

**CURRENT RESEARCH
IN AFRICAN STUDIES**

CURRENT RESEARCH IN AFRICAN STUDIES

Papers in Honour of *Mwalimu*
Dr. Eugeniusz Rzewuski

edited by

Iwona Kraska-Szlenk and Beata Wójtowicz



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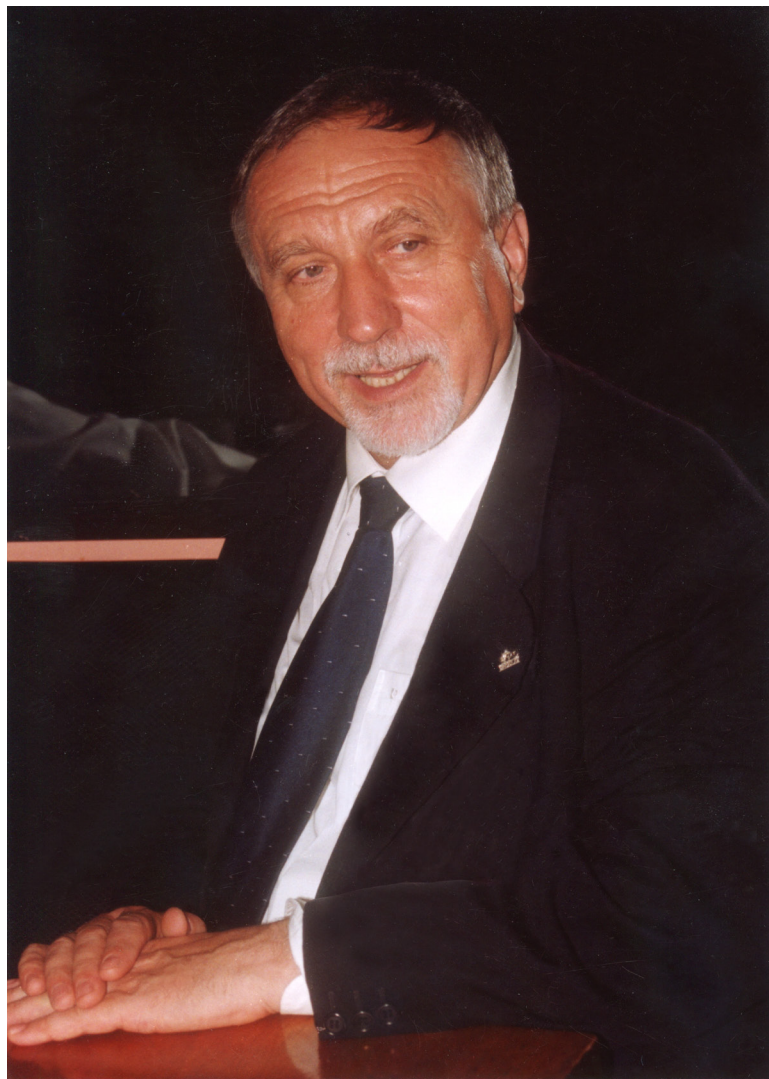
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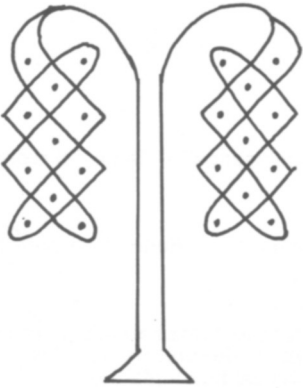
Dr. Eugeniusz Rzewuski

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Editors' preface

We offer this collection to our dear Colleague and *Mwalimu* Dr. Eugeniusz Rzewuski as our appreciation of his constant love for and great knowledge of Africa, and his generous sharing of this passion and expertise with everybody around him. As Eugeniusz's former students and then colleagues in the Department of African Languages and Cultures we have received incredible amounts of enlightenment, stimulus, support and positive vibes from him. He guided us through the intricacies of the Swahili language and culture, and introduced us to African linguistics. He never hesitated to dedicate his time and knowledge to encourage us in our research ideas and studies. He also always shared with us his current research projects and interests, whether they be Indian Ocean civilizations, *ajami* manuscripts, multilingual education, Swahili travelogues, *lusona* drawings, or computer technologies. His deep knowledge of various fields in African Studies served many generations of students at the University of Warsaw and inspired them further in their professional activities and promotion of African culture in Poland.

Upon beginning this project, we immediately realized that Eugeniusz's other Colleagues had equally positive feelings toward him. He was a friend and a mentor to many, who will always remember the good emotions they shared while doing research together. For the Colleagues from Mozambique, Eugeniusz is part of the *generation of independence*, as Perpétua Gonçalves and Adelina Gouveia write in their introductory essay, while pointing out his efforts toward recognition of cultural value of Bantu languages. Drawing a *Portrait of the Scholar* Stanisław Piłaszewicz brings to attention Eugeniusz's diplomatic career and many other missions he conducted in African countries and in Poland for the purpose of intercultural dialogue and understanding; they brought him numerous awards and people's gratitude.

The papers collected in this volume reflect our own and Eugeniusz's interests within the broad area of African Studies, providing samples of current research projects in linguistics, literature, history, art, and education.

We thank all Colleagues who have kindly agreed to participate as Authors. We are also grateful to Ewa Rzewuska for contributing family photographs and to Nina Pawlak, the Head of the Department of African Languages and Cultures at the University of Warsaw, for her general support on this project.

Editors

Dr. Eugeniusz Rzewuski

Portrait of the Scholar

Eugeniusz Rzewuski, an outstanding scholar and diplomat, belongs to the most prominent Polish Africanists, specialising in the field of the Swahili language, literature and culture, and making research on Portuguese Creole languages of Africa.

He was born in Lublin on November 19th, 1944. His parents were white-collar workers: his father exercised profession of an agriculture engineer, and his mother was a teacher. After the Second World War the whole family moved to Wrocław, where E. Rzewuski had been living since June 1946 up to October 1962. In that town he completed his primary, and then the secondary education in a Grammar School (Liceum Ogólnokształcące).

Having received the General Certificate of Education, in 1962 he passed an entrance examination and was admitted to the Department of Semitic Studies, University of Warsaw. As an excellent student in the field of African philology, he graduated in 1967 having submitted an M.A. thesis entitled „Structure of the Noun in the Kingwana Dialect” which was supervised by Professor Stefan Strelcyn. With the highest mark he got his M.A. diploma in African Studies.

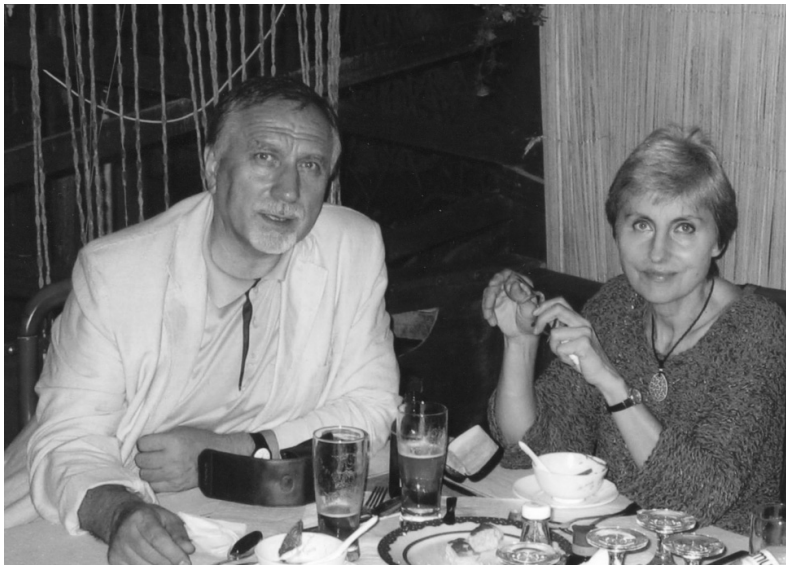
In 1967/68 E. Rzewuski undertook assistant preparatory studies and in 1968/72 continued his research at the Ph.D. level in the Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. In the meantime the Department of African Studies, State University of Leningrad (now Petersburg) offered him a six months research internship under the supervision of Professor Dmitri Ol’derogge. In 1972 he was awarded Ph.D. degree with the thesis on „Nominal Roots in Word-Formation Structures in Swahili” which was written under the supervision of Professor Witold Tyloch.



Eugeniusz somewhere in Africa during the 1972/73 AWA expedition

Having defended his Ph.D. thesis, E. Rzewuski was employed in the Department of African and Semitic Studies (a mutation of the Department of Semitic Studies, now Department of African Languages and Cultures). From February, 1974 he has been Assistant Professor (adiunkt) and then Senior Lecturer (starszy wykładowca) in the Department.

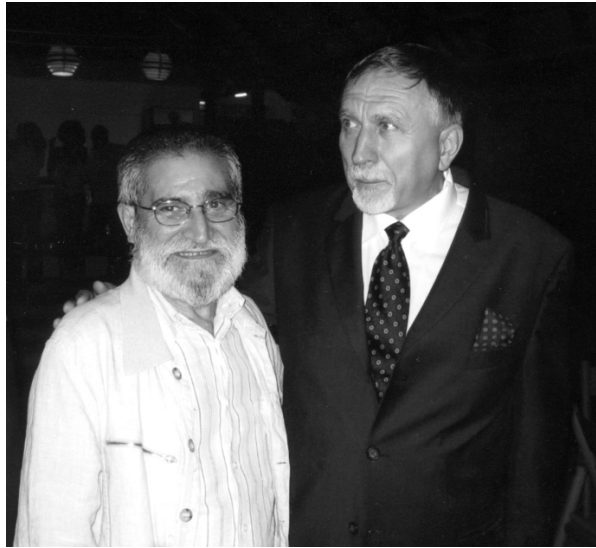
During his academic career he was engaged in many research trips and visits. In 1972/73 he took the lead of a scientific expedition which was organised by the former African Studies Centre (now Institute of Regional and Global Studies), University of Warsaw. The expedition overran some 13 African countries. For 6 years, in 1977–1983 he was an Assistant Professor in Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo



Eugeniusz with his wife Ewa, Luanda, Angola, September 2004

(Mozambique), where he has founded the famous Centre for the Study of Mozambican Languages. And then in 1991 he was Visiting Professor at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Escola Superior de Educação in Santarém (Portugal). In the frame of the Erasmus mobility program he visited many universities like Lisbon, Helsinki, Naples, Nice and others. He represented the University of Warsaw on numerous national and international conferences.

Being deeply engaged in the promotion of African cultures and languages, he became a member of many societies and boards like Polish Oriental Studies Society, African Language Association of Southern Africa and Global Development Research Group (Poland). His was the idea of setting up the Polish Association of African Studies. He belonged to its founding members and in 1999–2002 functioned as its chairman. Thanks to his initiative the Association



Eugeniusz with the Angolan writer Pepetela (Artur Carlos Maurício Pestana), Luanda, Angola, July 2006

started to publish its bulletin „Afryka” which later on was transformed into a real scientific journal. In 1994–1995 and 2000–2002 he was a member of its Editorial Board. Recently, the Students’ Circle for African Studies, Jagiellonian University (Cracow), nominated him its Honorary Patron.

Dr Eugeniusz Rzewuski was teaching many subjects: Introduction to African language studies; Language and society in Africa; Language, culture and society in Lusophone Africa; Swahili language (practical courses, various levels); Swahili in the media – audiotexts; Swahili text sources for East African history; Leisure in cultures of Africa (seminar); Indian Ocean ties with Africa’; and seminars for B.A. and M.A. theses. His ongoing research encompasses: Swahili language and culture in Mozambique’ Language policy in education in Mozambique; Swahili chronicles; and Creole languages of Africa.

Apart from scientific research, he answered the request of the Polish government which charged him with numerous diplomatic missions and duties.



Ambassador E. Rzewuski with the President of Angola, Eduardo Dos Santos,
Luanda, Angola, January 2006

In 1995–1999 he was Chargé d’Affaires and Counsellor of the Polish Embassy in Dar es-Salaam. When Council of Africa, an advisory body to the Minister of Foreign Affairs was established, in 2001–2002 he was its chairman. In 2003–2006 E. Rzewuski was Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Angola. After his return from the diplomatic mission, in 2007–2008 he served as a desk officer for Africa in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Eugeniusz with Saba, at friends place
in Tuchlin, Poland, September 2006

For the merits in the field of African studies, in 1987 Ministry of Education decorated E. Rzewuski with the Medal of the National Education Commission. The Foundation Afryka Inaczej (Africa in another Way) honoured him with aFrykas 2010, a prize for promotion of African subject matters and Polish-African dialogue in Poland.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

“Geração da independência” de Moçambique

O Eugeniusz faz parte do que gostaríamos de chamar a “geração da independência” – de Moçambique, entenda-se.

A geração da independência não tinha nacionalidade nem idade, e muito menos cor. A geração da independência não actuava em nome de um partido político, estava simples e “naturalmente” unida por ideais comuns.

A geração da independência partilhava sonhos e utopias para um país em que tudo (ou quase tudo) parecia estar por fazer.

Moçambique era a pátria da geração da independência, uma geração feita de gente cheia de energia e esperança, com muitas causas a defender e metas a atingir, mesmo sem ter muito claro como agir, nem que caminhos trilhar...

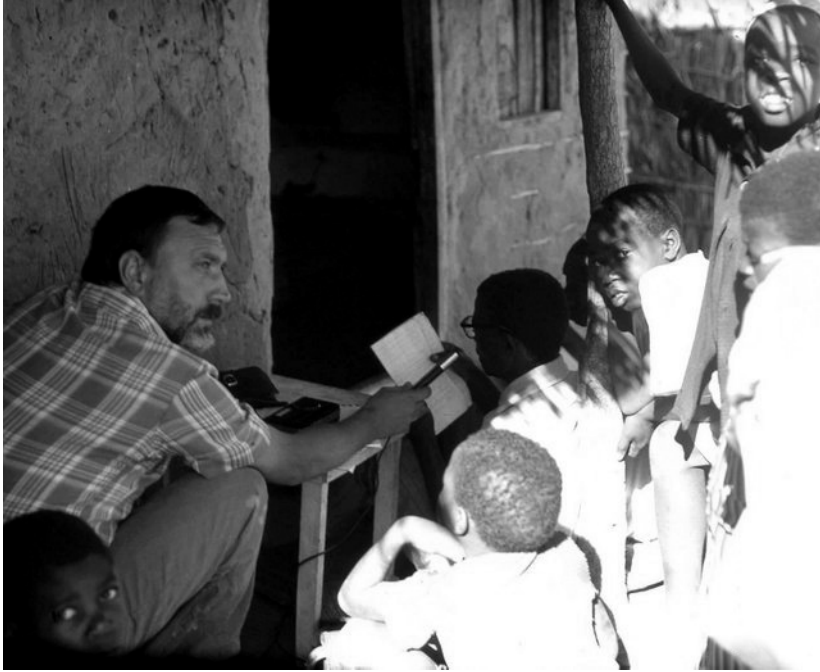
A geração da independência sentia-se capaz de enfrentar todas as adversidades e acreditava que sonhos podem ser realidade.

Na nossa memória, o Eugeniusz faz parte da geração da independência.

Numa época em que sentíamos, com grande preocupação, o abandono a que estavam votadas as “nossas” línguas – vistas como uma ameaça para a tão proclamada “unidade nacional” – apareceu este companheiro, mais experiente que a maior parte de nós, com projetos concretos que tinham como pano de fundo um grande respeito e também um conhecimento real das línguas bantu.

Para nós, o NELIMO – cuja criação é indissociável do Eugeniusz – surge, neste cenário de medos e silêncios, como a primeira manifestação de celebrar não só as línguas moçambicanas como as comunidades que as falam e também as suas culturas.

Para nós, o Eugeniusz foi uma peça chave em direcção ao reconhecimento efectivo das línguas bantu como veículo das mundivivências mais profundas das comunidades que as criaram e as mantiveram vivas, contra ventos e marés adversos!



Eugeniusz with children in Kiwiya, Mozambique, 1988

Numa época em que sentíamos que as nossas línguas eram relegadas para mais tarde, para um “depois” de garantida a unidade nacional, apareceu este companheiro, “o príncipe das czardas” como alguém lhe chamou (misturando Hungria e Polónia, aqueles países “longe”), com projetos que nos apontavam caminhos possíveis e realizáveis...

O Eugeniusz ajudou-nos a perceber que as línguas, como as pessoas, cabem todas no mesmo país e que todas elas nos tornam maiores e também mais humanos!

Perpétua Gonçalves e Adelina Gouveia

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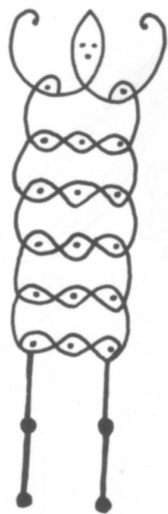
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Translations

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(all the translations from Swahili)



Konstytucja Cesarstwa Etiopskiego z 1930 roku – pierwszy krok ku modernizacji państwa czy próba wprowadzenia monarchii absolutnej?

Początek lat 30-tych XX wieku był czasem wielkich zmian w Cesarstwie Etiopskim. 2 kwietnia 1930 roku na atak serca zmarła cesarzowa Zeuditu,¹ a dwa dni później *ras*² Teferi Mekonnyn, przyjąwszy imię Hajle Syllasje I, został ogłoszony cesarzem Etiopii. Koronacja nowego cesarza odbyła się dopiero pół roku później, 2 września 1930 roku. Ceremonia została starannie zaplanowana już dużo wcześniej, a jej głównym celem było przypomnienie mieszkańcom Etiopii o wielkości ich ojczyzny. Była to dobrze skalkulowana inwestycja polityczna, która miała przynieść efekty w postaci zwiększenia prestiżu władcy w całym Cesarstwie oraz zaszczepienia w umysłach poddanych przekonania, iż nowo wybrany cesarz jest postacią wyjątkową, który uczyni z Etiopii nowoczesne państwo, dorównujące potęgą mocarstwom europejskim.

Zyskanie przychylności poddanych było cesarzowi Hajle Syllasje potrzebne do zrealizowania planu, który z miernym skutkiem usiłował wprowadzić w życie zanim sięgnął po etiopską koronę. Nowo wybrany cesarz dążył do centralizacji władzy i zamierzał zrezygnować z regionalizmu na rzecz unitaryzmu. Nie był to plan nowy; podobną myśl polityczną próbowali realizować już poprzedni władcy Cesarstwa Etiopskiego. W XVII i XIX wieku byli to: Teuodros II (1855–1868),³ który zainicjował powstanie regularnego wojska i próbował zmienić lokalnych, niezależnych władców w podwładnych cesarskich; Johannys IV (1872–1889)

¹ Transkrypcja imion oraz tytułów etiopskich została oparta na uproszczonej transkrypcji jaką zastosowali autorzy *Historii Etiopii*, z tą różnicą, że nie zostały spolszczone imiona etiopskie mające swoje polskie odpowiedniki.

² *Ras* – tytuł wojskowy w Cesarstwie Etiopskim. Niższy rangą *rasowi* był *dedżazmacz*, wyższą zaś *ras bituedded*.

³ W nawiasach podano daty panowania władców.

oraz Menelik II (1889–1913), który osiągnął największy sukces w realizacji tej idei, dzieląc Cesarstwo Etiopskie na jednostki administracyjne, ustanawiając Addis Abebę stolicą państwa oraz powołując pierwszy w historii Etiopii gabinet ministrów. Reformy Menelika II miały na celu zmniejszenie władzy *rasów* zarządzających poszczególnymi prowincjami cesarstwa, co miało sprzyjać centralizacji władzy. Śmierć cesarza w 1913 roku zakończyła okres modernizacji kraju, jednakże uzyskanie pełni władzy przez Hajle Syllasje I siedemnaście lat później pozwoliło na podjęcie kolejnej próby przeprowadzenia reform, związanych z polityką wewnętrzną państwa. Pierwszą z nich miało być ogłoszenie konstytucji Cesarstwa Etiopskiego.

Aż do 1931 roku Etiopczycy nie mieli dokumentu prawnego, który można byłoby określić tym mianem. Ustawą zasadniczą z pewnością nie można nazwać księgi *Syrate Myngyst*, która była raczej zbiorem protokołów dworskich i administracyjnych. Za konstytucję nie można też uznać *Fythe Negest* – kodeksu prawnego sprowadzonego do Etiopii około XVI wieku, w którym znajdowały się wyłącznie przepisy dotyczące prawa kościelnego i świeckiego⁴.

Hajle Syllasje I, będąc jeszcze regentem, zlecił przygotowanie tekstu konstytucji *abbie*⁵ Jerome Gebre-Musé w 1919 roku. Ten wykształcony na zagranicznych uczelniach Etiopczyk otrzymał zadanie przetłumaczenia kilku kodeksów europejskich i napisanie na ich podstawie projektu konstytucji [Abbera Jembere 1998: 166]. Jednakże, według słów samego cesarza, prace nad konstytucją zostały zablokowane przez „ważnych arystokratów”, którzy obawiali się wzrostu autorytetu panującej wówczas cesarzowej Zeuditu, córki Menelika II [Harold G. Marcus 1987: 116]. Dwanaście lat później pracę *abby* Jerome dokończył *fitaurari*⁶ Tekle-Hauariat Wajeh, który przy pisaniu konstytucji etiopskiej korzystał z aktów prawnych państw europejskich, m.in. Anglii, Włoch i Japonii.

Ogłoszenie konstytucji miało miejsce 16 lipca 1931 roku, niecały rok po koronacji cesarza. Ceremonia ogłoszenia rozpoczęła się o dziesiątej rano. Po uroczystym podpisaniu dokumentu przez cesarza hołd złożyli mu przedstawiciele wszystkich klas społecznych. Następnie cesarz wygłosił płomienne przemówienie, w którym porównał Cesarstwo Etiopskie do wielkiej rodziny, w której wszyscy podlegają takiemu samemu prawu, a rządy sprawuje jeden cesarz. Monarcha podkreślił też, że wszystkie zapisy w konstytucji są zgodne ze zwyczajami etiop-

⁴ Więcej na temat etiopskich aktów prawnych, patrz: Augustyniak [2010: 101–115].

⁵ *Abba* – określenie duchownego etiopskiego.

⁶ *Fitaurari* – etiopski tytuł wojskowy oznaczający głównodowodzącego wojsk cesarskich; od czasów Menelika II tytuł ten otrzymywał minister wojny.

skimi, a w tworzeniu tekstu dokumentu udział brali przedstawiciele możnowładztwa, urzędnicy państwowi oraz „inni poddani” [Harold G. Marcus 1987: 117].⁷

Konstytucja, której polskie tłumaczenie stanowi aneks do tego artykułu, miała siedem rozdziałów, w których zawarto 55 artykułów. Najważniejsze, z punktu widzenia polityki wewnętrznej, są dwa pierwsze artykuły konstytucji, które mówią o tym, że wszyscy mieszkańcy Etiopii stanowią jeden naród, są poddanymi cesarza i obowiązuje ich jedno prawo. Kolejne artykuły pierwszego rozdziału konstytucji dotyczą osoby cesarza. W artykule czwartym można przeczytać, że godność cesarska ma być na zawsze związana z dynastią, z której wywodzi się Hajle Syllasje I, zaś w artykule piątym znajduje wyraz dążenie panującego cesarza do wprowadzenia monarchii absolutnej, które wyraża się w stwierdzeniu, że:

„[...] Osoba cesarza jest święta, godność nienaruszalna a władza nie może być zakwestionowana na mocy czystości jego krwi cesarskiej oraz na mocy otrzymanego namaszczenia. Ma on prawo do wszelkich zaszczytów jakie powinien otrzymywać zgodnie z tradycją i niniejsza konstytucja. Prawo nakazuje ukarać tego, kto ośmieli się zaszkodzić cesarzowi.”

Kolejnym istotnym zapisem w konstytucji było powołanie parlamentu, którego posiedzenia miały być zwoływane raz do roku. Z woli cesarza mogło zostać przedłużone. Z woli cesarza również mogło zostać zwołane w wyjątkowych okolicznościach. Ustanowienie tej instytucji było kolejnym krokiem, po utworzeniu przez Menelika II pierwszego w historii kraju gabinetu ministrów w 1907 roku, ku stworzeniu aparatu administracyjnego. Nowopowstały parlament miał się składać z dwóch izb: Izby Deputowanych (*Jehyg Memrija Mykyr Biet*) oraz Senatu (*Jehyg Meusenja Mykyr Biet*). Wedle artykułu 32 konstytucji w Izbie Deputowanych mieli zasiadać lokalni możnowładcy powoływani na ten urząd przez cesarza, lecz wybierani przez członków izby wyższej parlamentu oraz zarządców (*szumów*)⁸ poszczególnych okręgów. Senatorami zaś mogły zostać osoby wywodzące się z grupy społecznej zwanej *mekuannynt*,⁹ których wybierał

⁷ Angielskie tłumaczenie przemowy cesarskiej z okazji ogłoszenia konstytucji dostępne jest w książce: *Selected speeches...* [1967: 388–391].

⁸ *Szum* – dosł. „mianowany”, określenie mające znaczenie: zarządca, szef, dowódca. Niektórzy zarządcy byli tytułowani tym określeniem z dodaniem nazwy okręgu, np. Szire *szum*.

⁹ Terminem *mekuannynt* określano ludzi wyższego urodzenia, którzy w cesarstwie pełnili służbę jako gubernatorzy, zarządcy dzielnic, sędziowie. Często byli to bogaci właściciele ziemscy. Trzon możnowładztwa stanowili generałowie i dowódcy wojsk cesarskich. Podstawą władzy arystokracji była posiadana ziemia, wysokie urodzenie i służba cesarzowi. Więcej na ten temat: Levine D.N. [1972: 155] oraz Assefa Beqeale [1967: 1–8].

i mianował sam cesarz. Byli to przede wszystkim sędziowie, wysoko urodzeni ministrowie oraz oficerowie wojska cesarskiego, którzy mieli za sobą długi okres służby [Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987: 360].

Jednakże pomimo powołania parlamentu władza ustawodawcza należała do cesarza. To on, wraz ze swymi ministrami i doradcami, przygotowywał ustawy, które miały potem zostać przegłosowane przez izby parlamentarne. Powołani parlamentarzyści nie mieli mocy ustawodawczej, mogli jedynie dyskutować nad ustawami cesarza bądź prezentować mu (ustami przewodniczącego parlamentu) swoje propozycje. Zgodnie z konstytucją żadne prawo nie mogło być wprowadzone bez akceptacji parlamentu (art. 34), w praktyce jednak, co pokazały następne lata, parlament nie zgłaszał sprzeciwu podczas głosowań nad cesarskimi ustawami. Związane to było z faktem, że na czele izby wyższej stali zaufani urzędnicy cesarza: *bituedded* Uelde-Tsadyk Goszu (przewodniczący Senatu) oraz *blattiengieta*¹⁰ Sahle Tsadalu (wiceprzewodniczący).

Kontynuując dzieło Menelika II, nowo wybrany cesarz umieścił w konstytucji zapis powołujący radę ministrów. W jej składzie nie było jednak stanowiska premiera, które pojawiło się dopiero w 1943 roku. Do czasu powołania premiera, prezesem rady ministrów był sam cesarz, który: „jeśli [...] będzie potrzebował doradztwa ze strony ministrów w kwestii związanej z interesem państwa, przed wydaniem odpowiedniej decyzji [...] uda się na obrady, które zostaną przeprowadzone zgodnie z przepisami”.

Kompetencjom rady ministrów poświęcony został rozdział V konstytucji. Tak jak parlament nie posiadał realnej władzy ustawodawczej, tak ministrowie nie posiadali władzy wykonawczej. Stanowili tylko ciało doradcze cesarza. Wyłącznie cesarz miał prawo nadawać stanowiska cywilne i wojskowe oraz przyznawać tytuły szlacheckie. W gestii cesarza leżało również prawo do nadawania ziemi. Jedynie władza sądownicza oddana została w ręce sędziów, którzy rekrutowali się spośród „ludzi, którzy mieli doświadczenie w prawie”, choć i oni odpowiadali bezpośrednio przed cesarzem. Konstytucja gwarantowała też, że wszystkie wyroki sądowe będą wydawane zgodnie z obowiązującym i jednolitym dla wszystkich mieszkańców prawem, co było istotną zmianą w stosunku do dotychczasowej praktyki, wedle której sędziowie wydawali wyroki na podstawie bądź prawa zwyczajowego, bądź własnych przekonań. Ponadto w konstytucji znalazły się zapisy dotyczące ustalania budżetu państwa i praw obywatelskich.

Powyżej została opisana tylko pierwsza część konstytucji, zwana ogólną, która została uroczystie ogłoszona w lipcu 1931 roku. Większość badaczy piszących

¹⁰ *Bituedded* – tytuł dworski nadawany najbliższym i najbardziej zaufanym dostojnikom. *Blattiengieta* – wysoka godność honorowa na dworze cesarskim.

o konstytucji Cesarstwa Etiopskiego odnosi się do tej właśnie części. W istocie jednak konstytucja miała drugą część, której tytuł brzmiał: „Przepisy szczegółowe” [Abera Jembere 1998: 167]. Treść tej części nie została ogłoszona publicznie i miała charakter dokumentu wewnętrznego. Chociaż stanowi oddzielny dokument, to została dołączona do części oficjalnej jako jej suplement.

Powodem, dla którego powstała druga część konstytucji, było niezadowolenie kleru oraz arystokracji spowodowane pominięciem w pierwszej części zbioru praw i przywilejów, które im się należą. Konflikt wybuchł podczas dyskusji nad projektem pierwszej części ustawy zasadniczej. Był na tyle poważny, że groził zaprzepaszczeniem wysiłków twórców konstytucji. W imieniu arystokracji wypowiedział się *ras* Kassa Hajlu, który zażądał umieszczenia w konstytucji przepisów dotyczących kolejności dziedziczenia tronu cesarskiego przez rodzinę panującego cesarza. Kolejną, równie ważną dla arystokracji, sprawą było umieszczenie w konstytucji zapisu dotyczącego ochrony praw i przywilejów wysoko urodzonych, zwłaszcza ochrony posiadanych przez nich ziem (*ryst* oraz *gult*)¹¹. Po długiej i gwałtownej dyskusji twórcy konstytucji oraz arystokracja doszli do porozumienia. W suplemencie, w jedenastu rozdziałach składających się z osiemdziesięciu pięciu artykułów, zawarto przepisy, które zabezpieczały arystokrację przed odebraniem jej należących do niej ziem. W akcie wymienione zostały również tytuły szlacheckie wraz z przynależącymi do nich terenami.¹² Do tytułów przypisane zostały również prawa i przywileje im przynależne [Abera Jembere 1998: 167ff].

W „Przepisach szczegółowych” umieszczono również artykuły dotyczące prawa do dziedziczenia oraz kolejności dziedziczenia tronu cesarskiego. O władzę w państwie mogli się ubiegać wyłącznie przodkowie w linii prostej (aż do dziadków) oraz pierwotne dzieci cesarza wraz z współmałżonkami, wnuki oraz wszyscy potomkowie aż do piątego stopnia pokrewieństwa. Po zaakceptowaniu treści suplementu, dokument został podpisany zarówno przez cesarza, jak i przez dwudziestu dwóch sygnatariuszy, wśród których byli przedstawiciele kleru, rodziny cesarskiej oraz arystokracji. Na dokumencie, poniżej pieczęci cesarskiej, znajduje się deklaracja sygnatariuszy o treści: „My, biskupi, książęta, arystokraci, urzędnicy cesarscy oraz uczeni etiopsy zgadzamy się przestrzegać tej konstytucji

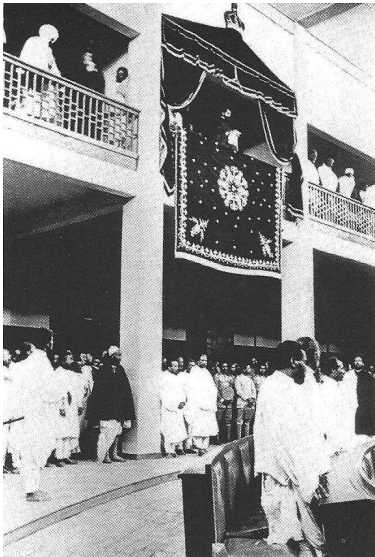
¹¹ Terminem *ryst* określano ziemie, które zostały nadane przez cesarza na dziedziczną własność służącemu mu urzędnikowi państwowemu lub wojskowemu. *Gult* to rodzaj donacji cesarskiej, kiedy to cesarz zrzeka się podatków zebranych w danym okręgu na rzecz swego poddanego (arystokraty bądź wojskowego). Ziemia nadal pozostaje własnością cesarza, ale wpływy z podatków należą do obdarowanego.

¹² W tradycji etiopskiej niektóre z tytułów szlacheckich związane były z konkretnymi prowincjami cesarstwa. Przykładowo, ktoś, kto otrzymał tytuł *bahyr negasza* (‘królujący nad morzem’) stawał się jednocześnie zarządcą nadmorskich terenów na północy Etiopii.

proklamowanej przez cesarza Hajle Syllasje I. Ażeby wyjaśnić kwestie poruszone w pierwszej części, stworzyliśmy przepisy szczegółowe” [Abera Jembere 1998: 168].

Ogłoszenie konstytucji było wydarzeniem przełomowym, nie tylko ze względu na to, że był to pierwszy akt prawny tego typu w historii Etiopii. Jak piszą autorzy *Historii Etiopii*:

„Dla ludności cesarstwa było to wydarzenie niemal szokujące, konstytucja bowiem zdawała się ograniczać władzę cesarza, stwarzając parlament, sankcjonując istnienie rządu i stając się podstawą prawną działalności władz państwowych. Dla światowej opinii publicznej tym jednym posunięciem Hajle Syllasje I wpisał się na listę postępowych władców, umiejących wykorzystać do modernizacji swojego kraju tradycje europejskiego parlamentaryzmu” [Barnicki, Mantel-Niecko 1987: 359].



Cesarz Hajle Syllasje I otwiera obrady parlamentu

Ogłoszenie konstytucji wywołało ogromne poruszenie także wśród arystokracji etiopskiej. Przedstawiciele arystokracji dziedzicznej (*mesafynt*), obawiali się zmniejszenia bądź też pozbawienia ich przywilejów. Z kolei nowo powstała elita, *mekuanynt*, oraz nowo powołani ministrowie, uważali, że tytuły oraz stanowiska państwowe powinny być nadawane ze względu na zasługi dla cesarstwa, a nie ze względu na urodzenie. Zaproponowany przez cesarza kompromis polegał na zagwarantowaniu arystokracji praw dziedzicznych, ale na podstawie zasług dla państwa.¹³ Tą decyzją Hajle Syllasje osiągnął kolejne zwycięstwo w walce z tendencjami regionalistycznymi.

Od swojej koronacji Hajle Syllasje konsekwentnie dążył do wprowadzenia nowej formy rządów – monarchii absolutnej, a ogłoszenie konstytucji było pierwszym krokiem ku usankcjonowaniu tej formy rządów. Ustawa z 1930 roku nie tylko nie ograniczała władzy cesarskiej, lecz ją wzmacniała. Na mocy tej ustawy cesarz

¹³ Kolejnym przykładem walki z regionalizmem był zapis konstytucyjny, zgodnie z którym jedynie cesarz ma prawo decydować o wojnie i pokoju, co ukrócało samowolę możnowładców w podpisywaniu traktatów wszelkiego rodzaju, nie tylko z państwami ościennymi, ale też europejskimi.

powołał do życia takie instytucje jak parlament i rada ministrów, co za granicą uznane zostało za wprowadzenie podziału na władzę ustawodawczą, wykonawczą i sądowniczą. Podział ten stanowił wyznacznik współczesnego państwa według standardów europejskich, do których Hajle Syllasje wydawał się dążyć. W istocie jednak instytucje te nie były suwerenne, lecz tworzyły ciało doradcze cesarza, który mógł, ale nie musiał brać pod uwagę opinii swych ministrów.

Podobna sytuacja dotyczyła kompetencji władzy sądowniczej. Konstytucja zakładała, że wszystkich poddanych będzie obowiązywało jedno prawo. Ustawa zasadnicza wprowadziła podział na sądy i trybunały administracyjne, ale od ich wyroków można było się odwołać do sądu cesarskiego, który posiadał kompetencje sądu najwyższego. Na pierwszy kodeks prawny trzeba było czekać trzydzieści lat,¹⁴ co sprawiało, że sędziowie musieli opierać się albo na spisanych kodeksach prawnych, takich jak *Fytha Negest*, bądź też kodeksach prawnych poszczególnych grup etnicznych i religijnych.

Podsumowując, cała władza, zarówno ustawodawcza jak i wykonawcza (a w pewnej mierze również sądownicza) znajdowała się w rękach cesarza. Zapisy konstytucyjne wzmacniały również autorytet Hajle Syllasje oraz całej jego dynastii. Na mocy konstytucji cesarz otrzymał tak silne podstawy władzy, jakich do tej pory nie miał żaden z władców Etiopii.¹⁵ Chociaż nowo wybrany cesarz kreował się na przeciwnika feudalizmu, który poprzez ogłoszenie konstytucji i ujednoczenie prawa pragnie zmiany stosunków społeczno-politycznych, to jednak Hajle Syllasje tworzył nowy system feudalny, w którym zwiększony został zasięg władzy monarchy, przy jednoczesnym zagwarantowaniu arystokracji przywilejów ekonomiczno-politycznych.

Ogłoszenie konstytucji było jasnym sygnałem, zarówno dla mieszkańców cesarstwa jak i dla całego świata, że nadchodzi okres intensywnego rozwoju etiopskiej państwowości. Nie można zaprzeczyć, że jednym z ważniejszych celów polityki wewnętrznej prowadzonej przez Hajle Syllasje była modernizacja kraju. Cesarzowi zależało na wprowadzeniu nowych rozwiązań administracyjnych i państwowych jakie miał okazję zaobserwować podczas swoich zagranicznych podróży, jednakże wszystkie te zmiany miały służyć zmianie polityki z regionalnej na unitarną.

¹⁴ W 1930 roku ogłoszono Kodeks Karny, ale przepisy w nim zawarte odnosiły się do sytuacji społecznej, politycznej i ekonomicznej Etiopii, jaka panowała za czasów Menelika II, to znaczy w latach 1889–1913, i nie przystawała do ówczesnej rzeczywistości etiopskiej.

¹⁵ Wprowadzenie tego najważniejszego z aktów prawnych było też zwycięstwem regionu Szeua w walce o hegemonię w państwie, gdyż konstytucyjny zapis ustanawiający dynastię Hajle Syllasje I dynastią cesarską chronił przede wszystkim interesy szeuańskie. Patrz: Bartnicki, Mantel-Niecko [1987: 360].

Z punktu widzenia rozwoju wewnętrznego państwa, konstytucja centralizowała władzę państwową, podkreślała jej jedność oraz równość wszystkich obywateli kraju, co niewątpliwie wpływało na polityczne wzmocnienie kraju. Zaś z punktu widzenia polityki zagranicznej ogłoszenie konstytucji miało na celu udowodnienie państwu zachodnim, że Cesarstwo Etiopskie należy do państw „cywilizowanych” [Fasil Nahum 1997: 20], co miało zapobiec ewentualnym próbom podboju tego kraju.¹⁶

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¹⁶ Nieco ponad siedem lat wcześniej Etiopia została przyjęta do Ligi Narodów, choć wiele państw członkowskich, wśród których były też mocarstwa kolonialne, miało wątpliwości czy cesarstwo jest dostatecznie “cywilizowanym krajem”. Głównym problemem był brak szczegółowych przepisów dotyczących ochrony praw człowieka oraz zakazu niewolnictwa [Fasil Nahum 1997: 20].

Aneks

KONSTYTUCJA CESARSTWA ETIOPII

*Ustanowiona za czasów panowania Jego Cesarskiej Mości Hajle Syllasje I
16 lipca 1931 roku*

Rozdział I: Cesarstwo Etiopii i dziedzictwo tronu

Art. 1. Terytorium Etiopii, od jednego krańca do drugiego, znajduje się pod rządami Jego Cesarskiej Mości. Wszyscy mieszkańcy Etiopii są poddanymi Cesarza i jako Naród tworzą Cesarstwo Etiopskie.

Art. 2. Cesarski rząd stoi na straży jedności terytorium, Narodu i praw Etiopii.

Art. 3. Zgodnie z ustawą zasadniczą godność cesarska pozostaje na zawszełączona z linią dynastyczną Jego Cesarskiej Mości Haile Selassie I, potomka króla Sahle Syllasje, który wywodzi się z prostej, nieprzerwanej linii z dynastii Mene-
lika I, syna króla Salomona z Jerozolimy i królowej Etiopii, znanej jako królowa Saby.

Art. 4. Tron i koronę cesarską dziedziczą potomkowie Cesarza zgodnie z Art. 5. Osoba Cesarza jest święta, godność nienaruszalna a władza nie może być zakwestionowana na mocy czystości jego krwi cesarskiej oraz na mocy otrzymanego namaszczenia. Ma on prawo do wszelkich zaszczytów jakie powinien otrzymywać zgodnie z tradycją i niniejsza konstytucja. Prawo nakazuje ukarać tego, kto ośmieli się zaszkodzić cesarzowi.

Rozdział II: Prawa i obowiązki Cesarza

Art. 6. Najwyższa władza w Cesarstwie Etiopskim należy do Cesarza. On zapewnia jej wykonanie zgodnie z obowiązującym prawem.

Art. 7. Cesarz Etiopii ustanowi Izbę Senatu (*Jehyg Meuesenja Mykyr Biet*) oraz Izbę Deputowanych (*Jehyg Memrija Mykyr Biet*). Akty prawne przygotowane przez obie izby wchodzi w życie zaraz po ogłoszeniu ich przez Cesarza.

Art. 8. Prawem Cesarza jest decydowanie o zwołaniu obrad obu izb. Cesarz ustala datę rozpoczęcia i zakończenia sesji obrad Parlamentu oraz może zdecydować o jego zwołaniu poza ustalonymi terminami.

Art. 9. W czasie gdy Parlament nie obraduje Cesarz ma prawo, jeśli zajdzie taka konieczność, w celu utrzymania porządku lub uniknięcia nieszczęścia publicznego, ogłaszać dekrety, które natychmiast stają się obowiązującymi ustawami.

Zgodnie z prawem, ogłoszone przez Cesarza dekrety muszą zostać poddane głosowaniu obu izb na najbliższym posiedzeniu Parlamentu. Dekrety cesarskie zostaną zniesione, jeśli Parlament ich nie zaakceptuje.

Art. 10. Cesarz wydaje odpowiednie rozporządzenia, które nadają ważność aktowi prawnemu, zgodnie z duchem i literą obowiązującego prawa, dla utrzymania porządku publicznego, rozwoju państwa oraz dobrobytu poddanych.

Art. 11. Cesarz decyduje o organizacji i zadaniach każdego organu administracji. Prawem Cesarza jest decydowanie o mianowaniu i odwoływaniu urzędników państwowych i wojskowych, decydowaniu o wysokości ich wynagrodzeń oraz ich obowiązkach.

Art. 12. Cesarz ma wyłączne prawo do podejmowania decyzji w kwestii deklaracji wojny i ogłoszenia pokoju.

Art. 13. Cesarz decyduje o organizacji wojsk Cesarstwa Etiopskiego, zarówno w czasie wojny jak i pokoju.

Art. 14. Cesarz ma prawo negocjować i zawierać traktaty.

Art. 15. Cesarz ma prawo nadawania tytułów książęcych oraz innych tytułów arystokratycznych i dworskich. Ma prawo do nadań ziemskich (*ryst gult*) oraz ustanawiania nowych odznaczeń.

Art. 16. Cesarz ma prawo do ulaskawiania, zmniejszania wymiaru kary oraz rehabilitacji osób skazanych.

Art. 17. Jeśli Cesarz jest niezdolny, czy z powodu wieku czy choroby, do sprawowania władzy w państwie, wyznaczony zostanie regent. Powołanie regenta odbędzie się zgodnie z postanowieniami aktu domu cesarskiego.

Rozdział III. Prawa i obowiązki poddanych

Art. 18. Odpowiednia ustawa określa warunki, które należy spełnić aby zostać uznanym za etiopskiego poddanego.

Art. 19. Wszyscy poddani Cesarza Etiopii, o ile spełniają wymogi zawarte w odpowiednich ustawach i dekretach cesarskich, mogą zostać wcieleni do armii, zostać powołani na urzędników cywilnych lub zostać zatrudnieni w innych urządach publicznych.

Art. 20. Wszyscy żołnierze armii Cesarstwa Etiopskiego są zobowiązani do absolutnej lojalności i posłuszeństwa wobec Cesarza, co zostanie potwierdzone odpowiednimi przepisami prawnymi.

Art. 21. Wszyscy poddani Cesarza zobowiązani są do płacenia podatków.

Art. 22. Wszyscy poddani Cesarza mają wolność osiedlania się i przemieszczania, w granicach określonych przez ustawy.

Art. 23. Żaden poddany Cesarza nie może zostać aresztowany, skazany i uwięziony z pominięciem procedur sądowych.

Art. 24. Żaden poddany Cesarza nie może, wbrew swojej woli, być pozbawiony prawa do procesu sądowego, określonego przez ustawy.

Art. 25. Nie można przeszukać miejsca zamieszkania poddanego etiopskiego, z wyjątkiem przypadków określonych przez ustawy.

Art. 26. Nie można naruszyć prawa do tajemnicy korespondencji, z wyjątkiem przypadków określonych przez ustawy.

Art. 27. Nikt nie ma prawa pozbawiać poddanego Cesarza własności ziemskiej bądź ruchomości, którą posiada, chyba, że są to środki niezbędne dla dobra publicznego. Środki te są określone przez odpowiednie ustawy.

Art. 28. Każdy poddany Cesarza ma prawo przedstawiać rządowi petycję dotyczącą zmiany prawa.

Art. 29. Przepisy zawarte w tym rozdziale nie mogą ograniczyć w wykonywaniu władzy suwerennej Cesarza w czasie wojny lub zamieszek w kraju.

Rozdział IV: Parlament Cesarstwa Etiopskiego

Art. 30. Parlament Cesarstwa Etiopskiego składać się będzie z dwóch izb:

a. Izby Senatu

b. Izby Deputowanych

Art. 31. Członkowie Izby Senatu będą wybierani i mianowani przez Jego Cesarzką Mość spośród przedstawicieli arystokracji (*mekuannynt*). Mianowani będą przede wszystkim ci dostojnicy, którzy służyli cesarzowi przez lata jako ministrowie, sędziowie oraz dowódcy armii.

Art. 32. Członkowie Izby Deputowanych będą wybierani przez senatorów oraz zarządców prowincji cesarskich (*szumów*). Jest to rozwiązanie tymczasowe. Posłowie na kolejne kadencje będą wybierani przez Naród.

Art. 33. Nie można być jednocześnie członkiem obu izb Parlamentu.

Art. 34. Żadne prawo nie może zostać wprowadzone w życie bez uprzedniego przegłosowania go przez obie izby Parlamentu i bez uzyskania aprobaty Cesarza.

Art. 35. Członkowie Izby Deputowanych mają obowiązek dyskusowania nad projektami ustaw przekazanymi im przez rządowych ministrów. Jednakże w przypadku, gdy deputowani stworzyli własny projekt ustawy, która jest korzystna dla Cesarstwa lub dla Narodu, zgodnie z prawem mogą ten projekt przekazać bezpośrednio do Cesarza. Obowiązek przekazania projektu ustawy Cesarzowi spoczywa na Przewodniczącym Izby Deputowanych. Jeżeli Cesarz zaakceptuje przedłożony mu projekt ustawy, niższa izba Parlamentu może przystąpić do głosowania nad projektem.

Art. 36. Każda z izb ma prawo do wyrażenia niezależnej opinii na temat dyskusowanych projektów ustaw bądź innych spraw omawianych w Parlamencie. Opinie te zostaną przedstawione Cesarzowi. Jeżeli projekt nie uzyska akceptacji Cesarza, izby Parlamentu nie mogą ponownie obradować nad projektem podczas tej samej sesji.

Art. 37. Posiedzenia Parlamentu będą zwoływane raz do roku. Sesja parlamentarna trwa sześć miesięcy. W szczególnych przypadkach Cesarz może przedłużyć sesję.

Art. 38. Sesja nadzwyczajna może zostać zwołana w sytuacji koniecznej. Czas trwania takiej sesji określa Cesarz.

Art. 39. Otwarcie, zamknięcie, przedłużenie oraz przerwanie sesji Parlamentu przeprowadza się jednocześnie w obu izbach. Jeśli obrady Izby Deputowanych zostaną przerwane, obrady Izby Senatu zostaną zawieszane.

Art. 40. Jeśli Cesarz rozwiąże Izbę Deputowanych, nowi członkowie izby muszą zostać powołani w przeciągu następujących czterech miesięcy.

Art. 41. Nie można rozpocząć obrad ani głosowania w żadnej z izb Parlamentu jeśli w każdej z nich nie będzie obecnych 2/3 członków izby.

Art. 42. Jeśli podczas głosowania w Parlamencie głosy „za” i „przeciw” rozkładają się po równo, decydujący głos ma Przewodniczący izby.

Art. 43. Na początku każdej sesji Przewodniczący izby ogłasza czy obrady Parlamentu są otwarte dla publiczności. Jeśli po ogłoszeniu, że posiedzenie ma być tajne, któryś z parlamentarzystów przekaze informacje dotyczące tego posiedzenia do wiadomości publicznej zostanie ukarany zgodnie z przepisami Kodeksu Karnego.

Art. 44. Cesarz określi w formie rozporządzenia obowiązki Izby Senatu i Izby Deputowanych.

Art. 45. Żaden członek Izby Deputowanych nie może zostać poddany procesowi sądowemu podczas trwania sesji Parlamentu, z wyjątkiem sytuacji, w której wyrok za przestępstwo nie może zostać odroczoney.

Art. 46. Jeśli w trakcie obrad obie izby Parlamentu przedstawiają przeciwstawne opinie dotyczące danej ustawy, Cesarz, otrzymawszy pisemne uzasadnienie tych opinii, podejmie próbę osiągnięcia kompromisu. W przypadku gdy nie będzie to możliwe, Cesarz w majestacie prawa podejmie ostateczną decyzję.

Art. 47. Bez uprzedniej zgody Cesarza, żadna z izb nie może wezwać ministrów na obrady Parlamentu. Na tej samej zasadzie ministrowie nie mogą uczestniczyć w obradach Parlamentu nie uzyskawszy zgody Cesarza.

Rozdział V: Cesarscy ministrowie

Art. 48. Ministrowie będą na piśmie przedstawiali Cesarzowi swoje opinie dotyczące działalności ich departamentów. Ministrowie ponoszą odpowiedzialność za owe opinie. Akty prawne oraz dekrety stworzone przez Cesarza a dotyczące spraw Państwa będą oznaczone cesarską pieczęcią. Akty te wymagają również kontrasygnaty odpowiedniego ministra. Prawidłowym przebiegiem procedury zajmuje się Minister Pióra (*tsehafie tyzaz*).

Art. 49. Jeśli Cesarz będzie potrzebował doradztwa ze strony ministrów w kwestii związanej z interesem państwa, przed wydaniem odpowiedniej decyzji Cesarz wraz z rządem uda się na obrady, które zostaną przeprowadzone zgodnie z przepisami.

Rozdział VI: Wymiar Sprawiedliwości

Art. 50. Sądy są organami wymiaru sprawiedliwości działającymi w imieniu Jego Cesarskiej Mości. Organizacja sądów jest regulowana prawnie.

Art. 51. Sędziowie są wybierani spośród ludzi, którzy mieli doświadczenie w prawie.

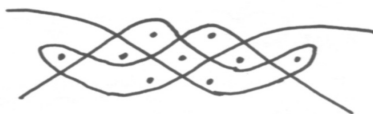
Art. 52. Posiedzenia sądu są otwarte dla publiczności. W przypadkach, które mogą zagrażać ładowi moralnemu społeczeństwa, posiedzenia sądu są utajnione.

Art. 53. Jurysdykcja każdego sądu jest regulowana prawnie.

Art. 54. Sądy szczególne zajmują się sprawami związanymi z funkcjonowaniem aparatu administracyjnego. Sprawy te nie podlegają rozpoznaniu przez sądy powszechne.

Rozdział VII: Budżet Rządu Cesarstwa

Art. 55. Prawo przewiduje, że środki znajdujące się w rządowym skarbcu, jakiegokolwiek one są, mają być wydatkowane zgodnie z ustaleniami budżetowymi, w których zawarte są informacje dotyczące wysokości sum przeznaczonych dla konkretnych ministerstw. Roczny budżet będzie określany przez Ministra Finansów i poddany pod obrady najpierw Izby Deputowanych a następnie Senatu. Budżet musi zostać zaakceptowany przez Cesarza.



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Ideophones in Swahili: a preliminary survey*

Ideophones in African languages were first noticed by Harry Thurston Peck (1856–1914) in 1886. He apparently had access to some dictionaries of West African languages in the 1880's and could not resist the temptation to work on them. The results were published in *The American Journal of Philology* in 1886. Later, Doke (1935: 118), identified them as ideophones and defined them as: "A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity."¹

Linguists were soon fascinated by ideophones and in overemphasising the extent of their distinctiveness, and tried to categorise them as a category apart. As demonstrated by Mahmoud Adam in his paper *A Brief Analysis of Dagbani ideophones*, where Hausa ideophones have been loaned to Dagbani, in some cases intact, and with little modifications in others. Because of their expressiveness, ideophones are of utmost importance in African languages if we consider the fact that most of them are still based on the oral tradition. They are very useful for "dramatic and sensational purposes in the oral arts like music, storytelling, poetry, and in its rich griot tradition" (Adam 2011: 24).

Jouni Filip Maho's *Bantu Online Bibliography* (2009) is a testimony of how works on this topic in the Bantu field dates back to the early part of the twentieth century, e.g. Bittremieux' article (1926) on kiKongo. However, apart from the

* We would like to thank Professors Iwona Kraska-Szlenk and Beata Wójtowicz for their invitation to this Festschrift, dedicated to our colleague Professor Eugene Rzewuski and for their remarks on this article: of course all mistakes are ascribable to us.

¹ Recently some important works, dealing, *inter alia*, with African languages, have been published: one edited by John J. Ohala, Leanne Hinton, Johanna Nichols (Ohala *et al.* 1994) and another edited by F.K. Erhard Voeltz and Christa Kilian-Hatz (Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001).

very short notes by R.A. Snoxhall (1938) and F.I. Deed (1939), almost nothing has been written on this topic in Swahili. Considering the large amount of scientific production on and in this language, it is quite surprising that little or nothing has been done on ideophones.² Another point which drew my attention is the absence of ideophones marked as such in Swahili dictionaries, where they are sometimes considered as adverbs or onomatopoeia. In fact, Reichenbah, who seems to have been the first to pay attention to this aspect of the language, in his Swahili dictionary, put ideophones in the list of *Signs and Abbreviations* (1967: x), though I found only a couple of examples in his work.³ Even the German dictionary by Hildegard Höftmann, who lists the item *Ideophon* (1989: 10) in her *Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen und Zeichen*, does not pay any attention to them.

On the other hand, if we examine recent Swahili grammars, the result is as disappointing as the case of the dictionaries. There is only one grammar by Professor Elena Bertoncini Zúbková,⁴ in which she devotes a few pages to this topic.⁵

This presentation is intended to offer a preliminary study based on the analysis of published literary texts, quoted in References

If we examine a corpus of some hundred ideophones published by Wamitila (2004: 241–266), we can analyze them from different points of view. As it concerns their structure, we observe that they could be monosyllabic, disyllabic or polysyllabic, which sometimes could be repeated two or three times.

Among the **monosyllabic** examples we have:

-*anguka bu* ‘fall heavily/ fall with a thud’ (e.g.: *yule mwanamke mnene aliteleza na kuanguka bu* ‘the fat lady slipped and fell heavily’);

-*anguka pu* ‘fall heavily’ (e.g.: *alifanya kosa alipoisukuma rafu ya vitabu na kuifanya redio iliyowekwa juu kuanguka pu* ‘he made a mistake when he pushed the book shelves and made a radio, which was above it fall down heavily’);

² Swahili is one of the most studied African languages, as testified by its very rich existing bibliographies, cf. van Spaandonck (1965), Mioni (1967), Boucneau (1987), Baldi (1991).

³ *bomu* id. ‘a loud noise’ (Reichenbah 1967: 35b) and *bwabwaja, bwata* id. ‘talk onfusedly / meaninglesly (Reichenbah 1967: 41b).

⁴ The first author thanks her, his former professor and later colleague, for drawing his attention to Wamitila’s book which represents the main corpus for this article (all examples, if not differently stated, are from this work), particularly the third section (pp. 241–266) is devoted to *milio* (ideophone), where are given 203 examples. We would like also to thank Mrs Fatuma Tandika, our informant at University Orientale for her help in translating the Swahili expressions.

⁵ Bertoncini Zúbková (2009), vol. I: 295–297.

- anguka pwa* ‘fall somewhere in the mud or soggy ground’ (e.g. *yule mwanamke aliyekuwa akiringa aliteleza na kuanguka matopeni pwa* ‘that woman, who was prouder herself, slipped and fell into mud’);
- anguka tang* ‘fall onto a hard place as the coins falling on the floor’ (e.g. *mtoto aliisukuma ile saa ikaanguka chini tang ikavunjika kabisa* ‘a child pushed the clock, it fell down and completely broke’);
- bwaga bwa* ‘throw something down particularly for something heavy, throw down regardless’ (e.g. *alipofika nyumbani alikuwa amechoka kabisa, kwa hiyo alilibwaga lile gunia la vitunguu ardhini bwa* ‘when we got home, he was tired, so he threw that sack of onions on the ground regardless’);
- chinjwa chwa* ‘slaughter without fear or hesitation/ suddenly’ (e.g. *alimshika yule mbuzi na kumchinja chwa na kuwaacha waliokuwa wakiogopa wameachama* ‘he took the goat and slaughtered it without fear and left behind those who were fearing with open mouth’);
- dondoka ndo* ‘fall of money’ (e.g. *alipokuwa akivaa koti lake shilingi kadha zilidondoka ndo sakafuni* ‘as he was wearing his coat, a few shillings/several shillings fell into the floor’);
- dunda du (du-du-du)* ‘bounce loudly/hit on the floor with loud sound’ (e.g. *hatukujua kilichokuwa kinaendelea huko ndani hadi tuliposikia kitu, kikiidunda du ikatubidi tukaribie* ‘we did not know what was going on inside until we heard a something bounce with loud sound, hence we went closer’);
- fa fi* ‘be completely dead, without life’ (e.g. *watu walimpiga yule mwizi hadi akafa fi!* ‘people bat that thief until he was quite dead’);
- funga ndi* ‘close stable/tightly’ (‘use and meaning like *-funga ki ki ki*’);
- futa fyu* ‘eat completely’ (e.g. *yule mtoto aliufuta fyu ule wali aliopakuwa, waliokuwepo wakabakia kushangaa* ‘that child ate completely all the rice that he had been served leaving all those who were around surprised’);
- fyeka fye* ‘slash/clear everything’ (e.g. *mwalimu mkuu alimwadhibu yule mwanafunzi azifyeke fye nyasi zilizoota karibu na bweni* ‘the head teacher punished that student to quite clear the land removing all grasses which was near the hostel’);
- jaa ndi* ‘be completely filled, over flow’ (e.g. *mafuta yalijaa debeni ndi* ‘the tin was completely filled with oil’);
- la fyu* ‘meaning and use like *-futa fyu*’;
- lipuka pu* ‘blow up with sound like a bomb’ (e.g. *watu walitawanyika baada ya kusikia kitu kilicholipuka pu!* ‘people scattered away after hearing something blowing like a bomb’);
- mulika waa* ‘radiate with much light and suddenly’ (e.g. *wale askari walijitoma katika kile chumba kilichokuwa na giza kisha wakawasha umeme ukawamulika*

- waa vijana waliokuwa pembeni* ‘those policemen entered in that room which was dark and switched on electricity which suddenly radiated much light’);
- mwaga mwa* ‘pour water suddenly/at once’ (e.g. *yule mwanamke aliyeishi katika ghorofa ya juu aliyamwaga maji yakamwangukia jirani yake wa chini mwa* ‘that woman, who lives upstairs, poured water suddenly and once to her neighbor, who lives downstairs’);
- mwaya mwa* ‘pour water at once; meaning and use like *mwaga mwa*’;
- nuka mff au fee fee* ‘smell bad odour/smell very badly’ (e.g. *ule mzoga wa mbwa uliponyekenya ulianza kunuka mff* ‘that carcass of a dog, when it started to decompose, smelt very badly’);
- nukia hhhh!* ‘smell very good/give the scent’ (e.g. *Amina alijipiga marashi mazuri akawa ananukia hhh* ‘Amina smelled good/gave the scent after wearing perfume’);
- nyamaza shuu* ‘keep quiet/relax without talking’ (e.g. *tuliambiwa tunyamaze shuu kwa sababu watoto walikuwa wamelala* ‘we were told to keep quiet because children were sleeping’);
- nyamaza zii/jii* ‘dwell/sit/stay quiet/speechless’ (e.g. *Ali alikuwa akijitapa kuwa atamkabili Amu Zaid lakini alipotokeza alinyamaza zii asiseme lolote* ‘Ali was priding himself of vanguishing Amu, but when Amu came, Ali was speechless’);
- nyooka twa* ‘die completely/wholly/entirely’ (e.g. *yule saisi alimlenga yule farasi jiwe likampata kichwani sawia akanyooka twaa* ‘that person targeted the horse’s head by stone and the horse died completely’);
- parakacha nja* ‘rustling sound. Give/make sound of falling from the top through some restrictions’ (e.g. *niliikuwa nikiutafuta mshale wangu chini niliposikia parakacha nja na kumwona ndege yule ameanguka kutoka juu mtini* ‘I was searching for my arrow down and I heard a rustling sound and saw that bird falling from up the tree’);
- pasuka paa* ‘burst of something which was very tight like balloon or a skin cloth in a person’ (e.g. *yule mwanamume alifanya kosa la kuiname nguo iliyombana ikapasuka paa na kuwafanya watu kuangua kicheko huku mwenyewe hajui la kufanya* ‘that gay made a mistake of stooping, his tight trouser burst and made people laugh and he did not know what to do’);
- pasuka pu!* ‘burst of something once with a loud sound/loudly’ (e.g. *Ali alipuliza lile puto hadi likapasuka pu!* ‘Ali breathed into that balloon until it burst loudly’);
- piga pa* ‘hit in a way that produce sound’ (e.g.: *yule mwanafunzi alipigwa kofi pa baada ya kutumia lugha ya kimatusi darasani* ‘the student was slapped hard after using abusive language in a classroom’);

- piga po* ‘slap’ (e.g.: *alimpiga mkewe mbele za watu po* ‘he slapped his wife in front of people’);
- piga pu* ‘hit a place with items such as bags with stripes/sticks’ (e.g.: *alichukua bakora yake na kuyapiga yale magunia pu ili kumchakarisha nyoka aliyekuwepo* ‘he took his stick and hit those gunny sacks in order to scare the snake which was inside’);
- pigia lo* ‘condemn or curse (usually with exclamatory sound)’ (e.g.: *wananchi wamempigia lo mbunge wao ambaye ameishia kuwatapeli pesa zao* ‘people condemned or cursed their member of parliament who had finished up their money’);
- pwaga pwa (pwa pwa)* ‘pound; hit with a mill/boil or fry with sound’ (e.g.: *tulimkuta nyumbani akiyapwaga maweke yaliyokuwa kinuni pwa* ‘we found her home pounding hard sorghum which was in a mill’);
- raria rwa* ‘tear once/rent immediately’ (e.g.: *yule mtoto mtundu aliliraria shati la mdogo wake rwa!* ‘the naughty child tore his young brother’s shirt at once’);
- shindilia ndi* ‘force hard into something/press/enforce all’ (e.g.: *ule mfuko ulikuwa mdogo lakini tukaushindilia mizigo yetu ndi* ‘that bag was small, but we enforced all of the load’);
- toga sikio ndi* ‘ear check/pay attention’ (e.g.: *mwalimu aliwataka wanafunzi wayatege masikio yao ndi alipokuwa akiongea* ‘the teacher wanted the students to pay attention when he was talking’);
- teleza parr* ‘slip/slip in a slippery place or swamp’ (e.g.: *alipokanyaga mahali palipokuwa pametiwa sakafu aliteleza parr na kuanguka akateguka mguu* ‘when he stepped on the wet floor, he slipped, fell and broke his leg’);
- toka tu* ‘dislocate especially of joints’ (e.g.: *yule mchezaji aliyetegwa alianguka vibaya goti lake likatoka tu* ‘that player who was stripped, he fell badly and his knee dislocated’);
- twanga tif* ‘hit hard’ (e.g.: *walipomshika walimtwanga tif* ‘when they caught him, they hit him until he fell and passed out’);

As it concerns **disyllabic** examples, which sometimes are duplicated, we have:

-*anguka chubwi* ‘fall into water’ (e.g.: *mtoto alikisukuma kigari chake kikaanguka majini chubwi* ‘a child had pushed his car toy into the water and it fell’);

-*anguka kacha* ‘fall rough’ (e.g.: *ule utanzu uliokuwa ukichezacheza uliishia kukatika na kuanguka kacha juu ya paa la nyumba* ‘the branch of tree, which was cracking, ended up falling rough on the roof of the house’);

-*anguka puku puku* ‘fall in a large quantity like rain’ (e.g.: *tulipofika nyumbani mvua ilikuwa ikianguka puku puku* ‘when we got home, it rained a lot’);

- anguka pwata* ‘fall of something or someone fat/dense’ (e.g.: *yule mzee mwenye kitambi alikanyaga ndizi iliyokuwa chini akaanguka chini pwata* ‘that old man with a big tummy stepped into a banana, which was in the ground, and fell’);
- anguka tapwi* ‘fall into the mud’ (e.g.: *alichezacheza na kuishia kuanguka matopeni tapwi na kuwa kichekesho kwa watu wote* ‘he was playing and ended up falling into the mud becoming a laughing stock’);
- anguka tifu* ‘fall into the sand (as if getting buried)’ (e.g.: *yule mototo aliyekuwa amekwea mtini alipomwona mwenye shamba aliruka na kuanguka chini tifu* ‘that child who was climbing the tree, when he saw the owner of the farm, he jumped and fell into the sand’);
- anguka tupwi* ‘meaning and use like of *-anguka chubwi*’;
- batana bata bata* ‘be completely broken, be in a poor/bad condition’ (e.g.: *ule mfuko wake ulianguka chini ndizi zenyewe zikabatana bata bata* ‘that bag fell down and the bananas were in a bad condition and became completely inconvenient’);
- benua benu* ‘make the appearance or even twisted, elegant’ (e.g.: *alikishika kile kipande cha chuma na kukibenua benu kuyaonyesha maguvu yake* ‘he carried the piece of metal and twisted it to show his power’);
- birua biru* ‘drop or even overturn, move up and down/here and there (in disgust)’ (e.g.: *alinichukiza kwa tabia yake ya kuibirua biru midomo yake kana kwamba alikuwa akisinywa* ‘he made me angry for his behaviour of overturning his mouth as if he was talked of’);
- bwakia bwaku* ‘put something in the mouth quickly/swallow’ (e.g.: *mkanye mwanao asijekukuaibisha kwa tabia yake ya kubwakia bwaku vyakula kadamnasi* ‘warn your son so that he cannot humiliate you for his behaviour of swallowing/eating quickly in front of people/audience’);
- bwatika bwata* ‘throw down violently; go down by sound or noise’ (e.g.: *ule utanzu ulipokatika, Juma alibwatika chini bwata na kuwafanya waliokuwako wamcheke* ‘when the branch broke, Juma fell down by sound which made those who were around to laugh at him’);
- bweka woo woo* ‘bark like a dog’ (e.g.: *watoto walitimua mbio baada ya kumsikia mbwa wa pale akibweka woo woo* ‘children took to their heels after hearing the dog barking’);
- chakua nyaku nyaku* ‘chew or pick up food by providing offensive sound or in a harsh way/manner’ (e.g.: *nimeshangaa kuwa mototo mkubwa kama yule hajui adabu ya kula anachakua chakula nyaku nyaku* ‘I was surprised that a big child like him does not know courtesy of eating/eating manner and he pick up food in a harsh manner’);

