Soomaali ku qoran oo siinaya sawir urursan isla markaana koobaya dhinacyada muhiimka ah ee mowduucani leeyahay.

Dad badan ayaa dadaalay oo faafiyey qoraallo ku saabsan suugaanta Soomaalida, sida aqoonyahannada ku xusan tixraacyada qoraalkan (hoos eeg). Haseyeeshe dadaalladaasi waxay u badan yihiin laba midkood. Ururin suugaan kaydin u baahan iyo darsid qaar ka mid ah jaad-suugaaneedyada Soomaalida, taas oo badi xoogga la saaray darsidda maansada. Haseyeeshe waxay nuqsan weyni ka jirtaa dadaal si cilmi ah loo darso guud ahaan suugaanta Soomaaliyeed waxa ay tahay iyo qaybaha ay ka kooban tahay. Waxaan rajaynaynaa mustaqbalka soo socda in baahidaas la daboolo.

Raadraac

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Lafaguridda dhismaha gabayga "dacartuba..."

Dhismaha gabayga Qaasin ee {DACARTUBA ...} ayaa uu ku saabsan yahay qoraalkani; waa na laba qaybood: Dibuhabayn iyo Lafagurid. Daato kasta marka la soo guursho, waxa laga ma maarmaan ah in la hubiyo in ay dhamaystiran tahay. Afar cilladood oo gabaygan qoraalkiisa ku jirey ayaa aan ka nadiifiyey: Waxa na ay kala yihiin: i) Astaamayn (punctuation) aan sugnayn, waa aan isku deyey hagaajinteed; ii) Higgsaadin (spelling) qaldan, meelaha ay qaldan tahay waa aan saxay; iii) Koobid iyo fidin (contraction & expansion), ereyyadii qoraal ku habboon waa aan fidiyey, kuwii hadal ku hagaagsan na waa aan koobay; iyo iv) Dibuhabayn, laba meelood ayaa dibuhabaynta u baahatay: gabayga guud ahaantiisa iyo beyd kasta. Labada ba wax baa aan ka qabtay, tirada beydadka se ma beddelin.

Xantoobinta (jaan, meter) beydkii shan baa uu noqday: saddex hinjiska ah iyo laba hooriska ah. Aleenaynta (syllabification) se beydka ugu gaabani waa afar iyo toban; ka ugu dheeri na waa toddobo iyo toban. Qaafiyaddu (alliteration) waa laba: 'M' iyo 'ee/e' oo beydadku badi ku dhammaadaa. Ku luuqaynta (recitation) Qaasin ma lahayn luuq u gaar ah. Gabaygan humaaggiisu (profile) waa laba: mid tusaya faraaqaleennada iyo mid qeexaya midayntooda. Hawlaha lafaguridda: gabay oo dhammi waa iskaga mid dhinacyada xantoobinta, aleenaynta iyo humaagga. Qaafiyaddiisa iyo ku luuqayntiisu se gabaygan gaar baa ay u noqon karaan ama gabay oo dhan ba.

Sagaal iyo labaatanka beyd ee gabaygani ka kooban yahay, saddex beyd midkii ba waa 14 aleeni, Siddeed midkii ba waa 15. Afar iyo toban midkii ba waa 16. Afar na midkii ba waa 17. Labadiisa humaag na tiradan ayaa uu ku salaysan yahay. Ka hore waa faraaqaleennada. Ka kale na waa aleennada ay beydadku iskaga midka yihiin.

Suugaanta Af-soomaaliga, inta aan ka warqabo, ma aanan akhriyin qoraallo cilmiyeysan oo ay faafiyeen culimo afkeenna hooyo u dhashay laga bilaabo intii aan hogaaminayay waaxda Af-soomaaliga ee kulliyadda waxbarashada ee Lafoole ilaa maanta. Waxa se aan malaynayaa in ay jiraan culimo soomaaliyeed oo ku hawlan horumarinta Af-soomaaliga, laga na yaabo in ay websaydyada (websites) ku faafiyaan fikradahooda. Culimo shisheeye ihi se waa ay ku faafiyeen Afingiriisi iyo Afcarabi ba qoraallo cilmiyeysan oo badidood heer sare ah.

Cilmiyeynta Af-soomaaligu waa hawl inoo wada taalla, gaar ahaan kuweenna nasiibka u heley tabarro u gaar ah suugaanta. Abwaannimadu (talent) waa hibo ama awood gaar ah oo Eebbe addoonkiisa siiyey. Tayaynta abwaannimadu se waa mid ku timaadda hab cilmi ah oo la barto muddo dheer, ku na salaysan farsamooyin cilmiyeysan oo ka midhadhalintoodu ka soo abuurantay cilmiyeynta suugaanta. Cilmiyeyntaas oo la kawsatay rasmiyeynta waxbarashada markii ay waxqoriddu bilaabantay oo kumannaan sano laga joogo hadda. Rasmiyeynta waxbarashada ayaa waqtigaas u qaybisay luqadda af iyo suugaan. Waa na la adeegsadaa ilaa hadda.

Heerka waxbarasho ee maanta waa mid adeegsada marinno aqooneed, aragtiyo casri ah iyo farsamooyin cilmi ku salaysan. Middani na waxa ay qoraalkii caadi ahaa, maansadii, sheekadii iyo riwaayaddii ba ka soo qaaday sidii daato (data) ama saambal (sample) la lafagurayo. Kolkaas culimada ku hawlan afka iyo suugaantu ba, waxa ay gaadhsiiyeen heer fiican walaw ay jiraan meelo qabyo ah iyo kuwo hufid u baahani.

Qoraalkani waa laba qaybood: ta hore waxa ay ku saabsan tahay sida aan dib ugu habeeyey gabayga 'DACARTUBA', ta dambe se waa lafaguriddiisa.

1. Sida aan dib ugu habeeyey.

Marka daato kasta la urursado, waxa habboon in la hubiyo in ay dhammaystiran tahay iyo in kale. Ama in ay tahay sida ugu habboon ee ay ahaan lahayd. Waxa dhici karta in marka la soo werinayo ama guurinayo ay gefaf dhacaan. Haddii aan si kale u dhigo, gabayga 'DACARTUBA' ee aan kala soo baxay websaydka 'Somaliland Poets', ma u qoran yahay sida ugu dhow ee uu gabayaagii hal-abuuray

u tiriyeey? Ma se u astaamaysan yahay (punctuated) sida ugu fiican ee macnihiisa iyo dhismihiisu ay tilmaan sugan uga bixinayaan ujeeddadii laga lahaa tirintiisa?

Kaabaha labaad ee 'DACARTUBA' waxa uu tusaale u yahay sida aan dib ugu habeeyey. Dibuhagaajintanu na, waxa ay noqotay afar nooc: i) *Astaamayn* (punctuation) ; ii) *Higgaadin* (spelling); iii) *Koobid iyo Fidin* (contraction & expansion) iyo iv) *Dibuhabayn* (re-arrangement).

Astaamayn, sida ku qeexan kaabaha kowaad, hakad keli ah ayaa ku jira (beydka 9d) sagaal iyo labaatanka (29ka) beyd ee gabaygu ka kooban yahay. Ka labaad ee dibuhabaynta se beyd wali ba waxa uu ku dhammaadaa astaan nooc kasta ha ahaato ee. Markii aan astaamaynayay na, waxa aan isku deyey in uu akhriste kastaa fahmi karo dhismaha iyo macnaha gabaygan. Beydadkiisi na waxa ay u qaybsameen toddoba labaalay iyo shan saddexlay.

Astaamaynta ka sokow, waxa ku qeexan kaabaha 2d meelo xarriijimo hoosta ku leh oo aan yarayn. Xarriijimahaas waxa ku duugan dhawr qalad oo aan saxay; waxa na ay kala yihiin: ii) *Higgaadin*; iii) *Koobid iyo Fidin* iyo iv) *Dibuhabayn*.

Walaw Af-soomaaliga afartan sano dugsiyada lagu baranayay, waxa weli qoraalkiisa ku badan higgaadin qaldan (eeg kaabaha 1d), sida, beydka 1d *dhsshaa* → *dhashaa*; beydka 5d *iyu* → *iyo* meelo kale oo badan. Waxa aan isku deyey in aan saxo dhammaan higgaadihii qaldan.

Koobiddu waa hawl hadal; inta badan gabayaaga soomaaliyeed kor ayaa uu ka tiriya gabaygiisa. Kolkaas waxa jira meelo fidsan gabaygan (eeg kaabaha 1d) oo aan soo koobay, sida, beydka 1d *dhashaa aad* → *dhashaad*; beydka 20d *maalinba is-roga e* → *maalinbays roga e*; iyo beydka 27d *macaan oo ay* → *macaanoy*. Fidintu se waa arrin u gaar ah qoraalka. Meelaha aan isku koobay na, waa ay fidsan yihiin markii aan soo guuriyey gabaygan.

Dibuhabayntu, markan waa mid gaar ah, waxa na ay u qaybsan tahay laba nooc: mid hinjiska iyo hooriska u kala gudubta, sida, *'waa ←'* beydka 3d iyo 21d. Iyo mid aleennada u kala gudubta, sida, *'talan | taalliyaan'* beydka 6d iyo beydka 21d *'gelinkii | ba waa'*. Labada ba waxa aan isugu dheellitirayay *xantoobinta* iyo

aleenaynta. Dibuhabayntu waa sida ugu fiican ee daato u qormi karto inta aan la gudagelin lafaguriddeeda.

2. Lafaguridda Gabayga Qaasin ee 'DACARTUBA ...'

Qaybtan waxa aan kaga faalloonayaa dhismaha gabayga, macnihiisu ha ii dambeeyo ee. Gabaygan dhismihiisa, afar dhinac ayaa aan ka eegayaa: *Xantoobin* (Jaan, meter, foot), *aleenayn* (allanayn, syllabification), *Qaafiyad*, (alliteration) *luuq* (Jiib, melody) iyo *Humaag* (profile).

Xantoobintu waa habka ay ereyyada weedhu u xantoobsamaan marka uu qof gabyayo sida, *hinjiska* (beydka qaybtiisa hore) ama *hooriska* (beydka qaybtiisa dambe). Kolkaas Qaasin (alla ha u naxariisto ee) gabaygiisan 'DACARTUBA ...', waxa uu ka kooban yahay sagaal iyo labaatanka beyd (29 beyd ama layn). Beydkii ba waxa uu u sii qaybsan yahay laba qaybood: *hinjis* (qaybta hore) iyo *hooris* (qaybta dambe). *Hinjiska* ayaa ka dheer *hooriska* oo waa saddex xantoobo. *Hoorisku* na waa ka gaaban yahay *hinjiska* oo waa laba. Sagaal iyo labaatanka beyd ba waa ay ka siman yihiin xantoobinta (jaanta).

Sumadaha “|,||, iyo #” waxa ay qeexaan ama kala soocaan xantoobooyinka (|), *hinjiska* iyo *hooriska* (||) iyo joogsiga (#). Sumaddani ‘|’ waxay qeexdaa jaanta; beydkii ba na saddex ayaa ku jira: laba u dhexeeya saddexda qaybood ee *hinjiska* iyo mid u dhaxaysa labada qaybood ee *hooriska*. Sumadda ‘||’ waxa aan u adeegsaday laba fikradood: kala xadaynta *hinjiska* iyo *hooriska* iyo dhammaadka beydka astaan kasta ha yeesho ee. Sumaddani ‘#’ se waxa ay u taagan tahay joogsi. Marka laga eego xagga joogsiga, beydadka dhamaystiran ee gabaygani waa labaalay ama sadexlay. Faraqa ugu weyn ee dhismaha beydadku waa tirada aleennada.

Aleenayntu waa habka ay xubnaynta ereyadu u dhisan yihiin. Tusaale ahaan, ereyga ‘*hooris*’ waxa uu u qaybsan yahay laba aleen: *hoo-ris*; ‘*hinjis*’ na laba kale: *hin-jis*. Kolkaas ereyada aleen keli ah ka koobma Af-soomaaliga waa *afar* nooc:

- i) Shaqal keli ah, sida, ‘i’ iyo ‘u’, tus.: ‘*Cali ayaa i salaamay*’ iyo ‘*Cali ayaa u yimid reerkoodii*’;

- ii) *Shibbane* iyo *shaqal*, sida, ‘na, iyo ‘si’, tus.: ‘*Hoorisku na waa gaaban yahay*’ iyo ‘*Ma si kale ayaa aad yeeshay?*’;
- iii) *Shaqal* iyo *shibbane*, sida, ‘ah’ iyo ‘in’, tus.: ‘*qof keli ah ayaa jooga*’ iyo ‘*In yar i sii*’;
- iv) *Shibbane*, *shaqal* iyo *shibbane labaad*, sida, ‘mar’ iyo ‘hab’, tus.: ‘*Mar baa aan cali la hadlay*’ iyo ‘*Hab fiican baa uu hadalka u dhigay*’.

Aleen kasta waxa *xuddin* (laga ma maarmaan) u ah *shaqal*. *Shaqallada* aleen kasta ku jiraa, waxa ay noqon karaan kuwo gaagaaban, sida, ‘i iyo u’, ama kuwo dhaadheer, sida, ‘aa, iyo uu’, ama kuwo dhafan/lammaan, sida, ‘ai/ay; ei/ey iyo aw/aw’.

Sagaal iyo labaatanka beyd ee gabayga ‘DACATURBA’ ka kooban yahay, waxa ay u qaybsamaan afar nooc:

- i) Saddex beyd oo midkii ba yahay 14 aleen (beydadka 14, 21, 29);
- ii) Siddeed beyd oo midkii ba yahay 15 aleen (beydadka 6,9,11, 13, 16, 19, 24, 27);
- iii) Afar iyo toban beyd oo midkii ba yahay 16 aleen (beydadka 1, 4, 7, 8, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28); iyo
- iv) Afar beyd oo midkii ba yahay 17 aleen (beydadka 5, 10, 12, 22)

Beydadka gabay kastaa waa isku *muddo* (duration) ama waa isku jaan. Marka ay aleenno kooban ama yar yihiin (14, 15), jaanta waa la jiidayaa ama raajinayaa. Haddii se ay fidsan ama badan yihiin (61, 17), jaanta waa la hurgufayaa ama dedejinayaa. Sidani waxa ay jaan keli ah iskaga dhigaysaa afarta nooc ee ay aleennada ‘DACARTUBA...’ u qaybsan yihiin.

Qaafiyadda sharaxeedu waa uu fudud yahay. Gabaygan ‘DACARTUBA ...’ qaafiyaddiisu waa xaraf ‘m’ oo aan *jiifiyey* (italised). Beydkii ba waxa waajib ah in ay ku jiraan laba ‘m’: mid *hinjis* qaybtiisa ayaa raacsan iyo mid na *hooriska*. Gabayaa kasta waxa u furan in uu qaafiyadda gabaygiisa ku saleeyo xaraf ka mid ah alifba’da Af-soomaaliga. Waxa se dhici karta in uu gabayga ku dhammeeyo alifba’da. Xarafka ay yar yihiin ereyada ay ku bilaabmaan, gabayaagu waa uu ku

tijaabiyaa abwaanimadiisa ama aqoontiisa Af-soomaaliga.

Luuqayntu waa arrin ku sal leh miyuusiga ama muusiiqada, waa na laga dhaafi karaa gabayga oo ereyyada iyo xantoobinta ayaa lagu ekaan karaa sida waqtigan loo badan yahay. Waxa se ay soomaali badan og tahay in ay gabayaa badani adeegsadaan luuq iyaga u gaar ah, sida, Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan iyo Cabdullaahi Suldaan (Timacadde) inta aan ka warqabo walaw ay jirto mid guud oo ay badi ba adeegsadaan abwaannada aan lahayn luuq u gaar.

Dhismaha gabaygu waxa uu ku salaysan yahay muusiiqada (miyuusiga). Haddii aan si kale u dhigo, gabaygu waa shaandho muusiiqa ka samaysan oo weedho (luqad) lagu gufeeyey. Weedhahaas oo gabay kasta macne gaar ah siinaya. Middan na waxa marag u ah beydka saddexda jeer badi ba lagu celceliyo ee gabayga laga horraysiiyo:

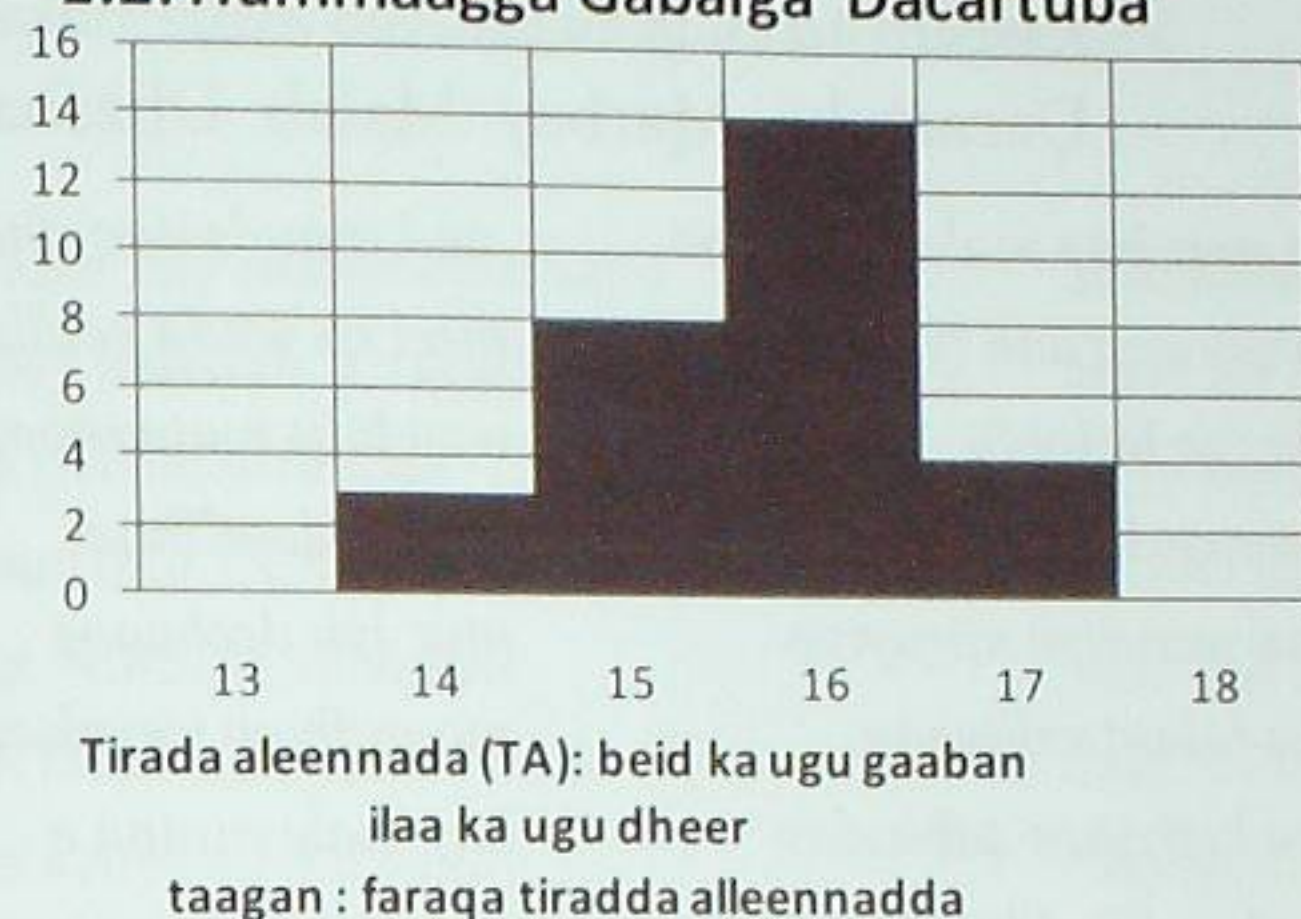
(8) *Hoo-baa-la-yay hoo-baa-la-yay hoo-baa-la-yay hoobee.*(6)

Beydkan hinjiska iyo hoorisku ba waa laba xantoobo. Hinjisku waxa uu ka kooban yahay siddeed (8) aleen, hoorsiku se waa lix (6). Dhismahani na waa miisaanka saddexda beyd ee midkii ba ka kooban yahay afar iyo toban (14) aleen ee gabaygan ku jira. Gabay kasta na waa sidaas salkiisu oo jaanta jiidisteeda iyo dedejinteeda ayaa beyd kasta ba ku saleeya beydkan hordhaca ah ee saddexda jeer lagu celcesho.

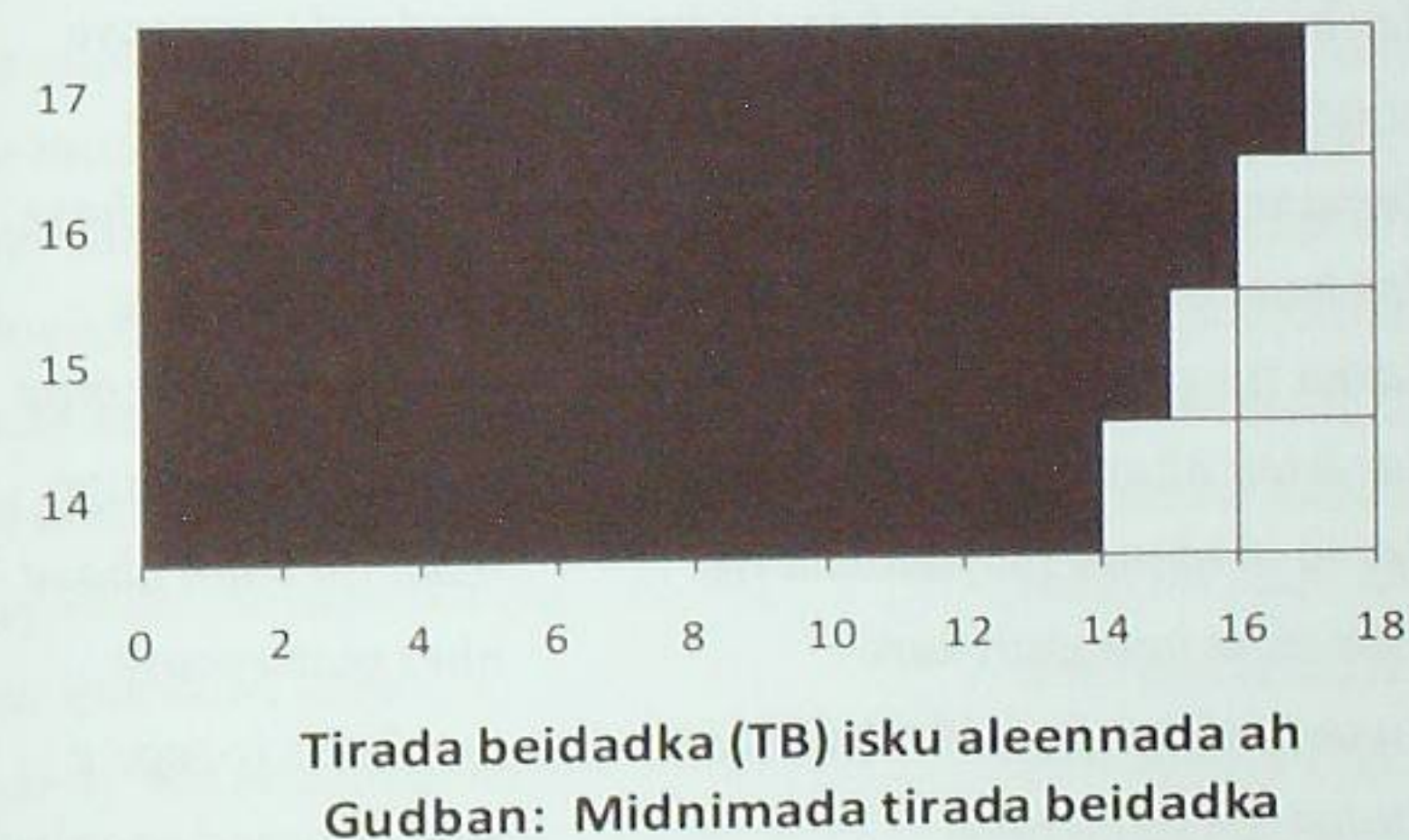
Hummaagu waa muuqaalka uu yeesho gabaygu marka tirada aleennada loo rogo *garaaf* (graph). Aleennada gabaygan 'DACARTUBA...' waxa ay u qaybsamaan afar nooc marka laga eego dhinaca tirada aleennadiisa (14, 15, 16 iyo 17). Labadan shaxan (Garaaf, graph) ee hoose (eeg 1.2, 1.3)⁴⁴, kolkaas, waxa ay wakiil ka yihiin hummaagga (the profile) gabaygan. Ka hore (a) waa taagan yahay, waxa na uu ku salaysan yahay kala duwidda/faraqa tirada beydadka : sida ay u kala dheer yihiin . Ka dambe se (b) waa gudban yahay, waxa na uu ku saabsan yahay midaynta tirada beydadka: beydka ugu dheer waxa ku jira inta ku jirta ka ugu gaaban.

44 Tifaafitirayaashu, si guud ahaan ay isu waafajiyaan habqoraalka buugan, waxay doorbideen in ay wax yar ka beddelaan habqoraalka uu adeegsaday qoraha soo diyaariyay qoraalkan. Bedelaadaasina waxay ku saabsantahay, gaar ahaan, xarfaha uu qoraalkiisa u adeegsaday: ai, ei, au iyo z, oo lagu beddelay xarfahan: ay, ey, aw iyo dh, sida caadi ahaan, ilaa haatan, Af-soomaaliga loo qoro. Ciddii doonaysa waxii ku saabsan habqoraalka qoraha u gaarka ah oo faahfaahsan wuxuu ka heli karaa buuggiisa, oo raadraaciisu yahay: Maxamed X. Raabbi, 2009, Cerd, Djibouti.

1.2. Hummaagga Gabaiga 'Dacartuba'



1.3. Hummagga Gabaiga 'Dacartuba'



Jiifku (x-axis) waa tirada aleennada (14→ 17) ee beyd waliba ka kooban yahay, ka ugu gaaban ilaa ka ugu dheer. **Jooggu** (y-axis) se waa tirada beydadka isku aleenno ah (1 → 14). Haddii aad u fiirsatid shaxankan, beydadka min lix iyo tobanka (16) aleen ah ayaa ugu tiro badan (dheer) oo afar iyo toban (14) beyd ayaa ah. Waxa na ugu gaaban (tiro yar) saddex beyd oo midkii ba afar iyo toban (14) aleen yahay. Siddeed beyd waa min shan iyo toban (15) aleen, afar beyd na waa min toddoba iyo toban (17) aleen.

➤ Kaabaha 1d (Sida uu gabaygu websaydhka ugu jirey)
Dacartuba Marbay Malab Dhashaa.

Dacartuba mar bay malab dhsshaa	aad muudsataa dhabaqe
Waxaan ahay macaan iyo qadhaadh	meel ku wada yaalle
Midigtayda iyo bidixdu	waa labs mataanoode
Midi waa martida soora iyo	maato daadihise
Midina waa mindiyo xiirayyo	mur iyu deebaaqe
Masalooyin talantanlliyaan	maandhow leeyahaye
Nin majiirro keliyuun qabsaday	hay malaynnina e
Mar baan ahay muddeec camal san	oon maagista aqoone,
Marna macangag laayaan aho	miiggan baan ahaye
Mar baan ahay muftiga saahidnimo	mawlaca u galaye
Marna makhaawi waashoo xumaa	miista baan ahaye
Mar baan ahay murtiyo baanisaba	madaxda reeraaye
Ay weliba muuniyo dulqaad	igu majeertaane
Mama reer-magaal loofaaroon	muuqan baan ahaye
Mar baan ahay nin xaaraan maqdaca	marin jidiinkiiye
Marna tuug mu'diya baan ahoon	maal Rasuul bixinne
Mar baan ahay maqaan awliyada	maqaddin koodiye
Marna mudanta shaydaanka iyo	maal jin baan ahaye
Miisaanna ima saari karo	nin i maleeyaaye
Waxaan ahay nin midabbaynayoo	maalinba is-roga e
Muuqaygu gelinkiiiba	waa muunad gooniyahe
Muslinka iyo gaalada dirkaba	waan macne aqaane
Malaa'igta naartiyo jannadu	waygu murantaaye
Nin intasoo mahadhooyin	loo mooggan baan ahaye
Ninkiise maalmo badan soo jiree	madaxu boosaystsy
Ama inuun rag miisaami jirey	wuu i maan garanneNin kastow
halkii kuu macaan oo	ay muhato laabtaadu
Ama aadan madaddaaladeeda	igala maarmaynin
Iska soo mar waa kuu bannaan	marinkaad doontaaye

➤ Kaabaha 2d (Sida aan dib ugu habeeyey)
Dacartuba Marbay Malab Dhashaa.

Dacartuba mar bay <u>malab dhashaad</u>	<u>muudsataa dhabaqe;</u>
Waxaan ahay <u>macaan</u> iyo qadhaadh	<u>meel ku wada yaalle.</u>
Midigtayda iyo bidixdu <u>waa</u>	<u>laba mataanoode;</u>
Midi waa <u>martida</u> soora iyo	<u>maato daadihise;</u>
Midina waa <u>mindiyo</u> xiirayyo	<u>mur iyo deebaaqe.</u>
Masalooyin talantaalliyaan	<u>maandhow leeyahaye;</u>
Nin <u>majiirro</u> keliyuun qabsaday	<u>hay malaynnina e.</u>
Mar baan ahay <u>muddeec camalsanoon</u>	<u>maagista aqoone;</u>
Marna <u>macangag</u> laayaan aho	<u>miiggan baan ahaye.</u>
Mar baan ahay <u>muftiga</u> saahidnimo	<u>mawlacaw galaye;</u>
Marna <u>makhaawi</u> waashoo xumaa	<u>miista baan ahaye.</u>
Mar baan ahay <u>murtiyo</u> baanisaba	<u>madaxda reeraaye;</u>
<u>Oy</u> weliba <u>muuniyo</u> dulqaad	<u>igu majeertaane;</u>
<u>Marna</u> reer- <u>magaal</u> loofaroon	<u>muuqan baan ahaye.</u>
Mar baan ahay nin xaaraan <u>maqdaca</u>	<u>marin jidiinkiiye;</u>
Marna tuug <u>mu'diya</u> baan ahoon	<u>maal Rasuul bixine.</u>
Mar baan ahay <u>maqaam</u> awliyada	<u>maqaddin koodiye;</u>
Marna <u>mudanta</u> shaydaanka iyo	<u>maal jin baan ahaye;</u>
<u>Miisaanna</u> ima saari karo	<u>nin i maleeyaaye.</u>
Waxaan ahay nin <u>midabbaynayoo</u>	<u>maalinbays-roga e;</u>
<u>Muuqaygu</u> gelinkiiiba <u>waa</u>	<u>muunad gooniyahe.</u>
<u>Muslinka</u> iyo <u>gaalada</u> dirkaba	<u>waan macne aqaane;</u>
<u>Malaa'igta</u> naartiyo jannadu	<u>waygu murantaaye.</u>
Nin intasoo <u>mahadhooyin</u> <u>loo</u>	<u>mooggan baan ahaye;</u>
Ninkiise <u>maalmo</u> badan soo jiree	<u>madaxu boosaystay;</u>
Ama inuun rag <u>miisaami</u> jirey	<u>wuu i maan garane.</u>
Nin kastow halkii kuu <u>macaanoy</u>	<u>muhato laabtaadu;</u>
Ama <u>aanad madadaaladeeda</u>	<u>igala maarmaynin;</u>
Iska soo <u>mar</u> waa kuu bannaan	<u>marinkaad doontaaye.</u>

➤ Kaabaha 3d. (Gabayga dhismihiisii oo daataysan ama daato ah).

	4	2	4	3	3	10	6	16
	Dacartuba mar bay malab dhashaad muudsataa dhabaqe							
	4	4	2	2	4	10	6	16
	Waxaan ahay macaan iyo qadhaadh meel ku wada yaalle#							
	4	2	4	2	4	10	6	16
	Midigtayda iyo bidixdu waa laba mataanoode							
	3	3	4	2	4	10	6	16
	Midi waa martida soora iyo maato daadihise							
5	4	3	4	3	3	11		17
	Midina waa mindiyo xiirayyo mur iyo deebaaqe#						6	
	4	2	3	2	4			
	Masalooyin talan taalliyaan maandhow leeyahaye					9	6	15
	4	3	3	3	3	10		16
	Nin majiir keliyuun qabsaday hay malay nina e #						6	
	4	2	4	3	3	10		16
	Mar baan ahay muddeec camalsanoon maagista aqoone						6	
	2	3	4	2	4			
	Marna macangag laayaan aho miigga baan ahaye#					9	6	15
10	4	3	4	3	3	11		17
	Mar baan ahay muftiga saahidnimo mawlacaw galaye						6	
	2	3	4	2	4	9	6	15
	Marna makhaawi waashoo xumaa miista baan ahaye#							
	4	3	4	3	3	11		17
	Mar baan ahay murtiyo baanisaba madaxda reeraaye						6	

	4	3	2	2	4		6	15
	Oy weliba muuniyo dulqaad igu majeertaane					9		
	2	3	3	3	3		8	14
	Marna reer magaal loofaaroon muuqan baan ahaye#						6	
15	4	3	3	2	4	10	6	16
	Mar baan ahay nin xaaraan maqdaca marin jidiinkiiye							
	3	3	3	3	3			15
	Marna tuug mu'diya baan ahoon maal Rasuul bixinne#					9	6	
	4	2	4	3	3	10		16
	Mar baan ahay maqaam awliyada maqaddin koodiye						6	
	2	3	5	2	4	10		16
	Marna mudanta shaydaanka iyo maal jin baan ahaye						6	
	3	2	4	2	4			15
	Miisaanna ima saari karo nin i maleeyaaye#					9	6	
	4	2	4	3	3	10		16
20	Waxaan ahay nin mi -dabbaynayoo maalinbays roga e						6	
	3	3	2	2	4			14
	Muuqaygu gelinkii ba waa muunad gooniyaha#					8	6	
	5	3	3	3	3	11		17
	Muslinka iyo gaalada dirkaba waan macne aqaane						6	
	4	3	3	2	4	10		16
	Malaa'iigta naartiyo jannadu waygu murantaaye#						6	
	4	3	2	2	4			15
	Nin intasoo mahadhoo yin loo mooggan baan ahaye					9	6	
	3	4	3	3	3	10		16
25	Ninkiise maalmo badan soo jiree madaxu boosaystay						6	

	4	4	2	3	3	10		16
Ama inuun rag <i>miisaami</i> jirey wuu i <i>maan</i> garanne#							6	
	3	2	4	3	3			15
Nin kastow halkii kuu <i>macaano#y</i> <i>muhato</i> laabtaadu						9	6	
	4	2	4	3	3	10		16
Ama aanad <i>mada</i> daaladeeda igala <i>maarmaynin</i>							6	
	4	2	2	3	3			14
Iska soo <i>mar</i> waa kuu bannaan <i>marinkaad</i> doontaaye#						8	6	

Raadraac

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Cutubka 3d/Chapter 3

Af-Soomaaliga iyo Teknolojiyadda Cusub ee War-is-gaarsiinta

Role of the New Information Technology

Jama Musse Jama

Can a Computer compose a Somali poem after 40 years of Somali Language written experience?

1. Introduction

The idea of computer assisted poetry writing is not new to literature. For French poetry, Nell [2003] has developed a method using the computer to detect rhythmic patterns in the traditional *isometrical alexandrines*. For English literature, the use of the data processing machines started with the early use of computers. In 1951, in fact, a team of scientists tested the capabilities of the world's first computer, *Mark One "Baby"*, which was used to experiment in composing love poetry [SSEM, 1948]. Recent studies showed that, more than purely computer generated poetry, the interesting aspect of the use of computers in poetry is the valuable assistance that a poet can get from computer engagement in poetry composition. As Hartman (1996) writes the issue "isn't exactly whether a poet or a computer writes the poem, but what kinds of collaboration might be interesting" and he describes in his book *Virtual Muse: Experiments in Computer Poetry* how computer programming helped him probe poetry's aesthetic potentialities [Hartman, 1996]. For the Somali language, and for many other African languages, little has been done so far in IT related research and development [see Jama Musse (2009), Cabdiraxmaan C Faarax 'Baraaqo' & Xuseen Yuusuf Liibaan (see References).]

Somali verse is marked by alliteration and the use of scansion metrical system.

Alliteration: rules of alliteration that govern the Somali poetry may be simplified within these three fundamental points: i. poems with short lines, which have no caesura, each line should contain at least one alliterative word; ii. poems with long lines, divided into two parts (*hojis* and *hooris*), each part should contain at least one alliterative word; iii. poems of all types, the same alliteration should be used in all lines (and parts of each line when divided into two parts) [see for example, Andrzejewski 1982]. For this limitation of the alliteration word and the rhyme scheme that these words should pattern, a poet should have an accumulation of large vocabulary in order to express his or her idea.

Scansion: Somali scansion metric system was articulated in the early 1970s [see Gaarriye 1976; Carraale 1978, 2004; Johnson 1979, 1984; Banti and Giannattasio 2004] and it was recently further developed in research on consonants and their role as virtual geminates [see Orwin and Gaarriye, 2010]. A different and a very interesting aspect of metrical system is also presented by Faarah Ali Gaamuute in his upcoming book [see Faarah Ali, 2012]. Somali poetry is therefore accomplished by a combination of scansion pattern rules and the sound alliteration rules, and although orally composed, a structural analysis similar to Western poetics can be applied to Somali verses and “the time of establishing the metric units, the rules and procedures that make Somali poetry possible has finally come.” [see Faarah Ali, *id.*]

It is not the purpose of this work to go into detail on the study of alliteration and metrical system in Somali poetry. Suffice to say that we will use *mora* (*morae* in plural) as a unit of measure in phonology that determines the weight of a syllable in each word of the verse; this measurement also determines stress and timing in the verse. More specifically we will count one *mora* for a short syllable and two *moroe* for a long syllable. The determination of the type of genre of a *maanso* consists of totalling the number of *moroe* in each half line of the verse; and these time units (*morae*) should be a constant series of distribution. For example in the case of *jiifto*, the following pattern can be observed (2-2, 1-2-2-1):

2 2 , 1 2 2 1 (total 8 *morae*)

Naa yaa, dayooy hee dheh

So the total number of *morae* should be 8 or 9, with the above mentioned distribution. If a verse respects this condition, we will say that it is a metrically correct *maanso* verse in the *jiifto* genre. The same rules will apply in other genres (for instance *gabay*, *geeraar*, *hees*, etc.)

This paper proposes a new algorithm and presents a set of stand-alone modules based on the structure of the Somali language and on the metrical system of the Somali poetry. This algorithm uses a large Somali corpus (list of base word lemmas) which also includes synonym and antonym definitions; syntactical and morphological parsers for the Somali language; and a base knowledge data, which

is a rich database containing a collection of both prose and poetry texts. Other auxiliary modules include grammar checking for Somali; and a parser module for Somali poetry.

The idea is to put together all these modules to give an affirmative answer to the very ambitious question that is: Can a computer compose some semantically correct verses in Somali? And can it produce verses that also make sense in the spoken language?

This paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, we describe briefly major components that constitute the bases of the algorithm, and for each component the reader is reminded of the previous work from which this component comes from. Section 3 constitutes the core of the paper, and it outlines the chart-flow of the algorithm, and the major passages of the logical flow are explained. Section 4 describes further the algorithm steps by using a specific example to generate a poem. We conclude in Section 6 with a discussion of the main insights gained from these experiments and also by reporting on the different tests carried out, and then the machine produced verses are compared with parts of well-known Somali poems.

2. Brief description of the components:

2.1. Word List Database (WLD):

WLD module is a comprehensive and accurate Somali corpus consisting of a list of base word lemmas, which includes also synonym and antonym definitions of the words. Redsea Online has collected nearly 150,000 unique terms from its online spell-checker and through a web crawler. It contains about 42,000 lemmas and their derivations through a simple morphological parser. These words have been confirmed as either lemmas (base forms) or morphemes (grammatical forms), and part of them have link relationships with other words. Of these, nearly 5,000 have been matched to a synonym and/or antonym definition. *WLD* is growing

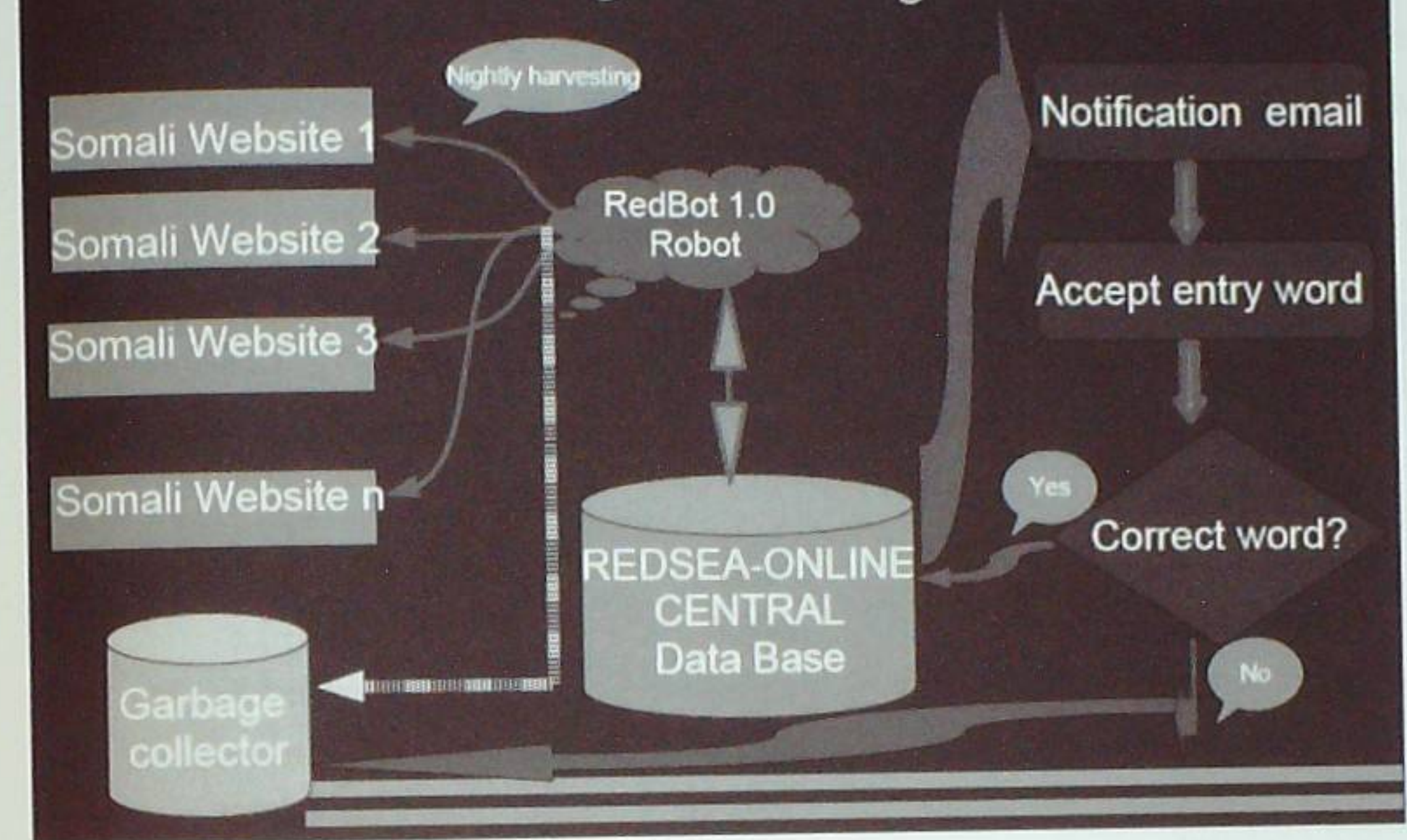
on a daily basis, thanks also to the visitors of the online edition of Redsea Online dictionary. In fact, every new word not yet listed in the main dictionary will be collected from inserted text, and then a notification e-mail will be sent to a group of Somali language experts. The group members will examine the new words and decide whether or not to add these words to the main dictionary. *WLD* has also the capability to self-feed and collect new words from its usage while the programme is analysing new poems. The idea is to enrich the database so all words match in grammatical relationships (parts of speech, combination with articles, etc.) and have defined equivalent meanings (synonyms, antonyms, etc.).

The *WLD* is also growing through the *REDBot* crawler, which is a web crawler or web bot⁴⁵ that retrieves text from web pages and follows up the hyperlinks they contain. The *REDBot* crawler starts at midnight every night on randomly selected websites, harvesting new words recursively from other websites linked to the just visited pages. The Somali Language Spell Checker accepts all harvested text from the *REDBot* periodically and generates indexes of all the new words found therein. Whenever *REDBot* collects a new word for a predefined number of times (for example, a word which has been found 50 times from different web pages), it assumes that the word is Somali, and therefore it automatically sends a notification e-mail to the dictionary maintainers, who will approve or decline the correctness of the word. If the word is accepted, it will be added to the word list, otherwise it will be put in a “garbage” collection database. Words considered “incorrect” will therefore be put in the garbage collection database and will not be collected during future “word harvesting” through the crawler.

⁴⁵ Internet bots, also known as web robots, WWW robots or simply bots, are software applications that run automated tasks over the Internet. Typically, bots perform tasks that are both simple and structurally repetitive, at a much higher rate than would be possible for a human alone [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet_bot accessed 23/3/2009].

Word processor – Spelling checker

Ubbo: Harvesting words through RedBot Crawler



The above scheme shows how the *REDBot* crawler works to collect new words from the Internet.

2.2. Parser for Somali:

PfS is a syntactical and morphological parser for the Somali language. It is a system which analyses an input text syntactically and morphologically and converts each sentence into a structured meta-data representing as its parts of speech. In the tokenized word list, we have verbs and nouns written in their basic form. This mini parser uses non-exhaustive rules, using simple resources with morphological information, a derivative suffix and part of speech category definitions.

For example the following rule applies to identify the definite article for Somali masculine nouns.

The rule defined in the rules file:

- DIBRAAC: R 0 k? . dr: ka kii kee keer kaa kaygii keennii kiinnii koodii

The PFS rule definitions file contains, for instance, the following three lines:

- nin /R
- cad /R
- qalin /R

In this case, the mini parser will identify and/or generate during the verse composing, the following words as corrected:

nin	cad	qalin
ninka	cadka	qalinka
ninkii	cadkii	qalinkii
ninke	cadkee	qalinkee
ninkeer	cadkeer	qalinkeer
ninkaa	cadkaa	qalinkaa
ninkaygii	cadkaygii	qalinkaygii
ninkeennii	cadkeennii	qalinkeennii
ninkiinnii	cadkiinnii	qalinkiinnii
ninkoodii	cadkoodii	qalinkoodii

The following is another example, to identify derivative words through inflection of verbs ending with the vowel i. In this case:

a. The rule defined in the rules file is:

- DIBRAAC: S 0 i . dr:yi yey nnay day deen yeen yayey nayney yaysey yeyseen yeyney yayaa nnaa daa yaysaa yaan doonaa doontaa doonnaa

b. The PFS rule definitions file contains the following line (for example for the verb sahwi)

sahwi /S

c. The PFS module recognizes dynamically the following words and can trace back the verb "sahwi" to 'figure out' the meaning of the current verse; or to build the suitable word for the poetry metric rule: sahwiyi sahwiyeey sawinnay sawiday

sahwideen sawiyeen sawiyayey sawinayney sawiyaysey sawiyeeyseen sawiyeeyney sawiyayaa sawinnaa sawidaa sawiyaysaa sawiyaan sawiyidoonaa sawiyidoontaa sawiyidoonnaa.

A set of similar rules define different ways to recognize words derived from the base words regarding the vocative case, gender, number, pronoun and indicative mood and inflection of verbs. These are not exhaustive rules but they seem to cover a good percentage of the most used forms in Somali. These rules are taken from Andrzejewski [1964, 1979], Keenadiid [1976], Banti [1988], Saeed [1993], Cabdalle and Puglielli [1999], Rabi [2004]. The idea is to enrich these rules, and make robust and modular morphological and syntactical parser for Somali.

2.3. Base Knowledge Data (BKD)

BKD consists of a rich database containing a collection of both prose and poetry texts in Somali. This unstructured text database includes an index of a wide variety of Somali literature texts; a collection of Somali poems in different genres; a collection of proverbs, traditional wisdom sayings. This module helps the algorithm to "guess" words making sense in combination with other words.

2.4. Grammar Checker (GC)

GC is a module for basic grammar checking for Somali language. It is a simplified grammar checker for poetry verse syntax control. For instance, if there is a subject in the verse, which is masculine singular third person, it verifies that the form mode used in the verb is correct grammatically. The idea is to develop a comprehensive grammar checker for the Somali language.

2.5. Poetic Verse Templates Collector (PSTC)

There are a minimum set of verse sentence templates at the initial stage of the programme. Every time a verse is approved by the administrator as a metrically and grammatically correct verse in a specific genre, the PSTC splits the verse in macro-area of type of speech, and it identifies the positions of the main words: subject, verb, object, etc. It removes the identified words, substituting them with

place holders with the meter of each word. The result of this operation is a poetic sentence template. For example, if the administrator accepts the following verse:

- *Shimbiraha gabraartiyo hadday, galow wax weydiiso*

The names (*shimbiraha, galow*) and the verbs (*gabraartiyo, weydiiso*) in the verse are substituted with the following place holders: CN-P-4 (common name, plural, counting 4 *morae*); V-5 (verb counting 5 *morae*); SN-S-2 (specific name, singular, counting 2 *morae*); V-4 (verb counting 4 *morae*).

CN-P-4 V-5 hadday, SN-S-2 wax V-4

This template is added into the poetic verse templates database for the future use of the composition phase of the poetry construction process (see paragraph 3.)

2.6. Parser for Somali Poetry (PSP)

PSP is a parser module to analyse and check the correctness of the poetry metric system. The scansion system used by this module is simplified. It has two methods of checking: the first method is "simulation" of existing verse definition (this is what we call in Somali *gabay dheeg*) and the second is building the verse according to the type of *maanso* chosen by the user.

2.6.1. First method: *gabay dheeg* - simulation of alliteration and structure of an existing poem.

- Step 1: The PSP different ways of writing PSP or PsP gets as input a reference verse from which to make a 'copy'.
- Step 2: Analyses the structure of the verse: *hojis*, vs. *hooris* in the case of *Gabay*; *Mooro* in case of *jiifto*, etc. identifying subject, verb, etc.
- Step 3: For each word in the original verse
 - ✓ Analysis grammaticality the word and finds its root (in case of verb or noun)

- ✓ Removes all consonants from the original word (n.b. a new development of the Somali metric studies on the role of the consonants as virtual geminates [Orwin and Gaarriye, 2010] are to be considered here as well).
- ✓ Searches all words from the database that are starting with the same character as the original word, and that are having the same vowel disposition
- ✓ From the Knowledge database, searches best match according to the "similar words used in a discourse" (for instance, it looks at all words that have a distance from the word of less than 3 words in a text, and chooses those who match in my subset of words so far collected).
- ✓ Builds the verse with the new words found
- Step 4: If the so built verse has been used in the past in an existing poem, the programme disqualifies it and changes the words so far selected and starts the loop again.

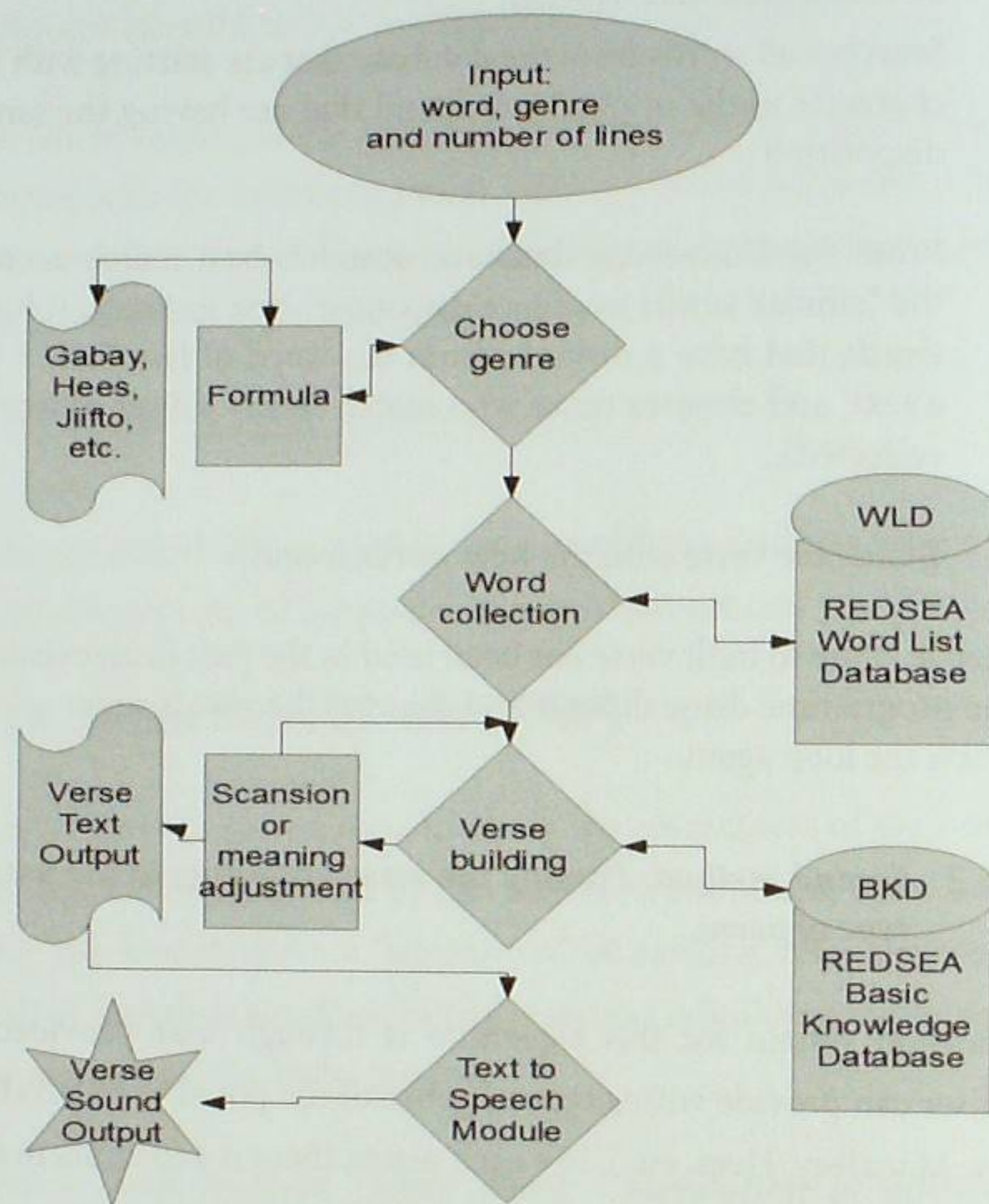
2.6.2. Second method: Parsing the verse according to the user defined type of poem.

Another scansion system for this algorithm is through user provided type of genre. The user can provide with a type of genre of the poem to be produced (i.e. *Jiifto*, *Gabay*, *Maqaleey*, *Hees*, etc.). For each genre, there is a formula to count the "mora" which is, as said, a key unit for quantitative scansion.

2.7. Waa kuma:

Waa Kuma is Text to Speech converter device to produce Somali speech from a text, using a synthesis method from an open source TTS (text-to-speech) engine. The idea (still under development) is to make adaptation of the speech synthesizer to the melodic and rhythmic formalisation of the type of genre of Somali poetry. For this study, we developed the module as it can read the Somali language in "normal" speech intonation.

3. Graphical representation of the algorithm.



Each of the listed modules in Section 2 has a specific responsibility in the process of composing a verse. This process consists of five macro-activities: identifying, segmentation, composition, parsing and generation. The identifying module chooses the alliteration consonant and the “concept” word of the poem. The segmentation module finds possible ways to partition the sentences identified within the base knowledge into dictionary entries. Composition module arranges the verse in a structurally correct sentence. The parsing process approves the correctness of the poetry metric system; and finally the generation module converts the text verse into voice. The following is a rough and simplified scheme of the algorithm for a Robot to compose a poem:

1. A user provides the Robot a letter and a subject. The letter is intended for alliteration, and the word is a keyword for the theme about which the poem is. For example the letter ‘g’ and the word for the concept “Gobannimo”. *Gobannimo* is a very complex word and has a broad meaning including freedom and liberty, but also implying a dignified, coherent, independent, giving, tolerant and respectful approach. In this case all these concepts will be found in the antonym and synonym definitions of the word;
2. The Robot rebuilds its internal data, and makes an index, to obtain from the lemmas of base words, all words starting with ‘g’ (in the case of this example) in the different types of speech (noun, verb, adverb, etc.) It also looks for other words that are synonyms and antonyms of the selected words (i.e. antonymous and synonyms of *Gobannimo* in this case but also synonyms of other words equivalent of “*Gobannimo*” and better if they are starting with ‘g’);
3. For each word selected in step 2, the Robot performs a new search from the database of prose and poetry, to find sentences that include the word. This search uses balanced methods to identify words: for instance considering the distance between the words in the sentence or if the word is in the sentence as a verb or as a noun etc.
4. Each word in the identified sentences is analysed by the morphological parser module, to find the root of the word, and such root words are grouped according to their type of speech (noun, verb, etc.);
5. Using the grammar checker module on the grouped words, the robot composes new sentences. The sentence composition consists of putting the appropriate word (verb, noun, adjective ...) in the right place of the sentence template;
6. Using the poetry parser, the robot composes metrically correct verses including the listed words;
7. Finally, using the text to speech converter, the robot recites a Somali poem, which will certainly be semantically correct, but some of the verses may not make sense at all.

The recited verses will also be printed as text output. In the case of the creation of nonsense sentences, the users may make the necessary fixes, adjusting some words, having at their disposal a list of words that can be used to substitute from the randomly generated words. The ability of the Robot presented in this paper, to produce acceptable results relies much on the knowledge database containing the prose and the poetry text, and the definition and accurateness of the base word list.

4. An example: gabay dheeg

A simulation has been tested of the following verses from "Gudgude" of Mohamed Ibrahim Warsame "Hadraawi".

- ✓ *Gedgeddoonka maankiyo qalbiga, gocasho soo boodka,*
- ✓ *Xaajada garlayliga jartiyo, gun u saluuggayga,*
- ✓ *Gibladiyo mashxaraddayda iyo, farax la goohayga.*

The produced verses does not fit well in any meaning in any context, but every single verse makes sense in Somali, and it is quite correct in the metric scansion system of the Gabay genre.

- ✓ *Gefkuddoonka maalkiyo qabsiga, gorayo soo haadka,*
- ✓ *Xaabada dabl'iidiyo jabkiyo, dar u xanuunkayga,*
- ✓ *Gundhadiyo marxaladdayda iyo faham la' giidayda.*

5. Conclusion

Whether a machine can act intelligently, or solve a problem that a person would solve by thinking, are the questions to which the philosophy of artificial intelligence attempted to give an answer to since Alan Turing's provocative question "Can machines think?" [Turing, 1950]. Verse composing requires first of all thinking, and also emotion, intelligence, consciousness, intense feeling and a way to shape articulated form of precise representation that we get only in human languages, thinking and arts production. Computers possess none of these abilities; therefore they cannot produce the art of poetry. However, in today's advanced technology in simulation, and the very efficient procedures to store, organize and retrieve

knowledge in real time, computers can represent a great support in poetry composition. They can simulate composing semantically correct verses in Somali, which also make sense in the spoken language.

Linguistic software tools for the Somali language are much needed and, if they are available for free, their impact will be more profitable for the language itself to come to a standard written form. One of the missing modules, which are urgently needed and of which this algorithm could benefit, is the formalization of a morphological grammar. Tools for analytical research on Somali poetry can be a good research field for Somali literature students at university level.

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Nimaan Abdillahi Kaourah

40 years later: automatic transcription of somali⁴⁶

1. Introduction

Nowadays, we are witnessing renewed interest in the oral traditions and African history. The works of [1] and [2] have found proof verifying the approach that oral traditions can be considered as one of the sources of African history. However, this ancestral knowledge that has been accumulated for centuries is threatened due to the globalisation process, social transformation and lack of safeguarding means. This is what brought the eminent defender of the oral tradition, Cheick Amadou Hampâthé Bâ to say that "When an old man dies in Africa, it's like a library that burns".

Today, most of the concerned countries have at their disposal important audio databases that local radio stations have recorded many decades ago. These countries are faced with two questions: safeguarding this patrimony through a digitalisation programme and thus making it more accessible. Regarding the first point, the techniques are well known, and the problem of digitalisation which is being carried out in several countries is limited to a logistical level.

The second point is more sensitive because the utilisation of the audio databases, particularly those with large sizes requires a high level computer processing for all the languages of the concerned countries such as automatic transcription tools and indexing. The development of such tools requires large quantities of transcribed speeches and texts for different modelling. This is by itself a handicap for countries, particularly those with an oral tradition and do not have enough textual corpus. Ever since the attainment of their independence, several African countries have developed more or less complete writing systems, although the spelling is not standardized in most of them [3] e.g. the case of the word "eight" in Mandingo is written *segin*, in Mali *seyin*, in Guinea and *ségin* in Burkina Faso. Sometimes, in the same country different spellings are applied for the same word. This lack of

⁴⁶ I would like to express my gratitude to Idris Said Miguil (Somali-Speaking Pen) and Abdallah Haji (Somali-Speaking Pen & RTD)

standardisation in the spelling is something usual in African languages.

This paper exposes the first signs of automatic processing of the oral cultural heritage of the Republic of Djibouti. As a first step, a presentation is made on the Somali language and the lack of spelling standardisation as well as on the solutions proposed. Then we describe the experiences of the Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR) in the Somali language affected in words, in roots and in a hybrid system combining the words and the roots as well as the different corpus constituted for this study. Finally, we draw conclusions from these works and state possible future research lines.

2. The somali language

Four languages are spoken in Djibouti: French and Arabic, which are the official and minority languages; Afar and the Somali, which are the indigenous and majority languages. Our present works focus solely on the Somali language that concerns half of the audio-targets records⁴⁷. An estimated 12 to 15 million people speak this language in several East African countries. It is itemised under the Cushitic sub-family of the Afro-Asiatic languages in the international classification. The Somali-Somali variant, commonly called the Somali language and spoken in Djibouti is more specifically targeted in our researches. Its phonetic system is composed of 22 consonants and 20 vowels (5 long and 5 short with ATR: Advanced Tongue Root).