- chanika chane chane* ‘crack and become pieces/into pieces’ (e.g.: *Zubeba alipokuwa akikimbia alipita karibu na seng’enge iliyoifanya nguo yake kuchanika chane chane* ‘when Zubeba was running, she passed through a wire, which made her cloth to tear into pieces’);
- chanua chanu* ‘blossom to perfection, grow well’ (e.g.: *miwaridi yake imechanua chanu na kuifanya bustani yake kuvutia sana* ‘his roses blossomed well and made his garden to become very attractive’);
- chapuka chap chap* ‘accelerate/walk quickly’ (e.g.: *baada ya lile igizo kumalizika, tulichapuka chap chap kwa kuwa giza lilikuwa limeanza kuingia ingia* ‘after that act was done, we walked quickly, because darkness had set in/ it started to be dark’);
- chefua chefu chefu* ‘destroy or pollute the heart’ (e.g.: *chakula nilichokula kwao kiliishia kunichefua moyo chefu chefu nikashindwa kula tena* ‘the food I ate at their place ended up polluting my heart and I failed/did not eat again’);
- chemka chem chem* ‘boil to the extent/ rise up as it boils’ (e.g.: *tulijitosa kwenye soga hadi tukasahau kuwa kulikuwa na maji jikoni hadi alipofika Ali na kututanabahisha kuwa yalishachemka chem chem* ‘we were so engrossed in a chat that we forgot that there was water in the stove until Ali came and told us that water boiled alot’);
- chukua hanga hanga* ‘take on top’ (e.g.: *watu walipomkata yule mwizi walimchukua hanga hanga hadi tukajiwa na hofu kubwa sana* ‘when people caught that thief, they took him on top to the police station’);
- demka dem dem* ‘shake the waist in dance or play part of the waist’ (e.g.: *usimwone Farida amekaa kibwete ukamdharau ni bingwa wa kudemka dem dem* ‘don’t look down upon Farida as thinking she’s lazy, she is the champion of rolling her waist’);
- dondoka kupu kupu* ‘drop an object full of fluid’ (e.g. *kile kibuyu kilivunjika maji yakadondoka kupu kupu hadi yakaisha yote* ‘that calabash was broke, water fell in bulk/large amount until it finished’);
- enda chaka chaka* ‘go quickly/ walk rapidly’ (e.g.: *baada ya kuipokea ile tanzia ya kifo cha mjomba tulienda chaka chaka hadi palipokuwa na ile ajali* ‘After we received the sad news of uncle’s death, we went quickly to where the accident occurred’);
- enda/-tembea njongwa njongwa* ‘walk of someone tall and dense/fat’ (e.g.: *Fredrick alichekesha kwa jinsi alivyokuwa akienda njongwa njongwa kuelekea jukwaani kuichukua zawadi yake* ‘Fredrick looked funny when he walked like a tall man heading to the stage to take his gift’);

- engaenga* ‘well keep/look carefully’ (e.g.: *alipotoka sokoni aliyaengaenga yale mayai mpaka akafika nyumbani kwao* ‘when she came from the market, she kept well the eggs until she reached home’);
- fanya aste aste* ‘make or do steadily/slowly’ (e.g.: *amekuwa akiifanya ile kazi aste aste kwa kuwa hataki kufanya kosa lolote* ‘he has been doing that work steadily/slowly because he does not want to make any mistake’);
- funika gubi gubi/kubi kubi!* ‘cover completely/tightly’ (e.g.: *nilikutana na mwanamke aliyekuwa amejifunika kanga gubi gubi* ‘I met with a woman who had covered herself completely with a khang’);
- futika futi* ‘hide something or keep a secret in his heart’ (e.g.: *Andrew ameifutika futi siri ya yaliyomfika alipokuwa masomoni Marekani moyoni* ‘Andrew hid the secret of what had happened to him while he was studying in America’);
- gwanyuka gwanyu* ‘break part, especially of a tree’ (e.g.: *alianguka baada ya utanzu aliokalia kugwanyuka gwanyu* ‘he fell after the branch he seated on broke off’);
- hoi hoi* ‘noises made during the demonstration of joy/happiness’ (e.g.: *baada ya sherehe ya arusi kufanyika wanawake waliongozana kwa hoi hoi hadi kwa bwana arusi* ‘after the wedding ceremony was finalised, women went with a lot of noises with happiness to the groom’);
- jaa fori fori* ‘be full or of great quantity’ (e.g.: *wakati wa sherehe ile vijana walijaa fori fori ikawa huwezi kupata mahali pa kuketi ukumbini* ‘during that ceremony, teenagers were filled to the brim many until it was not easy to get a seat in the hall’);
- jaa furi furi* ‘meaning and use like *-jaa fori fori*’;
- jaa kocho kocho* ‘exist/be in abundance’ (e.g.: *baada ya mvua kunyesha vizuri msimu huu matunda ya kila aina yamejaa kocho kocho sokoni* ‘after it rained so well this season, fruits of all kind are in abundance in the markets’);
- jaza puku puku* ‘be completely filled. Meaning and use like *-jaa pomoni*’;
- jipweta pweta* ‘fall into a place for a rest’ (e.g.: *nilipofika nyumbani nilikuwa nimechoka nikajipweta kochini pweta na kuishia kulala* ‘when I reached home, I was exhausted and I fell into the couch and ended up sleeping’);
- jitupa bwata* ‘fall/throw down violently’ (e.g.: *alipofika mjini alikuwa amechoka tik, akajitupa kitandani bwata* ‘when he reached the city, he was very tired and threw himself into the bed’);
- kataa kata kata* ‘refuse, deny completely’ (e.g.: *tumejaribu kumshawishi asimwoe msichana asiyemjua asili wala fasili lakini amekataa kata kata kuusikiliza ushauri wetu* ‘we tried to persuade him not to get married to a girl whom he did not know her nature well, but he refused to listen to our advise’);

- katika kacha* ‘break off a tree or branch’ (e.g.: *mtoto alianguka baada ya utanzu uliofunguwa bembea kukatika kacha* ‘a child fell after the branch which he was holding a swing broke off’);
- keketa kichi kichi* ‘cut something which is solid’ (e.g.: *aliuchukua ule msumeno na kuanza kuukeketa ule ubao kichi kichi hadi ukakatika* ‘he took that saw and started to cut that wood until it was completely cut’);
- kimya jii* ‘much silence, settling quiet after failing to do anything’ (e.g.: *alipoulizwa kwa nini alishiriki katika ule uhalifu alishindwa la kufanya akabakia kimya jii* ‘when he was asked why he got involved in that crime, he remained quiet/remained silent’);
- komea kome kome* ‘close everywhere/close all’ (e.g.: *walishauriwa kuikomea milango na madirisha yote kome kome kabla ya kuelekea mjini* ‘they were advised to close all the doors and windows before going to town’);
- kwajuka kwaju kwaju* ‘pale; pale colour until it was no longer available’ (e.g.: *baada ya kuliacha shati lake nje kwa siku kadha limeishia kukwajuliwa kwaju kwaju na jua* ‘after he left his shirt outside for few days, it ended up pale by sun’);
- kwanyuka kwanyu* ‘meaning and use like -*gwanyuka gwanyu*’;
- la nyamu nyamu* ‘eat everything without retaining anything or worrying’ (e.g.: *wale wafanyikazi walikila kile chakula nyamu nyamu baada ya kuimaliza kazi waliyopewa* ‘those workers ate that food without retaining anything after finishing the work they were given’);
- legea rege rege* ‘be very faint or weak’ (e.g.: *ule ukambaa ulikuwa imara lakini baada ya kuchezeza na watoto umelegea rege rege* ‘that string/rope was strong, but after it was swayed with by children, it become weak’);
- lewa akalewa lewa* ‘be very drunk until unable to walk properly’ (e.g.: *sasa unataraji Kinoo akutambue vipi na amelewa akalewalewa maji anayaita mma* ‘how do you expect Kinoo to recognize you, while he was dea drunk?’);
- lewa chopi* ‘drink too much alcohol, be very drunk; meaning and use see -*lewa akalewa lewa* and -*lewa chakari*’;
- lewa lewa lewa* ‘be totally drunk’ (e.g.: *Richard alifika mkutanoni amelewa lewa lewa hadi akaonekana mjinga* ‘Richard came to the meeting totally drunk, until he looked stupid’);
- lia buum* ‘provide a sound like a gunshot or cannon’ (e.g.: *wakati wa sherehe ya kuwakumbuka askari waliofariki wakati wa Vita vikuu vya Dunia mizinga ilipigwa ikalia buum* ‘during the remembrance ceremony of the dead soldiers from the World War, they hit the cannon’);
- lia ng’aa ng’aa* ‘cry like a baby/child’ (e.g.: *yule mtoto aliyeachwa bila ya mwangalizi alishinda kulia ng’aa ng’aa* ‘the baby, who was left behind without a babysitter, was crying through out’);

- lowa chepechepe* ‘be wet at all/wholly/entirely; drenched perfectly/completely/thoroughly’ (e.g.: *ile mvua yote ilimnyia akalowa chepechepe; alipofika nyumbani alikuwa akitiririkwa na maji* ‘the rain rained on him completely, when he reached home, he was wet entirely’);
- lowa rovu rovu* ‘meaning and use like *lowa chepechepe*’;
- njongwa njongwa* ‘it is used to tell the motion of a tall person of stepping long steps and slowly’ (e.g.: *yule msemaji alipoanza kumsema Mrefu vibaya alijikasirikia na kwenda njongwa njongwa, watu walipotabahi akawa amekwisha kujiondokea* ‘when the speaker started to talk badly of the tall person, he was mad and walked with long steps and slowly; when people look at him, he was already disappeared’);
- nyakua nyaku* ‘take something by force’ (e.g. *yule kijana alikinyakua nyaku kibeti cha mwanamke wa kitalii kisha akatimua mbio kuelekea upande wa kusini uliokuwa na watu wengi* ‘that young man took by force a matchbox of a female tourist and ran away to towards the south, where there were many people’);
- nyatia nyatu nyatu* ‘match/head towards somewhere without wanting to be noticed/ walk silently towards’ (e.g.: *mtoto alimnyatia mwenzake nyatu nyatu na kumfumba macho kwa nyuma* ‘the child was walked toward the other child without wanting to be noticed and closed the other child’s eyes from the back’);
- nyofoa nyofu* ‘use force to remove a clot of meat by using teeth’ (e.g.: *yule simba alipomshika yule kulungu alianza kuinyofoa nyama yake nyofu* ‘when the lion caught the raven, it ripped of the meat at a go’);
- pachuka pachu* ‘fall down after what you held slipped’ (e.g.: *yule mtoto aliuchezea ule utanzu hadi ulipopachuka pachu na kumfanya aanguke vibaya chini* ‘that child was playing with the rope until it slipped and he fell down badly’);
- panda shuka* ‘go up and down/wander’ (e.g.: *baada ya panda shuka za miaka isiyopungua miwili akitafuta kazi, Jimna aliamua kuondoka nchini na kwenda kuijaribu bahati yake Uingereza* ‘after wandering for not less than two years searching for job, Jimna decided to move away from the country and went to try his luck in England’);
- pekua peku peku* ‘browse all over; search by removing things/items mainly which are concealed’ (e.g.: *wale kachero walipoingia katika nyumba ya yule mwandishi walipekua vitu vyake peku peku wakikafuta chochote kinachoweza kumtia matatani* ‘the policemen went to the reporters house and searched everything for something/anything which might hold him guilty’);
- pesa kupe kupe* ‘twinkle eyes especially because of shame’ (e.g.: *yule jamaa aliyeshikwa ugoni na mke wa jirani yake alipesa macho yake kupe kupe*

- alipokuwa akizomewa na wanakijiji* ‘the guy, who was caught having sex with his neighbor’s wife, was twinkling his eyes, when people were sneering at him’);
- pita ndii au ndruu* ‘pass by a car (suddenly)’ (e.g.: *ule mkweche wake wa gari ulipita ndruu huku ukitoa moshi mwingi ajabu* ‘the old ramshackle of car car passed suddenly by leaving behind a lot of smoke’);
- pita tiri* ‘meaning and use like *pita ndii au ndruu*’;
- pita vuum* ‘pass of a car for race/rapidly/ pass at high speed’ (e.g.: *lile gari la safari lilipita tulipokuwa vuum* ‘that travelling car passed rapidly where we were’);
- pofua pofu (-pofoa pofu)* ‘cause blind/blind blinded’ (e.g.: *yule mzee aliviangukia vile vingingi vikampofua macho yake pofu, sasa anatembelea mkongojo* ‘that old man fell on to those stumps and they blinded him, now he walks with a crutch/walker’);
- ponea chupu chupu* ‘recover by chance/survive by chance’ (e.g.: *walivamiwa na wanyama wakali wakaponea chupu chupu* ‘they were attacked by wild animals and survived by chance’);
- pukutika machozi kupu kupu* ‘shed tears/tears in abundance’ (e.g.: *baada ya kuisikia habari ya yaliyomfika mumewe, Farida alipukutikwa na machozi kupu kupu* ‘after hearing news of what has happened to her husband, Farida shed a lot of tears’);
- pukutika puku puku* ‘shed plentifully; fall in great quantity by several objects/ things’ (e.g.: *baada ya ule mti kutingishwa tingishwa, matunda yalipukutika chini puku puku* ‘after that tree being shaken several times, fruits started to fall plentifully’);
- pumzi kutoka fyoo* ‘sound of breath; sound by making a deep breath’ (e.g.:
 1. *watoto waliacha kucheza mpira wao ulipodungwa na unyasi ukatoka pumzi fyoo* ‘children stopped playing after their ball hit by a grass and became flat;
 2. *yule mlevi alipofika nyumbani alijitupa kochini na kulala baada ya muda akawa anatokwa na punzi fyoo* ‘that drunkard reached home and threw himself on the couch, after a while he was breathing deeply’);
- pweteka pwete pwete* ‘collapse due to weakness’ (e.g.: *baada ya kusikia kuwa mwanawe alishindwa kufaulu alijipweteka pwete kochini bila ya kusema lolote* ‘after hearing that his child did not pass, he slumped on the couch without saying anything’);
- raru raru raru* ‘tear; all be torn’ (e.g.: *alivichukua vile vyeti na kuvirarua raru raru vyote* ‘he took those certificates and tore them all’);
- raruka nyambu nyambu* ‘tear asunder completely’ (e.g.: *alipopitia kwenye ule mwanya mdogo nguo zake ziliraruka nyambu nyambu* ‘when he passed through the tiny opening,i, his clothes were torn completely’);

- rashia rasha rasha* ‘sprinkle repeatedly’ (e.g.: *aliniudhi kwa kuurashia mkate wangu mafuta rasha rasha badala ya kuupaka vizuri* ‘he hurt me by sprinkling oil in my bread instead of wiping it thoroughly’);
- reghea rege rege* ‘meaning and use see *legea rege rege*’;
- renga rege* ‘be foolish or stupid; make stupid or astounding’ (e.g.: *alinikashirisha kwa kujaribu kunirenga renga kama awafanyavyo watu wengine na kuishia kuwanyang’anyahela* ‘he made me angry by trying to make me look stupid as he does to other people and took their money’);
- roa rovu rovu* ‘meaning and use like of *lowa rovu rovu*’;
- shughulika kara kara* ‘be completely occupied/be fully engaged’ (e.g.: *alishindwa kusema naye baada ya kumkuta ameshughulika kara kara katika kiwanda chake* ‘he did not talk to him after finding him completely occupied in his factory’);
- tabwarika tabwa tabwa* ‘be very wet and soft’ (e.g.: *alitumia maji mengi ule wali ukaishia kutabwarika tabwa tabwa* ‘she used a lot of water and that rise became very wet and soft’);
- tanzuka tanzu* ‘get out of a certain complexity/ be completely untangled’ (e.g.: *baada ya kuisoma ile makala nilitanzukiwa tanzu na mawazo yaliyokuwa yakinisumbua* ‘after I read that article, I got out/away from complexity which was disturbing me’);
- teketea teke teke (tiki tiki)* ‘burn completely, often used in food’ (e.g.: *alikisahau chungu kilichokuwa mekoni yale maboga yakateketea teke teke* ‘he forgot the pot in the stove and the pumpkin burnt completely’);
- tepetea tepe tepe* ‘be soft or loose. Uses see *tebwereka tebwere*’;
- tingisha kichi kichi* ‘shake powerfully’ (e.g.: *yule askari alipomshika yule sinzia alimtingisha kichi kichi kabla ya kumwongoza hadi kituo cha polisi* ‘after that policeman arrested the pick pocket, he shook him powerfully before guiding him to a police station’);
- tokea vuu* ‘happen suddenly’ (e.g.: *alikuwa akivipanga vitu walivyoiba wakati alipotokewa na polisi vuu!* ‘he was arranging the things they had stolen, when the policemen appeared suddenly’);
- tokwa na jasho jeke jeke* ‘sweat profusely’ (e.g.: *alifanya kazi mahali palipokuwa wazi akawa anatokwa na jasho jeke jeke* ‘he was working in a open space and sweated profusely’);
- tulia tuli* ‘be quiet/static/settled’ (e.g.: *baada ya kuelezwa zile habari hakushtuka kamwe, alibakia kutulia tuli tu* ‘after he was told the news, he did not react at all, he remained quiet’);
- tumbukia tumbwi* ‘fall out. Meaning and use like *anguka chubwi*’;

- twanga twaa* ‘hit strongly’ (e.g.: *watu walichukua magongo na kumtwanga yule nyoka twaa!* ‘people took wooden poles and hit that snake strongly’);
- vuja jia jia* ‘be leaked to the bulk’ (e.g.: *kile kibuyu kilivuja jia jia hadi maji yote yakaisha* ‘that calabash leaked until the water got finished’);
- vunjika keche(keche)* ‘be completely broken/destroyed’ (e.g.: *kile chombo chake cha video kimevunjika keche baada ya kuangukiwa na lile gunia* ‘his video was completely broken after the gunny sack fell onto it’);
- vunjika nyaka nyaka* ‘be completely destroyed’ (e.g.: *yule mtoto aliiangusha ile chupa ya chai ikavunjika nyaka nyaka* ‘that child drop a thermos and destroy it completely’);
- washa waa* ‘light at once’ (e.g.: *baada ya kujitoma chumbani aliyawasha mataa waa na kuuona uharibifu uliosababishwa na wale wahuni aliowaachia uangalizi wa nyumba* ‘after entering in the bedroom, he put on the lights at once in order to see the damage caused by the hooligans he had entrusted them with the house keeping’);
- zama zii* ‘go somewhere and delay to return’ (e.g.: *tumemtuma Ashura mjini lakini masaa matatu yamepita tangu aende, kazamia zii huko* ‘we sent Ashura to town, but three hours have passed since she went there. She delayed to return’);
- zima zii* ‘pause/keep them quite’ (e.g.: *mvua ilipoanguka ule moto uliokuwa ukiteketeza yale majengo ulizimika zii ikabakia harufu yake tu* ‘when it was raining, the fire, which was burning the buildings, paused and remained but for its smell’);
- zimia zii* ‘lose consciousness’ (e.g.: *yule mzee alipigwa kwa nguvu kisogoni akaanguka chini na kuzimia zii huku akiibiwa vitu alivyokuwa nayo* ‘the old man was hit in the head, he fell down and lost consciousness, then he was robbed of everything he had had’).

For the **polysyllabic** examples we find:

- alika pa pa pa* ‘shoot with a gun’ (e.g.: *usiku tulishindwa kulala kwa sababu ya risasi zilizokuwa zikialika pa pa pa* ‘at night we could not sleep because of a gun shots/shooting’);
- alika tatata tatata* ‘shoot with a gun’ (alike –*alika pa pa pa*’);
- anguka pu pu pu* ‘fall of several things one after the other like of coconut or mangoes fall’ (e.g.: *mkwezi alipoanza kazi yake nazi zilianguka chini pu pu pu* ‘when the creeper started working, coconut fell down repeatedly’);
- beba hobela hobela* ‘carry carelessly/without careful/seriously’ (e.g.: *zile nyanya ziliharibika kwa kuwa wale wafanyikazi waliyabeba matenga yenyewe hobela hobela* ‘those tomatoes were spoilt because those workers carried them carelessly’);

- bingirika bingiri bingiri ‘twist and turn all’ (e.g.: *yule mkwea milima aliteleza akabingirika bingiri bingiri mpaka chini, akafa fi* ‘that mountain climber, climbed up the hill, he slipped, twisting and turning all to the bottom and died’);
- boboja bo bo bo ‘meaning and use like *-birua biru*’;
- boboka bo bo bo ‘talk carelessly/speak/blabbering nonsense’ (e.g.: *mwiru anachukiwa na watu wengi kutokana na tabia yake ya kuboboka bo bo bo* ‘so many people hate Mwiru because of his behaviour/habit/character of talking nonsense’);
- bweka bwe bwe bwe ‘bark like a dog, talk nonsense, talk noisy’ (e.g.: *nilipomtaka anieleze kwa nini alinifitini kazini aliishia kubweka bwe bwe bwe tu* ‘when I wanted him to tell me why he talked badly of me at work; he ended up blabbering nonsense’);
- chaga ngungundu ‘be busy with something or hold something tightly without letting it go’ (e.g.: *nimejaribu kumkanya asimshtaki mzee wake lakini haikufaa kitu, amechaga ngungundu* ‘I tried to warn him not to sue his parent, but it did not work, he was hell bent on it.’);
- chechea che che che ‘walk like a person who has injured his leg’ (e.g.: *alianguka vibaya akateguka mguu wa kushoto akawa anachechea che che che* ‘he fell badly and dislocated his left leg’);
- cheka kwa kwa kwa ‘laugh loudly’ (e.g.: *baada ya mwanafunzi yule kukosea jibu la swali wenzake walicheka kwa kwa kwa. Wengine husema: -cheka kwe kwe kwe* ‘when that student answered the question wrongly, his colleagues laughed at him loudly’. Others say: *walicheka kwe kwe kwe*);
- chiririka chiriri chiriri ‘flow in series or at once’ (e.g.: *alijikata mkono damu ikamchiririka chiriri chiriri hadi tukajiwa na hofu kubwa sana* ‘he cut his hand and a lot of blood flowed until we were very worried’);
- didimia di di di ‘be completely drowned or lost’ (e.g.: *alikuwa na biashara nzuri lakini baada ya kesi ya mwaka jana imedidimia di di di; sasa hana chochote* ‘he was having a good business, but the last year case completely drowned it; now he has nothing’);
- duguda dugudu dugudu ‘shake something into something else’ (e.g.: *nilipolitikisa lile yai liliduguda dugudu dugudu nikajua kuwa lilikuwa viza* ‘when I shook that egg, it shook like there was something in it and I found out it was rotten’);
- dunda du (du-du-du) ‘hit loudly/with loud sound’ (e.g.: *hatukujua kilichokuwa kinaendelea huko ndani hadi tuliposikia kitu, kikiunda du ikatubidi tukaribie* ‘we did not know what was going on inside until we heard it hit with loud sound, hence we went closer’);

- enea vururu* ‘spread everywhere and in abundance’ (e.g.: *msimu huu maembe yamezaa kazole, ukienda sokoni utayakuta yameenea vururu* ‘this season mango trees have produced in plenty, when you go to the market they are spread everywhere and in abundance’);
- eupe pe pe pe* ‘very white’ (e.g.: *Hamisi alikuwa amevaa shati jeupe pe pe pe* ‘Hamisi was wearing a very white shirt’);
- eusi ti ti ti* ‘very dark/black’ (e.g.: *watu humcheka Odour kwa kusema kuwa haonekani gizani kwa kuwa ni mweusi ti ti ti* ‘people laugh at Odour by saying that he cannot be seen in darkness because he is very dark/black’);
- fanya hobela hobela/-shaghala baghala* ‘act/do carelessly/without carefulness’ (e.g.: *badala ya kuifanya kazi jinsi walivyoagizwa wameishia kuifanya hobela hobela tu* ‘instead of working as it was required of them, they ended up doing it carelessly’);
- fariki fo fo fo/fe fe fe* ‘die completely/quite dead’ (e.g.: *yule kijana aliyeuparaga ule mwerezi aliteleza na kuanguka chini akafariki fe fe fe!* ‘that young man who attempted to climb up the cedar tree slipped, he fell down and completely died’);
- funga ki ki ki* ‘be completely/quite dead’ (e.g.: *alichukua kile kifuko na kukifunga ki ki ki kabla ya kumkabidhi yule tarishi* ‘he took the small bag and tied it firmly before presenting it to the messenger’);
- giza toloro* ‘very dark/heavy darkness’ (e.g.: *mtoto alishindwa kutoka nje kutokana na giza toloro lililokuwepo* ‘the child did not go out because of the intense darkness which was there’);
- gonga ngo ngo ngo* ‘drive a nail’ (e.g.: *wale waashi walikazania kugonga ngo ngo tukashindwa kuyaendeleza maongezi yetu* ‘those masons kept on driving the nails until we were not able to continue with our talk’);
- gugumia gu gu gu* ‘swallow something by force or with difficulty’ (e.g.: *alipopewa ule mwarubaini aliugugumia gu gu gu huku ameyafunga macho yake* ‘when he was given that neem drink, he swallowed it difficultly with closed eyes’);
- halambe! (harambee!)* ‘synergy. A call to put people/make people work especially an encouragement to heavy work’ (e.g.: *watu walipolishika lile gari kiongozi wao alisema, “harambee” halafu wote wakaliimua kwa nguzu zao na kulikwamua matopeni* ‘when they held on to that car, their leader encouraged them, then they all took up by all their strength and removed it from the mud’);
- hamrere hamrere* ‘many endless words’ (e.g.: *waliishia kuisahau kazi waliyotakiwa kuifanya kwa kuzama katika hamrere hamrere* ‘they ended up forgetting the work they were supposed to be doing, by concentrating on talking endless chit chat’);

- hongera hongera* ‘congratulation/deserve safe, words told to someone when he is in something/when he is in something/when he did something’ (e.g.: *baada ya Amina kujifungua shoga zake walimwendea na hongera hongera* ‘after Amina’s delivery, her friends went to see her/congratulate her’);
- jaa pomoni* ‘be completely filled up, over flow’ (e.g.: *alinipakulia chakula kingi kikajaa sahanini pomoni hadi nikaona aibu kukila* ‘he served me a plate completely filled with food, until I was ashamed to eat’);
- kamata ndi ndi ndi* ‘hold by force or strongly’ (e.g.: *yule mchoenzi alijitahidi kujivuta lakini akashindwa kwa kuwa alikuwa amekamatwa ndi ndi ndi na watu waliokuwa wamemshika* ‘the thief was struggling to get out, but he failed because he was held strongly/firmly by the people, who had caught him’);
- kamatana papatu papatu* ‘catch one another clanging cymbal. Consist entirely, completely surrounding itself’ (e.g.: *tulishindwa kuvitenganisha vile vipande vya mbao vilivyokuwa vimekamatana papatu papatu* ‘we were unable to separate the pieces of wood, which were tightly held together’);
- kata kee kee kee* ‘cut it with an ax or saw’ (e.g.: *tulijua kuwa alikuwepo baada ya kusikia sauti ya mti ukikatwa kee kee kee* ‘we knew he was around/there after we heard the cutting of the tree by a saw’);
- katika ka ka ka* ‘disruption in the tree/cut tree’ (e.g.: *ule mti uliinama upande mmoja kisha ukaanza kukatika ka ka ka* ‘that tree leaned on one side, then it started to disrupt/break’);
- kauka kukutu* ‘be fairly dry’ (e.g.: *alazitikisa zile nguo mpaka zikakauka kukutu kabla ya kuzianika kwa dakika kadha tu* ‘he shook his clothes until they were dry before he put them in the sun for just few minutes’);
- kaza ndi ndi ndi* ‘set strict’ (e.g.: *yule mama alilizungushia kamba tita la kuni kisha akaikaza ndi ndi ndi* ‘that woman tied the rope to a bundle of firewood and then fastened it strict/set it strict’);
- kiba kibandika, kiba kibandua* ‘step after step’ (e.g.: *baada ya kupewa jibu alilopewa, Juma alianza kuipiga miguu, kiba kibandika, kiba kibandua mpaka sokoni alikomkuta chifu na kumweleza matatizo yake* ‘after he was given that answer, Juma started to move step after step until he reached at the market, where he found the chief and he told him his problems’);
- kikiri kikiri* ‘violence or tumult’ (e.g.: *alianguka na kuteguka mguu katika kikiri kikiri za mashabiki kuingia uwanjani baada ya rais kuamuru milango ifunguliwe* ‘he fell and dislocated his leg after the ruckus of the fans entering the stadium, after the president ordered the gates to be opened’);
- kimbia pukutu pukutu* ‘fled/run in shock, make sound like horses’ (e.g.: *baada ya lile lango kufunguliwa wale farasi walikimbia pukutu pukutu wakielekea uwanjani* ‘after that door was opened, the horses’ ran heading to the stadium’);

- kukurika kukuru kakara* ‘wrestle, to be busy’ (e.g.: *tulifika kwake lakini hatukuweza kupata wasaa mzuri wa kuongea naye kwa kuwa alikukurika kukuru kakara wakati wote ule* ‘we got to his home, but we did not get time to talk to him, because he was busy all the time’);
- kukutaa kukutu* ‘*kukutaa* ‘be dry, very dry for clothes or grasses after being at the sun for a long time’ (e.g.: *jua liliwaka siku nzima kwa hiyo liliporudi nyumbani nguo zangu zilikuwa zimekukutaa kukutu* ‘the sun shone the whole the day, when I got/reached home my clothes were very dry’);
- lala fo fo fo* ‘sleep deeply, sleep entirely’ (e.g.: *alijitupa kitandani na baada ya dakika chache akawa amelala foo* ‘he threw himself into the bed and slept deeply/soundly’);
- lewa chakari* ‘be very drunk, drink too much alcohol’ (e.g.: *wale vibarua walipomaliza kazi ile walielekea kwa jirani kulikokuwa na pombe ya bure wakanywa hadi wakalewa chakari* ‘those laborers, when they finished their work, they went to the neighbour’s place where there were free drinks and they were totally drunk’);
- lia didi didi didi* ‘give voices/sound in series such as of hoofs’ (e.g.: *yule punda alirusha miguu yake na kuzifanya kwato zake kulia didi didi didi* ‘that donkey threw its feet and made its hoofs to provide sound’);
- lia kwi kwi kwi* ‘weep with great grief/sadness/sorrow; cry sorrowly’ (e.g.: *baada ya kufiwa na mkewe katika ile ajali ya ndege alilia kwi kwi kwi kwa majonzi* ‘after his wife died in airplane crash/accident, he cried with great grief’);
- lia pukutu pukutu* ‘produce a lot of sound, especially by animals with hoofs’ (e.g.: *wale farasi wa maonyesho walizipigisha kwato zao zikalia pukutu pukutu* ‘those horses from the exhibition made their hoofs make sound’);
- ng’ang’ania kukutu kukutu* ‘hold; haul something hardly without letting it go’ (e.g.: *alimtisha mtoto akiachilie kidude alichokuwa ameshika lakini akang’ang’ania kukutu* ‘he threatened the child to let go/release what he was holding, but the child insisted without letting it go’);
- ng’ang’ania ng’ang’anu* ‘hold something very tightly’;
- nyorora nyororo* ‘flow easily like mucus/fall lightly like mucus’ (e.g.: *alipokwenda Ulaya msimu wa baridi alishikwa na mafua kamasi ikawa inamnyorora nyororo* ‘when he went Europe in winter period, he caught flu which made him have a running nose’);
- ondoka tshi tshi tshi* ‘depart by train/travel by train’ (e.g.: *baada ya abiria wote kuingia ndani gari moshi liliondoka tshi tshi tshi* ‘when all passengers were inside, the train started moving slowly’);
- papatika papatu papatu* ‘twitch clanging cymbal. Made a final shock as of the chicken which was slaughtered’ (e.g.: *baada ya kumdengua kichwa yule*

- kuku alimwachilia akapapatika papatu papatu* ‘after the chicken has been slaughtered, it twitched until it settled/ceased’);
- pasua kata kata kata* ‘split firewood’ (e.g.: *tuliwakuta wale vibarua wameshughulika wakipasua kuni kata kata kata* ‘we found the workers splitting firewood into small pieces’);
- peperuka peperu* ‘blow away and completely lost/disappear’ (e.g.: *alikuwa na matumaini ya kuendelea na masomo yake lakini ndoto yake imepeperuka peperu baada ya mdhamini wake kufungwa kwa madai ya ufisadi* ‘he was hopeful of continuing with his studies, but his dream blowed away after his sponsor being jailed for allegation of corruption’);
- piga dedede dedede* ‘hit a drum’ (e.g.: *watu walishindwa kulala kutokana na sauti za ngoma zilizopigwa dedede dedede usiku kucha* ‘people did not get to sleep because of the drum, which was hit all night long’);
- piga honi popoo/pipii* ‘blow horn’ (e.g.: *yule dereva wa gari alipiga honi popoo na kuishia kunishtua sana* ‘that driver was blowing his car horn hard that he shocked me’);
- pigana papatu papatu* ‘fight clanging cymbal; fight violently’ (e.g.: *baada ya karamu kuvunjika watu walianza kupigana papatu papatu nasi tukaamua kuondoka kwa kuwa hatukutaka kudhurika* ‘after the party was cancelled, people were fighting violently and we decided to leave because we did not want to get hurt’);
- pigwa pigika* ‘be beaten hardly’ (e.g.: *yule mchopozi aliyekibwakura kifuko cha yule mwanamke alikimbia kwa muda kabla ya kukamatwa na umati wa watu na kupigwa akapigika* ‘that thief, who took that woman’s bag, ran for a while before he was caught by a crowd of people and beaten thoroughly’);
- pita chiki chaka chiki chaka* ‘pass of train’ (e.g.: *gari moshi ilipita chiki chaka chiki chaka ikielekea upande wa Mombasa* ‘the train passed noisily towards Mombasa’);
- pita tanga moshi tanga moshi* ‘meaning and use like *pita chiki chaka chiki chaka*’;
- pururika pururu* ‘fall of compromising/ fall all over the place’ (e.g.: *ukanda wa ushanga ulipokatika zile shanga zilipururika pururu* ‘when the bead string got cut, the beads fell all over the place’);
- saga tiki tiki/unga unga* ‘pound completely/grind flour’ (e.g.: *kinu chake ni kizuri, ukikutumia utaona kinavyosaga mawele tiki tiki* ‘her mill is good; when you use it, you will see how it grinds flour well’);
- sahau sahaulika* ‘forget completely’ (e.g.: *tangu aende Ulaya watu kijijini wamemsahau sahaulika* ‘since he went Europe, people in the village forgot him completely’);

- shusha pumzi hufyu* ‘give out breath, especially after hard working’ (e.g.: *baada ya kuifanya kazi nzito kama ile alishusha pumzi hufyu!* ‘after doing that hard work, he gave out breath’);
- soma kimoyo moyo* ‘read spiritually/quiet’ (e.g.: *alipopewa ile barua aliisoma mwanzo kimoyo moyo kisha akaipaaza sauti yake* ‘after he received that letter, he read it spiritually/quiet first, then he read it loudly’);
- tebwereka tebwere* ‘be quite smooth, to have a quiet soft body’ (e.g.: *mwili wa Amina umetebwereka tebwere utadhani mtoto mdogo* ‘Amina’s body is as soft as a baby’);
- tembea chakatu chakatu* ‘walk in a floor or place where shoes make sound’ (e.g.: *tulitambua kuwa hatukuwa peke yetu tuliposikia mtu akitembea chakatu chakatu mita chache kutoka tulipokuwa* ‘we knew we were not alone, when we heard footsteps few meters from where we were’);
- tetereka tetere* ‘be uncertain, lurch here and there or go side to side’ (e.g.: *baada ya kuyanywa yale madawa alishindwa kuhimili akawa anatetereka tetere hadi akaanguka* ‘after taking that medication, he lurched here and there and fell/unable to control himself’);
- tiririka nde nde nde* ‘flow/flow drop by drop’ (e.g.: *alijikata kidole kwa bahati mbaya damu ikawa inamtiririka nde nde nde* ‘he cut his finger by accident and the blood flowed drop by drop’);
- tiririka ndi ndi ndi* ‘meaning and use like *tiririka nde nde nde*’
- tiririka tiriri tiriri* ‘flow sensuous/fall in abundance from the top’ (e.g.: *kile kibuyu kilichowekwa uchagani kilikuwa na kishimo maji yakawa yanatiririka tiriri tiriri* ‘the calabash, which was put in the sand, was having a hole and the water was flowing sensuously’);
- tukuta tukutiko/tukuto* ‘be restless, nervousness/not settling in one place’ (e.g.: *yule mtoto anatumukuta tukuto, hatulii mahali pamoja* ‘that child does not settle in one place’);
- vuma vuu vuu vuu* ‘blow out loud’ (e.g.: *wale nyuki walikuwa wakivuma vuu vuu vuu hadi tukashindwa kuipita njia ile* ‘those bees were buzzing out loud until we were not able to pass in that way’);
- vurugika vurugu vurugu* ‘be completely destroyed’ (e.g.: *tulifanya kosa la kumshirikisha Mafuu katika ile kamati kwa sasa ameishia kuivurugu mipango yetu vurugu vurugu* ‘we made a mistake of involving Mafuu in that committee; he ended up destroying our plans completely’);
- zurura zururu* ‘go here and there without a specific intent’ (e.g.: *Ali amefutwa kazi akabakia kuzurura mitaani zururu* ‘Ali was fired from his work hence he is wandering here and there without a specific intent/reason’).

From the given examples and other ones collected in the Swahili literature we can try to draw some conclusions. As it concerns their structure, ideophones are monosyllabic or disyllabic, which could be repeated two or three times: *bu* ‘hardly’, *ndi* ‘completely’, *twa* ‘at all, completely, wholly, entirely’, *chap chap* ‘quickly’, *chaka chaka* ‘quickly’, *aste aste* ‘steadily, slowles’.

A few of them are onomatopoeic:

- anguka chubwi* ‘fall into water’ in “*Chubwi!*” *Mambosasa alistuka. Alikuwa ametumbukiza kiatu katika kidimbwi cha maji* ‘Splash (suggested) ‘Splash! Mambosasa jumped. He had placed his shoe in a puddle’ (Kezilahabi);
- anguka tifu* ‘fell into the sand’ in *yule mtoto aliyekuwa amekwea mtini alipomwona mwenye shamba aliruka na kuanguka chini tifu* ‘that child who was was up the tree, when he saw the owner of the farm, he jumped and fell into the sand, plop’;
- bwagika chini bwa!* ‘he tumbled down’ in *Alibwagika chini bwa!* ‘he tumbled down, splat!’ (Abdulla).

Sometimes they are now lexicalised and they become adverbs:

- lowa chepechepe* ‘wet entirely’ in *ile mvua yote ilimnyia akalowa chepechepe; alipofika nyumbani alikuwa akitiririkwa na maji* ‘the rain rained on him completely, when he reached home, he was entirely/completely wet’;
- iva tipwa(tipwa)* ‘get ripe well-shaped’ in *Tulilumwi, msichana mwali, maji ya kunde, aliyekomaa akaiva tipwatipwa mfano wa tunda bivu ambalo kila alionaye hudondokwa mate ya tama ya kulila* ‘Tulilumwi, an adolescent girl, well blossomed like a nature and inviting fruit, which makes mouth-watering for desire of eating it to anyone who sees it’ (Mung’ong’o)

or they even become independent nouns: *pikipiki* ‘motorcycle’ from *piki*, the sound done by such vehicle.

Other ideophones became productive as verbal roots, i.e. *mwa* ‘pour liquids’, from which the verb *-mwaga* ‘pour’ is derived: *yule mwanamke aliyeishi katika ghorofa ya juu aliyamwaga maji yakamwangukia jirani yake wa chini mwa* ‘that woman who lies upstairs pour water once to her neighbor who lives downstairs’.

An opposite process takes place when an ideophone is formed from a verbal root. It is possible to say *-dumu daima* ‘last forever’, but also *daima dumu* ‘forever’, using the same theme as an ideophone, cf. *Chuki iliyoonyeshwa na Minani ni chuki ambayo Elina ataikumbuka daima dumu* ‘Hate shown by Minani is such that Elina will remember it for ever’ (Rutayisingwa).

Similarly *-kataa katakata* ‘refuse, completely deny’ in *tumejaribu kumshawishi asimwoe msichana asiyejua asili wala fasili lakini amekataa katakata*

kuusikiliza ushauri wetu ‘we tried to persuade him not to get married to a girl who he did not know her nature or definition but he refused to listen to our advise’;
 -*tulia tuli* ‘quiet static settled’ in *baada ya kuelezwa zile habari hakushtuka kamwe, alibakia kutulia tuli tu* ‘after he was told the news, he did never reacted, he remained quiet static’.

Ideophones could also emphasize a colour:

-*eusi tii/tititi* ‘very dark/black’ in *watu humcheka Odour kwa kusema kuwa haonekani gizani kwa kuwa ni mweusi tititi* ‘people laugh at Odour by saying that he cannot be seen in darkness because he is very dark/black’; *Mmoja alishika sufuria kuu kuu, jeusi tii kwa masizi* ‘One (among them) took an old pot, blacked by soot’ (Abdulla);

-*eupe pe pe pe* ‘very white’ in *Hamisi alikuwa amevaa shati jeupe pe pe pe* ‘Hamisi was wearing a very white shirt’; *Jamila alistaajabu kuona katika gari hili anaterremka bibi mmoja wa kiarabu, mweupe pe, mzuri kwa namna yake* ‘Jamila was surprised to see an Arab lady get out of the car, completely white, but beautiful in her own way’ (Abdulla).

In conclusion, Swahili ideophones represent sounds which are linked with a certain idea, but are not necessarily onomatopoeic. They are quite frequent in the narrative, adding liveliness and expressivity to the text. In dictionaries they are indicated as adverbs; usually they come along with a verb, seldom with a dependent noun.

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How did Shangaji come to be a nasal language?

[...] esta língua, de filiação suahile não é suahile. Deste, como do ekoti, se distingue por variados motivos. **E muito mais nasalada** [...]

A. Pires Prata (1982: 53)

1. Shangaji, a mixed language?¹

Shangaji (P312) is a Mozambican Bantu language spoken in a few villages north of Angoche. The village called Naatthembo, which has approximately 4000 inhabitants, is its main centre. An alternative name for the language, *enáattheembo*, is derived from this village name. Some 500 more Shangaji speakers live in Nakonya. They fled there during the civil war and although the inhabitants themselves still consider it a temporary settlement of huts (*mapáántta*) instead of houses (*manyúumpa*) at the feet of the white dunes (*micíili*) of the Sangage peninsula, they are likely to stay as fishing in Nakonya is very good. Another small community of approximately 700 Shangaji speakers is found some 60 km north of Naatthembo in Mogincual. The Shangaji variant spoken in Mogincual is referred to as *enčíinkwaáre*. There are some minor phonological, morphological and lexical differences, some of which are illustrated in (1), between these two Shangaji varieties but they are perfectly mutually intelligible.²

¹ The Shangaji data in this paper are from MD's fieldwork on the Naatthembo variant unless stated otherwise. Fieldwork on Shangaji was possible thanks to a grant from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Programme at SOAS, London.

² Our Shangaji spelling roughly corresponds to the IPA values of the graphemes, except in the following cases: t/d = [t̥/d̥], tt/dd = [t̥d̥], c = [tʃ], j = [ʃ], y = [j], ny = [ɲ], x = [ʃ]; ng' = [ŋ]; ng/nk = [ŋg/ŋk] or [ŋg/ŋk]. The letter *h* following a consonant marks aspiration. Words uttered in isolation (see *koórampalaala* and *kairámpalaala* in (1)) and words that occur at the end of a phonological

(1) Naatthembo	Mogincual	
-enttetta	-enttentta	walk
-minza	-miza	swallow
koórampalaala	kaírampalaala	I slept
-inkiva	-antta	be many

Speakers of neighbouring languages, mostly Koti (P311) and Makhuwa (P31) (the Enlai and Enahara variants in the Naatthembo and Mogincual areas, respectively), consider Shangaji to be a distinct language and the most obvious difference to all is its “nasality”. The Portuguese priest António Pires Prata, who was the first to publish on the language, adopts this observation and calls Shangaji “*uma língua nasalada*” (a nasal language) (Prata 1982, 1987). When comparing the above words to their equivalents in Koti and Makhuwa, Shangaji indeed appears to have more NC sequences than its neighbours.

(2) Shangaji	Koti	Makhuwa	
-enttetta	-ettetta	-ettetta	walk
-minza	-miza	-mirya	swallow
-rampalaala	-rapalela	-rappa	lie down
-antta (Mo)	-atta	-atta	be many

What is interesting in the citation form Pires Prata (1982: 53) is that he appears to claim that Shangaji is not only “more nasal” than Koti (and Makhuwa) but also than Swahili (G42). Why is this interesting? Shangaji is one out of at least four languages along the Mozambican coast that are claimed to have Swahili affinities (Prata 1987, Schadeberg 1997). Around 800 AD Swahili was spoken along the East African coast from Mogadishu in the north to Chibwene in the south (Nurse, Hinnebusch 1993: 22). With the arrival of the Portuguese, the Mozambican Swahili communities became increasingly oriented towards the languages and cultures of the interior. Nevertheless, their grammars and lexica until today show traces of a past affiliation to the Swahili world. If Shangaji, then, is said to be remarkably more nasal than its neighbouring languages this could imply that the so-called nasality is an inheritance from Swahili. The remark by Pires Prata (1982: 53) that Shangaji is even more nasal than Swahili poses interesting questions as to the sources of the nasal sounds in Shangaji. Could

phrase have penultimate lengthening applied to them in Shangaji. This feature is absent from Makhuwa as well as from Koti.

a study of NC in Shangaji tell us more about the type of Swahili involved in the Swahili–Makhuwa contact situation? Section 2 gives a synchronic account of NC in Shangaji and section 3 studies its (historical) sources. Before we turn to a detailed study of Shangaji’s “nasality”, we want to give some illustrations of the mixed nature of Shangaji on a phonological, morphological and lexical level.

We first have a look at reflexes of Proto-Bantu voiceless plosives in Shangaji and its source languages.³ Table 1 lists some lexical correspondences representing voiceless stops.⁴

Table 1. Lexical correspondences representing voiceless stops

	Swahili	Shangaji	Makhuwa
*-pát- ‘get’	-pata	-patha	-vara
*-pít- ‘pass’	-pita	-vira	-vira
*-táptk- ‘vomit’	-tapika	-ttapikha	-rapheya
*-tóm- ‘send’	-tuma	-ruma	-ruma
*-jícò ‘eye’	jicho	líixo	niitho
*-cimb- ‘dig’	-chimba	-thimba	-thipa
*-kídà ‘tail’	mkia	nkhíira	mwiila
*-kónò ‘arm’	mkono	moóno	moonno

While there are regular one-to-one correspondences between Swahili and Makhuwa, reflexes of voiceless plosives in Shangaji show double correspondences: one being close to Swahili and the other one to Makhuwa. The sound correspondences are summarized in Table 2.

³ Since both Swahili and Makhuwa are highly diversified clusters of dialects or closely related languages, the question arose as to which varieties should be used for comparison with Shangaji. We have tried to select the more central varieties. For Swahili we use modern Standard Swahili which is based on the Kiunguja dialect. Kiunguja is a Southern Swahili dialect with close affinities to the northern dialects. For Makhuwa we try to pick out the more central variety basing ourselves on Prata’s 1990 Makhuwa dictionary, a Central Makhuwa wordlist compiled by SIL (2010) and a manuscript of an Emakhuwa Lexicon by Kisseberth and Cassimjee (2013).

⁴ As is the case in Makhuwa, Shangaji does not have a contrast between voiced and voiceless stops (Kisseberth 2003: 549). In Shangaji voiced and voiceless unaspirated stops are in free variation.

Table 2. Reflexes of voiceless stops

	Swahili	Shangaji	Makhuwa
*p	p	p / v	v
*t	t	tt / r	r
*c	ch	x / th	th
*k	k	k / -	-

When comparing verbal derivation in the three languages, we find similar double correspondences for Shangaji, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Corresponding verbal extensions

	Swahili	Shangaji	Makhuwa
*-p- denominative	-p-	-p- / -v-	-v-
*-at- tentative	-at-	-atth- / -ar-	-ar-
*-tk- impositive	-ik-	-ikh- / -ey-	-ey-
*-tk- stative	-ik-	-ikh- / -ey-	-ey-
*-ok- separative intr	-uk-	-ukh- / -uw-	-uw-

In (3) we give two examples of each derivational extension in Shangaji to illustrate the double correspondences.

- (3) -riipa be black
 -neneva be fat
 -luwattha to thread on
 -karara cut through the middle
 -patikha carry on back
 -ipheya prepare food, put pot on fire
 -laanikha be cursed
 -ceya be edible, be eaten (< -ca 'eat?')
 -palalukha blow strongly of wind
 -funguwa be open

There is a crucial difference between the status of both correspondences. Whereas the Makhuwa-like correspondences are used for productive derivation, the Swahili-like ones occur in lexicalized forms only. This is most clearly the case with the stative extension, which is a productive derivational extension in

Shangaji. Stative verbs are regularly derived from unextended verbs through the addition of *-ey-* (cf. *-ceya* < *-ca*). The *-ikh-* form, on the other hand, is restricted to a few lexicalized forms.

The Shangaji lexicon, finally, has links with Swahili and Makhuwa. When looking at a list of one hundred basic words (cf. Nurse, Hinnebusch 1993: 673–691) the following cognation figures are obtained.

Table 4. Cognation figures between Shangaji, Swahili and Makhuwa

S = Sh = M	49
S = Sh ≠ M	25
S ≠ Sh = M	15
S ≠ Sh ≠ M	7

In (4) we give an example for each series.

- (4) Swahili = Shangaji = Makhuwa: *-luma* = *-luma* = *-luma* ‘bite’
 Swahili = Shangaji ≠ Makhuwa: *ziwa* = *nziíwa* ≠ *nipele* ‘breast’
 Swahili ≠ Shangaji = Makhuwa: *-ruka* ≠ *-vava* = *-vava* ‘fly’
 Swahili ≠ Shangaji ≠ Makhuwa: *mfupa* ≠ *likhóngóolo* ≠ *nikhuva* ‘bone’

Four glosses in Nurse and Hinnebusch’s list were not considered in our counting as they have two translation equivalents in Shangaji. In two cases one is close to Swahili and the other one to Makhuwa. They are given in (5):

- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| (5) | Swahili | Shangaji | Makhuwa |
| good | <i>-zuri</i> | <i>-zuri</i> / <i>-xapweha</i> | <i>-sapwaneya</i> |
| old (person) | <i>-zeeka, mzee</i> | <i>nzé</i> / <i>-uluvala</i> | <i>-uluvala</i> |

In the other cases one is specific to Shangaji and the other one is either close to Swahili or to Makhuwa.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| (6) | Swahili | Shangaji | Makhuwa |
| root | (<i>mzi</i>) | <i>nkókoóri, ntáthaári</i> | <i>ntathaari</i> |
| white | <i>-eupe, -takata</i> | <i>-takata, -langala</i> | (<i>-ttela</i>) |

What the figures in Table 4 show is that Shangaji is closer to Swahili and to Makhuwa than these languages are to each other. What is more, on a lexical level, Shangaji appears to be closer to Swahili than to Makhuwa.

2. A synchronic account of Shangaji NC

Shangaji has two types of NC sequences, one with a non-moraic nasal, i.e. prenasalization, and one with a moraic nasal. Prenasalization occurs stem-internally only, whereas moraic N + C sequences are restricted to pre-stem position. Prenasalized consonants figure most frequently as the second consonant of the stem (or as the third or following one with longer stems). In (7) we give some examples of nouns and verbs with a prenasalized consonant in C2 (stem) position.

(7)	mwaángo (3/4)	mountain
	nnyaánga (5/6)	horn
	-thongola	sharpen a point
	-thimba	dig
	nyoóngo (3/4)	back
	ntthuúmbó (5/6)	stomach
	-phembeza	comfort
	-khunttuwa	be red

Our wordlist contains only few examples of a prenasalized consonant in stem-initial position. Except for the interrogative *-ngavi* ‘how many?’ and the noun *yiínsu* (7/8) ‘fish’, they are all nouns belonging to classes 5/6, examples of which are given in (8).⁵

(8)	lingúula (5/6)	bark
	lingúuma (5/6)	fresh wound
	limbuúwa (5/6)	territory, plot
	lingwéere (5/6)	sack (for storing rice, flour, etc.)

Tonal information, especially in the case of verbs, can often be used to verify whether a preconsonantal nasal is moraic or not. Consider the infinitive in (9). Infinitives in Shangaji have a primary high tone (marked with a line below the tone-bearing segment) assigned to the first (S1) and the third (S3) mora of the stem; a very general rule of High Tone Doubling spreads a primary H to the next mora in almost all environments. The location of the S3 high tone in (9) confirms the non-moraic nature of the preconsonantal nasal.

⁵ See section 3 for a further discussion of the nouns in (8).

(9) *ozúngúlúwéela* (NOT: *ozúŋgúlúweela*) ‘to turn around towards’

Still, in some cases we are not sure whether the preconsonantal nasal is moraic or not. Often we transcribed the word in question in varying ways. An example is given in (10).

(10) *ańsaáli* ~ *ańsaáli* ~ *ńsaáli* ‘honey’⁶

Our intuition is that this variation is due to influence from Makhuwa and Koti where every (even word-internal) preconsonantal nasal is moraic.⁷ For the purpose of this paper we consider every stem-internal NC as having a non-moraic nasal but we admit that there might be some variation.

Table 5 gives an overview of all the possible stem-internal NC sequences in Shangaji.

Table 5. Stem-internal NC in Shangaji

mp ~ mb	nt ~ nd		ntt ~ ndd	nc ~ nj	nk ~ ng
(mph ?)	nth		ntth	(nch ?)	nkh
mv		nz			nv [ŋv]
	mf	ns		nx	
		nl			
		nr			

Prenasalization occurs most frequently before non-aspirated stops (and affricates). Voicing is optional with these sounds; they are spelled here as they appeared in particular utterances. The unvoiced variants are generally more frequent, except for velars where the voiced variant is dominant. All other stem-internal prenasalized consonants – with the exception of *nz* – are rare; this is why we consider unattested *mph* and *nch* to be accidental gaps, possibly due to limitations in our data. In (11) we give two examples of each stem-internal NC sequence and an idea of their frequency in our wordlist.

⁶ In Koti the word for ‘honey’ does not have a nasal sound, as appears to be the case for most Makhuwa variants (Kisseberth, Cassimjee 2013). In Mwani, on the other hand, the word for ‘honey’ is *ansáli* with a non-moraic word-internal nasal.

⁷ This is not true for all Makhuwa dialects as some do have voiced prenasalized consonants (cf. fn 10).

(11) mp ~ mb	(140+)	-impa ttheémbo	sing elephant
nt ~ nd	(50+)	-phenta -fundisi	love teach
ntt ~ ndd	(80+)	nkhíinttu tthonddóowa	mortar star
nc ~ nj	(30+)	ńcaánca -xinja	crab sp. cut
nk ~ ng	(+270)	-funka -xunga	tie herd
nth	(5)	-tuuntha raánthi	be lame lightning
ntth	(3)	ottáantthi -kokontthera	amaranth to fix
nkh	(3)	linkhéena -menkha	fish sp. blow one's nose
mv	(2)	mwiímvuúli	shade
nz	(30+)	nláanzi -minza	bamboo swallow
nv [ŋv]	(1)	laánvi	mat
mf	(1)	ámfiíya	health
ns	(10+)	yíinsu kámaánsi	fish nasal mucus
nx	(5)	nxáanxa otunxi	hut made from branches finish off, kill
nl	(9)	mwaánliímu -jaanliya	teacher grant (of God)
nr	(5)	mweénreévu -thaanraapu	smart person make look good

Stem-internal prenasalization in Shangaji is somewhat instable, i.e. the nasal part of a prenasalized consonant is sometimes omitted. Loss of the nasal part of a prenasalized consonant occurs in five different environments. First, when reduplication is applied to a vowel-initial verb stem with more than two syllables and a prenasalized consonant in C2 position, both the initial vowel and the non-moraic nasal are omitted, as illustrated in (12).

- (12) wiíngélágéela (o-ingela-gela) to enter (repeatedly)
weénzérazééréera (o-enzerera-zerera) to try (repeatedly)

Second, a stem-final prenasalized consonant of a noun modified by a first person singular possessive pronoun (*-angu*, *-anga*, the latter stem is mainly used anaphorically but also occurs with relational terms) may lose its nasal part. Examples are given in (13):

- (13) a. *visú zaángu* my fish (cf. *viínsu* ‘fish’)
 b. *máish’áangu* my life (cf. *máiínsha* ‘life’)
 c. *nlúbwáanga* my brother / sister (cf. *nlúmbwéetthu* ‘our brother / sister’)

The fact that the nasal part is only omitted when the first person singular possessive is used, the only possessive stem with a prenasalized consonant (see (13c)), suggests that the motivation lies in a simplification of a NCV(CV) NC sequence. The loss of prenasalization in (13) is reminiscent of both Meinhof/Ganda and Kwanyama rules (for accounts of these rules see Meinhof 1932: 183–184, Herbert 1977 and Schadeberg 1987). It is like Meinhof/Ganda law in that the first consonant is affected but it is like Kwanyama law in that the nasal part is omitted. However, this mixed Ganda/Kwanyama law is not regularly applied in Shangaji as NCV(CV)NC sequences are not always simplified. When, for example, the pluractional suffix *-ang-* is added to a verb stem with a prenasalized consonant, both prenasalized consonants surface, as can be seen in (14).

- (14) *aanzángá* *oxóweéla* *phátu*
 a-anz-ang-a o-xowel-a phatu
 SBJ₂-begin-PLUR-SIT NP₁₅-talk-INF IDEO
 ‘[you will hear them (= corn)] starting to say *phatu*’

A third context showing loss of prenasalization involves noun + demonstrative sequences. Basic demonstratives in Shangaji have a prenasalized consonant (cf. (15)). However, when they merge with the preceding noun, the nasal part is always omitted. In (15) the noun *mphuúla* ‘nose’ is modified by a demonstrative of series 1 (close to me), series 2 (close to you) and series 3 (distant from me and you), respectively.

- (15) *mphuúl’eti* this nose (cf. *eénti* ‘this one’)
 mphuúl’eto that nose (cf. *eénto* ‘that one’)
 mphuúl’etfile that nose (cf. *entfile* ‘that one’)

Fourth, when the verb *entta* ‘go’ is used with the Present tense marker *titi*, itself probably derived from the verb *entta*, prenasalization is dropped, as seen in (16).

- (16) nttéttá vaai?
 mu-tti-entt-a vai
 SBJ_{2PL}-PRS-go-FV where
 ‘Where are you going?’

Finally, prenasalization is not retained when a word-game, referred to as *ettáaphi*, is applied to a noun with a word-internal prenasalized consonant. *ettáaphi* consists in introducing *sV*, with *V* being a copy of the preceding vowel, after every syllable. In (17) the noun *nlúumbó* (‘your brother / sister’) loses the prenasalization in C2 position when modified through *ettáaphi*.

- (17) nlúumbó nsulusuposo

In the Shangaji variant spoken in Mogincual stem-internal prenasalization appears to be less prone to loss. As illustrated in (18), *éncíinkwaáre* retains prenasalization with reduplication and cliticized demonstratives.

- (18) (a) *weéntténttantténtta* ‘to walk around’ < *weénteéntta* ‘to walk’ < *weéntta* ‘to go to’
 (b) *muúr ’umpu* (Mo) ‘this tree’

The Mogincual variant thus appears to be even more nasal than the Naatthembo one. However, there are some lexical examples which have a prenasalized consonant in *enáattheembo* but not in *éncíinkwaáre*: *-minza* ‘swallow’ and *mweénzi* ‘month’ versus *-miza* and *mweézi*.

We now turn to moraic N + C in pre-stem position. Moraic preconsonantal nasals can mostly be shown to represent (NV) morphemes. In examples (19) to (25), the homorganic moraic nasal is a preconsonantal allomorph of the class 1 nominal prefix (*mu*), the class 5 nominal prefix (*ni*), the class 18 nominal prefix (*mu*), the class 3 nominal prefix (*mu*), the class 1 object concord (*mu*), the first person plural subject concord (*ni*), and the present tense marker (*ni*), respectively.

- (19) nsímaána (1/2) child
 (20) nlíimi (5/6) tongue
 (21) mmwaánywa (18) in the mouth
 (22) vanzúrukhu
 va-mu-zurukhu
 NP₁₆-NP₃-money
 ‘on the money’

- (23) kittiínthéneéya
 ki-tti-mu-theney-a
 SBJ_{1SG}-PRS-OBJ₁-want-FV
 ‘I want her/him’
- (24) khannóoweléela
 kha-ni-ni-owelel-a
 NEG-SBJ_{1PL}-PRS-swim-FV
 ‘We are not swimming’
- (25) táriíkh’ iti khińvíreéya
 tarikhi enti kha-i-ni-vir-ey-a
 NP₉.road DEM₉ NEG-SBJ₉-PRS-pass-STAT-FV
 ‘This road cannot be passed’

However, there are also pre-stem moraic nasals that cannot be related to NV morphemes. The case in point are nouns in classes 9, 10 and 1a that begin with a homorganic moraic nasal, as seen in (26).⁸

- (26) mbuúzi (9/10) goat
 mpeétthe (9/10) ring
 nguúwo (9/10) clothes
 ngaása (9/10) turtle
 mbuúkhu (1a/10) rat

The moraicity of the word-initial nasals in (26) is confirmed by the application of the *ettáaphi* word-game to the noun *mbuúzi* ‘goat’ in (27); an *sV* (default *i* in this case) syllable is inserted after the moraic nasal.

- (27) mbuúzi (9/10) ‘goat’ nsibusuzisi

Synchronically, however, we analyse classes 9, 10 and 1a as having a zero prefix for three main reasons: (i) the initial nasal is never substituted, (ii) there are at least as many nouns in these classes that do not begin with a homorganic moraic nasal (cf. (28)), and (iii) the agreement system induced by nouns in these classes does not involve a nasal sound (cf. (29)) (except with some numerals).

⁸ Every word-initial pre-consonantal nasal is moraic in Shangaji. They are therefore not marked for moraicity in the orthography.

(28) khuúni (9/10)	firewood
ttheémbo (9/10)	elephant
siímba (1a/10)	lion
(29) khuúntte éwiíshi	raw beans

Moreover, there is language-internal evidence suggesting that the nasals were non-moraic at an earlier stage of the language: all the nouns with three syllables and an initial homorganic nasal in classes 1a, 9 and 10 have a L-LHL surface tonal pattern, which is reminiscent of the only surface tonal pattern found with disyllabic nouns, i.e. LHL. Other nouns with three syllables have one out of three tonal patterns, as shown in (30).

(30) disyllabic nouns	trisyllabic nouns in 1a, 9 & 10	other trisyllabic nouns
always <u>LHL</u>	always <u>LLHL</u>	<u>LHLL</u> , <u>LLHL</u> , <u>HLHL</u>
liíxo ‘eye’	mbuúzi ‘goat’	mfúukho ‘bag’
muúttu ‘person’	mpeéttu ‘ring’	nloómo ‘lip’
haápa ‘liver’	nguúwo ‘clothes’	ńxaála ‘green coconut’

Word-initial nasals in classes 9, 10 and 1a thus appear to have gained moraicity, possibly in analogy with nouns in classes 1, 3 and 5 that also begin with a homorganic moraic nasal (cf. (19), (20), (30)). This surface similarity between nouns in classes 3, 5, 1a, 9, and 10 has caused analogical leveling when the initial moraic nasal is preceded by the class 18 locative nominal prefix *mu*. As can be seen in (31), noun-initial moraic nasals, whatever their source, may become *mu* in combination with the class 18 nominal prefix.

- (31) a. mmúfúukho
mu-mu-fukho
NP₁₈-NP₃-bag
‘in the bag’
- b. mmushíliizi
mu-ni-shilizi
NP₁₈-NP₅-gutter
‘in the gutter’
- c. mmujiíla
mu-njiíla
NP₁₈-NP₉.road
‘on the road’

Another pattern, at least for nouns in classes 5, 1a, 9 and 10, is to retain the noun-initial homorganic moraic nasal and to add *mwi*. The examples in (32) illustrate this pattern.⁹

- (32) a. *mwinziíwa*
 mu-ni-ziwa
 NP₁₈-NP₅-breast
 ‘in the breast’
- b. *mwińttúwo*
 mu-nttuwo
 NP₁₈-NP₉.pot
 ‘in the pot (for making cassava porridge)’

3. Historical sources of Shangaji NC

In the previous section we have shown that certain NC sequences are synchronically derived from NV- morphemes. In this section we look at diachronic sources of Shangaji NC. There are two main sources: inherited and innovated.

Inherited NC as reflex of *NC

Proto-Bantu (PB) is reconstructed as having a consonant inventory with three nasal consonants (bilabial, alveolar and palatal — no velar nasal), eight obstruents (voiced and voiceless at four places of articulation), and eight corresponding prenasalized consonants.

PB prenasalized consonants occur primarily in C2 position of stems; the famous exception being the nominal root **-ntw* as in **ba-ntw* ‘people’. Prenasalized consonants also occur word-initially where prenasalization represents the PB nominal prefix of classes 9 and 10.

PB is reconstructed without syllabic nasals. PB prenasalized consonants are tautosyllabic and do not carry tonal information. (However, PB prenasalized consonants do in many languages induce non-contrastive length of the preceding vowel.)

⁹ The second person plural subject concord *mu* can also be followed by a moraic nasal representing the class 1 object concord *mu* or the Present tense marker *ni*. The patterns found in (31) and (32), respectively, are applied.

(i) *mmúthúule* (*mu-mu-thuul-e* /SBJ2PL-OBJ1-take-SBJV) ‘take it’

(ii) *khamwińsífila* (*kha-mu-ni-siil-a* /NEG-2PL-PRS-listen-FV) ‘you do not listen’.

There is a marked difference in frequency between voiced and voiceless prenasalized consonants. Morpheme-internally voiced *NC's are frequent, voiceless ones are much rarer. No such imbalance applies to word-initial *NC's occurring in nouns of classes 9/10.

Many instances of stem-internal NC in Shangaji are inherited from voiced PB *NÇ. The fact that most Makhuwa varieties have replaced PB voiced NC by unaspirated voiceless C (without prenasalization) is not by itself proof that such words descend from Swahili, as we also find NC reflexes of PB *NÇ in Shangaji words that show Makhuwa-like sound changes (cf. each second example in Table 6 and section 1 for the sound changes in question). Moreover, some plausible NC reflexes of *NÇ occur in words that are specific Makhuwa cognates (cf. each third example in Table 6).

Table 6. Shangaji NC corresponding to stem-internal voiced *NÇ

		Swahili	Shangaji	Makhuwa
*mb	sing	-imba	-imba	-ipa
	dig	-chimba	- <u>th</u> imba	- <u>th</u> ipa
	be drunk	–	-sambala	-hapala
*nd	go	-enda	-entta	-etta
	crush by pounding	-ponda	- <u>y</u> ontta	- <u>y</u> otta
	wound	–	likhwaántta	nikhwatta
*nj	cut	-chinja	-xinja	-hita
	taste, check on a trap	-onja	-o <u>ŋ</u> ta	-o <u>ŋ</u> ta
	crab	–	ńcaánca	ncaaca
*ng	sand	mchanga	nxaánga	nthaaka
	decrease	-pungua	- <u>y</u> unguwa	- <u>y</u> ukuwa
	mountain	–	mwaángo	mwaako

The existence of words with apparent mixed or dual ancestry could find its origin in manipulative adaptation of Swahili-descent words to Makhuwa phonology, or vice versa. It is also possible that these words testify of a Makhuwa variety, past or present, in which not all of the typical Makhuwa sound changes have applied. Such varieties exist, though not in the geographical vicinity of Shangaji.¹⁰

¹⁰ Kisseberth (2003: 549): “[...] the replacement of prenasalized stops is not fully carried out in all dialects: e.g. *-e-hópa* ‘fish’ in Esaaka and many other dialects, but *-e-hómba* in Malawi dialects; [...]”

PB prenasalization as a nominal prefix of classes 9/10 has similar reflexes in the three languages, i.e. prenasalization in both Swahili and Shangaji and voiceless unaspirated C in Makhuwa.

Table 7. Shangaji NC corresponding to class 9/10 voiced *NÇ

		Swahili	Shangaji	Makhuwa
*mb	goat	mbuzi	mbuúzi	epuri
*nd	beard	ndevu	ndeévu	ereru
*nj	hunger	njaa	njaála	etala
*ng	boat	ngalawa	ngaláawa	ekalawa
*mv	rain	mvua	nvuúla	epula

There are two Shangaji words that have a voiceless plosive instead of the expected NÇ pattern: *phaángo* ‘warthog’ (cf. Swahili *mbango* and Makhuwa *phako*) and *piínku* ‘sky, heaven’ (cf. Swahili *mbingu* and Makhuwa *erimu*). It may be significant that, historically speaking, both C1 and C2 are prenasalized in these two words (see our reference to the Ganda and Kwanyama rules in section 1). It is also possible that these words have been incompletely adapted from one model to the other. In either case, the difference between aspirated *ph* in one case and non-aspirated *p* in the other remains unexplained.

The reflexes of PB *NÇ (where Ç is voiceless) present a more complex picture (see Tables 8 and 9). In most cases, the nasal part of such sounds is lost, in common with the regular reflexes in Swahili and (most varieties of) Makhuwa. In other lexical items, Shangaji has preserved the nasal. In this respect, Shangaji behaves just like two of the three main variants of Comorian: Ngazija and Nzwani. Most preserved NÇ sequences occur in stem-initial position (see Table 9).

Table 8. Shangaji (N)C corresponding to stem-internal voiceless *NÇ

		Swahili	Shangaji	Makhuwa	Comorian ¹⁾
*nt	people	watu	aátthu	atthu	wandru Ng.
*nc	all	-ote	-oónxi	-othene	-ontsi Ng.
*nk	stink give	-nuka —	-nukha -ikha	-unkha ²⁾ -innya	-nu(n)ka Ng. -ni(n)ka Ng.

¹⁾ The Comorian data are taken from Ahmed-Chamanga 1992.

²⁾ It is not clear whether *nkh* directly shows retention of the reconstructed nasal element; it might also compensate for the loss of the stem initial *n*.

Kisseberth and Cassimjee (2013) confirm that voiced prenasalized stops are absent from central Makhuwa dialects but do occur at the margins of the Makhuwa area, i.e. in the Rovuma dialects of Tanzania and the Elomwe dialects of Malawi.