Table 1 presents the phonetic structure of the consonants. It is also a pure-tone language with two or three different tones [6], [7]. Its graphic form is relatively young, as it is only written in Latin letters since 1972. There was no written document prior to this date. The transcription of a word emanates directly from its phonetic realisation (each phoneme is represented by a letter or by two letters for some phonemes such as /dh/ /sh/ and /kh/).

3. Problem of standardisation

The Somali language is a “young” language in its written version, and the same word can have different spellings. The spelling variations of the words in this language can be grouped together in three categories. The first category consists in doubling or not doubling a consonant. Thus, the same word, like *director*,

⁴⁷ Djibouti Radio Television Audio Archives

appears indifferently with two /d/ (GUDDOOMIYAHA) or with only one /d/ (GUDOOMIYAHA). The same author or journalist often uses the same spelling.

The second category is the appearance of a word under the form of compound-word or not. Thus, the word *communication* appears under the form of a single word ISGAADHSIIN or two words IS GAADHSIIN or compound-word IS-GAADHSIIN. The same goes for KA DIB and KADIB (after), KUXIGEEN (*Deputy* or *Assistant*) and The third category, which is the most frequent, is the same word which is written in two different ways, like WEYDIYAY and WAYDIYAY (to ask), JABUUTI and JIBUUTI (Djibouti), RAYSAL and RA’IISAL (President), etc. These multiple transcriptions cannot be considered as errors, since there is no standardisation imposed to date. However, they disturb the quality of the language models as well as the robustness of the Automatic Speech Recognition systems. In order to circumvent this problem, and due to the lack of an official standardisation of the transcription of the words in the Somali language, we have adopted the following strategy. The latter is not meant to carry out any choice between the different transcriptions on the basis of whatever criteria, but opts for a given transcription in order to be able to move forward in our study. The transcription thus accepted does not have anything particular in relation to the others that are not accepted. The only chosen criteria are of quantitative or strategic nature.

For the third category of words, the spelling which is most frequently found in the corpus is selected. Thus, if WAYDIYAY appears x times and WEYDIYAY y times, and therefore if $x > y$, WAYDIYAY is selected. For the second category of the words the forms in two words such as KU XIGEEN or IS GAADHSIIN are chosen. This choice has been made in order to later allow the recognition of the speech at the syllabic level (roots). For the first category of the words, the double consonants are replaced by simple consonants. Thus, we think that we have “fixed” the spelling for us to be able carry on with our study.

4. Automatic recognition of the somali language

We presented in [8] the first system of automatic recognition of speech in the Somali language. A trigram language was trained on a corpus of texts called WARGEYS (*Newspaper*) composed of almost 3 million words and of 121k different words. This corpus is made up of “broadcast news” type documents collected

from the World Wide Web. A lexicon composed of the most frequent 20k words from WARGEYS corpus has been extracted and later entirely transcribed into phonetics by SOMPHON phonetiser which is inspired by the French LIAPHON [4] phonetiser and developed to this effect. The language model thus obtained is made up of 726k bi-grams and 1.75M trigrams. The acoustic analysis is made on 30 ms windows taken every 10 ms. The acoustic signal emanating from the ASAAS (*foundation*) audio corpus entirely transcribed with a Transcriber [5], is parameterized by 39 coefficients: 12 MFCC coefficients and the energy, plus their primary and secondary derivatives. The parameters are centred and reduced. The acoustic models are composed of 3 states per phoneme, except for the “glottal occlusive” phoneme, which is coded with 1 state taking into account its execution briefness. For the experiments described in this paper, we used non contextual models with 128 gaussians per state.

The first experiments of ASR? were carried out on the corpus of speech test read for one hour HAATUF. The perplexity of this corpus calculated on WARGEYS corpus is 51.52% and the rate of Out of Vocabulary (OOV) is 4.90%. The large vocabulary speech recognition engine SPEERAL [6] has been used. The Word Error Rate (WER) obtained with a language model trained from the gross WARGEYS corpus (without standardisation of the spelling) and a lexicon of 20k words is 28.3%. The results of the analysis of the system have allowed us to bring it to the fore.

Ref: GUDDOOMIYAHA	gobolka oo uu WERIYAHAYAGU wax
Hyp: GUDOOMIYAHA	gobolka oo uu WARIYAHAYAGU wax
Ref: sheegay in waqti kale ay	** ***** U BALLAMEEN
Hyp: sheegay in waqti kale ay	KU TIMID BALAMEEN
Ref: DHAMMAYSTIRKA	HESHIISYO ***** hore U
Hyp: DHAMAYSTIRKA	BISHII SIIYO Hore UGU
Ref: dhexmaray oo *	aanu FAAH FAAHIN
Hyp:dhexmaray oo U	aanu ***** FAAHFAAHIN

Table 1 - Examples of errors owed to lack of standardisation

Standardisation	Cor(%)	Sub(%)	Sup(%)	Ins(%)	WER(%)
None	76.4	20.8	2.8	4.7	28.3
HAATUF	83.7	14.7	1.6	5.2	21.5
WARGEYS. HAATUF	85.1	13.4	1.5	5.3	20.2

Table 2 - Results of experiments of ASR for different standardisations;

A large number of errors owed to different spellings of the same word between the differences and hypothesis. As is shown in example figure 1, pairs of words such as /GUDDOOMIYAHA/GUDOOMIYAHA, WEYDIYAY/WAYDIYAY, FAAH FAAHIN:

- FAAHFAAHIN etc. are counted as errors while it is only a question of different transcriptions of the same word.

In order to settle this problem and to estimate the actual error rate, we standardised only the spelling of the hypothesis supplied by the system as well as the one of the references (test corpus HAATUF). The WER has shifted from 28.3% to 21.5% (relative gain of 24%). Then after, we proceeded to the standardisation of the WARGEYS corpus. The results were then improved (WER=20.2%). A relative gain of 28% of the WER is acquired when the two corpus (WARGEYS and HAATUF) are standardised. All the results are grouped together in table 1.

5. Automatic transcription of the oral heritage

5.1. Automatic transcription of the Djiboutian Oral Heritage

The RADIO TELEVISION of DJIBOUTI (RTD) corpus is composed of an extract from a one hour broadcast about the awareness of the Djiboutian oral heritage. RTD is manually transcribed. 8 themes related to the historical events and personalities of the VIIth, XVIth, XIXth and XXth centuries were addressed. It is composed of 7,803 words with 2,378 different words. The OOV words rate is 12.48% for a lexicon of 20,000 words. This high rate is owed to the originality of the subjects treated. The records of the oral heritage that we wish to have access to

are of a format similar to RTD Corpus (speech of dialogue-conversation, multi-speakers type etc.) Therefore, RTD will be the target of our research works. Let us point out here that similar corpuses/corpora in English or in French like those treated in the MALACH project [9] composed of stories and testimonies of the CHOA survivors are not easy to transcribe automatically. The error rates obtained and amounting to 40% are very far from those obtained with the read speech (read, journalistic, etc.). While an error rate of approximately 20% was obtained with the read speech, the latter goes up to 62% on the audio records of the cultural heritage. This can be explained by the important OOV rate (12.48%), the character “spontaneous speech” and “dialogue” of the RTD corpus as well as the temporal and thematic mismatch between the two corpora (training and test).

5.2. Automatic transcription in syllabus-roots

The previous experiments show the difficulty to transcribe automatically the oral heritage data that are distanced from the apprenticeships corpora. However, it will be difficult to find training corpora that are linguistically close to the data we wish to deal with. The usual obstacles faced in other languages-T [7] are intensified in our case due to the fact of these data are from an oral tradition country; with the absence of written forms prior to a certain date (1972 for the Somali). Consequently, we should find a sufficiently strong representation to the temporal and thematic gaps that give us the opportunity to directly have access to the old data that make up the heritage. [9]. This is why, the study of the recognition in syllabus-roots, whose number is limited, seemed to us an interesting avenue to explore. Indeed, the roots are the base of words formation and are found in most of the later (old or new, names of places, persons etc.). Moreover, even if the results that adopt a representation in roots are not readable, they could nevertheless allow an automatic indexing of audio archives.

The *WARGEYS* corpus has been split into roots as well as the reference files and this was through the *SOMROOTS* tool that was developed to this effect. *WARGEYS*-roots is composed of 6 million roots with 4,400 different roots. The words are on average composed of 2.14 roots. A lexicon composed of all the roots and entirely put into phonetic form has been used for the recognition of the roots. A model of language has been trained from the *WARGEYS*-roots corpus. This

model is composed of 189,000 bi-grams and 996,000 trigrams of roots. An OOV roots rate of 0.03% is obtained. The error rate of the system for a transcription of the RTD corpus based on the roots (RER: Root Error Rate) represents 47%. The hypotheses obtained are, of course, illegible because they are not words. But some OOV are entirely (*tafaraaruqa*, *qudhooda*) or partially (*asnaamtaasi*) recognised by the roots that compose them (Table 2).

In order to compare the results in words and that of in roots, the hypothesis obtained in section 5 has been split into roots. The WRER (46.4%) is slightly better than the RER, despite the important OOV rate and can be explained by the larger scope of the language model in words in relation to that in roots. Though this gap is relatively low, the errors produced by the two systems are not found at the same places. The system based on the words is good enough on the usual words (present in the lexicon) but make many errors on the OOV and in their surrounding while the system based on the roots has got a homogeneous behaviour for the two categories of words (in the lexicon or not).

5.3. Hybrid language model

The analysis of the previous results has led us to plan a recognition combining the words and the roots. This hybrid approach consists in learning a language model from a text composed at the same time of words and roots. The underlying idea is to benefit from the scope of language model in words, while enjoying taking advantage of the roots as far as the OOV words management is concerned. By choosing a restricted number of words – lexicon composed of more frequent words – we keep the bi-grams and tri-grams that appear more frequently. These structures make up the main “articulations” of the language. The remaining words not belonging to the lexicon are transformed into roots. This idea is implemented by [11]. We used a method similar where the words and the roots are not differentiated. The roots are considered as words. It means that neither both the distance and the proximity between the roots, nor those between the words and the roots are taken into account. The words of the lexicon are chosen among the most frequent n words of the *WARGEYS* corpus. These words are called In-Vocabulary (IV) words. All the other words are split into roots. The text thus obtained is composed of n words and almost 5,000 roots. This text will serve in for

the hybrid language models of n words will be noted as HLM_n .

Thus, we train different language models, $HLM_{0.2k}$ to HLM_{20k} . In the same manner, we wanted to know the WRER (Word-Root Error Rate), the words of the hypothesis supplied by the hybrid systems were transformed in roots. These results are then compared with the previous results (former WRER emanating from the recognition in words and the RER obtained with the roots). The error rates in roots of the hybrid systems are better than those exclusively in words or in roots whatever the n size of the lexicon as is shown in diagram 2.

Table 2 shows a few OOV words recognized by the HLM_n systems or the system in roots. The words between parentheses are not OOV words. We notice that in the system in words (WLM_{20k}) the word Shiinaha (*Chinese*) which had to be normally recognized is disrupted by the OOV word that comes right after it *qudhooda*(*themselves*). The HLM_{20k} recognises the word Shiinaha, followed by the continuation of the roots of the word *qudhooda*. This shows the flexibility and the greatest fluidity in the HLM_n systems. This can be explained by the fact that the hybrid systems are more "flexible" than the words systems. Indeed, the back-off phenomenon makes the systems in words rigid. As soon as we are faced with an OOV word, its immediate neighbourhood is disrupted while in the hybrid systems, the representation in roots of OOV words makes the system more "fluid".

6. Conclusion

The automatic recognition of the read speech gave a word error rate of 28.3%. The reading of the hypothesis supplied by this system led us to proceed to the standardisation of the spelling. A 28 % relative gain was obtained by securing uniformity only to the spelling of the test and training corpora (WER=20.2%). This first result gives an indication on the errors produced by the spelling fluctuation of the African languages. In order to validate the ASR system, we proceeded to the recognition of the RTD corpus extracted from the Djiboutian oral heritage. A 62.1% error rate is obtained on this corpus. The lessons we draw from this first phase is the difficulty in transcribing automatically the oral tradition records, knowing that it will be difficult to find a training corpus that is linguistically close to the data obtained. In the face of this result, we searched for a representation

that is sufficiently strong to the temporal and thematic mismatch. Therefore, we turned towards the roots whose number is limited and that are the basis of the formation of the Somali language. A recognition in roots has given a Root Error Rate of 47.0%. When we split in roots the hypothesis of recognition in words the root error rate (WRER) thus obtained is 46.4%. The errors made are not situated in the same places. The system based on the words is good enough on the usual words and the system based on the roots has got a homogeneous behaviour for all the words (including the OOV). Finally, we planned a hybrid approach by using at the same time, the words and the roots thus benefiting from the scope of the language model in words while taking advantage of the roots as far as the OOV management is concerned. In order to be able to compare the different results, we also calculated the WRER of the hybrid systems. The results from these experiments are that the hybrid system's error rate in roots are better than those exclusively in words or in roots whatever their n size of the lexicon? (WRER=46% for HLM_{20k}).

Future works will focus on the audio indexing of the African oral heritage by comparing the three approaches of automatic transcription (in words, in roots and hybrid). We will also try to reconstitute the words starting from the roots in order to be able to compare the results within a words' space.

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Cutubka 4d / Chapter 4

Af-soomaaliga iyo Adeegsiga Bulshada

Use of Somali in the Society

Zuhur Hassan Ahmed & Anwar Maxamed Diiriye

Afka, Afcelinta iyo Caafimaadka

“Waxa aan ahay turjubaan caafimaad, oo Illaahayna ha iga cafiyee, marka uu dhakhtarku wax badan oo hadal ah is daba dhigo, haddii aan fahmi waayo, sidii ay ila noqoto ayaan bukaanka ugu sheegaa. Afka Ingiriisiga waa aan khasbaday ee iskuul kama baran. Hadda iskuul wakhti uma hayo, horena uma soo dhigan, laakiin carruur ayaan ka biishaa meesha, oo danta ayaa igu khasabtay in aan turjubaan noqdo. Markii aan Illaahay ka cabsado, wax badan kama fahmo dhakhaatiirta, oo xitaa waxa aan marmar ku mergadaa dadka waaweyn ee Soomaalida ahi afka ay xanuunnadooda ku sheegaan, sidii aan u turjumi lahaa.....Allaa xaal og^{48!}”

- Afceliye, uu Anwar Maxamed Diiriye, kula kulmay rug caafimaad. Columbus, Ohio. Octoobar 2009.

1. Hordhac

Marka uu qof doonayo in uu tilmaamo waxa uu dareemayo, ereyadiisa kama uu marna dhaqankiisu. Marka uu qof xanuunsanaya, dhakhtarkiisu uu weyddiiyo, sida loo hayo, waxa uu qofku u sharxaa dhakhtarka sida uu dareemayo isaga oo ereyo ku tilmaama xubnaha jidhkiisa, sida loo hayo iyo wixii la mid ah. Hooyo iyo Aabbe aan afka shisheeye garanayn marka ay afceliyeyaal u noqdaan dad aan afka Soomaliga si fiican u aqoon ama aan dhaqan Soomaliga wax fiican ka garanayn, waxaa dhacada in inta badan qofkii bukaanka ahaa dawooyin khaldan la liqsiiyo, cabsiiyo ama lagu mudo. Arrintaa oo inta badan ay sabab u tahay khalad faham xagga afka ah oo ka dhex dhasha bukaan-socodka, afceliyaha iyo dhakhtarka.

Tani waxa ay tusaale taban u tahay dallagga laga goostay qaran burburkii, qaxii iyo hantaa-wiliftii Soomaali ku dhacday laba tobnaadley horteed; qooralka af Soomaliga oo aan weli kobcin, kuna dhex ragaasay waayaha qalafsan ee bulshadiisa hareeyey iyo han la'aanta bulsho ee af-iyo-dhaqan ka faanka makaabsatay, taas oo weliba kala goysey duntii sooyaalka iyo ab laga soo gaarka ahayd ee isku haysey jiilashiisa.

Markii galbeedka loo qaxay, waxa ay noqotay in afafka bulshooyinka loo tagey wax laga barto, dhaqammadooda la fahmo, bulsha weyntana la dhex galo, taas

⁴⁸ Afceliye Soomaaliyeed, oo uu Anwar Maxamed Diiriye, kula kulmay rug caafimaad. Columbus, Ohio. Octoobar 2009.

oo aan loo wada sinnayn oo daleesha dhigtay waalidkii ama qaraabadii da' yarta soo hayaamisay ee degelka cusub ku dhex furtay, dabadeedna miciinka bidday da' yartoodii hiil iyo hooba, si ay noloshas cusub sadkooda uga helaan. Qormadan waxa aannu kaga hadlaynaa cilladaha iyo caqabadaha xagga afka ee la xiriira caafimaadka iyo arrimaha afcelinta.

Muddooyinkii u dhaxeeyey 1990 ilaa 2000, tirada dadka Maraykanka ku nool oo ku hadla afaf kale ee aan kan Ingiriisiga aheyni, waxa ay kor u kacday 5.2 milyan, oo halkii ay hore uga aheyd 31.8 milyan waxa ay noqotay 47.0 milyan. Isla markaana tirada dadka aan afka ingiriisiga si fiican ugu hadli karini waxa ay aheyd 14 milyan markii hore, dabadeedna waxa ay noqotay 21.4 milyan. Sannadkii 2010kii, waxa ay tiradaasi noqotay 25.2 milyan⁴⁹. Tiradaa korodhay waxa ay sii xoojisay welwelkii iyo baahidii awalba hore loogu qabay dad xirfad sare u leh afcelinta iyo adeegga afcelintaba. Sharci ay dawladda dhexe ee Maraykanku soo saartay, kana soo baxay Kacdoonkii Xuquuqda Dadweynaha ee 1964kii, ayaa shardi kaga dhigay cid walba oo ay dawladda dhexe maal galisaa, in ay dadka ay u adeegaan ee aan afka Ingiriisiga ku hadalkiisa iyo fahamkiisaba aan aqoonta u lahayn afceliye loo qabto⁵⁰. Awood li'ida qofka aan afka Ingiriisiga ku hadli karin ama aan sida fiican u fahmi karini, aanu ugu sheegan karin waxa uu rabo iyo waxa uu dareemayo toona daryeel-bixiyaha caafimaadkiisu, waxa ay sababtaa in aanu bukaanku si waafi ah u heli karin daryeelkiisa caafimaad ee uu u baahan yahay goor iyo ayaanba, waxaana yaraada fursadda iyo kanshaha uu bukaanku u heli karo xiriirka tooska ah ee dhakhtarkiisa uu la yeelan karo, iyada oo aan loo kala afcelin. Waxa intaa sii dheer, haddii qofka bukaanka ah iyo dhakhtarkiisu ayan isku af ku hadli karin, waxaa ka dhex dhici kara gefaf badan, sida in qofka baaritaankiisa caafimaad iyo la socodka daryeelkiisaba ay khalkhal iyo jahawareer galaan, haddii sida uu dareemayo ee uu sheeganayo ee saxda ah aan loogu afcelin, dabadeedna is-maan-dhaafka ka dhex dhasha dhakhtarka iyo afceliyuhu ay sababto cawaaqib xumo keeni karta in bukaanka dawo khalad ah loo qoro ama talooyin aan sax ahayn la siiyo⁵¹.

Qofka afceliya ah shaqadiisu waxa weeye in uu si saxan, oo hubsiiimo leh uu u gudbiyo waxa uu qofka bukaanka ah ee uu u afcelinayaa sheegto, oo uu gaarsiiyo daryeel-bixiyihiisa. Qofkaasi in uu si taxaddar leh u gudbiyo dareenka iyo ujeedka

49 U.S. Census Bureau 1990, 2000, 2010.

50 Limited English Proficiency LEP, Elizabeth Jacobs et al 295.

51 Anderson et al. p. 69.

farriimaha labada qof ee uu u kala afcelinayaayi waa muhiim, haddii la khaldana dhib iyo dhaawac hor leh sababa, haddii la saxana uu bukaanku ku najaxo, dhakhtarkuna uu si qumman u asiibo in uu daryeelka caafimaad ee uu bukaankiisu u baahan yahay uu si hufan u siiyo. Adeegyada ay bulshadu ugu baahida badan tahay dhanka afcelintu, waxa ay ahayd welina ay tahay tan ku saabsan lana xiriirta daryeelka caafimaadka. Qofka caafimaadkiisa wax ka qiima badani ma jiro, afcelinta oo khaldanta ama khalkhal dhaqan iyo mid afeed uu ragaadiyaana, waxa ay curyaaminaysaa xiriirka iyo is fahamka dhakhtarka iyo bukaankiisa, waxa ayna sababtaa caafimaadka qofka oo in la daryeelo iska daaye looga sii darro, waana halka ay Soomaalidu ka tiraahdo "xooluhuna urta ayay isku fahmaan, dadkuna hadalka⁵²."

Soomalida oo burburkii dalkooda ka dhacay ka dib u soo barakacday waddamada qurbaha ee uu galbeedku ugu badan yahay, Maraykankuna ka mid yahay, halkaa oo ay badidoodu degeen bilowgii sagaashameeyadii ilaa imminkana ay ku soo gurmaan, haba ugu badnaado gobolka Minnesota⁵³, oo ay bilowgii gaareen sannadkii 1993. Waxa ugu weyn ee qaxa dhaliyay waxa uu ahaa in ay dadku nabadgalyo iyo caafimaad helaan. Xabbaddii intii ka soo badbaadday waxa ay Minnesota gobolo ay ku jirto ka dhigteen hoy ay nolol maalmeedkoodana ka raacdeen. Waxa ay bulshadaa afka iyo dhaqanka qalaad soo dhex galay ay u baahdeen adeegyo badan oo uu ka mid yahay adeegga caafimaadka iyo xirfadley ka afcelisa. Haddaba markii in badan oo bulshada ka mid ah ay noqotay in ay dhakhtarkooda u tilmaamaan meesha laga hayo iyo sida loo hayo, suuragal waa ay u noqon weyday, in ay afkooda ku adeegtaan oo ay ku hagar baxaanna warkiiba daa, maxaa yeelay afka Ingiriisiga ku hadalkiisa iyo fahamkiisuba wuu ka adkaa. Waxa ay taasi ku kaliftay in ay u baahdaan dad waddanka ku dhashay, ku barbaaray, wax ku bartay ama afka Ingiriisiga hore u yiqiin oo u kala afceliya iyaga iyo daryeel-bixiyayaasha caafimaadka, waxaana soo ifbaxay dhibaatooyin la xiriira dhanka afka labada qof loogu kala afcelinayo, akhlaaqda afcelinta iyo isla fahamka arrimaha dhaqanka ee la xiriira afka iyo dareenka bukaanka.

52 Diiriye, p. 209.

53 Yusuf, p. 19.

2. Dulmar: Af-Soomaaliga

Afka Soomaaligu waa af curad ah, xikmad badan oo weliba leh ereyo badan, oo la xiriira xagga ruuxda, oogada iyo dhimirkaba. Waa af ay qormo la'aani ragaadisey muddo dheer. Haddii la hillaadiyo sooyaalkiisa far u raadineed, waxa dib loogu noqon karayaa oo laga soo billaabi karaa ilaa iyo qarnigii 17aad, oo ay soo baxeen culimo diimeed oo ku qanci waayey xarfihi carabiga, oo ay ka waayeen dhawaaqyo badan oo afka soomaaliga u gaar ah.

Rag badan oo si dul-ka-xaadis ah looga tilmaami karo Sheekh Yuusuf Alkowneyn, Xaaji Cali Sheekh Cabdiraxmaan Fiqi (Xaaji Cali Majeerteen), Cismaan Yuusuf Cali Keenaddiid, Sheekh Cabdiraxmaan Sheekh Qaaddi, Shire Jaamac Axmed, Muuse Xaaji Ismaaciil Galaal, Xuseen Sheekh Axmed Kaddare iyo kuwo kale oo badan, ayaa si aan gabbasho iyo hagar toona lahayn mar hore ugu baraarugey far la'aanta, oo har iyo habeen ugu soo jeedey, uguna riyoonayey, uguna xiddiga tiriyeey, bal in ay allifaan far uu afka Soomaaligu yeesho. Ugu dambeyntiina October 21keedii 1972kii ayaa xukuumaddii xilligaa ee ay askartu garwadeenka ka ahaydi, ay si aan hagrasho lahayn oo ay weliba geesinnimo iyo go'aan qaadasho ku dheehan tahay ugu baaqeen in maalinkaa wixii ka dambeeya afka Soomaaligu far leeyahay ayna tahay farta laatiinka.

Baahida farta la yeeshay loo qabey oo badnayd awgeed, suurtagal way noqon weydey in wax walba xilli kooban oo shan sano ah looga mira dhaliyo marka laga reebo ololihii la qaaday, aqoontii iskuullada ee lagu dhigay iyo in wax uun laga qabtay ururinta suugaantii tixda iyo tiraabtaba u lahayd. Dhanka erey-bixinta xirfadaha farsamada iyo saynisku ma badnayn, in kasta oo la dadaaley, kuwaas dib u dhacu ku dhacay ayeyna ka mid ahayd erey-bixinta caafifaadku, marka laga reebo buug ay qaybtii caafimaadka ee jaamicaddii ummadu dejisey oo aan xayndaabkeeda soo dhaafni. Waxa la oran karaa farta soomaaligu waa shan jir 1972-1977, oo sidii dagaalkii baas ee Soomaali galbeed loo galayba miisaaniyad iyo awood badan midna lama gelin, sababtuna waxa ay ahayd miisaaniyaddii dalka oo inteedii badnayd gashay ciidamada iyo agabkoodii maaddaama dagaal u joog la ahaa wixii ka dambeeyey 1978kii.

Waa arrintaas tan dhashay caqabadaha soo socda ee ay dad aan wareysi la yeellanay oo iskugu jira xirfadley caafimaad, bukaan socoto iyo afceliyayaalba ay nala wadaageen, waana tan sababtay in khatar badan oo xagga afka iyo dhaqanka caafimaadka la xiriira ay ilaa maanta ka jirto bulshada Soomaalida dhexdeeda, guud ahaan iyo daryeel-bixiyayaasha caafimaadka iyo afceliyayaasha labadaa makaab u dhexeeyaba.

3. Caqabadaha Afcelinta iyo Caafimaadka

Tilmaamaha uu qofka bukaanka ahi bixiyaa waxa ay u kala baxaan laba nooc ayaa uu yiri Dr. Cabdiraxmaan Maxamed⁵⁴, oo ah Dhakhtar ka hawl gala xarrun caafimaad oo gaar loo leeyahay, lana yiraahdo Axis Medical Center oo ku taal Minneapolis. Labadaa nooc waxa ay kala yihiin, tilmaan muuqaal leh oo uu qofku tilmaamo xubin ama meel oogadiisa ka mid ah, oo uu ku cabbiro xanuun ama nabar ka haya xubintaasi, sida bogga, beerka ama wadnaha oo kale. Tan kale waa xanuun ama nabar la xiriira ama ku saabsan maanka, maskaxda iyo dhimirka, oo uu qofka bukaanka ahi faalo ka bixiyo, sida isaga oo oranaya oo kale *"habeenkii oo dhan circa ayaa la iila kacaa oo ma seexo; sidaa ayaa warran la iigu gujinayaa; wax baa saa ii rifaanaya; marna kor baa la iila kacayaa marna hoos iwm."* Waxaa labadaa nooc dheer mid seddexaad oo ah xanuun aan isna la taaban karin ama (abstract pain), kaas oo uu Dr. Maxamed ku tilmaamay in uu noqon karo in uu qofku tilmaamayo xanuun ama nabar jirka xubin ka mid ah in uu ka hayo uu moodayo, laakiin ku lug leh oo la xiriira xagga maanka, maskaxda iyo dhimirka bukaanka.

Waxa uu tusaale u soo qaatay, haweeney Soomaaliyeed oo in muddo ah bugtey, oo in badan ka sheegan jirtey xagga beerka, oo mar kasta halka ay u maleynayso in uu beerku kaga jiro is qaban jirtey, aadna u matagi jirtey. Taas oo keentay in dhakhtar walba oo ay u tagtaa uu aad ugu mashquulo baaritaan xagga beerka, caloosha iyo boggoba ah. Dhakhtarku waxa uu intaa ku daray in ay aad ugu wareereen dhakhaatiirtii la tacaali jirtey waxa uu yahay xanuunka dhabta ah ee haweeneydan hayaa, iyaga oo afceliye kaashan jirey, ayna mar walba ku celceliso in laga hayo *"beerka, bogga iyo intaa uurka ah,"* iyada oo is haysa inta u dhaxaysa saaaableyda

⁵⁴ Wareysi ay Zuhur Xasan Axmed la yeelatay Cabdiraxmaan Diiriye Maxamed oo ah dhakhtar Soomaaliyeed oo ka hawlgala Minneapolis.

iyo miskaha. Waxaa ay la wadaagtay dhakhtar Maxamed ka dib markii ay isaga u timi, in dhakhaatiirtaas badan ee ay soo martay midwalba dawooyin badan u qoray, waxna aanay ka tarin.

Aakhirii waxa ay noqotay in ay haweeneydii qaadato talooyinkii iyo daweyntii Dr. Maxamed, oo ay sacabbadeeda biyihii ay u oommanayd kaga wabaxdey. Markii ay dhakhtarka uga warrantay sida loo hayo iyo muddada sidaa loogu degganaa, waxa uu la yeeshay wareysi ku saabsan xagga nafsadda, maanka, maskaxda iyo dhimirka. Waxaa dhakhtarkii u soo baxday in hooyadani ayan waxba ka qabin xubnaha ay ka cabanayso ee uu jiro xanuun xagga nafsadda ah, oo uu kufsi loo geystey markii Soomaaliya la isku gumaadayey uu xanuunkeedu salka ku hayo, oo daaran yahay, dabadeedna waxa uu u diray dhakhaatiirtii dhimirka ee ay shaqadoodu ahayd waxa haweeneyda hayaayi. Tanina waxa ay tusaale u tahay sida uu qofku daryeel sugan oo caafimaad u heli karo marka uu afkiisa ku adeeganayo, ayna dhakhaatiirta ugu fududaanayso in ay daweyn ku habboon bukaanka u helaan, *biyo sacabbadaadaa looga dhergaa*⁵⁵, ayay Soomaalidu hore u tiri.

Waxa aan halkaa ka ogaan karnaa in ay lagama maarmaan tahay in uu dhakhtarku ama qofka afceliyaha ahi uu aqoon fiican u leeyahay afka, dhaqanka iyo caadooyinka bulshada dabiibayo ama uu u afcelinayo, si fiican oo aan la yaab iyo iska weyneysiin ahayna uu u fahmi karo. "Haddii afceliyuhu aanu fahmi karin kala caado duwanaanshaha iyo af guriga dadka bukaanka ah iyo sida ay u yaqaanaan amaba ay ula dhaqmaan bukaanka iyo caafimaadkaba, ma buuxin karo mana haqabtiri karo baahida caafimaad ee uu bukaanku doonayo in uu dhakhtarka u sheegto. Sidaa oo kale, dhakhtarku hadii aanu la dhaqan iyo af ahayn qofka bukaanka ah, oo afceliyuhuna aanu si hufan uga dhaadhic karin dareenka bukaanka, marka dhakhtarku daryeel caafimaad oo hagaagsan ma siin karo ruuxaas."⁵⁶

Aqoonta dhaqanka waxaa iyaduna bar bar socota oo lagama maarmaan ah aqoonta afka. Afceliyuhu waa in uu aqoon sare u leeyahay af Soomaaliga, waana in uu fahmi karaa oo ixtiraami karaa weliba kala duwanaanshaha af guriyeedyada iyo heerarkooda. Tusaale ahaan, afceliyuhu haddii aanu garanayn ama aanu

55 Diiriye, p. 211.

56 Wareysi ay Zuhur Xasan Axmed la yeelatay Cabdiraxmaan Diiriye Maxamed oo ah dhakhtar Soomaaliyeed oo ka hawlgala Minneapolis.

fahmi karin xubnaha oogada jirka waxa af Soomaaliga lagu yiraahdo, ama aanu ixtiraami karin in erey uu si u yaqaan uu bukaanku si kale u yaqaan oo u sheego, markaa waxa dhacaysa laba amuurood oo kala ah; is afgaranwaa iyo is aaminaadda bukaanka iyo afceliyuhu isku qabaan oo lunta.