Table 9. Shangaji (N)C corresponding to class 9/10 voiceless *NC̥

		Swahili	Shangaji	Makhuwa	Comorian
*mp	wind ring	pepo pua	pheévu mphuúla	ephevo ephula	mpebo Nz. mbua Ng.
*nt	elephant three (cl. 10)	tembo tatu	ttheémbo nttaátthu	etthepo ttharu	– ntaru Nz.
*nk	headpad chicken	kata kuku	khaára nguúkhu	ekhara ekhu	hara Ng. (n)kuhu Ng.

NC with innovated nasal

We now turn to cases where the nasal element NC cannot be traced to general Bantu but is an innovation of Shangaji, or possibly of an immediate donor language. This is clearest in the case of vocabulary borrowed from an unrelated language such as Arabic (Table 10), but also occurs in vocabulary of Bantu origin (Table 11).

Table 10. Inserted N before C in loans from Swahili/Arabic

Shangaji		Swahili	Arabic
máíinxá	life	maisha	mašīš
ámfiíya	health	afya	šāfiya
Aánli	Ali (proper name)	Ali	šālī
-janliya	grant	-ja(a)liya	šāšal
raánthi	thunder, lightning	radi	rašd
hántiísi	story	hadithi	ḥadīṭ
-unsuru ¹⁾	safe	-nusurika ‘be safe’	našara ‘help’

¹⁾ Just as in the case of -unkha ‘stink’ (cf. fn 12), we are not sure how the loss of the initial nasal and the inserted nasal are related in detail.

It appears that N insertion is favoured in the environment of an šayyin in the Arabic source word, and possibly also certain pharyngealized consonants. This implies that either the words were directly adopted from Arabic speakers or – more likely – that the pronunciation of such words by Swahili speakers was closer to the Arabic original at the relevant period than what is common practice of present-day speakers of Standard Swahili.

N insertion in words of Bantu origin occurs in most cases before *_zi* or *_si* (Table 11).

Table 11. Inserted N before C in words from Swahili and/or Makuwa

Shangaji		Swahili	Makuwa
nziínzi (5/6)	corral	zizi	
ńziínzi (5/6)	spider		nsisi
nwíinzi (3/4)	Hunting Dog (<i>Lycan pictus</i>)		mwiíci ~ mwiiji
khwaánzi (1a/2a)	Fish Eagle	kwazi	
osíníinzi ~ osíng'íinzi (11)	sleep	usingizi	
-minza	swallow	-meza	-mirya
-enza	try (out, on)	-geza	
mweénzi (3/4)	moon	mwezi	mweri
kámaánsi	nasal mucus	kamasi	
moónsi; cumwáamoónsi	one; Monday	Jumamosi	

The two verbs in Table 11 where N appears to be inserted before *_za* at least historically also contain an element *-i-* or *-y-* representing the causative verb extension. The verb *-sanga* ‘grind’ is unlikely to be derived from Swahili *-saga* by N insertion. Rather, we assume a direct derivation from the historical root **-cè-* and the variant *-ang-* of the repetitive verb extension, corresponding exactly to Makuwa *-haka*.

Word-initial insertion of N before C is rare. In some cases it is tempting to see it as a morphological adaptation of a loanword into the noun class system (‘goose’, ‘tray’), but this is much less plausible in other cases (‘master’, ‘if’).

Table 12. Inserted N before C in word-initial position

Shangaji		Source
<i>ngaáso</i> (1a; pl. <i>angaáso</i>)	goose	Port. <i>ganso</i>
<i>nttiíro</i> (9/10)	wooden tray	cf. Koti <i>ttiilo</i>
<i>mb(w)aána</i> (1a; pl. <i>amb(w)aána</i>)	master	Swahili <i>bwana</i>
<i>nkhaáma</i>	if	Swahili <i>kama</i>

Finally, the development of class 5 pronominal and nominal prefixes are of particular interest. These prefixes are reconstructed as **l-* (PPx) and **i-* (NPx). The PPx is also the historical source of the augment (“pre-prefix”). In class 5 the phonologically non-canonical CV-V- sequence **l-i-* merged into a single syllable

li- (without spirantization!) and was widely re-interpreted as a canonical CV-nominal prefix. In some languages (e.g. Nyamwezi), this re-interpretation only occurred with vowel-initial stems.

In Shangaji (and Koti), the class 5 NPx *li-* changed to *ni-* before “coronal” C, i.e. all consonants except labials, velars and *h*. The phonetic base of this sound change and its specific conditioning is not well understood.¹¹ The change *li* > *ni* only occurs in this class marker and differs from the regular development of **l* (cf. *olila* 15 ‘to cry’, *olili* 14 ‘bed’), but also from the reflexes of **li* which show spirantization (cf. *mbuzi* ‘goat’), in some cases in combination with pre-nasalization (*mwenzi* ‘moon’; see Table 11 above).¹² – The last step in the development of the class 5 NPx has been the loss of the vowel and compensatory transfer of its moraicity to the nasal.

There is a small but interesting group of nouns in class 5 that have a NPx *li-* followed by an apparently stem-initial NC:

(33) limbuúwa	territory, plot
lingúula	bark
lingúuma	fresh wound
lingwéere	kind of bag
linkhéena	fish sp.
lińkhuúwi	fish sp.
lińkókóofi	pit
lińtéreenya	coconut

The possibility exists that (some of) these words incorporate a class 9 NPx. However, it is also possible that these words show a “strengthening” of their stem initial consonant. One might compare this to what happens with stem-initial consonants of class 5 nouns in several southern Bantu languages and also in Comorian: cf. Nzwani *pi* ‘palm of hand’, but plural *mavi* with regular lenition **p* > *v*; Nzwani *kara* ‘bird nest’, but plural *mahara* with regular lenition **k* > *h*; *dago* ‘house’, but plural *malago* with regular *l* without strengthening.

The phenomenon of N insertion has first been observed in Fipa by Struck (1911). Bourquin (1932/1933) finds that N insertion is a sporadic (rather than strictly regular) process in a wide range of Bantu languages, and that it occurs

¹¹ Shangaji shares this development of NPx *li-* with Koti. In Makuwa, the change from NPx *li-* to *ni-* occurs before all consonants irrespective of their place of articulation.

¹² The high closed (“first degree”) vowel **i* of the class 5 nominal prefix has a “strengthening” influence on the following consonant in several southern Bantu languages and also in Comorian; cf. Nzwani *pi* ‘palm of hand’, but plural *mavi* with regular lenition *p* > *v*.

mainly under the influence of *i. Dammann (1971) enlarges the Bourquin's documentation and provides a catalogue of four possible motivations in addition to the catch-all category "no apparent motivation" (p. 84):

- influence of *i (less convincingly also *ɪ and *ʊ)
- adaptation of foreign sounds
- semantic strengthening
- phonetic strengthening to avoid loss

We have found the first two conditions or motivations to have been at work in Shangaji, too. Dammann himself finds very little support for "semantic strengthening" as motivation for N insertion, and Shangaji, likewise, has little to offer in this respect. Phonetic strengthening, however, could well be the motivation operating in the Shangaji demonstratives:

Table 13. Some Shangaji demonstratives

class	free DEM PROX	clitic DEM PROX	PB PPx
1	oóntu	= utu	*jʊ
2	aámpa	= apa	*ba
8	eémpi	= ipi	*bi
16	aápha	= apha	*pa
17	ookhu	= ukhu	*kʊ

The details of the historical changes underlying this paradigm V-N-PPx are not fully understood, but it is clear that the consonant of the PPx is stronger than its expected "regular" reflex, in the free forms as well as in the clitics which, therefore, must be derived from the free forms by deletion of the nasal element. Prenasalization of the consonant in demonstratives has been observed in a number of Bantu languages, e.g. Herero *imba* (2, 16), *imbi* (8), *ingwi* (1, 15). Meinhof (1948: 77) interprets the nasal in these forms as a case of "strengthening", to which Dammann adds the speculative explanation that strengthening may occur to compensate for regular lenition and eventual loss. We may have doubts but have no better alternative to offer.

4. Conclusion

The present synchronic and comparative study of Shangaji NC has proven Pires Prata right when he said that Shangaji is "more nasal" than both Swahili and Makhuwa (and Koti). First, we have shown that Shangaji, like Swahili but

unlike Makhuwa and Koti retained *NÇ. Interestingly, Shangaji also retained (or reintroduced?) *NÇ in words for which a Makhuwa descent is more likely than a Swahili one. Second, Shangaji retained some *NÇ where Swahili (and Makhuwa) lost them. A similar retention is found in Comorian. Further research is needed on a possible connection between Shangaji (and other Mozambican Swahili languages) and Comorian. Next, we have seen that Shangaji innovated pre-consonantal nasals in both borrowed and native vocabulary. Most of these nasal insertions appear to be motivated by influence of *i, adaptation of foreign sounds and, maybe, phonetic strengthening. Finally, Shangaji (like Koti) has created new NC sequences through a change of the class 5 NPx *li-* to *ni-* before coronal consonants and subsequent vowel syncope.

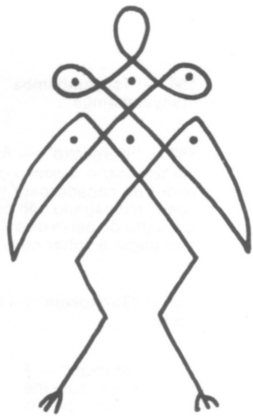
Abbreviations

1, 2, ...	numbers in the glosses refer to Bantu noun classes
DEM	demonstrative
FV	final vowel
NEG	negative
NP	nominal prefix of class x
OBJ	object concord
PRS	present
SBJ	subject concord
STAT	stative

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The image of women in the novels of the first generation of Mozambican and Equato-Guinean women writers

In this article, we try to analyse post-colonial discourses written by today's African women writers, focusing on the social side of their literature, used many times as a weapon for the improvement of women conditions in Africa. In the African continent, there were, and still are, taboos, sexist habits and patriarchal myths that harm women. In many countries, polygamy, female circumcision and corporal punishment to women are being done. Many times, they do not have the same opportunities as men to study and develop their talents. There are writers that denounce the oppression of women but, instead of condemning it without any reflection and proposing easy and superficial solutions as, sometimes, western feminists do, they analyse the specific social, economic, historic and familiar conditions of African women to understand the origins of this oppression and the real probabilities of suppressing it.

We need to clarify that our target is not to analyse the complex theoretical proposals of African feminists. This was already done by many British, American and French scholars. Our aim is to study the texts of the first generation of Mozambican and Guinean women writers from the perspective of the feminist criticism. Besides, African feminism is not homogeneous, there are several types of theoretical approaches today¹. What unites African feminists is the fact that all of them rise up against the sense of victimisation and they consider

¹ The different literary trends of African feminism taking into consideration that the basis of all black feminism was given by Filomina Steady in 1981. In 1982, Alice Walker proposed the term Womanism as an alternative to western feminism. Later, new movements emerged as African Womanism and Africana Womanism, Motherism, Stiwanism and Negofeminism. See: F. Steady (1981), A. Walker (1982), C. Hudson-Weems (1993), M. Ogunديpe-Leslie (1994), Ch. Okonjo Ogunyemi (1985), O. Nnaemeka (1997).

African woman not as an object but as an active and historical subject able to reflect on the feminine condition and able to create their own world. This way, examining women conditions in many different local communities in Africa, African feminists think that women are facing today a clash between traditional values and those imported by the Europeans. Neither the unworried negation of all traditional legacy nor the idolized acceptance of the uncertain modernity proposed by Westerners help African men and women to find a proper place in a crossroads of very different lifestyle models².

This was very well understood by the first generations of African writers and intellectuals, who started to publish their novels after the independence of their countries. For example, Flora Nwapa (1931–1993) and Buchi Emecheta (born 1944) from Nigeria, Ama Ato Aidoo (born 1942) from Ghana, Mariama Bâ (1929–1981) and Ken Bugul (born 1947) from Senegal, Ana Paula Tavares (born 1952) from Angola and Tsitsi Dangarembga (born 1959) from Zimbabwe, all of them are considered as renowned and even canonical artists in their countries. Those writers noticed the obstacles of building new national, cultural and generic identities within political and socially transformed realities. They claimed as well equal rights for men and women, creating, for the first time in Africa, discourses which engaged with the feminist ideology but without identifying themselves with European and American feminists³. On the contrary, they stressed the differences between Black Feminism and European and American feminism (Black Feminism included).

Marta Sofía López Rodríguez calls the first generation of African women writers “the mothers’ generation” (2008)⁴, followed by the “daughters’ generation”, with writers such as Calixthe Beyala (born 1961) from Camerun, Sefi Atta (born 1964) from Nigeria and Leila Aboulela (born 1964) from Sudan. She even points out/identifies a granddaughter’s generation (such as Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie (born 1977) from Nigeria. All of them widened the thematic horizon of the novels, widening as well the feminist perspective and emphasizing the question of women’s sexuality and eroticism.

Nevertheless, analysing women writings in sub-Saharan Africa, we need to take into account that the division proposed by Marta López Rodríguez is not

² The representation of the clash between African and western values were under examination by several African and European researchers. Maybe the most in-depth analysis on the subject was conducted by the Mozambican researcher Isabel Casimiro (1999) and by the Polish researcher Janusz Krzywicki (2002, 2007).

³ See L.W. Miampika (2002), A. Aragón Varo (2005), P. Harzberger-Fofana (2000), R.B. Gallimore (1997).

⁴ www.journal.afroeuropa.eu/index.php/afroeuropa/article/.../94/86 (27 IX 2013).

exact, in the sense that the rhythm of African literatures written by women in English and French is different that the one of the works written in Portuguese and Spanish. We are focused on these latest works. Even though the first women writers in the continent wrote in Portuguese, novelists who chose Portuguese and Spanish as a literary language appeared later than those in English-speaking and French-speaking countries. So, the first woman who published a novel in Portuguese, *Balada de amor ao vento* (*Ballad of Love in the Wind*), in 1990 was the Mozambican Paulina Chiziane, born in 1955, and the first novel written by an Equato-Guinean woman (María Nsúe Angüe, born in 1948) was *Ekomo*, published in 1985⁵. These writers are, at the same time, mothers and daughters of feminine literatures in their respective countries. These two writers belong to the first generation of writers in Mozambique and Guinea. Paulina Chiziane still writes nowadays.

If Marta Sofía López Rodríguez notices that the Equato-Guinean writer “walks shoulder to shoulder with her Anglophone and Francophone sisters” (2008), in our opinion, she walks shoulder to shoulder as well with Paulina Chiziane. The story presented in Nsúe Angüe’s *Ekomo* is very similar to the one presented in Chiziane’s *O Sétimo Juramento* (*The Seventh Oath*). In both novels, the main characters, Nnanga and Vera respectively, make a trip to find a healer for their husbands. Nnanga needs help for her husband’s disease of the legs. Vera searches for a healer for her husband’s soul as he entered the dangerous world of black magic and he was destroying the life of his family⁶. But here it is not important the vicissitudes of the main characters. What these books show are the old traditions, beliefs, taboos, myths, prejudices and African customs in different communities and the place women occupy in those communities.

It is right, and even necessary, to analyse, as a whole, the works of sub-Saharan women writers who write in different languages, not only to see thematic or stylistic similarities (surprising in the case of Nsúe Angüe and Chiziane), but to search for the features of the new African feminine novel, too. This new African feminine novel is understood as a speech opposing the dominant male speech and

⁵ The works of both those writers were reviewed by some relevant African and European researchers. This way, Paulina Chiziane’s literary work was analysed, among others, by Hilary Owen, Ana Margarida Dias Martins, Irene Marques, Adelto Gonçalves, Pieres Laranjeira, Inocência Mata, Maria Nazareth Fonseca and Maria Nsúe Angüe’s work by José Antonio López Hidalgo, Marta Sofía López Rodríguez, María Zielina Limonta, Micheal Ugarte, M’bare N’gom, Maya García de Vinuesa and Mendogo Minsongui Dieudonné.

⁶ It is interesting to notice that both David of Chiziane’s novel and Nfumbaha of Nsúe Angüe’s novel are very similar to each other. Both of them are presented by those women writers as “victims” of Europeanisation.

it is the outcome of the ideological thinking of rebel women, as the novelist Odile Cazenave calls today's African women novelists in her book *Femmes Rebelles. Naissance d'un nouveau roman africain au féminin* (1996).

If we consider the utility of the collective analysis of African literatures written by women, I intend to search for the characteristics of the feminine discourse and African women contemporary novel in the works of the Mozambican Paulina Chiziane and the Equato-Guinean María Nsúe Angüe. The social topics of their novels, the extremely poetic style, the deeply rooted oral tradition and the concern for women's conditions, constitute the focal point of their fictions.

According to what Mendogo Minsongui Dieudonné wrote in his article *Mujer y creación literaria en Guinea Ecuatorial*, Nsúe Angüe's *Ekomo* is a feminist novel as it is focused on subjects connected to women issues such as life between tradition and "modernity", marriage and its disillusionment, dowry and polygamy⁷. Those are exactly the problems that worry Paulina Chiziane in her five novels: *Balada de amor ao vento* (1990, 1994), *Ventos de Apocalipse* (1993, 1999⁸), *O Sétimo Juramento* (2000), *Niketche: uma história de poligamia* (2002) and *O Alegre Canto da Perdiz* (2008). All those complicated questions proposed by Chiziane make possible to consider her as a feminist writer even if she does not consider herself as one of them. Nevertheless, if critics consider as feminist the novels of both those two African writers, this is not only because they are focused on topics considered as feminine but because they analyse those topics from the feminine perspective and with the strong wish of change that drive them.

In the troubled present, the heroines of Nsúe Angüe's and Chiziane's novels have to face the cultural clash that assumes the failed meeting between Western cultures and African native cultures carried out in the colonial and post-colonial periods and, at the same time, they have to face as well the contradictions that emerge from their situation as women who, on the one hand, have to respond to the demands of African tradition and, on the other hand, have to respond to the new norms and demands that the contemporary society introduces in Mozambican and Equato-guinean cultures. Chiziane's and Nsúe Angüe's protagonists have to stand in silence the humiliations infringed by their husbands (matrimonial deceit, polygamous families, physical abuse) and, additionally, they have to adapt themselves to the European lifestyle. Chiziane's Vera has to promise her husband that she will leave her ancestral beliefs and convert to Catholicism in order not

⁷ <http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:Epos-2EE69B4E-7418-2875-71E6051492D0C02E&dsID=PDF> (27 IX 2013).

⁸ In both cases, the first date is the date of publication of the novels in Mozambique and the second one, the date of publication in Portugal.

to damage the appearance of modernity that David (her husband) pretends to demonstrate. At the same time, David, behind her back, takes part in black magic rituals. It is expected of *Niketche*'s Rami to be a model wife, that is, submissive and obedient but, at the same time, she is obliged to fix all the problems of her family, even those concerning the public sphere which was traditionally considered as male responsibility. Sarnau of *Balada de amor ao vento* has to stand her polygamous husband, give him a baby boy, serve her husband's mistresses and reduce her own life to domestic work. But, when problems appear, it is her who has to struggle for her children's survival and ensure economically her family. *Ekomo*'s Nnanga, too, cannot ask her husband the reason for his long absence but it is her who has to do her utmost to find him a doctor able to heal his husband's leg and she has to organize a long trip all over the country. That way, Chiziane and Nsúé Angüê show two sorts of social mechanisms that, on the one hand, force African women to obey patriarchal rules when they are favourable to men and, on the other hand, oblige women to solve the problems of the public sphere but in a silenced and masked way. According to both those writers, those double standards are the result of the clash between the traditional and the new. Modernity is misunderstood and badly assumed.

The clash of values causes a drastic change in living conditions of many people's who emigrate from their villages to urban areas. Both, men and women, when they arrive to the cities, they feel out of place but at the same time they are ashamed of their origins. When their children come back to the villages, they feel as well out of place, they do not know the cultural codes of the villages, they do not understand the languages and they do not recognize themselves as heirs to their grandparents' and ancestors' heritage. Nsúé Angüê's Nnanga feels completely lost when she arrives with *Ekomo* to the big city. She does not understand the customs of its inhabitants and its life rules. It is incomprehensible for her, for example, that everyone must pay for food: "How come that they sell food?" (2007: 195), surprised, she asks her husband.

It is just the confrontation between tradition and doubtful modernity in Mozambique and Equato-Guinea, and its consequences in women's lives, what awakens a keen interest in both writers. According to the words of the Brazilian researcher Maria Nazareth Fonseca, Chiziane belongs to the group of writers that present "the development of situations of transculturalization, which generate fusions and penetrations between the colonist's and the colonised's cultures" without "reducing between them to a relation of submission of the second or to a predominant imposition of the first one" (Fonseca 2003: 302–303). Thus, on the one hand, these women writers transmit through their heroines the knowledge of religious and cultural tradition, the knowledge of magic exercises, witchcraft,

sexual initiation and widowhood rituals and taboos existing in the relationships between men and women that oppress women. On the other hand, Nsúe Angüe and Chiziane show as well that the new customs taken to Africa by Europeans, rooted in a foreign mentality and vision of the world, provoked a great confusion in African societies, complicating the formation of new national, cultural and generic identities.

The complicated social, political and ideological situation in Mozambique and Guinea requires from women not only the vindication of their basic rights as citizens, but the individual effort to undertake the process of becoming aware of themselves as women and the process of constructing their new feminine identities. Paulina Chiziane confesses at several occasions that she writes to awaken her compatriots' consciousness, giving them the heroines of her novels as an example. All of them, Sarnua, Rami, Vera, Delfina, Maria das Dores, in the same way as Ekomo's protagonist Nnanga, make a real trip but, at the same time, they make an allegorical trip that makes them understand their inferior positions in society and to change their lives. In case it is impossible to achieve, at least, they change their thinking and their way of looking at the world. This is the case of Nnanga – Ekomo's protagonist, Sarnau – *Balada de amor ao vento's* protagonist, and Rami – *Niketche's* protagonist.

In Chiziane's first novel, we meet Sarnau who, when she was young, fell in love with a boy of her village, Mwando. He left her later after having a loving relationship and he went to the city in order to study to become a priest but, at the end, he married a *mullata* in order to escalate in the social hierarchy. Sarnau is forced to marry a polygamous king she does not love and, when Mwando reappears in her life, she starts an affair with him again. However, when she becomes pregnant, Mwando leaves her again. Being afraid of the revenge of her legitimate husband, Sarnau has to escape from her village, give back the dowry and give back the dowries of another twenty-four marriages that were done thanks to her marriage and, from that moment on, she has to fight alone for her own survival and that of her children. When Mwando comes back again and says he wants to spend the last years of his lifetime with Sarnau, she is not anymore that woman that let herself to be fooled by him again and again. She says to him a few surprising and full of disappointment words: "I will go with you, but pay me in advance. (...) Pay me, Mwando, Pay me. I accepted everything because I loved you, but now it's over, pay me!" (1994: 141). When talking about money, she obviously means the dowry, but this is not the surprising thing in her speech but the firm ascertainment "it's over". We can observe the revolt of the protagonist who, for the first time in her life, is aware of having been abused, damaged, and she is expressing openly the feeling of rage she feels. It is a moment of lucidity

and of conscience of her condition as a woman. Maria Nsúe Angue's heroines have those moments of lucidity too when, for example, Nnanga defies her parents and hides her brother's girlfriend, who was kidnapped by him, or when she allows herself to be kidnapped by Ekomo. Nnangana, who strived to obey her parents, influenced by her friend Bitomo, is led by her own emotions and feelings and questions the established order and she starts her rebellion that way.

Something very similar happens to Rami, *Niketche's* protagonist, Chiziane's second to last novel. Married to Tony for over twenty years, she discovers that she has a reckless husband who has sexual relations with five other women and he has children with them, but he doesn't meet the requirements of traditional polygamy, that is, he does not ensure economically his lovers and their children. And that is, in fact, what upsets Rami, more than her husband's infidelity. Even though Paulina Chiziane confesses that the experience of living in a system of polygamy causes pain and a prolonged psychological discomfort to every woman, she acknowledges that in Africa, traditional polygamy in which a man fulfils his obligations allows a family to function in a normal way. In an interview with Michel Laban, the writer says:

In a situation of polygamy, all the children have their home, their father, their mother, they are not helpless children – and that is not happening nowadays. Well, Mozambican today's society comes from polygamy and men did not get used to the idea of monogamy. So, officially, they are married to only one woman, but they always have three or four and they are begetting children everywhere. Children feel lost, they do not know their father, they do not have a bond with their families, anyhow, they do not have affection to the community. They are a little bit without identity – which did not happen in a traditional family (1998: 976–977).

In order to punish her husband, whom Rami ironically calls a “national husband”, she organizes a “club” of Tony's non-legitimate wives who prepare him a revenge. That consists of a collective dance *Niketche* which the women organise for the polygamist. The name of that dance, that gave its name to the book's title, comes from a dance of the regions of Zambezia and Nampula, in the north of Mozambique. Young women perform that dance at the end of the rites of initiation. That is an erotic and sensual dance that the narrator describes in the following terms: “*Niketche*, the dance of the sun and the moon, the dance of the wind and the rain, the dance of creation. A dance that moves, that arouses, that immobilizes the body and makes the soul fly. (...) In the youth, it awakens the urgency of loving, because *Niketche* is the perfect sensuality, the queen of all sensualities” (2002: 211–212). But the aim of the *Niketche* dance organised by Tony's wives' “club” is not to provide love to the husband. The women do

not want to please Tony but, rather, the “club”, being fed up with a man who never is sexually satisfied, who deceives and who does not suspect that their lovers know each other, decides to make love to him to humiliate and punish him. Women, who are normally harmed by a patriarchal society that uses the tradition to oppress them, this time, the use the tradition in a subversive way, interpreting it for their own benefit. The traditional dance aims to humiliate the evil man. As Saly, one of the wives, says to Tony: “You are going to show today what you are worth” (2002: 143). The man had a task to fulfill sexually five women.

The challenge is too difficult for Tony, since, as the narrator says: “What can do a man with five women? (...) Five weaknesses together turn into too much force” (2002: 143). Chiziane’s heroines, through the dance, not only punish the reckless man but discover their bodies, their sexuality and their erotic force, too. For *Ekomo*’s Nnanga, the dance is a very important interest through which the dancer discovers her erotic force and her vital energy. That is a dance that makes her attractive, seductive and more beautiful than other women. Thanks to that dance, Nnanga discovers her own body, which, from that moment on, will serve not only for reproduction but it will turn into a space for self-awareness and for the construction of female identity, too.

Similarly to other Chiziane’s protagonists, Nnanga is not an educated woman (in the sense of knowing how to read and write), but she practices art and through it, she knows to describe her life and her feelings. The possibility of expressing their inner side is very important as many African women are silenced in their communities. Through that silencing, women are marginalised, decisions are taken by men. Maria Nsúe Angüe in her narrative repeats many times the sentence: “when the *abahas* [wise men, R.DS] speak, women keep silent”. Paulina Chiziane presents in her novels many situations in which women are denied the right to speak.

In the novels of both those writers, which analyse both, the unfavorable situation of women in those countries and their difficult living conditions, these topics awaken an intense interest from both Nsúe Angüe and Chiziane. Rami, *Niketché*’s heroine is accused of killing her husband but that is not true and her husband is not even dead. Rami is subjected to a number of humiliating widowhood rites, like *kutchinga*, the rite of sexual purification of women, in which she is offered to a member of the family of the deceased. She is humiliated by her husband’s family and she has no right to complain. Exactly the same happens to *Ekomo*’s Nnanga when her husband dies. She is beaten and tortured. She describes her agony in the following way: “A kick in the side and a voice orders: - Shut up slut! Who authorized you to shout? / Inside my confusion of dream, death and life, I wonder: - What am I doing? / - Suffer, he shouts with

resentment and without pity / (...) From far away, I hear Nana's voice, which says to me: - You are a widow, you have no right to anything" (2007: 239). Both those writers, presenting the suffering of their heroines, they sensitise the reader about the difficult and unfair conditions of African women (not only widows). Sexist prejudices harm every woman. Paulina Chiziane describes a taboo in her novels. This is why both writers construct their counter-discourse, which are considered as discourses created from a female and historic perspective, that is, from a female critical view to taboos, myths and sexist prejudices. That is, in essence, what Adrienne Rich called "location policy", saying that the crucial issue is "trying to see like a woman, from the heart" (2002: 19–20), postulating what many French feminists critics postulated long before when they formed their project *l'écriture féminine*, according to which female discourses should come from their inner self. Consider the extent to which this postulate is being followed today in the writings of African women writers is a subject for another debate. But, without a shadow of doubt, we can confirm that Paulina Chiziane in Mozambique and María Nsúe Angüe in Equatorial Guinea opened literary works (in Portuguese and Spanish, respectively) for future generations of women writers in those African countries.

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The limitative anaphors

1. The aim and the scope of the paper¹

The aim of this brief paper is to demonstrate the existence of a class of anaphors that are bound by the subject of the same clause whose function is to limit the scope of the proposition to the subject only or only to the elements included in the proposition. The function of these anaphors is distinct from coding coreferentiality of arguments or the function coding point of view (Frajzyngier 1999a).

Terms: Anaphor: a form that is bound somewhere in discourse, as opposed to a deictic form, which is not bound in discourse and whose reference is in the environment of discourse. Different types of anaphors are distinguished by the domains in which they are bound (cf. Frajzyngier 1989).

Functional domain: a domain within a language, wherein all members of the domain share one function. Members of the same functional domain cannot co-occur within the same construction (Frajzyngier, Mycielski 1998).

The paper deals with one type of anaphor in Mupun (West Chadic, Frajzyngier 1993) and one type of anaphor in Polish. The two anaphors share the same function, which is called ‘limitative’ in the present study. The presence of the same, rather rare function in two genetically unrelated and typologically distinct

¹ This brief paper is based on part of a talk I gave at a conference on anaphors, organized by David Gil in 2000 at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, and a talk given the same year at the Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft in Berlin. I am grateful to the audiences at both talks for their questions and comments.

I am offering this modest paper to Eugeniusz in memory of what he may have suffered while listening to my early forays into linguistics and in gratitude for a party at his apartment at Jelonki housing complex to which I was invited shortly before I left Poland.

I am most grateful to Erin Shay for the editorial comments on this paper. All errors of fact or interpretation remain my sole responsibility.

languages is of considerable interest for typology. The paper is organized as follows: In part 2 I describe the anaphor built on the form *mb-* in Mupun. In part 3 I describe the anaphor *sobie* in Polish. In part 4 I discuss the possible motivations for the emergence of the same function in two unrelated languages.

2. The limitative anaphor in Mupun

2.1. The form

The subject-limitative anaphor in Mupun consists of a set composed of the marker *mb-* plus endings coding person and number.

Table 1. Limitative anaphors of Mupun

	Singular	Plural
1P	<i>mb-en</i>	<i>mb-un</i>
2M	<i>mb-ua</i>	<i>mb-uu</i>
2M	<i>mb-ii</i>	
3M	<i>mb-in</i>	<i>mb-ur</i>
3F	<i>mb-er</i>	

All anaphors in this set have mid-tone. Most likely the form *mb-* derives from the noun *mbi* ‘thing’. The following examples illustrate the use of the form *mbi* as a noun:

- (1) a. ʃe se a cin **mbi** d̩ə vəl d̩ə sə mo
 CONS only (H. sai) 2M do thing REL two REL DEM PL
 ‘You must do the following two things.’
- b. a man mbi d̩ə mo pet a can ko a [kwáa]²
 2M know thing REL 3PL call COP cut EXCL INTERR
 ‘Do you know this thing that they call circumcision?’

Anaphors of the *mb-* series code the same person, gender, and number as the subject of the clause in which they occur. Despite this agreement in all features, the anaphors do not code coreferentiality of the subject and object or

² Elicited examples begin with a lower case letter and do not end in a period. Natural discourse examples begin with the upper case letter and end in a period. Tones are not marked. For a description of the tonal behaviour of various morphemes, see Frajzyngier (1993).

the subject and any other participant. Coreferentiality of arguments in Mupun is coded by a different set of pronouns (see Frajzyngier 1993, Chapter 3). The limitative anaphors can follow the verb or the subject noun phrase in equational predications.

2.2. The function

Anaphors of the series *mb-* indicate that the action, process, or event is limited only to the subject, with the explicit exclusion of anybody else. The anaphor can occur with transitive verbs, whose object may or may not be overtly coded (anaphors are bolded):

(2) a. mo toŋ yak **mbur**
 3PL AUX catch LIMIT:3PL
 ‘They always catch [something].’

b. wu maŋ **mb-in** dəm ɓwet n-tul lua
 3M take LIMIT:3M.SG go put PREP-pot meat
 ‘He caught [it], put [it] inside the pot.’

The evidence that the form *mb* + person marker is an anaphor bound by the subject is provided by the ungrammaticality of utterances in which the form *mb* + person marker does not code the same person, gender, and number as the subject:

(3) *wu maŋ **mber** dəm ɓwet n-tul lua
 3M take LIMIT:3F go put PREP-pot meat
 ‘he caught hers, put it inside the pot’

Anaphors of the *mb-* series can be preceded by some quantifiers. The importance of this fact is that anaphors behave like nouns with respect to quantifiers. The diminutive marker occurs only before nouns:

(4) mo toŋ yak laa **mbur**
 3PL AUX catch DIMIN LIMIT:3PL
 ‘They always catch something.’

Although *mb-* series anaphors can occur with transitive verbs, they do not code the object, as evidenced by the fact that the anaphor can co-occur with another nominal object:

- (5) a buon də mo se (la) lua mbur kes ʃe
 after REL 3PL eat DIMIN meat LIMIT:3PL finish SEQ
 mo sam
 3PL sleep
 ‘after they finished eating meat, they slept’ (elicited)

The anaphor *mb-* may not occur after a possessive pronoun. The explanation for this may well lie in the fact that the limitative anaphor has the formal characteristic of a possessive construction, viz. that its erstwhile form was *mb-* ‘thing’ plus possessive pronouns. The sequence of two possessive constructions, especially with different values for the possessor, would constitute an internal contradiction:

- (6) *a buon də mo se (la) lua war mbur
 after REL 3PL eat DIMIN meat 3F:POSS 3PL
 kes ʃe mo sam
 finish SEQ 3PL sleep
 for ‘after they finished eating her meat, they slept’

In addition, if the form *mb* +PERSON is still perceived as the noun ‘thing’ followed by a modifying pronoun, the sequence NOUN+POSS THING+POSS may violate the principle of functional transparency, which states that the role of every constituent in the utterance should be transparent to the listener (Frajzyngier and Shay 2003) as the role of the second noun with a personal pronoun would not be transparent.

Anaphors of the *mb-* set can follow subjects of equational clauses. It is very likely that we see here a semantic extension from the limitative function of the marker to the intensifier function:

- (7) wur mbin də kə sə vit sə yi
 3M LIMIT:3M PAST PREP DEM like that
 ‘He himself has always been like that.’
- (8) an mben doo kə sə vit sə yi
 1SG LIMIT:1SG PAST PREP DEM like that
 ‘I have always been like that myself’

An important piece of evidence for the limitative function of the series *mb-* is that members of this series may not be used if there is a dative/benefactive phrase in

the clause. The presence of a dative/benefactive argument is incompatible with the limitative function of the anaphor (the limitative and benefactive phrases bolded):

- (9) *wu ya **mbin** si kamyor **n-an**
 3M take LIMIT:3M with stick-fork PREP-1SG
 for ‘he took it for me with a stick-fork’
- (10) *wu ya **mbin** **n-an** si kamyor
 3M take LIMIT:3M PREP-1SG with stick-fork
 for ‘he took it for me with a stick-fork’
- (11) *wu maŋ mbin **n-war** dəm ɓwet n-tuul lua
 3M take LIMIT:3M PREP-3F go put PREP-pot meat
 for ‘he took it for her and put it inside the pot’

An explanation for the incompatibility of the limitative anaphor and the dative/benefactive phrase is that the addition of the dative benefactive phrase constitutes direct contradiction of the limitative function of the anaphor. If the limitative function confines the scope of the proposition to the subject only, the addition of another phrase extends the scope. Hence, the two markers are inherently contradictory.

Transitive verbs may be used with the *mb-* anaphor independently of the preceding and the following discourse which provides the evidence that limitative anaphors do not belong to the domain of reference:

- (12) mo wet se **mbur**
 3PL spend a day eat LIMIT:3PL
 ‘they spend the day eating’
- mo wet siwa **mbur**
 3PL spend a day drink LIMIT:3PL
 ‘they spend the day drinking’
- wu dem **mbin**
 3M like LIMIT:3M
 ‘[but] he likes it’ (when contrasted with somebody who does not like it)

There is an interesting constraint on the occurrence of limitative anaphors with intransitive verbs. In clauses in isolation, e.g. in elicited individual clauses with intransitive verbs, the limitative anaphor cannot occur:

(13) *mo wet su **mbur**
 3PL spend a day run LIMIT:3PL
 for ‘they spend the day running’

*mo taa lu **mbur**
 3PL fall swim LIMIT:3PL
 for ‘they swam’

cf.

(14) mo taa lu
 3PL fall swim
 ‘they swam’

(15) a. *wu kə d̄ar **mbin**
 3M HABIT stand LIMIT:3M
 for ‘he usually stands’

b. wu kə d̄ar
 3M HABIT stand
 ‘he usually stands’

*wu yen **mbin**
 3M think LIMIT:3M
 for ‘he thinks’

*wu pan **mbin**
 3M think LIMIT:3M
 for ‘he thinks’

*wu mun **mbin**
 3M forget LIMIT:3M
 for ‘he forgot’

The explanation for the ungrammaticality of these expressions is that intransitive predications can have only subject in their scope, and therefore the use of the limitative anaphor is not necessary. Such a use would result in coding of the same function twice in the same clause. And yet there are clauses with intransitive verbs and with the limitative anaphor. These are clauses in which the limitative anaphor does not have the subject in its scope but rather the whole predication:

- (16) *d̪aŋ* *ʃe* *ji* *yi* *tɔŋ* ***mbii*** *kəsə* *coot* *d̪ak*
 RES SEQ come 2F sit LIMIT:2F like that quiet just
 ‘[knowing all of that] You come here and sit quietly just like that.’ [instead
 of telling us]

2.3. The diminutive: A by-product

The marker *mb-* implies a small amount/size/quantity of an object. The evidence for this property is provided by the fact that anaphors of the series *mb-* can be used with quantifiers indicating a small amount but not with quantifiers indicating a large amount, or ‘all of the possible amount’:

- (17) *mo* *tɔŋ* *yak* ***mbur***
 3PL AUX catch:PL LIMIT:3PL
 ‘they always catch [some]’
- (18) *mo* *tɔŋ* *yak* ***laa*** ***mbur***
 3PL AUX catch:PL DIMIN LIMIT:3PL
 ‘they always catch some’
- mo* *tɔŋ* *yak* ***pak*** ***mbur***
 3PL AUX catch:PL some LIMIT:3PL
 ‘they always catch some’

Compare the ungrammaticality of utterances with quantifiers indicating a large amount:

- (19) **mo* *tɔŋ* *yak* ***mbur*** ***kədən***
 3PL AUX catch-PL LIMIT:3PL all
 for ‘they always catch all’
- **mo* *tɔŋ* *yak* ***jir*** ***mbur***
 3PL AUX catch-PL all 3PL
 for ‘they always catch all’

Here is a natural discourse example with the diminutive quantifier:

- (20) *d̪ur* *paa* *pə* *cet* *gwom* *maŋ* *nar*
 3PL HYP PREP cook food take loincloth

6e mo se **laa** **mbur**
 SEQ 3PL eat DIMIN 3PL

‘They would cook food-for-taking-the-laincloth (breakfast) and then eat some of it themselves’ (without sharing it).’

One cannot replace the last phrase in the sentence above with the following phrase:

- (21) a. *mo se **mbur** **des**
 3PL eat LIMIT:3PL a lot
 for ‘and they ate a lot of it’

Without the anaphor *mbur*, the sentence is grammatical with the quantifier *des* ‘a lot’:

- (21) b. . . .mo se **des**
 3PL eat a lot
 ‘. . .they eat a lot’

The question of how the limitative function acquired diminutive characteristics without any kind of diminutive morphology, remains to be explored. At this stage one may only speculate that limiting the scope of the event to the subject only facilitated the semantic extension to the diminutive. But it certainly is not an automatic outcome of limitative function, as evidenced by Polish, where no such characteristic is present.

3. The limitative anaphor in Polish

Polish has a marker *sobie* (*se*, in many non-literary varieties and in colloquial speech), a dative reflexive marker that codes coreferentiality between the subject and dative argument (cf. Laskowski 1984:276ff, Frajzyngier 1999 and references therein). The following examples illustrate the coreferentiality function of the marker where it is glossed as REFL:DAT for reflexive dative):

- (22) a. może tak przypomniałem **sobie** jakąś
 perhaps so recall:1SGM:PAST REFL:DAT some:ACC
 częśćkę tego, co musiałbym przypomnieć
 particle:ACC DEM:GEN what have:1SG:M:HYP recall
 ‘Maybe I recalled a small part of what I would have to recall’³

³ Polish data, if no source is given, come from textual sources for the Polish Frequentative Dictionary, edited by Kurcz et al. (1990).

- b. proszę przypomnieć **sobie** Termopile.
 please recall REFL:DAT Thermopylae
 ‘Try to recall Thermopylae’

The evidence that *sobie* in the above clause codes coreferentiality between the subject and indirect object is provided by the fact that the verb *przypomnieć* without this marker means ‘to remind’ and implies the existence of the person to whom something is reminded:

- (23) przypomnij mi
 remind:IMPER 1SG:DAT
 ‘remind me!’

Here is an example of coding coreferentiality between the subject and indirect object with plural participants, which implies reciprocal functions (Frajzyngier 1999b):

- (24) pomagajmy **sobie.** ja tobie, ty
 help:1PL:SUBJ REFL:DAT 1SG:NOM 2SG:DAT 2SG:NOM
 mnie.
 1SG:ACC
 ‘Let’s help each other. I [will help] you, you [will help] me.’

The marker *sobie* has also a different function, that of limiting the interpretation of the event either to the subject only or to the predicate. In this function, the coreferentiality function is ruled out.

The form *sobie* is obligatory with verbs of mental processes necessarily limited to subject, e.g. *wyobraża* ‘imagine’. This verb cannot be used with indirect objects. The limitative marker has become a part of the predicate:

- (25) To jest okrucieństwo. Wyobrażam **sobie**
 DEM be:3SG cruelty. imagine:1SG:PRES LIMIT
 dalsze uduchowanie.
 further:ACC spirituality:ACC
 ‘This is cruelty. I imagine further [increase in] spirituality.’

The verb *uświadamiać* ‘realize’ frequently, though not obligatorily, occurs with the marker *sobie*:

- (26) ty też chcesz mu coś powiedzieć,
 2SG also want:2SG:PRES 3M:DAT something say
 zbliżasz swoją twarz do jego
 approach:2M:SG:PRES REFL:POSS face to 3M:POSS
 twarzy, ale w tej chwili oboje uświadamiacie
 face:GEN but in this moment:GEN both realize:2PL:PRES
sobie, że macie za dużo do powiedzenia,
 LIMIT COMP have:2PL:PRES too much to say
 na próżno szukacie słów, więc tylko
 on vain search2PL:PRES word:GEN:PL so only
 coraz bardziej nachylacie się ku sobie
 ever more incline:2PL:PRES REFL PREP REFL
 ‘You also want to tell him something, so you approach his face with
 yours, and you both realize that you have too much to say to each other,
 so you incline yourselves to each other more and more’ (if *sobie* is
 deleted, some other phrase in the dative case must be used)

The verb *uświadamiać* ‘realize’ cannot take other nouns or pronouns in the dative case. It can take other nouns or pronouns in the accusative case, but then it has a different function.

The limited anaphor also occurs, albeit non-obligatorily, with other verbs, e.g. *myśleć* ‘think’, which also cannot take complements other than *sobie* in the dative:

- (27) że-by-ś **sobie** nie myślała, że
 COMP-HYP-2SG LIMIT NEG think:3F:PAST COMP
 mnie się tak bardzo pali do
 1SG:DAT REFL so very much burn:3SG:PRES to
 tego wyjazdu.
 that:GEN departure
 ‘Do not think that I am all that eager for this trip.’

The evidence that the anaphor *sobie* has the limitative function is provided by the fact that the clause in which the form *sobie* occurs cannot have other benefactive phrases added. There are two instantiations of *se* in the sentence below. In neither of these clauses can another benefactive phrase be added:

- (28) a on na to nie dbow,
 CONJ 3M PREP DEM NEG care:3M:SG:PAST

poleciov i wzion se go
 run:3M:SG:PRF:PAST CONJ take:3M:SG:PRF:PAST LIMIT 3M
 pot pazuhó i pot pazuhom
 under arm pit:INSTR CONJ under arm pit:INSTR
 nius se go
 carry:3M:G:PAST LIMIT 3M:SG:ACC
 ‘He didn’t care about it. He ran away, took it under his armpit, and under his arm pit carried it’ (Nitsch 1960: 115)

The additional piece of evidence for the limitative function of the marker *sobie* is provided by the fact that clauses with this marker cannot be complemented by subordinate clauses of purpose marked by *żeby* ‘in order to’. Note that the so called reflexive pronoun *się* in the accusative case can occur with the complement clause of purpose.

The limitative function of *sobie* can have the predicate in its scope:

- (29) a. Babka klasa. Ty **sobie** żyjesz.
 broad class 2SG LIMIT live:2SG
 ‘First class broad. You do live!
 - ja.
 1SG
 -me?
 - co ja wiem o życiu.
 what 1SG know:1SG about life
 ‘What do I know about life?’

Without the marker *sobie*, the first clause in (29) would be a contradiction of somebody’s presupposition:

- (29) b. Babka klasa. Ty żyjesz.
 broad class 2SG live:2SG
 ‘First class broad. You are alive!’ [The speaker is surprised or is trying to convince the listener]

The evidence that the anaphor in (29) limits the scope of the utterance to the proposition only is provided by the fact that the clause cannot have either an indirect object added or the purpose clause with the subordinator *żeby* added.

The form *sobie* is used with intransitive verbs. Here, its limitative function does not limit the event to the subject only but rather indicates the only event in which the subject is involved. This is particularly true with the verb *iść* ‘go’:

- (30) pójdzie **sobie**, to się wszystko zmieni.
 go:3SG:FUT LIMIT DEM REFL everything change
 ‘Once he goes away, everything will change.’
- (31) idź **sobie**, nie chcę ciębie widzieć,
 go LIMIT NEG want:1SG:PRES 2SG:ACC see
 nie chcę,
 NEG want:1SG:PRES
 ‘Go already! I do not want to see you, I do not want.’
- (32) ostro **sobie** poczynasz.
 sharply LIMIT act:2SG:PRES
 ‘You behave quite sharply!’

The form *sobie* cannot be used in the negative clause, which is evidence for its limitative function:

- (33) - nie uciekaj. albo uciekaj **sobie**
 NEG run away:IMPER or run away:IMPER LIMIT
 i tak nic nie pomoże. Ty
 CONJ so nothing NEG help:3SG:FUT 2SG
 jutra nie dożyjesz, Kachna
 tomorrow:ACC NEG live Kachna
 ‘Run, or do not run, anyhow, you will not live till tomorrow, Kachna’
- (34) Byłam **sobie** takim śmiesznym
 be:1SG:F:PAST LIMIT such:INSTR funny:INSTR
 gońcem
 messenger:INSTR
 ‘I was just a funny messenger.’

The limitative anaphor in Polish can be used with quantifiers indicating diminutive and augmentative characteristics of an object or event, as evidenced by the following examples from the Polish National Corpus (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego):

Diminutive:

- (35) Od naszego spotkania we Wrocławiu,
 since our:GEN meeting:GEN in Wrocław:LOC
 kiedy **sobie trochę** pohulałyśmy
 when LIMIT a bit corouse:PRF:PAST1PL:F
 ‘From the time of our encounter in Wrocław, when we caroused a little bit’

Augmentative:

- (36) Bo wiesz... Ja **sobie dużo** przemyślałam
 because know:2sg:PRES 1SG limit a lot thought:PRF:PAST1SG:F
 ‘Because you know... I thought things over a lot’

4. Conclusions

The study has documented the existence of a hitherto undescribed function of limiting the scope of the proposition to the subject only or to the proposition only. In Mupun and in Polish, this function is marked by limitative anaphors which are bound by the subject of the same clause. In Mupun this binding is reflected in the agreement in person, gender, and number. In Polish, it is reflected in the dative reflexive form *sobie*, distinct from non-reflexive dative forms for all persons. The evidence that the marker *sobie* in Polish limits the scope of the proposition only to the elements included in the proposition is that the proposition cannot be augmented by a purpose clause.

The limitative anaphor in Mupun has diminutive characteristics, while the limitative anaphor in Polish does not.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	HABIT	habitual
2	second person	HYP	hypothetical
3	third person	INTERR	interrogative
ACC	accusative	LIMIT	limitative
AUX	auxiliary	LOC	locative
CONS	consecutive	M	masculine
COP	copula	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PREP	preposition
DIMIN	diminutive	PRES	present
EXCL	exclusive	REFL	reflexive
F	feminine	REL	relative
GEN	genitive	SEQ	sequential
H.	Hausa	SG	singular

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What does it mean to be an endangered language? The state of Akie, a Tanzanian language

There are a number of reasons for devoting this paper to Eugeniusz Rzewuski. Most of all, the paper is concerned with one of Tanzania's languages, and these languages were an important part of his academic life. And second, Eugeniusz was present when the first- and the second-named authors met and became a couple, thus, he became in some way a part of their personal union. The present paper is based on field survey carried out within the *DoBeS* (Documentation of Endangered Languages) program of the *VolkswagenStiftung* (Volkswagen Foundation) between January 21 and March 20, 2013.¹

1. Introduction

Language endangerment in Africa is of a different nature than in many other parts of the world. Globalization and the impact of languages such as English or French is not a major problem for the maintenance of African languages. Language loss is not less a factor in Africa than it is elsewhere in the world, but

¹ The three-year project, "Akie in Tanzania – documenting a critically endangered language" (AZ. 86 405), is directed by Karsten Legère and Christa König. We wish to express our gratitude to the *VolkswagenStiftung* for all its support. Our gratitude is also due to the University of Dar es Salaam and various other authorities in the Republic of Tanzania for providing us with a research permission to carry out this research and for all the support they gave us during this research (Research clearance of the University of Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. AB3/3(B), as well as of Tanga Region, Ref. No. DA. 258/288/02/84, 14th August, 2012).

the replacing languages are as a rule not international languages such as those of the former colonial powers but rather fellow African languages (Brenzinger 2007: 197; Sommer 2007). The Akie are no exception to this generalization: Their language is endangered but not by the global language English, co-official language of Tanzania.

Akie has in fact been classified as a seriously endangered language (Brenzinger 2007: 199) or a language that is probably dying out, being replaced by Maasai (Maguire 1948: 10; Sommer 1992: 305). Based on a field survey that was recently carried out by the authors, the present paper looks into the question of what the present state of a language is that more than sixty years ago was believed to be in a process of extinction.

1.1. The Akie language

The Akie-speaking people inhabit mainly the Kilindi District of Tanga Region and the Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts of Manyara Region of Northeastern Tanzania between Handeni to the east and Kibaya to the west. The language is fairly homogeneous, there do not appear to be any dialect or other noticeable linguistic cleavages, even if phonetic variation among speakers is quite pronounced. The language is not used in writing.

The Akie call themselves *akie* (sg. *aki-ánte*). According to Rottland (1982: 305; p.c.), their autonym is *ákiék* (with unreleased final *k*). The number of Akie speakers is unknown. Sommer (1992: 305) mentions a figure of less than 1000, and Brenzinger (2007: 199) of 50 speakers, both classifying it as a seriously endangered language. As we will see below (Section 3.1, Table 2), the latter figure is distinctly too low, but it is presumably less than 200 people who still speak Akie.

The Akie are known in Tanzania as *Ndorobo*, a term originating from the Maasai noun *ol-tórobóni* (sg.), *il-tórobo* (pl.) ‘people without cattle, poor people’. The term, also applied to other traditional hunter-gatherer groups in the area, such as Kisankare (*kisaŋkáre*), Kinyalang’ate (*kínalanjáte*), and Aasá (Áasa, Aramaní), clearly having derogatory connotations but used by the Akie people themselves vis-à-vis other ethnic groups.

Earlier information about Akie falls under the rubric of research on “Ndorobo”, “Dorobo”, or Mósiro (Maguire 1948; Maghimbi 2005; Legère 2006). The only readily available linguistic material stems from Rottland (1982). What Rottland’s work demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt is that Akie is a language closely related to the cluster of Kalenjin languages spoken in Kenya, Northern Tanzania, and Southeastern Uganda, including the Kenyan traditional hunter-gatherer communities commonly referred to as Okiek. The Akie are, however, unaware of

this relationship; there are no contacts of any kind with their linguistic relatives in Kenya and Uganda, or in Tanzania.

Being a member of the Kalenjin cluster, Akie belongs to the Southern Nilotic branch of the Nilotic family (see Rottland 1982). The latter has been classified as belonging to the Eastern Sudanic branch of the Nilo-Saharan phylum (Greenberg 1963).

1.2. The linguistic environment

The neighbors of the Akie are the Maasai to the north, west, and south, and the Nguu to the east. Furthermore, there are two traditional hunter-gatherer groups speaking moribund languages, namely Kisankaré and Kinyaḡaláte, which like Akie belong to the Southern Nilotic group of Nilo-Saharan languages (König et al. 2013).

The Akie, or at least many of them, classify their human environment into the following groups:

- a) *akie* (sg. *aki-ánte*): These are the Akie proper but also include fellow hunter-gatherers, in particular the Kisankare and Kinyalang'ate, and the Aramaní (or Áasa, Aasá, Aramanik; see Petrollino and Mous 2010).²
- b) *puuní* (sg. *puúni-ante*), the Maasai, renowned for wearing clothes imported from Mozambique and to be extravagant also in other ways.
- c) *ikwáápi* (sg. *ikwáápi-nte*), being similar in language to the Maasai but speaking a dialect not easy to understand for the Akie. Many of them, commonly found around Kibirashi, wear “Islamic clothes”. All evidence available suggests that these are the Paraguyu (Baraguyu), the southern-most Maasai offshoot, referred to in the older literature as the “Kwavi” (or “Kwafi”).
- d) *mēyē* (sg. *mēyw-ante*), commonly referred to as the “Swahili”. They are farmers, wear European clothes and belong mostly to the Bantu-speaking peoples of Northeastern Tanzania (Nguu, Kagulu, Zigua, Chaga, etc.), but also the Sandawe to the west, speaking a “Khoisan” (click) language.
- e) *isánke* (sg. *isankái-nte*). This group is difficult to isolate, it includes in particular the Bantu-speaking Gogo of the Dodoma area and Pare of the Pare mountains.
- f) *púrunkeisyē* (sg. *púrunkési*), described as the “Burunge” people, living to the west, although the locational or ethnic description is not really very precise. Presumably, these are or include the Burunge, speaking a Southern Cushitic

² Note that we are restricted here to the terminology used by the Akie proper. Karsten Legère visited the Aramaní in Nájuu, where they were called Lamanik and referred to as *wandorobo* rather than *akie*.

language. The Akie claim that they share with them the same origin and that they are linked to them by a joking relationship (Swahili *utani*).

As we will see below, it is three languages that are important for the Akie for their social interaction with the outside world, namely

- Swahili, the national language and one of the two official languages of Tanzania,
- Maasai, like Akie a Nilotic language, spoken by the *puuni*, and
- Nguu (Ngulu, G31 according to the reference system of Bantuists) of the Zigula-Zaramo group of Bantu languages (Guthrie 1948; Nurse, Philippon 2003).

1.3. Demographic and sociolinguistic observations

The present paper rests mainly on the findings of a sociolinguistic survey that we were able to carry out in Gitu and other locations inhabited by Akie in Northeastern Tanzania. In this survey, demographic and sociolinguistic information was collected on 115 people who claimed, or were claimed by other Akie, to belong to the Akie community. Whether, or to what extent, this sample is representative of the Akie as a whole is open to question; we suspect that the sample includes less than half of all the people classifying themselves as Akie. The main data collected within this survey are presented in König et al. (2013, Appendix 1).

2. Demographic data

The survey data are not entirely balanced with regard to age. Table 1 suggests that old people are somewhat over- and the age group between 40 and 59 numerically underrepresented. The proportion of the two sexes on the other hand is rather equal: There are altogether 58 male and 57 female persons in the sample.

Table 1. Age of the Akie persons represented in the survey (based on König et al. 2013, Appendix 1)

Age group	Number	Percentage
60 and over	30	26.3
40–59	16	14.0
20–39	33	29.0
2–19	35	30.7
Total	114	100.0

Since most of the survey work was carried out in the area around Gitu it comes as no surprise that most persons, namely 37 (32.2%), are residents of this general area, followed by Olmoti with 19 (16.5%), Kitwai with 15 (13.0%), and Jungu with 9 persons (7.8%).³

As the survey confirmed, the Akie have a generally fairly low level of education. Out of 111 people for which there is information, 93 (83.8%) do not have any formal or informal education, 11 (9.9%) had been to school for one or a few years or had undergone self-training, and only 7 (6.3%) had completed primary school education. None had seen a secondary school, and none had any knowledge of English.

Another characteristic can be seen in a low rate of geographical mobility. 82.1% of all persons (92 out of 112) have never traveled outside their home area, not even to local trade centers such as Handeni or Kibaya, and the remaining 17.9% (20) had gone away mostly for some specific reason. For women, such a reason was either work as a traditional healer or marriage. Some men had worked outside as night watchmen, some as far away as Dar es Salaam, but the majority (6) were, or still are, working as rangers or tourist guides in game parks (Selous, Tarangire, Serengeti, etc.).

45% of the persons (49 out of 109) are married while 38.5% (42) are unmarried and 16.5% (18) are widow(er)s. Perhaps noteworthy is the fact that clearly more than half of all men (31 out of 54) are unmarried, the reason usually given being that they cannot afford to pay for the brideprice (ranging the equivalent of roughly between 100 and 250 Euros). Marriage is mostly an Akie-internal matter; among the 40 cases of marriages that we documented, 31 involved fellow Akie spouses and only 9 non-Akie, most of all Kisankaré, Maasai and Nguu spouses, in that order. Roughly half of the persons (51.5%, 52 out of 101) have no children. The 101 persons for whom there is information had a total of 185 children, that is, there is an average rate of 1.83 children per person.

A somewhat remarkable observation made in both the survey and our interviews concerned the young age of married females. Out of the 21 girls below 20 of age, ten were married and two already widowed. Note that three of the married girls were ten years or younger; marriage of girls below the age of 10 is by no means uncommon among the Akie. 14 had no children while 7 had children, two of them four children, and two others five and six children, respectively. Altogether, the 21 girls had 23 children.

³ Kitwai is divided into two residential areas, namely Kitwai A and Kitwai B. Our consultants did not make this distinction; hence, “Kitwai” stands for both areas.

3. Language knowledge

3.1. General

The survey and the interviews we carried out in parallel revealed a number of perhaps noteworthy features. First, unlike in many other African societies there is hardly any significant difference between the two sexes in the patterns of language knowledge and language use. We therefore decided not to distinguish between the sexes in the quantitative data to be presented below.

Second, Akie – both men and women – are pronouncedly multilingual. There is the widespread expectation that a good Akie has four primary languages, namely Akie, Maasai, Nguu, and Swahili, where “primary language” means that he or she is fully competent in each of them and can handle each in a given context without any limitations.⁴

And third, while Akie is widely accepted as the main linguistic and cultural tool of communication, it is not clearly the most important language of the community. This claim rests on the following observations. First, as Table 2 shows, Maasai is spoken by more Akie than their own language. This becomes especially obvious when one combines the figures of primary and secondary speakers of Table 2: The language known by most Akie people is neither Akie nor Maasai but Swahili (87.9%) followed by Maasai (79.5%), while Akie (76.6%) takes only the third position. And second, there appears to be a widespread assumption among the Akie that Maasai is the most appropriate tool of communication even in some settings relating to conventional Akie interaction.

The following example may illustrate this point. When we were traveling in Akie country from Balang’a to Jungu we took Lukuwa along, the only Akie we had found in Balang’a to have a thorough command of the language. He was proud of this and insisted speaking Akie with us even though he was aware that our speaking knowledge of the language was still non-existent. The more we were surprised that during the ride he had a vivid conversation with our main Akie consultant Bahati, and they were using almost exclusively Maasai. When we later asked Bahati on this point he would say that Lukuwa lacked a few Akie words and so it was more convenient for both to use Maasai.

Similar observations were made time and again when we were camping in Gitu Juu, an area inhabited entirely by Akie. The main language used among the Akie was not Akie but Maasai. The reason given in many cases was that

⁴ Due to the fluid and variable patterns of language acquisition and language use, terms such as “mother tongue” or first language do not appear to be very helpful here.

in a modern world, Maasai provided a more appropriate means of expressing oneself.

But Akie and Maasai form only one part of the linguistic repertoire that people dispose of; as Table 2 shows, Nguu (or Ngulu) and Swahili are not only useful secondary languages but are also spoken by a sizable portion of the population as primary languages.

Table 2. Languages known by the Akie people (based on König et al. 2013, Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
Akie	61.1%	11.5%	27.4%	100	113
Maasai	65.2%	14.3%	20.5%	100	112
Nguu	49.0%	22.1%	28.9%	100	104
Swahili	38.4%	49.5%	12.1%	100	99
English	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100	113
Other languages	0.0%	2.4%	97.6%	100	86

3.2. Age and language endangerment

In the present section we are concerned with age-related differences in language knowledge. Our focus here is on the question of whether Akie is endangered by language replacement. Presumably the most reliable indicator of possible language replacement is found in a differential generational patterning of language knowledge, and we will therefore be restricted to a comparison of two of the age groups distinguished in Section 1.4.1 (Table 1), namely people below 20 years of age and people from 20 years onward.

While Akie is usually transmitted by parents to their children, it is an endangered language. Brenzinger (2007: 199) classifies it even as a seriously endangered language, that is, as one that is spoken only by the grandparental generation and above (see Krauss 2007: 1). As can be seen in Table 3, this is not entirely in accordance with the findings made in our survey. Akie is spoken as a primary language by nearly three quarters of the adult population, even if hardly more than one third of the people below 20 years have a full command of it, and more than half of the young population (54.3% of Table 3) are ignorant of it altogether. Accordingly, it would seem more appropriate to classify Akie as “instable” or “eroded” in the sense of Krauss (2007: 1), that is, as one that is still spoken by at least some children.

Table 3. Numbers of Akie having a knowledge of Akie (based on König et al. 2013, Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
20 and over	73.1%	11.5%	15.4%	100	78
2–19	34.3%	11.4%	54.3%	100	35
Total (perc.)	61.1%	11.5%	27.4%	100	
Total	69	13	31	100	113

Does this mean that Akie people are in a process of shifting from their own language to Maasai? The figures in Table 4 suggest that there is no clear answer to this question. If the figures can be taken to reflect a change from one generation of speakers to another then they suggest that in much the same way as Akie is losing speakers, Maasai is gaining speakers, being one of the primary languages of four out of six young Akie – that is, Maasai appears to be the most important means of communication for younger Akie. For more evidence in support of this hypothesis, see Sections 3.4–3.6.

Table 4. Numbers of Akie having a knowledge of Maasai (based on König et al. 2013, Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
20 and over	80.5%	15.6%	3.9%	100	77
2–19	60.0%	11.4%	28.6%	100	35
Total (perc.)	65.2%	14.3%	20.5%	100	
Total	73	16	23	100	112

Nevertheless, there is no clear indication that Maasai will replace Akie. First, for about a third of all younger Akie (34.3%, Table 3), their own language is still a primary language. And second, almost one third of younger Akie have no knowledge of Maasai. On the basis of such observations it would seem hard to predict how attitudes on language behavior will develop in the years to come.

With its focus on a pastoralist economy and way of life, Maasai culture provided, and still provides, the most attractive alternative to the traditional Akie way of life, the more so since the Maasai (including Paraguyu) of the

Kilindi District are gradually on the way of adapting their life style to that of a modern nation state. At the same time, the Akie are fully aware that they will not be able to become an integral part of Maasai culture – there are simply too many socioeconomic and psychological barriers separating the two societies.

That Akie society is vulnerable to the impact of Maasai language and culture is suggested by a number of observations. One concerns traditional Akie culture. An office strongly embedded in this culture is that of the traditional circumcizer: The office bearer, Gumbo, is Akie but carries his work out in Maasai since he is unable to speak Akie. And much the same applies to one of the most influential traditional healers of the Akie: She as well has to perform her medical services in Maasai, being essentially ignorant of the Akie language.

Another observation concerns the language. Lexical borrowing from Maasai is not restricted to concepts alien to Akie culture but extends to concepts that are deeply entrenched in inherited Akie culture. The “Blessing-the-Weapons” ceremony is deep at the core of Akie cultural performance. Nevertheless, in addressing the ancestors, the elder uses the Maasai borrowing *loshoo* ‘country’ even though there is the inherited Akie equivalent *kie* ‘country’ that is otherwise widely used. And instead of the Akie word for ‘God’, *tóroreita*, the Maasai equivalent *lenkár* (Maasai *enkái*) is frequently used to invoke God.

But there is now another linguistic alternative. In this situation, the Bantu-speaking Nguu (Ngulu) neighbors to the east are increasingly becoming important for the Akie. Nguu farmers are gradually turning the lower parts of the country formerly occupied by the Akie into crop fields (especially maize), and the Akie are more and more becoming aware that their hunting and gathering existence might not provide a sufficient basis for survival. Accordingly, they are copying Nguu techniques of growing maize, beans, yams, and other crops. The effects of this gradual shift towards an agriculturalist way of life have linguistic implications: As Table 5 suggests, Nguu has become one of the primary languages of the Akie, being part of the latter’s repertoire of linguistic codes. Nevertheless, there are no clear indications that Nguu might be a language to displace Akie. As Table 5 shows, Nguu is less common among young Akie (41.9%, Table 5) than among older Akie, and roughly two out of five young Akie (38.7%, Table 5) have no knowledge of the Nguu language.

Table 5. Numbers of Akie having a knowledge of Nguu (Based on König et al. 2013, Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
20 and over	52.1%	23.3%	24.6%	100	73
2–19	41.9%	19.4%	38.7%	100	31
Total (perc.)	49.0%	22.1%	28.9%	100	
Total	51	23	30	100	104

Finally, the question is whether Tanzania's national language Swahili might be the one that will become the Akie's main tool of future linguistic communication; note that Swahili has been or is being responsible for language death in Tanzania in a number of other cases, having already replaced various other languages. The figures presented in Table 6 suggest that this question must also be answered in the negative. To be sure, Swahili is known by more young people than any other language, but most of the people concerned are secondary language speakers (48.6% of Table 6). As a primary language, Swahili is spoken by clearly fewer Akie below 20 years of age (17.1% of Table 6) than any of the other languages, that is, Akie, Maasai, and Nguu. On account of such quantitative data, supported by the interviews we were able to carry out, Swahili does not seem to be an immediate threat to the present role played by Akie, or any of the other languages for that matter.

Table 6. Numbers of Akie having a knowledge of Swahili (based on Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
20 and over	43.2%	43.2%	13.6%	100	74
2–19	17.1%	48.6%	34.3%	100	35
Total (perc.)	38.4%	49.5%	12.1%	100	
Total	38	49	12	100	99

3.3. Sex

As we noted in Section 2 (Table 1), our sample of Akie consultants is fairly balanced with regard to the two sexes: It contains altogether 58 male and 57 female persons. And so is the language behavior of the two sexes: There is hardly

any significant difference between the two sexes in the patterns of language knowledge and language use. We therefore decided not to distinguish between the sexes in the quantitative data to be presented below.

3.4. Geographical mobility

We observed in Section 2 that the Akie exhibit a low rate of geographical mobility: More than 80 per cent of the entire population have never traveled outside their home area. The question that we want to look into in this section is whether traveling has any effect on the patterns of language knowledge. Table 7 provides data on the language knowledge of Akie people who have traveled outside their traditional home area, even if that may have been only for a short period.

Considering that the number of persons concerned amounts to only 20, the results of Table 7 are not really statistically significant. Nevertheless, compared to the totals of language knowledge presented in Table 2, they suggest the following: The status of Akie as a primary language is slightly reduced (from 61.1% to 50%) and there is a notable increase in secondary language speakers (from 11.5% to 25%). There also does not appear to be a significant difference in the knowledge profile of Nguu: The number of primary language speakers decreases (from 49% to 35%) and that of secondary language speaker increases (from 22.1% to 35%), but overall there is no dramatic change. And much the same applies to Swahili, even if it slightly gains in primary language speakers (from 38.4% to 45%) though not in secondary language speakers.

Traveling also does not seem to provide an incentive to acquire any additional languages: None of the persons who had been outside the home area had extended his or her inventory of languages known. More specifically, English has remained a *lingua incognita* for all Akie, although a number of them have been exposed to the language when employed in the tourist industry of the major national game resorts.

There are nevertheless two noteworthy observations to be made on the people who have spent some time outside their home area. One concerns the four women of this group (see the data in König et al. 2013, Appendix 1): None of them speaks Akie as a primary language, while all have Maasai as one or their only primary language. This contrasts sharply with the knowledge pattern of the 16 men of the group: For ten of them (i.e., 62.5%), Akie is one of the primary languages.

The second observation concerns the role played by Maasai and Swahili. All twenty persons of the group do know Maasai, and for 95% of them it is the, or one of the primary languages. What this might suggest is that, rather than the national language Swahili, it is Maasai that turns into the main vehicle of linguistic communication for Akie moving out of their traditional settlement

area. At the same time, Swahili is also becoming more important for these people; all 20 people having traveled outside their home area have at least some knowledge of it.

Table 7. Languages known by Akie people who have been outside their home area (based on König et al. 2013, Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
Akie	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100	20
Maasai	95.0%	5.0%	0.0%	100	20
Nguu	35.0%	35.0%	30.0%	100	20
Swahili	45.0%	55.0%	0.0%	100	20
English	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100	20
Other languages	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100	0

3.5. Education

In our survey we made a distinction between formal education and education acquired informally, either via self-training or via some institution that is not part of the official schooling system of Tanzania. As was observed in Section 2, 83.8% of all Akie have no education of any kind, 9.9% have been to school for one or a few years or had undergone self-training, only 6.3% had completed primary school education, while not a single Akie person was found to have been to a secondary or other school of higher learning.

In the figures presented below, no distinction is made between different kinds of education due to the small numbers of speakers; it was only 18 persons (out of 111 people interviewed) who had some education of any kind. It goes without saying that this small number does not allow for significant generalizations, and the following observations must be seen in this light.

As Table 8 suggests, education appears to have an impact on language knowledge. This impact is not really dramatic in the case of Akie, Swahili, and Nguu. While the number of people having Akie as a primary language is lower (50%) than the overall figure of 61.1% in Table 2, that of secondary language speakers is higher (22.2% vs. 11.5%). The opposite effect can be observed in the role of Swahili: The number of primary language speakers is considerably higher (61.1% vs. 38.4%), but that of secondary speakers is correspondingly lower (33.3% vs. 49.5%). Considering that Swahili is the main or the only medium of

instruction in the primary schools of the area, it may be somewhat surprising that the overall number of Swahili speakers does not seem to rise when Akie speakers are exposed to education.

But the most remarkable effect of education can be seen in the role played by Maasai: Nearly nine out of ten (88.9%) Akie having some education know it as a primary language, distinctly more than any other language. What this suggests is that when Akie people have access to the education system, this leads to an expansion in the knowledge of Maasai. Considering that this language is not a medium of instruction in schools, this finding would seem to be unexpected.

Another unexpected observation concerns English: Having been to school does not change the situation that we observed overall in the Akie community: English has so far not found any access in the community. Note that English is one of the two official languages of Tanzania, though it is not a medium of instruction in any of the schools frequented by Akie people.

Table 8. Languages known by Akie people having some formal or informal education (based on Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
Akie	50.0%	22.2%	27.8%	100	18
Maasai	88.9%	5.5%	5.5%	99.9	18
Nguu	55.6%	11.1%	33.3%	100	18
Swahili	61.1%	33.3%	5.6%	100	18
English	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100	13
Other languages	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100	13

3.6. Inter-ethnic marriages

There are 13 Akie persons in our sample who have spouses not belonging to the Akie community, 10 of them women and 3 men. The largest group of non-Akie spouses is that of Maasai (5), followed by Kisankaré (3), Nguu and Kinyalanjate (2 each), and Zigua (1). All five Akie married to Maasai are females.

Does language competence of this group differ from that found overall in the Akie community as summarized in Table 2? Table 9 suggests the following answer: The percentage of Akie primary language speakers is slightly lower in this group (53.8%) than that of the total of Akie of our sample (61.1%, Table 2), while that of Nguu speakers is correspondingly higher (61.5% vs. 49.0% overall).

A perhaps remarkable outcome of the survey can be seen in the fact that the knowledge status of the national language Swahili does appear to be affected by inter-ethnic marriages involving Akie people, the number of primary speakers remaining stable (38.5% vs. 38.4%).

In accordance with the observations made above on the contribution of geographical mobility and education (Sections 3.4–3.5) it is again the Maasai language that turns out to be the winner: More than nine tenths of all Akie having a spouse from another ethnic community use Maasai as their primary language, and we did not meet a single Akie in this group who did not have at least some knowledge of this language. This clearly implies that whenever Akie people are exposed to social contexts beyond that of their traditional culture, the most dramatic sociolinguistic effect is that Maasai turns into the main medium of linguistic communication.

Table 9. Languages known by Akie people married to non-Akie (based on König et al. 2013, Appendix 1)

Age group	Their primary language	A secondary language	No knowledge	Total in percent	Total number of persons
Akie	53.8%	15.4%	30.8%	100	13
Maasai	92.3%	7.7%	0%	100	13
Nguu	61.5%	7.7%	30.8%	100	13
Swahili	38.5%	46.1%	15.4%	100	13
English	0.0%	0.0%	100%	100	11
Other languages	0.0%	18.2%	81.8%	100	11

4. Conclusions

The patterns of language knowledge and language use among the Akie are complex and it is hard to predict any general trends of development. The most plausible conclusion would be that the Akie people are heading for a situation of quadrilingualism where each of the four languages, namely Akie, Maasai, Nguu, and Swahili, has its place and its preferred functional domain. Akie relates the community to its traditional past, which is far from becoming extinct. Maasai symbolizes the traditional relationship between the Akie and an essentially pastoralist outside world, while Nguu is a symbol of a new economic orientation towards an existence as farmers – an orientation that a number of Akie people see

as their main alternative to a gradually declining existence as hunter-gatherers. Swahili finally offers a link to a new world – one that makes it possible for the Akie to participate in activities of a modern African nation state.

While language knowledge exhibits roughly a quadrilingual profile, there is nevertheless one language that enjoys a privileged role, namely Maasai. This role surfaces when Akie people are exposed to situations beyond those commonly associated with their traditional hunter-gatherer existence, most of all to traveling in connection with new modes of socio-economic mobility, marriages outside their ethnic community, and education. In such situations, Maasai appears to emerge as the paramount medium of linguistic communication; as we saw in Sections 3.4–3.6, roughly nine out of ten Akie having been exposed to such situations speak Maasai as a primary language while their own language tends to lose in significance.

To conclude, the Akie language is potentially vulnerable to replacement by Maasai once contexts of language use are involved that do not relate to traditional community life (but see also 3.2). As we observed earlier, this fact is somewhat unexpected: Neither is Maasai spoken in most of the areas where Akie people travel, nor does Maasai play any noteworthy role in the educational system of the country, and only less than half of their inter-ethnic marriages involve Maasai spouses.

It would seem that, in this respect, language attitudes of the Akie differ from those of most other communities in Tanzania, where people who travel and/or enter the educational system tend to focus on Swahili as their primary vehicle of communication.

Most Akie are aware that their place in modern Tanzania will remain a marginal one: The knowledge domains that used to secure their economic, socio-cultural, and linguistic survival are no longer in high demand, and there does not appear to be any reasonable alternative perspective on how to cope with the challenges of a modern nation state.

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Use of English words in Tanzanian Parliament discussions

1. Introduction

I learned to know Eugeniusz Rzewuski through email messaging in the very early 1990s. It was the time when the communist regime in Eastern Europe was collapsing and possibilities for communication with Western countries were opened. At the same time the use of computers in various fields, including language technology, was rapidly growing. There was a general feeling that the new freedom would open up possibilities for wider cooperation with universities and individuals working with similar problems.

Researchers can be divided roughly into two categories, and I have to emphasise that the categorisation is very rough. The researchers of one group are inclined to concentrate on specific fields and use their gifts in solving problems, which sometimes are very intricate. Those belonging to the other group are gifted in creating networks and in bringing researchers together. Eugeniusz belongs to the latter category. He organized the CATALYSIS conference in Warsaw in 1992. Researchers working on language technology of the so-called 'rare languages' were invited to the conference. For me this was the first time to meet researchers, who then became my close friends and working partners. Each of us presented whatever had achieved in using computers in language study. It was like the annual meeting of bards in the Carnotum forest¹. There was a feeling of sharing and each learned from the others. The cooperation with Warsaw University then continued through workshops and various kinds of support to students.

We had in Helsinki a project for collecting a corpus of Swahili language. Part of the corpus of spoken language was collected together with the Institute of

¹ See Astérix et les Goths, Paris 1963.

Kiswahili Research, Dar es Salaam, in 1988–1992. The section of the written language was collected without special resources, assisted sometimes by students. This corpus is known as the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili and is available for scientific research by application (csc.fi). The life took Eugeniusz to a diplomatic career in Tanzania and Angola, and in this position he managed to acquire a bunch of parliament discussions from the year 1996. He sent this material to me to be included into the Swahili corpus. This is a very valuable contribution, because that time it was almost impossible to acquire this kind of material.

I am not aware of any research done specifically on this part of the corpus. In order to fill this gap and to honour Eugene's contribution, I here present an analysis of the use of Swahili in the Tanzanian Parliament, specifying on the use of English verbs, which I here call e-verbs. The analysis includes the years 1996, and 2004–2012. There is material from a period of seventeen years, and this makes it possible to study whether there have been any changes in this aspect of language use over the years. The study is mainly quantitative. The discussions for each year, except for 1996, have been included as they are available on the web page of the parliament. The discussions for 1996 comprise only a small part of the discussions of that year. Yet they represent well the language of that time.

It is well known that some Swahili speakers have a habit to include English words as such into the speech. This is not the same as using loan words from English. Loan words go through the changes required by the phonotax of each language. Swahili would require, for example, that the word ends in a vowel. In the phenomenon we are discussing here the speaker uses an English word strictly as it is in English. In the parliament hansards, the transcription of the discussions separate such e-verb stems with a hyphen '-' from the inflecting morphemes (e.g. *kwenye kikao tume-declare kwamba* 'in the session we have declared that'). Typical of the language use is that while any inflectional prefixes and their combinations can be used, verb extensions are not usually possible. If there is need for extension, the corresponding form of English is used. Therefore, the verb is divided into two sections, the Swahili part with inflectional prefixes, and the English part with English stem and extensions. Also verbs that consist of a multi-word expression are used (*ana-wind up*, also *ana-wind-up* and *ana-windup*). It is interesting to note that some other multi-word expressions are broken into English and Swahili parts. The English verb *deal with* is used in the form *tume-deal na*, and never in the form *tume-deal with*.

What is the reason for some speakers to use English verbs and also other English word categories in the parliament? The reason cannot be that Swahili does not have corresponding words or expressions, because very common verbs are used in English form. This speech form is rather a kind of sociolect, which

communicates to others a certain social status. Those suddenly appearing English words are akin to the ‘civilized’ words, often Latin, in many Western languages. Such words were inserted to show that the speaker is not just anybody but belongs to the rank of better people.

Is the mixing of English words in speech just a harmless phenomenon? Or is it an indication of uneasiness felt in using Swahili. Is there a feeling that English is the proper and esteemed language, the language of the learned people and Swahili is the language of the streets? At least such use of English words in Swahili speech does not promote Swahili.

2. Quantitative calculation of the use of e-verbs

In order to get some clarity to the phenomenon I made quantitative analysis on the basis of word-form types (each word form counted only once) and word-form tokens (all occurrences of word forms counted).

2.1. E-verb types

First we take a look at statistics calculated on the basis of word form types in the corpus. Each word form is counted only once. This applies to the whole corpus as well as to the e-verbs.

Table 1. English verbs (e-verbs) in Tanzanian Parliament discussions, calculated on the basis of unique word forms

1. Year	2. Unique word forms	3. Unique e-verb forms	4. Unique e-verb stems	5.% of unique word forms	6. Ratio of e-verb forms and e-verb stems
1996	25496	186	148	0.73	1.26
2004	112943	1262	604	1.12	2.09
2005	94218	732	421	0.78	1.74
2006	114988	1194	561	1.04	2.13
2007	114537	1168	558	1.02	2.09
2008	135425	1488	662	1.10	2.25
2009	119363	930	485	0.80	1.96
2010	98302	922	474	0.94	1.95
2011	145582	1935	790	1.32	2.45
2012	100079	1083	604	1.08	1.79
Total	437375	7988	1900	1.83	4.20

In Table 1, the source text of each year is modified so that only one occurrence of each word-form is included. This is done to find out what word-forms the corpus includes. We are especially interested to find out different e-verb forms.

Column 1 indicates the year of parliament discussions. For the year 1996 there is only part of the year's discussions included. For all other years discussions of the whole year are included, as far as they are available on the parliament web page. A few pdf-files were corrupt and could not be opened. However, this hardly affects the overall results.

The number of unique word forms in each year is shown in column 2. It should be noted that only real words are included, and each word form is taken only once. Therefore, the numbers do not tell the size of the text corpus, but they give some hints to it.

Column 3 shows the number of such unique verb forms, where the verb stem is in English. These verb forms are typically composed of three parts, (1) the section of Swahili verb prefixes, (2) the hyphen '-' indicating the point where the stem begins, and (3) the verb stem in English form.

In column 4 we have the number of unique verb stems. The prefix part is stripped off, and only the stem is left. The numbers in this column are lower than in column 3, because a verb may have been inflected in more than one way.

Column 5 shows the average frequency of e-verbs in the corpus. It should be noted that the frequencies are counted on the basis of unique word forms. On the average, the percentage of e-verbs in each year's corpus is about 1%. However, it seems that the percentage is smaller in smaller corpora. This becomes particularly clear when all corpora are counted together. The number of unique word forms is 437,375, and the number of unique e-verb forms is 7,988. The percentage of these e-verbs from the whole corpus is 1.83. It is important to note that the percentage here is not the average of each year's percentage. It is much higher. This is due to the fact that the corpora are unique word lists and not a running text. In the latter case the total percentage would be approximately the average of each year's percentage. This will be demonstrated below when we make calculations based on the corpus of running text (Table 2).

Finally, column 6 shows the ratio between unique e-verb forms and unique e-verb stems. While an e-verb form contains the inflectional prefix part and the stem, a stem contains only the stem part. The statistics show that on the average each stem appears twice in each year's corpus. However, the same trend is found here as in column 5; the smaller the corpus, the lower is the frequency. When all corpora are counted, each stem appears 4.2 times on the average.

2.2. E-verb tokens

When each occurrence of each word form is counted (Table 2), the statistics become quite different compared with counting only unique words (Table 1). On the average, one of two thousand words is an e-verb. However, such verbs are not distributed evenly, because only certain speakers use e-verbs, while others abstain from their use totally.

Table 2. English verbs (e-verbs) in Tanzanian Parliament discussions, calculated on the basis of word form tokens

Year	Number of tokens	Number of e-verbs	% of all words
1996	230016	205	0.09
2004	3027893	1725	0.06
2005	2228108	888	0.04
2006	3086635	1645	0.05
2007	3081765	1588	0.05
2008	3874659	2032	0.05
2009	3208848	1258	0.04
2010	2504102	1185	0.05
2011	4520957	2800	0.06
2012	2527365	1400	0.06
Total	28290348	14725	0.05

Table 2 shows the statistics on the basis of all word form tokens. Non-words, such as numbers and punctuation marks, were omitted. Calculated in this way, the text corpus contains more than 28 million word-form tokens. The percentage of e-verbs in each corpus changes very little. An exception is the year 1996, where it is much higher than in other years. Because the corpus of that year is small compared with other years, there is no basis for making any conclusions on it. As it is expected, when all corpora are calculated together, the percentage is the mean of the percentages of individual corpora, that is, 0.05%.

Taking into consideration the size of the corpus, results should be considered quite reliable. That is, on the average, one word in two thousand words in parliament discussions is an e-verb. This holds through throughout the corpus. No significant changes occur between individual years. Therefore, the phenomenon is quite stable without changes to any direction.

It should be noted that the above percentages do not show the frequency of using English words in discussions; it show the use of English verbs (e-verbs) only. Also many nouns are used in English form, and there occurs also code

switching, where sections of speech are in English. If all these would be taken into account, the percentage of using English words would be much higher.

Such calculation was not made, however, mainly because the identification of all English words would have required another type of approach, including the morphological analysis of the whole corpus.

2.3. Types of verbs used as e-verbs

On the basis of the above statistics we can conclude that the use of e-verbs in parliament discussions has stayed stable since 1996 until 2012. Table 1 shows that a total of 1900 English verbs were used in these discussions. We still need to know what kinds of verbs are used frequently as e-verbs, and what types of verbs are never used in an e-verb form. This issue is discussed below.

Table 3. The top 60 English verbs (e-verbs) used in parliament discussions

360 declare	137 promote	99 create	79 move	66 expire	52 finance
207 support	131 wind	95 share	78 develop	64 perform	52 accommodate
236 invest	127 cover	92 supply	75 check	64 compete	49 coordinate
168 negotiate	122 manage	90 balance	74 register	63 access	48 handle
167 deal	119 quote	89 monitor	73 encourage	62 determine	46 guarantee
165 control	119 commit	88 operate	72 produce	61 provide	46 afford
160 take	111 qualify	86 import	69 refer	61 facilitate	45 cost
157 export	106 charge	83 review	69 identify	60 solve	44 subsidize
147 process	104 train	82 regulate	67 save	57 define	44 pack
146 address	103 apply	80 improve	66 maintain	57 concentrate	44 enjoy

Perhaps it is easier to understand the frequency list of 60 top verbs in Table 3 by pointing out what types of verbs are missing in the list of 1900 verbs, that is, what verbs are never used in the e-verb form. Such verbs include *eat, drink, die, laugh, cry, have, rejoice, begin, start, cultivate, and climb*. These are basic verbs used in everyday life, and it seems that such verbs are used always in Swahili. They do not belong to the category of ‘words of civilization’, and they cannot be used as e-verbs to emphasise the status of the speaker.

In contrast, e-verbs are used when dealing with important issues, either economically or politically. Parliament discussions constitute a sociolect, and one distinctive feature in it is the use of e-verbs. Only some of MPs use e-verbs, and for this reason, on the average, only one of two thousand words is an e-verb. But those who use e-verbs use them frequently.

3. English nouns used in ma-class

In addition to English verbs, also other word categories of English are used in parliament discussions. For example, there are English nouns with the noun prefix *ma-*. In Table 4 is a sample of such nouns.

Table 4. The top 60 English nouns with the noun prefix *ma-* in parliament discussions

50 ma-engineer	9 ma-ras	6 ma-consultant	5 ma-accounting
48 ma-godown	9 ma-pilot	6 ma-bus	4 ma-veterinary
44 ma-dc	9 ma-contractors	5 ma-volume	4 ma-shelf
32 ma-agent	9 ma-box	5 ma-senator	4 ma-secretary
31 ma-contractor	8 ma-weo	5 ma-power	4 ma-scientist
20 ma-book	8 ma-miss	5 ma-inspector	4 ma-graduate
17 ma-sister	8 ma-ded	5 ma-headmaster	4 ma-generator
16 ma-porter	7 ma-tent	5 ma-gate	4 ma-expatriates
15 ma-traffic	7 ma-guest	5 ma-expert	4 ma-engineers
15 ma-nurse	6 ma-tour	5 ma-drifts	4 ma-comrade
14 ma-deputy	6 ma-tank	5 ma-consultants	4 ma-agents
13 ma-rpc	6 ma-referee	5 ma-chief	3 ma-truck
13 ma-auditor	6 ma-house	5 ma-bulldozer	3 ma-technician
12 ma-rc	6 ma-group	5 ma-bar	3 ma-tanker
10 ma-ocd	6 ma-doctor	5 ma-assessors	3 ma-surgeon

Many true loan nouns in Swahili are located into noun class 6, if they have a plural meaning. So is the case with English nouns that are not modified by phonotactic rules. Table 4 contains a list of the most commonly used nouns. Some nouns have sometimes also the plural ending of English, while other nouns are always in the singular form without the English plural marker. The meaning is, however, plural. The nouns with plural ending in English have in fact double plural marking, 'ma' from Swahili and 's' from English. Examples are, *ma-engineer* (*ma-engineers*), *ma-godown* (*ma-godowns*), *ma-agent* (*ma-agents*), and *ma-contractor* (*ma-contractors*).

The nouns of this type may be humans or non-humans. The inflection of the noun modifiers follows, of course, the normal morphological rules of Swahili.

Some of the nouns in Table 4 are in fact noun compounds. Nouns such as *ma-house* are in fact part of the compounds *ma-house boy*, *ma-house girl* or *ma-house wife*. Also the noun *ma-guest* occurs in compounds *ma-guest house* and *ma-guest houses*, and also alone. The noun *ma-power* is used in contexts such as *ma-power tiller(s)*. The noun *ma-traffic* is commonly used to mean the traffic officer.

4. E-verbs and nouns in context

Below are examples that illustrate the use of English words in Tanzanian Parliament discussions. The examples are transcriptions of secretaries, and the way of transcribing the speech is not always systematic. Yet the way of transcribing is systematic enough to give a general picture of the use of English words. The examples are translated to English. However, due to the incompleteness of human speech, the translation result is not always good. I have not tried to ‘correct’ the expression in translation.

4.1. Use of individual e-verbs

The basic and most common way of using English is to use the English verb stem only, while the rest is Swahili.

Sisi kwenye Mkoa wa Dodoma kwenye kikao tume-*declare* kwamba alizeti ndiyo zao la biashara la Mkoa huu. (*We in Dodoma Region in a session have declared that sunflower oil is the cash crop of this Region.*) (2012)

Watu hao hawana kazi kwa sababu hatujaji-*organise* vizuri. (*These people do not have work because we have not organised among ourselves well.*) (1996)

Wawekezaji wote wanaokuja ni lazima tuwa-*scan*. (*We must scan all investors who come.*) (2008)

4.2. Use of e-verbs that are multi-word expressions

Unakuta ime-*over stretch*. (*You find that it has over-stretched.*) (1996)

Hili ni suala la Kitaifa, wote hapa tume-*play role* moja tu. (*This is a national problem, we all here have played only one role.*) (2008)

Hakuna sababu ya Chama chochote cha siasa ku-*take credit*. (*There is no reason for any political party to take credit.*) (2008)

TRA ikija pale haiwezi kukaa ikaji- *super re-impose* halafu ikasema fulani tumemsamehe. (*When TRA comes there it cannot sit down and super-reimpose itself and then say that we have forgiven so-and-so.*) (2008)

Tunaiacha bandari iliyo nzuri na ya kisasa na tunai-*under utilize* bila sababu za msingi. (*We abandon the port that is good and modern and under-utilise it without basic reasons*) (2008)

4.3. The e-verb and its object complement

Mimi ningeomba Serikali iwe na mpango wa ku-*flood the market* ili bei ishuke. (*I would ask the government to have a plan of flooding the market so that the price would go down.*) (2004)

Hii ni kawaida ili ku-*clean balance sheet* yao ili kuliandaa hilo shirika kwa ubinafsishaji.. (*This is usual for cleaning their balance sheet for preparing this cooperative for privatisation.*) (2004)

Shirika hili lilipata hasara ya shilingi bilioni 183 na hata hivyo *auditor* alishindwa ku-*form opinion*. (*This cooperative got a loss of 183 billion shillings and despite of this the auditor failed to form an opinion.*) (2008)

Lakini Serikali pia iliahidi kuleta ng'ombe wa maziwa ili ku-*encourage zero grazing*. (*But the government also promised to bring milk cows for encouraging zero grazing.*) (1996)

4.4. Temporary code switching

There are also cases where the speaker switches from Swahili to English for a moment. Then returning back to Swahili in the same expression.

Sasa nataka majibu kutoka Serikalini kwamba ninyi hili suala la *liability* tutakapokuwa tuna-*draw*, *Director* ni mtu mmoja tuna-*remove the line of veil*, *liability* itakuwaje? (*Now I want the answer from the Government that when we draw the issue of liability, the Director is one person we remove the line of veil, what is liability?*) (2012)

Lakini unapo-*invest* katika barabara, *after every two years*, lazima barabara uzibe viraka au uifanyie *reserves*. (*But when you invest in roads, after every two years, you have to fill patches or do reserves.*) (2008)

Ukasaidie siyo tu wanakijiji maana yake unapo-*invest* it will be repaid, in the future unarudi katika pato la Taifa. (*It helps not only villagers, that means when you invest it will be repaid in the future it will return to the national income.*) (2008)

4.5. English scattered here and there

Katika *exports* zetu zile za dola bilioni tatu ndani yake, *service sector* ili-*account* for dola bilioni 1.6 na katika hizo dola bilioni 1.6, sehemu kubwa ilitokana na utalii na sehemu ndogo iliyobakia ilitokana na *transit trade*. (*In those our exports of three billion dollars, service sector accounted for 1.6 billion, and in these 1.6 billion, a big portion derived from tourism and the small remaining part derived from transit trade.*) (2008)

Kwa hiyo, ile dhana au *concept* ya kwamba eti ukipata *foreign management* kuja ku-*manage* hapa Tanzania tutafaidika, mimi nasema inakuwa *defeated*. (*Therefore, that thought or concept that when you get the foreign management to come to manage here in Tanzania we will profit, I say it is defeated.*) (2004)

Hawafikirii *power of hearing* wanaangalia *power* ya ku-*feel* ya ile heading tu. Kwa hiyo, watu wana *interest* ya kusoma vichwa vya habari badala ya kuangalia

content. (They do not think of power of hearing they look at the power of feeling of the heading only. Therefore, people have interest to read headings of news instead of looking at content.) (1996)

4.6. The use of non-Swahili noun class forms

Sometimes the speaker uses non-Standard Swahili noun class forms, modified with prefixes of other Bantu languages, to give more pertinence to the message.

Katika mfumo kunakuwa na tu-mifumo tudogo tudogo, kwa hiyo, kamfumo kengine kadogo kakiharibika sasa hata lile limfumo likubwa wakati mwingine lina-jam. (2004)

Here the Swahili noun mfumo ('structure') of class 3/4 is used also in class 13+4 (tu-mifumo), class 12+3, (kamfumo), and 5+3 (limfumo). The expression is very sharp and it makes use of the connotations attached to various noun classes.

A rough translation is below: *In the structure there are very small structures, therefore, if/when another small structure gets broken now also that big structure in other times jams.*

5. Conclusion

Tanzania as well as Kenya debate on the role of English and Swahili as a language of communication of the government. Both languages have been declared as official or national languages. The Tanzanian Parliament carries out discussions in Swahili. However, the other official language, English, shows its influence in discussions. The research was done using the text corpus of over 28 million words, including discussions from the years 1996 and 2004–2012. The results drawn from this investigation include: (1) on the average, 1.83 percent of unique word forms are English verbs (e-verbs); (2) on the average, 0.5 percent of all word form tokens are e-verbs; (3) no significant quantitative change was observed in the use of e-verbs over the years; (4) also the frequent use of English nouns, with and without the Swahili prefix *ma-*, was observed; (5) code-switching to English was also observed.

The research was principally quantitative, and many important qualitative questions were not addressed. However, it was found out that only some of MPs use English words. Why do they do it, is not clear. Hopefully, we will see in the future qualitative research, where the motivation of using English words in discussions is studied and where the consequences of mixing two languages will be discussed.

Quem é e quem foi o Xiconhoca? Vigilância sobre o protagonista¹

Em março de 1979 foi composta e impressa na República Popular de Moçambique uma coletânea de cartoons sob o título *Xiconhoca. O inimigo*. A entidade responsável por esta publicação foi o Departamento do Trabalho Ideológico do partido FRELIMO. Apenas quatro anos depois de Moçambique proclamar a independência, em 1975, no pleno cenário da recém-reiniciada guerra em 1977, desta feita civil, publica-se um livrinho de desenhos de propaganda, ou seja, de intervenção. Quais são as razões? Quem é o protagonista? Porque é que se escolhe este meio tão próximo da banda desenhada para fornecer conteúdos propagandísticos?

1. Algumas considerações sobre o título, ou seja, o que dizem os dicionários?

Segundo a informação que é nos oferecida logo nas primeiras páginas do livro, o nome do protagonista dos desenhos é composto por duas palavras – «Xico» e «Nhoca».

A primeira delas, «Xico», faz referência à alcunha pela qual foi conhecido um dos mais cruéis agentes da PIDE, o Xico-feio. Segundo várias fontes o verdadeiro nome do Xico-feio era Francisco Langa *aka* Francisco ou Xico Malhanana (Francisco a Cobra), homem que trabalhava como guarda na cadeia da Machava, reservada para prisioneiros políticos. A segunda significa «cobra» e é usada em quase todas as línguas de Moçambique neste sentido.

¹ Agradecimento especial para Carlos Romualdo do Instituto de Estudos Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos por ter revisto o presente artigo.

É interessante sublinhar que este nome da personagem faz parte de diversos dicionários. Não ficou na história só como o nome usado no título do livro, como a identificação do protagonista, mas começou a ser usado no significado que esta publicação sugeriu, a dum indivíduo reacionário e traiçoeiro.

O Dicionário informal brasileiro, acessível on-line, redigido pelos próprios leitores que podem sempre votar «sim» (sobe) ou «não» (desce) para avaliar a exatidão da explicação que se acrescenta nele, contém um texto bastante desenvolvido do lema:

No coloquial em Moçambique, significando «traidor», «inimigo», «bandido», «mau como as cobras». O termo teve origem, durante a ocupação colonial, na cadeia da Machava (para presos políticos) havia um guarda prisional de seu nome «Xico», que por ser muito mau e ajudar a polícia secreta nas torturas, lhe chamavam «Nhoca» (cobra) daí o Xiconhoca.

O fulano é um xiconhoca do pior. (disponível em: <http://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/xiconhoca/>)

O verbete foi introduzido por Joaquim de Castro de Portugal em 2009 e até à data recebeu 5 avaliações «sobe» (sim) e 2 «desce» (não).

O termo também não passa despercebido ao Dicionário Infopédia que funciona como a versão digitalizada do dicionário Porto Editora que tem edições impressas atualizadas todos os anos. O verbete não contém uma explicação tão desenvolvida como o Dicionário inFormal, referindo apenas o termo escrito com minúscula e dizendo que «xiconhoca» é um adjetivo e nome de dois géneros, usado em Moçambique com o significado de indivíduo traiçoeiro e reacionário o que se explica por juntar as palavras «xico» (indivíduo) e «nhoca» (cobra).

É neste contexto um tanto estranho que o segundo mais visitado e reconhecido site com dicionário português-português (e mais algumas combinações linguísticas), o Priberam, ao introduzir na pesquisa a palavra xiconhoca, diz “palavra não encontrada. Se procurava uma das palavras seguintes, clique nela para consultar a sua definição”.

A palavra «xico» que foi usada para criar o nome do protagonista é grafada dum maneira alternativa para a palavra «chico». O *x* da palavra «xico» representa a consoante fricativa palatal surda, embora o *x* possa representar também a consoante fricativa linguodental sonora (como na palavra «exato»), a consoante fricativa linguodental surda (p. ex. na palavra «máximo») ou o grupo consonantal [ks] (p. ex. na palavra «nexo»). O *ch* por sua vez, tem uma única realização sonora em português que é a da *xis* fricativa palatal surda. É frequente esta mudança do *ch* por *x* na grafia descuidada ou na linguagem dos adolescentes, bem

como nas letras das canções, sobretudo no ambiente alternativo. Por exemplo, o artigo *A idade dos kês*, escrito por Gabriela Lourenço em 2001 e publicado na revista *Visão* (de 5 de abril), que chama a atenção a uma tendência preocupante entre os jovens portugueses, nomeadamente o problema que consiste em usar a linguagem das mensagens sms no contexto escolar, dá vários exemplos desta troca. Por exemplo, os jovens em vez de escreverem “Acho que vou. Porquê?” escolhem escrever “axo k vou. Y?”.

A palavra «chico» em português ora traz a mente o significado «pequeno», ora remete para «Chico» como diminutivo (fam.) de «Francisco». É óbvio que a grafia escolhida para compor a palavra «Xiconhoca» faz esta corruptela linguística a partir da grafia «Chico» referente ao diminutivo do nome Francisco, pois, neste caso, trata-se de um verdadeiro homem chamado Francisco Langa.

É tentador remeter no caso em jogo ainda a três empregos da palavra «chico» que condizem com o caráter da personagem escolhida como o inimigo da nação.

Em português coloquial existe a expressão *meter o chico*. Segundo a explicação nos oferecida por Afonso Praça no Dicionário do Calão [Praça 2001/2005: 78] “dizia-se que *metia o chico* o militar, o soldado ou o miliciano, que, no termo do seu serviço militar obrigatório, optava por ficar na tropa durante mais algum tempo ou mesmo seguir a carreira das armas”. A expressão significa ficar na tropa. No que diz respeito ao Xiconhoca, baseado no agente Francisco Langa (segundo várias fontes, morto após o 25 de Abril), este fica em Moçambique como se fosse uma força do ex-colonizador, um espião que quer continuar a prestar o serviço e a meter-se em assuntos dum país jovem e independente para dificultar a nova organização da vida socioeconómica. A PIDE que deixa de existir e exercer a sua influência, como que continua sob a forma dos ex-agentes, ou defensores do regime velho integrados na sociedade, que continuam o trabalho, mas sob a forma desses que apenas querem mal, que meteram o chico, mas duma maneira destruidora.

No seu uso muito comum existe em português também o nome masculino «chico-esperto», isto é, indivíduo que procura o benefício ou a vantagem pessoal, mesmo que para tal prejudique alguém. Os motivos e ações do «chico-esperto» e do Xiconhoca do livro, coincidem, são as mesmas. Os dois termos funcionam como se fossem sinónimos.

A palavra «nhoca», que integra o nome do protagonista Xiconhoca, refere-se ao nome feminino que em Moçambique significa cobra ou serpente. A associação das cobras às características más é uma regra em várias línguas. Estes répteis da ordem dos ofídios, com muitas espécies venenosas, não despertam confiança ao nível linguístico do português. É frequente o uso da palavra cobra no sentido

duma pessoa má ou nas expressões como *dizer cobras e lagartos* (dizer mal de alguém) ou *mau como as cobras* (muito mau).

Como podemos ver desta curta e, por razões objetivas, incompleta análise do campo linguístico, o significado das duas unidades lexicais e as associações com elas ligadas no nível das expressões do uso corrente, não deixam dúvidas sobre o carácter do protagonista Xiconhoca.

2. Folhas soltas do passado, ou seja, o que diz a história?

O nome de Francisco Langa ficou na história como um exemplo infame e vergonhoso não só por fazer parte da PIDE/DGS², mas pelo facto de o Chico Feio ser Moçambicano e de pertencer à polícia política, agindo contra os seus compatriotas. Matias Mboa, militante da FRELIMO e prisioneiro da Machava, relembra na entrevista dada ao blogue Terra Queimada a figura de Francisco Langa:

Agora, Chico Feio, é porque, de facto, era muito feio. E julgo que no meu livro descrevo a figura, o aspeto físico, os dentes amarelos, a pele a escamar-se e, depois, era muito escuro. Quer dizer, nem parecia moçambicano. Tudo isso levou a que o povo lhe chamasse feio. (Mboa 2012)

Esta descrição física pode explicar porque é que o Chico Feio serviu de protótipo para o protagonista do cartoon. Tratava-se de escolher alguém repelente, nem considerado como um verdadeiro moçambicano. O que ainda sublinha o carácter vil transferido para protagonista é um facto para o qual chama a atenção a jornalista Dalila Cabrita Mateus, alegando que por exemplo em Angola os torturadores eram todos brancos, enquanto em Moçambique encontrava-se “negros capazes de fazer o trabalho sujo” (Cabrita Mateus 2004). Dos relatos vários ressalta o nome de Francisco Langa, um homem com um metro e noventa e cinco de altura que pesava mais de cem quilos, que assumia o cargo do torturador oficial da PIDE/DGS. Os métodos do Chico Feio seguem descritos no livro da jornalista:

² Vale a pena lembrar aqui que Direção-Geral de Segurança (DGS) veio suceder a Polícia Internacional da Defesa do Estado (PIDE) em 1969. A DGS do continente deixou de existir em 1974, um ano antes do que no Ultramar, onde continuaria até 1975.

Das oito horas da manhã até ao meio dia, Chico Feio batia sem se cansar. Transpirava, mas batia sempre e com a mesma intensidade. Começava nas dez palmatoadas e podia ir até às cem ou até mais, tudo dependia dos humores de Chico Feio, dos inspetores que comandavam as investigações e dos agentes. E dependia, também, do facto de o preso, ao receber as palmatoadas, chorar muito ou pouco. (Mateus 2004)

Obviamente o Xiconhoca do livro e o Chico Feio, Francisco Langa, não são a mesma pessoa, mas o protótipo para criar um inimigo vil, mau e interesseiro não podia ser mais forte. Talvez a escolha do nome do protagonista tenha tido também a ver com a forma sonora duma palavra colada de duas diferentes, mas não se pode descuidar também a necessidade de ir procurar na história do País alguma pessoa que se inscreveu nela só pela negativa. Aliás, discorrendo aqui sobre Francisco Langa não cometemos nenhum erro, nem exagero, pois no próprio livro não se indica sem dúvida nenhuma informação remetente a este homem.

3. *Cartoon* ideológico, ou seja, o desenho como a denúncia

É indispensável constatar que vários estados que tentavam introduzir a organização sociopolítica baseada no governar com a mão de ferro dentro das linhas desenhadas pelo regime autoritário ou fortemente ideológico, normalmente aproveitavam como os meios de propaganda tudo e mais alguma coisa. Ou seja, nem a banda desenhada, nem *cartoon* tradicionalmente abordado dentro do estudo da BD devido à sua forma estética próxima (desenho com aproveitamento dos balões de fala), escapavam deste trabalho várias vezes ingrato. O componente ideológico encontra-se muito fortemente marcado, por exemplo, na BD do bloco de leste³. Mas há um pormenor que é interessantíssimo: a propaganda normalmente escolhe exemplos positivos para falar das suas conquistas e mostrar o lado mau das coisas em segundo plano. Por exemplo, na séria polaca *Kapitan Żbik*, mesmo que exista um crime, o criminoso nunca é o protagonista principal. Para este cargo escolhe-se um funcionário da MO (*Milicja Obywatelska* – Milícia Popular) e é ele quem propaga as atitudes boas, servindo ao estado. O projeto dos livros com as aventuras dele começou a ser realizado à encomenda da MO [Rusek 2007: 99–105], tal como o Xiconhoca foi criado como caricatura pelo

³ Pode-se ler mais sobre este assunto nos livros como *Od rozrywki do ideowego zaangażowania. Komiksowa rzeczywistość w Polsce w latach 1939–1955* ou 45–89. *Comics behind the iron curtain/ Komiks za żelazną kurtyną*.

Departamento de Informação e Propaganda da FRELIMO. No entanto, os dois protagonistas têm origem institucional, só que no caso de Xiconhoca a escolha foi um tanto subversiva, pois o protagonista principal é o inimigo da nação que tenta estragar todo o esforço dum país em estado de organização da vida tanto na área política e social, como na economia. O corajoso Kapitan Žbik é um herói, enquanto o vil Xiconhoca é um ladrão reacionário.

O livro *Xiconhoca. O inimigo* é uma coletânea de cartoons e não uma banda desenhada propriamente dita. As duas formas partilham algumas características formais (o emprego dos balões) e várias vezes os autores que desenhavam *cartoons* são também autores de livros de BD. Cartoon é obviamente uma palavra inglesa. A própria forma foi inventada na imprensa norte-americana e

começou por ter o mesmo significado lato de Caricatura (que existia na Europa do séc. XVIII/XIX, e que se mantém hoje no mundo francófono), ou seja todo o desenho satírico e humorístico. Com a evolução dos conceitos, da diversificação dos humores tipo, e tentativa de universalização dos termos anglófonos, a fronteira entre Cartoon e Caricatura foi posta à prova. [De Sousa 1988: 36]



Capa do livro *Xiconhoca, o Inimigo*, 1979

Um dos militantes da BD portuguesa, Geraldês Lino (editor de fanzines, organizador da Tertúlia BD em Lisboa, entre outras atividades) propõe escrevê-la como *cartun*, remetendo ao empréstimo que se fez em português no que diz respeito à palavra *futebol* do inglês *football*, trocando o duplo *o* por *u*. Seja como for, o *cartoon* ou *cartun* é a mesma coisa, que se define como “cena satírica, completa e autosuficiente, quase sempre desenhada num só quadro; o termo, de origem inglesa, tem hoje âmbito universal” [Dias de Deus 1997]. A diferença para com a BD consiste na falta da construção

da sequência nos *cartoons*, que apenas aproveitam uma única vinheta, ou seja, a vinheta compreende um desenho. Os desenhos com Xiconhoca correspondem às características formais do *cartoon*: usam um desenho, são autosuficientes e satirizam a vida da época, bem como atividades dos inimigos do Estado Moçambicano.

Voltando a um pormenor assinalado por Osvaldo de Sousa na citação em cima, nomeadamente à proximidade entre *cartoon* e caricatura, é preciso constatar que a caricatura sempre estará presente no *cartoon*. Como a forma *cartoonista* tem à sua disposição apenas um desenho, exige contornos abrangentes e concisos, ou seja, *modus operandi* desta deve ser definido com o alvo de compactar e condensar o maior número de informações possível. Daí a caricatura aplicada aos protagonistas é um meio eficiente de transmitir informações via desenho, deixando o lado textual para a mensagem ideológica direta. Olhando o Xiconhoca protagonista, vemos que ele tem uma cara redonda pouco simpática, olhos semifechados, é barrigudo e nunca sorri. Talvez seja a caricatura do já mencionado Francisco Langa? Sendo assim, transmite-se ao leitor as características negativas do protagonista não só assinaladas no nome, mas também pelo lado visual caricaturista. É tentador chamar a atenção para a ligação que existe também entre a palavra «nhoca» (cobra) e a cabeça do protagonista – a cabeça dele parece-se com a cabeça da cobra. Embora possamos identificar na série dos desenhos vários Xiconhocas que diferem entre si (infimamente), todos têm uma cabeça ofíδια. A presença de diferentes Xiconhocas remete-nos a considerarmos-os um tipo de inimigo interno que surge na sociedade sob formas diferenciadas. O visual do Xiconhoca é complementado pela falta de cabelo e um traje normalmente descuidado (aliás, há alguns desenhos que o mostram vestido, até ao exagero). A presença de elementos da caricatura dentro do *cartoon*, confirma-se nas palavras de Osvaldo de Sousa:

No cartoon também pode existir a exageração, a deformação e a estilização caricatural (conceito), num comentário indireto ao indivíduo personagem-retrato, numa crítica à sociedade, ao governo, à política que o sustem no poder. Pode também utilizar a metáfora ou a alegoria, registando o dia-a-dia do mundo político satirizando a actualidade. [De Sousa 1988: 37]

Como *Xiconhoca* é um livro de propaganda contra os inimigos, partilha este pormenor ideológico da crítica satirizando as tentativas sucessivamente não realizadas pelos reacionários e mostra todas as ações deles como falhanços. Tudo o que eles tentam sabotar não se realiza porque o Povo é mais forte e mobilizado. Este facto não estranha porque o livro foi publicado em “1979

– ano de consolidação das nossas conquistas” como nos informa a contracapa. Sendo assim, o Xiconhoca tem de perder porque o povo é unido, então nunca será vencido.

Xiconhoca só cria confusão e

representa tudo aquilo que nós combatemos. Podemos dizer que ele tem uma boca de bêbado, uma orelha de boateiro, mãos de açambarcador e de especulador, olhos de racista, nariz de tribalista, dentes de regionalista, pés de confusionista. O Xiconhoca é uma figura que representa todos estes males deixados pelo colonialismo, e que o Povo moçambicano está a combater. [Revista Tempo n° 310 de 12 de setembro de 1976]

A ligação com o colonialismo repete-se várias vezes na caracterização do Xiconhoca. Nós também assinalámos esta logo no início, ao recorrer ao dito *meter o chico*, embora o tenhamos feito primeiramente à base da análise das unidades do nome Xiconhoca. Talvez tenhamos ido longe demais, mas é inegável que o Xiconhoca é este militante do velho regime que ficou em Moçambique para defender a causa já perdida. A sabotagem que ele exerce compreende, entre outras atividades, conduzir viaturas quando bêbado, recusar trabalhar na coletiva, abusar da mulher, etc. Estas são acusações baseadas em exemplos reais, mas existem também outras com um caráter mais ideológico:

A população deve estar consciente que o Xiconhoca é um inimigo do Povo, é um indivíduo que tem o mesmo modo de vida do inimigo, do reacionário, do inimigo da independência e soberania moçambicanas, é todo o indisciplinado, o corrupto, os bandidos, assassinos, ladrões, divisionistas, regionalistas, racistas, etc. [Revista Tempo n° 310 de 12 de setembro de 1976]

O Xiconhoca nunca fugiu das terras do Ultramar recém-libertadas, mas ficou para criar obstáculos ao novo caminho de desenvolvimento. O *cartoon* que o tomou como protagonista principal tem caráter de denúncia e não de propaganda do sucesso.

4. Xiconhoca continua, ou seja, a ideia nunca morre

Embora já não se publique a série de *cartoons* com o Xiconhoca, a palavra integrou o léxico da versão moçambicana do português. Aliás já no ano 1979, data da publicação da edição integral das histórias, escrevia-se que

No entanto, há pessoas que ainda não entenderam o verdadeiro sentido da palavra XICONHOCA. Usam-na a qualquer momento, em qualquer situação. Assim chama-se XICONHOCA ao passageiro que, num autocarro, involuntariamente empurra ou pisa qualquer pessoa, ao empregado de café que sem querer entorna um copo ou uma chávena, etc. [Departamento Ideológico do Partido FRELIMO 1979]

O protagonista com este nome deu origem a um termo que passou a ser usado para denominar não só e necessariamente o inimigo interno dos avanços do povo moçambicano rumo ao Socialismo, mas um indivíduo mau. O Departamento Ideológico do Partido FRELIMO teve na mente criar um protagonista muito característico, desde a primeira vista associado com o inimigo, mas no sentido político. Um certo tipo de desvirtuamento pela utilização exagerada, abusiva da palavra, fez com que o Xiconhoca perdesse gradualmente estes traços transformando-se no nome próprio do uso comum. Por um lado, manifesta-se assim neste processo o poder dum *cartoon* ideológico, distribuído primeiramente na imprensa e só depois recolhido no formato dum livro, e missão cumprida das forças ideológicas moçambicanas, ou por outro, a tendência linguística quiçá mais comum quanto ao léxico, a de o significado primário evoluir desde a palavra significando um homem concreto, uma coisa específica, etc. Aqui a evolução foi desde a designação do protagonista dum história até a palavra ganhar a vida própria, em separação ao termo originalmente concebido, alargando o seu significado primário. Ainda em 1979, na introdução do livro, lamentava-se este processo dizendo que se devia combater a tendência do uso abusivo da palavra, pois se “devia saber definir o inimigo dum forma clara, saber identificar quem é realmente o Xiconhoca”.

A palavra aparece hoje no uso corrente, mas também no sentido, digamos, político. Já não significa o inimigo interno político no entender ideológico imposto pelo sistema socialista, pois este perdeu a sua força e a razão de ser. Mesmo assim, no site do jornal @Verdade, fundado por Erik Charas, podemos encontrar uma secção que aproveita a palavra no sentido bastante próximo do original, mas obviamente atualizado à vida da sociedade moçambicana. O jornal identifica os Xiconhocas da semana. Na secção das opiniões encontramos a entrada “Xiconhoca” e a seguinte explicação:

Por opção editorial, o exercício da liberdade de expressão é total, sem limitações, nesta secção. As escolhas dos leitores podem, por vezes, ter um conteúdo susceptível de ferir o código moral ou ético de algumas pessoas, pelo que o Jornal @Verdade não recomenda a sua leitura a menores

ou a pessoas mais sensíveis. As opiniões, informações, argumentações e linguagem utilizadas pelos participantes nesta secção não reflectem, de algum modo, a linha editorial ou o trabalho jornalístico do @Verdade. Os que se dignarem a colaborar são incentivados a respeitar a honra e o bom nome das pessoas. As injúrias, difamações, o apelo à violência, xenofobia e homofobia não serão tolerados. **Diga-nos quem é o Xiconhoca desta semana. Envie-nos um E-MAIL para averdademz@gmail.com, um SMS para 821111, uma MENSAGEM BLACKBERRY (pin 28B9A117) ou ainda escreva no Mural defrente da nossa sede.** [<http://www.verdade.co.mz/opinioao/xiconhoca>]

Desta maneira deixa-se aos leitores definirem o Xiconhoca da semana, abrindo assim o espaço às interpretações pessoais, ergo, é o povo quem define e identifica as pessoas que merecem ser chamadas assim. Os leitores indicam quem devia ser mencionado na coluna e @Verdade traça em linhas breves as motivações. O interessante é o facto de que falando sobre os nomeados, recorre-se sempre às ilustrações do livro *Xiconhoca. O inimigo*. Na coluna aparece também o termo “xiconhoquices” derivado do Xiconhoca, significando “as proezas” perpetradas por Xiconhocas. São os leitores que escolhem tanto os xiconhocas como as xiconhoquices. Por exemplo, no dia 24 de outubro, indicou-se como tais os casos de **Linhas Aéreas de Moçambique, Campanha anti-Samora, Assalto à base da RENAMO** [Redação 2013; <http://www.verdade.co.mz/opinioao/xiconhoca/41153-xiconhoquices-da-semana-linhas-aereas-de-mocambique-campanha-anti-samora-assalto-a-base-da-renamo>].

O caso das Linhas Aéreas de Moçambique refere o aproveitamento da situação tensa no país, à beira duma nova guerra civil, para levantar os preços praticando verbas exorbitantes pedidas pelas passagens. A título de exemplo, os bilhetes de Maputo para Quelimane subiram dos 4.300 meticais (máx. 6.200 meticais) para 8.500 meticais (máx. 11.200 meticais). Aponta-se esta xiconhoquice como o exemplo “vil, vergonhoso, repugnante e oportunista”, sendo LAM a única companhia aérea moçambicana e o transporte aéreo o único meio de transporte que garante a ligação entre a zona sul ao norte do país neste momento em que a situação não é das melhores, isto é, no ambiente duma tensão político-militar, assunto ao qual voltaremos mais em frente. A Redação da @Verdade menciona ainda que a LAM frequentemente consta na lista negra da União Europeia.

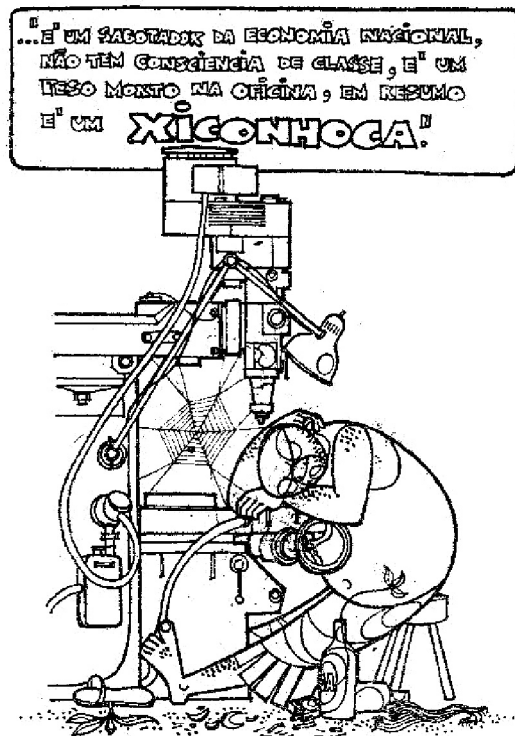
Outro caso indicado naquela semana é o da Campanha anti-Samora que é considerada uma Xiconhoquice indecorosa:

O endeusamento da figura do Presidente da República, Armando Guebuza, já começa a roçar o ridículo. Depois de sucessivas e massificadas campanhas de

idolatria ao Chefe de Estado, agora lançou-se uma campanha há algum tempo contra o primeiro Presidente de Moçambique independente, Samora Machel, e os seus aliados não negros. Encabeçada pelo general na reserva, Silvestre Nungo, a acção indecorosa visa desacreditar Samora e os ideais progressistas e revolucionários que a Frelimo um dia teve. Samora Machel é uma figura incontornável na história deste país. Tentar desacreditá-lo é, na verdade, um exercício doentio de indivíduos desprovidos de neurónios. É tentar apagar a história de um povo e de uma nação. [Redação 2013]

O caso merece ser mencionado na coluna das Xiconhoquices por duas razões: por ser um atentado a uma figura sagrada e por tentar assim desviar a atenção do discurso público das questões reais por resolver que têm a ver com os problemas do dia-a-dia que dificultam o funcionamento da sociedade.

O terceiro caso deste dia refere o assalto à base da RENAMO. Acusa-se aqui o Governo que ao falar da paz demonstra nas suas ações muita violência. As razões do ataque parecem ser desconhecidas. O Presidente da República, o Comandante-em-Chefe, Armando Guebuza, ordenou aos soldados das Forças Armadas de Defesa de Moçambique (FADM) e agentes das Força de Intervenção Rápida (FIR) que tomassem de assalto a base da Renamo, local onde se encontrava a residir há um ano o chefe, Afonso Dhlakama. Segundo as notícias os RENAMOs fugiram para a mata e a situação causou uma instabilidade no centro do País que ameaça um estalo da guerra civil em Moçambique. Tudo a acontecer na véspera das eleições municipais previstas para o dia 20 de novembro.



Desenho do livro Xiconhoca, o Inimigo, 1979

As Xiconhoquices (chama a atenção a grafia da palavra com a maiúscula) mencionadas acima trazem a ideia de como se entende o significado da palavra hoje em dia. É interessante ver também um pormenor incrível – o que outrora era uma ferramenta da crítica e da propaganda da denúncia usada por parte do Estado, tornou-se hoje em dia numa arma do Povo. Os papéis mudaram, mas o caráter do nosso Xiconhoca não. Se bem que a marca dos tempos seja a existência ou não de algo nos resultados do motor de busca em www.google.com, não o é para nós decidirmos, mas é significativo que, ao introduzir-se lá a palavra «xiconhoca», obtenhamos 86 mil resultados. Entre eles o Xiconhoca aparece como a alcunha de alguém, como o título da coluna dum jornal ou como o nome da página, como é o caso do site <http://www.xiconhoca.org/> que organiza a documentação sobre Moçambique, PALOPs, África, Portugal e o Mundo Lusófono em geral, tendo como o lema este – X(iconhoca)-Files ‘FICHEIROS SECRETOS’ À PORTUGUESA o que é uma referência à série da TV norteamericana, destacando os elementos da conspiração contra os cidadãos comuns.

A ideia dum Xiconhoca não morreu e parece que nunca morrerá, pois haverá sempre imensos casos de aldrabice, indecência e corrupção que merecerão e exigirão ser resumidos a uma palavra só. O Xiconhoca estará lá sempre, ao dobrar a esquina.

5. À laia da conclusão: A necessidade do Xiconhoca hoje, ou seja, tá-se bem?

O Xiconhoca protagonista foi criado no início dum período muito caloroso da construção das bases dum estado moçambicano jovem. Precisava-se de símbolos e de mensagens claras e diretas no seu caráter. A conjugação dos fatores intrínsecos ao desenho satírico, chamado *cartoon*, e a força persuasiva para identificar as longas mãos dum velho sistema colonial, resultaram na escolha dum indivíduo negativo existente na sociedade e nela desnecessário.

O Xiconhoca original simbolizava o inimigo interno aos serviços do inimigo imperialista com o alvo de comprometer o processo revolucionário em Moçambique. Este Xiconhoca é traidor (ajuda as tropas de Ian Smith, divulga as mentiras da Rádio Rodésia, África do Sul, dos EUA), agitador, bandido, especulador, burocrata, alcoólico, criminoso, boateiro, racista, tribalista, regionalista, explorador, capitalista, parasita, confusionista, intriguista, viciado, chauvinista (contra a emancipação das mulheres), corrupto, prostituto, burguês, arrogante, sabotador, etc. A lista nunca mais acaba. Hoje em dia, sobretudo nesta altura, parece que para além de ser preciso um protagonista tão fortemente

repelente, com o objetivo de consciencializar aos moçambicanos os perigos que correm não agindo contra estes que aproveitam a situação económica e política precárias, é vital também acrescentar-lhe algumas características novas.

Moçambique de hoje enfrenta a possibilidade duma crise económica grave devido à saída dos empresários do país. Ainda na entrevista dada a Michał Lipszyc em 2012, Eugeniusz Rzewuski falou sobre forte presença dos empresários chineses, também em Moçambique (vide a construção dum novo aeroporto em Maputo) e sobre as possibilidades dum desenvolvimento espantoso do país. Hoje em dia, devido aos raptos e à tensão político-militar, a situação mudou dramaticamente. A Confederação das Associações Económicas de Moçambique (CTA) diz que

Vários colegas do sector empresarial já se viram obrigados a abandonar o país, familiares de trabalhadores dos grandes projectos abandonam o país. Este clima não é saudável à atracção de investimentos e, por essa via, à criação do tão almejado emprego no país. Os prejuízos a nível da comunidade empresarial poderão degenerar em grave crise económica [Público 2013, <http://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/conferencia-patronal-alerta-para-risco-de-grave-crise-economica-em-mocambique-1611843>]

As empresas como anglo-australiana Rio Tinto, ou a brasileira Vale, já tomaram medidas neste rumo. A preocupação sobre esta situação aparece no discurso do presidente português, Cavaco Silva [Público 2013]⁴. Com um elevado grau de probabilidade pode-se dizer que a intervenção do presidente português foi causada por duas razões: para defender os cidadãos portugueses residentes em Moçambique e por querer aproveitar uma altura difícil que está a passar Moçambique (bem como Portugal mergulhado na crise). A segunda razão é interessante se nos lembrarmos de problemas que Portugal tem estado a passar nas relações com Angola. “Perder” outra velha colónia sua, está para Portugal fora da questão.

A tensão político-militar parece ter a ver diretamente com as ações da RENAMO que pôs fim ao tratado da paz de 1992:

A Renamo recusa-se a participar nas eleições autárquicas marcadas para 20 de Novembro, por discordar da composição dos órgãos eleitorais que considera favorecerem a Frelimo, o partido que tem a maioria no Parlamento.

⁴ em linha: Público 2013, <http://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/cavaco-fala-em-situacoes-dramaticas-em-mocambique-1611750>.

As eleições presidenciais e legislativas estão marcadas para 15 de Outubro de 2014 e Dhlakama diz que também não participará nesta votação se não for corrigido o que diz serem distorções na lei eleitoral que deixam o seu partido em desvantagem. [Público 2013: <http://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/renamo-rompe-tratado-de-paz-apos-ataque-a-base-de-dhlakama-1609895>]

A declaração da RENAMO é vista como a declaração da guerra e a atividade guerreira dura já alguns meses, pelo menos desde abril quando ocorreram alguns raids na zona de Sofala. No início de outubro a RENAMO ameaçou pegar nas armas [Público 2013: <http://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/renamo-ameaca-voltar-a-pegar-nas-armas-1608818>].

Seria obviamente ingénuo dizer que a tensão podia ser resolvida por uma série de desenhos com o Xiconhoca, mas de certeza é que o Xiconhoca de hoje teria o que fazer em Moçambique. A força deste *cartoon* confirma-se pela vida duradoura do termo Xiconhoca na consciência social, facto que se manifesta tanto na linguagem corrente, como no discurso jornalístico (vide o caso do jornal @Verdade). Embora o *Xiconhoca* não fosse o único *cartoon* moçambicano da época (ver imagens do Anexo), a força da criação do Departamento de Trabalho Ideológico do Partido FRELIMO mostrou-se enorme. Outros *cartoons* nunca formaram nenhuma série, são apenas exemplos soltos⁵. Não estranha este facto, pois mesmo em Portugal a caricatura e o desenho satírico compreendiam sobretudo desenhos feitos a propósito dum acontecimento, sem o objetivo de formar uma série ou um protagonista duradouros (aliás um exemplo que confirmará que esta regra seria para sempre: o Zé Povinho de Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro), estes eram reservados ao campo da BD (veja: De Sousa 1991; Mônica e Rego 1994). Seja como for, tendo em conta os tempos que correm e parafraseando a frase portuguesa já com bigodes, isto precisava agora de um Xiconhoca em cada esquina. Pois precisava, para escarnecer dele e para aprender a recorrer à consciência harmonizadora em vez desta que obriga apenas a defender os seus próprios interesses e que só cria confusão.

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⁵ Pode-se ver alguns exemplos na página web <http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/cartoons.html>.

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O cinema angolano entre o colonialismo português e a emancipação identitária africana

Contrariamente às aparências – contrariamente sobretudo à soberba e magnífica utopia iluminista do século XVIII –, a realidade das sociedades em que vivemos como a do progresso e libertação não apenas das necessidades chamadas «naturais», mas das «artificiais», que inventámos para as domesticar, não desaguaram todas na idade dourada que nos prometiam.

Lourenço (2013: 136).

1. O princípio de gratidão...

Angola, Brasil e Portugal são as margens do Atlântico que possuem a mesma língua, um doloroso passado colonial em comum e muitos discursos – históricos, políticos, culturais, artísticos – adequados à situação geopolítica, socioeconómica e etnocultural que os PALOPs representam. No filme *Cartas para Angola*¹, um documentário realizado no Brasil (em 2011) por Coraci Ruiz e Júlio Matos, no Laboratório Cisco, pessoas separadas por um oceano trocam correspondência – alguns são escritores e amigos de longa data (como Ana Tavares e Ondjaki), outros (como jovem protagonistas femininas de Angola e do Brasil) nunca se viram. Suas histórias entrecruzam-se e contam sobre fluxos de memória, saudade,

¹ *Cartas para Angola* recebeu os seguintes prémios: o da CPLP (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa) no festival FESTin, em Lisboa; o prémio de Melhor Documentário Internacional no V FIC em Luanda; o prémio de Melhor Documentário no IV Festival do Filme Etnográfico do Recife (Brasil). As próximas exhibições do filme serão nas cidades de Buenos Aires, dentro da programação do festival Ciudades Reveladas e na cidade de Ambere, na Bélgica, na programação do 5º Festival de Cinema Latinoamericano de Flandres. Um filme de temática parecida, sobre as *Cartas de Angola* (uma co-produção de Portugal, Angola e Cuba) acabou de ser exibido no 29 Warsaw International Film Festival, Varsóvia, 11–20 de Outubro de 2013.

migração, (des)enraizamento, paz, guerra, exílio, distâncias. A busca da identidade e o fio da memória são conduzidos pela linha do afecto, da intimidade emotiva que une as sete duplas de interlocutores apresentados no filme. São as pessoas que projectavam seus discursos de vida entre Angola, Brasil e Portugal. Pessoas generosas e corajosas que tínhamos o prazer de “visitar” em 28 de setembro de 2013 aquando da exibição do documentário atrás mencionado no Cinema sob os Carneiros (Kino pod Baranami) em Cracóvia, importante evento cultural esse realizado como ponto final do I Congresso dos Lusitanistas Polacos (26–28 de Setembro de 2013, Universidade Jaguelónica, Cracóvia). Oferecendo a memória das *Cartas para Angola* para o Professor Eugénio Rzewuski – grande ausente do congresso e da mostra de filmes angolanos – partimos da menção sobre esta obra filmica importante para um pequeno contributo nosso ou um olhar apaixonado sobre o cinema angolano.



Figura 1

Cartaz do filme *Cartas para Angola*, Brasil, 2011

Durante décadas não existiu cinema angolano. Ao princípio não existiu, sequer, cinema angolano. E quando o cinema nasceu, em Angola, não foi um cinema genuinamente angolano. Havia filmes “sem olhar”, deslumbrados com

a paisagem africana, mostras de exotismo social e cultural fechadas nas visões do colonialismo português. Era um cinema “cego”, ainda, i.e., sem capacidade de enquadrar objectivamente aquilo que o olho da câmara lhe assentava. Depois, fruto da (des)colonização, o cinema em Angola começou a ser usado para orientar o ponto de vista de quem era espectador. Esse ponto de vista fez-se panorâmica integradora de múltiplos olhares. Estes foram definidos pelo percurso feito de cumplicidades: o da propaganda do Estado Novo; o da ficção portuguesa “regionalista” escrita em Angola; o dos filmes sobre o progresso económico; e, finalmente, o dos filmes científicos e etnográficos, os filmes amadores e de família. Surgiu, nas vésperas da independência de Angola (proclamada em 11 de Novembro de 1975) o cinema militante com o seu papel indelével na luta pela independência. E, depois, veio o cinema angolano pós-independência, em que se enquadram *As Cartas para Angola*, exibidos recentemente em Cracóvia no festival do cinema lusófono *A Lusofonia de Nove Cabeças*.

A viagem que empreendemos para mostrar o panorama do cinema angolano dentro da tradição e modernidade do colonialismo português não teria sido possível sem um contributo da generosidade do Professor Eugénio Rzewuski que nos familiarizou com as primeiras mostras do cinema angolano pós-independência. Um agradecimento extensível à Universidade de Varsóvia² e à Universidade Jaguelónica de Cracóvia, pelo apoio e disponibilidade dos estudantes. O princípio de gratidão, este é o preceito que partilhamos. Há muitos testemunhos sobre o cinema (assim como sobre o teatro) angolano por ouvir, muitos documentos escritos, fotos, ficheiros digitalizados por estudar, muitos arquivos por abrir e muitos filmes por projectar. É preciso mostrá-los para que não se tornem arquivo morto. Porque o cinema é também um modo de nos conhecermos a nós próprios.

2. Nascimento do cinema angolano

Quando o cinema nasceu em Angola, com o filme *O Caminho de Ferro de Benguela*, realizado por Artur Pereira em 1913, o Antigo Reino do Ndongo ainda não era um país independente. Durante décadas, não existiu cinema angolano (Piçarra 2013: 15). Fruto da época colonial, o cinema em Angola

² Agradecemos também ao Prof. Doutor Carlos Romualdo, leitor de português no Departamento de Língua e Cultura Luso-brasileiras do Instituto de Estudos Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos da Universidade de Varsóvia, pela cuidadosa revisão dos textos em português publicados no presente volume.

passou a ser usado para orientar ideologicamente o olhar de quem via. Teve como objectivo a elaboração de uma concepção do mundo colonial e teve de moldar a sua natureza e a linguagem segundo os mandamentos da “cortina da ordem” de Lisboa (cf. Lourenço 2013: 11). A mudança foi lenta. Decorreu de uma necessidade, despertada pela I Guerra Mundial, de usar a propaganda cinematográfica para vencer batalhas que a opinião publica apoiava, pelo menos na aparência do inferno asseptizado. Desde a origem do Estado Novo em Portugal (1933-74), a câmara de filmar esteve presente em Angola, prestando um falso dever de serviço ao próximo preto. Filmou-se Angola assim como se rodou filmes sobre as restantes colónias portuguesas: captando a dimensão e a riqueza cultural e geográfica dos países africanos de língua portuguesa. Fizeram-se montagens e titulações dos filmes destinados às exposições do mundo colonial português e, posteriormente, à distribuição interna no circuito de exibições nacionais e internacionais. A ditadura fascista, consubstanciada no Acto Colonial, determinou a participação portuguesa nas grandes exposições coloniais europeias. Antes da encomenda de filmes para a participação nestas exposições, que filmes coloniais tinham sido feitos? As imagens mais antigas existentes na colecção colonial da Cinemateca são de 1923: *Angola – Exposição Provincial, Agrícola, Industrial e Pecuária*, relativas a uma actualidade composta por três notícias abrangidas pela cobertura jornalística. A primeira deu título à exposição. A segunda é relativa ao Congresso de Medicina Tropical em Luanda, na qual participaram vários médicos estrangeiros, durante o Comissariado de Norton de Matos. Não é de estranhar, portanto, que da metrópole se tenham enviado repórteres para filmar este acontecimento que foi amplamente noticiado na imprensa portuguesa, nos boletins da Sociedade Nacional de Geografia (Piçarra 2013: 16). A terceira – a última mas não de somenos importância – tem a ver com o reconhecimento internacional da Revolução de 28 de Maio de 1926 e do estatuto de Portugal como potência colonial.

Angola terá, porém, sido filmada antes, durante o período em que Norton de Matos foi governador da colónia. Segundo José Mena Abrantes, autor da importante obra *Cinema em Angola*, apoiando-se em pesquisa de José de Matos-Cruz, os primeiros filmes angolanos terão sido o atrás-mencionado *Caminho de Ferro de Benguela* e vários títulos de temática militar, durante a I Guerra Mundial quando Portugal vivia o risco de ocupação de suas colónias caso o país não participasse na guerra – em consequência do Ultimato Britânico e do Mapa Cor-de-Rosa. Esta produção foi fruto da colaboração entre o Ministério da Guerra e a Empresa Internacional de Cinematografia (*ibid.*).

A faceta colonial de Portugal foi projectada na Exposição Ibero-Americana em Sevilha (1929), na Exposição Internacional e Colonial de Antuérpia (1930)

e na exposição Colonial de Paris (1931). Em 1940, na Praça do Império em Lisboa, foi realizada uma Exposição do Mundo Português, portentosa mostra do colonialismo português que incluía, para além dos pavilhões relacionados com a história de Portugal, os pavilhões brasileiros e “ultramarinos”. Circunstância congénere (quanto ao tempo e ao título) com *O Feitiço do Império Português* realizado no mesmo ano em 1940 por António Lopes Ribeiro – a primeira obra filmica que abordou as colónias portuguesas a que ainda regressaremos. Os filmes e documentários desta época, realizados por António Lopes Ribeiro e outros realizadores, sobre as colónias portuguesas como também a Missão Cinematográfica às Colónias de África tinham como principal objectivo a exibição do Império português, durante o Estado Novo. Cinema angolano foi uma via que Oliveira de Salazar utilizou para enaltecer Portugal.