Bal u firso odaga Soomaaliyeed ee u sheegtay afceliye afka ingiriisiga si fiican u yaqaan oo Soomaali ah kuna koray Maraykanka in ay xiiqi ⁵⁷(Wheezing) hayso, oo dhakhtarkii ugu macneeyey in uu odagu madax xanuun daran qabo, kaas oo uu har iyo habeen ka seexan la'yahay, dabadeedna dawooyin khaldan oo madax xanuunka uun ku saabsan una roon loo qoray; halkii xiiq laga daweyn lahaa. Waxa iyana xusid mudan afceliyaha ay hooyada Soomaaliyeed u sheegatay in ay u malleynayso in uu waraabow⁵⁸ hayo, ee dhakhtarkii u sheegtay in hooyada waraabe qaniinay, oo markii dhakhtarkii weyddiiyey halka ay joogtey hooyadu goorta uu waraabuhu qaniinay tiri, "*bisinka e' weligayba waraabe iyo anigu isma aynaan arag*," laakiin afceliyihii kula murantay bukaankii in ay iyadu u sheegtay in waraabe qaniinay haddana ay is bedeshay. Waraabow waa cudur galmoodka lagu kala qaado oo deegaamo kala duwan oo ay dadka Soomaalidu degtana looga kala yaqaan ereyo kala duwan sida *bajo, xabbad iyo isfiilito*, afka shisheeye ee caafimaadkana waxa lagu yiraahdaa *sypilis*.

Waxaa iyana caqabadaha la xiriira caafimaadka iyo arrimaha afcelinta ka mid ah, is af dhaafka. Bukaanka ama afceliyuhu, waxa suurtagal ah in xubnaha jirka magacyada uu u yaqaan iyo meelaha uu u jeedaa ay ka duwanyihiin waxa uu dhakhtarka shisheeyaha ahi u yaqaan ama uu afceliyaha qudhiisu u yaqaan. Soomaalidu laabta, ama bogga waxa ay u taaqaan meelo badan oo uu wadnuhu ku jiro marmarka qaar. Markaa waxa in badan dhacda in qof yiraahdo wadnaha ama laabta ayaa la iga hayaa, oo in badan EKG iyo qalabyo kale oo wadne-baaris loogu talagalay lagu eeg-eego, ka dibna loo qoro Aspirin qofkaas, isaga oo cudur kale oo aan wadnahaba shaqo ku lahayni uu hayo, sida caabuq-calooleed oo kale. Aspirinkuna uu dhibaato hor leh u keeno, isaga oo laab dillaac daran ku kiciya kara bukaanka.

57 Diiriye, p. 222, 259.

58 Ibid, p.140, 171, 253, 257.

Sidoo kale, marka uu qofka Soomaliga ahi yiraahdo *qabow, biyo ama aaryo* ayaa i gashay, waxa uu u jeedaa inta badan caabuq kaga dhacay gidaarrada hunguri-cadka (bronchitis), marka haddii aanu afceliyuhu sidaa u fahmi karin ama uu isticmaalo afcelin toos ah oo aan xikmad ku dhisnayn, waa ay ku adkaanaysaa dhakhtarka shisheeyaha ah in uu cilladda si sahlan u fahmaayi. Tan macnaheedu waxa weeye, in haddii aanu afceliyuhu afafka uu ku kala afcelinayo, af-maldahyadooda, isticmaalkooda dhaafsan toos wax u sheegga iyo ereyadoodaba uusan si fiican u aqoon ama u fahmi karin, in aanu macne ka balaaran erey-eray ku turjumid aanu la iman karin, fahamsiinna karin dhakhtarka xikmadda dareenka bukaanka hor fadhiya.⁵⁹

Bal imminkana u firso gabadha Soomaaliyeed ee dhakhtarka London ku yaal tagtay, oo u sheegatay afceliyaha in laga hayo oo uu aad u xanuunayo moxoggu. Afceliyaha oo deegaan kale ka timi halka ay u taqaan moxoggu waa dhabarka qaybtiisa hoose, waxana ay dhakhtarkii u sheegtay in bukaanka dhabarka laga hayo. Haddii uu dhakhtarkii dhammaystay su'aalihii uu bukaanka weyddiinayey ee uu afceliyuhu u kala qaadayey, waxa uu ka codsaday bukaankii in ay dhabbacato, si uu dhabarka iyo halka laga hayo u eego. Afceliyihii waxa ay u sheegtay bukaankii in ay dhabacato, bukaankiina way yeeshay sidii la warsaday, oo sariirtii baaritaanka ayay ku dul dhabacatay. Dhakhtarkii cabbaar ayuu bukaankii dhabarka ka riixriixay isaga oo leh halkan ma ku xanuunaysaa, halkanna.... iwm.

Dhakhtarkii mar uu warqadihiisii ku mashquulay ayey bukaankii waxa ay weyddiisey afceliyihii sababta uu dhakhtarku dhabarka oo aan ahayn halka ay ka cabatay uu uga eegayo. Afceliyihii waxa ay ku tiri bukaankii walaal adiga ayaa ka sheegtay in dhabarka lagaa hayo. Dabadeedna bukaankii waxa ay ku tiri oo walaal moxogga in la iga hayo ayaan kuu sheegtaye ma dhabarkaad u taqaan? Afceliyihii iyada oo xanaaqsan ayey waxa ay ku tiri bukaankii, anigu aad ayaan afka u aqaan, moxogga waa dhabarka ee adigu ma meel kale ayaad u taqaan. Bukaankii waxa ay tiri walaal anigu waxa aan u aqaan gumaarka, marka dhakhtarku meel aanan ka jirranayn ayuu ku mashquulay ee in uu dhacadiidso i yiraahdaa bay ahayd. Afceliyihii halkii la rabey in ay ixtiraamto kala duwanaanshaha af guriyeedka oo ay weliba wax ka barato ayey bukaankii dagaal

⁵⁹ Wareysi ay Zuhur Xasan Axmed la yeelatay Cabdiraxmaan Diiriye Maxamed oo ah dhakhtar Soomaaliyeed oo ka hawlgala Minneapolis.

iyoo aflagaado la gashay, iyada oo leh, *wax aad afka ka taqaanidi ma jirtee, moxog waa dhabarka, malaha meel aan afka si fiican looga aqoon baad ka timid!* Moxog⁶⁰ deeggaamada qaar waxa looga yaqaan gumaarka, qaar kalana dhabarka qaybtiisa hoose.

Afceliye ka hawl gala Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota, ayaa uu dhakhtarkii u sheegay in uu doonayo in uu cad yar (biopsy⁶¹) iyo dheecaan uu ka soo qaado dulka (mirdhiska) sanku bukaanka. Dabadeedna waxa uu afceliyihii u sheegay bukaankii in maskaxdeeda qayb laga soo saarayo, oo la soo jarayo. Bukaankii waa ay ka cududaaratay wixii uu afceliyuhu u sheegay, waxana ay codsatay bal in ay ka soo fikirto. Iyada oo aad u naxsan ayey u tagtay dhakhtar⁶² Soomaaliyeed oo isla cusbitalka qayb kale oo ka tirsan ka hawl gala, waxana ay u sharraxday wixii uu afceliyuhu ku yiri. Dhakhtarkii Soomaaliyeed waxaa u caddaatay in is faham la'aani jirto, dabadeedna si uu u hubiyo waxa ay gabadhu u sheegtay waxa uu la hadlay dhakhtarkii ay aragtay. Dhakhtarkiina waxa uu u sheegay in uu doonayo in uu biopsy ku sameeyo. Dhakhtarkii Soomaaliyeed gabadhii bukaanka ahayd ayuu raacay, waxa uu ula tegey dhakhtarkeedii si fiicanna wuu ugu afceliyey oo ka dhaadhiciyey waxa laga rabaayi in uu yahay cad yar oo baaritaan lagu sameeyo. Sidii ayay ku oggolaatay gabadhii in baaritaankii la guda galo.

Cilladaha iyo caqabadaha xagga afka ee la xiriira caafimaadka iyo arrimaha afcelintu intan wey ka balaaran yihiin, waa ayna ka halis badan yihiin. Sida tusaalayaasha kor ku sheegan oo dhammaantood ku saabsan dhacdooyin dhex maray bukaan, afceliye iyo dhakhtarna, waxa ay na tusinaysaa dareenka taban ee xirfad la'aanta afcelinta iyo fahamka afalku ay ku yeeshen ama ku yeelan karaan bukaankeenna Soomaaliyeed. Waxa dhici karta ama dhacdayba in qalliimo aan loo baahnayn lagu sameeyey bukaan badan ama dawooyin khaldan loo qoray. Inta badanna khaladku waxa uu ka imanayaa xagga afceliyeennada aan xirfadda u lahayn afafka ay ku kala afcelinayaan, ee hawsha ka dhigtay ku shaqeyso uun. Waxa ay dhibaataada afcelintu keentay in jirrooyin badan, oo haddii hore loo ogaan lahaa si sahlan wax looga qaban lahaa, fahamkooda la seego, dabadeedna ay dad badani u dhinteen ama u naafoobeen.

⁶⁰ Diiriye, p. 229.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 23.

⁶² Xog uu Anwar Maxamed Diiriye la wadaagey Dr. Cabdicaziiz A Jaamac (cardiologist), Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minneapolis.

Maxamed Aadan⁶³ oo ahaa afceliye ilaa 1995kii ayaa isagu qirtay in markii uu xirfaddan bilabayey aanu aqoon fiican afka iyo dhaqanka Soomaalida toona u lahayn, markii horena uu u galay in uu lacag uun ka sameeyo. Gobalka Minnesota ee ay Soomaalida Mareykanka deggani u badan tahay, qofka afceliyaha ahi waxaa u sameeya \$25-\$100 saacaddii; isla markaana waa shaqo madax bannaan oo ay afceliyeennadu xilliyada ay rabaan uun ka shaqeystaan. Afceliyahani waxa uu intaa ku daray in ay taasi u tahay is difaacid dad badan oo ka xoogsada afceliyeennimada laakiin aan xirfad iyo aqoon badan u lahayn xirfaddar ay ka dhuunyadaan reerkooda iyo naftoodaba. *Eebow eexna ha nagu dilin, aqoon-darrana ha nagu cadaabin!*

4. Gunaanad

Wixii afkii hadalka ku caana maali jirey ee xogtiisa dabaylaha la iskugu gudbin jirey loogu baahday in mid far leh, oo la dhigaaliyo loogu tabar iyo tacab beelay, waxa ay ahayd in baylahda laga xafido, wax badan oo xikmaddiisa ka mid ahna la dhigaaliyo oo kayd dambe oo raandhiis loo aayo leh looga reebo bulshadiisa. Haddaba xilligii farta la hirgeliyey waxa laga ilduufay wax badan oo himillooyinka ka mid ahaa, waxaana dhacday in aan la ururin, la ereybixin, lana kaydin wax badan oo suugaantiisa ereyada caafimaadka ka mid ah. Taasi waxa ay na geyeysiisey in maanta lagu baraarugo ka dib markii dalal shisheeye loo qaxay oo degel lagu negaado ay dani nooga dhigtay.

Caqabadaha aan warqadda ku soo xusnay badidooda waxa looga gudbi karaa bulshada afkan leh oo si cilmi ah u barata, dhiganayaal loo sameeyo mihnadaha kala duwan si ay jilasha dambe ugu aayaan iyo in dhugmo loo lahaado in afcelintu ay tahay xirfad barasho iyo aqoon u baahan ee ayan ahayn “*anna way kan iyo qaataye qaado.*”

Anshaxu waxa uu biladaye u yahay hufnaanta afceliyaha shaqadiisa ka adag ee daacadda u ah. Sidaa darteed waxa muhiim ah in afceliye waliba xirfaddii uu doono ha ka shaqeeyee uu anshaxa iyo edaabta ka dhigo seeska shaqadiisa, oo uu si fiican u barto, kuna dhaqmo. Waxa iyana muhiim ah in dhaqanka “*ma aqaan,*” la barto oo aan laga xishoon. Kaasi waxa uu badbaadinayaa sharafka afceliyaha iyo baahida

⁶³ Afceliye Soomaaliyeed oo ay Zuhur Xasan Axmed ku wareysatay Minneapolis, Minnesota

bukaanka labadaba, waxna waa lagu bartaa oo waa aqoon mar walba afceliyaha u kordhaysa. Haddii uu afceliyuhu qabo cuqdad nafsi ah oo u diidda in uu yiraahdo wixii aanu aqoon ama fahmin, *ma aqaan ama ma garan*, taasi waxa ay caqabad ku noqonaysaa maskaxda iyo horumarka afceliyaha, waxa ayna dhaawacaysaa hufnaanta iyo anshaxa la doonayo in shaqada lagu qabto, bukaankana halis ayey qarka u saaraysaa, laga yaabo xitaa iy ay naftiisa halligto.

Afka iyo dhaqanku waa ay isku milan yihiin lamana kala saari karo, sidaa darteed qofka xirfadda caafimaadka in uu afceliye ka noqdo doonaya ama u soo banbaxaayi, waa in uu si fiican u dhuuxaa ereyada afka iyo xikmadaha dhaqan ee ay hillaaban yihiin. Ma dhici karto qof aan dhaqanka ereyada garanayni in uu libin ka soo hoyiyo xirfadda afcelinta ee caafimaadka iyo daryeelka bukaanka tppna. Si taas loo helana waa in dib la iskugu yabyabaa duntii jilasha ee go'day, si ay golayaasha u wadaagaan oo ay aqoon af iyo mid dhaqan labadaba iskugu gudbiyaan una kala dhaxlaan, si uu is fahamka dhexdooda ahi u biqlo oo u sahlanaado, goortaana ay goobaha caafimaadka iyo xirfadaha afcelinta si fudud iskugu fahmaan, aayaha dhow iyo kan dheer labadaba.

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Abdirachid Mohamed Ismail

Enseigner les langues nationales à Djibouti, une autre approche !

Cet article tentera de proposer une approche viable pour introduire dans le système éducatif les langues nationales (LN) de Djibouti, en partant de la situation sociolinguistique du pays, afin d'éviter « les errances et les erreurs qui ont eu lieu ailleurs⁶⁴. »

Ailleurs, c'est surtout l'Afrique. L'enseignement des langues africaines (LA) s'est posé de façon cruciale au lendemain des indépendances des pays de ce continent. Aujourd'hui il semble qu'« entre 70 et 75 % des langues d'enseignement dans les maternelles et les crèches, ainsi que dans les premières années d'école élémentaires, sont africaines⁶⁵ » (Ouane et Glanz, 2010, p.8-9). Or, il est un fait indéniable résumé par le linguiste sénégalais Arame Fal (2006) : « La pratique consistant à reléguer les langues africaines dans les premières années de l'école élémentaire d'abord (...) sert peut-être l'amélioration de l'enseignement du français mais elle ne favorise nullement le développement technique de ces langues, car à ce niveau les besoins ne sont pas de nature à stimuler la recherche et la créativité » (pp.15-16). Il a été démontré depuis longtemps combien le savoir transmis dans une langue étrangère, surtout à des jeunes enfants, « paralyse les intelligences et tarit les motivations⁶⁶. »

L'autre constat qui s'impose à nous, quand on considère les LA, c'est le fait que la très grande majorité de celles-ci « n'ont pas droit de cité dans l'Administration, la Justice, à l'Ecole... » (Adama Samassekou, 2006, p.5). Aussi, cette introduction, qu'on pourrait qualifier de massive par les chiffres donnés ci-dessus, n'a pas pour autant élargi l'espace d'utilisation de ces langues, et partant renforcé leurs statuts. Pourtant, ce qui est recherché en dernière finalité c'est l'usage le plus étendu de

64 Abdourahman HOUSSEIN DJAMA, 2010, Pour l'enseignement du français et des « langues nationales » à Djibouti : Conditions pour une didactique intégrée dans l'enseignement des langues. », p. 19, Doctorat, Université Paul Valérie- Montpellier III.

65 Adama Ouane et Christine Glanz, 2010, Pourquoi et comment l'Afrique doit investir dans les langues africaines et l'enseignement multilingue, pp. 8-9.

66 Champion, p. 835, « Le français et les langues africaines dans l'enseignement en Afrique noire francophone » In: Tiers-Monde. 1972, tome 13 n°52. Le capitalisme périphérique. pp. 831-850.

ces langues dans la société, parce qu'elles sont plus à même d'exprimer la réalité africaine, parce que « les langues sont les vecteurs de notre culture, de notre mémoire collective et de nos valeurs. Elles sont une composante essentielle de nos identités, de notre diversité et de notre patrimoine vivant⁶⁷ », mais aussi parce qu'elles portent en elles un héritage culturel millénaire et une vision particulière du monde qui permet d'enrichir les hommes, et en cela elles constituent une des contributions majeures de l'Afrique à l'humanité.

Alors pourquoi, l'Afrique peine-t-elle à réhabiliter ses langues locales ? Pourquoi la grande majorité des langues africaines restent encore aujourd'hui cantonner dans le domaine informel de la communication ? Pourquoi à Djibouti on n'arrive toujours pas à enseigner les LN, quinze ans après la décision de le faire, et comment atteindre cet objectif ? C'est à ces questions que nous essayerons de répondre ici.

1. L'enseignement des langues nationales en Afrique

Essayer de rassembler dans une même vue l'enseignement des langues africaines n'est pas seulement une gageure, elle peut être simplement une incongruité méthodologique, tant les situations sociolinguistiques et les réalités historiques et politiques d'un pays africain à l'autre diffèrent. Pourtant si nous avons recours à cette terminologie « de langues africaines » et que nous nous risquons à un semblant de comparaison, c'est parce que les pays africains partagent d'une manière générale des dénominateurs communs. 1) Ce sont des pays multilingues pour la grande majorité et possédant une importante hétérogénéité ethnique ; 2) des pays qui connaissent une situation diglossique dont les langues européennes – anglais, français, espagnol, portugais – promotrices de l'ascension sociale, occupent toujours la position haute ; 3) des pays dont l'idée de « communauté nationale » a été fragilisée par de décennies de colonisation ; 4) des pays dont le système scolaire est fortement pyramidal, avec un niveau primaire pléthorique, en raison de la croissance démographique ; 5) des pays dont les langues endogènes sont pour la plupart restées orales jusqu'aux indépendances ; 6) des pays qui connaissent, il y a encore peu, une situation de crise économique endémique ; 7) des pays enfin, qui, au lendemain de leur indépendance, ont affirmé la volonté d'enseigner et

⁶⁷ Unesco, 2011, p. 4.

de renforcer leurs langues locales, car l'Afrique est le continent où un nombre important⁶⁸ d'enfants débutent l'école avec une langue étrangère.

Aussi, la question de l'enseignement des langues africaines s'est-elle posée dans les tous les pays du continent au moment où ceux-ci accédaient à leur indépendance, sinon bien avant. Pour beaucoup, l'indépendance politique signifiait l'indépendance culturelle, laquelle passait, pensait-on, par une indépendance linguistique, ou en tout cas, par la mise en valeur des langues autochtones. C'était l'ère où la vision de l'aménagement linguistique était dominée par l'idéologique et l'« indigénisme ».

Puis vint l'ère du « pédagogique », une période qui met en exergue les avantages cognitifs d'un système où l'on donne l'enseignement dans la langue maternelle de l'enfant. Ce qui constitue une raison supplémentaire pour l'introduction des langues nationales dans le système éducatif. Enfin, les années 90 et 2000 furent celles d'une double prise de conscience : le grave problème des langues en danger de disparition, dont la plupart sont des langues africaines, et celle du lien fondamental qui existe entre développement économique, démocratie et utilisation des langues locales⁶⁹.

Autant dire que les raisons pour enseigner les langues nationales en Afrique et assurer leur développement n'ont pas manqué depuis le début des indépendances des pays concernés. Pourtant, il y a un fait indéniable. Mis à part quelques langues, parmi lesquels l'arabe, l'amharique, le tigrinya, et le somali, l'enseignement des langues africaines n'a pas, pour la très grande majorité des cas, dépassé le cycle du primaire, si ce n'est les premières classes de ce cycle. De ce fait, ces langues sont restées souvent confinées dans les situations informelles de communication, comme dans la période coloniale.

A Djibouti, mis à part le changement du statut de l'arabe, désormais langue officielle à côté du français depuis 1992, et son intégration dans l'enseignement primaire, la situation sociolinguistique n'a pas subi beaucoup de modification depuis la période coloniale. Lors des Etats Généraux de l'Education de décembre

⁶⁸ Même si ce n'est pas la majorité des enfants, tels que l'indiquent Ouane et Glanz (2010, p.4), c'est sans doute le continent où le plus d'enfants commencent leur apprentissage scolaire avec une langue étrangère.

⁶⁹ Conférence sur l'éducation bilingue et l'utilisation des langues locales, à Windhoek (Namibie) du 3 au 5 août 2005. http://www.adeanet.org/meetings/fr_laout-windhoek-2005.htm.

1999, il a été proposé officiellement pour la première fois d'« introduire à moyenne terme les langues nationales comme langues enseignées⁷⁰ ». Quinze ans après le lancement de cette idée et malgré l'édition de plusieurs ouvrages scolaires de niveau primaire portant sur les deux langues nationales (*afar* et *somali*) par le CRIPEN⁷⁰ et l'ILD⁷¹, l'introduction de ces langues dans le système éducatif ne semble pas à l'ordre du jour.

Après un aperçu de la situation de l'enseignement des langues nationales en Afrique, nous allons examiner le cas de la République de Djibouti afin de proposer une approche permettant de faire aboutir la recommandation issue des Etats Généraux évoqués ci-dessus.

1.1. Une situation disparate mais un constat unique

Après les indépendances des pays africains, force est de reconnaître que beaucoup a été fait pour permettre l'enseignement des LA, depuis la dotation d'un alphabet à ces langues (surtout aux langues véhiculaires) à la mise en place des curricula nécessaires et l'introduction effective de celles-ci dans le système scolaire⁷². Mais, dans des situations d'extrême complexité (fragilité politique des Etats issus des indépendances, situation de grande hétérogénéité linguistique, ressources financières limitées, insuffisances des moyens pédagogiques, tant matériel qu'humain, tensions ethniques et crispations identitaires, désir contradictoire de conserver les langues européennes, grands médias de communication internationale, et en même temps de promouvoir les langues locales, etc.), le chemin à suivre n'était pas aisé à trouver. C'est la raison pour laquelle la réhabilitation des LA tant espérée n'a pas eu lieu pour la quasi-totalité de ces langues. Blasius Agha-Ah Chiatoh (2005, p.3), entre autres, indique que « plus de 40 ans après leur indépendance, la majorité des pays africains maintient des politiques linguistiques en faveur des langues des anciens colonisateurs. »

70 Rapport Général, Tome 1, Les Etats Généraux de l'Education, 02-07 décembre 1999, p. 70.

71 L'Institut des Langues de Djibouti, un département du Centre d'Etude et Recherche de Djibouti.

72 Pour une vision synthétique, voir Ericka Albaugh (2005).

Malgré les dénominateurs communs des pays africains évoqués ci-dessus, quand on considère l'enseignement des langues nationales, c'est l'hétérogénéité des politiques suivies⁷³, reflet de l'hétérogénéité des réalités sociolinguistiques, qui frappe.

On évoque souvent trois cas de politique linguistique africaine post-indépendance : celle de ceux qui se sont engagés dans une voie tournant le dos à la politique linguistique coloniale (parmi lesquels l'Algérie, la Guinée, le Ghana, Madagascar, le Malawi), 2) celle de ceux qui ont préféré la maintenir par précaution (Bénin, Centre Afrique, Sénégal, Gambie, Djibouti, etc.), et 3) celle de ceux qui, les plus nombreux, ont essayé une prudente introduction des langues nationales dans les premières années du primaire comme médium ou comme matière. Mais, même une classification de ce type est trop grossière pour refléter la réalité des choix politiques des pays africains étant donné que leurs contextes sociolinguistiques et éducatifs d'avant l'indépendance étaient très variés d'un pays à l'autre. Certains qui avaient pris une voie l'ont changée à mi-parcours, pendant que d'autres sont allés au bout de leur choix. Par ailleurs, même engagés dans une voie identique, les modalités pédagogiques et les méthodologies didactiques, le rythme de progression, etc., adoptés n'ont pas été semblables.

Cependant, il y a au moins un fait incontestable aujourd'hui : la très grande majorité des langues africaines continuent à être sous-utilisées dans les milieux formels (éducation, administration, gouvernance politique, commerce formel, etc.) :

« Pourtant, plus de 50 ans après la première déclaration de l'UNESCO et malgré une pléthore de livres, d'articles, de conventions, de déclarations et de recommandations sur ce thème, ainsi que diverses expériences concluantes d'utilisation des langues locales dans l'éducation et la politique, la plupart des pays africains continuent d'utiliser la langue de l'ex-pays colonisateur comme principale langue d'enseignement et de gouvernement du pays⁷⁴. »

73 Ericka Albaugh. 2005, "Language Policies in African Education", in The Colonial Image Reversed: Advocates of Multilingual Education in Africa. PhD Dissertation, Duke University

74 Adama Ouane et Christine Glanz, 2010, Pourquoi et comment l'Afrique doit investir dans les langues africaines et l'enseignement multilingue, p.22.

Or, ainsi que le notent Ouane et Glanz, « l'un des principes universels du développement des langues est que ces dernières se développent lorsqu'elles sont utilisées⁷⁵ ». Leur utilisation, dans l'enseignement, les médias, l'administration, la vie socio-économique et les activités et techniques, constitue une condition indispensable à leur développement. Mis à part quelques cas, l'arabe dans le Maghreb, le Soudan et la Mauritanie, l'amharique en Ethiopie, le tigrinya en Erythrée et le somali en Somalie, le malgache au Madagascar⁷⁶, aucune langue africaine n'est utilisée comme médium au-delà du primaire. Le somali et le tigrinya semblent être les seules langues sub-sahariennes qui ont véritablement bénéficié d'une promotion de leur statut, à la suite d'une politique linguistique vigoureuse, après l'accession à l'indépendance de ces pays⁷⁷.

1.2. Des expériences multiples mais concordantes

Dans les années 70 et 80 quelques pays africains (en dehors de ceux qui s'étaient engagés dans une mise en cause radicale de la situation linguistique et éducative coloniale) ont commencé les premières tentatives expérimentales de l'enseignement des langues africaines, i.e. Burundi en 1973, Mali en 1979, Sénégal en 1978, Centrafrique en 1974, Bénin en 1989, etc. Mais c'est réellement depuis le Sommet de la francophonie de Cotonou en 1995, et surtout depuis les États Généraux de l'Enseignement du Français en Afrique de mars 2003 à Libreville, que s'est engagée l'idée d'un « partenariat entre le français et les langues africaines » afin d'intégrer à l'école le pluralisme linguistique existant dans les sociétés africaines.

Déjà, l'UNESCO avait, dans sa publication de 1953 sur les langues vernaculaires, établi l'importance d'éduquer les enfants dans leur langue maternelle. La théorie cognitive a par la suite imposé cette idée, mieux à même d'aider l'enfant dans sa construction mentale et intellectuelle :

« Si l'on favorise l'utilisation des langues parentales à l'école, on offre à l'enfant la possibilité équilibrante de verbaliser en toute circonstance ses intérêts et sa pensée. Celle-ci s'affine, s'épure et s'enrichit. L'enfant se décentre progressivement par rapport à lui-même, il s'éveille à la curiosité des différents milieux qui l'entourent, il se cultive, il se construit. »

⁷⁵ Idem.

⁷⁶ Jusqu'au 1er cycle du secondaire (jusqu'au 3ème).

⁷⁷ Pour le somali, voir l'article d'Andrzejewski, 1974, réédité dans ces actes.

Cette idée fondamentale, fruit de nombreuses expériences et travaux de recherches, est largement acceptée de tous aujourd'hui. Une idée concomitante a fait également son chemin depuis la fin des années 70, sur laquelle il existe aujourd'hui un large consensus. C'est celle qui lie langue d'enseignement et réussite scolaire (cf. Erny, 1977 ; Poth, 1985 ; Wambach, 1996, etc.) Il a été en effet constaté que l'apprentissage donné en langue maternelle réduisait sensiblement l'échec scolaire durant les premières années du primaire :

« ...le bilan catastrophique des échecs scolaires constatés partout en Afrique, quelles qu'en soient les raisons, a conduit les gouvernements africains à se pencher sur la question, très difficile, de la réforme scolaire dans le cadre plus large de la réforme du système éducatif. Là encore de nombreuses conférences internationales impliquant plusieurs organisations nationales et internationales (UNESCO, ACCT, UNICEF, etc.) les hommes politiques se sont progressivement habitués à l'idée que si l'enseignement était donnée dans les langues du pays, les enfants apprendraient mieux. » (Diki-Kidiri, 2000).

Cela tombe sous le sens quand on sait que l'enfant qui doit apprendre la lecture par le biais d'une langue étrangère doit de fait faire face à trois difficultés : 1) difficulté liée à la graphie et à son décodage ; 2) difficulté liée aux concepts et à leurs sens ; 3) difficulté liée à la langue utilisée comme médium d'apprentissage. L'enfant qui apprend la lecture dans sa langue maternelle ne rencontre généralement que la première difficulté. Celle-ci étant largement surmontée grâce à la sensation joyeuse et magique qui provient du lien entre graphie et sens que découvre l'enfant, et qui enclenche chez celui-ci le cercle vertueux de l'apprentissage : effort de compréhension - découverte - désir de compréhension plus grande - effort intellectuel plus grand.

En somme, si le renforcement des LA escompté ne s'est pas produit, dans la grande majorité des cas, c'est parce que : 1) on a compté uniquement sur l'enseignement des langues pour atteindre cet objectif, sans que l'usage et la représentation de ces langues dans la société n'aient été améliorés ; 2) on a augmenté les objectifs de

l'école, en introduisant les langues nationales en primaire, sans que les moyens humains, matériels et pédagogiques n'aient pu être augmentés significativement ; 3) avec l'introduction des langues nationales, on a augmenté les revendications identitaires et ethniques, fragilisant d'autant l'idée de communauté nationale et de destin.

Mais, ceci étant dit, tout aménagement linguistique ne peut se fonder uniquement sur les seules considérations psychopédagogiques ou culturelles. Il existe des considérations historiques, politiques, et sociétales qui sont souvent des obstacles majeurs au renforcement des langues africaines. C'est la raison pour laquelle toute politique linguistique se doit d'être pragmatique, et tenir compte des contraintes et des obstacles sur le terrain, sans pour autant se laisser détourner du dessein principal qui est l'enseignement des langues nationales. Nous allons prendre le cas de Djibouti pour illustrer cette approche.