3. Os filmes angolanos na propaganda colonial portuguesa

Tutelada pelo Ministério das Colónias, a Agência Geral das Colónias (AGC), criada em Setembro de 1924 para preencher uma falta de informação e divulgação sobre as colónias (*ibid.*), integrou um movimento europeu abrangente «pela divulgação das riquezas e dos valores tropicais e também como procuradora e intermediária dos interesses dos Governos de cada uma das possessões ultramarinas» (Garcia 2011: 119–120), realizando várias «missões cinegráficas a Angola». A produção de filmes de propaganda colonial foi desde logo interceptada pela AGC. As exposições internacionais supramencionadas possibilitaram a participação de Portugal através da primeira iniciativa estatal concentrada e sistemática para produzir filmes sobre todas as colónias africanas. Para o efeito, o agente-geral das colónias e comissário da Exposição de Sevilha, Armando Cortesão, encomendou, por indicação do então ministro das colónias, Armindo Monteiro, filmes sobre os territórios africanos a três equipas de cineastas, cuja produção beneficiou do apoio de empresas privadas e da administração local.

A Missão Cinegráfica a Angola, composta por César de Sá e António Antunes da Mata, partiu no início de 1929, levando vinte metros de película para filmar, além de ter beneficiado de grande apoio na deslocação pelo território. No regresso, Antunes de Mata foi encarregado da produção dos filmes destinados às exposições, e, posteriormente, à distribuição interna no circuito de exibição. Em 1930, estreia Angola e sabe-se que foram ainda mostrados de nove a treze títulos, com uma metragem entre os cem e trezentos metros, resultantes desta

missão. Dos filmes feitos em Angola pela AGC naquele tempo³ estão preservados: *Estradas e Paisagens de Angola* (1929), *Indústria Baleeira* (1932), *Quedas do Dala* (1930), *Aspectos do Rio Quanza*, *Quedas do Lucala* (1930), *Planalto da Huíla* (1931), *De Lisboa a Luanda* (1932), *O Deserto em Angola* (1932) e *Fazenda Açucareira «Tentativa»* (1932), segundo o depoimento de Maria do Carmo Piçarra (2013: 18).

Trata-se de filmes em que não há cinema, não há olhar (*ibid.*), mas sim, cinco tipos de acontecimentos abordados pela revista cinematográfica: viagens, tomadas de posse, comemorações, homenagens e funerais. Opta-se pelo registo da paisagem natural ou humana feito com imagens em movimento, mas sem acrescentar nada para além de uma sucessão de imagens fixas fotografadas mecanicamente. Os intertítulos são usados para explicar o que é visto e para ligar sequências. Em geral, não são mostrados muitos colonos e os habitantes locais também não merecem grande atenção. As imagens fixam um comportamento de dominação da natureza primária, como sucede quando se alude às caçadas em Moçâmedes em *Deserto de Angola*. Má qualidade da fotografia, iluminação e enquadramento, ausência de sentido artístico e científico, titulação incorrecta e reveladora de maus conhecimentos dos sítios, da sua geografia e etnografia foram algumas das críticas feitas aos filmes em questão (*ibid.*). O público de cinema repudiou as obras, que passaram a ser mostradas apenas nas sessões de propaganda da AGC e pelo Cinema Popular Ambulante. O efeito propagandista visado pela AGC foi posto em causa por motivos imputados aos realizadores, mas o Estado Novo Salazarista adere a outra prática propagandista do momento, copiando outros impérios coloniais: os negros trazidos à metrópole são expostos como atracção de feira. Em 1933, a vinda a Portugal de uma companhia indígena de Angola ficou registada no filme *A 1ª Companhia de Infância Indígena de Angola em Lisboa*.

Durante anos as imagens das colónias quase se eclipsaram dos cinemas portugueses, com excepção das registadas por obras estrangeiras. Foi o caso e *Íle et Angola Pullman*, de René Ginot, que estreou em Portugal, em Abril de 1935, com o título *S. Tomé – Jóia do Império*. Muito comentado na imprensa cinematográfica, foi tomado como modelo de «bom» documentário colonial pois, além das qualidades artísticas, abordava os elementos sociais, económicos, naturais e humanos considerados necessários para a manutenção de um «africanismo» que não sonhava ainda em identificação libertadora de massas

³ Por ex. os filmes realizados na década dos vinte do séc. XX: *Exposição Provincial, Agrícola, Pecuária e Industrial*, *Chipinica*, *Soba do Dilolo*, *Preparação do Café*, *Riquezas do Aboim*, *Angola Económica*.

africanas (cf. Lourenço 2013: 112). A excepção à rarefacção de imagens coloniais ocorreu com o I Cruzeiro de Férias às Colónias de África Ocidental (1936), uma viagem de propaganda com direcção cultural de Marcello Caetano e em que, no Verão de 1935, participaram Orlando Ribeiro e Ruy Cinatti, entre outros estudantes. Tratou-se de uma iniciativa da revista *Mundo Português*, patrocinada pela AGC e pelo Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional (SPN), que quis mostrar aos estudantes como Portugal «não era um país pequeno» (Piçarra 2013: 19). Naquela altura, o filme não teve mais do que uma projecção, apesar de ter sido filmado pelo maior fotógrafo de arte de então, Manuel Alves San Payo. O filme é um diário de viagem, feito sem guião, e cuja montagem final – não obstante um ou outro apontamento fotográfico que faz justiça a San Payo – se ressentia da precariedade da filmagem. Inclui algumas sequências interessantes, mas uma que se destaca pela singularidade é da reconstituição histórica, em Luanda, da vassalagem de um soba (régulo ou chefe de tribo africano) poderoso ao governador-geral.

A Missão Cinegráfica às Colónias de África, criada em 1937 pelo Ministério das Colónias, corresponde a novo investimento político na produção de filmes de propaganda que traduzam o esforço colonizador do país. Além do registo da visita presidencial às colónias de 1938 filmam-se os exteriores para *O Feitiço do Império*⁴ (1940) atrás mencionado – o grande filme de propaganda assumida do Estado Novo e de Portugal que, no dizer de Eduardo Lourenço, era um «país nu», quer dizer, «um país sem nenhum álibi histórico, entrincheirado na sua confinada faixa atlântica, sem possibilidades de sonhar outro sonho que não é o seu próprio, europeu, caseiro» (Lourenço 2013: 82).

⁴ *O Feitiço do Império* (1940), de António Lopes Ribeiro, foi a primeira longa-metragem de ficção e o primeiro filme realizado sobre as colónias africanas de Portugal. Este documentário estreou no Cinema Éden em Lisboa, a 23 de Maio de 1940 (antecedendo por um mês a Exposição do Mundo Português), o qual teve a honra da presença de A. Oliveira Salazar, e foi produzido nas instalações da Tobis Portuguesa. Esta película foi integrada na actividade da AGU – Agência Geral do Ultramar e da Missão Cinematográfica às Colónias de África, da qual António Lopes Ribeiro foi nomeado director. Sinopse: emigrante português nos EUA, Francisco Morais não esquece a sua terra natal e devido ao pouco entusiasmo do filho que se quer nacionalizar americano, leva-o a uma caçada em Angola. Assim, ao visitar Angola, Moçambique, Guiné, São Tomé e Lisboa, Luís Morais, um jovem luso-descendente cuja família vive em Bóston não resiste ao fascínio do além-mar português, onde se processa a sua “conversão” aos valores lusófonos que acaba por abraçar no final do filme (Vieira 2010: 135), sucumbindo ao “feitiço do império”. Do filme subsiste hoje, apenas, a banda de imagem, o que o torna um filme de exibição difícil. Texto: Cinemateca Portuguesa.



Figura 2

Cartaz do filme *Feitiço do Império*, Portugal, 1940

Da meritória actividade da Missão Cinegráfica às Colónias de África resultaram vários documentários que foram sendo estreados ao longo da década de 1940 entre os quais se contam *Gentes que Nós Civilizámos* e *Angola, uma Nova Lusitânia* (1944). Procurava-se mostrar os avanços tecnológicos em várias áreas: na saúde, nas vias de transporte, o progresso agrícola (Fazenda Tentativa), nos portos e indústrias (Diamang), bem como o trabalho nas missões. O discurso da narração cinematográfica ilustra o modelo colonial assimilacionista e ainda dominante visão antropológica “branca”. Sustenta-se que, graças à acção missionária, «os costumes gentílico vão-se adoçando» (ap. Piçarra 2013: 19). Aludindo às guerras coloniais do final do século XIX e início do século XX, o discurso fílmico de propaganda colonial proclama: «os garotos que hoje brincam nos recreios das missões são filhos ou netos de antigos guerreiros indígenas e aprendem a língua portuguesa e o catecismo e sob a direcção dos padres dedicam-se aos trabalhos agrícolas na paz lusitana e cristã» (*ibid.*: 20). A educação do africano para o trabalho é tema recorrente. Um dos momentos altos da propaganda através dos filmes era a “demonstração” de como, em certa missão católica, branca e apostólica, os meninos negros não só são ensinados a ler como integram um coro que canta em latim. Através da cinematografia

angolana daquela época do colonialismo português, procurava evidenciar-se que há um «modo português de estar no mundo» – um modo pacífico, brando, cristão adoptado pelo Estado Novo Salazarista que era de facto uma «instituição anacrónica, arcaica, repulsiva, anti-humanística por definição» (cf. Lourenço 2013: 23).

Nos filmes angolanos da época do colonialismo português o grande país africano é apresentado como um território sem identidade própria, cultura ou religião além das que os portugueses para lá levaram desde os finais do século XV e consolidaram ao longo dos séculos como Estado colonial. Todos os filmes produzidos naquela época contribuíram para a propagação de um retrato estilizado do Império português, ao servir-se de imagens estereotipadas para representar as populações africanas.

4. Cinema angolano “multirracial” ou de pré-guerrilha anticolonial

Durante as décadas de 1950 e 1960, merecem registo documentários como *Ensino em Angola* (1950) de Ricardo Malheiro, *Angola em Marcha* (1952) de Felipe de Solms, *A Terra e Os Povos* (1954) de António Sousa, a série *Actualidades de Angola* (1957–1961) de João Silva, e *O Romance do Luachimo* (1968) de Baptista Rosa. Essas películas de propaganda colonial dirigiram-se para o grande público e não apenas o público militar. Angola é apresentada como um gigante económico, com inúmeras potencialidades e riquezas, milhares de quilómetros de estradas a serem construídas, a educação e a assistência médica ministradas gratuitamente nas sanzalas pelos bondosos homens brancos (cf. Piçarra 2013: 29, 33). Nacionalismo exacerbado, registo grandiloquente em que «as armas e os barões assinalados» de falsa imitação camoniana são evocados atestam a pobreza de soluções retóricas.

O abuso ideológico na reciclagem de imagens denota a pobreza dos meios investidos na propaganda cinematográfica é de notar de parceria com a falta de soluções criativas e de novos realizadores portugueses disponíveis para recriar a “missão” colonial filmada.

Entre outras entidades responsáveis pelo acervo fílmico sobre o território angolano encontram-se o Serviço Cartográfico do Exército (SCE), o Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola (CITA), a Telecine-Moro e a Cinangola Filmes.

Começam a ser realizados, porém, a partir da década de oitenta, uns filmes capazes de interrogar os princípios da “paz portuguesa” santificada pela ordem colonial.

Em 1962, realiza-se apenas um filme, que usa, de modo inédito no cinema colonial português, imagens chocantes. Trata-se de *Angola, Decisão de Continuar*, co-produzido com a RTP, com texto de Horácio Caio e coordenação e montagem de Vasco Hogan Teves. Depois de abordar o empreendedorismo – «onde os portugueses [imagens de negros a cavar] criaram com o seu trabalho e o seu sacrifício uma terra civilizada e a promessa de um futuro de progresso e grandeza. Onde não havia distinção entre cores, religiões e credos políticos» - mostra-se uma revolta popular contra a «primeira manifestação de terrorismo de estrangeiros e provoca a consternação dos portugueses em Angola» (*ibid.*). Sucedem-se, depois, as cenas das chacinas no Norte de Angola, seguidas de outras imagens do envio de tropas para o território. Não faltam os excertos dos discursos de Salazar sobre o tema. A propaganda ao Exército faz-se no intervalo entre as imagens de corpos mutilados e as mensagens do estadista anunciando que os portugueses de todas as cores se mantêm firmes na decisão de defender Angola.

Em 1963, António Lopes Ribeiro e Perdigão Queiroga assinam *Uma Jornada Histórica – do Terrorismo no Congo à Manifestação em Lisboa*. O filme quer assumidamente contar a história – de modo sintético – do ponto de vista do colonizador. A tese que sustenta esta produção é a seguinte: Angola tinha paz e estava a desenvolver-se e era nesse ambiente que viviam os portugueses «sem distinção de raça ou religião». Surgem, porém, as imagens de edifícios queimados no Congo e a transferência de mulheres e crianças. Explica-se que foi tudo provocado por terroristas estrangeiros que nem sequer falavam português. Logo de seguida sustenta-se que os homens negros não abandonaram as suas casas (Piçarra 2013: 33).

A história prossegue contando como a chegada de tropas trouxe novo ânimo ao norte de Angola. Os dados económicos não são esquecidos e menciona-se que, apesar de conflitos, a colheita de café foi uma das maiores dos últimos anos. O filme inclui a comemoração do Dia da Raça, no Terreiro do Paço (Praça do Comércio) em Lisboa. Em jeito de apoteose, um discurso de Salazar encerra o filme: «Angola é uma criação portuguesa e não existe sem Portugal. [...] Não há angolanos mas portugueses de Angola». O voz do “brando” ditador do “Império uno e indivisível” conclui: «Não se devem chorar os mortos. Ou melhor, nós havemos de chorar os mortos se os vivos os não mereceram» (*ibid.*: 34). O filme mostra a resposta, aclamadora, de Luanda, ao desafio do Presidente do Conselho e encerra reafirmando o apoio das Forças Armadas que, no dealbar da Revolução portuguesa, a dos cravos ou do 25 de Abril, vão desempenhar o papel da força-motriz, malgrado àquilo que Eduardo Lourenço chamou de «equivoco que elas mesmas deixaram criar o Regime» (2013: 41).

O documentário *Angola, na Guerra e no Progresso* (1971), do tenente Quirino Simões, foi o primeiro filme português em formato 70mm. É no período da guerra colonial que se regista o maior número de produções de ficção, com destaque para *A Voz de Sangue* (1965) de Augusto Fraga, *Capitão Singrid* (1967) de Jean Leduc, *Um Italiano em Angola* (1968) de Ettore Scola, *Esplendor Selvagem* (1972) de António Sousa, *Malteses, Burgueses e às Vezes ...* (1973) de Artur Semedo ou *Enquanto há Guerra há Esperança* (1974) de Alberto Sordi. *Angola – o Café*, *Angola – o Ensino*, *Angola – Economia* foram os restantes filmes produzidos antes da Independência, sendo que este último, que deveria ter trinta minutos, originalmente “cresceu” quinhentos e quinze metros por via da supressão do documentário artístico *Angola* (a diferença entre a metragem prevista para este – oitocentos e vinte e um metros – foi compensada em *Moçambique-Economia*, existindo as cópias em várias versões). Maioritariamente, estes filmes foram organizados como reportagens. Revelam qualidade na execução técnica e uma linguagem moderna inexistente nos filmes de propaganda colonial estritamente política feitos por portugueses. Mostrar o progresso, o desenvolvimento e a modernidade de Angola, além da multirracialidade existente, são os eixos à volta dos quais se organiza a realização dos documentários que, através dos seus supostos repórteres, fazem eco do luso-tropicalismo apregoado por Gilberto Freire.

Em simultâneo, desde finais de anos sessenta do século XX, há registos sobre a guerrilha anticolonial efectuados pelo Departamento de Informação e Propaganda do MPLA e os filmes *Monangambê* (1971), e *Sambizanda* (1972), de Sarah Maldoror, inspirados em obras de Luandino Vieira que antecipam um cinema de intervenção que se virá a consolidar com a Independência de Angola.

5. Cinema angolano de expressão identitária africana

Com a formação intensiva de quadros na cooperativa de cinema Promocine e na Televisão Popular de Angola (TPA), o cinema angolano começa por registar, no dealbar da década de sessenta do século XX, um país novo, acompanhando a mobilização revolucionária popular, a condição precária laboral dos trabalhadores e as actividades político-militares clandestinas em filmes como *Sou Angolano*, *Trabalho com Força* (1975) e *Uma Festa para Viver* (1976) de Ruy Duarte. Na época, foram rodados também os filmes de guerrilha anticolonial ou de expressão africana independentista incipiente como *Resistência Popular em Benguela* (1976) de António Ole, *A Luta Continua* (1976) de Asdrúbal Rebelo, as *Actualidades de Sousa de Costa* e os registos da equipa *Angola –*

Ano Zero, formada pelos irmãos Victor, Francisco e Carlos Henriques, de grande importância para o início de uma cinematografia angolana independente.

Dentro das estruturas estatais angolanas são criados o Instituto Angolano de Cinema (IAC) e o Laboratório Nacional de Cinema (LNC) que, em conjunto com a TPA eram os organismos responsáveis pela produção cinematográfica de películas com características próprias de nacionalidade africana incipiente. Desta altura são os filmes *Pamberi ne Zimbabwe* (1981) de Carlos Henriques, *Conceição Tchiambula* (1982) de António Ole, *Nelisita* (1982) de Rui Duarte e *Memória de um Dia* (1982) de Orlando Furtado. Nos anos seguintes, para além do filme *Levanta, voa e vamos* (1986) de Asdrúbal Rebelo há a registar a co-produção com Cuba, *Caravana* (1999) de Rogélio Paris e a primeira produção luso-angolana, *O Miradouro da Lua* (1993)⁵, um drama de Jorge António.

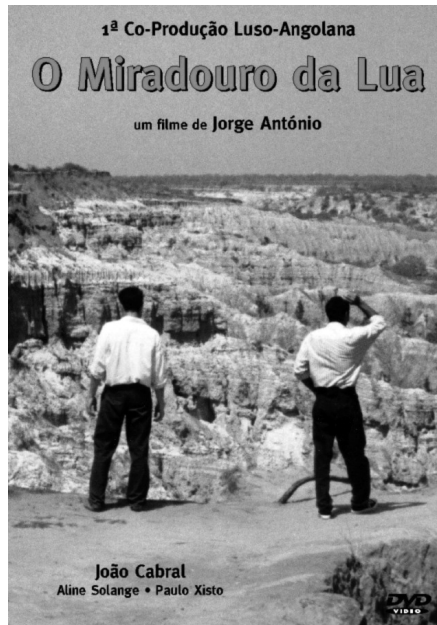


Figura 3

Cartaz do filme *Miradouro da Lua*, Portugal-Angola, 1993

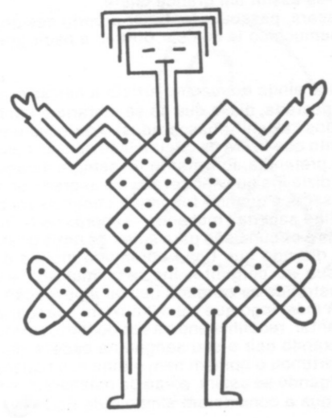
⁵ *O Miradouro da Lua* – é um conjunto de falésias 40 km a sul de Luanda, no município da Samba, em Angola, apresentando a paisagem de tipo lunar provocada pelo vento e pela chuva. Este foi o cenário do filme homónimo do realizador português Jorge António e que obteve o prémio especial Realização no Festival de Gramado, Brasil. A longa-metragem, do género ficção, tem a participação de actores e técnicos angolanos e portugueses. Conta a história de um jovem lisboeta que vem a Angola à procura do pai que não conhece, e que no fim do filme, no cenário grandioso do Miradouro da Lua, decide permanecer em Angola.

Numa remodelação do aparelho estatal angolano de 1999, o LNC e o IAC são extintos e as suas funções integradas no Instituto Nacional das Indústrias Culturais.

Desde o início do terceiro milénio, combatida a época da queda das infra-estruturas e a desmotivação de realizadores e técnicos, assiste-se a um regresso do cinema angolano. Em 2002, o Estado angolano disponibilizou uma verba para a reabilitação do cinema. São incentivados os projectos de uma nova geração de realizadores – Maria João Ganga, Mariano Bartolomeu e Zézé Gamboa. Em 2003 é criado o Instituto Angolano de Cinema, Audiovisuais e Multimédia (IACAM) e traçado um plano para a recuperação, restauro e conservação do acervo fílmico de Angola. Com a nova cinematografia, desenvolvida depois de 2002, i. e., acabada a Guerra Civil Angolana, o retrato exotizado do além-mar em função da propaganda colonial estadonovista passou ao limbo da memória cultural e deu lugar ao discurso igualitário, democrático e independente – expressão rica, enriquecedora e complementar do espólio europeu de uma “ comunidade imaginada” (cf. Anderson 2012) pelo colonizador português, agora uma nação africana *expressis verbis* na definição livre e democrática tanto no seu presente como no porvir.

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Swahili embodied metaphors in the domain of family and community relations

1. Introduction

In language and culture, the human body provides a constant source of inspiration in expressing ideas, emotions, or artistic needs. Cognitive studies have been systematically exploring the issue of the body-language-culture connection since the theory of linguistic *embodiment* and *experientialism* coupled with the notions of *conceptual metaphor* and *metonymy* was put forward by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson over thirty years ago (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, see also, Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The research of the past decades has built upon that proposal and extended the initial line of research in various directions making *embodiment* one of the most important issues in semantics, grammaticalization and culturally oriented linguistic studies.

The basic tenets of the theory consist in an assumption that conceptualization and language structure are strongly influenced by one's own bodily knowledge and experience accumulated from the babyhood in ontogenesis, but also traced in human development in philogenesis and culturally transmitted through development of societies and their languages. By now, the theory has been supported by evidence pertaining to the linguistic structure *per se*, but also by arguments coming from neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropology, biosemiotics, neurology, and other sciences (cf. Csordas 1994, Gibbs 2006, Maalej and Yu 2011, McPherron & Ramanathan 2011, Rohrer 2007, Sharifian *et al.* 2008, Ziemke, Zlatev & Frank 2007). In cognitive studies, the embodiment theory is integrated within a more general framework of perceptual symbol systems which relies on an assumption that knowledge has a perceptual basis and multimodal brain representation (cf. Barsalou 1999, 2008). Consequently,

embodied concepts are processed using the feedback of the bodily sensory, motor and proprioceptive systems which positively influences on the neural simulation and activation. To put it simply, linguistic expressions involving body part terms, as well as other terms relating to bodily movements and activities (e.g. walking, eating), are better activated and “felt” than non-embodied concepts. For example, Siakaluk *et al.* (2011) argue that insults based on body part terms (e.g. *pinhead*) turn out to be more offensive than non-embodied insults (e.g. *idiot*).

The present paper focuses on one aspect of the embodiment theory only, specifically, on extension of body part terms onto other domains. The examples below illustrate how words whose primary meanings (looked from a diachronic perspective and from a perspective of a lexical category’s organized network) denote various body parts and are then transferred onto figurative meanings in numerous other domains of practically unlimited number and scope. Since the present paper is devoted to Swahili, all examples in (1) come from this language, but similar extensions are found in many other languages of the world, too.

(1) Body part terms’ extensions

- a/ body part terms
kichwa ‘head’, uso ‘face’, jicho ‘eye’, mkono ‘hand/arm’, moyo ‘heart’
- b/ extended meanings in spatial domain
kichwa cha kitabu ‘title (lit. head) of the book’
uso wa ukuta ‘surface (lit. face) of the wall’
mkono wa kushoto ‘left side (lit. hand/arm)’
moyo wa mti ‘core (lit. heart) of the tree’
- c/ extended meanings in the domain of emotions and attitudes
kichwa kigumu ‘stubborn person’ (lit. hard head)
mtu mwenye nyuso mbili ‘two-faced person’
mkono wa birika ‘miser’ (lit. hand/handle of the tea-pot)
moyo mgumu ‘insensitive person’ (lit. hard heart)
- d/ extended meanings in the domain of reasoning
kichwa kimejaa mawazo ‘head full of thoughts’
kupanga mambo kwa kichwa ‘to plan things with head’ (i.e. wisely)
jicho la uhakiki ‘critical eye’ (lit. eye of review)
kuwaza moyoni ‘to think in the heart’
- e/ extended meanings onto objects
kichwa cha kebeji ‘head of cabbage’
jicho la ua ‘flower bud (lit. eye)’
mkono wa mto ‘arm of the river’
mkono wa shati ‘sleeve (lit. hand/arm of a shirt)’

The relationship between body part terms and meaning extension can be investigated from the perspective of the source domain, that is, by looking at extended senses developed from specific body part terms, or from the opposite angle by observing how particular senses of a given domain are expressed through the medium of body part terms. The former perspective has been adopted in the studies devoted to specific languages or contrastively (see, for example, papers in Sharifian *et al.* 2008, Maalej and Yu 2011, Brenzinger and Kraska-Szlenk to appear), including work on the Swahili language (Kraska-Szlenk 2004, 2005a,b, Talento to appear). There is also a considerable body of literature applying the latter mode of analysis, particularly in the domain of grammaticalization (e.g. Heine, 1997, to appear, Heine and Kuteva 2002, Heine *et al.* 1991, Svorou 1994) and emotions (e.g. Enfield and Wierzbicka 2002, Kövecses 2000, 2005, Kraska-Szlenk to appear). Both lines of analysis put stress on cognitive processes, such as metaphor and metonymy, which motivate lexical change in a given direction. Most of the examples mentioned in (1) above represent cases of metaphor in that the two domains of a word's usage are separate one from another, as e.g. *mkono wa mto* 'arm of the river' designates a part of a landmark, while *mkono* 'hand/arm' refers to a part of the human body. Metonymy, which involves contiguity or sharing of the two domains involved in a conceptual mapping, can be seen in some of the abovementioned examples, too, e.g. *mkono wa shati* 'sleeve' (lit. hand/arm of a shirt) which evokes a domain adjacent to that of the 'arm', or *kichwa kigumu* 'stubborn person' which, roughly speaking, represents a case of 'part for whole' synecdoche with respect to *kichwa* 'head'.

The Swahili body part terms discussed in this paper will be examined with respect to the target domain which has been singled out as a "social life" domain and, specifically, to its sub-domain associated with kinship and social relations. This choice has been made taking into account the fact that the issues pertaining to this domain have been relatively rarely discussed in the literature in general and, except for limited linguistic examples mentioned in the above cited works, have not been tackled with respect to the Swahili language and culture. In addition, the domain of social relations particularly favors figurative language coded by means of embodied metaphors, because their bimodality (i.e. linguistic and bodily) increases their expressiveness and emotional load.

The Swahili data for this paper are elicited from a number of sources, including dictionaries (*Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu* 2004, Miachina 1987), collections of proverbs and idioms (Mohamed 1973, Scheven 1981), the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS) and additional literary texts (see Swahili Sources).

2. Conceptualization of kinship relations as body sharing

Many cultures and languages conceptualize kinship by reference to the source domain of the human body. A general metaphor: KINSHIP RELATION IS BODY (PART) SHARING is very well entrenched in Swahili and manifests itself in a number of specific instantiations, depending on which body part is metaphorically ‘shared’.

The most general concept of ‘kinship’ is conventionally expressed as metaphorical sharing of *damu* ‘blood’. This meaning of the Swahili lexeme *damu* is constructed in the examples in (2a-b) containing the phrase *damu moja* ‘one blood’ which infers kinship within a family. In (2c) sharing of *damu* ‘blood’ refers to the father-son relation, while in (2d) it is generalized on an ethnic group.

(2) *Damu* ‘blood’ > ‘kinship’ extension

- a/ Kumbe wewe na wale ni *damu moja*! ‘Really, you and they are related (lit. one blood)!’ (HCS)
- b/ *nyie ni watu wa damu moja kwa hiyo itakuwa rahisi kwenu kuelewana* ‘you (pl.) are one blood, so it will be easy for you to understand each other’ (HCS)
- c/ *Ni hii damu ya baba yako, ya kujikwaruza kidogo tu mwili mzima unavimba.* ‘you took after your father (lit. it is the blood of your father) in that a small scratch makes the whole body swell.’ (*Janga*: 51)
- d/ *Binti wa Kichaga aliposikia hayo damu yake ya Kimasai ya upande wa mama yake ikamchemka kama damu ya Morani vitani.* ‘When the Chaga girl heard that, her Masai blood on the mother’s side boiled in her like the blood of the *moran* (i.e. Masai warrior) at war.’ (HCS)

The metonymy KINSHIP (ABSTRACT RELATION) FOR KIN (PERSON IN RELATION) leads to further extended senses illustrated in (3), in which *damu* tends to occur with possessive pronouns, cf. (3a-b), or with other modifiers indicating possession, cf. (3c-d). The phrase *damu yangu* ‘my blood’, as in the example of (3a), may refer to any blood relative. The context of inheritance in (3b) suggests that *damu yake* ‘his blood’ most likely refers to the person’s children. The sentence in (3c) overtly points out that the metaphorical usage of *damu* is restricted to one’s family related by blood, and not by marriage. The final example in (3d) contains a novel metaphor *mazao ya damu yake* ‘the crops of his blood’ (i.e. ‘children’) built upon the conventionalized usage of *damu* ‘blood’ in the meaning of one’s kin and by positive inference connoted by the lexeme *mazao* ‘crop, harvest’.

(3) *Damu* ‘blood’ > ‘kin’ extension

- a/ Nakwambia kweli, rafiki yangu Mupangile, mimi siwezi kuisaliti damu yangu. ‘I am telling you, Mupangile, my friend, I cannot forsake my [own] blood.’ (HCS)
- b/ Mali yake sharti itambae na damu yake ‘The wealth must go with his blood’ (HCS)
- c/ Vifo vyote hivyo vikawa vimechagua damu ya Mzee Ninalwo tu. Wakwe zake wote, waume wa marehemu binti zake pamoja na wake za marehemu wanae wa kiume, [...] hakuna hata mmoja kati yao aliyeambukizwa au hata kuugua tu kwa huo ugonjwa! ‘All those deaths chose only the blood of Mzee Ninalwo. [As to] his in-laws, the husbands of his late daughters and the wives of his late sons, [...] there was not a single one among them who was even infected and sick of that disease!’
- d/ Ni kitu cha kawaida kwa binadamu kupenda mazao ya damu yake. ‘It is normal for a human being to love the crops of his blood.’ (*Janga*: 46)

Figurative expressions describing children and siblings are often based on source domains referring to body parts associated with pregnancy and birth, such as *mimba* ‘womb’ (also ‘pregnancy’) and *tumbo* ‘womb, belly’. The conventional expression *kifungua mimba* which literally means ‘[thing that] opens the womb’ denotes the first born child, while the last born child is referred to as *kitinda mimba* ‘[thing that] cuts (slaughters) the womb’. The common expression *wa tumbo moja* lit. ‘[child, sibling] of one (i.e. the same) belly’ refers to one’s siblings (of the same mother), cf. the corpus example in (4a). The same conceptualization of one’s children/siblings based on the image of fetuses residing inside the mother’s womb is seen in further examples in (4), out of which (4b) refers to the oldest sibling and (4c) to the woman’s youngest child. The proverb in (4d) literally refers to a baby in the womb, but more generally, to one’s children who are protected by God from the very beginning.

(4) *Tumbo* in extensions toward ‘siblings, children’

- a/ ndugu zake wa tumbo moja ‘his/her sisters/brothers’ (lit. his/her relatives of one belly) (HCS)
- b/ Yeye ndiye wa kwanza kwenye tumbo la mama yetu. ‘(S)he is the oldest child (lit. the first one in the belly of our mother).’ (HCS)
- c/ Nakazenze akaamua kumpa huyo mtoto jina la mumewe, Ninalwo, isije watoto wakaisha tumboni kabla hajamwita mwanae hata mmoja jina la mumewe mpenzi. ‘Nakazenze decided to call this child after her husband, Ninalwo, so that it would not happen that she could stop having children

(lit. that the children could end in the womb/belly) before calling at least one by the name of her beloved husband).’ (*Janga*: 8)

- d/ Kinga huliwa tumboni. ‘Protection is eaten in the womb.’ (Scheven 1981: 382)

Embodied metaphors which map family relations on various body parts are found in many Swahili proverbs, as exemplified in (5). The saying in (5a), which alludes to death, illustrates the highly symbolic lexeme *kitovu* ‘navel’¹ in the constructed meaning of ‘child/children’ and is juxtaposed to *utumbo* ‘intestines’ – metaphorical adults. The intriguing proverb in (5b) puts *jicho* ‘eye’ side by side with *pua* ‘nose’; the former body part ‘eye’ metaphorically stands for someone closer and more important to us, that is, a family member, who should be therefore supported, cared for and endured², as opposed to a stranger, figuratively constructed as a less significant body part ‘nose’. Family members can also be construed as paired or multiple body parts, for example, hands or fingers of the hand, as in (5c-d). The proverb in (5c) asserts that one should not harm his/her family, while (5d) teaches that no relative should be rejected, since even a bad one can be useful in the future.

(5) Embodied ‘kinship’ metaphors in proverbs

- a/ Aliyekula kitovu chako, hatakuachia utumbo ‘The one who ate your navel will not leave you your intestines’ (i.e. everyone dies, Scheven 1981: 135)
- b/ Kinaota ku jicho; kingeota ku pua, ningekitoshia ‘It grows in the eye, but if it grew on the nose, I would remove it (Scheven 1981: 381)
- c/ (Mkono) wa kuume haukati (mkono) wa kushoto. ‘The right hand does not cut off the left one.’ (Scheven 1981)
- d/ Kidole chako kibaya chaweza kufaa siku baya. ‘Your bad finger can be of use on a bad day.’ (Or: Kidole chako kibaya si kikate. ‘Do not cut off a bad finger.’) (Scheven 1981: 325)

Embodied metaphors also emphasize bonds and unity within family, as well as in other communities than the family, which will be discussed in the following section.

¹ This lexeme has other conventionalized figurative uses as ‘cradle’ or ‘home’, cf. *kwenda kitovuni* ‘to go home (i.e. birthplace)’, *kitovu cha Kiswahili* ‘the cradle of the Swahili language.

² The precious body part *jicho* ‘eye’ provides a lexical source for the concept of a close and dear person and occurs in Swahili as a form of address, especially towards one’s children (cf. Kraska-Szlenk, to appear).

3. Expressing family and community union through embodied metaphors

Swahili culture is very social and has high regard for the value of one's family and community. Many Swahili proverbs put stress on interaction and cooperation with other people and disapprove of loneliness, for example, *Mtu ni watu* 'A human being is people', *Upweke ni uvundo* 'Loneliness is [like] a bad smell'. Embodied metaphors are perfectly suited to code the concept of family/community union, because a clear analogy can be made between the human body consisting of a whole and its salient parts and an organized community of individuals who likewise have their defined position and responsibility. The metaphor A COMMUNITY (SOCIETY, FAMILY, MARRIAGE) IS A HUMAN BODY is very well entrenched in Swahili and finds numerous linguistic instantiations.

The corpus examples in (6) below illustrate the lexeme *mwili* 'body' constructed in the figurative sense of a 'union of people'. The first example in (6a) refers to a marriage in which two persons are united as a metaphorical *mwili mmoja* 'one body'. The same phrase in (6b) infers a much larger group of people, namely, the subjects of a sultan. The next example in (6c) refers to a Christian community whose union is imaged by the same metaphor.

(6) *Mwili mmoja* 'one body' > 'union of people'

- a/ Na ndiyo maana mwanaume humwacha baba na mama yake, akaambatana na mkewe na wao wawili huwa mwili mmoja. 'And that is why a man leaves his father and mother, and is joined with his wife, and the two of them become one body.' (HCS)
- b/ Baada ya kuwa kitu kimoja, baada ya kuwa mwili mmoja tutakuwa watu wa Seyyid Said. 'After becoming one thing, after becoming one body, we will be the people of Seyyid Said.' (HCS)
- c/ Kama katika mwili wa mtu viungo vyote vinavyosaidiana kwa kujenga mwili na kuuletea uhai, hivyo katika mwili wa Kristu, yaani Kanisa, viungo vyote pamoja vinafanya kazi ya kujenga na kusitawisha Kanisa. 'As in the body of a person all parts cooperate in building the body and bringing it life, thus in the body of the Christ, that is the Church, all parts together do the work of building the Church and making it grow.' (HCS)

The conceptualization of a community as a human body together with a congruent metaphor: PEOPLE IN A COMMUNITY ARE BODY PARTS makes it possible to formulate statements about social norms and behaviors in the form of embodied metaphors. The examples in (7a-b) are two variants of a proverb which construes community (family) members as *vidole* 'fingers' and attributes the wellbeing of

the whole group to the wellbeing of its parts, i.e. individuals: any misbehavior or harm done to a part affects the whole. The corpus example in (7c) provides a paraphrase of this proverb used in the context of a Christian community's union, but very well it could refer to any other organized social group.

(7) *Vidole* 'fingers' > 'members of a community'

- a/ *Kidole kimoja kikiumia, vidole vingine vyatoa damu.* 'If one finger is hurt, the other fingers are bleeding.' (Scheven 1981: 58)
- b/ *Athari ya kidole hasara ya mwili.* 'A sore finger damages the whole body.' (Scheven 1981: 421)
- c/ *Tutakuwa mwili mmoja na, kama ilivyo katika mwili, kidole kikijikwaa, mwili mzima unahisi maumivu.* 'We will be one body and, as it is in the body, if one finger hurts (lit. gets stuck), all body feels the pain.' (HCS)

In accordance with the abovementioned embodied metaphors, cooperation within a community is construed as an action shared together by two or many body parts – figurative 'people'. The proverbs in (8) illustrate the most typical examples in which participating body parts are *mikono* 'hands/arms' – the body part term most naturally associated with work, but note (8c) which has a variant with the lexeme *kidole* 'finger'. Proverbs of this kind usually stress the value of community (family) union and cooperation by pinpointing the impossibility of single-handed actions, as exemplified in (8a-d), but some proverbs simply construe an image of work done by two hands together, as in (8e). While the imagery of such examples is metaphoric in its general schema of WHOLE/PARTS relation, it involves an additional metonymic aspect underlying the construction of 'people' as their prominent 'parts' (as 'hands' relevant for 'work').

(8) *Mikono* 'hands/arms' > 'cooperating people' in proverbs

- a/ *Mkono mmoja haubebi mtoto.* 'One hand does not carry a baby.' (Scheven 1981: 123)
- b/ *Mkono mmoja haulei mwana.* 'One hand does not bring up a child.' (Scheven 1981: 123)
- c/ *Mkono mmoja (kidole kimoja) hauvunji chawa.* 'One hand (one finger) does not kill a louse.' (Scheven 1981: 120n.)
- d/ *Mkono mmoja hauchinji ng'ombe.* 'One hand does not slaughter a cow.' (Scheven 1981: 123)
- e/ *Mikono miwili ni kuoshana.* 'Two hands wash each other.' (Scheven 1981: 123)

Many conventionalized expressions in Swahili are based on embodied metaphors which construe people's relations and attitudes one to another as bodily movements and actions. For example, the phrase *mkono kwa mkono* 'hand in (lit. with) hand' is used to denote people's cooperation and the notion of support is expressed by embodied idioms, such as, *unga mkono* 'support' (lit. join hand) and *kumpa (mtu) moyo* 'encourage (someone)', lit. 'give (someone) the heart'. Likewise there exist embodied expressions denying cooperation or support, for example, *kumpa (mtu) mgongo* 'turn back (on someone)', lit. 'give (someone) the back', *kumpa (mtu) kisogo* 'ignore (someone)', lit. 'give (someone) the back of the head', or *kumvunja (mtu) moyo* 'discourage (someone)', lit. 'break (someone's) heart'. Close relations among family or friends are coded by embodied comparisons, such as, (*shikamana*) *kama chanda/kidole na pete* 'like the finger and the ring' or *kama ulimi na mate* 'like the tongue and saliva'.

4. Expressing social values through embodied metaphors

Many cultures prefer indirectness of figurative speech in giving advice and teaching good manners and behavior. Swahili verbal culture is particularly well known for its love of *mafumbo* 'enigmas, indirect speech' and multilayered metaphors (e.g. Knappert 1983). A complete account of embodied language expressing social values and proper/wrong behaviors would go far beyond the scope of the present paper, but it is worthwhile to give in a conclusion at least a small sample of proverbs and clichés illustrating the functioning of such metaphors in the Swahili cultural environment.

Many proverbs convey social values by juxtaposing two or more body parts which can be construed as 'instruments' of appropriate actions or behaviors, as in the (9a) example which advises more watching and listening than speaking. Abstract qualities are compared in (9b) which is based on a conventional association of the body part *moyo* 'heart' with the domain of emotions and courage. Other proverbs construe body parts not as 'instruments' of actions, but as 'agents', as in the (9c) example which alludes to the conventionalized meaning of *kichwa* as someone 'superior' who, as the proverb implies, should be obeyed and not surpassed by someone of an inferior position. Still another mode of conceptualization can be seen in (9d), where the body is exploited as a source domain in the metaphor of people who go into debt in order to keep up appearances.

(9) Swahili proverbs

- a/ Binadamu ana macho mawili, masikio mawili na mdomo mmoja ‘Man has two eyes, two ears and one mouth.’ (Scheven 1981: 452)
- b/ Heri kufa macho kuliko kufa moyo. ‘It is better to lose (lit. die) your eyes than to lose (lit. die) your heart.’ (Scheven 1981: 324)
- c/ Sikio halipatii kichwa. ‘The ear does not surpass the head.’ (Scheven 1981: 359)
- d/ Kata pua uunge wajihi. ‘Cut off your nose to mend your face.’ (Scheven 1981: 49)

Indirect language of embodied metaphors serves as a convenient tool utilized for various purposes in literature. The following examples provide an illustration from Swahili oral tradition; the excerpt in (10a) comes from a story collected in the 19th century on Zanzibar (Steere 1870) and (10b) comes from a popular story in the version recorded in Velten’s (1907) collection. In (10a), the character – the sultan’s wife – uses the metaphor HONOR (RESPECT, DIGNITY) IS FACE to manipulate her husband into not rejecting their sons. The words quoted in (10b) are spoken by an elderly woman to her granddaughter and provide a key to the plot of the story by being interpreted literally and not in their metaphorical meaning; *nyama ya ulimi* lit. ‘meat of the tongue’, figuratively refers to ‘nice, pleasant words’ and *kutunza tumbo* lit. ‘to watch/care for the belly’ has the meaning of pampering with delicious food. Both, the metaphor in (10a) and the idiomatic expressions in (10b), are still vivid in the Swahili language and culture.

(10) Embodied language in oral stories

- a/ Sultani Majnuni, ukiwakataa watoto hawa, watu watawaambia waana wa haramu, na mimi mkeo sina uso kwa watu. Killa nitakapokwenda, katika ukumbi wa watu, sitaweza kuinua uso wangu kutazama watu pia ‘you, Sultan Majnun, if you reject these children, people will say they are not lawful children, and I, your wife, shall have no face before people. Whenever I go in the porches of people’s houses, I shall not be able to lift up my face to look at anybody’ (text and translation, Steere 1870: 244n.).
- b/ Mume atokapo kutembea, akarudi nyumbani, mpe nyama ya ulimi na kumtunza tumbo. ‘After your husband comes back home from a walk, give him the “meat of the tongue” and “care for his belly”. (Velten’s 1907: 47)

Conclusion

The paper has presented evidence of body part terms used in Swahili language and culture as a source domain for expression of concepts associated with social relations. It has been demonstrated that the metaphoric mapping is quite systematic and complies with the general theory of linguistic embodiment. Specific structures of the embodied language and their relatively high frequency as to types and linguistic usage in this particular domain represent a part of the Swahili language-specific cultural model.

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Some remarks on the Ethiopic martyrdom of St. Hripsime

The story of the martyrdom of St. Hripsime and her companions has achieved a considerable fame throughout the Christian world. Its rather remote echo is to be found also in Ethiopia, a fact not surprising given the long traditions of cultural affinities between the two ancient Christian realms. In this short contribution, I will try to show how the story of St. Hripsime is reflected in the Classical Ethiopic (Gə‘əz) literature.

Let us start by recapitulating some basic facts about the original story which has become the basis for the Ethiopic text in question. The story of St. Hripsime ultimately derives from the work entitled *Patmut’iwn Hayoc’* (‘History of Armenia’) by the 5th-Century Armenian historiographer called Agathangelos. Although another version containing many additional details is to be found in the work of Movsēs Xorenac’i, active probably in the 9–10th Century, it was Agathangelos’ work that in various recensions circulated widely throughout the Christian world (Winkler 1980: 128–135). *Patmut’iwn Hayoc’* is a complicated oeuvre integrating elements from Christian tradition, Armenian oral literature and Iranian folklore. It is suggested that it emerged as a compilation of three distinct texts: *vita* of Gregory the Illuminator, martyrdom of Hripsime and the teaching of Gregory (Pogossian 2003: 355–360).

In the most wide-spread version of the legend (the one which is further elaborated *inter alia* by Movsēs Xorenac’i and made its way into Coptic and Armenian synaxaries) Hripsime is a Roman virgin who lives a life of ascetism and prayer in the company of other pious women, among them her spiritual mother Gaiane. When the emperor Diocletian having seen Hripsime’s portrait wants to take her as his wife, the virgins are forced to flee. They reach Armenia ruled by the pagan king Tiridates and take shelter there. The emperor’s envoys, however, find her and take her to the king who himself is struck by

her beauty. Rejected by Hripsime, Tiridates in fury decides to put the women to death.

Hripsime has achieved considerable fame and veneration in Ethiopia. This phenomenon should be viewed in a wider context of the relations between Armenia and Ethiopia and their respective national churches.

While the arrival of the Christian faith to Armenia according to the indigenous tradition is linked to the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, this is in fact a common Late Antique *topos* of claiming descentance of a given community directly from the twelve disciples of Jesus. In reality, the establishing of the Christian realm of Armenia was a result of Greek and Syriac missionary activity and took place in the political context of rivalry between two great powers: Rome and Persia (Nersessian 2007: 23–26). In 317, at the council of Vagharshapat, Christianity was pronounced an official religion by the king Trdat the 3rd and Gregory the Illuminator became the first patriarch (Zakrzewska-Dubasowa 1990: 42).

The circumstances of the Christianization of Ethiopia (or to be more precise, the city-state of Axum, which existed in Antiquity in the northern Horn of Africa) cannot be reconstructed in great detail. However, the epigraphic and numismatic evidence makes it quite clear, that somewhere in the early 4th Century under the king ‘Ezānā there was a transition from the cult of the ancient Semitic deities to Christianity (Brakmann 1994: 77). Not only were the rulers of both countries baptized in approximately the same time, but also both national churches did not adhere to the Council of Chalcedon and both these facts laid foundations for the future amicable relations.

Throughout history the contacts between the two denominations took place mostly in Jerusalem where both communities still live side by side, in the monasteries of Egypt and to a lesser extent in Cyprus. The Armenian presence in Ethiopia is well documented at least since the 16th Century. In fact at the beginning of the 20th Century Armenians were one of the largest foreign communities residing in Addis Abeba (Pankhurst 1978/1979).

Contacts between churches often result in transmitting the cult of a particularly venerated saint in one area into a completely different cultural milieu. This is certainly the case here as both Gregory the Illuminator and Hripsime have become “domesticated” in Ethiopia.

It seems that the most important site of Hripsime’s worship in Ethiopia was situated on the Däq island, one of the island of Lake Ṭānā. The church Qollā ’Arsimā was supposedly founded in the 13th Century. The scenes from the life of ’Arsimā are depicted on the walls of the church as well as on a 18–19th Century

wooden triptych. The paintings represent the so-called second Gonderian style (Bosc-Tiessé 2000: 261–262). Another religious center connected with our heroine is the monastery of Gišan in the Wällo province. According to the local tradition ʿArsimā’s earthly remains were brought there by king Dāwit (reigned 1382–1413) from Egypt and are still stored there (Chaillot 2002: 137). The very same monastery boasts also the possession of the True Cross relics and it may be interesting to note that Hripsime is mentioned in connection with Christ’s reliquiae also in Georgia (Esbrœck 2002: 176–178). The veneration of ʿArsimā is still very much alive. One can quote as an example that her story is summarized as that of an exemplary Christian in a popular manual of pious life for the Ethiopian Orthodox women (Käfyälāw 2000: 74–78)¹.

The literary *dossier* of Hripsime in Ethiopia is not very voluminous. She is mentioned three times in the synaxary of the Ethiopic Orthodox Church. Since the Ethiopian synaxary is largely a translation of the Copto-Arabic synaxary, these entries depend on the Coptic tradition. The reading for the 29th day of the month *maskaram* contains a short *vita* of the saint. The narration follows closely the chain of events described in Agathangelos’s work (Colin 1986: 497–501). The reading for 6th day of the month *tāḥsās* is devoted to the consecration of the church dedicated to Hripsime (Grébaut 1926: 626–627). Finally, a lengthy entry for 15th day of the month *tāḥsās* devoted to Gregory the Illuminator mentions Hripsime as a cause for the king’s insanity from which he was cured by Gregory, again in perfect accordance with Agathangelos (Grébaut 1926: 789–796).

The long *vita* Hripsime is to be found in *Gadla samāʿtāt* (‘Contendings of the martyrs’), a large collection of exclusively non-Ethiopian Christian martyrs. Most of the individuals included in this collection derive from the area of Christian Egypt, though some are figures deriving from Western tradition. This text will be dealt with in greater detail further on.

Relatively few recensions of the *Gadla samāʿtāt* (e.g. BL Orient. 687,688 = Wright 258) contain the story of Gregory the Illuminator. Hripsime is mentioned in the very beginning, her death being the reason for the king’s distress (Pereira 1901: 12). Further on, Gregory recounts his vision in which he sees three thrones standing in the same place where Hripsime and her companions were martyred (Pereira 1901: 16).

There are at least a couple of poetic works praising Hripsime. The manuscript Palatino Orientalne 148 preserved in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence contains a *malkəʿ* – like hymn entitled *Mawāsəʿət zaʿArsimā* (‘Antiphone on

¹ This booklet contains also the names of other churches and monasteries devoted to her.

Hripsime'), often referred to as a literary work without any parallels in the Ethiopian tradition (Marrassini 1987: 91). Another short poem is included in the manuscript BL Orient. 191 from the British Library (Wright 1877: 129). Among the collections of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana one finds an antiphone in the manuscript Cerulli 114 (f. 93r–96v) and a *salām*-hymn appended to the catechism *Hāymānot rət'ət* ('the orthodox faith') in the manuscript Cerulli 290.

Quite interesting and so far neglected occurrence of our saint in Ethiopic literature is to be found in the manuscript Ṭānāsee 154 = Dāgā Estifānos 43. This text describes a ritual performed on women who enter the monastery (this genre is called in Ethiopic *śar'ata mənkw'əsannā*). On f. 73va–74ra we find a passage in which the *celebrans* enumerates the names of women who should serve as role-models for future nuns. Hripsime is mentioned alongside Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, queen Helen and Rachel.



Triptych depicting scenes from Arsima's life (after Bosc-Tiessé 2001, fig. 21)

Finally one should mention another version of the long *vita* which is preserved in a manuscript from the monastic library in Yäcära² in the province of Begemdir. The text is almost certainly affiliated with the *Gadla samā'tāt* version, however it has a different ending, recapitulating the story of the king's insanity after the martyrdom of Hripsime.

Let us now turn to the account of Hripsime's martyrdom preserved in the *Gadla samā'tāt* collection. This text still awaits publication, although there is at our disposal a well known summary accompanied by enlightening remarks concerning the relationship between the Ethiopic text and Agathangelos (Cerulli 1968: 215–220).

There are currently known at least nine manuscripts of this text³:

EMML 1479, ff. 198va–224rb, dated 1459–1460

EMML 2514, ff. 84va–103vb, dated 1382–1388

EMML 6244, ff. 30va–50vb

EMML 6903, ff. 83ra–103rb

EMML 6965, ff. 135ra–156vb

Ṭānāsee 121 (= Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 10), ff. 134ra–159vb

BL Or 689 (Wright 253) ff. 155ra–185rb, from the 15th Century.

BL Or 687–688 (Wright 258) ff. 131va–150ra, from the 18th Century

BL Or 686 (Wright 257) ff. 92vb – 106vb, dated 1755–1769

We owe to the work of Alessandro Bausi the discovery that *Gadla samā'tāt* is a compilation of ancient hagiographical material translated from the Greek in the Aksumite age (that is somewhere between 4th and 7th Century) and more modern texts translated from Arabic. It seems quite probable that the martyrdom of Hripsime was translated from an Arabic original or at least elaborated on the basis of an Arabic text. For example, in the final enumeration of the names of Hripsime's companions at least one name (Bərākilos/'Abrākilos) reveals a well known consonant change [p] > [b].

As already stated by Cerulli, this account differs considerably from the original Armenian version. It may seem that the entire text is nothing more than an array of hagiographic clichés embellished with descriptions of Hripsime's visions, her passionate dialogues with the king and gruesome scenes of her martyrdom. Apart from the very simplified sequenced of events and the retaining of the names of

² The photographs of this manuscript were kindly made available to me by Prof. Ewa Balicka-Witakowska.

³ I wish to thank Dr Antonella Brita for giving me the references to the uncatalogued EMLL manuscripts.

Hripsime, her antagonist king Tiridates and the country of Armenia, the Greek/Armenian original is hardly recognizable. The details “lost in translation” were supplemented with motifs already extant in Ethiopic literature. For example, the military officer who brings Hripsime to the king is named Ṭalmewos, an obvious corruption of Πτολεμαῖος. And yet at least one fragment of the text deserves mentioning as an exception.

The fragment quoted below after EMMML 2514, 93va-b almost certainly alludes to the personage of Gregory the Illuminator, who healed the king from his insanity, although he is not mentioned by name.

ወአኅዘት፡ ትንብብ፡ ቅድስት፡ አርሲማ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እንዘ፡ ትትነበይ፡ ላዕለ፡ ውእቱ፡ ረሲዕ፡ ወትቤ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ስምዑኒ፡ ኢጋእስቲየ፡ እንብቦ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዕልው፡ እንተ፡ ትረክቦ፡ በደጋሪ፡ መዋዕል፡ ህየንተ፡ ዘሣቀየነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይሣቀዩ፡ በማኅበረ፡ ኢጋንንት፡ ሎቱ፡ ወለኩሉ፡ ሰራዊቱ፡ ለለጅብእሲ፡ በበሳብዕ፡ ሰራዊተ፡ ሌጌዎን፡ ወውእቱሰ፡ በብዔል፡ ዜቡል፡ መልአኮሙ፡ ለኢጋንንት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሌጌዎን፡ ይበውእ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ይሞቅሉ፡ አእምሮ፡ ልቡናሁ፡ ወይሬስዮ፡ ይብላዕ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ከመ፡ ዝእብ፡ እስመ፡ ይሬሰይዎ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ልቦ፡ ወአርአያ፡ ሰብእ፡ ይትዌለጥ፡ በላዕሌሁ፡ ወይከውን፡ ከመ፡ ደብ፡ ፀዋግ፡ ወከመ፡ አርዌ፡ እኩየ፡ ገጽ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ምሕረት፡ ወይነስክ፡ በመግት፡ ወየቀቱ፡ ስነኒሁ፡ ወይቤዝት፡ ከናፍሪሁ፡ በስነኒሁ፡ ወይሰቲ፡ ደመ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወይረዊ፡ ከመ፡ ማይ፡ ወእምኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይትፌኖ፡ ረድኤት፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ እስመ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ሰብእ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኢየህድጎሙ፡ ይሙቱ፡ በኅጢአቶሙ፡ እስመ፡ ያእምር፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይኩን፡ ዘሀሎ፡ ይኩን፡ ከመቦ፡ ዘይትረከብ፡ እምሣቲ፡ ሀገረ፡ አርማንያ፡ ኄራን፡ ወጻድቃን፡ ወይመጽእ፡ ጠለ፡ ምሕረት፡ እምኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ላዕለ፡ ጅብእሲ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ካህን፡ ዘወደይዎ፡ ውስተ፡ ዐዘቅት፡ ዐምዐም፡ በዕለት፡ አነ፡ ተወለድኩ፡ በትስዐቱ፡ መዋዕል፡ ወይእዜኒ፡ አመ፡ ዕለተ፡ ሞትኩ፡ አነ፡ በ፱መዋዕል፡ ይትነሣእ፡ ከመ፡ ዘንቃህ፡ እምንዋም፡ ወያውዕእዎ፡ በአሕባል፡ ወይረክቡ፡ ፈውሰ፡ ወመድኅኒተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ወያነግፎሙ፡ እምኅይለ፡ ኢጋንንት፡ በጸሎቱ፡ ወያጠምቆሙ፡ በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በሃይማኖቱ፡ ወይሁበሙ፡ ቀኖና፡ ንስሐ፡ ወያርእዮሙ፡ ኅይለ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበገቢረ፡ ተእምር፡ ወመንክር፡ እምኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ያፈቅር፡ ነሳሕያነ፡ ወይሬውሶሙ፡ እምኅይለ፡ ኢጋንንት፡ ወይሁበሙ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ሠናየ፡ ወይወርድ፡ ዐምደ፡ ብርሃን፡ እምስማይ፡ ውስተ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዮርዳኖስ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል፡ መድኅኒቶሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ይጠምቁ፡ ወይትሐነጽ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ በስመ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ወበስመ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ወጻድቃን፡ እስክ፡ ትፍጻሚተ፡ መዋዕሊሆሙ፡ ለዓለም፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም።

„Saint Hripsime began to speak in prophecies [inspired] by the Holy Spirit about this wicked one and said to the saints: Listen oh my lords to my speech about the evil which will befall him on the last day. For tormenting us the Lord will torment with a gathering of demons him and his entire army. Seventy armies of Legewon [will fall] on every man, he himself [will be possessed] by Bə‘el Zebul, angel of demons. He will enter him and enslave his mind and reasoning. He will make him eat flesh like a hyena, because he will be made insane. The human form will change on him and he will become like a wild bear or like an animal with a fierce face which has no mercy. He will be biting

in anger, grinding his teeth, tearing his lips with his teeth, drinking the blood of his body and be satiated with it as if [it was] water. But help will be sent to him from the Lord, for He loves the mankind and He will not let [anyone] die in sin, for He knows what will happen before it happens. [He also knows] that there are good and righteous people in the country of Armenia. The dew of mercy will come from the Lord on a certain man, a great priest who will be thrown into a muddy dungeon on the ninth day since the day I was born. And on the ninth day after I die he will rise as if awoken. He will be released from his shackles and [the people of Armenia] will receive medicine and salvation through his hands. He will release them from the power of demons and will baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in the holy faith. He will give the laws of penitence and will show them the power of the Holy Spirit through wonders and miracles from the Lord. For He loves the pure and saves them from the power of demons and gives them the good baptism. The column of light will descend from heaven to the holy Jordan in the sign of the cross – the salvation for the baptized. Churches will be built in the name of Mary the God-bearer and in the name of the righteous and martyrs until the end of times. Amen.”

The fact that the legend of Hripsime has travelled from Armenia to Ethiopia is interesting *per se* but it also points to the much wider picture of curious analogies between Christian cultures of Ethiopia and Caucasus which certainly deserve an in-depth and thorough study.

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The vexed question of African languages in education. Still, a solution may lay in front of us. Revisiting Orality for an authentic African future¹

1. Introduction

It is common cause to highlight the importance of language to humans. “*To be human is to exist in language*” writes Capra (1996; in Chambers 2005: 120). And he adds “*In language we coordinate our behaviour, and together in language we bring forth our world*”. This encompassing view of language, which underlies its social and cognitive dimensions, states its centrality to the condition of human beings – after all, notwithstanding intricate debates whether semiotic systems of some ‘non-human animals’, to borrow a phrase from Mitchell (2013), qualify to be called language, articulated language remains the most immediate criteria that tells us apart from all other living species. One can legitimately infer from

¹ This essay was elaborated with, mostly, South Africa in mind. However, beyond regional or national specificities, we feel the analysis may capture the essence of a process at play in the whole sub-Saharan part of the continent. Thus, while tailored for urban South Africa, we think the suggestion, *mutatis mutandis*, could be valid further afield.

People who – often unwittingly – contributed in the making of this paper are too numerous to be named. Particular gratitude to Suzy Platiel who, during regular exchanges over years, contributed to open my eyes on the centrality of oral processes in the making of human beings. There is no way to do justice to her many achievements and insights. I also wish to express my indebtedness to my colleagues in a South-African-based Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) – led National Research Foundation (NRF) – funded project looking into literacy acquisition in Foundation Phase classrooms in Gauteng and Limpopo. School visits and class observations conducted at this occasion, as well as stimulating intellectual debates within the project, especially with Michael Joseph, Esther Ramani, Vic Webb and Cas Prinsloo, informed (some of) the views expressed herein. The editor, Stephanie Rudwick and Philip Pare were kind enough to go through a first version. Their incisive comments are gladly acknowledged. Of course none other than myself bears responsibility for analyses and opinions herein.

such observation that the circumstances where infants acquire language inform decisively their perception of the self and the building of their identities, and hence their development into adulthood (Horsthemke 2004: 580). Indeed, much in a child's future depends on the very first years, which constitute, up to year 8, "*the critical foundation for cognitive, linguistic and general developmental milestones*" (Agbedo & al. 2012: 45 quoting a Unesco report). Moreover, and in line with the early age, these capacities are enhanced by the affectivity that binds the child to his/her caretaker(s). Nowadays, in large parts of urban Africa, all too often the natural environment – the immediate family and surrounding community



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– has fallen prey to the combined blows of wars, poverty, isolation, time-demanding works, family dismemberment and other social ills including diseases. In South Africa alone, by 2011, according to a report from the South African Institute of Race Relations² households made of single-parent – usually mothers – have become the norm while nearly 100 000 children

live in child-headed ones. Thus for many deprived children schools have become the main loci providing an opportunity to interact meaningfully with adults, even if few countries have, like South Africa, reached the goal of extending primary education to all. Moreover, given the time spent by learners in school or in travel to and fro there remains precious little opportunity for parents or guardians to guide their children, even when they are available. Socialization occurring with peers in the streets is no valid alternative. It falls short of the required input in terms of linguistic and cultural transmission. It has led to the apparition of mixed languages (see Beck 2010 for a general view across Africa). Makoni (in Beck 2010: 25) observes that speakers of those varieties "*may not necessarily be able to develop full competence in each (or even any?)*³ *of the languages of the*

² <http://www.iol.co.za/lifestyle/family/parenting/single-parent-households-the-norm-says-study-1.1057033>, November 2013

³ Our comment.

amalgam". Indeed, there follows rampant creolization and subsequent cultural and language loss (Lafon 2013c).⁴ This situation is reinforced by unmonitored exposure to mostly foreign TV/ video programs now further disseminated through cell-phones. As a consequence, "*the mental space in which people dream is occupied by western imagery [and] the innumerable varieties of 'being human' are eliminated*" writes Odora Hoppers (2002: 80).

Education however cannot be reduced to schooling. Webster on line⁵ defines education as "(...) *the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of a society.*" In the same vein Alidou (2009: 119) sees African education "*[as] a societal project that takes into consideration African languages, cultures, values and belief systems and above all the type of societies that each nation wants to build.*" Education is the way by which human communities groom the youth into adults, who will, when time comes, carry over the burden of ensuring that the community survive and prosper and that its legacy blooms. There are other forms of imparting knowledge than the barracks- or convents- style establishments of 18–19th century Europe that have been transplanted in Africa. Education in Africa must be re-invested with its full humanistic aim of forming and shaping adults apt to function adequately in a given society and, on this basis, in the world. "*An African-based education*", write Dei *et. al.* (2006: 58), [should] "*build the individual and collective worth of learners as responsible and conscientious human beings who (...) fulfil their common obligations to a larger (...) community*". One path towards re-investing education with its full scope lies in acknowledging the historical background to today's situation in Africa. Understanding the historical origins of the present-day quagmire is key to solve today's language and cultural challenges, and possibly societal and developmental as well. The past offers clues able to afford African languages their due place. Indeed, the language question emerged when school education was introduced in the wake of the colonial conquest.

I shall first look briefly at the issue of language in schools today, then glance back into history before putting forth a modest proposal that combines aspects of local tradition and western schooling in a hybrid strategy, with South African urban and semi-urban settlements in mind.

⁴ Most languages and cultures betray signs of creolization – English being one oft-quoted example alongside Swahili, French, etc. Creolization *per se* is a historical phenomena that is part of the make-up of most present-day human communities. However the present situation differs significantly from previous processes. Globalization carried by the modern means of communication ensures there is hardly any space left untouched by the pressure of the dominant language and culture, which may result in general homogenization and language and cultural loss.

⁵ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/education>, November 2013

2. Language in schools⁶

In Africa, language policies of which the choice of the language to be used in schools is a major component have been taken hostage in political debates, arising around conceptions of state formation and nation building (Ricento 2000; Tsui 2004; Ferguson 2013: 17). Some authors even claim that the promotion of a language cannot be divorced from ethnic nationalism – see Kriel (2010) *à propos* the defence of Afrikaans in South Africa, in the past as well as the present, even if the inclusion of Afrikaans-speaking coloured communities brings a shade of nuance to the position. Indeed, defence of local languages is easily portrayed as divisive. Almost automatically it invokes ethnicity, opening the floodgate to claims of ‘tribalism’, if not political autonomy. Even if the rationale for the development of African languages over “international” ones arise ultimately from political considerations, it is important to disentangle the issues. To that end, we shall limit ourselves to what is conveniently subsumed under language policy in education, viz., the debate on the use of African indigenous languages as mediums of instruction *aka* Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) in modern South African educational parlance, in early education, viz., the primary level. Choice of medium at higher levels, particularly for scientific subjects, involves other challenges. The use of African languages as LoLT beyond primary is in any case premised on a consistent policy from year 1.

3. The crux of the problem

Opinions differ widely, and often drastically, among stake-holders – academics, educationists, Ministry of Education personnel, parents and learners – as to whether African indigenous languages, viz. languages born and bred in African soil, to the exclusion of varieties of Dutch, English, French and Portuguese, even if the nature of pidgins remains contentious, should be used at all in education and if so, to what extent.⁷ Indeed, the question of the role

⁶ The topic has generated studies galore. Suffice it to quote but a few, each including various views, such as, dedicated to Africa, the compilations by Alidou et al. (2006), Abdi et al. (2006), Brock-Utne & Skattum (2009) and also on new trends at the world level, Rubdy & Tan (2008). Each paper herein contains ample bibliographies. Our argument is congruent with the analysis in Brock-Utne (2000)’s source volume, in particular chapter 5 dedicated to language.

⁷ See Wamba (2011)’s review of Brock-Utne & Skattum (2009) for a convenient summary of arguments.

indigenous languages should play in education in Africa is one which is mired in controversy. The debate rebounded after African states attained Independence as education policy became (presumably) a national prerogative. The choice was, arguably, in the owners' hands.

Mainstream thinking advocates for the sole use of international languages, which in this context happen to be the metropolitan, viz. the ex-colonial ones⁸, English, French and Portuguese, in the names *inter alia* of education efficiency, progress, preparing the youth for a better future (e.g. Qorro, 2009: 59 for a tentative list). This attitude is deeply rooted. For instance as early as 1889 Camerounian communities petitioned the missions for education in “*a civilised language*”, viz., English or German, against attempts to use a neighbouring ‘*backward*’ variety (Ngoa 2006: 47). As so-called ‘globalization’ – which, with Africa in mind, amounts rather to westernization under a capitalist liberal paradigm (Ndhlovu 2013: 38) – spreads its wings further, increasingly English displaces other colonial languages. This goes with the perception of language as a mere commodity to be traded in the global market, where English reigns supreme (see Rudby & Tan 2008).⁹

A substantial number of experts and academics, however, among the staff of international agencies, together with local intellectual elites, including personnel in Ministries of education, echo the well-established educational advantages of first literacy in a language familiar to the child, to improve cognitive development (Ferguson 2013: 17). Since at least the 1924 Phelps-Stokes foresighted report's on education in (then) British colonies which unequivocally stated “*the disregard of the Native language is a hindrance even to the European language*” (in Brock-Utne 2000: 146), many observations, not least McDonald (1990)'s study of education in South Africa, have confirmed that good knowledge of one's own language contributes to learning and conversely that insufficient knowledge has adverse effects. Cummins (1979) theorized it in the linguistic interdependence principle, illustrated in a plethora of case studies world wide, for instance Mohanty (2006: 280), Chumbow (2013: 41). This lobbying combined with donors' pressure and occasional concerns to placate minority groups and implement educational human rights, has resulted in a significant number of countries in Africa now allowing – at least in the book – for the use as LoLT of some local languages in early primary education, usually as the step ladder towards acquiring the metropolitan language, in so-called transitional models.

⁸ Hausa, Swahili, not to mention Arabic, are, among others, international languages; still they are usually not implied in this context.

⁹ From now on, we only refer to English, as representing all the metropolitan languages.

Even ‘Francophone’ countries have bought in, essentially subsequent to France’s change of mind on the matter (Albauch 2009). Only few have yet, though, like Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Malagasy and Ethiopia, a fully developed curriculum for (some) local languages as subjects further up the education course. However this is not without problems, especially regarding the selection of the school varieties. Often times, states’ apparatuses take the opportunity to promote a locally dominant African language over ‘non-dominant’ ones, leading, at the very least, to further marginalization of the former, as in Tanzania, possibly forced assimilation into the culture the later expresses, as is the case in Botswana and arguably Malawi and Zimbabwe (Nyati-Ramahobo 2006; Batibo 2004; Mtenje 2004, 2013; Issa & Yamada 2013; Peresuh & Masuku 2002). In urban areas, the every day variety may have drifted so far apart from the ‘school variety’ that, even though they are subsumed under the same label, some question their mutual intelligibility (Lafon 2005; Cook 2008). Arguably, in such circumstances, standard varieties should rather be taught as subject for their cultural value than be used as LoLT.