2. Quelle stratégie éducative pour promouvoir les LN à Djibouti ?

Depuis près de trente ans au moins, la nécessité d'enseigner les langues nationales n'est plus à faire. La chose semble être entendue, ainsi que le rappelle Belloncle, 1984 :

« Le temps n'est plus où les partisans de l'introduction des langues nationales dans les écoles africaines devaient consacrer tous leurs efforts à plaider leur cause avec d'autant plus de passion que les positions de leurs adversaires leur semblaient irréductibles. [...] Ainsi de colloque en symposium, et de séminaires en numéros spéciaux, est-on passé progressivement [...] du temps de pourquoi et au temps de comment. »

(Belloncle, 1984 : 65)

Diki-kidiri (2000 : 162), dans son formidable plaidoyer pour l'enseignement des langues africaines, estimait déjà à cette époque, que même la question du *comment* ne devait pas plus se poser, en raison de l'existence des travaux fondamentaux

permettant d'agir. Mais il nous semble que les choses ne sont pas si aisées, et la que démarche d'introduire toujours les langues africaines par le bas, n'est toujours ni la plus aisée, ni la plus économique. C'est la raison pour laquelle tant de pays africains ont peiné et peinent encore dans le renforcement de la place des langues nationales dans le système éducatif.

2.1. République de Djibouti (RDD) : une situation sociolinguistique en mutation

La situation sociolinguistique se caractérise par une cohabitation de plus en plus complexe, pour ne pas dire trouble, de plusieurs langues : le français, langue qui tient le haut de la pyramide, comme il a été indiqué plus haut ; l'arabe littéraire et deux de ses dialectes (le *Souqi* et le *Hagmi*), et deux langues nationales, l'afar et le somali. À côté de ces langues, il existe des langues nouvelles dans leur ancrage à Djibouti et qui sont portées par des événements politico-économiques très favorables pour ces langues. Il s'agit de l'anglais, qui depuis les événements du 11 septembre 2001 et l'installation de la base militaire américaine à Djibouti et d'importantes entreprises étrangère s'est renforcé considérablement dans le territoire (il suffit de voir le nombre d'appels d'offre publiés en anglais dans le journal *La Nation*). Il s'agit aussi de l'oromo et surtout de l'amharique qui bénéficie d'un renforcement de sa position dans le pays par le fait migratoire et par le développement considérable des relations commerciales entre l'Éthiopie et Djibouti depuis les années 2000 (cf. Elmi, Y. Idris, 2007)

Le paysage linguistique hérité de la colonisation est progressivement remis en cause sur le terrain (voir Martinez, 2005). Cette remise en cause se fait à travers les événements socio-économiques que nous venons de décrire, mais aussi par la situation paradoxale que connaît le français (voir ci-dessous), et le renforcement des langues nationales et de l'arabe littéraire.

La situation du français se caractérise d'une part par un renforcement dû au développement du système éducatif qui se fait en majorité en français et la création de l'Université de Djibouti, dont plus de 90% des étudiants sont francophones. Mais face à cette situation, la dégradation de la maîtrise du français chez les sortants du système éducatif et universitaire conduit à ce qu'il s'affaiblisse même

dans son champ de prédilection (l'administration publique) dans lequel il n'exerce sa prédominance que sous la forme écrite. Il se développe chez les nouvelles générations un mélange de français et des langues nationales (et l'arabe), et qui n'est pas seulement de l'alternance-codique, mais une variété qui n'est pas sans rappeler les origines des langues mixtes.

Quant à la place des langues nationales dans la société, elle n'a pas évolué formellement. La constitution n'accorde pas, mis à part le statut de « langues nationales », une fonction particulière à celles-ci. Mais si jusqu'aux années 80, ces langues étaient confinées dans l'espace informelle de communication, après l'instauration du multipartisme et l'organisation d'élections nationales, elles sont devenues des outils d'échange dans la sphère politique. Ce qui a amélioré sensiblement la représentation que les gens ont de ces langues dont la maîtrise orale devient nécessaire dans l'exercice de hautes responsabilités politiques et administratives. La télévision et la radio contribuent sans aucun doute aussi au renforcement des langues nationales et vont continuer à le faire en raison de la création de chaînes de télévision s'exprimant uniquement dans ces langues. La création de l'Institut des Langues de Djibouti (ILD) et l'édition de plusieurs ouvrages en LN, l'organisation de nombreuses manifestations culturelles, par les associations AfarPen, SomaliPen et l'Académie Intergouvernementale de la langue somalie (AGA), participent et participeront encore davantage au renforcement des LN dans la société.

Quant à l'arabe littéraire, son renforcement se fait par l'éducation. L'enseignement de l'arabe commence dès les premières classes du primaire de l'éducation publique. Et la multiplication des écoles coraniques et des établissements d'enseignement en arabe, la reconnaissance du baccalauréat arabe au même niveau que le baccalauréat français, l'ouverture de filières spécialisées en arabe à l'Université de Djibouti produisant une population arabophone de haut niveau, tout cela a renforcé la position de la langue arabe dans le pays. Il faut ajouter à cela l'arrivée de plusieurs sociétés commerciales arabes (banques, Dubai Ports World, etc.) qui a redynamisé le statut de cette langue aux yeux des Djiboutiens. C'est dans ce contexte que s'inscrit la création, à côté du journal francophone *La Nation*, un numéro équivalent strictement arabophone, *Al Qarn*.

Aussi, la situation d'il y a une vingtaine d'année, avec une langue française dominant tout l'espace formel, et des LN réduites à la rue et dans les foyers, n'est plus une réalité. Une nouvelle dynamique linguistique s'est enclenchée avec l'arrivée de langues à fort potentiel économique et le renouveau politique (avec le multipartisme et l'organisation régulière d'élections régionales et nationales) qui bénéficie aux LN. Ces dernières entrent ainsi dans la sphère formelle, par une porte dérobée.

Cette situation multilingue, très intéressante linguistiquement parlant pour le pays, car en phase avec ses intérêts stratégiques et ses desseins à long terme, ne doit pas faire oublier que si une attention n'est pas accordée aux langues du pays, ce sera en grande partie le facteur économique qui déterminera les rapports et les évolutions de celles-ci. D'où l'importance de se pencher sérieusement sur la situation des langues du pays et se poser la question d'un renforcement plus pérenne.

2.2. Pourquoi les LN restent exclues du système éducatif djiboutien ?

Depuis le début des années 2000, il y a eu des actes forts tendant à cet objectif : il y a eu la création de l'ILD au sein du Centre d'Etude et de Recherche de Djibouti (CERD) qui a œuvré beaucoup pour la promotion des LN et la publication de nombreux ouvrages dans ces langues.

Le deuxième acte fort a été, suite aux Etats Généraux de l'Education (EGE) de 1999, la loi n°96/AN/004èmeL du 10 juillet 2000 venue confirmer la décision prise lors des EGE d'introduire les LN dans le système éducatif. Mais celle-ci n'a naturellement pas été suivie d'effet.

Les LN ne sont toujours donc pas enseignées à ce jour. En essayant de comprendre la raison de cet état de chose, Kassim Souad (2010) identifie un certain nombre d'obstacles à l'enseignement de ces langues. Elle fait observer que : 1) l'objectif de l'introduction des LN à l'école est mal défini, en l'occurrence, « on ignore si l'objectif est politique, didactique ou éthique⁷⁸ » dit-elle ; 2) la politique linguistique du pays est imprécise ; 3) l'absence de politique de sensibilisation ne permet pas, selon

⁷⁸ Souad M. Kassim, 2010.

l'auteur, de corriger les représentations négatives que les djiboutiens et surtout les jeunes auraient des LN ; 4) il existe un amalgame entre LN et langues maternelles (LM), l'arabe dialectal de Djibouti étant langue maternelle de plusieurs milliers d'enfants, alors qu'il n'est pas LN ; 5) l'absence d'édition en langues nationales ; 6) la formation des enseignants est inadéquate en LN.

Il y a sans doute à hiérarchiser ces obstacles, certains à nuancer comme par exemple l'absence de politique linguistique ou l'absence d'édition en langues nationales, ou la formation des enseignants en LN qui est pour l'heure inexistante. Mais que ces obstacles soient fondés ou non, les faits sont là : nous n'arrivons pas à introduire les LN dans le système éducatif public.

A cela, on peut noter une cause légitime, qui peut dédouaner les acteurs djiboutiens engagés en cette matière : le retour d'expérience reçu des pays africains à la situation sociolinguistique comparable non seulement n'incite pas à l'engagement mais pousse plutôt à la plus grande prudence. Cependant, cela ne peut justifier aucunement l'immobilisme, car les enjeux sociétaux et éducatifs sont considérables.

2.3. Quelle approche adopter alors ?

2.3.1. Dépasser la question du pourquoi !

Avant même de s'engager dans cette approche, il est nécessaire d'être convaincu de l'extrême importance de l'enseignement des LN. Il faut, comme le disait plus haut Belloncle (1984), être bien au fait de *pourquoi* il est nécessaire d'enseigner ces langues. Sans cette étape, il n'est pas possible de passer à la phase du *comment*. Cet article s'attachant davantage à la question du *comment*, disant simplement que pour le compte du *pourquoi*, c'est afin de tirer parti des avantages (pédagogiques, sociétaux, économiques) considérables connus depuis plus un demi-siècle, liés à l'utilisation des langues locales.

2.3.2. Empowerment des LN

Avant de proposer une méthode pour l'introduction des LN dans le système éducatif, il nous faut établir quelques postulats de départ sur lesquels il est important de convenir. Le premier est celui de procéder d'abord à la « capacitation »

(Empowerment) des LN. Un postulat que tout le monde accepte, quand il s'agit de renforcer techniquement la langue (adoption d'un alphabet pour la langue, étude linguistique de celle-ci, productions d'ouvrages d'enseignement, etc.), mais qu'on oublie quand il s'agit d'améliorer les « représentations » mentales que les gens ont de leur langue. Or, c'est un point crucial. Les gens n'apprendront pas leurs langues maternelles ou de leur milieu s'ils n'ont pas une représentation positive de celles-ci.

D'après les études faites sur les représentations⁷⁹ des parents africains (Subsahariens) concernant l'enseignement de leurs langues à l'école, on note une constante : les parents africains se représentent l'école comme le lieu où on apprend ce qui est utile pour vivre dans ce monde. C'est le lieu de l'ascension sociale, il faut donc apprendre les langues qui permettent cette ascension. Aussi pour eux, enseigner les LN à l'école primaire, c'est dévaloriser l'école, sans pour autant valoriser les langues, étant donné que celles-ci ne seront pas enseignées au secondaire et dans le supérieur. Ce qui revient pour eux à une perte de temps. Les considérations didactiques et psychopédagogiques sont trop éloignées de leurs préoccupations, et ignorer ces dernières conduiraient sûrement à l'échec de l'enseignement des LN. La stratégie d'introduction des langues doit donc tenir compte de cet aspect qui est une étape sine qua non pour passer à la phase de l'enseignement des LN.

2.3.3. Les LN à l'école maternelle

A Djibouti, nous assistons à un changement de comportement social lié à l'évolution de la fonction des femmes dans la société. De plus en plus de femmes ont une activité rémunérée et cela a conduit à la création de crèches et d'écoles maternelles privées. Selon l'annuaire statistique du MENFOP⁸⁰ de 2012-2013, 574 enfants inscrits dans ces établissements reçoivent leur enseignement en français. Ce qui est cognitivement préjudiciable à l'enfant, étant donné que celui-ci, sans proprement maîtriser sa langue maternelle, est mis en contact avec une langue

⁷⁹ Le problème d'introduction des LA dans le primaire, comme langue d'instruction, en Afrique du Sud et en Guinée, est lié en premier lieu à un problème de représentation des langues africaines par la société civile (cf. Kathleen Heugh, 2005, p.12).

⁸⁰ Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle, p. 19.

étrangère à son milieu⁸¹. Cette situation non seulement affaiblira à terme la maîtrise des langues nationales, mais peut perturber aussi le développement cognitif de l'enfant, en refrenant son élan expressif, en ramollissant sa curiosité, et enfin de compte en retardant l'acquisition de connaissances élémentaires.

Il serait plus que nécessaire de remédier à cette situation, en faisant en sorte que l'enseignement dans les établissements préscolaires ne se fasse qu'en LN et en n'autorisant que les établissements qui sont en mesure de suivre cette directive. Les langues étrangères à ce niveau ne devraient être enseignées, et encore moins servir de média d'enseignement, avant l'âge de cinq ou six ans ; un âge où l'enfant a normalement développé la plupart de ses compétences dans sa langue maternelle.

2.3.4. *Le français à l'école primaire*

Enseigner les LN à l'école primaire présente, malgré l'énorme avantage pédagogique-didactique, d'importantes contraintes économiques, techniques, et politiques qui s'opposent à cet objectif, sans parler de l'obstacle lié aux représentations psychosociologiques que nous avons évoqué plus haut.

Le nombre d'élèves et d'établissement concernés²⁰ par une telle réforme et le coût économique qui en découle sont un obstacle majeur qui décourage les plus téméraires. Par ailleurs, nous savons qu'à la République de Djibouti (RDD) plus de 70% des élèves du primaire sont dans le seul district de Djibouti⁸². Enseigner à chaque élève sa langue maternelle dans ce district, où les élèves d'une même classe peuvent être de langues différentes (avec parfois un déséquilibre important pour une langue ou une autre dans le nombre des élèves), cela peut se révéler vite comme un casse-tête organisationnel.

Cet obstacle peut être plus bloquant que le précédent surtout quand, en pratique, il s'accompagne par une séparation des élèves qui se fonde sur leur différence linguistique, et partant sur leur différence ethnique.

81 Poth (1985 :76) dénonce le fait que l'enfant africain soit mis en contact avec le français à un moment où se mettent en place chez lui « les discriminations rationnelles, les abstractions conceptuelles, toutes les opérations qui s'appuient normalement sur le support de la langue maternelle ». Lire aussi à ce sujet A. Houssein Djama (2010 :378-379).

82 Idem, p. 34. Le district de Djibouti comptait à lui seul 44734 élèves.

Politiquement, dans un pays aussi jeune que la République de Djibouti (RDD), où l'unité nationale a besoin encore d'être consolidée, une telle démarche risque de susciter des crispations identitaires et ethniques qui peuvent faire perdre des décennies d'effort de construction nationale.

Ajouter à cela le retour d'expérience peu réjouissant de plusieurs expériences menées dans des pays comparables à la RDD, et les représentations psychosociologiques évoquées plus haut, il devient évident que l'introduction des LN dans le système éducatif risque d'être un projet toujours repoussé à plus tard.

Aussi, pour que ce projet puisse voir le jour dans des conditions optimales, il serait préférable de ne pas introduire les LN à l'école, mais de conserver pour l'heure le système d'enseignement actuel, pour ce qui concerne l'enseignement des langues. Notre système éducatif du primaire et du secondaire présente déjà des difficultés dues à l'évolution démographique de la population Djiboutienne, et il est risqué d'y ajouter d'autres.

2.3.5. *L'introduction des LN par le haut*

Au niveau secondaire

Introduire les LN dans le système éducatif au niveau du secondaire, entre la classe de 9^{ème} et la première, diminuerait significativement les obstacles qui contrecarrent cet objectif depuis plus d'une décennie. Cette introduction se ferait sans tenir compte des langues des apprenants. Tous les élèves suivraient un cours d'initiation à l'afar et au somali⁸³, dont le contenu devrait être soigneusement étudié pour ne pas décourager certains et ennuyer les autres. Il serait judicieux, par exemple, de tirer parti de la parenté linguistique des deux langues afin de faciliter leur enseignement commun.

Au niveau supérieur

A ce niveau, à partir de la Terminale ou à la 1^{ère} année de l'université, il peut être envisagé de mettre en place un cours de LN différencié et un cours de linguistique comparée qui réunirait tous les élèves. Ces cours porteraient sur les

83 La linguistique de l'afar et la linguistique du somali sont enseignées depuis six ans aux étudiants de la filière Lettres Modernes de troisième année, et cela selon sans distinction de leurs langues maternelles.

aspects complexes de la langue (analyse du discours, littérature écrite et orale, communication, etc.). Dans les filières littéraires, il peut être imposé aux étudiants de choisir une LN principale et une LN seconde. Ces étudiants qui se destinent à l'enseignement peuvent être ainsi formés à l'enseignement des LN.

Cette approche répond à la nécessité de renforcer les LN dans la société en élargissant leur espace d'utilisation, et non à celui de faciliter les apprentissages pour les apprenants. Ce dernier objectif viendrait seulement dans une phase ultérieure du projet, dans sa phase d'extension à l'école primaire, à moyen ou long terme.

Les avantages de cette approche sont multiples :

- 1) Le coût économique et les difficultés organisationnelles pour enseigner les LN sont beaucoup moindres que dans le primaire.
- 2) la cohésion et l'harmonie sociale sont sauvegardées, étant donné qu'on ne créera pas ici des cloisonnements identitaires entre les élèves.
- 3) Les élèves peuvent utiliser les savoirs acquis (la grammaire, l'analyse de texte, etc.) en français pour les investir dans l'apprentissage des LN.
- 4) La parenté linguistique des deux LN permettrait de faciliter l'apprentissage de l'une et l'autre langue, à travers une méthodologie adaptée.
- 5) Les parents peuvent accepter plus facilement une telle approche, et leurs représentations des LN peuvent être en cohérence avec la méthodologie d'introduction des LN dans le système éducatif proposée.
- 6) Les LN sont davantage valorisées quand elles sont enseignées dans le dernier cycle du secondaire et le supérieur que dans le primaire.
- 7) Plus l'enseignement des LN se fait plus haut dans le système éducatif, plus cela est susceptible d'éveiller la curiosité des apprenants et leur intérêt, si la pédagogie employée pour enseigner ces langues est appropriée.

Le cas de l'arabe dialectal de Djibouti

Il est crucial de permettre à tous les enfants de commencer leur apprentissage, à l'école maternelle, dans leurs propres langues ou variétés linguistiques. Il appartient aux pouvoirs publics d'aider à ce que ce principe fondamental puisse s'appliquer. L'enseignement maternel reste pour l'heure cantonné au secteur

privé, mais il est nécessaire que le Ministère de l'éducation nationale organise et réglemente ce secteur. Il doit par ailleurs le soutenir par une subvention publique quand le nombre d'élèves ne permet pas l'ouverture d'une école maternelle dans une langue avec peu de locuteurs, et tout spécialement pour l'arabe dialectal de Djibouti, à savoir le hakmi et le *suuqi*. Demain se posera la question d'enfants amharophones ou oromophones, toute décision ou réglementation doit être prise en considérant cette évolution inéluctable

Au niveau du secondaire, des dispositions particulières peuvent être prises pour les élèves de langue maternelle autre que le somali ou l'afar, afin de les en dispenser éventuellement. Parallèlement, l'enseignement de l'arabe classique dans le primaire et dans le secondaire doit être adapté à la situation sociolinguistique du pays. Une méthode comparative avec l'arabe *suuqi*, parlé par un nombre important de la population de la RDD comme seconde ou troisième langue, peut être introduite afin que cette variété Djiboutienne ne reste pas en dehors du système scolaire. Au niveau supérieur, il importe d'encourager les études portant sur ces deux dialectes, et surtout le hakmi, afin d'aider à l'élaboration d'ouvrages d'enseignement, et de sauvegarder cette variété particulièrement en danger.

En tout état de cause, dans ce cas comme pour les LN, il est important d'avancer prudemment et de façon réaliste pour aboutir enfin à ce que les enfants djiboutiens puissent un jour apprendre dans les langues de leur milieu. L'approche proposée ici définit l'étape initiale à l'introduction des LN dans le système éducatif djiboutien.

Conclusion

En matière de promotion, de réhabilitation ou de renforcement des langues africaines beaucoup a été dit, et beaucoup de tentatives ont été faites. Pour montrer l'importance de l'enseignement de ces langues en vue d'atteindre cet objectif, là aussi maints arguments les uns plus solides que les autres, ont été apportés.

Citons simplement, en ces deux matières, l'ancien président d'ACALAN (Académie Africaine des Langues, créée en 2006, au sein de l'Union Africaine) qui disait :

« Si nous voulons, en Afrique, favoriser l'émergence d'actrices et d'acteurs responsables, capables de participer de manière éclairée aux prises de décision, à la gestion des affaires et au renforcement de la démocratie à la base, si nous voulons réellement promouvoir, dans nos Etats, une nouvelle citoyenneté démocratique – condition sine qua non d'une réelle démocratie participative, alors il faut s'engager résolument dans la promotion et la valorisation des langues africaines, en en faisant des langues de travail dans la vie publique, dans une approche de complémentarité avec les langues officielles actuelles⁸⁴. »

Concernant l'enseignement des LA, Adama Samessekou rappelle avec force, ce que nombre de sociolinguistes ont tant répété :

« Introduire nos langues dans le système éducatif, c'est garantir leur développement, les maintenir hors de ce système, c'est planifier de manière certaine leur mort⁸⁵. »

Depuis les indépendances des pays africains, s'est posée la question de savoir comment introduire les LN dans le système éducatif. Les méthodes employées ont donné des résultats plus ou moins heureux. Mais, il existe un constat général : même si beaucoup de LA ont été introduites dans le système éducatif, cela n'a pas pour autant conduit à un renforcement de ces langues dans la société, pour la simple raison que ces langues ont été confinées dans les premières classes du primaire.

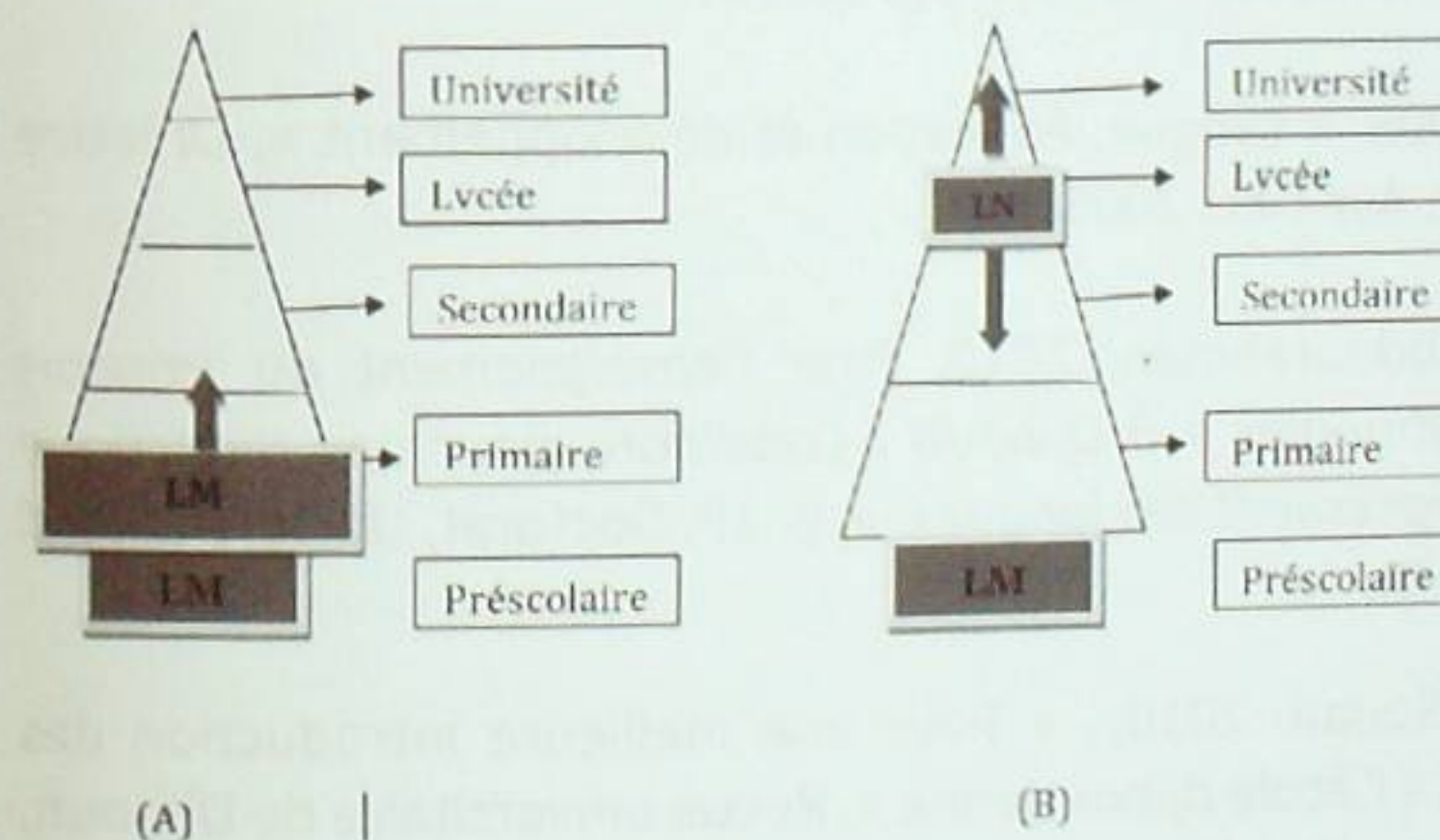
L'expérience en marche depuis plusieurs années à Djibouti, à savoir la valorisation des LN dans la société (à travers la création de l'ILD, les manifestations culturelles et scientifiques concernant ces langues, la télévision, etc.) a besoin d'être accompagnée. Afin que la revalorisation amorcée de ces langues dans la société se poursuive de façon souple et dynamique, il nous a semblé pertinent de procéder dans une stratégie en cinq phases :

84 Bulletin d'Information n°1, Déc. 2006, ACALAN, p.6

85 Idem.

- 1) Enseignement des LM obligatoire dans le préscolaire.
- 2) Introduction du Français comme médium dans tout le primaire et le premier cycle du secondaire. A ce stade aucun changement n'est introduit par rapport au système actuel.
- 3) Introduction des LN comme matière enseignée entre la 9^{ème} année ou la Première (Lycée), sans séparation des élèves selon leur LM. Des modalités particulières peuvent être envisagées distinguant LN première et LN seconde, ainsi que des dispositions dispensant les élèves n'ayant pas comme LM une des langues nationales.
- 4) A la terminal ou à partir de l'université, mise en place de cours séparés d'enseignement des LN, pour permettre une bonne maîtrise de ces langues par les apprenants. C'est seulement à ce niveau de compétence linguistique que les LN seront réellement redynamisées au sein de la société.
- 5) Après une durée qui dépendra de la consolidation des LN dans la société, envisager leur enseignement au primaire.

Pour résumer schématiquement, le modèle A (ci-dessous), couramment proposé en Afrique, serait remplacé par le modèle B, plus souple, plus puissant en terme de réhabilitation des LN, moins coûteux, et moins risqué pour la cohésion nationale.



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Abdulkadir Osman Farah

The politics of civil society and language

1. Introduction

Within the past two decades Somalia became synonymous with everything from violence, famine to religious extremism. Somalia is a country with contradictions. On the one hand, it is a country with relatively homogeneous people in terms of language, ethnicity, culture and religion. On the other hand, we see a nation that so far failed to translate the cultural and social relationship to a legitimate functioning political and institutional system.

Contemporary experts of the Somali society underline the significance of the Somali language, especially in Somali proverbs, not only reflecting the essence of culture but also everything about the Somalis. For instance the nation's short histories and proverbs contain not only description and analysis of the society, but also solutions to the numerous challenges facing the country (Kapchitz, 2010). Somalis themselves, as well as the rest of the world, underestimate the Somali's ability to interpret and develop their political culture and society through language and literature. The political and economic elite have for decades ignored or oppressed people's attempt to build their society with linguistic and communicative public engagement based on mutual understanding and respect (Farah & Yusuf, 2003). While some analysts distinguish the elite from the mass, others highlight the clash between rural-urban culture which remains essential for the Somali cultural and political development/underdevelopment (Afrax, 2000 & 2010). Urban-rural relationship, partly exacerbated by various colonial and dictatorship rules, contributed to the Somali people's inability to develop joint socio-political structure.

This article presents and argues for the need to pursue two main interdependent aspects currently vital for the reconstitution of viable state and peace in Somalia. The first is the consolidation of viable civil society fundamental for any state formation. The second is the implementation and application of linguistic

approach, particularly by the new leadership, in order to obtain and mobilize public legitimacy. The article further reflects recent development and consolidation of the Somali civil society (since 2012) as some of the people currently occupying the top governmental offices have over years belonged to the civic stratum. The core argument is that the Somali language and the way in which the current leadership deploys that useful medium might determine not just the process of obtaining legitimacy for their immediate projects but also the overall mobilization of increasingly globalized and fragmented Somalis.

2. Nation, state and language

Alexis de Tocqueville, researching on society and nation building, once stated that language is the strongest and most durable that ties a nation together (De Tocqueville, 1835:28). Among the Somali scholars Ahmed Samatar was one of the first to study the relationship between language and the state in the modern Somali context. He analysed the contradiction of the so-called scientific socialism the military regime was telling people rhetorically and the realities on the ground (Samatar, 1988). The Somalis have a national language that connects them and constitutes one of the strongest characteristics of been a Somali. In addition due to the significance of poetry in politics, in Somalia language, nationalism and socio-political functions are intricately linked (Mazrui, 1986:39). But similar to many developing countries, the administrative and the language of education have long been foreign and colonial. For the Somalis mainly the English and the Italian languages have often privileged the urban elite and the educated. Later this asymmetry spilled over the state formation process, the ruling elite and the relationship between citizens and the state (Ahmed, 1996: 103). Consequently after independence civil servant jobs went to those who spoke colonial languages.

The leaders of many countries in post-colonial Africa confronted challenges of national building. On one hand they needed to promote solidarity pointing on what people had in common, for instance the suffering under colonialism. On the other they have to differentiate themselves from the colonialists. Many of them felt trapped into the past as they often applied colonial framings and language formulations. This complicated the process of nation and state building.

Leaders and State authorities often exercise power through two main dialectical channels. The first constitutes top down coercion approach through more or less direct power implementation by disciplinary structures e.g. the military, police and others. The second approach rests on consensual cultural and linguistic rationalization and interaction between dominant authorities and the wider public constituents (Holub, 1992:77). This form of interaction mainly takes place at the meso-level with the incorporation of more or less informal socio-political structures. In this regard communicative skills with emphasis on discourse and language management capabilities becomes vital not just for obtaining necessary public support but equally maintaining and consolidating legitimate public authority.

Historically European colonial authorities deployed indiscriminate coercive power against resisting Somalis longing for justice and independence (Poddar et al, 2008). Colonial administrations have also, in certain extent recruited poets, artists and other cultural profiles to counter literary opposition expressions (Lobell & Maucer, 2004). Similarly successive post-colonial authorities, depending on the actual context, combined the coercive and consensual approaches to prevent public disturbances.

3. The evolution of modern Somali civil society

In Somalia civic fragmentation started with the so-called colonial modernization and have since continued until the transnational disintegration during which civil society groups following the state collapse sought comfort in semi-autonomous regions, clans and Diasporic transnational interest groups. Ironically today merchants and the economic elite represent the most consistent and the least disjointed civil society groups in the country. Business groups continue to organize across region, clan and ideology. Through their more or less legal capital enterprise they hold grip on the society. In lesser extent level women, youth and voluntary organized professional groups also perform substantial roles (Lewis, 2001). Women activists played a significant role during the struggle for independent, the period under dictatorship, during the collapse. More recently they have been facilitating much needed social and humanitarian activities in the country. In contrast most of the educated elite remained fragmented into regional

and clan affiliations undermining the potential emergence of cohesive nationwide visionary national project (Mohamoud, 2005:38).