On the ground, in sharp contrast to statements, it is not irrelevant to observe that attitudes and practices of all those with an option, regardless of their stated opinions, tend to converge: it is well known that even the proponents of the use of African languages are keen to register their off-springs in English-, French- or Portuguese- medium schools¹⁰ rather than schools using African languages where those exist. Their statements in favour of African languages thus appear as little more than political posturing. Still, their attitude is pragmatically justified. Who would detract from choosing the best option available for one’s own progeny or, at least, escape the worse? In South Africa, schools using African languages are located in rural areas, townships or informal settlements, all characterized by high poverty. They serve the downtrodden, those who have no alternative. They are, as a rule, under equipped, under-staffed with lowly qualified teachers, mismanaged, etc., to the extent of being globally perceived as dysfunctional (Lafon 2012). ‘*Dysfunctional and impoverished schools, (are) used by the majority of South African children*’ can observe Botsis and Cronje (2007: 50), while ‘*a small number of well resourced schools (are) used by the privileged minority*’. The later, including private schools which have mushroomed in Africa in the wake of economic liberalization, offer, comparatively, better quality. Located mostly in urban or suburban areas, they are overwhelmingly, if not all, English-medium.¹¹ These are the establishments where the elite register their own children. Indeed,

¹⁰ In South Africa, one has to add Afrikaans.

¹¹ See note above.

language practices subsume the dichotomy of a system that has become ‘*bimodal*’ (Pretorius, 2008). When on top of it English becomes the language of the home, this leads to a situation where parents are ‘*raising little foreigners in their home*’ as observed sadly the famous Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiongo (Time of the Writer Festival, Durban, 2007). Thus children from families enjoying better opportunities, often having spent a stint abroad, possibly graduated from foreign universities, tend to look down on their land of origin and entertain the same prejudice against local cultures, displaying the same lack of familiarity and understanding as the ordinary expatriate expert. A frequent aim of their education is to find a job in the West or in international bodies, as education is seen, rather uncritically, as the key to poverty alleviation through ensuring immediate material returns. Some will even overplay their hand as they want to create distance with an exotic, disadvantaged other, lest, in the eyes of their European colleagues, they be seen as belonging to the same ‘backward’ bunch. In a vain attempt at striking back, the arrogance of this group is sometimes derided by their peers. In the 1990s Zimbabwe, they were referred to as the ‘nose brigade’ while in present-day South Africa they are ‘coconuts’ or ‘oreo’ (Rudwick 2008, 2010).¹² As early as 1952 Fanon had denounced this cultural alienation in his trend setting *Peaux noires et masques blancs* (litt., black skin and white masks).

This is a very bad omen for local languages. Among the consequences language-wise, “*language shift, language loss and ultimately language death*” (Putz 2004: 67 quoting Brenzinger). Even if it betrays primarily a quest for quality rather than a derogatory view on one’s own language, as studies in South Africa have shown (Heugh 2000; Mark Data 2000 in Lafon 2010; Ndhlovu 2013: 46), it nurtures the belief in the intrinsic superiority of English-medium schools (Mohanty 2006: 280 for India). Correlatively, the absence of recognition of one’s variety in the school syllabus promotes self-depreciation (Okonkwo in Brock-Utne 2005: 1).¹³

In that context, it is not surprising that a strong preference for the metropolitan language is the rule among African parents (see Agbede & al. 2012: 48 for

¹² The prejudice does not operate only in favour of international languages. Moodley (2000: 111) reports on non-Wolof speaking Senegalese Academics who shifted to Wolof to avoid being taken for rural ignoramus. In Zimbabwe speakers of the rural varieties of Korekore (Northern) and Ndaou (East), both part of the Shona cluster, when in town, try and hide their revealing accents (field notes, 1990s).

¹³ The measure announced in November 2013 by the South African Department of Basic Education that an African language will be introduced for *all* learners incrementally from 2015 may be a step in the right direction; however, one has to wait for it to be implemented to pass judgment on its ability to transform.

Nigeria). In countries with so-called mother-tongue education, given a choice, most parents or guardians would follow the example of the elite and “*vote with the taxis*” (Lafon 2010), that is, would register their charge in those schools using an international language, even if far from home (Bunyi 1999: 342 for Kenya; Vavrus 2002: 382 for Tanzania; Mesthrie 2008 for South Africa).¹⁴

We contend that the narrowly utilitarian view of education implicit in the debate which reduces language to a mere tool supporting skills and knowledge acquisition largely pre-empts its outcome. Education cannot be reduced to formal education, or what happens in schools. If it were, in today’s world, and unless the balance of power changes drastically, African languages are clearly crowded out, notwithstanding transient victories triggered by language activists, as South Africa illustrates. Dual-medium education where both the local and international languages are seen as interchangeable, as is argued *inter alia* by Kamwangamalu (2013), well-intended though it may be, is equally doomed to remain on the wayside. The playing field is so overwhelmingly tilted against African languages economically, politically, linguistically – for lack of language development – if not demographically – if we factor in language diversity. Of all the languages of the world possibly only Chinese would stand a chance, that is, if Mandarin is accepted across all Chinese communities and if the Chinese themselves do not give in to English as a business language.¹⁵ The use of local African languages in school makes sense, we contend, only if it goes together with a total revamping of the whole education framework to tie it more closely to the realities of the continent, taking into account facets of local cultures and worldviews alongside western science. The notion of a universally valid school curriculum must be seen, like universalism (Odora-Hoppers, in Brock-Utne 2000: 11), as a delusion that hides assimilation into Western cultures. Pride in one’s community’s cultural and other achievements must be restored for African languages to be fully accepted in their multi-fold role.

¹⁴ Interestingly, the reverse, so to say, also happens occasionally, as is testimony the popularity of the newly introduced bilingual model in Mozambique (see Chimbutane 2011; Lafon 2013a), and possibly also in Niger, Mali and Burkina-Faso (Traoré 2009). Should we conclude that parents are seeking what was denied them during colonization (Lafon 2011, 2013b contrasting Mozambique and South Africa)?

¹⁵ One significant rift being spelling, as Taipeh/ Formose maintains an ideogram based system while continental China has gone the alphabetic Latin-based route. Moreover to attract international experts and students mainland China is promoting English-medium degrees, which could be a knife in the back of its own centuries-old culture and language (<http://www.bestcollegechina.com/>). Already, taking advantage of its past and its autonomy, Honk-Kong has allowed English to become medium-of-instruction in high schools when learners are proficient in the foreign language (<http://www.scmp.com/article/640686/chinese-medium-schools-will-be-allowed-teach-english>).

Of course, since the era of independence there have been many calls for an 'African curriculum' as some put it. For instance, in the wake of the 1990 Jomtien Education For All Conference, this concern was high on the agenda of African representatives (Brock-Utne 2000: 9). More recently the 2012 ADEA Youth Forum stated: '*African cultures, history and languages [should] be placed at the heart of the development of education and training*' (in Glanz 2013: 58). But, unsurprisingly, little has happened on the ground in terms of a decisive break with practices flowing from colonization. African systems of education as a whole remain Euro-centred.

4. Language as the nerve for development

Another line of argument towards the use of local African languages in education and beyond is worth examining in the light of the above. It emphasizes the link between language and development based on the centrality of language with respect to culture, and hence to development (Prah in Ndhlovu 2013: 36). It ascribes the root cause of the continent's lasting socio-economic failure to the use of culturally alien and poorly understood media in education and beyond (Williams & Cooke 2002, Chia 2006).

In the conceptual domain, Chambers (2005) shows how the hypocrisy or double talk behind the catchwords (and concepts) extensively used in development propaganda is reinforced by the fact that they are expressed in a language foreign to the supposed beneficiaries. To facilitate development, Mooko (2009) calls for the use of local vernaculars in Botswana, rather than English and/or Setswana only, and so does Kame (2012) in Cameroun. The same rationale applies to health issues. Van Dyk & al. (2001), without however dwelling on language, explains the failure of many Aids prevention programs in Africa by the lack of attention paid to local beliefs and attitudes linked to sexual practices, something Lafon (2006) reported for Mozambique and Mutaka (2006) for Cameroun. However, if the reasoning rests on the "*global mirage*" (Abdi 2006: 19) which equates development to socio-economic or materialistic progress along the developmentalist discourse that has taken sway in west-dominated institutions, its validity is questionable. In economy as elsewhere, language change *per se* would not suffice to redraw the power lines between the global North and the global South. Poverty in Africa (and in the rest of the 'third world') largely comes from colonial exploitation, continued if altered after Independence. Language domination is a consequence, rather than a cause, of global unequal relations. But if development is conceived, away from materialism, "*as the meeting of*

human needs, which enables the potential of human personality to be realised”, as suggest Thomas & Potter (in Williams & Cooke 2002: 302), if “*people are put at the centre*” (Trudell 2008: 75), the integration of the worldviews elaborated in non-western languages might find a strong motivation and hence the languages given recognition and space. This may also trigger renewed interest in local products and skills to ground everyday life, much beyond their attraction on the exotic market. Indeed, self-denigration and systematic preference for imports applies equally to locally made products, thus thwarting burgeoning industries (see Adegoju 2006:19 for Nigeria).

5. Bird’s view on Education in Africa

5.1. From precolonial...

In pre-colonial times African societies, like all other societies in the world, had each developed their own strategies of education. Some even attained great achievements in Antiquity (Brock-Utne 2000:145, quoting scholars such as Cheikh Anta Diop and Walter Rodney). According to Rodney (in Abdi 2006: 15), the following features were characteristic of African systems: close links with social life, collective nature, progressive development in conformity with children’s age, as well as no separation between education and productive activity, and between manual and intellectual domains.

From colonial records, we know that in most communities, children would normally learn about their community, its mores, beliefs, moral codes and behaviours through the well documented tale-telling activity which gathered the young around an adult, during many a night, lit by the fire of a hearth as well as other language-driven activities. The importance of tales on acquiring social mores is well known. It has been recalled by many authors, like Ngugi, S. Platiel (1993), Ntuli & Pretorius (2005), Mutasa et al. (2008), Haire & Matjila (2008), etc. What is less emphasized and of more relevance still, is their crucial role in developing reasoning capacity. Very few children are insensitive to tales well told. They easily become fascinated and want to emulate the narrator, repeating and creating their own, thus developing the capacity to see causal and temporal relations, etc.¹⁶

¹⁶ Experiments in schools in French Guyanna and southern France impulsed by S. Platiel extrapolating from her research in Burkina-Faso, have tellingly demonstrated the positive effects of telling tales in the classrooms, in terms of creating interest in the children, triggering their willing participation and enhancing their social, linguistic and reasoning abilities. See <http://www.franceculture.fr/emission-sur-les-docks-prelude-au-salon-du-livre-23-«-les-histoires-de-suzy-platiel—plaidoyer-pour-les-contes>, November 2013.

Riddles, an important part of cultural repertoire, “*present cognitive challenges and are also an invaluable tool in acquiring linguistic and cognitive skills*” (Ngonyani 2013: 1). To mark the turning point into adulthood, in many societies, girls and boys would be initiated, a process that could be lengthy and included relevant teachings, such as “*the love and protection of nature*” (Haire & Matjila, 2008: 161) and occasionally the teaching of secret languages or professional codes. And there were the avoidance rules, known in South Africa as *hlonipha* custom (from the Zulu term), which required brides and bridegrooms to avoid certain terms alluding or bearing resemblance to in-laws’ names. These made for intricate language knowledge. Moreover, in what Akkari (2004) refers to as “situated education”, children, according to their gender and age, would be associated to activities central to the continuation of the family and the group – herding cattle, cultivating, fetching wood and water, nourishing and catering for the smalls, etc.

A crucial feature that cuts across all African education practices is their reliance on orality. With few exceptions – Ge’ez in Ethiopia and, much later, Vai and its sequels in West Africa whose impact was restrained by the secrecy that surrounded them – African societies¹⁷, unlike Indian or Asian ones, did not develop their own scripts (see for instance Mohanty 2006 for India, Kosonen 2013, for South-East Asia), nor, apart from Muslim communities, did they adopt an imported system.

5.2. ...through colonial...

With colonialism came school education, to ensure, in Ngugi’s strong-minded words, “*the colonization of the minds*”. The school was a main lever for cultural assimilation. The education model brought to the colonies had developed in Europe over centuries. It had acquired strong national and/or denominational features. Attitudes towards local languages were at odds, as has been underlined by many scholars. “*The British generally made it a policy to introduce vernacular education (...) The French (...) disregarded local vernaculars entirely and opted for French*” comments Kamwangamalu (2013: 325). Thus under German, British and also Belgian rules, which left a greater role to the missions, local vernaculars found their way in the school during the first years, while for French and Portuguese mainstream thought this was anathema. However, whether it was brought by missionaries or by lay public teachers, whether missionaries were on the payroll of the colonial state or of private worshipers back in the homeland, whether access was restricted to a chosen few or opened more widely, all that matters not here. With hindsight, in the African context, the commonalities which

¹⁷ See <http://classes.bnf.fr/ecritures/arret/lesecritures/afrique/01.htm>, November 2013.

ran through all systems outgrew their differences. School education relied on two main pillars alien to African cultures, namely i) the school itself as an institution insulated from everyday's life that "*involves learning 'out of the context of action, by means that are primarily symbolic'*" (Bruner in Graff 1987:18; also Chanaiwa 1981: 229), and ii) literacy, understood as implying "*basic or primary levels of reading and writing*" and "*a set of techniques for communications and for decoding and reproducing written or printed materials*" (Graff 1987: 18, 19). The importance of literacy in western education cannot be understated. "*Literacy is the key to the curriculum. Virtually all schooling after the first year or two assumes pupil literacy*" (Hannon in Bloch 2000: 4). What matters further is that Africa's own strategies of education had no place. "*Colonialism would undermine the pragmatism and relevance of education in African society*" (Abdi et al. 2006: 4). More often than not African own systems were fought by missionaries upset at their frank admission of the facts of life or by administrators worried, sometimes with good reason, that they might nurture resistance to European domination. Concomitant with the destruction of their societies (Abdi 2006: 15), Africans were thus "*educated away from their cultures*" as Brock-Utne (2000: 17) put it so appropriately. So much so that, even when African languages were used in the first rungs of the education ladder, there was hardly any content adaptation to the African soil. For instance, in the 1930s, chief elect Albert Luthuli (future president of the ANC) then a staff member at the American Zulu Mission Adams College on the outskirts of Durban could state, positively in his view, that "*except in the matter of language, there was not much difference between black and white education*" (Luthuli 2006: p. 20).¹⁸ African language texts had to conform in terms of genres, topics and views to feature in the curriculum. Unsurprisingly, given the context, they were overburdened with Christian images and references. The delay in publishing Th. Mofolo's powerful novel *Chaka* by the Paris Mission in Lesotho is a sterling example of the censorship then exercised by the missionaries (Kunene 1985; Couzens 2004).

The Western school canons were maintained throughout by the colonial powers, whether state or denominational, and the model essentially remained an import. After all, the overall aim was to 'civilize', viz. to acculturate, in many cases to 'christianize', the 'natives', deemed to have no culture of their own or cultures not worthy of formal recognition and maintenance.

A look at Qoranic schools may illuminate by contrast this state of affair.

¹⁸ This was to change with the imposition of apartheid "Bantu Education", which focused, initially at least, on manual skills.

Here is a system equally brought from the outside. It was introduced in the wake of Islam and spread by conquest and/or more softly through the intermingling of peoples. Until recently at least, it showed significant adaptations to local situations. Local traditions and practices were acknowledged in teaching practices, as was teaching itself. Indeed, teachers, paid or compensated for by the parents, were themselves members of the selfsame communities and they brought their cultural background to their practice. In fact the synthesis between pre-existing traditions and Islam which many Muslim communities in Africa illustrate was carried largely through the Qoranic schools. Local languages served as media of instruction and could even be written in the Arabic script (see Tamari 2009 for Mali); occasionally, this gave rise to the long lasting Ajami literary traditions (see Knappert 1967 for Swahili; Lafon 2007 for the Comoros).

5.3. ...to Independence

At Independence, expanding the colonial education network to all and sundry was one stated aim of the new regimes. The rulers were in their number products of that system and adhered to it. The model suffered only cosmetic changes. History programs gave prominence to the continent and to the new nation, the colonial rationale was (sometimes) questioned, resistance to European conquest, especially the early days, was epitomized. But, with very few exceptions, Tanzania “education for self-reliance” under Nyerere’s *ujamaa* policy being one such attempt, now buried along with the memory of the socialist ideal (see Vavrus 2002: 375), the overall orientation and the model itself remained a carbon copy of the original which it tried, mostly in vain, to emulate. Roy-Campbell-Makini (2000: 112) puts it best: “*Knowledge brought by the Europeans has become enshrined in the curricula of most educational institutions in Africa while African beliefs and practices are viewed by the Europeans and the most successful products of their educational system as backwards and uncivilized*”. No significant attempt was made to reshape education within the respective indigenous cultural frameworks by bringing in local practices. Rather, those practices were often derided as primitive and dismissed (Horsthemke 2004: 573). What subsisted of them was discouraged, if not forbidden, as in revolutionary Mozambique (Lafon 2008). “*The educational goals are oriented towards the reception of western ideas and the acquisition of knowledge and skills considered to be relevant in western societies*” (Hanf & al. 1975: 69). The proclamation of the Education for All strategy in 1990 with subsequent increase in rates of school attendance has in many places dealt a final blow to what was left of traditional education (Lewandowski 2012 *à propos* Burkina), even if, in countries such as South Africa, schools now condone initiation and other traditional ceremonies

(own research, Mamelodi, Pretoria). No wonder local languages were largely overlooked in the process. Of course, this cannot be divorced from the fact that the independent African states themselves are but colonial creations, of which schools are part and parcel. More specifically, the continuity between colonial and post-independence practices can be ascribed to the relatively short span of time since schools were introduced, reinforced by (neo-)colonial or imperialist agendas (Prah 2009: 85). Links with former colonial countries turned imperial metropolis provided support, in terms of teachers and manuals, allowing for equivalence, transfers, etc, at a time when schools would prepare a tiny minority to attend Universities abroad. Today, the global education paradigm pushed by the international agencies which set the agenda (Samoff 1999) ensures that the Western influence prevails in pedagogy and curriculum design if not in contents, emphasizing the vocational purpose of schooling. *“the common discourse of learner-centredness, as promoted in the English speaking West, has become controlling and culturally corrective in its prescriptions of how students ought to behave in the classroom”* writes Holliday (2005: 130). Brock-Utne (2000: 35 & seq) describes several cases where this influence has been exercised to the detriment of local contents. Some private schools even delinked with national education systems and prepare for exams from the former colonial country (Vavrus 2002: 377 for Tanzania). This fosters dependency, both financial and ideological as Qorro (2009: 73) illustrates for Tanzania again. Local universities, themselves no genuine development in Africa, are part of this whole setting. That came at the high cost of authenticity. The unquestioned acceptance of the western education model spread from the ruling elite to the whole populace. Qorro (2009: 73) sees in this factor the reason why school certificates are seen not so much as a guarantee of knowledge and expertise but as a mere passport to job opportunities. Without real national ownership, it is bound that the utilitarian view of school education would prevail.

Still, schools are rarely up to their idealized models in terms of means, as translated in class sizes, equipment and material, teachers' qualification, training and motivation. In most cases they remain poor imitations, which leads to an inestimable waste of time and resources. It is true to mention that, in those few countries having mother-tongue schooling, attempts are made to encourage primary school teachers to resort to texts from local traditions. There is nowadays a concerted effort to publish literature in local languages (see the extensive reference list in Welch 2012). However, due to class size, over ambitious curriculum, financial difficulties, at times lack of knowledge or even interest from the teachers, this is rarely done and when it is done, rarely as efficiently as it was in the natural social environment. So great was the ideological pressure of the Western

model that even Qoranic schools, in spite of significant commonalities with the Western schools, found little grace. They were usually condoned but left out of state-supported education. Children have to attend them before entering the 'proper' school or do both simultaneously, making their school day awkwardly lengthy.¹⁹

The claim that Education for All can be implemented effectively and efficiently while making use of an alien model is a no-brainer. For one, the resources are just not there, as was argued recently for language in the South African context (Taylor and Coetzee 2013). This strengthens the case to revisit the whole framework and "*recast the philosophical foundations of African education*" (Abdi 2006: 23). As argued by Peresuh & Masuku (2002: 29) re Zimbabwe, "*it would be necessary to rewrite and re-orientate the content and materials [...] which are geared to an English language mediated imagined²⁰ common culture*".

6. Merging the old and the (not so) new

It is more than clear that schools in Africa "*did not grow out of the local societies*" (Hanf & al. 1975: 68). It is this aping, down to nitty-gritty details, of an institution that prospered in widely different historical, social and cultural dispensation, even worsened in recent years by the narrow focus on education as a key to a rewarding career, which has led to a situation where local languages appear cornered. After all, "*the medium of instruction problem emerged in the late 1880s with the introduction of Western education in Africa*" reminds Alidou (2004: 197).

The historical or anthropological look at education in Africa underlines missing elements in the European brand of school education practised in Africa, especially in towns and urban settlements: the African tradition of community education and socialization through lore and interaction with adults. With a view to maintain and promote African languages, these could be reintroduced as part of a new, inclusive curriculum, constituting a true form of hybrid education encompassing the whole education process, much beyond the mere duality of medium, in a complementary allocation of tasks.

African languages could be brought in *primarily orally*, through the medium in which they excel, rather than as vehicles for 'foreign' knowledge through 'foreign' procedures. Blommaert (2005) reminds us that the discourse of linguistic rights, when positing languages as theoretical equals, leads nowhere. One has to

¹⁹ In the Comoros, it is only recently that modernised Qoranic schools have been established, which combine religious and cultural teachings to western modern contents.

²⁰ Emphasis added.

look at domains of use. Stroud (2004: 89), elaborating on Fishman, establishes the importance for minority languages of reclaiming lost functions before they can eventually move to the same terrain as their bigger competitors. Conversely to a view shared by many scholars who dwelt on the topic of the use of African languages in education (*inter alia* Alidou 2004: 209, Webb 2006, also Welch 2012), we hold that literacy, that is, the reference to written documents, is not a requirement for their meaningful use in education. What is a requirement is for learners to acquire a good command of the language. Obviously a language spoken in the home and the immediate community is the first candidate. To that aim, rich oral transmission may well suffice as it has in Africa over centuries, ensuring cognitive development, viz., reasoning ability and so forth, as well as devising efficient ways for cultural transmission. Anthropological research has amply shown that orality does not prevent transmission of values and knowledge (see in particular the works of Goody). Over-emphasis on literacy – arguably another avatar of the aping of western education – has blurred the essential fact that orality comes first in human development (see Welch 2012: 5) and that literacy is optional. In the present situation, orality, as noted by Dei et al. (2006: 67), is also a form of resistance. In most of Africa, written codes, need it be recalled, are colonial creations, if not impositions. Premising the use of African languages in education on the written domain might even be counterproductive. Indeed, the written usage of African languages has rarely been appropriated by the speakers, even though texting on mobile phones may offer unprecedented opportunities to write in mother tongues.²¹ “*The greatness of Zulu verbal art is in its oral traditions*” wrote Scheub in 1985 (1985: 505). Still Zulu could claim over a century-old tradition of written literature. How much truer then for languages more recently, if at all, instrumentalized! Orality of course need not be the end of the game. Deeper knowledge of the language, in terms of linguistic structures as well as cultural wealth, together with the acquisition of the technique of reading and writing, even in another language, has the capacity to boast mother-tongue literacy, if taken up willingly by speakers.

How then can some relevant traditional practices be reintroduced?

Most areas, particularly urban sprawling townships or informal settlements – schools are in any case more common in urban settlements than in rural areas, increasing the perceived marginalisation of the later (Hanf & al. 1975: 76) – contain hordes of unoccupied adults, some of them at least with the relevant knowledge and experience, who could be entrusted of the not inconsequent task of linguistic and cultural transmission. Of course these cultural mediators

²¹ We hope to come back to this issue with data from a SA chat room.

would be vetted and approved in a process involving parents, local teachers and the state. Not all candidates would qualify. Possibly a stipend could be handed over, or food, especially in cases where food schemes are in place. Sessions could be set in the yard of their homes, for the benefit of the children in the neighbourhood. Placing the sessions outside the school would emphasize that school is not the only source of knowledge. Besides tales, story-telling, and other oral genres, recourse would be made to games, plays, songs, etc., of which there is no short supply in local languages. Children should be in smallish numbers, as compared to class sizes – not more than 10 or so, to enable the adult mediators to afford children individual attention. Oral activities have to be interactive, with children responding, creating their own stories, responding to riddles, etc., and being listened to by adults. Oral art functions effortlessly, through pleasure, which would make the sessions popular with children and could successfully compete with TV and computer games. Obviously these sessions would be conducted orally in the language or speech form of the community. It is a sure way to enrich the vocabulary, including categories of terms peculiar to African languages which are coming fast into disuse, such as ideophones, to enlarge the stock of proverbs and other idioms whose knowledge, besides informing the mind, often tells the native from the outsider, to explore grammatical structures, and so forth.

The issues of language choice, norms and dialectal differences, which have proved to be such a hindrance in the absence of accepted standards, would fall away, as would in great part that of language diversity. This is crucial. The very logic of mother tongue education is often defeated by the discrepancy between the local variety and the school standard or the national language as the case may be. When (so-called) mother tongue literacy is run in parallel in the school, the formal class would teach the standard form of the language in contrast, rather than in opposition, to the oral practices of the sessions. Stegen (2005)'s suggestion of using Swahili for teaching local Tanzanian languages contrastively is an idea that might prove valuable. In places where local languages do not feature in the school curriculum, the school would introduce the foreign LoLT, while the community sessions would ensure oral competency in the local speech form. In that case at least, the difficulties of teachers' deployment when they have to use the mother tongue of their learners would be simplified, allowing for transfers across ethnic as well as social boundaries.

The introduction of local languages and lore in early education by adults of the community would defuse the feeling of backwardness triggered by their marginalization. A better-balanced position between the languages and cultures would follow, contributing possibly to slacken the pace of language shift, as well as positively impact on the children's image of the self and identity building,

perception of the community, increasing vertical social cohesion. The image of rural life, often associated only to poverty and backwardness, could be at least partially rehabilitated, especially as community sessions would reclaim its cultural worth. The positive effects of the various genres of orature on cognitive development need not be restated (inter alia Bloch 2006, quoted in Welch 2012 and above). The use of the local language is further an invite for indigenous knowledge to be brought in, especially through lore as acknowledged early by Lafon F. (1982). Horsthemke (2004: 583) quotes “*traditional healing, conflict resolution, basket-weaving, pottery, local agriculture*” inter alia as worthy of consideration. Mutasa & al. (2008) highlight the relevance of folktales for environmental education. And, albeit in a slightly different perspective, Tourneux (2011)’s bilingual source material for classes in Cameroun which makes available both the community’s views as expressed in its own language (Fulfulde) and the western scientific insight on natural features such as species of fish or bats. Of course indigenous knowledge and cultural features should not be glorified uncritically on account of their authenticity, lest we fall into the swift sands of cultural relativism (Horsthemke 2004). Culture is dynamic. Beliefs which contradict scientific truths, practices now deemed socially unacceptable, especially around gendered roles, must be left aside or at the very least contextualized.

Is this to say that formal schooling should be discontinued or delayed? Not quite.

Let us look first at pre-schooling. In many places, crèches or pre-schools have become the in-thing. They attempt, once again, to copy the West, with their educational games and pretty coloured material, and, more often than not in the African context, early introduction to the metropolitan language to increase the child’s chances in school. ‘Community’ care could advantageously replace the above, while existing crèches could be transformed to focus on orality in local varieties. Let early child development be culturally rooted.

Second, school does not probably have to start so early and be so time-consuming (especially given the average low outcomes in Africa). That this happens in the West does not make it a must. Rather, it should be seen for what it really is, a palliative to the unavailability, and sometimes, unwillingness, of parents to tend to their children. Close monitoring of children in smaller groups could in any case help customize the starting age for formal schooling. Children do not develop at the same pace. Very much in accordance to practices in modern, up-market alternative schools²² children cognitive development would

²² I owe this insight to Stephany Rudwick who specifically referred to the Montessori brand of schools.

be assessed by the mediators before moving into formal schooling, reducing class repetition or weak understanding.

When school starts, for the first 3 to 4 years or longer, attendance could be limited to, say, three hours in the morning, with a focus on second language learning and possibly mother tongue literacy, while the afternoon is left to the community sessions, which could continue as after-care when need be. What about the sacred-saint curriculum? No one would deny that at least some of the skills taught by the schools, including the command of an international language, are crucial in to-day's world. But the pace of learning as well as the obsession with mathematics would probably need to be questioned. Some subjects could be spaced, others, such as life skills, would become redundant in view of the social relevance of the lore and tales. In other cases, both fonts of knowledge could be brought in. The few examples cited above suffice to show that it is not an 'either or', there is no "*conceptual divide*" (Dei et al. 2006: 54).

Due to their improved knowledge of their language, children would in any case be in a better position to understand and apprehend the contents of the formal classes. But much more than language and contents is involved. Children would benefit cognitively from a better social and psychological environment. Community mediators could, to some extent at least, compensate for absentee parents in a way that teachers in crowded classes cannot, and trigger children's more harmonious development.

It is obviously crucial that the community sessions do not appear detrimental to (formal) education progress. For that to happen, to avoid bypassing strategies from sceptic or reluctant parents, they would have to be made part of a renewed, inclusive curriculum, enforced by the state, where oral competence in local languages is valued. Controls where the children would express themselves orally in the local language could be made part of the annual assessment.

This limited 'African' curriculum' is, we feel, realistic. It amounts to little more than the reintroduction of humanities in the classical sense of contextualised knowledge and moral values, based those on African tradition as expressed in specific cultures, a *reculturation* as Abdi (2006: 24) puts it. It would be part of a hybrid education system including orality in African languages on the same footing as writing in metropolitan language, and knowledge emanating from both sources, local as well as western. This would offer children the opportunity to become the bi-/ multi- cultural adults that Africa so desperately needs and grow to constitute the counter-elite that Prah (2009: 83) is calling for.

The proof of the validity of such a twofold education system lies in front of our eyes if we care to see. The great African intellectuals and politicians of yesteryear and even today, the likes of, say, Senghor, Nyerere, Mondlane,

Mandela, Krumah, Ngugi, Dube, Plaatje, and many more, did not attend English or French or Portuguese – medium speaking crèches and preparation schools. They followed traditional practices, many underwent initiation. They were fluent in their mother tongue and conversant with the culture before they entered mission or government schools, where they learnt the official school language and adopted Christianity. Who would say they lacked in achievements?

7. Conclusion

Africa urgently needs to reassert herself. The much-vaunted African Renaissance cannot ignore the continent's cultural practices and worldviews as expressed through her languages (Moodley 2000: 103). Prah (2003: 17) advocates the use of African languages all along the school course as a tool for the empowerment. The road towards an African future may thus start by looking back. A soft approach to African languages maintenance and development could reconcile the old and the new through the involvement of local communities to set up informal sessions for children, reminiscent of traditional practices immersed in orality. Indeed, weaning Africa from Europe (Ron Simango 2009) cannot happen in a language alien to the community. This may be a step towards promoting a model of development giving prominence to social and spiritual wellbeing over material wealth. At a time when numerous signs show that the planet cannot bear much longer the wastage of resources that goes under the name of progress, this is a route that Africa needs to engage on, for its own sake as well as that of humankind. Only thus can she create conditions more enticing for its denizens than risking their lives attempting the new, self-inflicted and hopeless middle passage.²³

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²³ The **Middle Passage** was one leg of the triangular trade which shipped millions from Africa to be enslaved in the New World.

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The Perils and Prospects of Bilingual Education in Africa with Special Reference to Mozambique¹

Hlolo ya xikhwama xa kulomba ayikhomi noyi

“A divining bone, from a borrowed bag will never catch evil spirits”

1. Introduction

The thorny issue of using African languages as medium of instruction in formal education, at times euphemistically referred to as bilingual, mother-tongue or multilingual education has dominated the debate on language-in-education in various gatherings in Africa and beyond and, as a result, has produced a considerable body of research.

Without embarking on the daunting task of surveying the meetings, seminars, workshops and literature on mother tongue education in Africa and elsewhere, only a few are mentioned here. In 1953, long before most African countries attained their independences, UNESCO published the seminal monograph *The*

¹ Many people helped me during the process of writing this chapter. I am not sure if I can remember all. Those who are not mentioned here they should just bear with me. This chapter is based on a paper presented at a meeting on teacher education in Gulu, Northern Uganda in March 2013. I would like to thank the organisers of the meeting, namely Education International and Oxfam Novib. The audience listened to me and posed important and sensible questions that have provided me with a better understanding of the issues surrounding mother tongue education in Africa. Professor Bento Siteo and Dr Feliciano Chimbutane provided me with information on the latest developments on mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique; thank you so much. Professor Inge Kosch at UNISA in Pretoria and Stella Djamila at Tsinghua University in Beijing helped me remove obvious English mistakes from the text. Iwona in Warsaw for her patience and understanding. Thank you all. Khanimambo in Xitsonga. I remain the sore responsible for all the shortcomings in the chapter.

Use of Vernacular Languages in Education (cf. UNESCO 1953), which takes stock of the vernacular languages and their use in education in Africa, Asia, Europe (including the then U.S.S.R), the American Continents, and the Pacific. It also considers the factors associated with the use of vernacular languages as medium of instruction, namely political, linguistic, educational, socio-cultural, economic, financial, and practical factors. The Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), UNESCO and UNESCO's Hamburg based Institute for Life Learning provides a thorough account of the main issues surrounding mother-tongue education, including teaching practices, economic viability of bilingual education, language policies as well as publishing in African languages (cf. Ouane and Glanz 2011). More recently, in 2013, the British Council convened a meeting in Juba, South Sudan, which brought together experts in language and education from Africa and beyond, representatives of regional and international organisations concerned with language, education and development, policy makers and government officials from South Sudan to share experiences on the role of former colonial languages, such as English, and on the need to adopt language polices that are sensitive to cultural and linguistic diversity. The meeting was mainly intended to provide useful inputs that would help the South Sudanese decision makers to make informed choices on the language policy for their education system (cf. McIlwraith 2013). However, despite the body of literature supported by empirical evidence that points to the effectiveness of African languages as medium of instruction, not much progress has been made in the effective use of these languages in formal education. Instead, African countries, particularly south of the Sahara, tend to repeatedly embark on projects aimed at testing the effectiveness or viability of mother tongue or bilingual education in Africa. The projects described in UNESCO (2008), and in OIF (2010) may represent excellent examples of endless and repetitive pilots on mother tongue education.

This chapter focuses on Mozambique. It argues that the use of African languages as tools to solve pedagogical problems is at the root of all the problems facing mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique. This is also responsible for the cyclical experiments witnessed almost all over the continent, including Mozambique. As Wolff (2011: 92) observes "language is not everything in education, but without language everything is nothing". He goes on to suggest that, in order to be successful, the process of providing quality education should include; an adequate medium of instruction, whether monolingual or multilingual; the content of the curricula should be culturally informed by the learning environment; proper teacher training; and adequate financing and material resourcing. While following Wolff's suggestion, this chapter also argues that not

all the problems facing mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique can solely be attributed to the use of African languages as tools to solve pedagogical problems, referred to above, which amounts to the instrumentalization of these languages; challenges related to the concept of development and education that seems to be behind the choice of language of education; the nature of curricula used for formal education; teacher training with special reference to L1 methodologies; and the paucity of supporting extra-curricular materials in African languages, including leisure literature are responsible for the challenges facing mother tongue and bilingual education in Mozambique. By way of conclusion, the chapter calls for a paradigm shift, which will not only see the overhaul of the education system in Mozambique line up with the African Union backed Second Decade of Education for Africa and the Khartoum Decision, calling for the link between education and culture, but will also allow for a holistic approach to education that will allow various stakeholders to play an effective role in the education process. Before dealing with each one of the challenges mentioned here, it is important to provide historical facts that may help put the discussion in this chapter into perspective.

2. Historical Facts and Bilingual Education in Mozambique

The independence of Mozambique in 1975 came as a result of a ten-year guerrilla war led by FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique), which was to become a Marxist party that would solely rule Mozambique until the mid-nineties of the previous century, when multi-party politics was allowed in the country. FRELIMO embarked on a Marxist revolution whose main objective was to create a new breed of man or *Homeno Novo* “New Man” “educated, politically aware nationalist who works for the common good” (Lamb 1987: 180–181). Therefore, everything, including the content of the curricula and culture in its various components, was expected to feed into the crusade to create the New Man. FRELIMO leaders and the former freedom fighters tried their best to set an example that would exceed expectations. The late Justino Cheman, one of the most well-known maestros, associated with the Presbyterian Church, composed a song in the Xironga language in praise of the behaviour of FRELIMO’s soldiers. The song went more or less as follows:

<i>Hi vona mhaka leyi hlamalisaka</i>	There is a very surprising matter
<i>Ya masochwa ya FRELIMO</i>	Amongst FRELIMO’s soldiers
<i>Loko hi va vutisa vasati va kwihi</i>	When we ask them where are their wives

<i>Vali vasati swibalesa</i>	They say their wives are their guns
<i>Loko hi va vutisa a vana kwihhi</i>	When we ask them where are their children
<i>Vali tihlavu hi vana vezu</i>	They say the bullets are their children

Although FRELIMO, one of whose main characters was an imaginary Chiconhoca symbolizing corruption, drinking, laziness, prostitution and other forms of evils, had to resort to coercion and intensive propaganda to achieve the goals of the Marxist revolution, the desire to create a New Man had succeeded in mobilizing Mozambicans around identifiable national common goals. However, the retention of Portuguese as the official language of Mozambique, the sole medium of instruction and the medium through which the official discourse carrying the message on such goals was conveyed remained a serious challenge. In order to address that challenge, FRELIMO launched massive literacy campaigns in Portuguese throughout the country.

Despite the fact that the campaigns succeeded in reducing illiteracy rates in Mozambique, they failed to increase the use of the Portuguese language, particularly in the rural areas, where the newly literates lapsed back into illiteracy due to the lack of space and opportunities to use the Portuguese languages, as this language is mainly confined to urban areas, where it is only effectively used by minority elites (cf. Ngunga 2008).

Literacy campaigns and the efforts to expand education to most Mozambicans also intensified the contacts between the Portuguese language and the Bantu languages spoken by the vast majority of Mozambicans and, as a result, new varieties of non-standard Portuguese started to emerge (Gonçalves 1996, 2010, and 2012). The departure at independence of many Portuguese people who represented the model of a native speaker to be emulated by the Mozambican learners of Portuguese and the recruitment of teachers who were non-native speakers of that language and who lacked the command of the standard variety of Portuguese used in the learning and teaching materials they were expected to use while discharging their duties, precipitated the emergence of non-standard varieties of Portuguese. This placed the officials at the Ministry of Education's National Institute for the Development of Education (INDE), who were responsible for designing and producing the materials for the new education system for independent Mozambique as well as for in-service teacher training, in a dilemma. Recognising the emerging varieties of Portuguese would have gone against the directives to use the standard variety of Portuguese adopted as the official language of Mozambique and the sole medium of instruction. Rejecting them and treating them as "mistakes" to be corrected by the teachers during the learning and teaching process would have given rise to two problems: in the first

place, as already mentioned, the teachers themselves lacked a sufficient command of the standard variety of Portuguese and, therefore, wouldn't be able to detect the "mistakes" and deal with them; and secondly, in cases where the teachers had a sufficient command of the standard variety of Portuguese, the learners would fail the Portuguese language subject even before starting schooling.

The emergence of the non-standard varieties of Portuguese and the need to find ways of dealing with them properly triggered a protracted debate within the Portuguese Language Section of the Department of Curriculum Planning and Research at INDE, leaving its staff divided. There were members of staff who maintained that, because the standard variety of Portuguese was the official language and medium of instruction in Mozambique, the main linguistic features of the new varieties were mistakes and should be systematically identified and dealt with accordingly. There were others who thought the new varieties were a result of interferences from the Bantu languages that were the mother tongues of the learners and as such would gradually evolve into a new form of Portuguese spoken in Mozambique and, as such, not much could be done to change the course of events. There were also members of staff who had a foot in both camps.

As a result of the debate, between 1982 and 1984, INDE conducted a UNESCO backed sociolinguistic survey in Maputo, Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces targeting low secondary school teachers. The objective of the survey was twofold: firstly, to gauge teachers' awareness of the "mistakes" and, secondly, to gauge their knowledge of the use of direct and indirect object noun phrases, including their replacement with the respective pronouns as well as the use of polite and honorific forms, involving the second and third persons in standard Portuguese. The high incidence of deviations from the standard variety of Portuguese registered in these areas informed their selection for the sociolinguistic survey.

The sociolinguistic survey produced some interesting results that revealed a pervasive lack of command of the use of direct and indirect pronouns as well as the polite and horrific forms in standard Portuguese amongst the teachers. It therefore became evident that they could not teach using these linguistic structures in standard Portuguese.

Small pilot projects in Matutuine and Marracuene districts in Maputo province followed the sociolinguistic survey. They were aimed at gauging the type and level of knowledge school going children possessed in their mother tongue and to establish if the content of the primary school curriculum is built on such knowledge. Put differently, the main objective of the projects was to gather information that would allow for the preparation of suitable contents for the Portuguese learning and teaching materials at primary level. The projects

produced results, which mainly, showed that the children possessed high levels of knowledge in their mother tongue, but the school was not helping to unlock and develop them. As a result, the children were unable to realise their full potential due to the use of Portuguese as medium of instruction.

Before returning to the challenges surrounding mother tongue education mentioned above, it is important to note here that, apart from being the official language and the sole medium of instruction, the Portuguese language was perceived as the language of national unity, which would help unite Mozambique and insulate Mozambicans from the dangers of ethno-linguistic divisions (Matsinhe 2005). Whatever would appear to go against that perception was not to be tolerated. It is therefore not surprising that neither the results of the sociolinguistic survey nor those of the small pilot projects were ever made public. They were confined to the Ministry of Education. Unwittingly, however, INDE laid the foundations for future research on the viability of mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique.

The 1992 peace agreement signed between the rebel movement RENAMO (Resistência Nacional de Moçambique), whose origins express Ian Smith's Rhodesia and APARTHEID South Africa's desire to derail the Marxist revolution in the neighbouring Mozambique, and FRELIMO did not only end the protracted war that claimed so many lives of innocent civilians, but also brought about liberal market economy. Importantly, concerning education, there was a collective effort aimed at re-building the education system seriously affected by the war. Donor agencies, international organizations and national non-governmental organizations lent their support to the Ministry of Education in general and to INDE in particular in their search for the best ways to provide quality education. Issues pertaining to mother tongue and bilingual education, language planning and language policy, including the experiences of the neighbouring countries with whom Mozambique shared its Bantu languages, once more came to the fore, and were openly debated to see how best they could be applied to the Mozambican situation (Lafon 2011: 17-18). It was also around that period that the first publications appeared dealing with the possibilities and challenges of using African languages as a medium of instruction in Mozambique (Matsinhe 1993); and questioning the status-quo vis-à-vis the definition and adoption of a language for Mozambique (Lopes 1994, and 1997).

It was not until 1997 and 1998, however, that mother tongue or bilingual education found its way into the Mozambican's education system. It was in the context of PEBIMO (*Projecto de Escolarização Bilingue em Mozambique* "Bilingual Education Project in Mozambique"), that the first ever major project

aimed at testing the effectiveness of Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique was implemented to enhance the learning and teaching process.²

The results proved what was already known: children do not only learn better, when they learn in their mother tongue, but also unlock and realise their full potential. Taking those results into account, Mozambique would have expected to implement mother tongue education on a full scale. Instead, the country has opted for two parallel education systems: one using Portuguese as a medium of instruction only and another one using the mother tongue as a medium of instruction up to grade 3 (Terceira classe). It is up to the parents to choose between the two systems.

The debate on the mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique has, therefore, to be broadened and deepened so that the best options are identified. It was in that perspective that more recently, Chimbutane and Stroud (2011) distilled into a book various contributions to the debate, focusing on practices of mother tongue and bilingual education in Mozambique against the backdrop of theories and international experiences. It is their hope that the book will further encourage debate particularly in the areas related to policies; suitable models; methodologies, modalities of teacher training for mother tongue and bilingual education in Mozambique as well as partnerships and synergies that should exist amongst various stakeholders concerned with mother tongue or bilingual education in the country (Chimbutane and Stroud 2011: 5–6). This chapter should therefore be viewed as a contribution to the debate on the mother tongue and bilingual education in Mozambique.

3. The Perils of Mother Tongue or Bilingual Education in Mozambique

As mentioned earlier, in Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa, mother tongue or bilingual education has various challenges, chief among them are the use of African languages as tools to solve pedagogical problems, which amounts to the instrumentalization of these languages; the theoretical underpinnings of the education and development goals; the nature of the curriculum used for formal education, the inadequate teacher training with special reference to L1 methodologies; and the paucity of supporting extra-curricular materials in African languages, including literature for leisure reading. Let us now address each one of these challenges in details.

² PEBIMO was first implemented in 1993. Details on the PEBIMO project can be found in Chimbutane & Stroud (2011: 5) and in Benson (2000 and 2001).

3.1. The Instrumentalization of African languages

J'apprends dans ma langue maternelle
pour mieux apprendre le français
"I learn in my mother tongue
so that I can learn French better"

The slogan presented here is part of the information on ELAN (Ecole et langues nationales en Africa "School and national languages in Africa"), a bilingual project run by the organisation that brings together French speaking countries (OIF), involving the Republics of Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroun, Mali, Niger and Senegal. It captures the essence of the instrumentalization or the use of African languages as tools to address pedagogical problems, already referred to above; which is one of the main challenges facing mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique. The origin of these challenges can be traced back to the decisions made at independence on the role to be assigned to the former colonial languages in the newly independent African countries, including Mozambique. So, despite the fact that Portuguese is a foreign language to the vast majority of Africans in this country, particularly in the rural areas, where they conceptualize their worldview and live their lives in African languages, the leaders of FRELIMO who led the struggles for independence of Mozambique and became the leaders upon independence saw fit to retain Portuguese as the official language and sole medium of instruction in the quest for securing national unity. This might appear to be sensible if multilingualism, which constitutes the hallmark of the Mozambican linguistic mosaic, is brought into the equation of choosing a single African language to be used in all spheres of society, including education. However, as Chomsky (1974) points out, "questions of language are basically question of power". Bourdieu (1991), who seems to lend weight to Chomsky's statement, maintains that language is a symbol of power certain groups of individuals can use to good advantage. FRELIMO's leaders mentioned above seem to have read and understood Chomsky and Bourdieu as cited here. So, the Portuguese language that was meant to strengthen national unity has become a cause of exclusion (cf. Bamgbose 2000) as well as an instrument used to control power through what Myers-Scotton (1993) refers to as elite enclosure. In the school in rural areas, particularly, this has given rise to a plethora of problems, characterized by poor performance and dropouts, grade repetition and a general lack of motivation, to mention but a few.

In line with the results from PEBIMO's project, mentioned earlier, it was therefore believed that the best way to address those pedagogical problems was to introduce mother tongue or bilingual education from grade 1 to grade 3 as a steppingstone towards learning Portuguese. Right from the onset, mother tongue education or bilingual education contracted a disease that would cripple it. In order to prevent the disease or minimize its effects, one fundamental question that should be brought to the centre of the debate on mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique is: if there had been no pedagogical problems to be solved, what would have been the fate of the African languages in Mozambique, which as mentioned above are part and parcel of the lives of Mozambicans living in rural areas? As already seen, there are other factors to be taken into account otherwise the country will continuously embark on pilot projects such as PEBIMO.

3.2. The Education and Development Goals

As is the case elsewhere in Africa, the symbolic power associated with former colonial languages has created misconceptions about education and development in Mozambique with the consequence that being educated, civilized and developed is equated with the mastering of the Portuguese language. This is exacerbated by the fact that this language is dominant in the urban areas – the seats of power and infrastructural development. Therefore, many Mozambicans who speak Portuguese are associated with development and civilization. For instance, in the rural areas of Mozambique, people with rudimentary knowledge of Portuguese, who can be counted on the fingers of one hand, have the tendency to use a few words in Portuguese, when they speak, just to show that they are educated and civilized. As a result, in the eyes and minds of Mozambicans any form of education that does not use Portuguese as a medium of instruction is worthless. This needs to be changed so that Mozambicans can realize that education and development can be achievable in their own language. As will be seen below, one way of doing it is through curriculum reforms, which would create more space for African languages. Efforts should also be made to add economic value to these languages. For instance, there is an increasing demand for language skills involving African languages, particularly in the areas of translation and interpretation for public administration as well as for working in community development. Most advertisements for jobs in community development that appear in print media usually include “knowledge of the local language would be an added advantage”. However, because the curriculum is not usually informed by the dynamics of the market, these job opportunities are not utilized properly.

The curriculum reforms suggested here will provide Mozambicans with a type of education that will allow them to appreciate and realise that they need to get educated, not to learn Portuguese, but to become active agents in the transformation of their society and in turn be able to create conditions conducive for bringing about sustainable development that changes their lives for the better. As UNESCO (1960) reminds us: “Education should be a means to empower children and adults alike to become active participants in the transformation of their societies. Learning should also focus on the values, attitudes and behaviours which enable individuals to learn to live together in a world characterized by diversity and pluralism.”

This will ultimately lead to the change of attitudes towards education and development, making Mozambicans realize that there can also be education and development in their own languages, as has happened elsewhere in the world. Because changes are not usually easily welcomed, it will require a great deal of lobbying, cooperation and synergies creation. After all, language, education and development are cross-cutting issues; their success require everybody’s participation.

3.3. The Nature of the curriculum used for formal education

The curriculum most African countries use is part of the colonial legacy, and as such, its content is not inspired and informed by the African reality, including cultural and linguistic diversity (cf. Wolf 2011: 51). As a result, African languages cannot be part and parcel of the education process nor can the type of learners produced cherish their culture and language. In Mozambique this has also mainly been the case, except for the period of the Marxist revolution, referred to above, when serious attempts were made to reform the curriculum. The dimension of the problem described here can better be illustrated by the following remarks a friend of mine, who lives in my home village, once made about his son whom he had sent to town to further his education, using money he got after selling cashew nuts and other products from the family small farm. Motivated by the prospects of finding a good job in town, when he finished his education, the young man not only excelled in almost all the subjects, but also had an admirable command of the Portuguese language. As a result, he was elected one of the best learners in his class and was awarded a certificate. Proudly, he took it home to his parents. The parents were so happy that they threw a party for him. The young man became a local worthy, whose help was sought by the entire village, particularly when it came to help the villagers calculate the amount of money they would earn after selling the surplus of their harvest to the local Indian trader. The young man could not tell the results of his calculations to the peasants in their language – Xitsonga.

The story spread like bush fire throughout the village and beyond and earned the young man the nickname of *Mulungo Ntima* “a white man in a black skin”. Embarrassed, my friend one day told me *a va tolo avahembanga loko vaku hlolo ya xikhwama xa ku lombha ayikhomi noyi* “The elders are right, a divine bone from a borrowed bag will never catch evil spirits”!

The challenges related to the curriculum described here and many others surrounding education in Africa have prompted the African Union to initiate the second Decade of Education for Africa (2006–2015), which was launched during the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the African Union held in Khartoum, Republic of Sudan in 2006. According to the respective Plan of Action: “The Second Decade of Education for Africa has been prepared by Africa itself, for the benefit of the entire African continent and its people” (African Union 2006a: 4).

It was perhaps the first initiative that was endorsed by African Heads of State and Government aimed at overhauling African education systems that involved the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and received the support of the development partners. Its areas of focus are Gender and Culture; Education Management Information Systems; Teacher Development; Tertiary Education; Technical and Vocational Education Training; Curriculum and Teaching Materials; and Quality Management (African Union 2006b).

In order to lend support and provide further impetus to the operationalization of the Plan of Action of the Second Decade of Education for Africa, the Department of Human Resources, Science and Technology of the African Union organised the First Pan-African Conference on Curriculum, Literacy and Book Sector Development, which was hosted by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania in Dar-es-Salaam from 24 to 27 March in 2009. The conference was intended to create a platform for a critical review of the curriculum and the situation concerning literacy and the publishing industry. It makes suggestions towards the establishment of a continental policy framework on publishing “as well as recommendations for ensuring an African centered curriculum enhancing African languages and revitalized educational sector” (African Union 2009: vii).

It should be recalled here that the Sixth Assembly of the Heads of State and Government also adopted a declaration, usually referred to as the Khartoum Declaration, on the linkage between education and culture. Basically, this means that the content of the curriculum of education for Africa should be informed and inspired by African culture, including languages.

One year before the end of the Second Decade of Education for Africa, most member states might not have achieved their goals due to various reasons, including financial constraints. However, the Plan of Action of the Second Decade

for Africa and the Khartoum Declaration remain a useful document that has paved the way for broadening and deepening the debate on the need to effect meaningful reforms that are conducive to the effective implementation of mother tongue or bilingual education in Africa, including Mozambique. It is also important because it expresses the political will of the African leadership, which is a sine qua non condition for any curriculum reforms to take place in the continent.

3.4. Inadequate Teacher Training with special reference to L1 Methodologies

No educational system is better than its teachers
“Education International”

Teachers are key players in any learning process. So, no matter how good an educational programme is, it cannot work without the presence of excellent teachers. It follows then that, even if all the challenges discussed so far were successfully addressed; well trained and competent teachers, particularly in L1 methodologies, would still be required for the successful implementation of mother tongue or bilingual education. Currently, as it is the case throughout out African countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, teacher training colleges in Mozambique that offer training in L1 methodologies with special reference to African languages do not exist. Teachers specializing in that domain are a rare commodity. Those expected to take care of mother tongue or bilingual education received a general training that qualifies them to teach all the subjects in the foundation phase, including Portuguese. It would appear that it is taken for granted that, if one is a native speaker of a particular African language, say Xitsonga, one can make a good teacher of that language. Practical experience has shown that this is not the case. There was once a meeting on good practices of mother tongue in one western African country, whose name is omitted for obvious reasons, which is often mentioned as a good example of mother tongue or bilingual education implementation. The minister in charge of education lead a visit of participants to schools involved with mother tongue and bilingual education. One teacher candidly said that she found it difficult to use her mother tongue to teach in the bilingual classes.

The successful implementation of mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique requires well trained, competent and dedicated teachers. The curriculum reform suggested above should include the possibility of creating training programmes on L1 methodologies with special reference to African languages. In the meantime regional centres providing in-service training on

L1 methodologies should be established. They can initially focus on vehicular cross-border languages Mozambique shares with her neighbours. This would help maximize resources and minimize costs as countries sharing a particular cross-border language can share training materials and expertise.

The African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), the language agency of the African Union, is working on a pilot project targeting Cinyanja/Chichewa, a vehicular-cross border language Mozambique shares with the Republics of Malawi and Zambia. The project aims at creating a regional centre to provide in-service training in L1 methodologies. When the Cinyanja/Chichewa vehicular cross-border language commission, comprising of experts in this language who have been indicated by those three members of the African Union was established, training of teachers in L1 methodologies was one of the priority areas that it identified and included in its plan of action. The modules for the training are being reviewed by the members of the commission. It is therefore hoped that the project will set the tone for the in-service training for Mozambique suggested here.

3.5. The paucity of supporting extra-curricular materials in African languages

Besides the lack of proper teacher training in L1 in methodologies referred to above, there is a generalized lack of literature in African languages in Mozambique, particularly stories for children. For instance, in Xitsonga, a vehicular cross-border language also spoken in South Africa and Zimbabwe; which is the second most spoken language in Mozambique after Emakhuwa, there are only three novels, namely *Zabela*, *Musongi*, and *Thandhavantu*, produced by *Bento Sioe* in 1983, 1985, and 1995 respectively. However, the number of copies printed for each novel was relatively insignificant as it was believed that there is no readership in Mozambique for African languages to justify printing many copies. This has serious implications for mother tongue or bilingual education because teachers cannot teach without books and learning cannot take place if there are no books for children to read for leisure and reinforce what they learn at school.

The lack of reading materials in Africa is intrinsically linked to the lack of a vibrant publishing industry for African languages (Bgoya 2009). Like any other industry, the publishing industry in Africa, including Mozambique, is governed by the laws of supply and demand. Hence, it is very often argued that there is no need to publish in African languages because there is no demand for these books. There is no demand because Africans lack the culture of reading for leisure in their languages. Then a vicious circle is created. In fact, this was one of the

main arguments advanced during a workshop organised by the Association for the Development of Education (ADEA) which took place in Nairobi in 2010. No matter how true this could be, what is important is to start developing strategies that will instil the culture of reading in African languages into the children and, in the long run, widen the market for books in these languages in Mozambique. Such strategies could include the following:

- (a) Most of the African languages spoken in Mozambique are vehicular cross-border languages and, as such, are also spoken in the neighbouring countries. Mozambique could therefore use the expertise, learning and reading materials from her neighbours. The fact that the orthographies for those languages have been harmonised thanks to the work of the Cape Town based Centre for Advanced Studies of African Societies (CASAS) and that of ACALAN can make the implementation of the strategy suggested here much easier. The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) could be involved in the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation process. In fact, this could be a practical way of encouraging the free movement of goods and people, which is one of the main aspects of the regional integration agenda.
- (b) Regional Professional associations, such as the Linguistic Association of SADC Universities (LASU), can play an important role in the sharing of information and experiences in the region, in line with what is suggested in (a) above, which is vital for the effective implementation of mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique. In order to achieve all that, it is necessary to harness the power of the internet to disseminate the outcomes of the experiments and pilot projects and strengthen the forums concerned with mother tongue and bilingual education, while avoiding duplications, repetitions, which usually result in wasting energies and resources.
- (c) Mozambique with the assistance of SADC can also organize national workshops for budding authors who could be trained in writing for children. Hopefully, in the long run, literature for leisure for children could be made available in the country.
- (d) As mentioned earlier, one of the challenges facing the inclusion of African languages in the curriculum is that they have no obvious economic value. In order to stimulate publishing and creating the culture of reading, it is necessary to add economic value and reward excellence in African languages. Mozambique can organize competitions for African languages in collaborations with publishing houses and radio stations such as Radio Mozambique that has been the custodian of those languages in the country. The winning works should be published or broadcasted; in the case of plays and short stories. ACALAN's experience shows that competitions are a viable

strategy of promoting and adding economic value to African languages. In 2010, ACALAN, in collaboration with the Economic Commission of African West African States (ECOWAS) organized the prize of excellence for African languages across the ECOWAS region. The first prize in Mandenkan won 10.000 American dollars whereas two submissions in the second position won 5000 American dollars each. ACALAN will publish all the works submitted regardless of whether they won a prize or not. Building on the success of the ECOWAS prize of excellence for African languages, ACALAN, in partnership with Long Horn Publisher based in Nairobi, is currently exploring the possibility of organising a prize of excellence for Kiswahili, focusing on short stories. It will involve all the countries that speak this language.

4. Windows of Opportunities and Prospects

The various initiatives and resolutions that the African Union members states, including Mozambique; have endorsed, through their respective Heads of States and Government; such as the Second Decade of Education for Africa together with its Plan of Action, the Khartoum Declaration referred to above, and the celebrations of the African Union golden jubilee under the theme “Africanism and African Renaissance“ that started last year during the 20th Summit of Heads of State and Government that took place at the glittering African Union Headquarters in Addis Ababa last January and end this year in July, offer a excellent window of opportunity to stakeholders concerned with mother tongue education in Mozambique cannot afford to miss. They should use it to push for the creation of a linguistic equity in Mozambique in which African languages will not only be regarded as tools to solve pedagogical problems, but also viable partners of the Portuguese language in the provision of quality education that is an essential requirement for winning the struggle for poverty eradication that has dominated the official discourse in Mozambique over the last ten years. However, in order for all this to succeed, it should be part of collective efforts to bring about a paradigm shift that could allow a holistic approach to education and development. Furthermore institutions of higher learning such, as Eduardo Mondlane University and University Pedagógica, which offer programmes on teacher training and Bantu languages, should support that approach with the necessary inputs. They should therefore embark on a collaborative applied research, with special reference to L1 and L2 methodologies, curriculum planning and evaluation, terminology development, sociolinguistics and the role of language in fostering sustainable development.

5. The Need for a paradigm shift

The holistic approach suggested here can only be sensible if it is part of a paradigm, which will bring much-needed changes in the ways we grapple with issues pertaining to mother tongue education and in our approach to development in Africa in general and in Mozambique in particular. The approach to development in Africa, more often than not, is reduced to numerical figures with no bearing on what obtains on the ground. Usually, reports from the African ministries of finances and from the Breton Woods Institutions (too many to mention here) say that African countries have registered a double-digit economic growth. However, all over Africa, including Mozambique, as Lawino would say in her song to her husband, “the pythons of sickness swallow children, (...), the buffalos of poverty knock the people down and ignorance stands there like an elephant” (cf. p’Bitek 1989: 114).

The approach to development has to change, if Africa is to be propelled into sustainable development. Like education, as suggested earlier, development has to be much more inclusive and therefore go beyond numerical statements to include other important factors in gauging the levels of development and poverty. Or, as Sen observes: “It is critically important, as a corrective, to clarify, with actual illustrations, that poverty has dimensions, and that the removal of deprivation calls for much more than economic growth (important as it is)” (2008: xv).

Sen’s observation implies a multidimensional approach to development that should include various aspects, including those related to education, as has been suggested in this chapter. Then, in order for that to be the case, development should not only be the domain of technocrats (cf. Wolff 2011: 82). For, instance, it is interesting to note that in Mozambique, and probably elsewhere in Africa, despite convincing arguments about the important role language and education can play in achieving sustainable development, such as those brought forward by Rassool (2007) and Djité (2008), there is no single institution of higher learning that offer programmes dealing with language issues to students majoring, say in Development Studies, Law, Medicine, Rural Development, and Sociology, which would prepare the students for the sociolinguistic reality they will face during their professional careers. There is no intra and inter-institutional cooperation. There is, as a result, the tendency of working in silos. This might also be responsible for the endless and repetitive projects on mother tongue or bilingual education referred to above.

6. Conclusion

The implementation of mother education or bilingual education in Mozambique has been motivated by the desire to use African languages for addressing pedagogical problems. This remains the main challenge facing mother tongue education or bilingual education in Mozambique. Although the medium of instruction is vital for any learning process to succeed, it cannot be responsible for all the problems encountered during the learning process. Therefore, while dealing with pedagogical problems facing mother education in Mozambique, it is also equally important to consider other challenges such as those related to the approach to education and development goals, the nature of the curriculum, teacher training, with special reference to L1 methodologies, and the lack of reading materials.

A paradigm shift is required to bring about a holistic approach to the challenges facing mother tongue or bilingual education in Mozambique. African Union backed declarations, plans, and resolutions, which Mozambique has endorsed, should be used to lobby the decisions makers to support the creation of a linguistic equity suggested in this chapter so that African languages and the Portuguese language are important partners not only in the education system, but also in the search for viable strategies that lead to the eradication of poverty that has dominated the official discourse in the recent years in Mozambique. This could eventually lead to the changing of the misconceptions about education and development in the country.

Because the accomplishment of the paradigm shift suggested in this chapter should be the result of a collective effort supported by independent and verifiable evidence, Mozambican institutions of higher learning should embark on collaborative and applied research.

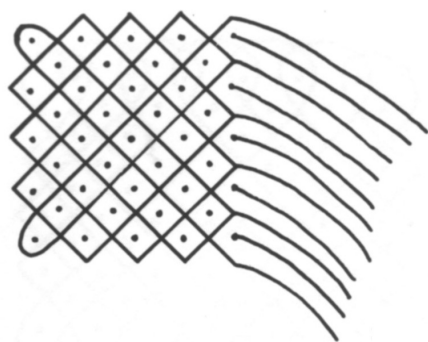
Finally, regional cooperation, through SADC, LASU and ACALAN should be an integral part of the paradigm shift as it allows maximizing resources and minimizing costs through the sharing of expertise, experiences and materials for mother tongue and bilingual education in Mozambique.

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Nasal(ised) vowels in Gur (Voltaic) languages: an assessment report¹

The problem: The status of [+nasal] vowels in Gur is unclear in a twofold way: on the one hand with regard to individual languages, on the other with regard to the language family as a whole. Thus, there are languages with clearly defined phonemic ‘nasal vowels’ and others with only contextually conditioned ‘nasalised vowels’.² The two types may even co-occur in one classificatory sub-group. As far as nasal consonants are concerned, they are documented for all phoneme systems, at least in earlier (pre-generative) Gur analyses; likewise pre-nasalised consonants are common, however, they are not considered here in detail.

The present paper aims at complementing recent debates on the issue³ by providing an overview of the current state of affairs as can be drawn from the literature at hand; in particular it pays attention to the interpretation of the language data.⁴

Due to limited space, the language data cannot be discussed in this paper in detail, but the Appendix at the end offers a systematic overview of the occurrence of both types of vowels according to the interpretation of the respective authors.

¹ I dedicate this study to my old Swahili colleague Eugeniusz Rzewuski whom I met for the first time during the late seventies in Zanzibar. His interests, like mine, changed later. Yet both of us remained committed to Swahili. - I am very grateful for the multiple hints I obtained from my friends and colleagues Kerstin Winkelmann, Brigitte Reineke, Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn, Ines Fiedler, Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer and Manfred von Roncador, all members of the Gur working group. My thanks also to Ruth Schubert who polished up my English.

² In this article, we will use these two terms in these senses. Nasality is marked by a tilde under the respective vowel.

³ See Bole-Richard 1985, Clements 2005, Clements & Rialland 2008, Sambiéni 2005, 2012.

⁴ For the different theoretical implications, see the respective summaries in Clements & Osu 2005 or in Sambiéni 2005.

The table represents the classification of Gur languages as it has been accepted by the members of the Bayreuth-Berlin Gur Working Group.⁵ We will classify the languages under consideration into two types: type A represents those with nasal vowels, type B those with only nasalised vowels.

1. The issue in cross-linguistic Gur studies

Bendor-Samuel (1971: 173ff) who provided the first summary of Gur characteristics after Westermann's pioneer studies⁶ only confirms that "nasalized vowels" may occur in Gur languages.

Manessy, explicitly following up Guthrie's historic-comparative method for Bantu, provided step by step the ground for the systematic reconstruction of Proto-Gur. He soon came across the nasal vowel dilemma. His most detailed statement on the issue is found in his *Les langues Oti-Volta*.⁷ He defines the three categories of *voyelles nasales* (1975: 67ff) as follows: (1) those that are conditioned by preceding nasal consonants (e.g. *na(g) *boeuf*), (2) those that can be traced back (*très probablement*) to a sequence *VN (either by *contraction* or *assimilation régressive* (e.g. *s₂an *étranger*), and (3) the small group for which the contextual conditions named in (1) and (2) cannot be attested, and for which he could establish about 40 comparative series, but only with data from a limited number of languages. However, the fact that these cognates with *voyelles nasales* are paralleled by oral series of the same vowel quality in closely related languages, leads him to the assumption that these CV stems should either be traced back to CVN- stems (his example being *arc/guerre* for which he sets up *ta/*tam), or that -N- should be explained as a nasal extension (*élargissement*) which he supposed to be a *consonne de liaison* in other cases. He apparently considers this -N- as a language-specific feature, since the reconstructions for his further examples *sein* (*bi/*bis) and *poil* (*kob) do not contain nasals. Consequently, when presenting the diagnostic features for the historical sub-classification of the Oti Volta (henceforth OV) languages, he discusses nasal consonants only. He follows

⁵ Founded in 1996 in order to carry out the joint project 'Basic research on Gur languages' which was sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

⁶ Oswin Köhler's comprehensive comparative study *Die Verbreitung und Gliederung der Gur-Sprachen* (submitted as a *Habilitationsschrift* to the Humboldt University in East Berlin in 1952) which considers all pre-World War II sources, is still waiting to be edited and published by Köpfe publishers, Cologne (p.c. Rüdiger Köpfe).

⁷ Earlier, in 1969 (Gurunsi) and 1971 (Gurma) he did not find sufficient evidence for the reconstruction of nasal vowels on the respective proto levels, though they exist on the surface.

up the same line in all his later comparative studies. Even when discussing Baatonum, where the phonemic status of nasal vowels is undoubtedly attested, he assumes that they go back to *Proto-Voltaïque* *VN sequences (1993: 89). However, for Senufo (1996a,b), he cannot avoid reconstructing five proto nasal vowels (*ī, *ɛ̄, *ā, *ɔ̄, *ū), but he again advances his (obviously) deep-seated idea that nasal vowels in Gur are a result of secondary developments. Thus, he assumes (1996b: 4) that at a pre-Proto-Senufo stage certain vowel features (*timbre, quantité* as well as *nasalité*) were not fixed but occurred in free variance (*alternance générale*).

In his Senufo studies, Manessy often referred to the *Supyire Grammar* (1994) by Carlson, who had confirmed the phonemic status of nasal vowels as well of nasal consonants as is also known from other Senufo languages. His section *Nasals* provides a good example of the wide range of interpretations to which language data is open. Carlson compares Supyire with Cebaara. Following Mills (1984), who interprets Cebaara [n, ɲ, ŋ] as marginal allophones of /l, y, w/, Carlson admits that "... it is almost possible to analyze the nasal stops as nasalized variants of approximants which occur before nasal vowels" (1994: 19). But he dismisses this interpretation, even though in Supyire CV sequences are observed neither with voiced stops /d, j/, nor with approximants /l, y, w/. But he emphasises that the voiced stop /b/ can be followed by a nasal vowel.

Canu (1971) compares Moore and Gurenne (OV West). He points out that in both languages the grade of nasality differs between nasal and nasalised vowels, the latter being weaker.⁸ According to him, the system of nasal vowels is more elaborated in Moore than in Gurenne. However, for Moore, he assumes a gradual emergence of nasal vowels out of oral vowels by various nasalisation processes, and in particular via free variation, finally reaching phonemic status (1978: 278). This hypothesis reminds us of Manessy's assumptions for Proto-Senufo. It also coincides with the view of Kropp-Dakubu (p.c.), who is of the opinion that the nasal vowels in Gurenne should be considered as a secondary development.

Sambiéni (2005, 2012) points out that in three of the five OV East languages (Ditammari, Mbelime, Nateni) nasal vowels are attested as phonemic. However, and explicitly following Manessy (1975), he reconstructs only oral vowels for the proto level.

⁸ See also Nikiéma (1998: 62) who discusses the two different notations of vowel nasalisation by Alexandre which point to the above mentioned graduation of nasality. But Nikiéma has the impression that today this difference is no longer perceived by the speakers.

Earlier, in 1985, Rémy Bole-Richard had published one of the most influential contributions to the discussion of *langues sans consonnes nasales*.⁹ As far as Gur is concerned, he sums up as follows: “En Gur, certains sous-groupes n’ont pas de voyelles nasales (OV, Gurunsi), d’autres n’ont pas de consonnes nasales (Bwamu) et d’autres ont à la fois des consonnes nasales et des voyelles nasales (Sénoufo)” (1985: 8). The Bwamu case, reveals differing interpretations: in contrast to Bole-Richard who uses data provided by Yé Vinou (a native speaker and linguist from Ouagadougou), Manessy (who did his field research during the late fifties), sets up three phonemic nasal consonants (/m/, /n/, /ɲ/), where [ɲ] is considered as a variant of /w/ before nasal vowels (1961: 127). It is true that Bole-Richard’s data (consisting of five verbs, p. 21) show non-systematic alternations between CV(CV) and N̄V(N̄V) stems, but this evidence alone cannot validate the general assumption of non-phonemic nasal consonants in Bwamu. It was just such alternations that led Manessy to assume the non-phonemic status of nasal vowels (see above).¹⁰ In his conclusion, Bole-Richard classifies Proto-Bwamu as having *nasalité vocalique*, but Proto-OV and Proto-Gurunsi as having *nasalité consonantique*. This family-internal imbalance leads Bole-Richard to assume *nasalité syllabique* for Proto-Gur (1985: 18).

Clements and Rialland (2008) in their survey *Africa as a phonological area*, devote a large part of the section *Nasal vowels and nasal consonants* to what they call “a typologically unusual phenomenon of languages lacking contrastive nasal consonants” (p. 46). They follow Bole-Richard (1985) in referring to Bwamu as a language without nasal consonants, but add Senadi (Senufo) as a Gur example.

To sum up, this survey of the cross-linguistic studies has shown that nasal vowels are rarely analysed as phonemic items, but mostly as contextually nasalised vowels, with the result that - with the exception of Senufo - nasal vowels do not appear as proto phonemes.

⁹ This issue first came up in the Kwa languages as a result of the generative approaches; see Mieke 1991, Clements 2005, Clements & Rialland 2008.

¹⁰ I refrain here from discussing this topic, namely the alternating oral/nasal reflexes of recurrent lexemes. For Gur, see Manessy (1975, 1979) who sets up two reconstructions in such cases, for instance for Proto OV *arc* *ta/*tam, *to/*tom, and Sambiéni (2005: 187) who points to such oral/nasal correspondences in OV East. However, it is not surprising that some of these roots like ‘goat’, ‘dog’ or ‘bite’ appear in similar cross-linguistic studies of Benue-Congo or Niger-Congo (see for instance, Williamson 1992 or Mieke 1985).

2. Generalities on the occurrence of nasal(ised) vowels in Gur

A survey of the language data (as summarised in the Appendix) yields the following results:

2.1. Minimal pairs

All authors, when establishing phoneme inventories, complain that the minimal pairs are defective.

2.2. The number of nasal vowels and their potential features

As columns 1, 2 show, the number of nasal vowels varies from language to language:

- A few languages show an identical number of oral and nasal vowels, all belonging to different sub-groups. One might interpret such systems as secondary developments triggered by internal processes or by borrowings. The latter case has been assumed for the Minianka variety of Mpressoba (Senufo), see Dombrowsky-Hahn (1999: 80), and for Pana (Gurunsi-North), see Beyer (2006: 33).
- Only one nasal vowel (ɛ̃) is supposed by Moran (2006: 85) for Western Sisaala (Gurunsi).

In Ncam (Gurma, Cox 1974) as well in Lobi (Becuwe 1985), the high front vowel /ɪ̃/ behaves as a nasal rather than as a nasalised vowel. See also Kasim, where /ĩ/ and /ɪ̃/ might be considered as the only *voyelles nasales pertinentes*; however, as Bonvini (1974: 75) points out, in singular/plural formations like cɪ̃/ cɪ̃ā *flèche* they form at best “une frontière de monèmes”.

- When nasal equivalents to oral vowels are lacking, this consistently concerns mid vowels; here again the languages show different realisations:
 - (a) Two languages have no mid nasal vowels at all: Bwamu and South Kulango. Possibly, Kaansa belongs to this group. Showalter (1997: 141) analyses only /ĩ, ɪ̃, ũ, ʊ̃, ã, /ɛ̃, ɔ̃/ being exceptions. However, Vaillant (1978) reports of nine oral vs. seven nasal vowels (/e, o/ are lacking). In contrast, my field notes contain /ɛ̃/ and /õ/ minimal pairs, so that a 9 to 9 relation appears. These differences might point to an evolutionary trend.
 - (b) When the oral system distinguishes between +ATR /e, o/ and -ATR /ɛ, ɔ/ mid vowels, the latter almost always take on the nasal feature (see columns 4, 5). However, in Deg, a few examples with +ATR vowels are attested (Crouch and Herbert 2003: 3).

Nikiéma (1998) points to different analyses concerning the height of nasal vowels in Moore (either ɪ̃, ʊ̃ or ɛ̃, ɔ̃); he prefers the -ATR solution. But the

related language Ninkare has +ATR nasal vowels /ĩ, ɥ/, besides /ɛ, a, ɔ/. On the other hand, Kusaal (also closely related) has only -ATR nasal vowels /ĩ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ɥ/ (for both, see Niggli and Niggli).

2.3. Long nasal vowels and their respective grade of nasalisation

2.3.1. When type A languages show phonemic long vowels, the latter may have nasal counterparts, e.g. in Cerma (Mieke field notes):

- (1) cáá ‘gifler’ dáàmú DEM cl. 22
 cáá ‘servir’ dáámú ‘feu’

But there are uncertainties in Senufo: while Cebaara has long phonemic nasal vowels (Mills 2003: 10), their status is uncertain in Supyire and Syer (Carlson 1994, Dombrowsky-Hahn, in prep.).

2.3.2 It appears for instance in Kaansa (Mieke, field notes) that the grade of nasality with CVV sequences is weaker than with their short counterparts, and thus does not spread to the right. However, with short ʏ we observe free variance at morpheme boundaries:¹¹

- (2) (a) h̃i- ‘devenir plein’ dágá h̃i-ʔu-r-ma ‘le marigot est plein’
 marigot-1 dev.plein-SJ1-PF-ASS
 (b) h̃i- ‘lancer, jeter’ h̃iŋ-gù-r-mà ú kpúʔ-nì ~ ‘il a lancé sa lance’
 h̃i-ʔù-r-mà ú kpúʔ-nì
 lancer-SJ1-PF-ASS 1-lance-5

The same weakening process can be observed with the language name: Kaansa [Kaasa] which contrasts with [tãŋà/tãnsà] ‘hole/s’.

2.3.3. In some languages only the coda is nasalised, but it becomes denasalised when another morpheme follows, e.g. in Kasim (Bonvini 1974: 74):

- (3) ðì ‘hier’ ðìn-nī ‘dans la journée d’hier’

See also Ngem (Bakpa 2012: 66) or Bwamu (Manessy 1960: 56).

2.3.4. Winkelmann speaks of regressive denasalisation in Cɛfɔ when two nasal vowels meet at morpheme boundaries:

- (4) s̃i, siɛ [s̃iɛ] ~ [siɛ] (pɸv) < s̃i + ɛ ‘weave’

2.4. Nasalisation after nasal consonants: some phonetic implications

Contextual nasalisation occurs in all languages, but the number of the vowels in question, as well their quality or their degree of nasality, may vary.

¹¹ The same evidence is reported by Winkelmann (1998: 67) for Cɛfɔ.

For Moore (OV) and Vagla (Gurunsi), for instance, we notice nasalisation of all oral vowels but the nasalisation is slight. Rialland (1979d: 46) distinguishes in Gulmancema between strongly nasalised *voyelles nasales* (CY), which only occur in final position, and the less nasalised *voyelles nasalisées* (CYnV), when the following syllable starts with /n/. Similar evidence is reported by Kam (2009) for Jaane CVnV sequences, but he underlines that the slight nasalisation of V₁ observed in the pronunciation of some speakers, may disappear in that of others. See also Jones on Dilo: “The degree of nasality is determined by the environment”, VN sequences showing “a slight nasalization”, whereas NV sequences “are consistently more heavily nasalized ... When an ŋ or an n does delete, it leaves behind it a heavy load of nasality on the preceding vowel” (1987: 47).

Rennisson (1997: 435) notes for Koromfe a certain lowering of the following vowels.

Becuwe points to the influence of stress (*accent*) in Lobi: only in unstressed syllables is the following vowel automatically nasalised (1985: 59). Similar evidence is reported by Rialland (1979: 55) for Gulmancema (see 4.1.).

In languages with a reduced number of nasal vowels, NY sequences may follow the same restrictions as observed with CY sequences. But a closer look at Cerma, for instance, (which has /ī/, /ɛ̄/, /ā/, /ɔ̄/, /ū/) reveals a different realisation after /m/ and /n/: the sequences /mɛ̄/ and /mɔ̄/ are only found with loans; by contrast /nɛ̄/ and /nɔ̄/ are very common, /nɛ̄/ and /nɔ̄/ being less documented. This phenomenon requires further analysis.

For languages with an NY and NV distinction, see 3.3 below.

2.5. Rhinoglottophilia

The sequence /hY/ occurs in only a few languages, see column 11. Generally, it may be traced back to *kV. In many cases it concerns class markers only, but in Sisaala-Pasaale /h/ generally nasalises following vowels (Toupin 1995: 7).

3. Type A: The languages with nasal vowels

3.1. Homogeneous occurrence in genetic sub-groups

Within North-Central Gur, only two classificatory units represent type A, both are single language clusters: Koromfe (in the north, adjacent to Moore) and Bwamu (to the west of OV).

Within South-Central Gur, type A prevails in the west: in Dogose-Gan, Cerma-Curama, Kulango. Baatɔ̄nɔ̄m, the easternmost bastion of Gur languages (adjacent

to Yoruba), also belongs to this type. Manessy (1979) again brings in historical reflections: he confirms Prost's (1979a) analysis of five nasal vowels on the synchronic level, but traces them back to Proto-Gur *VN sequences (1993: 89). This means that he considers the Baatɔnum nasal vowels as an innovation which took place when the language separated from the bulk of other Gur languages. Of course, one might speculate that this innovation may have been accelerated by influences from neighbouring Kwa languages, or - in the case of assuming nasal vowels on the Proto-Gur level – that the geographical situation helped to stabilise their phonemic status.

Outside Central Gur (all these languages are spoken in the western area, contiguous to Dogose-Gan, etc.), we obtain a homogeneous picture; Viemo, Cɛfɔ, Win, Senufo: all are clear candidates for type A (leaving the Samu group undecided because of the shortage of data).

3.2. Split occurrence in genetic sub-groups

Within North-Central Gur, type A is found in contiguous areas in Eastern and Western OV, surrounded in each case by type B languages. The cases of Biali (Prost 1973a vs. Sambiéni 2013) and of Dagaare, spoken to the southern end of OV West in Ghana, are controversially debated (see Saanchi 1997).

Within South-Central Gur, Lobi-Jaane is also split in that Jaane belongs to type A, but Lobi to type B, the latter being, however, in a “processus de transphonémisation des voyelles orales porteuses de / ~ / en voyelles nasales” (Becuwe 1985: 68).

All Gurunsi data appear as ambiguous cases. Clear type A cases are only reported for two Gurunsi subgroups.

Gurunsi North: Beyer (2006: 33) sets up nasal vowels for Pana, but admits that some might be traced back to lost nasal consonants, or may be influenced by Mande-speaking neighbours. Likewise, Bassolé assumes seven oral and nasal vowels for Lyele. Nunt is controversially debated: while Yago (1982) interprets the data as type B, Malgoubri defends the phonemic status of nasal vowels (Malgoubri 2011: 49).

Gurunsi West: Crouch and Herbert (2003: 28) identify for Deg “... a set of nasal vowels corresponding to the set of oral vowels” which contrast even to -VN sequences:

(5) [tɔ̃]	‘deny’	[tɔ̃́n]	‘skin’	[dɔ̃ŋ]	‘companion’
[ká]	‘warn’	[kán]	‘be big’	[dám]	‘friend’

On Western Sisaala, Moran (2006: 85) comments: “Nasalized vowels are both allophonic and, at least in one occurrence, phonemic in Western Sisaala

[o]. However this distinction is being lost in the speech of young speakers as are a number of features of the language. Remnants of phonemic nasalized vowels are clear in the case of /e/ although its use is in sharp decline.”

To sum up, the current geographical distribution of type A languages reveals an interesting picture: they are represented (without lacunae) in the west, but from a line in the east (which can be defined by the boundaries of the Moore speaking area), they do not cover a contiguous area, they are then surrounded by type B languages. However, on the northernmost (Koromfe) as well on southernmost fringe (Baatɔnum) of the Gur-speaking area we find type A languages.

3.3. NY and NV sequences (see column 9)

A look at the table prompts the question whether this facet is diagnostic for assuming the phonemic status of nasal vowels, or whether it even signifies inherited phonemes. It occurs frequently in languages of type A, but not in all, and astonishingly, also in a handful of languages which are classified as type B. These are Lobi (and not the closely related Jaane), as well as the two Gurunsi languages Nvnt (Nord) and Western Sisaala (West), both of which are considered as weak type A candidates. All this might speak in favour of an old phenomenon. Its non-existence in some type A languages might be explained in terms of secondary neutralisation processes, such as in Cerma which has only four NV items (all others being nasalised), whereas Curama shows a regular NY/NV and VN/VN distinction (Sugett 2003:16):

(6) māā	‘overtake’	máā	‘build’
nē	‘be there’	nē	‘how many’

The following chart reveals regional cognates between Kaansa and Kulango, which are not shared by Cerma and Curama:

(7)	Kaansa	Kulango	Cerma	Curama
‘laugh’	má- (mána)	má	ɲé	ɲā
‘build, construct’	má?- (mága)	má	má	máā

To sum up, we consider this feature as a good candidate for indicating (original) nasal vowels.

3.4. Nasal/oral alternations in type A languages

For some languages, alternation conditions can be defined, for example in two Senufo languages. See Dombrowsky-Hahn (in prep.: 52) for Syer : “-gV, -gVV and -gV(V)C suffixes entail the denasalization of the vowel preceding the suffix and the suffix vowel”; and Carlson (1994: 33) for Supyire: “denasalization of short stressed high vowels [is] triggered by [r].”

are built (Miehe 2001). The realisation of the final vowels of the long form is in accordance with general vowel harmony rules.

- (11) dɔ- do-ro ‘buy’
pɛ́- pɛ́-rɛ ‘borrow’

As in Jaane, in some cases underlying nasal consonants can be supposed:

- (12) hɿ- hɿ-na ‘take’
nɛ́- nɛ́-ma ‘arrive’

However, -rV may also alternate with a final glottal stop:

- (13) sɛɛʔ- sɛɛ-rɛ ‘speak’
kɛɿʔ- kɛɿ-ra ‘beat’

Di-syllabic stems of the long form denasalise V₂:

- (14) fata- fata ‘slap’
hɿta- hɿta ‘sit down’

There is no clear evidence of such alternation with nominal stems.

Similar alternations are described by Kleinewillingöfer (2003) for a few verbs in Phwie which is, however, a type B language. According to him these verbal stems behave irregularly in the imperative and imperfective paradigms, e.g.:

- (15) stem imperative
cɿn- cɿ ‘stand’
kpòn- kpò ‘go home’
vâl- vâ ‘walk’
pòòr- pò ‘harvest (cotton)’

According to Kleinewillinghöfer, the starting point here is a CVn/r/l sequence.

The Cɛfɔ case is different in so far as Winkelmann observes nasal-oral alternations with singular-plural formations which mostly occur with animates. In addition, there are different dialectal realisations (2001: 174/75), e.g.:

- (16) Daramandougou Noumoudara Nyafogo
buɔ, pl. bɔrɔ bɔŋɔ bɔɔ ‘chien’
ciɔ, pl. cio kiɔbi kiɔ ‘oiseau’
lɔ, pl. lo mlɔ́ ‘poule’
bɔ́, pl. bɔ bá, pl. báa ‘mouton’

This contrast also occurs with the class pronouns: ʔɔ (3. sg. animé) and ʔò (3. pl. animé et non-animé). Winkelmann points out that even cross-linguistic comparison cannot help to decide whether the feature [+nasal] is part of the stem or is a flecational marker. She shows that, for instance, the respective lexemes in neighbouring languages for *chien* and *mouton* have nasal/oral alternations (see note 10).

A similar case of group-internal correspondences is revealed by Dombrowsky-Hahn (p.c.) for Senufo:

(17) Syer	Kar	Tyebara	Supyire	
n̄û		yùu [yù:]	yû	,steal'
t̄ɔ	ta	tón [tɔ́]	to	,cover, close'
f̄ɛ	f̄ɔ	fàn [fã]	fê	,run'
nìgèl		yìgìlè [yìgìlè]	yègèlè	,hicup'

To sum up, with the exception of Cɛfɔ and Senufo we observe alternation processes in type A languages which show denasalisation processes on the surface that are obviously triggered either by /l,r/ or by /g/. However, all data allow an alternative interpretation in assuming CVC roots which mutate to CŸ in certain flexional contexts. It should be noted that Phwie, a type B language, could be classified as type A, because of this evidence alone.

3.5. The special case of type A: The languages without nasal consonants

In the language data at hand, only two cases are discussed in detail: Cebaara (see Carlson above) and South Kulango (Tufuor 1985). As far as Senufo is concerned the topic needs more comparative studies. While Carlson rejects the approach because only /d, j/ and approximants are concerned, we cannot overlook that Garber (1991: 12ff) reports of more far-reaching complementarities in Sicite (which is closely related to Supyire): “All voiced stops and affricates (except /gb/), and the consonants /w, y, l, r, x/ are followed only by oral vowels, while nasal consonants are only followed by nasal vowels.” For Kar (including Syer), Dombrowsky-Hahn (p.c.) confirms a complementary distribution for liquids and semi-vowels.

Tufuor (1985: 118) reveals *frappantes analogies* between South Kulango and Abron (Kwa) concerning a complementary distribution of certain voiced oral and nasal consonants. But he also concedes that there are some *suspect* minimal pairs with [m] and /b/. This, in turn, is in accordance with Carlson’s findings for Supyire, and with evidence from many other Kwa languages, where the bilabial evidence often does not fit into the assumed model. However, Tufuor’s speculative conclusion that Kulango has borrowed the feature nasality from Abron, must be rejected in the light of evidence from Northern Kulango.

4. Type B: The languages with assumed nasalised vowels

In our sample, the status of nasalised vowels is not only based on the evidence of progressive or regressive assimilation processes (for the latter see column 6),

where the triggering nasal usually remains. In addition, the assumption of nasalised vowels is founded on alternation processes which recurrently occur in language-internal morphological processes. However, not all type B languages show such alternating series.

The entries in column 7 ('Y/Vn alternations') are marked only in the case of type B languages, namely, when the authors pointed out such synchronic alternations in order to confirm the assumption that [+nasal] vowels have no phonemic status. I have added information from Manessy's comparative word list (1975), when Y-VN(V) alternations are observed with singular-plural formations. When the latter is the only evidence, the marker appears in brackets (x).

4.1. Language-internal alternations

In some languages, alternations are only attested with nouns, for instance in Buli-Konni, in some OV groups, in Yom, and to some extent in Gurunsi, e.g. Buli *pēi*, pl. *pe:ma*, Yom *pīu*, pl. *pimi:*, Dagara *pī*, pl. *pīme* < **pi:m*/**pe:m* 'flèche' (Manessy 1975: 267).¹³

The decisive Y/Vn alternations, however, which serve as arguments for the assumption of the non-phonemic status of Y concern verbal stems. They are recurrently advanced as arguments for Gurunsi, Gurma and Lobi. In each case, the scenario requires a set of monosyllabic CY stems for which minimal pairs can be set up, which, however, alternate with CVnV sequences in certain flectional processes or in non-final contexts. Manessy when analysing and reconstructing Gurunsi (1969, 1: 32), speaks of complementary distributions for which *N should be reconstructed on the diachronic level.¹⁴ The Phwie example (see above (15)) represents such a Gurunsi case.

The evidence in Vagla, another Gurunsi language, is slightly different in so far as Crouch and Smiles (1966: 9) even present minimal pairs with following nasals, e.g.

(18) *d̄i* 'ligament' *d̄i* 'and' *diŋ* 'tail' *dim* 'put out'

However, they conclude that the *nasalized vowels* should be interpreted as "vowel plus n" rather than as a "single complex unit ... The argument for this is that though ŋ, m, and n occur syllable final, only ŋ and m occur word final in isolation."

¹³ As far as the historical dimension is concerned, evidence of emerging Y are attested with class suffixes, for instance in class 23 *-ma which has a -Y reflex in Cɛfɔ or in Dagara.

¹⁴ Indeed, this solution resembles Indo-European evolutionary processes, especially in Romanic languages. It is interesting that Bole-Richard (1985: 5) refers to these Indo-European processes, which, in contrast to Niger-Congo, are clearly explainable (according to him).

With respect to Ngbem (Gurma), Bakpa (2012) complains about the instable character of such vowels (though contrastive with monosyllabic verbs), and points out that the nasality of oral vowels appears only in contexts with alveolar nasal /n/ or in coda position (2012: 64), e.g.

- (19) [sâ] ‘courir’ vs. [ù sán-á] ‘il a couru’
 [kô] ‘se quereller’ [bì kòn-á] ‘ils se sont querellés’

He concludes: “Nous estimons que la nasalisation des voyelles en ngbem serait intervenue à l’issue d’un processus de resyllabation qui s’est produit à une époque donnée dans l’évolution du ngbem” (2012: 65).

For Northern Gulmancema (Gurma), Rialland (1979d: 48ff) distinguishes between *voyelles nasalisées* and *voyelles nasales*.¹⁵ The former only occur with *n + consonne orale* (which correspond to what in other interpretations are called pre-nasalised consonants). She points out that these vowels are only slightly nasalised, in contrast to the latter which only occur in the context of *n + élément palatal (syll. inaccentué)*, e.g.:

- (20) [jùli] ,en haut’ < jùlĩ ,tête’ + ni
 [tübē] ,dans les oreilles’ < tūbā + nĩ
 [ò tí] ,il court’ (inachevé) < ò tĩn¹⁶ + ì
 [ò gbê] ,il a fini’ (achevé) < ò gbén + ì
 [ò dōjā] ,il est monté’ (achevé) < ò don(a) + jā (part. d’insistance)

She points out that only [ĩ, ē, ɛ, a] emerge by these processes and that they only occur in final position in isolation. When these final (strongly nasalised) vowels are followed by other constituents, their feature [+nasal] spreads to the right at the expense of their strong grade of nasality (which becomes slight), but at the same time its coda is realised as a nasal consonant homogeneous with the following one, or it becomes /n/ before vowels, i.e. these vowels then change into *voyelles nasalisées*. In the following examples, the slight nasalisation is marked by underscore (/a=/):

- (21) [ò gbi=n ū ŋmū] ,il a attaché la corde’ < [gbĩ]
 [ò dògè=n dābānā] ,il a mis un panier dans quelque chose’ < dògè
 [ò tè=ŋ kpā:ndi] ,il a remis une lance’ < [tè]

¹⁵ According to her, this distinction is not found in Southern Gulmancema.

¹⁶ At this point it should be said that the analysis of nasality is rather complicated in languages with orthographies that have retained the French notation of nasal vowels (/an/ instead of /a/ after oral sounds).

Rialland (1979: 55) also points to the role of stress (*accent*), since the nasal vowels only emerge in unstressed syllables. Because of this and the instable status of the vowels, she concludes that these vowels are not phonemic.

For Lobi, Becuwe (1985: 59ff) presents similar evidence:¹⁷

- (22) hì ‘être pourri’ dî hì-ré ‘c’est pourri’ hî-r ‘action de pourrir’
 hî ‘carboniser’ dî hî-né ‘c’est carbonisé’ hî-n ‘action de carboniser’

All these interpretations of synchronic alternations may appear convincing in the case of the nominal stems, but not with verbal forms. Should all these monosyllabic verbal stems (which even constitute minimal pairs) really be interpreted as derived or contracted variants of a basic CVnV form?

4.2. Pre-nasalisation of C₂

Column 8 in the Appendix points to the existence of pre-nasalised consonants¹⁸, which is here only marked for type B languages. It occurs regularly in those languages for which V/Vn alternations are confirmed, but also in the other type B languages without these alternations. In OV languages, for instance, pre-nasalisation occurs preferably before class 13 plural suffix *-sɩ. Only in Yom-Nawdem and in some Gurunsi languages is this feature lacking. Thus, we may conclude that pre-nasalisation of C₂ may also serve as an indicator of lost nasal vowels.

5. Non-segmental interpretations of nasal(ised) vowels

Column 10 indicates that the authors propose a non-segmental approach. In our sample, this concerns three type A languages. See for Deg: Crouch and Herbert (2003:3), for Win: Bourdon and Bourdon (n.d: 46); for Kar: Wichser and Bühler (1979: 54), and two type B languages (see for Lobi: Becuwe (1985: 62); for Samoma: Kedrebéogo (1989: 91ff).

6. Conclusion

Becuwe is quite right when he states: «La nasalité vocalique est probablement un des problèmes phonologiques les plus complexes à résoudre dans les langues

¹⁷ The verbal nouns are added from Mieke & Tham (2003).

¹⁸ This term is used here in general sense to refer to their non-syllabic status.

voltaïques en général et en lobiri en particulier” (1985: 59). Our survey has shown that not only Lobi is a problematic case.

Our findings can be summarised as follows:

The Gur languages show strong evidence for the existence of phonemic nasal vowels (besides nasal consonants) at an earlier stage than is assumed by Manessy and other Gur experts, who all consider the present-day status of nasal vowels in the various languages as the result of secondary developments. We have seen that there is some evidence to refute such assumptions (alternations, NV/NY distinctions, pre-nasalised C₂ consonants, and the geographical distribution of the feature).

Further, it becomes obvious that the interpretation of the language data is strongly influenced by the theoretical background of the authors. One is tempted to ask what is more economic: to assume a complex syllabic structure or simply an additional vowel feature? Likewise, it is not clear whether the way out chosen by Bole-Richard (1985) and others (see section 5), namely, to transfer the burden of explanation from the segmental to the supra-segmental level, can help us to clarify the historical dimension of this question. Possibly, Manessy’s idea of free variation of certain features in earlier times than those for which we can obtain reconstructions, meets the point. Similar views were recurrently expressed by Kay Williamson in her last contributions to comparative Niger-Congo topics.

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Appendix

- 1 = Number of short oral vowels
 2 = Number of short nasal vowels
 3 = Long vowels
 4 = -ATR mid nasal vowels
 5 = +ATR mid nasal vowels
 6 = Nasalised vowels as result of regressive assimilation
 7 = Y/Vn alternations (type B only considered)
 8 = Pre-nasalisation of C₂ (type B only considered)
 9 = Distinction between NY and NV sequences
 10 = Non-segmental interpretations of nasal(ised) vowels
 11 = Rhinoglottophilia hY < kV
 12 = Sources

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Central North												
OV-Buli-Konni												
Buli	8?	-	x	-	-	x	(x)	x	-	-	-	Mélançon et al. 1974
Konni	9	-	x	-	-	x	(x)	x	-	-	-	Cahill 1992, 1999
OV-East												Sambiéni 2005, 2012
Biali	7	(5)	x	-	-	x	(x)	x	x	-	x	Sambiéni 2005, 2012
Ditammari	7	5	x	x	-	x			-	-	-	Sambiéni 2005, 2012
Nateni	7	5	x	x	-	x			-	-	x	Sambiéni 2005, 2012
Waama	7	-	x	-	-	x	?	x	x	-	-	Sambiéni 2005, 2012
Mbelime	7	5	x	x	-	x			-	-	x	Neukom 2004, Sambiéni 2012
OV-West												
Dagara	8	-	-	-	-	x	(x)	x	-	-	-	Delplanque 1983b, 2012
Dagaare	9	(5)	x	?	?	?	-	x	-	-	-	Saanchi 1997
Frafra (Gurenne)	7	5	x	x	-	x	-		x	-	-	Canu 1971, Dakubu Kropp et al. 2007

¹ Back vowels and /a/ before pause (Braspenning 1984: 26).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ninkare	9	5	x	x	-	-			x	-		Niggli and Niggli 2008
Moore	7	5	(x)	x	(x)	-			x	-	-	Nikiéma 1998
Nootre	7	-	?	-	-	?	-	x	-	-	x	Prost 1974b
Dagbani	6	-	x	-	-	?	-	x	-	-	-	Olawsky 1996
Hanga	5	-	?	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	Hunt 1981
Kusaal (BF)	9	5	x	x	-	-			x	-	-	Niggli and Niggli 2012
Mampruli	7	-	x	-	-	x ¹	-	x	-	-	-	Braspenning 1984
Gurma												
Ngbem (Gangam)	7	-	(x)	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	Bakpa 2012
Gulmancema	5	-	(x)	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	Rialland 1979
Moba	6	-	(x)	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	Kantchoa 1994, 2006
Yom-Nawdem												
Yom	8	-	(x)	-	-	x	(x)	-	-	-	-	Prost 1973c
Nawdm	7	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	Nicole 1979, 1987
Bwamu	5	3	x	-	-	x			-	-	x	Manessy 1960, 1961
Koromfe	10	10	x	x	x	?			-	-	x	Rennison 1997
Central South												
Gurunsi East												
Cala (Bogon)	10	-	x	-	-	?	?	x	-	-	-	Kleinewillinghöfer 2002a, 2007
Bago (Kusuntu)	9	-	x	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	Kleinewillinghöfer 2002b
Dilo		-		-	-	x	?	-	-	-		Jones 1987
Kabɩye	9	-	?	-	-	-	?	x	-	-	-	Lébiɓkaza 1999
Gurunsi North												
Kastm	10	-	x	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	Bonvini 1974, Awedoba 1993
Lyele	7	7	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	Bassolé 1982
Nɔnɔ	10	9	x	x	x	-			x	-	-	Malgoubri 2011
Pana	7	7	x	x	x	-			-	-	-	Beyer 2006
Samoma	9	-	x	-	-	x	?	x	-	x	-	Kedrebéogo 1989

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Gurunsi West												
Deg	10	5-7	x	x	(x)	-			-	x		Crouch and Herbert 2003
Phwi	9	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	Warfel 1998, Kleinewillinghöfer 2002c, 2003
Sisaala-Pasaale	9	-	x	-	-	x	?	x	-	-	x	Toupin 1995
Western Sisaala	9	2?	?	-	x	-	?	x	x	-	-	Moran 2006
Vagla	10	-	x	?	-	x	?	x	-	-	-	Crouch and Smiles 1966
Cerma-Curama												
Cerma	7	5	x	x	-	-			(x)	-	-	Lexique 2009
Curama	9	5	x	x	-	-			x	-	-	Suggett 2003
Lobi-Jaane												
Lobiri	10	-	x	?	-	-	x	?	x	x	-	Becuwe 1985
Jaane	7	7	x	x	x	x			-	-	-	Palm 2001, Kam 2009
Dogose-Gan												
Kaansa	9	7	x	x	-	-			x	-	-	Showalter 1997, Mieke field notes
Dogose	9	9	x	x	x	x			-	-	-	Ouattara 1991, Langdon 2000
Dogoso-Khe												no data
Kulango group												
Logon	9	9	x	x	x	?			?	?	x	Elders 2008
Thèe	9	7	x	x	-	?			?	?	x	Elders 2008
Kulango-Nord	9	9	x	x	x	-			x	-	x	Elders 2008
Kulango-Sud	9	5 ²	x	-	-	x			x	-	x	Bianco 1979, Tufuor 1985
Baatɔnum	7	5	x	x	-	x			-	-	-	Prost 1979a
Outside Central Gur												

² But see Arnaut et al. (1998: 43): „It emerged that all oral vowels have nasal counterparts and this is clearly in contradiction with Bianco (1979) [and Tufuor 1985], who suggested that there are only 5 nasal vowels.”

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Viamo	7	7 ³	x	x	-	-			-	-	-	Prost 1979d, Winkelmann 2007a
Cɛfo	7	5	-	x	-	-			-		-	Winkelmann 1998, 2001
Win (Toussian)	7	7	x	-	-	-			-	x	-	Burdon and Burdon s.d.
Samu group												
Samu (Wara)	7	?	x	-	-	-			?	-	-	Prost 1968, Winkelmann 2007b
Samwe (Natioro)	9?	?	x	-	-	-			?	-	-	Prost 1968, Winkelmann 2007c
Palen	7?	?	x	-	-	-			-	-	-	Kleinewillinghöfer 2007
Senufo												
Senufo North												
Minyanka- Yorosso	7	5	x	x	-	-			x	-	-	Dombrowsky-Hahn 1999
Minyanka- Mpešsoba	7	7	x	x	x	-			x	-	-	Dombrowsky-Hahn 1999
Supyire	7	5	x	x	-	-			-	-	-	Carlson 1994
Sicite	7	5	x	x	-	-			-	-	-	Garber 1991
Karaboro												
Kar	7	5	x	x	-	x			?	-	-	Wichser and Bühler 1979
Syer (Tenyer)	7	5	x	x	-	-			x	-	-	Dombrowsky-Hahn in prep.
Senufo Central												
Tyébara (Cebaara)	7	5	x	x	-	-			x	-	-	Roulon 1972, Mills 2003
Tyebari	9	7	x	-	-	-			-	-	-	Laughren 2001
Senufo South												
Jimini	7	5	x	x	-	-			-	-	-	M'lanhoro n.d.

³ Prost (1979d): „Les [voyelles] nasales sont plutôt rares”. However, Winkelmann’s transcription (2007) shows nasal counterparts of all oral vowels.

One language, two phonologies: The case of moraic nasals in Ciyao¹

1. Introduction

The present paper aims at studying the phonology of nasals in Ciyao, despite the fact that this topic has been the object of description and analysis in many works in on Bantu languages in general (Bleek 1862, Harries 1949, Hyman 2003, Morrison, 2009, Mutaka 2000, Winston 1962) and in Ciyao in particular (Hyman and Ngunga 1997, Ngunga 1999, 2000, 2002, 2011) Sanderson 1922, 1954, Whiteley 1966, to mention just a few), in particular. In these studies, important statements have been made on phonological processes that we will review here, namely, nasal effacement, stop voicing, nasal assimilation, distinction between moraic and syllabic nasals, and others. At least one of these phonological processes is expected to take place when a nasal occurs adjacent to another segment or to another nasal in Ciyao.

What seems to have not been looked at in the previous works is the relationship between the phonological processes and morphological history of

¹ The first time I had the courage to present part of the data analyzed in this paper was at the World Congress of African Linguistics, Cologne, 2009. The second time was at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. The third time was at 2013 LASU Conference, University of Swaziland. I confess that in none of those occasions I was successful in convincing people to understand this phenomenon, in spite of the abundance of data I kept on adding from one event to another. In any case, I wish to thank the participants of those events for their challenging questions and suggestions of better analyses which made me decide to write this paper for the *Festschrift* of Prof. Eugeniusz Rzewuski, the man who was the first to introduce me into the world of Bantu Linguistics and whom I thank a lot for that. I am particularly thankful to Iwona Kraska-Szlenk for her very insightful comments on the previous version of this paper, but I wish to assure the reader that I am the only one to blame for “misreading” the Ciyao data and think that they show two phonologies I believe they do.

the segment adjacent to the nasal. A preliminary observation of the data led us to the conclusion that there are two nasal phonologies in Ciyao, a Bantu language (P21 in Guthrie's 1967–71 classification) spoken in Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania, as well as in some regions of Zambia and Zimbabwe. The present paper intends to bring a discussion on the possibility existence of two nasal-related phonologies in this language.

The paper is organized as follows. Firstly, after this brief introduction, there are some notes on the language's phonemic inventory. Then, the most remarkable features of nasal phonology in Ciyao, some of which shared with other languages, are revisited. Based on data from different sources, follows the discussion of the Ciyao nasals. Finally, the conclusions of the discussion are presented.

To approach the problem under discussion, we will resort to three theoretical frameworks, namely, the SPE Model of Generative Phonology (Chomsky and Halle 1968), the Theory of Phonological Weight (Hyman 1985) and Austosegmental Phonology [Goldsmith 1990].

2. Notes on Ciyao segmental phonemes

This section is intended to present a general view of Ciyao phonemic inventory, especially the vowel phonemes, including the hiatus resolution rules on the one hand and, on the hand, the inventory of consonant phonemes.

2.1. Ciyao vowel phonemes

Ciyao is described as having ten phonemic vowels (Ngunga 1999, 2000, 2011) divided into two groups being five short and five long as shown in the following table:

Table 1. Ciyao vowel segments

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, ii		u, uu
Mid	e, ee		o, oo
Low		a, aa	

Table 1 shows that the ten phonemic vowels paired in groups of two according to the quality, but contrastive in length, as seen illustrated in the following examples:

1. Short		Long
ku-cim-a	‘to hate’	cf. ku-ciim-a ‘to pant’
cl15-hate-FV		cl15-pant-FV
ku-pet-a	‘to decorate’	cf. ku-peet-a ‘to winnow’
cl15-decorate-FV		cl15-winnow-FV
ku-som-a	‘to pierce’	cf. ku-soom-a ‘to study’
cl15-pierce-FV		cl15-study-FV
ku-nyal-a	‘to cut in pieces’	cf. ku-nyaal-a ‘to dry up’
cl15-cut in pieces-FV		cl15-dry-up-FV
ku-kul-a	‘to grow up’	cf. ku-kuul-a ‘to extract (a tooth)’
cl15-grow up-FV		cl15-extract-FV

The examples in (1) show phonemic length in Ciyao. That is, if a speaker produces a long vowel instead of a short one or vice-versa, the result is that *s/he* will not get the intended meaning. It is just like producing a [t] instead of [d] in /done/. This responds to the question of why we consider that Ciyao has ten vowels, as it has been said above, rather than of five vowels as it has been said in various studies (Mtenje 1993, Mtenje and Odden 1990, Ngunga 1987, Sanderson 1954, Whiteley 1966).

2.1.1. Hiatus resolution rules

In Ciyao, the undesired sequence of vowels (known in the literature as hiatus) is highly forbidden. Thus, when the morphology creates the conditions for two vowels to co-occur in a certain environment, the language has strategies to resolve the hiatus using one of the following rules:

Rule 1: *Glide formation.* When a high vowel is followed by another vowel, glide formation takes place. That is, the vowel, a mora bearing unit, gives place to a glide and its mora is linked to the neighboring monomoraic vowel which becomes bimoraic² due to compensatory lengthening process. Consider the following examples:

2a) /mu-anace/	→	mwaanace	‘child’
cl.1-child			
/mu-esi/	→	mweesi	‘moon, month’
cl.3-moon			

² In Yaawo orthography, bimoraic vowels are written by doubling the corresponding short vowel.

/mu-isi/	→	mwīisi	‘pounding pole’
cl.3-moon			
/u-onga/	→	woonga	‘gunpowder’
cl.14-gunpowder			
/u-umi/	→	wuumi	‘life’
cl.14-life			
b) /mi-asi/	→	myaasi	‘blood’
cl.4-blood			
/mi-esi/	→	myeesi	‘moons, months’
cl.4-moon			
i-indu	→	yiindu	‘to trigger’
cl.8-thing			
/ku-miola/	→	kumyoola	‘to scrape the hair’
cl.15-scrape			
/ku-iuia/	→	ku-yuuya	‘to swing (tr.)’
cl.15-swing			

As is seen in (2), the in order to avoid adjacency of vowels, the high vowels /u/ and /i/ followed by other vowels in the structural description are turned into glides /w/ and /y/, respectively, in the structural change. Using the SPE Model, this rule can be represented as follows:

Rule 1: [+syl, +hi] → G/- [+syl, -nas, +long]

This rule states that in this language, the high vowels turn into glides when followed by vowels. The feature [-nas] has been added here to specify the vowel in order to avoid confusion with the syllabic nasals to be seen later.

Rule 2: *Deletion.* When two vowels of different qualities follow one another, one of them is deleted, as in:

3. /a-yic-e a-pa/	→	[ajícá:pa]	‘may you come here’
SM-come-MM Dem sel ³ -cl.16			
/a-pat-il-e a-yi/	→	[apatilá:ji]	‘they got these’
SM-come-MM Dem select-cl.8			

On the basis of what is shown in (3), one can argue that vowel deletion is a vowel assimilation process of some sort. As the data show, one can either say that the

³ SM = subject marker; MM = mood marker; Dem sel = demonstrative selector.

mid vowel undergoes deletion or it completely assimilates the feature [low] of the following vowel. Whatever the interpretation of the phenomenon may be, a glide is not formed when the word-final mid vowel precedes the low vowel in the word initial position of the following word. It is simply deleted, but its mora is preserved and taken over by the following vowel which becomes long by compensatory lengthening. Thus, either of the following rules correctly accounts for this phenomenon:

- Rule 2a:** Vowel deletion: [-hi, -lo] → Ø/-[+lo]
Rule 2b: Vowel assimilation: ayice akuno
-
- [-hi, -lo] [+lo]

However, this feature assimilation, represented in autosegmental formalism (2b), which is translated into segment deletion, formalized according to the SPE Model (2a), does not imply mora deletion. Therefore, after the vowel has been deleted, the mora that was linked to the now deleted vowel is linked to the following vowel which becomes long. This process is called compensatory lengthening rule and can formally be illustrated in the following manner:

- Rule 3:** Compensatory lengthening:
-
- [a j íc á kuno] ‘come here’
- [-hi, -lo] [+lo]

Rule 3 shows the compensatory lengthening process that the low vowel which was previously monomoraic becomes bimoraic as it adopts the mora of the mid vowel that has been deleted. All compensatory lengthening rules apply in this fashion, where the mora to which a vowel is delinked is linked to the next vowel which becomes bimoraic.

Rule 3: Coalescence. When a low vowel precedes a high vowel, a third (mid) vowel, that keeps the compatible features [-lo, -hi] of the vowels in the input, is produced. Since the presence of two underlying vowels implies the existence of two moras, the third vowel which emerges from coalescence is bimoraic, as illustrated in the following examples:

- 4a) /ma-iso/ → meeso ‘eyes’
 cl.6-eye
 /ma-ino/ → meeno ‘teeth’
 cl.6-tooth
- b) /ma-ungu/ → moongu ‘pumpkins’
 cl.6-pumpkin
 /ma-uva/ → moova ‘suns, days’
 cl.6-tooth

As is seen in (4), the mid vowel resulting from coalescence of low and high vowels can be front, if the high vowel in the structural description is a front one, as in (4a), and it can be back, if the high vowel in the input is back, as in (4b).

After this brief discussion on vowels, we will now move onto the consonants.

2.2. Ciyao consonantal phonemes

Ciyao has 18 phonemic segments as shown in the table below:

Table 2. Ciyao consonant segments

	PLACE	Bilabial	Labiodental	Labiovelar	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
M	Stop	p b			t d	c	k g
A	Nasal	m			n	ɲ	ŋ
N	Fricative				s		
N	Lateral				l		
E	Flap				(r)*		
R	Approximant		v	w		j	

* This sound appears in ideophones such as /prɾ/ and /trɾ/.

The 18 Ciyao consonantal phonemes can be characterized as follows:

Table 3. Ciyao natural classes

Quantity	Features	Segments
4	[-voice, -cont]	[p t c k]
4	[+voice, -cont]	[b d ʒ g]
4	[+voice, +cont, -nas]	[l v j w]
1	[-voice, +cont]	[s]
4	[+nas]	[m n ɲ ŋ]
12	[+voice]:	[b d ʒ g m n ɲ ŋ l v j w]
5	[-voice]:	[p t c k s]

From here we can now move onto the main subject matter of this paper, which is the role of the nasal in Ciyao phonology that suggests that there are two nasal phonologies in Ciyao.

3. Ciyao nasals

Phonetically, Ciyao nasals are egressive sounds which are produced with the uvula raised in order to allow for the airstream to come out through the nose. In this language, according to their phonological function, there are three types of nasal sounds: non-syllabic and non-moraic nasals, syllabic nasals and non-syllabic moraic nasals. Each one of these will be the subject of discussion below.

3.1. Non-syllabic and non-moraic nasals

A non-syllabic and non-moraic nasal is the nasal that occupies the onset position in a syllable whose nucleus is a vowel.

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------|
| 5. | ku.-[m]a.la | ‘to finish’ |
| | cl15-finish | |
| | ku.-[n]oo.la | ‘to sharpen’ |
| | cl15-sharpen | |
| | ku.-[ɲ]a.kula | ‘to lift’ |
| | cl15-lift | |
| | ma.-[ŋ]u.nu.[ŋ]u.nu | ‘craziness’ |
| | cl6-craziness | |

As is seen, the four Ciyao nasals are produced in the four places of articulation, namely, lips (bilabial nasal), alveolar ridge (alveolar nasal), hard palate (palatal nasal) and back of the tongue (velar nasal). These are the nasals which are always simple consonant onsets of CV syllables. Consider the syllabic nasal next.

3.2. Syllabic nasals

In Ciyao phonology, there are also syllabic nasals apart from the non-syllabic and non-moraic nasals. For example, the vowel /u/ of /mu-/ (classes 1, 3 and 18 noun prefixes and 2nd person agreement marker) can optionally be deleted without resulting in syllable deletion in which case the nasals become syllabic, as in the following examples:

6.	/mu-makuwa/ cl1-makhuwa	→	[m̩]makuwa	‘makhuwa person’
	/ci-na-mu-p-e/ TM-SM-OM-give-MM ⁴	→	cina[m̩]pe	‘I will give you’
	/mu-dy-e/ SM-eat-MM	→	[ŋ̩]dye!	‘eat!’
	/mu-goongo/ (cl3) cl3-backbone	→	[ŋ̩]goongo	‘back bone’
	/mu-nyuumba/ (cl18) cl18-house	→	[ɲ̩]nyuumba	‘in the house’

The examples above show that the vowel of the noun prefix is deleted and the nasal becomes syllabic. Note the obligatory application of nasal assimilation to the place of the following consonant. As is seen, nasal assimilation rule knows no exception in Ciyao. Needless to mention that the syllabic nasals are also moraic nasals, since there cannot be syllabic segment which is not moraic although there is moraic segment which is not syllabic as is shown in the following section.

3.3. Non-syllabic moraic nasals

Apart from the syllabic nasal which has just been seen, there are also moraic nasals which are the markers of classes 9 and 10 prefix and the 1st person agreement. While the non-moraic and non-syllabic nasals have a place of articulation, the moraic non-syllabic nasals have no places of articulation. It is informally represented as capital /N/ to mean that it is placeless. Their places are determined by the places of the following consonants. When, for morphological reasons, the moraic nasals precede other consonants, some phonological processes take place. Some of these processes affect the nasals and others affect the following consonants. This is why moraic (non-syllabic) nasals are said to play a central role in Ciyao phonology, as is shown below.

7a)	/N-pusi/ cls.9/10-goat	→	[m]busi	‘goat(s)’
	/N-tondwa/ cls.9/10-star(s)	→	[n]doondwa	‘a star’
	/N-saasu/ cl10-piece of firewood	→	Øsaasu	‘firewood’

⁴ TM = tense marker; SM = subject marker; MM = mood marker; OM = object marker.

/N-cecele/ (cls.9/10)	→	[ŋ]jecele	‘a mountain rabbit’
cls.9/10-mountain rabbit			
/N-kuku/	→	[ŋ]guku	‘a fowl’
cls.9/10-fowl			
b) /ci-N-pel-e/	→	cii[m]bele	‘I’ll get tired’
TM-SM-get tired-MM			
/mu-N-ta-ile/	→	muu[n]deele	‘you named me’
SM-OM-name-TM			
/ci-N-cap-e/	→	cii[ŋ]jape	‘I’ll wash’
TM-SM-wash-MM			
/mu-N-kuund-e/ (1psg.OM)	→	muu[ŋ]guunde	‘bathe me’
SM-OM-bathe-TM			
/N-suum-ile/	→	Øsuumile	‘I bought’
SM-buy-TM			
/mu-N-suum-il-e/	→	ciiØsuume	‘I’ll buy’
SM-OM-buy-Ext-MM			

As one compares the data from the input with those in the output, soon realizes that there are four major changes, two affecting the nasal and two affecting the voiceless consonants the nasals precede, as follows:

A. Phonological processes affecting the nasals

i. Place assimilation

As it has been mentioned above, place assimilation is an obligatory rule in Ciyaao. Consider the following examples:

8. /ci-N-pel-e/	→	cii[m]bele	‘I’ll get tired’
TM-OM-get tired-TM			
/mu-N-deel-e/	→	muu[n]deele	‘you named me’
SM-OM-name-TM			
/N-cecele/	→	[ŋ]jecele	‘a mountain rabbit’
cl9-mountain rabbit			
/N-kuku/	→	[ŋ]guku	‘a fowl’
cl9-fowl			

According to the SPE Model, place assimilation rule that applies to nasals in (8) can be formalized as follows:

Rule 1: Place assimilation: [+nas] → [αplace]/-[αplace]

This rule states that nasal segment assimilate the place of the following consonant. The second process that affects the nasal is effacement.

ii. Nasal effacement

In Ciyao, the moraic nasal does not surface when it precedes a voiceless continuant consonant which happens to be the alveolar fricative, as shown in the following examples:

- 9a) /N-soona/ → Øsoona ‘tobacco’
 cl9-tobacco
 /N-saasu/ → Øsaasu ‘firewood’
 cl10-piece of firewood
- b) /N-suum-ile/ → Øsuumile ‘I bought’
 SM-buy-TM
 /mu-N-suum-il-e/ → ciiØsuume ‘I’ll buy’
 SM-OM-buy-Ext-MM

As is seen, the underlying moraic nasal, be it classes 9 or 10 prefix or 1st person singular (subject or object marker), is always effaced. Nasal effacement can formally be represented as follows:

Rule 2: Nasal effacement: [+nas, -syl] → Ø/_ [+cont, +cor, -voice]

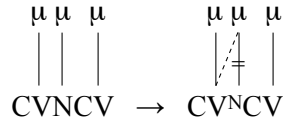
The rule 2 states that the nasal is effaced when it precedes a voiceless alveolar continuant sound.

As it was mentioned above, there are also phonological processes that affect voiceless stops. These processes are discusses below.

B. Phonological processes affecting voiceless consonants

There are two processes that take place almost simultaneously when a moraic nasal precedes a voiceless stop. Consider the following examples:

- | | Input | | Prenasalization | Output | | |
|------|--------------------------|---|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|---|
| 10a) | /N-pusi/ | → | [^m]pusi | → | [^m b]usi | ‘goat(s)’ |
| | cls.9/10-goat | | | | | cf. ka- p usi ‘small goat’
cl12-goat |
| | /N-te:la/ | → | [ⁿ]teela | → | [ⁿ d]eela | ‘matches’ |
| | cl10-match | | | | | cf. lu- t eela ‘a match’
cl11-match |
| | /N-cecele/ | → | [ⁿ]cecele | → | [ⁿ ʒ]ecele | ‘mt. rabbit’ |
| | cls.9/10-moutnain rabbit | | | | | cf. ka- c ecele ‘small mountain
rabbit’
cl12-mountain rabbit |



This formalization shows that the mora is not deleted when its bearer prenasalizes a consonant which results voicing of the voiceless plosive and in delinking form the mora. It is rather re-linked to the preceding vowel as a compensatory measure. So, prenasalization functions as a bridge to the voicing which leads to what is actually uttered by the speaker and also it forces the delinking of the moraic nasal from its mora.

After this brief discussion on what happens to the moraic nasal before voiceless stop and what happens to the voiceless stop preceded by the moraic nasal, let us look at what happens when the moraic nasal precedes non-vocalic voiced sounds.

C. Phonological processes affecting non-vocalic voiced sounds

When a moraic nasal precedes non-vocalic voiced sounds, the non-vocalic voiced sounds are deleted, as illustrated in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 12. /N-badeel-e/ | → mØadeele | 'I've hired' | cf. tu-badeele | 'we've hired' |
| SM-hire-TM | SM-hire-TM | | | |
| /N-ju:ci/ | → jØuuci | 'bee' | cf. lu-juuci | 'a bee' |
| cl10-bee | | | cl11-bee | |
| /N-ɟajaveele/ | → jØajaveele | 'I've floated' | cf. tu-jajaveele-e | 'we've floated' |
| SM-float-TM | | | SM-float-TM | |
| /N-gopweele/ | → ŋØopweele | 'I've untied' | cf. tu-gopweel-e | 'we've untied' |
| SM-untie-TM | | | SM-untie-TM | |
| /N-mas-ile/ | → mØasile | 'I've finished' | cf. tu-mas-ile | 'we've finished' |
| SM-finish-TM | | | SM-finish-TM | |
| /N-nav-ile/ | → nØaavile | | cf. tu-naav-ile | 'we've washed hands' |
| SM-wash hands-TM | | | SM-wash hands-TM | |
| /N-nu:pile/ | → jØuunyile | 'I sprinkled' | cf. tu-nyuuny-ile | 'we've sprinkled' |
| SM-wash hands-TM | | | SM-wash hands-TM | |
| /N-ŋaandile/ | → ŋØaandile | 'I've played' | cf. tu-ŋ'aand-ile | 'we've played' |
| SM-play-TM | | | SM-play-TM | |
| /N-lucile/ | → nØucile | 'I've plated' | cf. tu-luc-ile | 'we've plated' |
| SM-plait-TM | | | TM-plait-TM | |
| /N-lamile/ | → nØamile | 'I've survived' | cf. tu-lam-ile | 'we've survived' |
| SM-survive-TM | | | TM-survive-TM | |

/N-velwi:ce/ → mØelwiice ‘I’ve knocked off’	cf. tu-velwiic-e ‘I knocked off’
SM-knock off-TM	TM-knock of-TM
/N-ju:ji:je/ → ɲØuuyiye ‘I’ve swung’	cf. tu-yuuyiy-e ‘we’ve swung’
SM-swing-TM	TM-swing-TM
/N-wutwi:c-e/ → mØutwiice ‘I’ve ran’	cf. tu-wutwiic-e ‘I ha’ve run’
SM-run-TM	TM-run-TM

Observe that in the examples above, where symbol ‘Ø’ stands for deleted consonants. As is seen in (12), all voiced consonants are deleted after the moraic nasal. But before the deletion takes place, the nasal assimilates the feature place of the consonant that is subsequently deleted. This explains why the nasals on the right hand side of the arrow are labial, alveolar, palatal and velar, according to the place of articulation of the consonant the nasal precedes on the left side of the arrow. The deletion rule can be formalized as follows:

Rule 4: Voiced consonant deletion: [-syl, +voice, αcont] → Ø/[+nas]_

Note that the deletion rule applies to all voiced consonants whenever the structural description is met. The only exception that has been reported is the voiced alveolar stop as shown in the following examples:

13. ludimi (cl11) ‘tongue’ cf. ndimi /N-dimi/ ‘tongues’
 kudima (cl15) ‘to cultivate’ cf. ndimile /N-dimile/ ‘I cultivated’
 kudelela (cl15) ‘to underestimate’ cf. juundeleele /ɟu:Ndele:le/ ‘he underesti-
 mated me’

The rules discussed so far, that involve nasals and consonants, can be summarized as follows:

- Rule 1:** Nasal place assimilation (NPA)
Rule 2: Nasal effacement (NE)
Rule 3: Prenasalization + Voicing (PV)
Rule 4: Voiced consonant deletion (VCD)

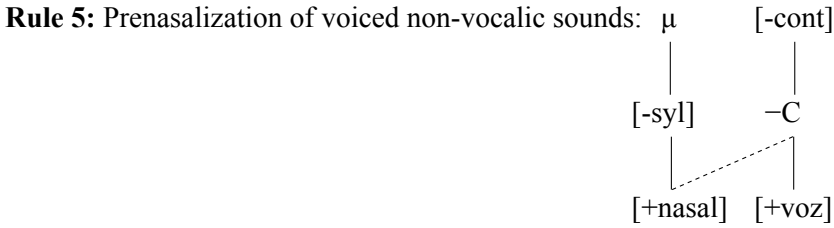
If we the data that has been discussed above were all found in the language, the story would end here and there would be no reason for the present paper to suggest the title it does. In other words, the reason why the present paper has the title above has to do with the incomplete story told about the relationship between the nasal and the voiced oral consonants. Consider the data in the following table:

Table 4. Two more missing rules

			Input	Rules	Output
14	ka/g/uwo (cl12)	‘small piece of cloth’	cl9: /N-guwo/ (n.)	1, ?	[^h g]uwo (cl9)
	lugomo (cl11)	‘lip’	cl10: /N-gomo/ (n.)	1, ?	[^h g]omo (cl10)
15	lu/j/uuci (cl11)	‘bee’	cl10: /N-juuci/ (n.)	1, 4	[^h n] Øuuci
	lu/j/aango (cl11)	‘rafter’	cl10: /N-jaango/ (n.)	1, 4	[^h n] Øaango
	lu/j/aato (cl11)	‘nipple’	cl10: /N-jaato/ (n.)	1, 4	[^h n] Øaato
16	lu/j/ete (cl11)	‘piece of salt’	cl9: /N-jete/ (n.)	1, ?	[^h j]ete
	lujemo (cl11)	‘the lower lip’	cl11: /N-jemo/ (n.)	1, ?	[^h j]emo
17	ku/V/ala (cl15)	‘to shine’	1psg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m] Øasile
18	lu/V/ala (cl11)	‘play yard’	cl10: /N-Vala/ (n.)	1, ?	[^h m]ala
19	ku/V/aka (cl15)	‘to build’	1psg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m] Øacile
	/b/enyula (cl15)	‘to break off a portion’	1psg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m] Øeedwiile
	/j/ajavala (cl15)	‘to break off a portion’	1psg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m] Øeedwiile
20	ku/g/ona (cl15)	‘to sleep’	a) 1psg pst: /N-gonile/ (v.)	1, 4	[^h n]Øonile
			b) cl10: /N-gono/ (n.)	1, ?	[^h g]ono (cl10)
21	ku/w/oneka (cl15)	‘to appear, be visible’	a) 1psg: /N-woneece/ (v.)	1, 4	[m] Øoneece
			b) cl9: /N-woneko/ (n.)	1, ?	[^h m]oneko

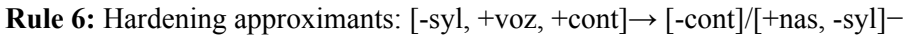
The data in Table 4 tell us that there are two phonologically different moraic nasals which do two different things to the following voiced non vocalic sounds. On the one hand, there is the first person singular nasal which deletes all voiced non vocalic sounds it precedes, as in (17, 19, 20a, 21a). On the other hand, there is the classes 9 and 10 noun prefix nasal which does two things to the voiced non-vocalic sounds, namely: (a) it deletes them, as in (15), the same way the first singular nasal does; (b) it prenasalizes them where the 1st person singular nasal prefix deletes them, as in 14, 16, 18, 20b, 21b.

This suggests that apart from what was said earlier about voiced non-vocalic sounds deletion, we have to add that the voiced non-vocalic sounds are also prenasalized after the classes 9 and 10 prefix nasals, as follows:



This rule shows that the classes 9 and 10 prefix moraic nasal is phonologically different from the 1st person singular marker since although the two voice and prenasalize the voiceless plosives they precede and delete the voiced ones, the former prenasalizes the voiced non-vocalic sounds also.

Another rule which results from this dual role of this nasal in Ciyao phonology is the hardening rule which applies to the labial approximants /w, v/, as shown below:



There is a feeding relationship between rule 5 and Rule 6 since the output of the later is voiced plosive which meets the structural description for rule 5 to apply. Again, if the rules 4, 5 and 6 are correct, since they co-exist in Ciyao, then this language has two phonologies. Thus, the question marks in Table 4 (14, 16, 18, 20b, 20b) should be replaced by 5 and/or 6, as in Table 5 that follows:

Table 5. Two extra rules found

			Input	Rules	Output
14	ka/g/uwo (cl12)	‘small piece of cloth’	cl9: /N-guwo/ (n.)	1, 5	[^ɓ g]uwo (cl9)
	lugomo (cl11)	‘lip’	cl10: /N-gomo/ (n.)	1, 5	[^ɓ g]omo (cl10)
15	lu/ɟ/uuci (cl11)	‘bee’	cl10: /N-ɟuuci/ (n.)	1, 4	[^ɲ]Øuuci
	lu/ɟ/aango (cl11)	‘rafter’	cl10: /N-ɟaango/ (n.)	1, 4	[^ɲ]Øaango
	lu/ɟ/aato (cl11)	‘nipple’	cl10: /N-ɟaato/ (n.)	1, 4	[^ɲ]Øaato
16	lu/ɟ/ete (cl11)	‘piece of salt’	cl9: /N-ɟete/ (n.)	1, 5	[^ɲ]ɟete
	lujemo (cl11)	‘the lower lip’	cl11: /N-ɟemo/ (n.)	1, 5	[^ɲ]ɟemo
17	ku/V/ala (cl15)	‘to shine’	lpsg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m]Øasile
18	lu/V/ala (cl11)	‘play yard’	cl10: /N-Vala/ (n.)	1, 6, 5	[^m b]ala

			Input	Rules	Output
19	ku/V/aka (cl15)	‘to build’	1psg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m]Øacile
	/b/enyula (cl15)	‘to break off a portion’	1psg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m]Øeedwiile
	/j/ajavala (cl15)	‘to break off a portion’	1psg pst: /N-Vasile/ (v.)	1, 4	[m]Øeedwiile
20	ku/g/ona (cl15)	‘to sleep’	a) 1psg pst: /N-gonile/ (v.)	1, 4	[ŋ]Øonile
			b) cl10: /N-gono/ (n.)	1, 5	[ʔg]ono (cl10)
21	ku/w/oneka (cl15)	‘to appear, be visible’	a) 1psg: /N-woneece/ (v.)	1, 4	[m]Øoneece
			b) cl9: /N-woneko/ (n.)	1, 6, 5	[^m b]oneko

Table 5 shows that the questions marks in Table 4 are replaced by the rules 6 (hardening rule) and/or 5 (prenasalization of the non-vocalic voiced sounds). Note the feeding relation between rule 6 and rule 5, in which case rule 6 creates the structural description for the rule 5 to apply, although the numbering adopted here for convenience may apparently be misleading. Table 6, below, summarizes the discussion above as follows:

Table 6. Phonological rules applied to Nasal + voiced segments

Morphological environment		Phonological rules
Moraic nasals +	Voiced non-vocalic segments	Prenasalization
1 st psg. Prefx. +	[-cont, -voice]	√
	[-cont, +voice]	-
	[-cont, -voice]	-
Cls. 9 & 10 Pref. +	[-cont, +voice]	√
	[-cont, -voice]	√
	[+cont, -voice]	√

The Table 6, where “√” = YES and “-” = NO, shows the two phonologies for the classes 9 and 10 prefix moraic nasals, that is, two rules that apply to the same structural description to yield two different (prenasalization and deletion of the of non-vocalic voiced sounds after the classes 9 and 10 nasal prefixes), but equally grammatical structural changes. In other words, voiced non-vocalic sound

deletion and voiced non-vocalic prenasalization are two rules which co-exist in the language and ought to be mastered by the speaker as part of the grammar of the language. From Optimality Theory (Archangeli 1997, Smolensky and Prince 1993, Prince and McCarthy 1994, 1995, and others) point of view, one would say that in one grammar deletion is ranked higher than prenasalization while in the other grammar prenasalization is ranked higher than deletion. As the speaker learns the language, s/he also learns which rule to violate according to the lexical item in order to get the correct output. In any case, we verify that the “normal” pattern for NC sequence where C is [+voice, -voc] is that C deletes when it is preceded by a nasal whenever the sequence occurs.

5. Summary and Conclusions

As a way of a summary, the present paper has attempted to show two things, namely: (i) that in spite of the variety of theories and studies on phonology of world languages, there is still a lot to be said about it considering the linguistic data of different languages; (ii) there is no reason for linguists to be obliged to think that no language can have more than one phonology, in this case two phonologies where two outputs of one input are ranked in different interchangeable ways. Of course we thought the same way before coming across the Ciyao data. The fact that the both deletion and prenasalization yield grammatical results according to the ranking of the two solutions in the different rankings of the outputs of the NC sequences implies that there are two NC phonologies in Ciyao.

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Śmierć kapitana Brownrigga a schyłek rządów plantatorów na Pembie

Śmierć brytyjskiego oficera marynarki wojennej Charlesa J. Brownrigga, która miała miejsce w grudniu 1881 r. na wodach przybrzeżnych Pemby podczas potyczki morskiej między brytyjskim okrętem HMS „London” a arabską łodzią żaglową, była wydarzeniem bez precedensu w historii walki z handlem niewolnikami u wybrzeży Afryki Wschodniej. W niniejszym artykule zamierzam omówić działania podejmowane zgodnie w tej sprawie przez Brytyjczyków i funkcjonariuszy Sułtanatu Zanzibarskiego, nie tylko przeciw handlarzom niewolnikami, ale również arabskim elitom plantatorskim Pemby. Są one ciekawym przyczynkiem do badania metod i struktur brytyjskiej ekspansji w przedkolonialnej Afryce. Nakreślę także szersze tło wydarzeń sięgając do realiów, w jakich przyszło działać plantatorom w czasach schyłku handlu niewolnikami, a także religijno-politycznych uwarunkowań tej ery.

Głównym narzędziem realizowania tej polityki w Afryce Wschodniej byli władcy Zanzibaru. O ile wiemy stosunkowo dużo o strukturach państwa Bū Sa‘īdich na wyspie Zanzibar, na wybrzeżu Afryki Wschodniej oraz jego bliskim zapleczu (Coupland 1939, Bennett 1978, Sheriff 1987, Pawełczak 2010), historycy właściwie nie zajmowali się tym zagadnieniem w odniesieniu do Pemby. Gdyby nie brytyjskie dokumenty z lat 1881–1882, niewiele wiedzielibyśmy o Zielonej Wyspie (arab.: *al-Jazīra al-Ḳaḍrā’*), jak Arabowie nazywali Pembę, u schyłku niepodległości Sułtanatu Zanzibarskiego. Stała się ona przedmiotem zainteresowania Brytyjczyków dopiero około 1875 r., kiedy odwiedził ją pierwszy przedstawiciel ich konsulatu po trzydziestoletniej przerwie. Miało to związek z działaniami na rzecz ukrócenia handlu niewolnikami. Innym ważnym źródłem do dziejów wyspy w tym okresie jest książka rodowitego Pembianina, żyjącego w I połowie XX w. arabskiego historyka Sa‘īda bin ‘Alego al-Muḡayriego, który

przestawia wydarzenia i osoby odgrywające znaczną rolę w omawianym okresie z odmienną niż Brytyjczycy perspektywą (al-Muġayrī 1979).

Władca Zanzibaru i Maskatu *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān Āl Bū Saʿīdī przejął siłą kontrolę nad Pembą w 1822 r. od panującej w Mombasie omańskiej rodziny Mazrūʿich. Wyspa pozostawała aż do początku lat siedemdziesiątych XIX w. w cieniu nieco większego Zanzibaru, gdzie znajdowała się stolica państwa Bū Saʿīdich, ośrodek handlu całej Afryki Wschodniej, a także powstały pierwsze plantacje goździków. W ciągu około 50 lat wyrosła na Pembie nowa społeczność plantatorska złożona głównie z nowoprzybyłych omańskich Arabów. Poza tym plantatorami byli potomkowie przybyszy z Omanu i Jemenu z okresu przed 1822 r., a także, pewna liczba rdzennych mieszkańców (Wapemba), posługujących się językiem suahili¹. Aż do kwietnia 1872 r., kiedy huragan zniszczył większość plantacji na Zanzibarze, to właśnie na tej wyspie produkowano najwięcej goździków na świecie. Po kataklizmie pierwszeństwo przypadło Pembie. Z powodu boomu goździkowego wyspa stała się prawdziwą „perłą w koronie” imperium Bū Saʿīdich. Poprawiło to tylko chwilowo położenie zamieszkałych tam arabskich plantatorów, którzy mieli wiele powodów do niezadowolenia z polityki sułtana Barġaša (1870–1888). Przywódcom plantatorskiej społeczności Pemby nie łatwo było przekonać sułtana do ulżenia ich doli, nie tylko ze względu na odległość dzielącą Pembę od Zanzibaru, ale również na przyczyny tkwiące głęboko w historii osadnictwa, w strukturze społeczno-religijnej Omanu, jak i naturze zanzibarskiego imperium.