It all began when modernization and embedded colonization experiments divided the Somali civil society into contradictory religious, secular and nationalistic frames. For some Somalis such distinction provided an opportunity to counter colonial powers and their missionary programmes. The colonial division of Somalis between traditional and modern components formalized contradicting proponent and opponent categories in relation to the colonial system (Samatar, 1989:58). Those who embraced the colonial project qualified as modern and civilized components, while those preserving their traditional values whether religious or customary reflected primitiveness and underdevelopment. Part of the secularized and urbanized initially accommodated the colonialist approach. The colonial led urbanization was, however, far from a cosmopolitan and civilizational interaction and progress. It represented an urban distortion in which colonial administrations recruited clients for auxiliary positions in the colonial machinery as security personal, drivers and domestic workers. The process deepened the societal cleavage of between those working for the system, including the imitation of colonial inspired linguistic and cultural priorities, confronted by the opponents of such non-indigenous practise.

Instead of reducing such divergence, post-colonial elites have worsened the situation and classified civil society into pro and against authoritarianism constellations. Actually the dictatorship largely maintained and continued the oppression began by colonial powers. While colonialism pursued simplistic division of the society into traditional and less traditional components, the authoritarian system further complicated and introduced additional divisive lines. Notwithstanding that following the country's independence people trained by colonial powers within and outside the country accessed and attained privileges. Actually colonial powers together with the UN observed the transition period leading to a form of post-colonial era. Clearly the post-colonial elite became corrupt as expected providing fertile ground for the military takeover in 1969. The military regime initiated civic-militarization processes through its orientation centres extensively polarizing the society through its militias (*guulwadayaal*) consisting of urban unemployed and

semi-nomads. This had exacerbated intensive out-migration and brain drain as civic minded groups left for either exile or for joining the armed opposition groups abroad.

So the extensive militarization of African societies, including the civic components, came with European colonization through colonial military and bureaucratic organization modelling combined with ritualization of "tone" and "style" (Mazrui, 1976). When colonial powers nominally left, their African successors concentrated on national sovereignty and security and spent the scarce resource to the construction one party military regimes leading to dictatorship and economic decline (Bratton, 1989).

During the state collapse and warlordism Somali civil society suffered while trying to fill the vacuum of state collapse. Civic communities provided service under warlord intimidation and persecution leading to the construction of civil and un-civil formations (warlords and troublemakers). Few organizations have nonetheless managed to provide health and education services. The warlords were also divided as secular groups terrorising people and religious groups exploiting their religious positions. Both groups utilized identity and clan premises. Therefore civil society found itself in both contributing to peace and security challenges.

Then Somalis quite unprepared entered the transnational era under which civil society become globally interlinked transnational communities trying to adjust to the expanded role of Diaspora contribution and involvement in the homeland. This raises the dilemma to benefit from trans-nationalization while avoiding yet another "imperial conquest through globalization" (Zekmi *et al.* 2010:17). This is possible if global civil society manages reducing the gap between top down global hegemonic power confronted with the new popular bottom up demands for justice and sovereignty (Bourdieu, 1998). In addition transnationalism dimension provides Diaspora communities with an opportunity to engage and mobilize in multi-sited network frames to challenge the hegemonic order that often partially succeed to oppress civic engagement in the homeland (Hepner, 2003). For the Somalis transnational political organization as well as the *hawaala* system

ensures a dynamic transnational political, economic and social system linking the homeland to global transnational locations (Horst, 2004).

4. Somalis long for an inclusive world order

Strong states have always dominated world affairs, while weaker states often exercise little or no influence. Although no obvious jungle law prevails, in these years a desirable situation with a clear and coherent international order does not exist. For most of the past century, humanity endured under a West versus East international balance of power with mutual tension and mistrust. The two dominant global powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union each represented and strengthened their respective alliances. The bipolar international structure was in many ways, though occasionally frightening, relatively identifiable and in some extent predictable.

Following a brief period at the turn of the millennium with a single remaining offensive American superpower, humanity is again at critical juncture with seemingly complicated and unpredictable world. No one was, for example, prepared for the continuing Arab mass revolt against decades of Middle Eastern and North African dictators. In addition, the countries in Asia and South America, with increasing political, economic and demographic influences, demand more inclusive international system.

Furthermore the world continues to struggle with the phenomenon of "failed states". Such countries with collapsed or failed state institutions such as Somalia constitute a serious "threat to global stability." Georg Sorensen, a reputable profile in international affairs, believes that failed states threaten global security due their inability to provide service for citizens and effectively control territories (Sorensen, 1999). In other words weak states facilitate piracy, mass migration and extremism, in prospect not just paralyzing the concerned countries, but also potentially engulfing the rest of the world.

In reality failed states in Africa have long been fragile and lacked legitimacy. This is partially due to the fact that both the colonial and post-colonial state formations

represent strange inventions for the continent. Consequently, the so-called "vampire States" led by corrupt elites oppress, exploit and victimize citizens. Moreover, the existence of a formal state apparatus alone cannot guarantee security. Currently for instance both Mexico and Syria states persecute their own people in large numbers. In comparison, when we ignore natural disasters, the number of people who die directly of armed conflict in the stateless Somalia remains minimal (although natural disasters and famine take many lives). This is mainly due to ancient informal traditional structures that ensure relative order.

In general, in a globalized world, states often lose their ability to controlling territories and people. Such conditions force states, in certain occasions, to delegate power to private companies and supranational institutions. Though the state, as an institution, lost monopoly, the dominant perception remains "State or chaos". As Collier suggests state formation takes longer and needs certain gradual construction of internal legitimacy.

"It took European centuries to get out of a stateless condition that followed the collapse of the Roman Empire. Somalia could consolidate much faster, because unlike medieval Europe there is a modern world out there to help and a roadmap. But as long as the international community tries to run the story backwards, Somalia will likely continue to top the list of failed states" (Collier, June 2012).

Clearly, in attempts to reconstitute national institutions, Somalis seek genuine commitment from the international community in particularly recognizing and complementing existing 'successes' on the ground. The Turkish leadership demonstrated such positive gesture by initiating numerous construction projects and inaugurating commercial flights from Istanbul to Mogadishu. The Turkish Prime Minister became the first world leader to symbolically break Mogadishu's more than 20 years isolation. Turkey shares cultural and historical relations with the Horn of Africa and is therefore in a unique position to bridge the gap between the West and the Horn of Africa. Regardless of any international goodwill engagement, responsibility rests on the Somalis themselves. Somalis must democratically find out which social order and state structure that suits

them best. In this regard, a more inclusive effort rather than a military intervening international order will be helpful. Such an opportunity have Somalis longed for since the Portuguese seafarer Vasco da Gama in 1500-century on his way to India attacked the Banadir coast, which was then a well-functioning cosmopolitan city-state (Subrah, 1997). This article proposes that, in order to make this time right, Somali national reconstruction efforts has to be based on civil society foundation. The formal end of the transitional period should lead to a renewed optimism and willingness to move forward.

5. Civil society resurrection in Somalia

In the eyes of the world, Somalia has for many years symbolized war, death and human tragedy. For the first time in several decades, the world have for the past months witnessed a different picture and a possible rebirth of a peaceful Somalia. Around the world Somalis, with celebrations and optimism, welcomed the indirect election of a parliamentary speaker and a President who later appointed a government consisting of ten ministers including to women. It was politically wise and significantly refreshing of the current leadership in Mogadishu to come up with a small government (ten ministers) including hopefully two strong women. Women had long suffered in Somalia. Although Somali women are the bread winners of most Somali households they have endured brutal warlordism and gang militia atrocities. It is unclear how the limited cabinet and promotion of women will work out in relation to the notoriously distrustful Somali clan dynamics. The daring steps by the current leadership will certainly improve Somalia's currently catastrophic international image. In addition depending on what this government does, it might help the country improving its standing on the annual global indexes so far repetitively marked by undisputed high ranking status in statelessness, corruption and abject poverty.

In this post-conflict critical juncture, leadership matters. It also helps that the parliamentary speaker, Mohamed Jawaari, is a well-respected lawyer, former top civil servant, intellectual and Somali-Scandinavian who for about 20 years have

worked and lived in Norway. The President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud is a former university lecturer, peace and human rights activist. During the prolonged civil war, he chose to remain in the country facilitating the education of war torn young generations and helped the poor and victims of the warring militia factions. The Prime minister is an economist who is also a successful business man. Likewise the president appears different from previous so-called Somali presidents. He seems insightful, thoughtful and careful but nonetheless confronts pressing challenges including the efforts to balance often conflicting and competing internal and external demands. The core question remains: will the president and the government be able to command some sort of state authority or will it be locked in Villa Somalia politics. We know Somaliland and Puntland increasingly appear out of reach (acting independently from Mogadishu in almost all aspects). The South largely remains occupied either by foreign forces or extremists. Obviously the easiest way to reconstitute Somalia and thereby restore the country's dignity and future is to let the president and the government deal with challenging issues. This is a qualified leadership but for Somalia there is obviously a long way to go before - after decades of destruction - the country could stand on its own feet again. There is still widespread poverty and hopelessness, specially forcing thousands of young people to seek solace in piracy and extremism. In addition, the country is awash with arms, warlords and related gangs continuing to terrorize the population. It is therefore essential that such qualified leadership should immediately obtain full ownership of the country's political and economic control. So far, Ethiopia, Somalia's regional hegemonic neighbour, a long term ally of the United States, dominated Somalia's stalemate. It might help that both Ethiopia and Somalia have now new leadership. Ethiopia, as the largest country in the region with over 80 million inhabitants, remains indispensable and hegemonic.

6. Language and civic mobilization in Somalia

Colonial powers engaged Somali civil society, not just coercively, but also through discourse and language application. Both the British and the Italians utilized urban people and the educated who could speak in foreign languages. Nonetheless Somalia is one of the few countries in Africa where colonial linguistic penetration did not fully succeed. This has probably to do with Somalis' continuing resistance

in not allowed total colonization and settlement of foreigners in the country.

During the military regime the use of Somali language and the mobilization of the civil society was an integrated part of the national project and government consolidation. The regime later failed to convince the public linguistically. The role of the mediating role by artists and other public intellectuals disappeared or become opposed to the regime. During the collapse the Somali language lost its application and NGOs depending on foreign funding applied more on English and Arabic languages. That has so far failed to bring the civil society and the country together.

7. Language, oratory and the civil society

Oratory is important in the Somali culture, also in the struggle against colonial powers and the mobilization of the civil society (Samatar, 1979). The best known cases are from the application of poetry by the freedom fighter, Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan, popularly ridiculed by the British Empire as "Mad Mullah". He convinced the Somalis that the Jihad against colonial powers were both holy religious and nationalistic duty. The use of literature and oratory continued in post independent periods. Literature was important in this regard. For instance Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan used poetry and military engagement to fight colonialism.

In his book "Literature, clans and the nation state in Somalia" Ali Ahmed argues that it is through language, literature, myth and symbols we understand and construct societies. Language is thus not neutral and spoken in a vacuum. Ahmed suggests that the state is preoccupied with language, myth and symbols to consolidate its grip on power and "oblivious to subtle messages directed at undermining its power base" (Ahmed, 1996:5). According to him language and literature was crucial in independence for struggle, during the authoritarian regime and the collapse. Colonial languages were important in the process of state formation in many African countries, particularly the framing the British concept of "self-determination" (Mazrui, 1986:39). Later the English language played an important role in Pan-Africanism. In this regard Somali language played an

important role in the pursue of Pan-Somalism.

The following author appreciates the importance of been fluent in traditional Somali rural language capabilities. Most Somali leaders commanded Somali language with rural nomadic accent. Reflecting the fact that nomads or semi-nomads dominated Somali politics.

“The PM is a well-spoken and rich in his command of the Somali language. In the tradition of Ciid and Danood accent, often heard from Idaaja, who is a repository of Somali oral history and literature, the PM clearly articulates and enunciates his words so clear that one would not get enough doses want to listen more of him” (Roble, 9th Oct.2012: Wardheernews.com).

Somalis are now fragmented and scattered around the world. Division among Somalis in regional or rural-urban differences no longer makes sense, as Somalis currently inhabit in almost every corner of the world (Bakas, 2009). We therefore need new approaches to understand civil society in intercommunity dialogue and communication. The internet technology already facilitates intense civic communication and mobilization. However such information has still to reach the younger generation born in Diaspora undistorted. Due to improper command of the language the youth might experiment modified versions of the mother language. Alternatively and potentially consolidated Somali governments can open language schools in countries with large Somali concentrations. Here the community can go to language classes in their leisure time. This requires the establishment of global cultural offices to address and accommodate Diaspora's cultural needs. This will help the Somali leadership to address civil society challenges while empowering communities to contribute and learn more about their homeland.

8. Conclusion

During colonial times, command on colonial languages ensured jobs in the

colonial administration. In this regard urban communities had better chances than those in the interior. The bureaucracy functioned with foreign languages and the education system taught and socialized young people with foreign languages. Consequently introducing alien cultures, with substantial impact on the process of nation building, divided Somalis. When colonial powers left, civil society appeared confused and inconsistent.

In early 1970s the military regime formalized the written Somali language. The regime publicly rationalized the emphasis on the mother language initiative with the nationalization and integration process in the society. The language project was an integrated part of revolutionary experiments contributing to the consolidation of power in the hands of the army. The recruitment and monopolization of cultural institutions and elites contributed to such endeavour. Later the regime lost the support by the cultural elite paving the way for the country entering a prolonged conflict.

During the civil war Somalia become an open entrepreneurship space in which the Somali language became the victim of transnational NGO expansion. As public schools disappeared following the state collapse, diverse forms of private enterprises filled the vacuum leading to the opening of madras teaching basic religion and Arabic classes, which nonetheless had no organized joint curriculum. On the other side western NGOs rushed to subsidise makeshift schools. NGO approaches, the religious and the western, under-prioritised if not ignoring the Somali language.

So far Somali political elites, both in the south and in the North, failed to enter dialogue with the fragmented civil society and communicate the Somalis with understandable Somali language. This might change as the new leadership as well as the civil society seem to show interest in engaging serious dialogue to move the country forward. The question is as Somalia and Somalis significantly transformed in the past three decades, it is not clear which language the leadership and the civil society would prefer to utilize. Obviously the application of the Somali language is the most suitable. However the scattered Somali society across the globe and with younger generations not commendable of the mother tongue might undermine

such ambition. Therefore the leadership should consider the following three alternatives.

The first is rather ideal in which Somalis continue to rally around the Somali language regardless of geographical dispersion and transnationalism. In this approach, part of the Diaspora will confront communicative and participation challenges. The second is to liberalize the application of languages by allowing Somalis to communicate Somali, Arabic and English making these three languages the official language of Somalis. The approach will lead to the inclusion large portions of the Diaspora, particularly those in Arab countries as well as the wider global Diaspora. Thirdly, the Somali decision makers insist the use of the Somali but provide, like the Turkey, the China and many other countries, transnational Somali language classes so Somalis abroad can learn the national language through the embassies and other official representations. This option requires substantial administrative and economic capabilities not achievable in the near future.

Finally, the success of the current leadership in Somalia and the possible reconstitution of the Somali state depends on the mobilization of the civil society through linguistic and rhetorical capabilities combined with actual pursue and deliverance of clearly stated political promises and programs.

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Cutubka 5d / Chapter 5

Taariikhda Qorista Farta Soomaaliga

On Historical Development of Somali orthography

Axmed Faarax Cali "Idaajaa"

Qoristii Af-soomaaliga iyo ururinta suugaantiisa: kaalintii Shire Jaamac Axmed

Markii la soo qaado taariikhda casriga ah ee qoraalka Af-soomaaliga waxaa jira rag magacyadoodu ay markiiba maanka ku soo dhacayaan. Cilmibaareyaal badani siday qabaanna, raggaas kuwa ugu horreeya ayaa, Allaha u naxariistee, waxaa ku jira Shire Jaamac Axmed. Waxaa lagu maamuusaa hawlihii waaweynaa ee uu ka qabtay dabo-qabashada dhaqankeenna iyo horumarinta qoraalka afkeenna.

Xusuusta qofkii yiqinney waxaan marnaba ka baabbi'i karin hawlahaas mintidnimadii iyo miigganaantii uu ku soo qabtay; labadaas oo ah tilmaamihii uu lahaa kuwii ugu waaweynaa, shakhsiyad ahaanna loo oga. Noloshiisa inteedii badnayd ayaa la hubaa inaanu ka shaqayn wax aan ahayn sidii Af-soomaaliga loo qori lahaa; taas oo waafaqsanayd, kuna xusnayd qodobka 5d ee Axdiga Xisbigii SYL⁸⁶.

Iyada oo aanay ammaan iga ahayn ayaan ku doodi karaa inuu Shire ka mid ahaa dad Soomaalida dhexdeeda waayadan ku tiro yar oo mar walba u diyaar ah danta guud inay u burburaan, goor kastana ka hor-mariyaan middooda u gaarka ah. Bartamihii kontomeeyadii qarnigii 20d ayuu ku qancay haddii aan Afsoomnaalifga la qorin oo ardada Soomaalida aan isaga wax lagu barin, ummaddeenu inay dhinaca maskaxda gumeysi kaga jiri doonto, xataa, haddii ciidan iyo maamul ahaan, gumeysteyaashu ay 1960kii dalka shadaaftooda ka qaataan.

Marka laga reebo kooxo aan badanayn oo dhaxalka hiddahoodu la liito, guud ahaan, Soomaalidu iskuma diiddaneyn in afka la qoro. Su'aashuse waxay ka taangneyd, 'sidee loo qoraa ama xarfahee lagu qoraa?' Maalmahaas waxaa goobta yiilley faro 18 gaaraayey oo cilmibaareyaal Soomaaliyeed ay afka u habeeyeen sida Farsoomaalidii Cismaan Keenadiid⁸⁷, xarfihi Carabiga ahaa ee uu Ibraahin

⁸⁶ SYL (Somali Youth League): Xisbigii gobannimaddoonka ahaa ee 1943kii Xamar lagu asaasay, halgankiisiina ay Soomaalida qaarkeed xornimadeeda ku heshay sannadkii 1960kii.
⁸⁷ Allaha u naxariistee, waxa uu Cismaan Yuusuf soo saaray 1922kii; isaga oo markaas Hobyo iyo Ceelhuur ku noolaa. Waxay ahayd Xisbigii SYL far uu aqoonsaday, dhanbaalladana isugu diri jirey.

Xaashi qaadashadooda u halgamaayey, tii Laatiinka ahayd ee uu Shire Jaamac u ol'olaynaayey. Xuseen Shiikh Axmed 'Kaddare' iyo rag kale ayaa iyaguna soo if-bixiyey faro kale oo kuwaas hore ka duwan.

Xarfaha Laatiinka ahi⁸⁸ ayuu Shire aad ugu qancayee; taasna waxaa ka soo gaarey dhibo badan oo Soomaali iyo shisheeyeba ay u geysteen. Waxaa ka dhaadhacday, waayuhuna ay u rumeeyeen, cilmi ahaan, inay xarfahaasi yihiin kuwa ugu habboon ee dhawaaqyada Af-soomaaliga loo adeegsan karo. Ha yeeshee, dan laga lahaaba, fikraddaas iyada ah waa lagu canbaareeyey, waa lagu dhagxiyey, waa lagu caayey, minankiisii baa lagu weeraray, waxaana tuhun la geliyey muslinnimadiisa!

Dadweynihii Allihiis Alle ahaa ayaa waxaa afka loogu tiray, 'Laa-tiin waa Laa-diin!' iyo "waa far-gaalaad!"; halkudhegyadaas oo ay inta badan hirgeliyeen kooxihii xarfaha Carabiga ah taageeri jirey iyo, weliba, Dawladaha Carabta qaarkoodii iyaga wax la wadey oo faroggelin xoog leh ku hayey farta ay Soomaalidu afkeeda ku qoran doonto. Waxay ku andacoon jireen xarfaha laatiinka oo la qaataa inay Soomaalida diinteeda ka fogeyneyso.

Dooddaas iyada ah si aad ah ayuu Shire ugu gacan-sayray, dabadeedna wargeysyadii Aftalyaaniga Xamar kaga soo bixi jirey midkood ayuu ku faafiyey maqaallo uu ku diiddan yahay. Maqaalladaas waxaa, malaha, ugu caansanaa kii ku magacawnaa, '*Non dobbiamo odiare l'Occidente e la scrittura Latina*⁸⁹' oo la macne ah, 'Ma aha inaynu necbaanno Reer-galbeedka iyo farta Laatiinka'.

Wuxuu halkaas Soomaalida ugu caddeeyey Indoneesiya, Turkiya iyo dalal kaleba inay qoraalka afkooda u adeegsadaan xarfo aan Carabi ahayn oo Laatiinku ku jiro, isla markaasna aan muslinnimadooda shaki la gelin karin. Wuxuu kaloo maqaalkaas ku sheegay, haddaynu farta Laatiinka qaadanno, aqoonta badan ee afafka Reer-galbeedka ku qoran inaynu si fudud ugu dhaadhici karayno, isla markaasna aynaan u baahan doonin teebab iyo makiinado hor leh oo wax lagu daabaco. Wuxuu ku soo ebyey, "Dhaqanka wax-gumeysiga ee Reer-galbeedku waa wax, waxbarashada iyo ilbaxnimadooduna waa wax kale oo aynu uga faa'ideysan karayno sidaynu imminkaba uga faa'ideysanno tabarta korontada oo laga war-

88 xarfaha Roomaankana waa lagu magacaabaa.

89 Wuxuu maqaalku ku soo baxay wargeyskii Dawladda ee Aftalyaaniga lagu soo saari jirey, laguna magacaabi jirey Corriere Della Somalia (Xamar, 16kii Maarso, 1957).

qabo inay tahay wax ay maskaxda Reer-galbeedku curisay". Sidaas iyo si la mid ah ayuu ugu caqli-celin jirey dadweynihii Soomaaliyeed ee saamaynta maankiisa loo tartamaayey.

Xukuumadihii Soomaaliya ee gobannimadii ka dib hoggaanka dalka qabtay, lagana rabey isla markiiba inay far-u-yeelidda afka go'aan ka gaaraan, way ka gaabiyeen. Siyaasadihii wax-kala-jiidashada ee Xisbiyada ayay arrintaas ahmiyadda weyn lihi ku dhex-luntay. Farihii goobta yiilley waa la kala dooran waayey. Waxaa ugu wacnaa, 'Mudane hebel tixgeli iyo Dawlad hebla' yaan laga caraysiin!'

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, 1961kii ayay Xukuumaddii Ra'iisul-wasaare Cabdirrahiid Cali Sharma'arke waxay magacawday Guddi ka kooban aqoonyahanno wada Soomaali ahaa oo, Allaha u naxariistee, Muuse Galaal uu guddoomiye u ahaa. Xilka la saaray wuxuu ku koobnaa inay ka soo taliyaan arrinta qoraalka afka iyo farta loo adeegsan karo.

Warbixintii uu Guddigaasi soo saaray iyo 1966kii mid uu soo gudbiyey Guddi ka socdey Qarammada Midoobey, laanteeda Sayniska iyo waxbarashada ee UNESCO loo yaqaan waxay labaduba ku taliyeen in Af-soomaaliga lagu qoro far-Laatiinta uu Shire afka u habeeyey. Maxay, haddaba, sababtu ahayd? Sababaha xagga farsamada xiriirka la leh ka sokoow, go'aammada caynkaas ah waxaa lagu saleeyey Shire oo maaro u helay raggii isaga ka horreeyey ee Laatiinka adeegsan jirey wax ay maaro u waayeen. Wuxuu, markii ugu horreysey, adeegsadey xarfaha **x, c, dh (d+h)** iyo **hamzada**; kuwaas oo uu u isticmaalay shibbaneyaasha Af-soomaaliga ee kala ah 'x'da, 'c'da, 'dh'da iyo hamsada⁹⁰.

Warbixinnadii labadii Guddi waxba kama baddelin go'aan-li'idii Xukuumadihii Soomaaliya ee Xisbigii SYL laga dhisi jirey. Hase ahaatee, Shire wuxuu ka sii qaaday mintidnimo iyo miigganaan hor leh. Bartamihii qarnigii 20d lixdannadii ayuu go'aansaday inuu Soomaalida tuso oo taabsiiyo farta uu afka u habeeyey inay dhaqangal noqon karto. Waa markii uu bilaabay soo-saarista joornaalkii (majallad) "*Iftiinka Aqoonta*" uu u bixiyey ee marsoobbaxa ahaa⁹¹ (periodical). Joornaalka ayuu ku soo bandhigi jirey gabayo, maahmaaho iyo sheekooyin Soomaaliyeed oo aan isaga ka hor weligeed cidi qorin. Sidaas darteed, boqollaal

90 Arag qoraalka Dr. Georgi Kapchitis ee ku magacaban 'Nin aan laga horreyn', uuna ka jeediyey xuska 40-guuradii qoraalka Af-soomaaliga, London, 2012.

91 Mar buu toddobaadle ahaa, mar dhexe afar-iytoobnaadle, markii dambena bille ayuu ahaa.

dhallinyaro ah oo aan ku jirey ayaa joornaalkaasi wuxuu ku qanciyeey suugaanta iyo murtida Soomaalidu in aanay waxba u ogeyn kuwa Reer-galbeedka iyo Carabta ee muddada dheer qornaa. Waxay ahayd shaqo aad u dhib badan, maxaa yeelay waxay ahayd mid uu nintooxsi ku qaban jirey.

Sannadkii 1936kii ayuu Shire Wardheer ku dhashay. Gudaha dalka ka sokoow, wuxuu culuunta afafka iyo suugaamaha ka raacday Jaamacado ku kala yaal dalalka Masar, Ingiriiska iyo Ruushanka. Guddigii Af-soomaaliga ee Xukuumaddii Kacaanku ay magacawday (1971) ayuu Shire xubin ka noqday, bishii Oktoobar '72kiina wuxuu u soo joogey iyada oo qoraalkii afka loo doortay fartii uu isagu u habeyey oo aan waxba laga reebin, waxna lagu kordhin. Waxay ahayd sannadihii lixdannadii qarnigii 20d isla fartii uu isagu "Iftiinka Aqoonta" ku qori jirey (eeg halka lifaaqa qoraalkan). Ha yeeshee, go'aankaas la qaatay sina magaciisa looguma xiriirin, loogumana xusin! Wuxuu filaayey, heer qaran ahaan, in loo aqoonsado qaybtii uu ka soo qaatay xoraynta maskaxda ummaddiisa iyo dedaalkii uu ka muujiyey bedbaadinta suugaan iyo murti badan oo, isaga la'aantiis, aan maanta gacanteenna ku jirteen.

1973kii ayuu Agaasime Guud ka noqday Akademiyihii Dhaqanka ee dhammaadkii sannadkaas la abuuray. 1978kii wixii ka dambeeyeyna wuxuu ku biiray hawlwadeennadii Diblomaasiyadda Soomaaliyeed, isaga oo noqday ku-qaybsanaha Arrimaha Dhaqanka ee Safaaradihii uu dalku ku lahaan jirey Qaahira iyo Stockholm.

Intii Af-soomaaliga la qoray ka dib, buugaagtii uu Shire soo saaray, lana daabacay waxaa ka mid ahaa laba sheeko oo mid la oran jirey *Halgankii Nolosh*⁹², midda kalena *Rooxaan*. Wuxuu kaloo soo saaray buug ku saabsan *Naxwaha Af-soomaaliga* oo ah naxwaha madiga ah ee Af-soomaaliga ku qoran, aqoonyahan Soomaali u dhashayna uu dejiyey ama, ugu yaraan, isaga oo daabacan, inta aan og nahay, la faafiyey⁹³.

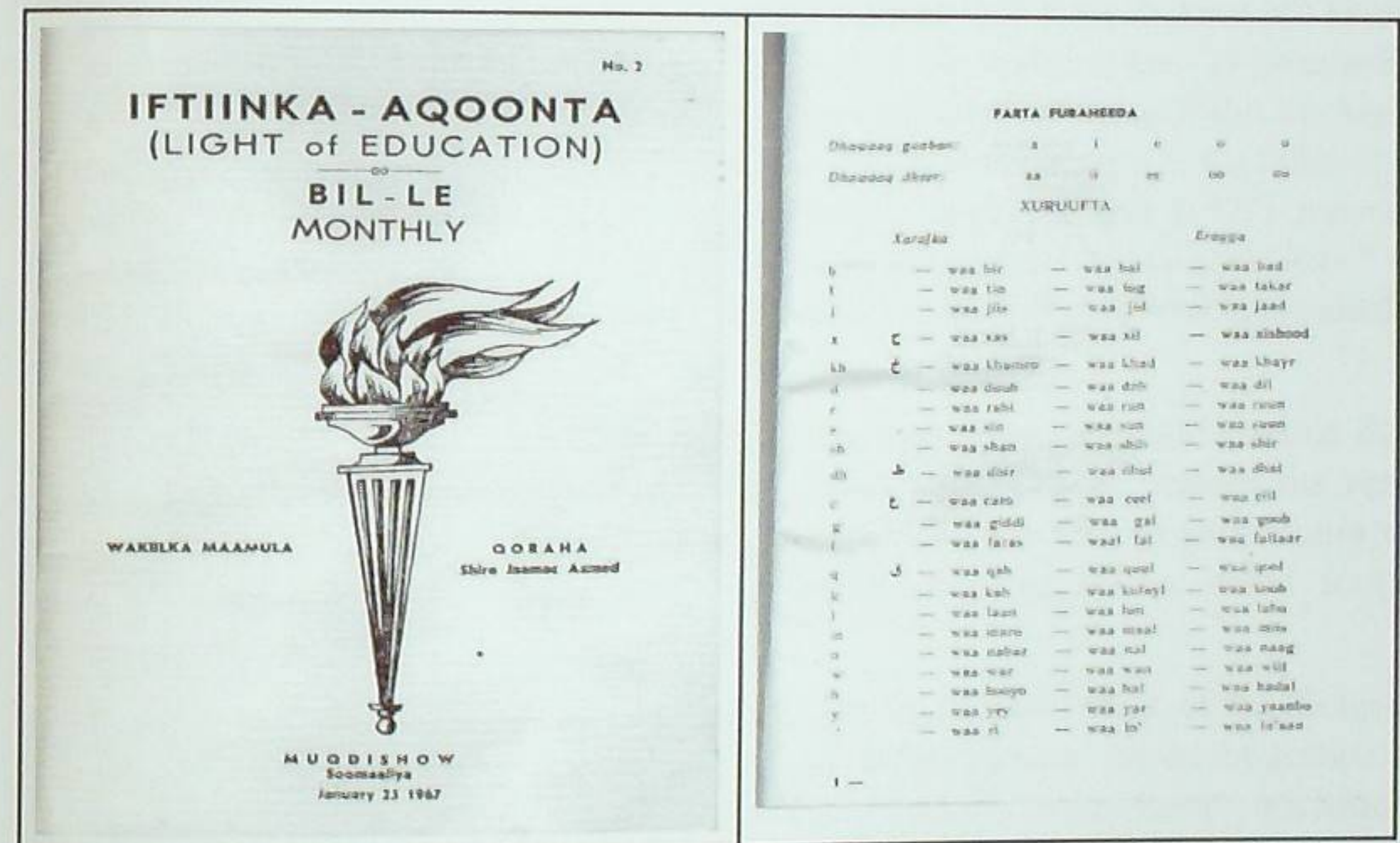
92 In kastoo aan isaga laga werin, haddana waxaa loo malaynayaa in buuggani ku saabsan yahay taariikhda noloshiisa.

93 Intii uu qoraalkani soo baxay ka dib ayaa waxaa la soo saaray buug-naxweed uu qoray Buuni: Cabdalla Cumar Mansuur. Waxaa la yiraahdaa: Barashada Naxwaha Af-soomaaliga (1999).

Bilawga bishii Jannaayo, 1999kii ayuu ku geeriyoodey magaalada Stockholm ee dalka Sweden; isaga oo ku faraxsan, intii uu noolaa inuu Ummaddiisa wax u qabtay, dedaalkiisiina uu miro-dhalay. Dhinaca kale, wuxuu dhintay isaga oo *abaaal-dhac qaran* tirsanaaya; taas oo iyadana uu ku gar leeyahay!

Ugu dambaysta, waxaan ku laab-qaboobahay markii ay Soomaalidu qarannimadeeda soo ceshato, markii ay dib u soo kacdo, markii ay taariikhda afkeeda dib u milicsato; markaas oo qura inuu Shire heli doono maamuuska uu mudan yahay ee markuu noolaa uu heli waayey.

Lifaaq: Laba bog ka mid ah Joornaalkii "Iftiinka Aqoonta":



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Mauro Tosco

Short notes on Somali previous scripts

1. Introduction⁹⁴

Islam reached what we now call the Somali coast very early. Consequently, exposure to Arabic and its writing must be equally ancient in the area. Actually, as stressed by Zaborski (1967: 125), contact with the Arabian Peninsula and its inhabitants must have been going on since times immemorial and well predated Islam.

To Arab (or Arabic-writing) geographers from the 10th century (cf. Esser and Esser 1982) we also owe the first descriptions of the East African coast (cf. Esser and Esser 1982). Equally to 'the beginnings of the 10th century' (i primordii del 900 d.Cr.) Cerulli (1926: 20) ascribes the foundation of Mogadishu by Arab refugees from al-Aḥsā (on the Persian Gulf) and the development in the following centuries of a mixed Arab-Somali population. Cerulli himself (1927) reports evidence pointing to a much earlier date (the middle of the 2nd century A.H.⁹⁵ – the second half of the 8th century) for the documented arrival of Arab individuals or groups in what was to become Mogadishu.

A striking fact is that such an early (and continued) presence and contact did not result in any tradition of writing down the local language. Perhaps the very geographical proximity with the Arab world and the close and frequent contacts with Arabs made the independent development of an Arabic-based script inconvenient.

I think nevertheless that the real reason lies in the sociology of the Somali population, mainly semi-nomadic and living in the interior, no doubt accounts for this lack of any "ajami of Somalia". Written Somali – in any form – is a much more recent development, dating as far as we know not earlier than the end of the 19th century. This article deals therefore with a comparatively short history. Yet, such a rich and inspiring history!

⁹⁴ This article is an abridged version of Tosco (2010), which the interested reader is invited to consult for a fuller treatment.

⁹⁵ A.H. = Anno Hegirae, i.e. Islamic Year.

2. Somali in Arabic script

Arabic Somali literature is very rich, encompassing for the most part religious literature; in the 20th century political, journalistic, and scientific publications have been added (including proposals to use the Arabic script to write down Somali, as detailed further below).⁹⁶

By 'Arabic Somali literature' it is meant here written material produced by Somali using the Arabic language. It is not the aim of this work to present or discuss it here, or, even less, to give an aesthetic appreciation of it. This must rather be done under the heading of Arabic (and, beyond, Islamic) literature. The interested reader is referred to the many works by the late Andrzejewski (e.g., Andrzejewski 1983, and Andrzejewski and Lewis 1998), and the recent book in Italian by Gori (2003).

The following notes are limited to a brief discussion of the main problems faced when writing Somali in the Arabic script, and a few of the solutions proposed or actually put into practice.

In the case of Somali, the problems lie, as is so often the case with the Arabic script, in the rendering of five vocalic qualities, both short and long, yielding a number of 10 vocalic phonemes.⁹⁷

Further, Somali needs a sign for the postalveolar /d/ and for the voiced velar plosive /g/ – both missing in Arabic. The proposals and uses differ mainly in their treatment of these points.

Little is known on the unplanned use of Arabic mixed with Somali in Arabic script. In his article on the so-called Gadabuursi script, Lewis (1958: 135-138) discusses the phenomenon, called "wadaad's writing" or "wadaad's Arabic" (a wadaad being a learned religious man with some knowledge of Arabic). Such a writing generally consists of broken Arabic with Somali words, and is (or was) used in business, private correspondence, the writing of petitions and the like. The following specimen is reproduced here from Lewis:

⁹⁶ Gori (2003) provides an interesting classification of written productions in Arabic from Somalia.

⁹⁷ Actually, each Somali vowel has both a closed and an open variant, yielding in North-Central Somali 20 distinct vocalic phonemes. This opposition, of limited functional load, is not marked in Osmanya (nor in other Somali scripts), nor in the Latin modern orthography.

Table 1: Arabic with Somali words ("wadaad's script") (Lewis 1958: 138)

من اينبايد
 السلام على احمد قهر جعليه
 وصلنا قريبتك عند
 محمد موسى وقتن تريد منك
 راشن حق زير حقل
 وقبحة الرانن
 واخوك تابع احمد
 يحتاج خبر الحاس
 حقلن الذي ذهب
 الى مدين
 والسلام
 صبري
 جعليه على

Nothing being known of earlier adaptations of the Arabic script to Somali, any account of the Somali language written consistently using the Arabic script starts as late as the end of the 19th century, with Sheekh Awees.

Sheekh Awees (or Awees) Maxamed Baraawii⁹⁸ (Arabic: Šayḥ Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barâwî)⁹⁹ was an important religious leader of the Qâdiriyya brotherhood. He was born in 1847 in the Southern town of Brava; after having studied in Baghdad, he came back to Brava in 1880. Until his death he lived in different locations in Southern Somalia and promoted the Qâdiriyya brotherhood all over East Africa. He was killed, together with all his disciples except one, on April 19, 1909 by members of a rival clan.

Sheekh Awees is linguistically different from all other sources, as he writes in a mixture of Southern Somali dialects, a fact which is reflected in his writing choices, which are studied in detail by Cerulli (1964).

⁹⁸ Somali nouns are written consistently in the modern Latin orthography.

⁹⁹ These short biographical notes are taken from the much richer account by Gori (2003: 31-32).

Two manuscripts are discussed by Cerulli: one is a song of political polemic character (against the “Mad Mullah” Maxamed Cabdille Xasan and his guerrilla war against the British). The second is a manuscript of religious poetry.

In the first, in order to write /g/ Sheekh Awees uses the Arabic sign for <k> with three dots above. I do not know how Sheekh Awees devised this solution, if by himself or via a knowledge with non-Arab Arabic scripts: this particular combination of <k> and three dots is (or was) used in order to write a velar nasal (IPA /ŋ/) in the Arabic-based alphabets of Turkish (Ottoman), Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uyghur. The value /g/ seems restricted to Sheekh Awees.

This is also the only graphic innovation introduced in respect to the alphabet as used in Arabic. In a single case, /g/ is written with the same Arabic sign for /k/ but with a line above (as in Persian, Urdu, Kurdish and other languages). Still in other cases, for unknown reasons, it is transcribed with the Arabic sign for an uvular fricative, usually transcribed <g> and employed for the transcription of intervocalic /q/.

The Arabic sign ‘jīm’ (variously realized in the Arabic dialects as affricate /dʒ/ - mainly in bedouin dialects - or as fricative /ʒ/ - mainly in urban dialects - and as occlusive /g/ in Cairo and Aden) is used for marking in Somali the affricate /dʒ/ (also realized as voiceless /tʃ/). The postalveolar plosive /d/ (<dh> in the modern Roman orthography) is written with the sign for the “emphatic” (pharyngealized) Arabic phoneme usually transliterated <t> in the Orientalist tradition. In one case (reported herebelow in Table 3), it is instead written with the sign for pharyngealized <ḏ>.

(Southern) Somali /ɣ/ is written with the corresponding Arabic sign usually transcribed <g>.

Another Southern Somali pronunciation is found in the transcription of intervocalic /b/ - often realised fricative (/β/) - with the Arabic sign for /w/. Arabic words retain their Arabic writing even when they contain phonemes unknown in Somali.

/e/ and /o/ are written as /ay/, /aw/; vowel length remains unmarked, although often a short Somali vowel is written long - possibly, as Cerulli remarks, when it bears stress.

As in the modern Latin orthography, many clitics are written together with the word they cliticize to.

The excerpt of the song in Table 2 (from Cerulli 1964: 118) shows a few peculiarities

of his writing of Somali, and not a few irregularities.

Table 2: A page of Sheekh'Awees Somali poetry in Arabic script

أَحَدُ شَيْكَ وَامْحَا طَلِيَانِي إِيُو مَالْن لَيْكَ حَمِيمَسُ حَرْبِيَيْنُ
 مَهْمَاهِي (دَغَالِكِي) اِنْتُو حَرْبِيَيْنُ اِنْتُو فِيرِيَيْنَا فِضَاْحِي مَدِينُ
 اِنْتُو اَيِيَمَالُ بِنْدُو قَايَهْلِيْنُ (دَوَاي) دَالِيَيْنُ (گَدَالَا) طَغِيْنُ
 بَصْرِكِي قُرَانُكَ مَرِيْكَانُ كُفِيْنُ اَفْرَتِي عَمِيْدَ دُوْنُ سَارَدِيْنُ
 5 قَلِيُو اَغَاسُكَ فَنِيْنُ اَيِي تَسِيْنُ اِنْتُو تَلْطِيْنُ ضَلَالُ اَيِي رَحِيْنُ
 ثَمَّ بَعْدُ غَيْسِرِ جَلِبْ جَلِيِيْنُ هَرْهَارِكِي كُحْحِيْنُ طَنَانُ اَيِي مَرِيْنُ
 جَلُوْلِكِي طَلِيَانِ جَوْنُ اَيِي مَدِيْنُ اَلْمُ دِيْرُ جَمَالُو جِنْفَايِ كِلِكَلِيِيْنُ
 حَرْوُبِكِي حَرَرِي حَوَالُ اَيِي فُدِيِيْنُ حُجُوْبِكِي دَغَالُو هِرَاوُ اَيِي تَكَلِيْنُ
 خَلْكَي طَلِيَانِي اَيُو (كَلْدِي) مَرِيْرِي (تُوبِيْنُ) هَوَاسُ اَيِي طَقِيْنُ
 10 دُوْلُنُ دَالِيِيْنُ حَرَرُ بَايِي تَكِيْنُ دُوْبِيْكَ دَبُوْرُ اَرْلَادِي تُوْبِيْنُ
 رُوْبِسَارُ عُنِيْنُ اَفْكُوِي بَامُ سِيِيْنُ وَيُو رَارَدِيِيْنُ مَكَّاسُ اَيِي شِيْرِيِيْنُ
 زَنْبِيْلُ بُوْحِيِيْنُ سَبُّ وَ اَكْرَدِيِيْنُ سِرُو مَالْن لَيْتُ لَمَادِي حَرِيْنُ
 سَوِيْدُ اَيِي تُوْبِيْنَا اَقْلُ دَلْدَلِيْنُ حَلَالُ دَوْرِيِيْنُ قُسْلُ رَبْسِيِيْنُ
 شَمِيْرَكُو تُوْبِيْنَا بَرْدَالُو بَرِيِيْنُ وَرَنُ بَمَسُ سِيْدِيْنُ وَ اُو لَالِيِيْنُ
 15 سُرُنْتِي كُنْتَا اَيُو شَنْعُوَا شَمَالْكَايِ طُوِيْنُ وَ اُو فِرَارِيِيْنُ
 ضَلَاشِي (مُرْسَدُ) اِنْتِي قَرَقَرِيْنُ دَرَاوِيْشُ تُوْبِيْنَا هَوِيْنُكَ كَدِيْنُ
 طَجْبَلْعُ جَنْبَلُوْلُ رِسُ قَارِيِيْنُ كُرَارُ اَيْتِرَادِي اَدْرَكَايِ طُوِيْنُ
 ظَلْمُ لُو كَلْدِي سَلَاْحُ اَيِي طُوِيْنُ اَمْنِكِي بِنْدُوْقُ كُ كَاذْكَادِيِيْنُ
 عَلَانَلُو اَيُو سَكْرُو كِيِيْنُ لَمَادِي دُوْنُكَ وَ اَدَاْدَاْدِيِيْنُ

A few words are typically Southern: e.g., in line 2 and 3, *intoo* for 'where' (instead, e.g., of Standard Somali *xaggee*).

In line 3 again, the word *dab* 'fire' is written by Sheekh Awees with <w>, reflecting, as noted above, a Southern pronunciation with /β/.

In line 16, /d/ is not written – as expected – with the Arabic sign for the pharyngealized <t> but exceptionally with the sign for pharyngealized <d>: *dhalashii* 'the offspring'.

/g/ is marked very irregularly:

with the Arabic sign for <g> in line 2 (*dagaalkii* 'the fight');

with <k> with a line above (as, in line 3, *gadaal* 'behind, back');

with <k> and three dots above (as, in line 9, *Galadii* 'the Galadi' and *gubeen* 'they burned').

As to what concerns vowels, inconsistencies (or mistakes) are seen in the unexpected lengthening of Somali short vowels, e.g., in line 3 *bunduq* for *bunduq* 'gun', and in line 9 *guubeen* for *gubeen* 'they burned', as well as, in line 16, *dhalashii* for *dhalashii* 'the offspring'.

Arabic words are retained in their original form, as, in line 6, *tumma ba'di* 'and after that'.

A different system is used by Sheekh Awees in his religious poetry, apparently predating the political song discussed above: here /g/ is either transcribed <g> or simply <k>, with no special diacritics. Quite strangely, /d/ is often not transcribed with the Arabic sign for /d/ but with the sign for the interdental (<d>).

Other proposals for writing Somali using the Arabic script were advanced in the 20th century. Lewis (1958) and Cerulli (1964: 138-151) discuss at length the project by Sheekh Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil, who in A.H. 1354 (1935-36) published in Bombay (Mumbai) a book under the title *Inšâ' al-makâtibât al-'asriyya fi l-luġa al-šumâliyya* ('The institution of modern correspondence in the Somali language'; cf. also Gori (2003:14). Cerulli (1964: 140-148) further reproduces, transcribes, and translates letters and proverbs published by the author in his orthography.

The main originality of Sheekh Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil's proposal lies in the writing of postalveolar /d/ with the Arabic sign for <d> with three dots above.

As for the writing of /g/, he proposes to use the sign for <k> with a line above.

Somali /d/ is not transcribed with the corresponding Arabic sign, but with the sign for the pharyngealized voiceless (<t>).

In order to write /e/ the author proposes to use both the signs used in Arabic for /a/ (Arabic *fatha*) and /i/ (*kasra*), while for noting /o/ he proposes to use the Arabic sign for /u/ (*damma*) but inverted.

Showing great spirit of independence and innovation, the author transcribes the Arabic loans according to their Somali pronunciation.

Finally, neither Sheekh Awees nor Sheekh Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil mark in any way the gemination of a consonant.

In 1954, Muuse Xaaji Ismaaciil Galaal, better known for his collection of Somali lore (*Xikmad Soomaali*) (Galaal 1956) published with linguistic notes by Andrzejewski, put forward the most advanced and coherent proposal to write down Somali in the Arabic script (Galaal 1954). As summarized by Lewis (1958), Muuse followed Sheekh Maxamed in using the sign for <d> with three dots above in order to represent the postalveolar /d/; he departed instead from all his predecessors in marking /g/ with the *jim* sign (usually reserved for /dʒ/) with three dots below.

His most revolutionary step was nevertheless the invention of seven completely new signs in order to mark the vowels (all the short ones, as well as /ee/ and /oo/).

Labahn (1982) further mentions a proposal by Ibrahim Hashi Mahamud (Ibraahiim Xaashi Maxamud). From Labahn's (1982: 296-297) comparative table (reproduced here further below as Table 17), Ibraahiim's proposal involved the use of the Arabic sign <t> for postalveolar /d/, of <g> for /g/, and a combination of the Arabic signs for the long vowels and the sign for the glottal stop (hamza) in order to mark all the vowels of Somali.

Table 3 lists the correspondences between Arabic signs, the present day Latin signs and the phonemes of Somali.

Table 3: Main regular correspondences for Somali in Arabic script

Arabic	source	Latin	IPA
ق	Sheekh Awees	g	g
ج	Sheekh Awees	j	ʒ
ط	Sheekh Awees	dh	ɗ
غ	Sheekh Awees	— (allophone of /q/)	ɣ
ف	Sheekh Awees	— (allophone of /b/)	β
ذ	Sheekh Awees (earlier work)	d	d
ځ	Sheekh Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil, Muuse Xaaji Ismaacill Galaad	dh	ɗ
گ	Sheekh Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil	g	g
ج	Muuse Xaaji Ismaacill Galaad	g	g

3. The Osmania¹⁰⁰ alphabet

3.1 History

The best source for the early history of the script is probably Maino (1953: 23-26).¹⁰¹ Maino (1951) and Ricci (1959) provide interesting informations on later developments and its political fortunes. The following notes are mostly derived from these works.

The indigenous Osmania writing is the invention of a single man: Cusmaan Yuusuf Keenadiid, who devised it around 1920-1922.

Cusmaan Yuusuf had been born in Hobyo around the turn of the 20th century (thus Maino 1951: 108: circa cinquant'anni fa, "approximately fifty years ago"). He was, as Cerulli (1932) informs us, a member of a very prominent family: Cusmaan (or Cismaan, both being accepted Somali renderings of the Arab name 'Uṭmān) Yuusuf was a younger brother of the Sultan of Hobyo, 'Alī Yūsuf (Cali Yuusuf in the modern Somali orthography) Keenadiid.

¹⁰⁰ I choose to use this – maybe Italianizing, but certainly widespread – transcription. Other denominations include "Osmanya" (thus Michael Everson; see below) and "Osmania" (the latter in Italian publications predating the Second World War, where a larger use of stress marks was common).

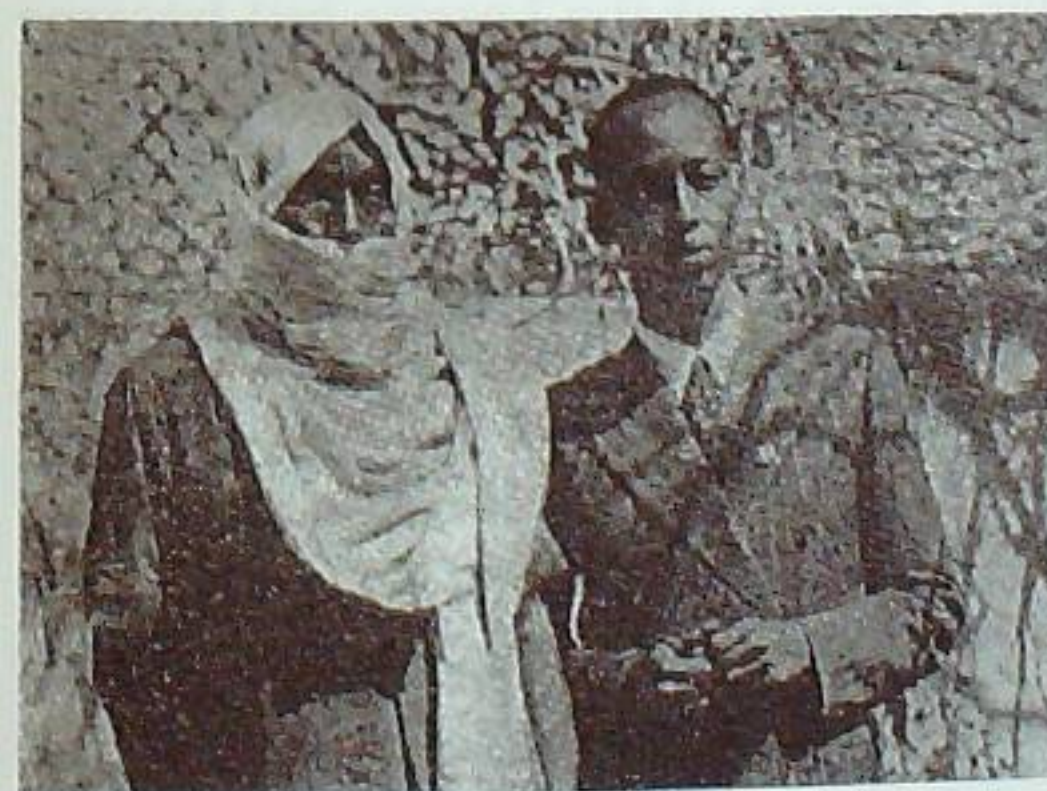
¹⁰¹ Maino was a great supporter of the Osmania script, as evidenced in Maino (1953: 35-37). On the other hand, on page 38-39 of the same work, Maino also admits the costs and technical difficulties of its implementation.

His father, Yuusuf Cali, had conquered Hobyo and established a separate Sultanate, receiving the nickname Keenadiid ("the one who refuses restraints") for his fierce character. In order to gain Italian support against his rivals, Yuusuf Cali accepted the Italian protectorate in December 1888. Although the Sultanate was finally annexed by the Italians on July 10, 1925, the Keenadiid family continued to be very prominent in administration and politics.

Cusmaan had no political power, but soon become an "intellectual:" he learned Arabic in Hobyo and in Mogadishu, and he also had some knowledge of Italian (ha qualche nozione dell'italiano; Cerulli 1932: 177). In Arabic he wrote also all the correspondence of his family. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that Cusmaan had no knowledge of the Ethiopic script, nor had this played any role in the elaboration and development of the Osmania script.

Cusmaan Yuusuf devised his script in the period between 1920 and 1922. The local Italian Commissioner was probably among the first to hear about Cusmaan's script. He was soon followed by Marcello Orano, who went to Hobyo as 'Resident, and had Cusmaan as his private teacher of Somali. Orano later published a Somali grammar in Italian in 1931. Soon afterwards, in 1932, Enrico Cerulli got in contact with Cusmaan's nephew, Yaasiin, and obtained from him the material for his 1932 article (Cerulli 1932).

Photo: Cusmaan Yuusuf (left) with his nephew Yaasiin (date and place unknown; from Maino 1953: 24)



A few people among Cusmaan's friends and relatives started soon to use the newly devised script for private correspondence, but in general the new script did not meet with much impact until the end of the Second World War. Ricci (1959: 110-111) summarizes well the local and clanic nature of the script, as well as its flourishing after the war.

The end of the Second World War and of the Italian colonial rule marked the greatest opportunity for Cusmaan's alphabet. In 1945 the Italian colonial power had crumbled, Somalia was under British occupation, and talks about independence were rampant. From an early *Somali Youth Club* founded in Mogadishu on May 15, 1943, a real national party was born in 1945: the *Somali Youth League*. The *League* espoused in article 5(d) of its statute the cause of the Somali language as the future language of the country, and of a Somali script – the *Osmania*. The *League* started disseminating *Osmania* in Mogadishu, and Cusmaan's nephew Yaasiin (the single most fervent propagandist of the script) was invited to teach there already in 1945 (Maino 1951: 109). Other schools were opened by the *League* in the major towns of Somalia and abroad (in Addis Ababa, in Kenya, Zanzibar, Yemen). It is unknown how many people got in touch with the script; many of them were young people, and very often women (Ricci 1959: 110); it is at this time that the script came to be called *far soomaali* ('Somali script'), or, in its articulated form, *farta soomaalida*, a denomination which replaced the earlier designation of *Osmania* (or, in Arabic, *al-kitāba al-ʿuṣmāniyya* 'the *ʿuṣmāniyya* script').

Such a political support for *Osmania* met fierce resistance: both the idea of Somali (rather than Arabic) as the future language of the country, and more prominently the adoption of an indigenous script were not widely popular. Ten years later the *Somali Youth League* decided to expunge from its statute the article which called for *Osmania* as the script of Somali, and even declared Arabic the official language of Somalia.

Support for *Osmania* continued through the activities of the *Somali Language and Literature Society*, established among others by Cusmaan's nephew Yaasiin on October 5, 1949. The *Society* was originally a branch of the *League* but became independent and continued propagating the *Osmania* alphabet well after the *League* had ceased its political support. In 1957 the *Society* started publishing *Sahan 'Explorer'*, a three-page journal in *Osmania* under the direction of Xirsi Magan. All these notes are due to Ricci (1959), and I was unable to trace any information on the activities concerning *Osmania* after the independence of Somalia (July 1st, 1960). Ricci informs us that in 1957 the Italian-language daily *Corriere della Somalia* published a whole page in Somali in the Latin alphabet, under the initiative of Prof. Bruno Panza¹⁰², among others. As Ricci informs us, the experiment was brought to an end by the fierce opposition it met.

Discussions on the language of the country and its script continued. The Somali linguistic paradox consisted in a largely linguistically homogeneous country, the existence of an old poetic koiné (based upon the Central varieties of Central-Northern Somali), and – at the same time – the absence of a single foreign written medium, not to mention a written form of Somali: English was used in

¹⁰² Much later, Panza wrote the first pedagogical grammar of Somali in the Latin alphabet for foreigners (Panza 1974). I had the honour of meeting him in Mogadishu shortly before his death in 1986.

the Northern parts of the country (formerly the British Somaliland), Italian in the rest, and Arabic was known and, most of all, respected everywhere.

As is well-known, the military coup d'état on October 21, 1969 put an end to the long discussions on the 'official' Somali writing. Already in 1961, a *Somali Language Commission* had been established in order to study the matter; Labahn (1982: 137) mentions that no less than 18 writing systems (between indigenous, Arabic-based, and Latin-based) were proposed.

In 1966, a *Unesco* commission made up by linguists Bogumil Andzejewski, Stefan Strelcyn and Joseph Tubiana produced a report in which the use of a Latin script was advocated (Andzejewski, Strelcyn and Tubiana 1966). Even in this recommendation, however, the most ingenious solutions of the Latin Somali alphabet – namely, the writing of the pharyngeals /h/ and /ʕ/ as, respectively, <x> and <c> – were still absent. A few Latin-based orthographies are presented in the final comparative table by Labahn (1982: 296-297; cf. Table 17). They vary in the proposed representation of the pharyngeals /ʕ/ and /h/, the postalveolar /dʒ/, and the long vowels.

The Latin Somali alphabet was officialized on the occasion of the third anniversary of the "revolution" (as the coup d'état had been restyled), and became effective on January 1st, 1973. Labahn (1982: 172-173) reproduces here the whole passage of Siyaad Barre's speech in which the orthography of Somali was proclaimed. Suffice here to quote from Labahn the very first lines of the English translation:

"I also want to impress on the Somali people today that a unanimous decision has been reached to write the Somali script [...]. A modified Latin script has been chosen for economic reasons as well as convenience. The resources of this nation cannot shoulder the burden of innovating a new alphabet (for matters of printing etc.) and there is also the inconvenience of having to wait for a long time before we realize this goal. [...] Most of the world uses the Latin alphabet. [...] If we use a totally new script, it would have become an isolated one."

The rest of the story has been told many times (Labahn 1982 being probably the most accurate account): the rapid spread of the new script (a spread facilitated by the offhand treatment of any opposition by the military government), the growing wealth of publications in it and the terminological enrichment of Somali (cf. in particular Caney 1984).

There is a distinct flavor of benign autocracy in much talk on language policies, and the Somali experience is no exception and has too often been told in apologetic terms: a good example here is Laitin (1977, and even more 1992). About Siyaad Barre's régime in Somalia and its language policy, Laitin affirms that the Somali experience demonstrates 'an association between language policies in which the lower strata's voices can be officially heard in their own language and a government

that is attentive to the needs of those strata' (Laitin 1992: 59; emphasis mine).¹⁰³

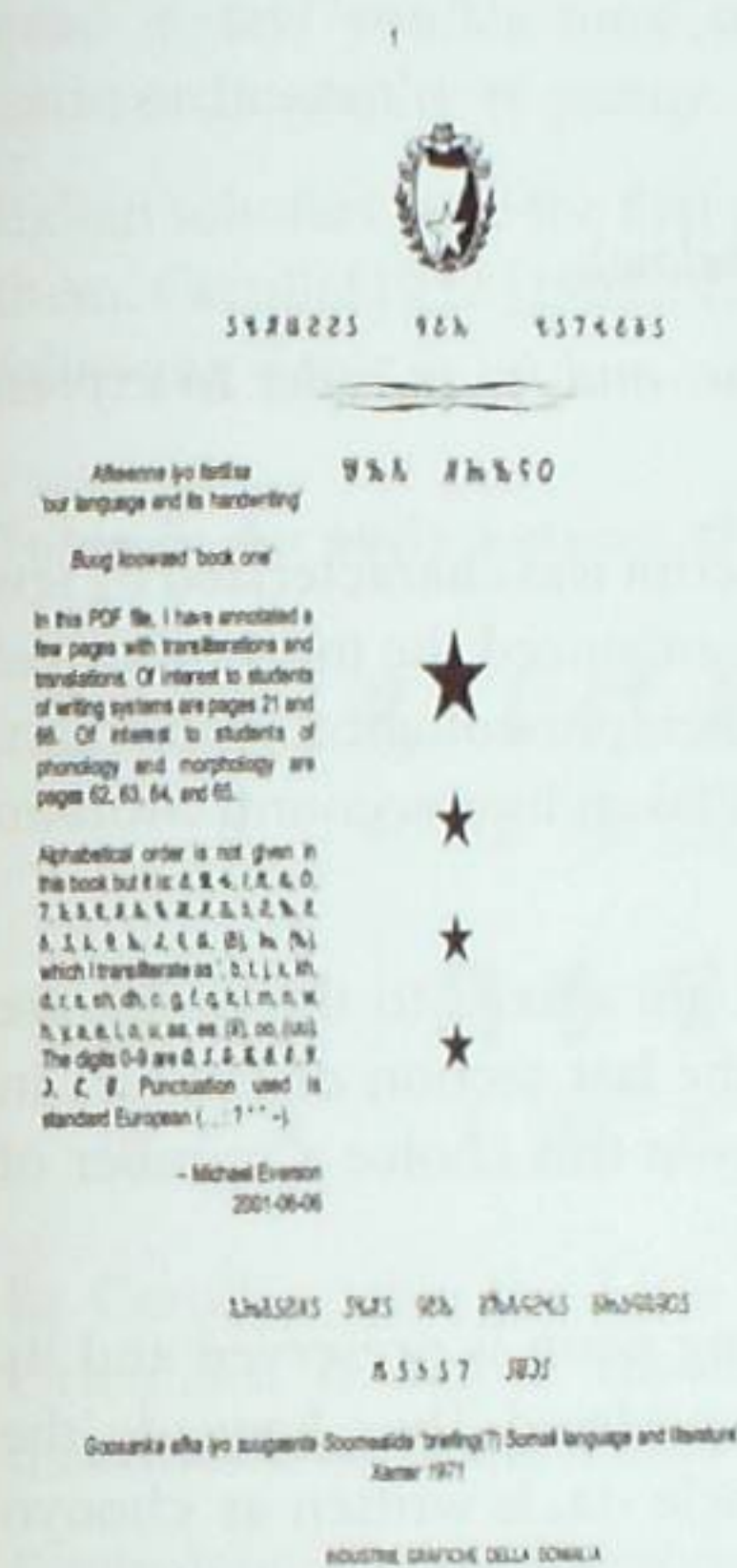
Nevertheless, Osmania had not passed away: as late as 1971 a whole book had been published in Osmania, with the title *Afkeenna iyo fartiisa* "Our language and its script." It is a primer consisting of 72 pages (the last one containing a picture of Cusmaan Yuusuf with the English caption: 'Founder of Osmania Script / Osman Yusuf Keenadiid').

It has been recently rediscovered by Michael Everson, a linguist, typesetter and font designer (<http://www.evertype.com/misc/bio.html>).

In an undated interview (<http://www.evertype.com/misc/osmanya-interview.html>), he explains how the book was sent to him by a relative of Cusmaan Yuusuf, Osman Abdihalim Osman (i.e., Cusmaan Cabdixaliim Cusmaan Yuusuf Keenadiid). On the basis of the book, Michael Everson has made proposals to encode Osmania to ISO and to the Unicode Technical Committee.¹⁰⁴

The coverage is reproduced here in Table 4. It contains English notes by Michael Everson.¹⁰⁵ Regardless of the actual diffusion of this work, its publication date can only mean that the definitive decision on the introduction of the Latin alphabet went not as smooth as we may be led to think.

Table 4 : Cover page of *Afkeenna iyo Fartiisa* "Our language and its script"



3.2 The script

The Osmania is a left-to-right alphabet of 22 consonants and, in its developed form, 8 vocalic signs¹⁰⁶. Signs are written separate from each other. All the phonemic consonants of Northern Somali are represented (although the sign for the glottal stop is omitted word-initially – as it is in the present Latin orthography), and 8 of the 10 phonemic vowels of Somali have separate signs. Not represented in the alphabet (as well as in the present Latin orthography) are the tonal accent and the [±ATR] value of the vowels.

Cerulli (1932) puts forward the curious opinion that the author found inspiration in both the Arab and the Latin scripts when devising his alphabet - actually, the Latin inspiration is limited to the direction of writing (from left to right), while the influence of Arabic – equally limited – is obvious in:

103 Much later, Panza wrote the first pedagogical grammar of Somali in the Latin alphabet for foreigners (Panza 1974). I had the honour of meeting him in Mogadishu shortly before his death in 1986.

104 Laitin is a firm believer in state 'rationalization' (Weber's 'iron cage', as Laitin remembers) applied to language. Laitin refers to this process as 'linguistic rationalization'. Given the derivation of 'rationalization' from 'rational', the term acquires an obvious positive connotation (certainly voluntary on the part of Weber, one of the greatest apologists of the modern state). As a part of this rationalization process, e.g., "writers would be asked to develop material in a language in everyday use" (Laitin 1992: 155; emphasis mine) and citizens must be required to know the national language (Laitin 1992: 158) and zoned according to their vernaculars (Laitin 1992: 135; emphasis mine). Obviously, the "high linguistic barriers [which] separate the citizen from the state" (Laitin 1992: 149) are for Laitin an obstacle to development.

105 The book is now available on the web (<http://www.evertype.com/standards/iso10646/pdf/afkeenna-iyo-fartiisa.pdf>).

106 Unicode codes for Osmania may be found at: <http://www.unicode.org/charts/PDF/U10480.pdf>. The font is available at the price of US\$ 19 at: <http://www.xenotypetech.com/osxOsmanya.html>.

- the order of the signs – which follows as close as possible the Semitic (and Arab) order. Signs for Arabic phonemes absent in Somali (interdentals, ‘emphatics’, etc.) are obviously absent in Osmania. The position of the postalveolar /d/ (<dh>) is the same of Arabic <d>;

- the absence of signs for capital letters;
- the absence of signs for long vowels (see below);
- the use of the signs for the semivowels /w/ and /y/ in order to express long /uu/ and /ii/, respectively (but see below).

Although aiming at phonological transparency, the script was characterized by few etymological or pseudo-etymological choices which enhanced the morphological distinctiveness of morphemes and contrasted with their phonological realization. In particular, certain regular assimilations were not taken into account. Moreno (1955: 292) recapitulates:

- the article and the other determiners, which are affixed to the noun, are written separate from it. Thus, in the first line of the last section of the text in Table 15, *dalka* ‘the country’ is written <dalka>. From this choice a number of consequences arise:

- the quality of the final vowel in a vowel-ending noun is preserved and its assimilation to the quality of a following affix is not considered. Thus, *hooyada* ‘the mother’, from *hooyo* ‘mother’ and the feminine article -ta, is written as <hooyo da>;

- as the preceding example shows, the voicing of the article (there, -ta yielding -da) and other changes in the form of the determiner are instead marked in the orthography;

- one of the most peculiar assimilation rules of Somali causes a word-final /l/ and an affix-initial /t/ (the marker of the feminine gender and of certain verbal affixes) to combine yielding /ʃ/. The solution of Osmania is, as usual, to preserve the identity of the noun and to mark the result of the assimilation on the affix. For example, the affixation of *hal* ‘she-camel’ and the article, yielding *hasha* (/hafa/), is written <hal sha>;

- the complete assimilation of the marker of the masculine gender -k- after certain word-final phonemes is marked with an apostrophe (borrowed from the Latin script). Thus, *dhinaca* (/dinaʕa/) ‘the side’, from *dhinac* and *ka*, is written in Osmania <dhina" a>

- equally unmarked is the assimilation of a final /d/ before an affix-initial /t/, as common in verbal conjugation (especially but not only in the Reflexive-Middle, which is marked by -ad-): <qaadtay> stands for the morphological sequence /qaad- + -tay/ ‘you/she took’; its realization is /qa:tæj/ and is written in the modern Latin orthography as *qaatay*.

Italian scholars were the first to give notice of Cismaan Keenadiid’s script. Among them, Cerulli (1932 [1959]: 178) published a short notice already in 1932, with the following Table 5.

Table 5: An early version of the Osmania alphabet

5	ʒ	q	l	h	h	o	7	ʒ	q	o	ʒ	ʒ	ε
·	b	t	g	h	h	d	r	s	š	q	g	·	f
ʒ	ʒ	l	ʒ	z	x	ʒ	ʒ	q	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
q	k	l	m	n	w	h	y	i	u	o	a	e	

In Cerulli’s table the Latin correspondences are shown with the signs of the Orientalist tradition. The fourth sign should be transliterated with <ḡ> (the diacritic caron in the transcription being invisible in my copy, reproduced here).

Equivalences using the modern Latin Somali alphabet are shown in Table 6:

Table 6: The Osmania alphabet and the modern Latin Somali alphabet

5	ʒ	q	l	h	h	o	7	ʒ	q	o	ʒ	ʒ	ε
·	b	t	j	x	kh	d	r	s	sh	dh	g	c	f
ʒ	ʒ	l	ʒ	z	x	ʒ	ʒ	q	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
q	k	l	m	n	w/uu	h	y/ii	i	u	o	a	e	

This earlier version of the Osmania script did not have special signs for the long vowels. Their writing is described by Cerulli (1932: 178):

- for long /e/ and /o/ the vocalic sign is repeated;
- alternatively, in order to write /ee/ the sign for /e/ is followed by the sign for /y/, and to write /oo/ the sign for /o/ is followed by the sign for /w/;
- for long /i/ and /uu/ the vocalic sign is followed by the sign for the semivowels /y/ and /w/, respectively;
- for long /a/ the vocalic sign is followed by the sign for the glottal stop ('alif in Arabic).

In this way, each long vowel is represented by a double sign. The influence of Arabic is evident in the use of the matres lectionis (<'>, <w>, <y>) in order to express vowel length, as recapitulated by Cerulli (1932: 178).

Table 7: Marking of the long vowels in the early Osmania alphabet

ሂህ	ሂህህ	ሂሊ	ሂሊሂ	ሂዓ
ba	bā	be	bē	bi
ሂዓሂ	ሂገ	ሂገሂ	ሂዓ	ሂዓሂ
bī	bo	bō	bu	bū

Per bē si può, dunque, scrivere anche ሂሊሊ e per bō anche

ሂገገ

The Italian text means: 'For bē, therefore, one can also write <bee>, and for bō also <boo>'. Later developments in Osmania writing seem to involve the following points:

- irregular use of 'taller' signs for capital letters;
- introduction of Western punctuation marks;
- appearance of a few ligatures (in hand-written texts);
- decrease in the use of the sign for the glottal stop. This is not even

represented in later alphabetic tables;

- partially connected with the preceding point, three special signs are developed for marking three long vowels, /aa/, /ee/, /oo/.
- /ii/ and /uu/ come to be marked with the same signs for the semivowels /y/ and /u/.

These developments seem to contradict each other in terms of graphic influence: the efforts at creating capital letters and the introduction of punctuation marks are obviously due to contact with modern European languages (most probably Italian); on the contrary, the use of the signs for the semivowels for marking the long vowels is in accordance with the Arabic (and Semitic) tradition. The "crisis of the glottal stop" is simply a reflex of the limited phonological load and auditory quality of this phoneme: in Somali (as in many other Cushitic languages) any phonological word begins with a consonant (i.e., #VX is not an admissible word onset). An initial glottal stop is omitted in the modern Latin orthography, while a glottal stop is retained in the other positions (but optionally word-finally). Thus, the orthographic string af 'mouth; language' stands for /ʔaf/, alongside lo 'cattle' (/loʔ/) and la'aan 'without; lacking' (/laʔaan/). In casual writing the sign for the glottal stop is often dropped altogether. Table 8 summarizes the marking of vowels along the history of Osmania.

Table 8: Expression of the long vowels in Osmania

Table 8: Expression of the long vowels in Osmania		
	early Osmania	late Osmania
/aa/	<a>	<ā>
/ee/	<ey>, <ee>	<ē>
/ii/	<iy>	<y>
/oo/	<ow>, <oo>	<ō>
/uu/	<uw>	<w>

The main difference between earlier and later reproductions of the alphabet chart lies in the presence of a special sign for the glottal stop (the first sign): (Maino (1951), Lewis (1958), as well as the chart in Afkeenna iyo fartiisa (1971) omit the sign for the glottal stop altogether. Table 9 here below reproduces Maino (1951: 116), also reproduced in Maino (1953: 29) and Moreno (1955: 291). As Moreno

informs us, it was originally handwritten by the inventor's son Yaasiin.

Table 9: Later version of the Osmania alphabet and Osmania digits

Ƴ	ɿ	l	h	h
b	t	j	d	g
o	ɔ	ɔ	ɛ	h
d	r	s	sh	g
ɓ	ɣ	ɣ	h	ɣ
d	e	f	q	x
h	ɓ	ɔ	ɛ	
l	m	n	ɛ	
ɣ	ɿ	h	ɔ	l
i	u	o	a	e
ɛ	h	h	ɣ	u
ɣ, ɿ	u, ɿ	ɔ	ɛ	ɛ
ɔ	ɛ	h	ɔ	l
1	2	3	4	5
ɣ	ɔ	ɔ	u	x
6	7	8	9	0

Special signs for digits are included here. They too are originals; an obvious reflex of the Arabic digits, the signs for '7' and '8', which are specular to each other (the Arabic digits are <V> and <Λ>, respectively).

As anticipated, this later version of Osmania does not include the glottal stop. The order of the signs follows that of the Arabic alphabet as close as possible, but the order of <dh> and <g> is reversed: for /d/ (modern <dh>) the position of the Arabic sign <d> is used, and the sign for <g> is inserted immediately before. The signs <w> and <y> are listed among those for the vowels.

Lewis (1958) includes instead the signs for the semivowels after all the other consonants and repeats the signs among the vowels. Again, no glottal stop is found. For unknown reasons, the last sign in the Arabic alphabet is shifted well before, after the signs (using the modern Somali signs) for <x> and <kh>. Either the author of the table wanted to put three acoustically similar phonemes (/h/, /h/, /χ/) alongside each other, or, maybe, he wanted to list together phonemes having similar English transcriptions: <h>, <h>, <kh> (the latter, in the Orientalist

tradition represented here by Cerulli and Maino, <h>). Finally, shifting <h> has the effect of letting the signs for /w/ and /y/ directly precede the vocalic signs.

The alphabet charts in Lewis (1958: 141) and the one in Afkeenna iyo Fartiisa (p. 21) are reproduced here below as Tables 10, 11, and 12.

Table 10: The Osmania alphabet

Ƴ	ɿ	l	ɓ	h	h	h
b	t	j	d	g	h	kh
ɛ	o	ɔ	ɔ	ɛ	ɣ	ɣ
h	d	r	s	sh	·	f
h	ɣ	h	ɓ	ɔ	ɣ	ɛ
q	k	l	m	n	w	y
ɔ	ɣ	ɿ	h	l	ɣ	ɛ
a	i	u	o	e	aa	ii
		ɣ	h	u		
		uu	oo	ee		

Table 11: Osmania numerals

ɔ	ɛ	h	ɔ	l
1	2	3	4	5
ɣ	ɔ	ɔ	u	x
6	7	8	9	0

Table 16: The Gadabuursi alphabet (Lewis 1958: 142-143)

ƒ	J	P	O	Ɔ	Ɔ
b	t	i	d	g	n
Ɔ	Ɔ	T	S	3	6
kh	h	d	r	s	sh
Ɔ	Ɔ	J	I	Ɔ	Ɔ
c	f	q	x	z	m
	U	Q	Ɔ		
	n	w	y		
T	H	I	L	C	CC
a	e	i	ii	u	uu
	Ɔ				
	oo				

Still less is known to us about the Kaddaria script. It was devised by Sheekh Xuseen Axmed Kaddareh. Andzejewski, Strelcyn and Tubiana (1966: 9) briefly discuss the Kaddaria script, noting that '[I]t is less widespread than Osmania and its history is even shorter'. The author also propose a number of possible modifications. Like the other indigenous Somali scripts, Kaddaria is written from left to right, but it is superior to both Osmania and Gadabuursi in having separate signs for all the vocalic phonemes. The inventor also proposed a cursive variety of his script for handwriting.

Labahn (1982: 296-297) lists it among the Somali scripts; his table (originally from Hussein 1968: 29-30) is reproduced herebelow as Table 17; Kaddaria is No. 9, Osmania No. 2, and Gadabuursi No. 8.

Conclusions

This is not the end of the story: Labahn (1982: 137), mentions that among the 18 writing systems discussed by the Somali Language Commission "elf waren somalische Entwicklungen". Apart from Osmania, Kaddaria and the 'Gadabuursi'

system, what were the other eight? We do not know.

It is obvious that none of them ever became popular writing systems. Osmania was the only serious competitor. The economic costs involved in the introduction of special typographic signs were the first and most obvious reason of its final failure, but the ideological factors are at least as important: Osmania was widely perceived as a "clanic" thing. The heavy involvement of his family in the Italian colonial administration and in the first years after the independence certainly did not help.

Still, in a way, Osmania is not dead: interest in it continues, certainly spurred by the sad conditions of many young Somalis in the diaspora, and one easily finds on the web heated discussions about its value as a national symbol and even the necessity of revitalizing it. I daresay Osmania will last. And for a long, long time.

Table 17: Somali scripts (Labahn 1982: 296-297)

Vokale								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	9	Ɔ	1	1	Ɔ	1	1	Ɔ
1	6	3	o/ɔ	o	Ɔ	o	H	Ɔ
1	5	Ɔ	o/ɔ	o	1	o	T	u
Ɔ	Ɔ	Ɔ	o/ɔ	o	Ɔ	o		6
1	Ɔ	Ɔ	u/y	u	o	u	C	Ɔ
Ɔ	Ɔ	Ɔ	ii/ɔi	ī	Ɔ	ii	L	Ɔ
Ɔ	u	Ɔ	oo/ɔo	ō	Ɔ	oo		Ɔ
Ɔ	Ɔ	T	oo/ɔo	ā	Ɔ	oo		Ɔ
5	Ɔ	Ɔ	oo/ɔo	ō	Ɔ	oo	Ɔ	6
Ɔ	Ɔ	Ɔ	uu/yu	ū	Ɔ	uu	CC	Ɔ

Konsoonanten

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(b)	ب	ب	ب	b	b	ب	b	ب	ب
(d)	د	د	د	d	d	د	d	د	د
(t)	ت	ت	ت	t	t	ت	t	ت	ت
(dh)	ط	ط	ط	dh	dh	ط	dh	ط	ط
(g)	غ	غ	غ	g	g	غ	g	غ	غ
(k)	ك	ك	ك	k	k	ك	k	ك	ك
(q)	ق	ق	ق	q	q	ق	q	ق	ق
(ʔ)	ع	ع	ع	ʔ	ʔ	ع	ʔ	ع	ع
(r)	ر	ر	ر	r	r	ر	r	ر	ر
(s)	س	س	س	s	s	س	s	س	س
(sh)	ش	ش	ش	sh	sh	ش	sh	ش	ش
(x)	خ	خ	خ	kh	kh	خ	kh	خ	خ
(c)	ع	ع	ع	c	c	ع	c	ع	ع
(ch)	ح	ح	ح	h	hh	ح	ch	ح	ح
(h)	ه	ه	ه	h	h	ه	h	ه	ه
(j)	ج	ج	ج	j	j	ج	j	ج	ج
(m)	م	م	م	m	m	م	m	م	م
(n)	ن	ن	ن	n	n	ن	n	ن	ن
(z)	ز	ز	ز	z	z	ز	z	ز	ز
(l)	ل	ل	ل	l	l	ل	l	ل	ل
(w)	و	و	و	w	w	و	w	و	و
(y)	ي	ي	ي	y	y	ي	y	ي	ي

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Dheeraad / Appendix

B. W. Andrzejewski

The introduction of a national orthography for Somali

On 21st October, 1972, the third anniversary of the Revolution, the Somali Government introduced a national orthography for Somali in Latin script. Before that date several unofficial systems of transcription¹⁰⁷ were used by a small number of private citizens, but all government correspondence and records were in Italian, Arabic or English. The whole educational system was dependent on these three languages, not only as subjects of study but also as media of instruction. This was a paradoxical situation, since Somalia is one of the few African countries where, with the exception of minute minority groups, everyone speaks the same language. From a practical point of view the diversity of languages in written communication was a great hindrance to the efficiency of the administration, of education and of public service, and delayed the process of unification between the former Italian and former British parts of the country. Matters became even worse as a result of the numerous scholarships given by foreign countries where languages other than Italian, Arabic or English were spoken. People with qualifications obtained in Germany, Eastern Europe or China often had a limited knowledge of the three foreign languages already used in Somalia, even though they were highly proficient in the language of the country in which they had studied.

It would be beyond the scope of this article to probe into the political, religious and technical reasons for the delay in the introduction of orthography: they are described in considerable detail in Adam 1958, Andrzejewski 1964 and Pirone 1967, all of which provide extensive bibliographical references. Briefly, three types of script contended as feasible candidates for an orthography: Latin, Arabic and a Somali script, introduced in the nineteen-twenties, which used entirely invented symbols. The supporters of the three scripts held wholly intransigent views and the issue was so inflammatory that on several occasions it led to demonstrations and threats of violence; if mishandled it could have resulted in bloodshed on a very wide scale, and previous governments were understandably wary in their approach to the problem, though always stating that it was their intention eventually to solve it.

¹⁰⁷ Everson's tentative translation of the first word of the publisher's name (the aforementioned *Somali Language and Literature Society*), at the bottom of the page, is a mistake: *goosanka* does not mean '(the) briefing' but '(the) society'.

When the Revolutionary Government came to power in 1969 they declared the introduction of written Somali as one of the main objectives of internal policy and tackled the whole question with vigour tempered by prudence. Some of the groundwork had already been done, for as long ago as 1960, when Somalia became independent, a Somali Language Committee had been established to work on a national orthography, and there was also in the Cultural Department of the Ministry of Education, a sizeable team of full-time researchers employed in writing down, in various scripts, and tape recording the vast amount of oral poetry and prose narratives of the nation. Both these groups included among their number some of the most prominent collectors and connoisseurs of Somali oral literature, who collected literally thousands of pages of transcripts and notes, and their work has been regarded by successive Somali governments as a standing and continuous commitment¹⁰⁸.

The new government reconstituted and strengthened the Somali Language Committee and instructed it to produce schoolbooks, handbooks for adult education, a dictionary and a grammar. Furthermore, they entrusted to them the creation of modern technical terms in Somali, a task which previously was the prerogative, in the main, of the broadcasting services (Andrzejewski 1971).

The instructions to the Committee did not include the choice of a script. Each member was allowed to use the script which he favoured, and it was then accepted as a guiding principle that whatever script was subsequently chosen by the government, works in other scripts would be promptly converted into it. The problem of convertibility was not a serious one, since there was never any substantial disagreement among the supporters of different scripts as to the number and nature of the phonemes of the language.

When the decision to adopt the Latin script was announced, the government issued immediate practical directives for its introduction at all levels of public life. These were implemented with a speed and thoroughness which surprised not only foreign observers but also the Somalis themselves. The works which had been prepared by the Language Committee were published with all speed, and in the first months of 1973 Somali was adopted as the sole medium of instruction in elementary schools, and was introduced as an important subject in intermediate and secondary schools and in the National University. Public servants were told that they had to pass a proficiency test in reading and writing Somali within three months, and the vast majority of them did so in this time, but eventually three months' grace was allowed for stragglers.

¹⁰⁸ Unicode codes for Osmania may be found at: <http://www.unicode.org/charts/PDF/U10480.pdf>. The font is available at the price of US\$ 19 at: <http://www.xenotypetech.com/osxOsmania.html>.

Within a few months Somali totally replaced foreign languages in the daily press, and the national newspaper *Xiddigta Oktoobar*, 'The Star of October', serves the everyday needs of the reading public. There was an extensive and imaginative use of broadcasts related to the printed material in the daily paper: not only the use of symbols, but also word division rules, which present considerable problems in Somali, were announced each day in both media. Since March 1973 both media have also participated in a nationwide adult literacy campaign through specially designed programmes, articles and booklets with graded exercises illustrated by drawings. This campaign depends largely on voluntary teachers, and the current slogan displayed on posters says this of the national orthography: *Haddaad taqaan bar, haddaanad oqoon baro*, 'If you know it, teach it-if you don't know it, learn it.'

The Somali national orthography is identical with the system of transcription used by Shire Jaamac Axmed in his literary magazine, *Iftiinka - Aqoonta* (*Light of Education*). His system is explained in every issue of the magazine and also in all the early issues of *Xiddigta Oktoobar*. The explanations given there are designed for the Somali public; a foreign reader will find guidance to the system in Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964 and in Andrzejewski, Strelcyn and Tubiana 1969, but he must take into account the fact that these publications discuss the earlier version of Shire Jaamac Axmed's transcription where he uses *ch* instead of *x*¹⁰⁹.

At the present moment Somali educationalists and scholars are engaged in the task of research for and production of books which will enable them eventually to introduce Somali as the medium of instruction in intermediate and secondary schools, relegating Italian, English and Arabic to the position of foreign languages taught as individual subjects¹¹⁰.

Since April 1973 this work has become the responsibility of the Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education and Training, a development which was one of several changes introduced by the Government at that time. A Ministry of Culture and Higher Education was created and within it an Academy of Culture concerned with research and documentation in the field of the Somali language, literature, history and the national heritage in general. The Somali Language Committee, having been relieved of its heavy burden of producing schoolbooks, merged with the Academy, and in fact the members of the Committee form the core of the full-time employees of the Academy; they are now free to devote themselves

¹⁰⁹ For a brief account of the most recent events in the history of Somalia see Lewis 1972; a more extensive description of these events can be found in an Arabic work written by a Somali scholar, see Jama' Umar 'Isa 1972. For an ideological profile of the Somali Revolution see Somali Democratic Republic 1970 and 1971.

¹¹⁰ An account of these systems is provided in Musa Galaal 1973. Note that this author himself made a monumental contribution to the cause of written Somali through his activities and publications (see Johnson 1969 and 1973).

to such tasks as the editing of literary and historical texts and the preparation of an extensive reference grammar and a large monolingual dictionary, expansions of their previous work in this field. Some of them now give their attention to the linguistic features which the national orthography leaves out, namely the accentual patterns (consisting of tone and stress) and the 'fronting' and 'backing' which operate within the basic ten vowels, subdividing them into **shaqallo culus** 'heavy vowels' and **shaqallo fudud** 'light vowels'.

The accentual features are bound up in Somali with grammatical structure: they differentiate gender in nouns, and subject and object within a case system, and are an integral part of the verbal paradigms. But they never act as the sole distinguishing lexical feature: there are no pairs of words belonging to the same grammatical category and differentiated exclusively by their accentual pattern. The 'fronting' and 'backing' of the vowels, on the other hand, sometimes distinguishes lexical terms, e.g. **dūul** 'fly!' and **dūul** 'attack!' and also plays a role in distinguishing certain verbal forms, e.g. **dhis** 'build!' and **dhis** 'he built'.

At the time when written Somali was introduced the members of the Language Committee all agreed on the importance of the accentual patterns and the 'fronting' and 'backing' dichotomy in Somali vowels, but they decided not to represent these features in the national orthography, which has mainly practical objectives. Experience has shown them to be right, since in the everyday use of the orthography points of semantic ambiguity are readily resolved by the context. In lexicography, however, and in a detailed analysis of grammar, these features have to be taken into account¹¹¹, and an extensive description of them is now an obvious necessity.

It is an important characteristic of the endeavours towards national literacy, in the full sense of the words, that among the people who have been engaged in the work of the Language Committee and the Academy of Culture there are not only men with modern education but also traditional poets and bards, some of them of considerable age, who are treated with great reverence by their colleagues as the living carriers of the national heritage and as arbiters in matters concerning the aesthetic qualities of the Somali language.

The introduction of the national orthography is an historic step which is likely to have far reaching consequences. The intensive literacy campaign is making remarkable progress and extends even to remote rural areas, including nomadic villages, thus making the general public more receptive to the demands of social and economic change¹¹². One consequence is already observable throughout

¹¹¹ See Johnson 1973 for details.

¹¹² This change accounts for the divergence in the spelling of this author's name between his publications in 1965 and 1966-7.

the country: there is a narrowing of the gap between the *élite* who were trained abroad, and those citizens who were educated at home, or had little or no formal education. Since the national orthography can be very easily learned by a speaker of Somali within a few months, if not weeks, the practical advantages of knowing a foreign language have undergone a radical devaluation. Any citizen who simply knows his mother tongue in speech and writing can now participate fully in public life, as Somali has become the sole official language of the country.

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waa aasaasaha "Galool, Hoyga Waxbarashada Soomaaliyeed & Kaabayaasha", waana qoraa buugag iyo kaabayaal afafka Soomaali-Ingiriisi ku qoran oo loogu talagalay dhallinta qurbajoogta soomaaliyeed. Saynab waxay bare ka tahay dugsi sare oo ku yaalla UK. Danaynta iyo xiisaha ay u qabto naxwaha afka iyo dhaqanka soomaaliyeed awgood waxa u suurtagashay in si qotadheer ay uga gungaarto arrimaha, sida qofku waxa uu yahay, oo qoraalladeedu ka tilmaan bixinayaan.

She is the founder of Galool, Home of Somali Education & Resources and the author of Somali-English learning resources for young Somalis in the diaspora. Saynab is also a secondary school teacher in the UK. Her interest in Somali grammar and fascination with Somali culture in general allows deeper understanding of issues such as identity and defines her literary works.

Suhaar Xasan Axmed (Zuhur Hassan Ahmed)

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waxay haatan ka shaqaysaa bar caafimaad oo ku taalla Woqooyiga Minneapolis. Waa iskuduwaha daryeelka bukaannada qaba cudurro ku raagay, sida kaadimacaanka iyo dhiigkarka. Suhaar waa qof aad ugu firfircon ururrada bulshada ee rayidka ah, waxayna tahay la-aasaasaha ururka ((Somali Literary Study Circle)). Sidoo kale waxay ka qayb qaadataa dhowr hawlo bulshadeed oo la xiriira qurbajoogta soomaaliyeed ee Minneapolis (USA).

She works at a clinic in North Minneapolis providing care coordination to patients with chronic illness such as diabetes and hypertension. Zuhur is also a community activist and a co-founder of the Somali Literary Study Circle. She has taken part in many social activities relating to Somali Diaspora in Minneapolis (USA).

Andrzejewski Bougumil W. (Prof.) (1922-1994)

oo Somaalidu u taqaan Macallin 'Guush', waxaa uu ka ahaa Profesor Afsoomaaliga ka dhiga Jaamacadda School of Oriental and African Studies ee London, tan iyo horaantii 50nadii ilaa 80nadii. Waa Cilmi-Afeedyahanka ugu caansan ee baadhay, wax badanna ka qoray Afsoomaaliga, naxwahiisa iyo sugaantiisa. Wuxuuna door weyn ka qaatay qorista iyo horumarka Afsoomaaliga. Waxa uu qoray buugaag iyo qoraallo (articles) aad u faran badan oo intooda badani ay yihiin gundhigga daraasaddaha casriga ah ee Afsoomaaliga. Si gaar ahna, waxa uu isugu hawlay faafinta murtida, dhaqanka iyo suugaanta soomaaliyeed, isaga oo tarjumaya tix iyo tiraab badan ay Soomaalidu leedahay.

He was known as "Prof. Guush" by Somalis and was a Professor teaching Somali in the School of Oriental and African Studies of London, from the beginning of the 50s until the 80s. He was the most famous linguist among those who has worked on Somali grammar and literature. Moreover, he has taken a great part in the writing and development of Somali language and published a considerable number of articles and books which are most of them references for modern Somali studies. Andrzejewski has greatly contributed to diffuse the wisdom, culture and literature of Somali people by translating number of poetic and prose productions belonging to this people.



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Taxanaha Afka iyo Suugaanta Soomaalida iyo buuggiisan koobaad

About the *Somali Language and Literature Studies Series* and this first book

Buuggani wuxuu daah-furayaa silsilad la magacbaxday *Taxanaha Afka iyo Suugaanta Soomaalida*. Waa mashruuc cusub oo ay ku tallaabsatay Akadeemiye-Goboleedka Af-soomaaliga (AGA), ujeeddadiisuna tahay dhiirrigalinta, taageeridda iyo horumarinta dadaalka cilmiyeed ee ku wajahan darsidda iyo faafinta aqoonta ku saabsan afka, suugaanta iyo sooyaalka Soomaalida oo ay ka mid tahay taariikhdu.

In kastoo mudnaanta koowaad la siin doono buugaagta ku qoran Af-soomaaliga, haddana AGA waxay dhiirrigalinaysaa guud ahaanba cilmi-baarista iyo faafinta ku saabsan arrimaha kore, afkii ay doontaba ha ku qornaatee.

Buuggani wuxuu xambaarsan yahay dhawr iyo toban qoraal-cilmiyeed oo lagu darsayo Af-soomaaliga iyo suugaantiisa. Waa diraasado ka dhashay cilmibaaris ay si qota dheer uga shaqeeyeen xeeldheereyaal Soomaali iyo ajnabiba leh oo badankoodu safka hore kaga jira hormuudka xeeldheereyaasha ku can-baxay qoraallada noocaan ah. Waa cilmibaaris ugub ah oo la hubo inay wax weyn ku soo kordhin doonto aqoonta arrimahan, wax bandanna u faa'idayn doonto qof kasta oo daneeya Af-soomaaliga, suugaanta iyo cilmiga afafka.



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