„London” dowodzony przez kapitana Brownrigga patrolował zachodnie wybrzeża Pemby w poszukiwaniu łodzi przewożących niewolników na wyspę ze wschodnioafrykańskiego wybrzeża. W świetle traktatu z 1873 r. zawartego między Zanzibarem a Wielką Brytanią, proceder ten był nielegalny. Zgodnie z traktatem, marynarka brytyjska miała prawo do przeszukiwania łodzi podejrzanych o szmugiel niewolników, a także do aresztowania załogi, przejęcia ładunku i zniszczenia łodzi. Podejrzani stawali przed sądem wiceadmiralskim na Zanzibarze, który działał przy konsulacie brytyjskim (House of Commons, British Parliamentary Papers, 30 XI 1867)².

3 grudnia „London” napotkał niewielką *dhow*. Powiewająca na niej francuska bandera teoretycznie zapewniała jej nietykalność. Nie było tak jednak, gdy istniało duże prawdopodobieństwo, że łódź przewoziła niewolników.

¹ Przygotowuję obecnie artykuł poświęcony problematyce struktury osadnictwa plantacyjnego na Pembie na podstawie materiałów z Zanzibar National Archive.

² Dalej cytowane jako PP. Daty powstania cytowanych dokumentów odsyłają do ich pełnej listy zamieszczonej w bibliografii w porządku chronologicznym.

Przeszukania zakończone fiaskiem skutkowały zwykle ostrymi protestami ze strony konsulatu Republiki Francuskiej. Tym razem przecucie nie myliło kapitana „London”. Próba przeszukania spotkała się z oporem arabskiej załogi. W trakcie walki śmierć poniósł sam dowódca i jeden z marynarzy brytyjskiego okrętu, a także czterech członków załogi *dhow*. Ścigana łódź przycumowała w porcie Weti na północy wyspy, gdzie wylądowano około 100 niewolników. Dowódca, którym był omański Arab, Hindī bin Kātīm, jak się okazało, poddany francuski, zdołał się ukryć³.

Śmierć brytyjskiego oficera w podobnych okolicznościach musiała być pomszczona przy wykorzystaniu wszelkich dostępnych środków. W przeciwnym razie ucierpiałby autorytet Brytyjczyków, a strategia zwalczania handlu niewolnikami na zanzibarskich wodach została podważona. 5 grudnia pełniący w tym czasie obowiązki konsula na Zanzibarze Frederick Holmwood oraz dowódca regularnych sił zbrojnych Zanzibaru generał Lloyd Mathews wyruszyli na Pembę na czele 100 ludzi, aby doprowadzić do pojmania sprawców. Z pomocą francuskiego konsula aresztowano bliskiego krewnego Hindiego, Sulaymāna, który odmówił podania miejsca pobytu sprawcy. Sulaymān został ukarany przez Mathewsa konfiskatą majątku, spaleniem domu i wysłaniem do więzienia w forcie zanzibarskim. Następnego dnia pojmany został Nāšir bin ‘Ali al-Maskaī – przywódca Arabów z dystryktu Weti (obejmującego całą północną część Pemby). Ustalono, że przez jego plantacje prowadzono niewolników ze ściganej łodzi. Nāšir zgodził się podać miejsce pobytu sprawcy w ciągu 48 godzin. Aby odzyskać wolność musiał oddać jako poręczenie swoje włości, których wartość szacowano na zawrotną sumę około 100 000 Talarów Marii Teresy (TMT), co równało się 1/5 rocznych dochodów sułtana Zanzibaru z tytułu dzierżawy cel. W końcu plantator wskazał miejsce pobytu zbiega, ale gdy Mathews tam dotarł, Hindiego już nie było, ponieważ zdołał uciec w kierunku wschodniego wybrzeża wyspy. Odnaleziony został w miejscowości Chima w domu arabskiego handlarza niewolnikami. Pojmany po krwawej walce Hindī wkrótce zmarł z odniesionych ran (Lynn 1905: 114).

Kilka dni później, pod zarzutem współuczestnictwa w zabójstwie Brownrigga, pojmany został brat Hindiego, Kālfān. Sądzone go, wraz z jeszcze jednym członkiem załogi dowodzonej przez brata łodzi, w konsulacie brytyjskim na Zanzibarze. Konsul żądał publicznej egzekucji sązonego. Jednak sułtan odmówił zgody na taki wyrok, ponieważ, jak stwierdził, zgodnie z szariatem morderstwo chrześcijanina przez muzułmanina nie podlega tego rodzaju karze. Brytyjczycy zgodzili się ostatecznie na dożywocie (PP: 4 IV 1874; Craster 1913: 68), naciskali

³ Najbogatszy opis wydarzeń daje Lynn 1905: 111–115.

jednak na poszerzenie kręgu skazanych. Holmwood domyślał się, że w zabójstwo uwikłani byli liczni krewni Nāšira bin ‘Alego. Uważał zresztą, że arabski przywódca był spokrewniony lub spowinowacony z każdym prawie Arabem mieszkającym w dystrykcie Weti, a także, że wszystkich łączyły nielegalne interesy w handlu niewolnikami. Najbardziej podejrzani byli synowie Nāšira, Muḥammad, który był kadim w Weti, oraz inny, znany handlarz niewolnikami. Ich wina polegała na tym, że pozwolili Hindiemu pozostać przez pewien czas w mieście, gdzie miał okazję przechwalać się swoim czynem.

Na skutek rady wicekonsula, sułtan rozkazał aresztować Nāšira i odesłać go na Zanzibar (PP: 7 XII 1881; 30 XII 1881 [2]). Nie zgodził się jednak na konfiskatę majątku plantatora i przewiezienie kadiego Muḥammada z Pemby na Zanzibar (PP: 13 I 1882). Wkrótce Barḡaš w liście do innego brytyjskiego wicekonsula Milesa przyznał się do zwolnienia Nāšira pisząc, że nie pozwoli mu wrócić na Pembę dopóty, dopóki nie pozna poglądu Brytyjczyków na tę sprawę (PP: 28 XII 1881). Miles pozwolił, aby stary i schorowany Nāšir na razie pozostał na wolności. Nalegał jednak, bezskutecznie, na pojmanie obydwu synów, którzy jego zdaniem byli nie mniej winni (PP: 30 XII 1881 [2]; 28 XII 1881; 2 I 1882; 6 I 1882).

Sprawa Hindiego ujawniła, że mimo czynionych wysiłków szmugiel niewolników na Pembę trwał bez ograniczeń (PP: 23 VI 1883). Również handel ludźmi na wyspie odbywał się zupełnie jawnie, o czym świadczy fakt, że niewolnicy ze statku Hindiego byli sprzedawani w Weti na publicznej aukcji. Barḡaš, co prawda z oporami, realizował narzuconą mu brytyjską politykę antyniewolniczą, mimo że uderzała ona w gospodarkę plantacyjną. Wymuszony w 1873 r. zakaz morskiego transportu niewolników postrzegany był przez wyspiarskich plantatorów jako katastrofa. Przy śmiertelności niewolników szacowanej na nie mniej niż 10% rocznie, oznaczał on, że aby odnowić stan posiadania, szacowany na łącznie 60 000 niewolników, plantatorzy z Pemby, musieli co roku importować nielegalnie co najmniej 6000 ludzi. Jednak brytyjskie wyliczenia mówiły, że import niewolników na Pembę bezpośrednio przed ogłoszeniem deklaracji z 1876 r. wynosił 12–15 tysięcy rocznie (PP: 5 III 1878; 10 V 1875).

Na skutek niedoboru rąk do pracy, w niektórych latach znaczna część plonów goździkowców pozostawała niezebrana (PP: 13 III 1884). Mieszkańcy Pemby wynajmowali Arabów z Omanu, takich jak Hindī, aby szmuglowali niewolników drogą morską, jak i lądową, wzdłuż afrykańskiego wybrzeża, do portów znajdujących się w pobliżu Pemby, co również było nielegalne od 1876 r. Ceny szmuglowanych niewolników były znacznie wyższe niż na lądzie. Na przykład w 1876 r. w Kilwie Kivinje, w południowej części wybrzeża Sułtanatu, niewolnik kosztował 15–29 TMT, a na Pembie 40–45 TMT (PP: 15 IV 1875).

Nastroje wśród mieszkańców Pemby trzeba również interpretować w świetle polityki fiskalnej sułtanatu. W czasach Mājida płacili oni niskie podatki od drzew kokosowych oraz goździków, które zostały zniesione, odpowiednio w 1864⁴ i 1869 r. (Pawelczak 2010: 323). Podatek od goździków przywrócił wkrótce po objęciu władzy Barġaš. Al-Muġayrī cytuje *in extenso* list sułtana do mieszkańców Pemby z 14 kwietnia 1872 r., tzn. kilka dni po huraganie, w którym władca żąda, w związku ze stratami, jakie przyniósł kataklizm, podwyższenia podatku na okres jednego roku do 2½TMT (*qirš*). Po upływie tego okresu podatek miał powrócić do poprzedniej wysokości. Każdy, kto chciał sprzedać plony, musiał zważyć je w komorze celnej i za wszystko, co przekraczało 1 *farasila* (fr., ok. 16 kg, oddać goździki warte 2½ TMT. Według al-Muġayriego, cena za *farasilah* wynosiła wówczas 7½ TMT, czyli podatek wynosił około 33% (al-Muġayrī 1979: 244–245). Tymczasem w 1873–1874 r., jak pisze arabski historyk, „lud Pemby” zażądał zmniejszenia podatku, podczas gdy Barġaš chciał go dalej podnosić, jako że potrzebował środków na pokrycie swoich wyjątkowo śmiałych inwestycji. Możliwości podnoszenia ceł były ograniczone, m. in. ze względu na zobowiązania międzynarodowe (Pawelczak 2010: 299–316). Plantatorzy wysłali do sułtana delegację, jednak jej członkowie nie mogli uzgodnić wspólnego stanowiska i wrócili na Pembę z niczym. Al-Muġayrī przypisuje różnice poglądów intrzydze sułtana, który miał przekupić jednego z członków delegacji (al-Muġayrī 1979: 246).

Z raportów konsulatu brytyjskiego na Zanzibarze wynika, że Barġaš podnosił cło na goździki importowane z Pemby na Zanzibar w miarę wzrostu cen produktu oraz cen plantacji. W latach 1875–1879 goździki osiągnęły ceny najwyższe w dziejach przedkolonialnych. W 1875 r. szacowano, że dodatkowe środki z podatku zwiększyły wpływy do budżetu sułtana o 100 000 TMT rocznie (PP: 31 VII 1874). W 1876 r. sułtan nałożył cło w wysokości około 40% wartości produktu. Na początku lat 80. cena spadła z około 9 do 3 TMT. W 1883 r. obniżone cło wynosiło 1½ TMT/fr., co stanowiło około 50% wartości sprzedawanych goździków, do czego należy doliczyć 5% od całkowitej wartości zabierane przez komorę celną (PP: 13 III 1884).

Wysokie podatki, które płacili plantatorzy z Pemby, nie dotyczyły mieszkańców Zanzibaru. Jak się wydaje, różnica w traktowaniu obu plantacyjnych wysp miała podłoże polityczne. Dla *sayyida* Sa'īda bin Sūltāna Pemba była drugorzędną posiadłością, miejscem, do którego można było zsyłać przeciwników

⁴ Bū Sa'īdī z zasady utrzymywali administrację terytorialną na minimalnym poziomie, co sprawiało, że zbieranie podatków innych niż od sprzedaży goździków było nieefektywne i kosztowne.

politycznych (w tym wielu mombaskich Mazrū'ich, których państwo podbił ostatecznie w 1837 r.). Sa'īd osiedlał tam również mniej wygodnych rodaków, członków plemion omańskiej konfederacji plemiennej Ġāfirich, co mogło być formą przekupstwa potencjalnych spiskowców. Sytuacja zmieniła się nieco, gdy w 1859 r. Ĥirṭ, najważniejsze z plemion drugiej omańskiej konfederacji – Hināwich, a zarazem najbardziej wpływowe na Zanzibarze, zbuntowało się przeciw panowaniu następcy Sa'īda Mājidowi, popierając jego konkurenta i przyrodniego brata Barġaša. Dzięki interwencji Brytyjczyków, Barġaš został pokonany i zmuszony do wyjazdu na kilka lat do Indii. Mājid, kierując się poczuciem wdzięczności dla Ġhāfirich, starał się zachować bardziej sprawiedliwie dzieląc korzyści z kolonizacji Afryki między poddanych z obydwu wysp, o czym może świadczyć znoszenie, co prawda późne, podatków od plantatorów z Pemby (Coupland 1939: 17–21).

Na początku lat 80. XIX w. popyt na niewolników nie był duży, ponieważ cena goździków była niska. Świadczy o tym m. in. stwierdzony przez Brytyjczyków fakt wywozu niewolników na Madagaskar (PP: 23 VI 1883). Plantatorów dotykał również problem długów zaciąganych podczas zwyżki cen w końcu lat siedemdziesiątych na poczet spodziewanych zysków z plonów. Barġaš, na początku panowania, pragnąc uniknąć problemu ulg celnych przyznanych w traktatach z państwami zachodnimi, zabronił sprzedawać oraz zastawiać ziemię obcokrajowcom, co w praktyce dotknęło poddanych brytyjskich z Indii, którzy byli wierzycielami arabskich plantatorów. Nie było to jednak korzystne dla Arabów, którzy spłacając długi musieli sprzedawać plantacje poniżej ich rzeczywistej wartości, lub czekać na licytację. Alternatywą było przepisanie własności na żonę lub dzieci, ale nie uwalniało to od długów, co wykluczało zakup niewolników. Tylko nielicznym udawało się uzyskać na ten cel pożyczki, ale tylko na wysoki procent (PP: 13 III 1884)⁵.

Według raportu wicekonsula Smitha z 1884 r. plantatorzy z Pemby przywiązywali znacznie większą wagę do dostępności siły roboczej niż nadmiernych obciążeń fiskalnych. Uważali, że gdyby znowu można było importować niewolników, wszystko „byłoby po staremu”. Wielu Arabów mówiło też dyplomacie, że woleliby, aby goździki kosztowały ½ TMT i można było importować niewolników, niż gdyby ich cena wynosiła 10 TMT przy utrzymaniu istniejącego zakazu. Wiedzieli jednak, że decyzję wymogli na sułtanie Brytyjczycy i uważali, że powrót do dawnej sytuacji nie jest możliwy. Wydaje się, cytowana opinia bardziej odzwierciedla nostalgię za „utraconym rajem”, niż jest

⁵ Według Bennetta (1978: 108) w latach 80. ponad 2/3 plantacji na Pembie było zastawionych w całości.

wyrazem racjonalnego rachunku ekonomicznego. Plantatorom najwyraźniej nie podobał się stan, w którym ograniczona była ich wolność do nieograniczonego nabywania ludzi i panowania nad nimi.

Ograniczanie tej wolności wymogło w końcu przeprowadzenie zmiany sytuacji politycznej od dłuższego czasu niewygodnej lub nawet groźnej dla Barğaša. Pisząc do Granville'a kilka miesięcy przed śmiercią Brownrigga w związku z ucieczką handlarza niewolnikami Kirk wyjaśniał, że: „Arabowie z Pemby do dnia dzisiejszego zachowali w stanie nienaruszonym stare omańskie ideały feudalne. Nie są podobni do tutejszych Arabów (zanzibarskich), którzy przez wiele lat żyli blisko rządu. Wśród klanów arabskich na Pembie do dziś przetrwało przekonanie, że sułtan jest jednym z nich. Od nich też pochodzi jego autorytet, który nie służy sprawowaniu władzy, a przywództwu” (PP: 3 VI 1881).

Jak można wywnioskować z *nisb* noszonych przez *liwalich* (gubernatorów) i kadich wymienianych w źródłach, administracja sułtańska na Pembie była na początku panowania Barğaša zdominowana przez wielkich plantatorów z konfederacji Ġāfirich (al-Muġayrī 1979: 237–238). Sułtan, bardziej chyba niż jego ojciec, związany był z Hināwimi, a konkretnie plemieniem Hir̄t. Jeszcze przed zabójstwem Brownrigga jego polityka personalna na wybrzeżu Afryki Wschodniej wskazuje na próbę złamania opozycji poprzez nominacje ludzi niezwiązanych z miejscowymi elitami plantatorskimi⁶. Wydaje się, że podobnie było na Pembie. W 1874 r., kiedy sułtan musiał stawić czoła niezadowolonym z polityki podatkowej plantatorom, zdymisjonował on *liwali* Chak Chak, a zarazem całej Pemby, arystokratę Ĥamūda bin Muĥammada al-Ma'walī. Al-Muġayrī mylnie chyba przypisywał dymisję prośbom mieszkańców, którzy „nie mogli znieść jego tyranii” (al-Muġayrī 1979: 237).

Pełniący obowiązki konsula brytyjskiego Prideaux miał na ten temat inną opinię. Uważał, że gubernator został usunięty za „popieranie handlu niewolnikami”, a jego następcę, dotychczasowego podwładnego *liwali*, Jumę bin Muftāħa, określa jako „znaną z uczciwości osobę niskiego pochodzenia”. Muġayrī podaje bardziej wiarygodną wersję imienia nowego gubernatora – Aĥmad bin Sa'īd bin Muftāħ al-Balūšī. *Nisba* al-Balūšī, oznacza Beludża, a zatem człowieka nie mogącego poszczycić się arabską genealogią, najpewniej pochodzącego z Makranu. Historyk potwierdza jego popularność pisząc, że był „ukochany przez wszystkich mieszkańców”. Sprawował on władzę do śmierci w ok. 1887 r. (al-Muġayrī 1979: 237).

Nowy *liwali* pojawia się ponownie w korespondencji konsulatu brytyjskiego już w 1875 r. Zdaniem jednego z wicekonsulów brytyjskich, który przyплыął

⁶ Na temat polityki personalnej Barğaša, patrz: Pawelczak 2010: 228–237.

zbadać sprawę szmuglu „żywego towaru”, urzędnik ten, tym razem występujący jako Ḥāmid bin Sa‘īd bin Jum‘a bin Muftāḥ, miał mieć szczerzy zamiar wprowadzenia w życie nowej polityki antyniewolniczej. Rzeczywista władza leżała jednak w tym okresie w rękach bogatego plantatora, Kalfāna bin Ḥākima (PP: 31 VII 1875).

W tym mniej więcej czasie utworzono ośrodek administracji sułtańskiej w Wetī, głównym porcie północnej części wyspy. Stanowisko *liwali*, a zarazem szefa garnizonu złożonego z 50 Beludżów objął krewny historyka, Muḥammad bin Jum‘a bin ‘Alī al-Muḡayrī (al-Muḡayrī 1979: 237). W czasie kryzysu po śmierci Brownrigga, Holmwood sugerował Mathewsowi aresztowanie gubernatora za bierność, którą wykazał się w sprawie pościgu za Hindim (PP: 14 XII 1881). Dowódca armii sułtańskiej nie zgodził się na to, biorąc zapewne pod uwagę oddane wcześniej przez urzędnika zasługi na polu zwalczania handlu niewolnikami. Odegrał on interesującą rolę w związku z wspomnianym wyżej incydentem z wiosny 1882 r. Pretekstem był opór stawiany przez arabskiego arystokratę w sprawie dotyczącej ucieczki handlarzy niewolnikami z pojmanego przez Brytyjczyków statku. Muḥammad bin Jum‘a wezwał podejrzanego, aby odniósł się do stawianych mu zarzutów. Wezwany uczynił to, ale gdy zorientował się, że sprawę traktowano bardzo poważnie, następnego dnia już się nie pojawił. Jak się okazało, zbierał i zbroił stronników oraz przyjaciół, na wypadek gdyby próbowano go pojmać (PP: 3 VI 1881).

Kirk mylnie sądził, że Muḥammad bin Jum‘a był członkiem „pośledniego plemienia”. Słusznie jednak ocenił, że sprawował on władzę wyłącznie z rozkazu sułtana, a nie na podstawie konsensusu wodzów arabskich. Jako taki spotkał się z niechęcią (ang. *was resented*), ponieważ każdy arabski wódz uważany jest za niezależnego, a sułtan „musi zwracać się do każdego z nich osobno”. Konsul pisze dalej, że Muḥammad bin Jum‘a, „pamiętając, że wcześniej przy podobnej okazji jego życie znalazło się w niebezpieczeństwie”, zwrócił się o pomoc do Zanzibaru. W pierwszej chwili Barḡaš skłaniał się, jak to często robił, ku kompromisowi. Kirk powiedział mu jednak, że jest to doskonała okazja do ostatecznego złamania „tych przestarzałych przekonań (ang. *to break up utterly these obsolete ideas*), i zgniczenia siłą arabskich plemion Pemby. Konsul naciskał na ustanowienie „jednej, nadrzędnej władzy”, która „jeśli ma być szanowana, musi zostać narzucona” (PP: 3 VI 1881).

Sułtan na życzenie konsula napisał do Muḥammada bin Jumy wzywając go do użycia wszelkich wysiłków w celu aresztowania grup zamieszanych w handel niewolnikami. Przed wszystkim jednak, władca wysłał generała Mathewsa z rozkazem zastrzelenia każdego wodza, który zechciałby stawiać najmniejszy opór. Oficer otrzymał władzę komisarza nad całą Pembą. Miał prawo wezwać

w potrzebie każdego Araba do pomocy. Odmowa groziła oskarżaniem o bunt i sądem bez prawa odwołania do Zanzibaru (PP: 3 VI 1881).

Lojalistyczna postawa Muḥammada bin Jumy, członka plemienia należącego do konfederacji Ġāfirich, dość licznie reprezentowanego wśród plantatorów Pemby wskazuje, że nie da się wyjaśnić złożonego konfliktu na Pembie walkami fakcyjnymi w łonie omańskiej arystokracji plemiennej. Mimo że Mājīd i Barġaš nie byli już władcami Omanu, sytuacja w tym odległym kraju nadal oddziaływała na bieg wypadków w afrykańskich posiadłościach Bū Saʿīdich. Ze schedy po zmarłym w 1856 r. Oman przypadł starszemu od Mājīda synowi Saʿīda, Tuwainiemu. O ile Mājīd po wspomnianym buncie pewnie sprawował władzę w Afryce aż do naturalnej śmierci w 1870 r., Omanem wstrząsnęła w latach 60. krwawa wojna domowa, która doprowadziła do przewrotu polityczno-religijnego i przywrócenia na krótko ibadyckiego imamatu – państwa o ponadtysiącletniej tradycji, na którego czele stał wskazany przez społeczność alimów przywódca o wyjątkowych walorach etycznych – imam. Ibadyccy alimowie dążyli do oczyszczenia społeczeństwa z obcych naleciałości, które były efektem trwającego przez wiele dekad szkodliwego oddziaływania mocarstw zachodnich (Wilkinson 1987: 226–248).

Pretekstem do rozpętania polemiki na temat uprawnień świeckiego władcy Omanu (a takimi byli niemal wszyscy Bū Saʿīdī) był podział państwa po śmierci Saʿīda przeprowadzony pod patronatem Anglii i Francji, ewidentnie w interesie brytyjskim (Ghazal 2005: 64). Początkowo sojusz ze zwolennikami imamatu zawarł syn, a zarazem zabójca Tuwainiego, Salīm. W 1868 r. nastąpiło zerwanie tej koalicji. Lider omańskich Hināwich, Šālīḥ bin ʿAli oraz przywódca alimów Saʿīd Kalfān al-Kalfīlī postawili na gubernatora miasta Rustaq ʿAzzāna bin Qaysa Āl Bū Saʿīdī, potomka innej linii dynastii panującej. Obydwie wywodziły się od jej założyciela, imama Aḥmada. ʿAzzān panował jako imam w latach 1868–1871, napotykając zarówno opór ze strony rodaków, jak i wrogość Wielkiej Brytanii. W efekcie długotrwałych walk, w 1871 r. władzę przejął kolejny syn Saʿīda – Turki bin Saʿīd (1871–1888), uważany za wyjątkowo probrytyjskiego (Ghazal 2005: 65–66). Nie zakończyło to jednak konfliktu. Do końca niepodległości Zanzibaru w 1890 r., jak i później, Omanem wstrząsały od czasu do czasu walki między zwolennikami władzy świeckiej i religijnej (Wilkinson 1987: 249–274).

Sprawa stosunku zanzibarskich Omańczyków do imamatu ʿAzzāna bin Qaysa i jego spuścizny jest złożona. Niewątpliwie Mājīd był mu jednoznacznie wrogi, ponieważ dla niego imam reprezentował siły, które w 1859 r. próbowały odebrać mu władzę w Afryce Wschodniej. Barġaš, który w czasie tamtego przewrotu znalazł oparcie w plemienu Ḥīrt, również stojącym w Omanie po stronie ʿAzzāna, po śmierci Mājīda szukał zwolenników wśród członków stronnictwa

religijnego (Ghazal 2005: 69). Jednak stosunek nowego władcy do imamaty nie był entuzjastyczny, mimo że obserwatorzy brytyjscy w ciągu pierwszych kilku lat jego panowania byli przekonani, iż władca sprzymierzył się z tzw. partią fanatyków, którą określali jako *mutawwa* (PP: 5 XII 1870; 14 IV 1873). Miało to związek z niechęcią, jaką przejawiał wobec brytyjskiego dyktatu w sprawie zakazu handlu niewolnikami. Sam ‘Azzān stanowił zagrożenie dla Barġaša jako przedstawiciel konkurencyjnej gałęzi dynastii, dysponujący lepszą legitymizacją władzy⁷. Podobnym zagrożeniem mógł stać się każdy następny imam.

Bardziej konkretnym zagrożeniem było podchwycenie haseł zwolenników imamaty przez opozycję polityczną w Sułtanacie Zanzibarskim. Jeden z dokumentów przytaczanych przez al-Muġayrīego jasno obrazuje, że i tam ideologia przywództwa religijnego znalazła podatny grunt do rozwoju. Pemba ze swoimi kłopotami była dobrym miejscem do szerzenia propagandy wymierzonej w „uzurpatorską” władzę świeckich *sayyidów*. Na wyspie, jak wspominałem, dominowała zarówno liczebnie, jak i majątkowo, facka Ġāfirich, której część przyłączyła się do zwolenników imamaty w Omanie, choć uczyniła to później niż konfederacja Hināwich. W liście do pemiańskich przywódców jednego z najważniejszych plemion konfederacji Ġāfirich – Maskarī z 9 maja 1878 r. Barġaš pisze, iż „widzi, że umysły Maskarich są zepsute”, a jego uszu doszła wieść o planach Nāšira bin ‘Alego i Sālīma bin Hāšala, którzy organizowali pomoc dla omańskiego zwolennika imamaty, Jummy bin Sa‘īda al-Muġayrī.

Al-Muġayrī komentuje pismo sułtana wskazując na jego „ukryte znaczenie”. Zdaniem historyka, kiedy Maskarī zrozumieli, że Barġaš nie przywróci podatku w poprzedniej wysokości, opowiedzieli się za szajchem Šālīhem bin ‘Alim al-Ĥārītī, który wzywał do obalenia władców Maskatu i wyniesienia „sprawiedliwego imama”. Według al-Muġayrīego opozycja na Pembie miała nadzieję, że po zwycięstwie zwolenników imamaty i odzyskaniu przez nich Maskatu nastąpi odebranie Barġašowi Zanzibaru, a dzięki temu również odwrót od polityki uległości wobec Brytyjczyków. Pieniądze nigdy nie dotarły do Šālīha, ponieważ w Omanie przejął je *sayyid* Turki (al-Muġayrī 1979: 241–242).

W tym czasie w Omanie liczni Ġāfirī powrócili na stronę władzy świeckiej, jak pisze al-Muġayrī, dzięki inspirowanym przez Turkiego chutbom (kazaniom), a także skutecznej akcji zastraszania, np. majątek wspomnianego opozycjonisty Jummy bin Sa‘īda al-Muġayrīego skonfiskowano (al-Muġayrī 1979: 242). Można zadać pytanie, dlaczego władca Zanzibaru nie próbował zastosować podobnych

⁷ Omańska tradycja głosi, że Barġaš cieszył się usłysawszy o śmierci ‘Azzana. Według al-Salima, rozkazał wypalić ze 101 armat na wiwat. Huragan na Zanzibarze, który miał miejsce w 1872 r. wyjaśniano w Omanie jako karę bożą dla sułtana (Ghazal 2005: 70).

środków wobec rodzimych stronników imamatu, a ograniczył się do napomnień. Wydaje się, że decydujący był brak odpowiednich sił zbrojnych, które w tym czasie Mathews dopiero organizował (Pawelczak 2010: 249–253), a także fakt, że sułtan nie chciał działaniami zbrojnymi dezorganizować świetnie prosperującej w tym okresie gospodarki plantacyjnej.

Czy na pewno stronnictwo bogatych plantatorów z Pemby zostało złamane po działaniach podjętych w latach 1881–1882? Wydaje się, że tak, choć pewne wzmianki pozwalają przypuszczać, że nastroje opozycyjne utrzymywały się. Nie ma jednak w źródłach wzmianek o otwartym buncie lub choćby proteście. Nie bez znaczenia była aktywna postawa Brytyjczyków, którzy zawsze gotowi byli dać do zrozumienia zwolennikom dawnych porządków, że ich sytuacja może stać się jeszcze gorsza. Na przykład w 1885 r. zaproponowali sułtanowi zniesienie niewolnictwa na obu wyspach, pod pretekstem, że po 1873 r. większość z nich trafiła tam nielegalnie (PP: 12 III 1885). Odsunięcie tej groźby z pewnością przyczyniło się do uspokojenia nastrojów.

Innym czynnikiem hamującym organizowanie się opozycji jest kreowanie przez sułtana nowych, lojalistycznie nastawionych elit. Najlepszym przykładem dynamicznie rozwijającej się kariery urzędnika i przedsiębiorcy jest wyżej wspomniany Muḥammad bin Jum‘a al-Muḡayrī. Około 1886 r. jeszcze raz przyszło mu stanąć w awangardzie walki z niewolnictwem, gdy z ramienia sułtana ruszył w objazd wyspy wprowadzając w życie zakaz chłosty niewolników, wymuszony przez Brytyjczyków na sułtanie w 1886 r. Jak pisze al-Muḡayrī, Arabowie przyjęli jego krewnego wrogo. Nie udzielili mu gościny, a jego ludzie nie mogli dostać nic do picia i jedzenia. Arabowie odnosili się również z arogancją wobec towarzyszących mu Brytyjczyków (al-Muḡayrī 1979: 246). Brak popularności nie przeszkodził jednak Muḥammadowi bin Jumie zostać jednym z najbogatszych plantatorów i najbardziej wpływowych mieszkańców wyspy, o czym wspomina agronom brytyjski William Fitzgerald, który odwiedził wyspę w 1892 r., tzn. już w czasach protektoratu brytyjskiego (Fitzgerald 1898: 594).

Strategia przyjęta przez sułtana w obliczu brytyjskiej ofensywy antyniewolniczej jest w przypadku Pemby podobna do tej, którą zastosował on w innych regionach Sułtanatu. Barḡaś wzmacniał administrację i armię zmuszony do podejmowania kroków wymierzonych w nielegalny handel, ale jednocześnie wykorzystywał te instytucje bezlitośnie dla wyeliminowania przeciwników i zwiększenia obciążeń fiskalnych (Pawelczak 2010: 227–237).

Opozycja na Pembie tliła się przez lata, a groby Hindīego i poległych w bitwie z załogą „London” Arabów pokazywano i otaczano opieką należną bohaterom jeszcze przez wiele dziesięcioleci. W czasach brytyjskiego protektoratu (po

1890 r.) wyspiarze niechętnie przyznawali się do ulegania zbrojnemu przymusowi kolonizatorów. Na przykład, zgodnie z arabską tradycją, człowiek, który doniósł na Hindięgo był zdrajcą, który wziął za swój czyn od Anglików 400 rupii, a nie szanowanym plantatorem, który został do tego w dość brutalny sposób zmuszony. Nic dziwnego również w tym, że zapomniano imienia donosiciela (al-Muḡayrī 1979: 253).

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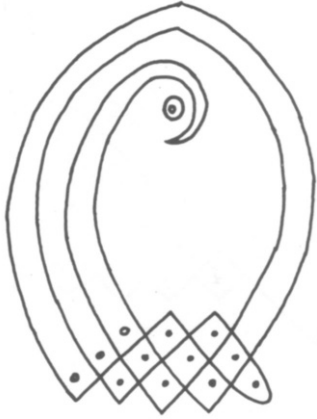
Wykorzystane dokumenty archiwalne w porządku chronologicznym

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 4 IV 1874, Prideaux do hrabiego Derby, PP 1875 LXXI/38
 31 VII 1874, Prideaux do hrabiego Derby, PP 1875 LXXI/68
 15 IV 1875, Kirk do hrabiego Derby, PP 1877 LXXVIII/273
 10 V 1875, Holmwood do Kirka, PP 1876 LXX/78/1
 5 III 1878, Kirk do hrabiego Derby, PP 1878–79 LXVI/263
 3 VI 1881, Kirk do Granville’a, PP 1882 LXV/177
 7 XII 1881, Holmwood do Milesa, PP 1882 LXV/254/1
 14 XII 1881, Miles do Granville’a, PP 1882 LXV/254
 28 XII 1881, Miles do sułtana Barḡaša, PP 1882 LXV/263/1
 30 XII 1881 [1], Sułtan Barḡaš do Milesa, PP 1882 LXV/263/2
 30 XII 1881 [2], Miles do sułtana Barḡaša, PP 1882 LXV/263/3
 2 I 1882, Sułtan Barḡaš do Milesa, PP 1882 LXV/263/4
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Językowe modele osoby w hausa i ich kontekst kulturowy¹

Tworzenie modeli osobowych jest w istocie dociekaniem o sposób postrzegania człowieka. Zajmują się tym głównie filozofowie (Perry 1990, Perry 1998), dla których ważna jest zarówno uniwersalna teoria człowieka (człowieczeństwa) jak i perspektywa indywidualna w ocenie tego, co stanowi o istocie człowieczeństwa. Przedmiotem badań jest więc stan świadomości wynikający z wartościowania samego siebie oraz ocena tej świadomości przez innych (Bermudez *et al.* 1998). W tych dociekaniach niezmiernie istotne okazały się studia nad emocjami, do badania których wykorzystane zostały dość szeroko źródła językowe (Athanasiadou i Tabakowska 1998). Badania nad emocjami ujawniły rolę języka w definiowaniu kulturowych cech manifestowania emocji (Pawlak 2009). Podstawą niniejszych rozważań jest przekonanie, że językowe modele osoby mają także odniesienia kulturowe i w dość przejrzysty sposób ujawniają konteksty, w jakich funkcjonują.

Przedmiotem tego opracowania są sposoby wyrażania kategorii osoby w języku hausa² oraz znaczenie, jakie jej można przypisać. Środki strukturalne obejmują leksykalne odpowiedniki osoby, w tym przede wszystkim zaimki, ale także inne słowa-klucze, które odnoszą się do podstawowych aspektów osoby, w tym zwłaszcza nazwy części ciała, używane zamiast osoby. Konteksty, w których te odpowiedniki są używane, pozwalają wnioskować o treściach kulturowych, przypisywanych kategorii osoby w języku hausa.

¹ Główne tezy artykułu i przykłady były prezentowane podczas konferencji „Body in Language: Lexicon, Metaphor, Grammar and Culture”, która odbyła się w Warszawie w roku 2011, a następnie przedłożone do druku w materiałach pokonferencyjnych jako „The notions for SELF in Hausa”.

² Hausa jest językiem Afryki Zachodniej, używanym w funkcji języka ojczystego przez 25 milionów użytkowników (głównie w Nigerii i Nigrze) i szeroko rozpowszechnionym w funkcji języka kontaktowego.

Analiza językowa obejmuje także wyrażenia frazeologiczne, które kodują treści odnoszące się do kategorii osoby oraz warunki ich użycia. Warianty konceptualne kategorii osoby są zdefiniowane za pomocą relacyjnego pojęcia JA, obejmującego niektóre aspekty osoby, które ujawniają się w jej relacjach z innymi osobami i z otoczeniem, w którym ta osoba funkcjonuje.

1. Leksykalne ekwiwalenty pojęcia ‘osoba’

Znaczenie ‘pojedynczej osoby’, ‘jednostki’ może wyrażać odrębny leksem lub określenia derywowane od innych pojęć. W hausa najczęściej w tym znaczeniu używa się terminu *mutum* czyli ‘człowiek’. Ma on swój żeński odpowiednik *mutuniya* i formę liczby mnogiej (wspólną dla obu rodzajów) *mutane* ‘ludzie’. Powstaje pytanie, czy wobec istnienia systemowej opozycji formy męskiej i żeńskiej zaznaczanie płci jest obowiązkowe w wyrażaniu znaczenia ‘osoba’. Podobnie jak w wielu językach, wyraz *mutum* (*mutumin* w konstrukcji dopełniaczowej), który może odnosić się do osoby pojmowanej jako jednostka, jest równoznaczny z określeniem ‘mężczyzna’, podczas gdy *mutuniya* odnosi się tylko do kobiety. Przeciwstawienie znaczenia podstawowego ‘kobieta’ i ‘mężczyzna’ jest wyraźne w niektórych ustabilizowanych związkach frazeologicznych, np.: *mutumin kirki* ‘porządny człowiek, *mutuniyar kirki* ‘przyzwoita kobieta lub dziewczyna’, *mutumin banza* ‘niepoń’, *mutuniyar banza* ‘nic nie warta kobieta lub dziewczyna’, jednak tylko wyrazu *mutum* używa się w kontekstach, w których mowa jest o uniwersalnych cechach ludzkich. Z tych powodów pojawia się on często w przysłowiach, gdzie ‘człowiek’ znaczy też ‘osoba’, ‘ktoś’, ‘każdy’, np.

- (1) *Abin da mutum ya shuka, shi zai girba* ‘to, co człowiek posieje, to zbierze’
- (2) *Mutum da gishirinsa, in ya ga dama ya dafa kaho* ‘człowiek ma za nic dobytek, gdy śmierć zajrzy mu w oczy’
- (3) *Mutum a gidansa Sarki ne* ‘każdy (człowiek) w domu jest panem’
- (4) *Mutanen duniya su kai mutum inda Allah bai kai shi ba* ‘tylko człowiek jest w stanie uczynić człowiekowi to, czego Allah by nie mógł’

Jako strategia służąca do wyrażania znaczenia osoby, *mutum* ‘człowiek’ pojawia się często w tekstach religijnych, np.:

- (5) *Shin mutum na da zabi? Yaya iyakar zabinsa yake?*
‘Czy człowiek ma wybór? Jakie sa granice tego wyboru?’

- (6) *Tana zama sunna a kan mutum ga kansa da iyayensa*
 ‘Ta praktyka staje się *sunna* dla człowieka, (co dotyczy) jego samego i jego rodziców’
- (7) *mutum mai zunubi ne* ‘każdy (człowiek) jest grzesznikiem’

Jeśli jednak określenie to odnosi się do konkretnej kobiety, używany jest odpowiednik żeński, np.:

- (8) *Mutuniyar banza, sullutuwa!*
 ‘Co za głupia kobieta!’

Rozróżnienie rodzajowe jest zachowane w derywatach wskazujących na pochodzenie, zamieszkanie, przynależność do grupy. Kompozycje leksykalne z wyrazem *mutum/mutuniya* są tu równoważne z formacjami utworzonymi za pomocą morfemów gramatycznych *ba-* (w liczbie pojedynczej) i *-awa* (w liczbie mnogiej), zwanym etnonimami (Newman 2000: 170f), np. *mutumin Kano* = *Bakano* ‘mieszkaniec Kano’, ‘osoba mieszkająca w Kano’; *mutuniyar Kano* = *Bakanuwa* ‘mieszkanca Kano’, ‘osoba (płci żeńskiej) mieszkająca w Kano’; *mutanen Kano* – *Kanawa* ‘mieszkańcy Kano’.

W tym znaczeniu stosowany jest także inny wyraz *dan* ‘syn’ i jego żeński odpowiednik *’yar* ‘córka’, które także wskazują na przynależność do większej wspólnoty określonej poprzez terytorium, narodowość, wykonywany zawód, np. *dan kasuwa* ‘handlarz’ (dosł. syn handlowania), *dan kasa/’yar kasa* ‘obywatel’/‘obywatelka’ (dosł. syn/córka kraju).

Lista określeń (zarówno wyrazów pojedynczych jak i kompozycji leksykalnych) będących ekwiwalentami pojęcia osoba jest długa. Zaliczyć do nich można wszystkie nazwy z komponentem znaczeniowym ‘mężczyzna’ i ‘kobieta’, które dodatkowo informują o statusie społecznym, wieku, pozycji w rodzinie, itp.³

Na podstawie świadectw leksykalnych można powiedzieć, że językowy model osoby w hausa obejmuje w swym podstawowym zarysie kategoryzację pod względem płci. Pojęcie ogólne, które jest najbliższe znaczeniu ‘istota ludzka’, czyli *dan Adam* ‘dosł. syn Adama’, też ma żeński odpowiednik *’yar Adam* (w liczbie mnogiej *’yan Adam* ‘ludzie, istoty ludzkie’). W tekstach religijnych używa się tego terminu powszechnie w znaczeniu ‘człowiek’ (istota stworzona

³ Znaczenie ‘mężczyzna’ zawiera się na przykład w takich określeniach jak *miji* ‘mąż’, *saurayi* ‘młody mężczyzna’, *mai gida* ‘głowa rodziny’, znaczenie ‘kobieta’ wyraża leksem *mace*, ale jest też wiele innych określeń takich jak *mata* ‘żona’, *amarya* ‘ostatnio poślubiona żona’, *uwargida* ‘pierwsza żona’.

przez Boga), w którym zachodzi neutralizacja opozycji rodzaju (na rzecz formy męskiej), np.:

(9) *akwai samun nutsuwa ta ruhi da dan Adam yana bukatarsa*
 ‘pojawia się refleksja duchowa, której człowiek potrzebuje’

(10) *Samun canji ga dan Adam*
 ‘Poszukiwanie zmiany dla człowieka’

Forma *dan Adam*, podobnie jak *mutum*, odwołuje się do uniwersalnych cech ludzkich, jednak utrwalone frazeologizmy wskazują, że pierwotne znaczenie tej frazy akcentuje brak wychowania, niespektowanie kulturowo akceptowanych zachowań społecznych, jak w *ya zama dan Adam* ‘zachowywał się niegrzecznie’ (dosł. stał się synem Adama).

2. Zaimki osobowe hausa a kategoria osoby

W systemie zaimków osobowych języka hausa wyróżnia się pięć form w liczbie pojedynczej, trzy w liczbie mnogiej i tzw. formę nieosobową, używaną tylko w koniugacji czasownika. Jest to system odwzorowujący znane z wielu języków wyróżnienie w liczbie pojedynczej i mnogiej osoby pierwszej (ja – my), drugiej (ty – wy) i trzeciej (on/ona – oni). Dla hausa charakterystyczne jest odróżnienie form rodzajowych nie tylko w osobie trzeciej liczby pojedynczej (on – ona), ale także w drugiej (ty-mężczyzna, ty-kobieta). Wyrażenie ‘ty wiesz’ brzmi więc *ka sani* jeśli jest skierowane do mężczyzny, a *kin sani* – jeśli do kobiety.

Zaimek ‘ja’ (*ni*) nie ma odrębnych form rodzajowych, ale w niektórych typach struktur za pomocą systemu zgody można zaznaczyć kategorię rodzaju. Wyrażenie ‘(to ja) jestem’ brzmi *ni ne*, jeśli wypowiada je mężczyzna, a *ni ce*, jeśli kobieta.⁴

Zaimki języka hausa podlegają także formalnemu zróżnicowaniu w zależności od ich funkcji składniowej. Można z pewnym uproszczeniem powiedzieć, że zaimki odmieniają się przez przypadki, mając na uwadze formy *ita* ‘ona’, *ta* ‘ją’, *mata* ‘jej’.

Językowy model osoby, wyrażany za pośrednictwem zaimków, uwzględnia nie tylko uwarunkowania systemowe, ale także zasady użycia zaimków, czyli

⁴ *Ne* i *ce* mają status spójki o znaczeniu ‘być’, która nie przyjmuje morfemów koniugacyjnych, ale zachowuje zgodę pod względem rodzaju z podmiotem lub nominalnym orzeczeniem.

akceptowany wybór form w konkretnych sytuacjach. Zmianym przykładem jest stosowanie zaimka pierwszej osoby w wyrażaniu własnego zdania. W hausa, podobnie jak w polskim, koniugacyjna forma czasownika jest wystarczająca do zakomunikowania podmiotu (jak w *zrobiłem*), a użycie zaimka ma tu funkcję wyróżnienia (podkreślenia) tego podmiotu (*ja zrobiłem*). W hausa mamy odpowiednio *na yi* ‘zrobiłem’ i *ni (ne) na ji* ‘(to) ja zrobiłem’. Warto dodać, że poza uwarunkowaniami *stricte* kontekstowymi (takimi jak odpowiedź na pytanie *kto to zrobił?*), forma z dodanym zaimkiem podmiotowym pierwszej osoby nie jest formą grzeczną w komunikacji bezpośredniej, gdzie informacja o osobie nadawcy tekstu jest zwykle redukowana. W szczególności frazy informujące o wyrażaniu własnych poglądów, własnego zdania na dany temat nie mają formy zdań z orzeczeniem w pierwszej osobie typu (*ja*) *myślę, sądzę, powiedziałem*. Do takich celów służą m.in. wyrażenia *a ganina* ‘zgodnie z moimi poglądami’ lub *kamar yadda na ke tsammani* ‘według tego, co myślę’, gdzie zaimek pierwszej osoby występuje jako morfem dzierżawczy rzeczownika (‘moje poglądy’) lub tylko jako morfem koniugacyjny czasownika, przez co jego pragmatyczna funkcja jest zredukowana. Używanie zaimka *ja* w formie samodzielnej może odzwierciedlać wzajemne relacje rozmówców. Fraza *ni na ke tsammani* ‘(ja) myślę’ jest akceptowanym sposobem wypowiedzania się osoby o wyższym statusie w konwersacji z osobą o niższym statusie (Grudnik 2010: 49).

Strategie dotyczące użycia zaimków w funkcji pragmatycznej obejmują nie tylko zaimek pierwszej osoby *ja*, ale także zaimki trzeciej osoby (*on, ona, oni*), które są zastępowane formą nieosobową, czyli zamiast (*on*) *zrobił* używa się formy *zrobiło się* (w hausa odpowiednio *an yi* zamiast *ya yi*).

- (11) *Maigida, za'a fita ne?* ‘czy pan zamierza wyjść’
dosł. ‘gospodarzu, czy zamierza się wyjść?’

Uzasadnieniem dla tej substytucji form zaimkowych jest mówienie o ‘osobach trzecich’ z empatią, współczuciem, także z podziwem lub zrozumieniem (Newman 2000: 272; Pawlak 2009: 204).

Podane wyżej przykłady pokazują, że językowy model osoby wyrażany za pośrednictwem zaimków hausa tworzą zarówno cechy systemowe jak i pragmatyczne reguły użycia zaimków. Katalog form zaimkowych uwzględnia odrębne formy rodzajowe (męskie i żeńskie) w drugiej i trzeciej osobie liczby pojedynczej oraz możliwość zaznaczenia rodzaju zaimka pierwszej osoby.

Relacyjny model osoby wyrażany za pomocą zaimków ujawnia się poprzez identyfikowanie zaimka pierwszej osoby (szczególnie w jego tzw. samodzielnej

postaci) jako sposobu manifestowania wyższej rangi w relacji z rozmówcą. Strategia ta nie znajduje odzwierciedlenia tam, gdzie relacje rozmówców oparte są na równości, m.in. w kręgach młodzieżowych.

3. Nazwy części ciała w funkcji osoby

Pojęcie osoby jest powszechnie w językach wyrażane za pomocą wyrażen metaforycznych, w których w charakterze odpowiedników osoby występują nazwy części ciała. Podstawowe aspekty osoby (np. umysł, twarz, serce, dusza, charakter) są wyrażane za pomocą słów-kluczy, a ich znaczenie jest derywowane od znaczenia konkretnej części ciała. Analiza wyrażen metaforycznych ma dwojaki charakter. Z jednej strony odwołuje się ona do czysto językowych transformacji dotyczących formy i znaczenia, z drugiej zaś do kontekstu kulturowego, w jakich te wyrażenia powstają i funkcjonują.

W języku hausa rzeczowniki *kai* ‘głowa’, *ido* ‘oko’, *fuska* ‘twarz’, *zuciya* ‘serce’, *hannu* ‘ręka’ and *jiki* ‘ciało’ występują w roli leksykalnych odpowiedników znaczenia osoby.⁵ Odniesienie do fizycznych znaczeń części ciała jest możliwe także w wyrażeniach frazeologicznych, jak w *cikina yana ciwo* ‘boli mnie głowa’ (dosł. moja głowa boli) czy *ido ya yi bako* ‘coś mi wpadło do oka’ (dosł. oko ma gościa), ale w ogromnej ilości utartych wyrażen i frazeologizmów nazwa części ciała reprezentuje znaczenie osoby i jest ono wobec innych znaczeń prymarne. Potwierdzeniem jest poniższe zdanie, pochodzące z bajki o hienie i pająku, który znalazł się w pułapce⁶:

(12) *Ta zo ta kwance shi ta daure kanta* ‘przyszła i uwolniła go, a przywiązała siebie’

W tym zdaniu wyrażenie ‘przywiązała siebie’ w dosłownym przekładzie mogłoby brzmieć ‘przywiązała swoją głowę’, chociaż z kontekstu wiadomo, że chodziło o unieruchomienie siebie poprzez przywiązanie za nogę. Podobnie nazwy części ciała pełnią rolę słów-kluczy do wyrażania pojęcia osoby w jego specyficznym kontekstowym znaczeniu w następujących wyrażeniach:

⁵ Między znaczeniem ‘część ciała’ a znaczeniem ‘osoba’ zachodzi relacja metonimii CZĘŚĆ ZA CAŁOŚĆ, którą określa się mianem synekdochy.

⁶ Bajka zamieszczona jest w Adamu Muhammad, 2001, *Gishirin Zaman Duniya* 3, Abuja: Benchmark Publishers Limited.

- (13) *Ya jawo wa kansa ja'iba* ‘sprowadził na siebie (dosł. **na swoją głowę**) nieszczęście’
- (14) *Mu gano wa idanmu!* ‘zobaczmy to sami’ (dosł. dajmy zobaczyć **własnym oczom**)
- (15) *Alla ya haɗa fuskokinmu* ‘niech Allah sprawi, że się spotkamy’ (dosł. niech Allah połączy **nasze twarze**)
- (16) *Ya ce da zuciya tasa ...* ‘powiedział sobie (że)...’ (dosł. powiedział **swojemu sercu**)
- (17) *Al'amarinsu na hannuna* ‘Odpowiadam za ich sprawy’ (dosł. ich sprawy są **w moim ręku**)
- (18) *Sun haɗa jiki* ‘połączyli się/stworzyli grupę’ (dosł. połączyli **ciała**)

W szczególnie sposób z wykorzystaniem nazw części ciała wyrażane są emocje, jak w *zuciyata ta baci* ‘jestem smutny’ (dosł. moje serce podupało). Pojęcie osoby doświadczającej emocji jest tu wyrażane poprzez zaangażowanie konkretnej części ciała w przeżywanie tych emocji. Jest to strategia powszechnie stosowana w językach do wyrażania stanów emocjonalnych, ale warto zauważyć, że w hausa niektóre emocje lokowane są inaczej niż w innych znanych nam językach, na przykład *ya yi farin ciki* ‘ucieszył się’ to fraza o znaczeniu dosłownym ‘zrobił biały brzuch’, a *rike a zuci* (dosł. ‘trzymać w sercu’) to ‘pamiętać’.

Kulturowych znaczeń pojęcia osoby jest wiele, dane językowe dają świadectwo postaw emocjonalnych, zachowań, kontekstów sytuacyjnych, które podlegają wartościowaniu i zaznaczają się dobozem ekwiwalentów do wyrażania konkretnych znaczeń. W języku hausa także w tym kontekście zaznaczają się pewne odrębności w stosowaniu nazw części ciała. Bezpośrednia konfrontacja (twarzą w twarz), to w hausa *ido da ido* (dosł. ‘oko z okiem’), stąd *ido-hudu*, (dosł. ‘czworo oczu’) oznacza ‘(spotkać się z kimś) bezpośrednio’. Różnice wzorów konceptualizacyjnych między językami ujawniają się w tłumaczeniach. W przekładzie zamieszczonej niżej frazy z języka angielskiego *into their hands* (dosł. ‘do ich rąk’) na język hausa trzeba użyć odpowiednika *wa kansu* (dosł. ‘dla ich głów’), żeby oddać znaczenie ‘Przestrzegano ludzi, by nie wymierzali **sami** wyroków’ (Yakasai 2001: 22):

- (19) Angielski: The public has been warned not to *take law into their hands* (dosł. ‘przestrzegano ludzi, by nie brali prawa **w swoje ręce**’)

- (20) Hausa: An gargadi jama'a kada su **yi wa kansu hukunci**
(dosł. 'przestrzegano ludzi, by nie dawali **swoim głowom** prawa do wymierzania wyroków')

Uwzględniając zróżnicowanie nazw części ciała używanych w charakterze ekwiwalentów osoby w języku hausa, szerzej przedstawione będą dwa określenia, a mianowicie *kai* 'głowa' i *jiki* 'ciało'. Pojęcie osoby zostało w nich zleksykalizowane, a proces gramatyzacji ustabilizował ich znaczenie relacyjne w strukturze języka.

***Kai* [kâi] 'głowa'**

Rzeczownik *kai* [kâi] (pl. *kawuna* [kāvunã]) używany jest w znaczeniu 'jednostka', 'członek', np.:

- (21) In **kawunan** mutum uku suka yi magana aka iske ta yadda ta ke, wannan ya cika mutum.
'gdy trzy osoby (dosł. 'trzy głowy osób') rozmawiały, dyskusja dotyczyła istoty, która jest najważniejsza (dla człowieka)'
- (22) Ga lissafin **kawunan** iyalin Isra'ilawa, da shugabannin dangi, da jama'a
'oto członkowie (dosł. głowy) rodziny Izraela, wybitni krewni i (cała) społeczność'

Kai może też wystąpić w roli dopełnienia, np.:

- (23) *ka dubi zumunci, ka ji kaina, ka sake ni*
'przez wzgląd na przyjaźń, posłuchaj mnie (dosł. mojej głowy), uwolnij mnie'

W tej funkcji *kai* tworzy cały paradygmat odpowiadający zaimkom zwrotnym, 'się', 'siebie', por. wyrażenia *kaina, kanka, kansa (kâinã, kânkà, kânsà)*, etc. czyli dosłownie 'moja głowa', 'twoja głowa', 'jego głowa', odnoszącego się (?- nie bardzo rozumiem, może usunąć ten fragment, bo zdanie jest całkiem klarowne?) do rzeczownika występującego w roli podmiotu, np.:

- (24) *wannan Bahaushen ya danganta kansa ga Filani*
'ten Hausańczyk przyznał się do fulańskiego pochodzenia'
(dosł. przyłączył **swoją głowę** do Fulanów)

- (25) *sun cuci kansu* ‘oszukali siebie’ (dosł. oszukali **swoje głowy**)
- (26) *yana son boye kansa, amma ya kasa*
 ‘chciał się ukryć, ale nie mógł’ (dosł. chciał ukryć **swoją głowę**, ale nie mógł)

W tej formie zaimek zwrotny może być także dodany do podmiotu zaimkowego, tworząc konstrukcję (z przyimkiem *da* ‘(razem) z’ lub bez niego), która odpowiada postaci emfaticznej zaimka (‘sam’, ‘samodzielnie’), np., e.g. (Cowan, Schuh 1976: 263):

- (27) *Ni da kaina ba na sonta* (dosł. ‘ja z **moją głową** nie lubię jej’)
 ‘ja **sam** nie lubię jej’
- (28) *Su da kansu suka yi aiki* (dosł. ‘oni z **ich głowami** wykonali pracę’)
 ‘oni **sami** wykonali pracę’
- (29) *Ita kanta tauraruwa ce* (dosł. ‘ona jej **głowa** jest gwiazdą’)
 ‘ona sama jest gwiazdą’
- (30) *Ya sa Kande ita kanta ta koma gida* (dosł. ‘to sprawiło, że Kande **ona jej głowa** wróciła do domu’)
 ‘to sprawiło, że Kande sama wróciła do domu’

Emfaticzne zaimki zwrotne służą podkreśleniu podmiotu w strukturze zdania lub zaznaczeniu czynności wykonanej samodzielnie, niezależnie, bez niczyjej pomocy, np.:

- (31) *ya zo da kansa* (dosł. ‘przyszedł **swoją głową**’)
 ‘wrócił samodzielnie (o swoich siłach)’, por. *shi kadai* ‘sam, bez nikogo’
- (32) *Sun yi aiki da kansu* (dosł. ‘wykonali pracę **swoimi głowami**’)
 ‘sami wykonali pracę’

Głowa jest w hausa podstawą konceptualizacji pojęć odnoszących się do niezależności, niepodległości, indywidualnego charakteru (*mulkin kai* ‘niepodległość’, dosł. ‘władza głowy’, *ya sha (=ya ci) kansu = ya sha musu kai* ‘wyprzedził ich’, ‘był najlepszy’, dosł. ‘zjadł ich głowy’, ‘zjadł im głowy’). W wyrażaniu tych znaczeń za pośrednictwem frazeologii opartej na metonimii, głowa *kai* jest także często podstawą wyrażen idiomatycznych, np.:

- (33) *ya kukunce kansa* (dosł. ‘założył sobie rękę dookoła głowy’) ‘sam sobie sprowadził nieszczęście’
- (34) *gashin kansa yake ci* (dosł. ‘je włosy ze swojej głowy’) ‘pracuje na swój rachunek’
- (35) *yana cira kai* (dosł. ‘podnosi głowę’) ‘myśli tylko o sobie’
- (36) *ya dafa kansa* (‘dosł. nacisnął na swoją głowę’) ‘wyjechał z dużą prędkością’

Jiki [jìkì] ‘ciało’

Rzeczownik *jiki* jest często używany w swym konkretnym znaczeniu ‘ciało’, jak w wyrażeniu *wasannin motsa jiki* ‘gimnastyka’, dosł. ‘gry polegające na ćwiczeniu ciała’, lub w przysłowiu *jiki magayi* ‘ciało jest (najlepszym) informatorem’, czyli ‘ciało mówi, jak się czujesz’. Jako ekwiwalent pojęcia osoby odnosi się albo do konkretnego człowieka z jego cechami fizycznymi albo do ludzi w znaczeniu ogólnym. Występuje często w ustabilizowanych połączeniach frazeologicznych (*jikinsa ya fadi kwatsam* ‘stracił siły’, dosł. ‘jego ciało upadło z kretesem’, *sun hada jiki* ‘stworzyli grupę’, dosł. ‘połączyli ciała’) i w formacjach słowotwórczych, np.:

- (37) *Kasahen duniya na jinye jiki* (dosł. ‘kraje świata zajmujące się chorymi ciałami’) ‘Międzynarodowy Komitet Ratowania Chorych i Rannych’ (IRC)

Gramatyzacja tego rzeczownika przejawia się w pełnieniu funkcji zaimka zwrotnego w wyrażeniach takich jak *ya wanke jiki(nsa)* ‘umył się’, dosł. ‘umył (swoje) ciało’⁷. Historyczne ślady jego przekształceń można też odnaleźć przysłówku *juna* o znaczeniu ‘wzajemnie’ (Newman 2000: 529), który może przyjmować zaimki dzierżawcze, por. *junanmu* ‘(my) wzajemnie’, *junanku* ‘(wy) wzajemnie’, *junansu* ‘(oni) wzajemnie’, np. *ku taimaki junanku* ‘powinniście sobie (wzajemnie) pomóc’.

⁷ W niektórych kontekstach w tym wyrażeniu mogą wystąpić inne odpowiedniki, np. *ya wanke ido/kai* dosł. umył oko/głowę.

Inne odpowiedniki osoby

Spośród innych leksykalnych odpowiedników pojęcia osoby w języku hausa wymienić można *rai* i *hankali*, które odnoszą się do niefizycznych aspektów osoby.

Rai [râi] ‘życie’

Rzeczownik *rai* o podstawowym znaczeniu ‘życie’ (jak we frazie *masu rai*, dosł. ‘istoty posiadające życie’) ma odniesienie szersze niż tylko do osoby. W tekstach rzeczownik ten z odpowiednim zaimkiem dzierżawczym jest często używany w funkcji odpowiadającej zaimkowi osobowemu, np.:

- (38) *raina ya yi fari* ‘jestem radosny’ (dosł. ‘**moje życie** stało się radosne’)
- (39) *ransa ya yi farin ciki* ‘**on** stał się szczęśliwy (dosł. ‘**jego życie** stało się szczęśliwe/ma biały brzuch’)
- (40) *raina a bace ya ke* ‘czuję się zdołowany’ (lit. ‘**moje życie** jest popsute’)
- (41) *Alla ya dauki ransu* ‘oni umarli (i.e. Allah **ich** zabrał, dosł. ‘Allah wziął **ich życie**’)
- (42) *ransa yana sansa* ‘on tego chce’ (dosł. ‘**jego życie** tego chce’)

Z tym odniesieniem *rai* występuje często w utartych powiedzeniach, spetryfikowanych frazach, takich jak *ranka ya dade* ‘żyj wiecznie!’ (dosł. ‘**twoje życie** trwało’), które jest formą pozdrowienia osoby wyższej rangą, a także *sai na ce cikin raina* ‘powiedziałem więc sobie’, dosł. ‘powiedziałem **w swoim życiu**’, co jest charakterystyczną formułą autoreferencji. Z użyciem *rai* wyraża się w sposób opisowy stany człowieka, np.:

- (43) *Ya tsattsaga yadda ransa ya ga dama* ‘osunął się, jakby był martwy’
(dosł. ‘jakby **jego życie** zobaczyło prawy bok’⁸)
- (44) *ya koma rai ga Alla* ‘stał się bezradny’ (dosł. ‘oddął **życie** Allahowi’)

Rzeczownik *rai* jako odpowiednik osoby jest często używany w tekstach religijnych. Frazy takie jak *hasken rai* ‘światłość wiekuista’ (dosł. ‘światło życia’), *tarbiyyar rai* ‘kodeks postępowania’ (dosł. ‘wychowanie życia’), *tsarkake rai* ‘oczyszczenie’ (dosł. ‘wyczyszczenie życia’) są pojęciami dyskursu religijnego,

⁸ Fraza odnosi się do zwyczajowego sposobu układania ludzi zmarłych na prawym boku.

w których ‘życie’, interpretowane jest jako ‘życie zgodne z religią’ i używane jako figura stylistyczna odpowiadająca koncepcji człowieka. W tej konwencji także semantyczna derywacja prowadząca do znaczenia *rai* jako ‘dusza’ jest możliwa, jak w *ransa yana Aljanna* ‘**jego dusza** jest w niebie’ (Ma Newman 1990). Nie jest to jednak podstawowy odpowiednik pojęcia duszy, znaczenie to jest raczej oddawane za pomocą arabskiego zapożyczenia *ruhu/ruhi*.

***Hankali* [hankàlì] ‘umysł, inteligencja’**

Figuratywne użycie języka przewiduje w hausa możliwość użycia wyrazu *hankali* w charakterze odpowiednika znaczenia ‘osoba’. Jako rzeczownik pospolity ma on wiele znaczeń kontekstowych, do których należy ‘umysł’, ‘rozsądek’, ‘uwaga’, ‘inteligencja’, ‘mądrość’ (wyrażenie *a hankali* znaczy ‘ostrożnie’). Jeśli jego konotacje odnoszą się do osoby, zwykle dodawany jest zaimek dzierżawczy, np. :

- (45) *hankalina ya rabu biyu* ‘jestem rozkojarzony’ (dosł. ‘**mój umysł** jest podzielony na pół’)
- (46) *hankalinsa ya tashi* ‘on jest zdenerwowany’ (dosł. ‘**jego umysł** podniósł się’)
- (47) *hankalinsa a makaranta yake* ‘on jest skoncentrowany na nauce’ (dosł. ‘**jego umysł** jest w szkole’)
- (48) *hankalinsa da wurim mata yake* ‘myśli tylko o kobietach’ (dosł. ‘**jego umysł** jest tam, gdzie kobiety’)

Inne metafory konceptualne

Zastępowanie pojęcia osoby pojęciem konkretnym (nazwą części ciała) lub abstrakcyjnym nie wyczerpuje możliwości metaforycznego wyrażania tego znaczenia. Idea metafory konceptualnej, reprezentującej typ ontologiczny (Lakoff, Johnson 1980), może się opierać nie tylko na semantycznych przeniesieniach w obrębie znaczeń leksykalnych. W języku hausa znaczące z punktu widzenia modelu osoby są wzory strukturalne zdań, w których relacje między argumentami zdania odzwierciedlają role, jakie przypisywane są tym argumentom w odniesieniu do opisywanej rzeczywistości. W szczególności znaczące pod tym względem są sposoby mówienia o emocjach, pragnieniach, odczuciach (Pawlak 2009). W hausa akceptowane struktury dotyczące wyrażania tych znaczeń sytuują osobę doświadczającą emocji w roli biernego obserwatora (*Patiens*), a nie podmiotu kontrolującego (*Agens*), np.:

(49) *sanyi ya harbe ni* ‘jestem przeziębiony’ (dosł. ‘zimno mnie złapało/ustrzeliło’)

(50) *haushi ya kama ni* ‘jestem zły’ (dosł. ‘złość ogarnęła mnie’)

(51) *dadi ya kama shi* ‘on jest szczęśliwy’ (dosł. ‘przyjemność go ogarnęła’)

Stany emocjonalne, dla których w leksykonie hausa można znaleźć liczne określenia, są także wyrażane w sposób pośredni, za pomocą obrazu sytuacji, która dany stan wywołuje, a w szczególności poprzez pokazanie, że ten stan był spowodowany przez kogoś innego. Tekst literacki (*Magana Jari Ce*) dostarcza przykładów, w których Allah jest sprawcą aktualnego stanu emocjonalnego konkretnej osoby:

(52) *yana da hakurin da Allah ya zuba masa* ‘on jest cierpliwy’
(dosł. ‘on ma cierpliwość, którą Allah na niego przelał’)

(53) *ya yi yawo har Allah ya gajishe shi* ‘spacerował, aż się zmęczył’
(dosł. ‘spacerował do czasu, gdy Allah spowodował, że się zmęczył’)

4. Modele osoby w tekście i dyskursie

Identyfikacja leksykalnych i stylistycznych wariantów wykładników osoby skłania do dalszych dociekań o ich wymiar kulturowy. Podstawą tych odniesień jest zróżnicowanie tekstów, w których występują wykładniki leksykalne i struktury o charakterze metaforycznym. Prezentowane przykłady pochodzą z opracowań dotyczących standardowej wersji języka (Newman 2000), słowników (Bargery 1934, Abraham 1962) oraz trzech rodzajów tekstów: tekstu literackiego (*Magana Jari Ce*), tekstów o tematyce religijnej, artykułów prasowych oraz tekstów zamieszczanych przez rodzimych użytkowników języka na blogach i forach internetowych. Porównanie różnych strategii stosowania odpowiedników osoby takich jak rzeczownik ‘człowiek’, zaimki oraz metafory konceptualne pokazuje, że mają one odniesienie do cech dyskursywnych źródeł, w których występują.

Źródło literackie, odwołujące się do tradycji ustnej, okazało się najbardziej zasobne w przykłady wyrażania pojęcia osoby za pomocą strategii pośrednich (wyrażeń metaforycznych), jak na przykład:

(54) *Mu dai mun saki jiki da duniya yanzu, ba mu shirin kome*
‘prowadzimy beztrzone życie (dosł. ‘odseparowaliśmy ciała od świata’),
nie mamy planów’

Figuratywny język, charakterystyczny dla tej normy języka, jest jednak w tekstach współczesnych, takich jak listy do redakcji, teksty prasowe, itp. zastępowany językiem bardziej bezpośrednim, w którym większą rolę odgrywają zaimki osobowe. Wyrażenie *jikinsa yana rawa* ‘on (**jego ciało**) tańczy’ jest zastępowane frazą (*shi*) *yana rawa* ‘**on** tańczy’, a *dadi ya kama ni* ‘cieszę się’ (dosł. przyjemność opanowała mnie) ma częściej formę *ina jin dadi* ‘odczuwam radość’, gdzie mówiący jest podmiotem zdania w formie zaimkowej.

Jednocześnie leksykalny odpowiednik pojęcia osoby, *kai*, pochodzący od nazwy ‘głowa’, który kładzie nacisk na indywidualność, niezależność, we współczesnych formach komunikacji językowej jest przywoływany nadzwyczaj często w różnych kontekstach. Pojawia się nie tylko w ustabilizowanych frazach i połączeniach, ale też w nowych frazeologizmach i kompozycjach leksykalnych, takich jak *taimakon kai da kai* ‘samopomoc’ (dosł. ‘pomoc głowy i głowy’), *san kai* ‘egoizm’ (dosł. ‘miłość do głowy’).

Inny odpowiednik pojęcia osoby, *rai* ‘życie, dusza’ jest powszechnie używany w charakterze odpowiednika osoby w tekstach religijnych, np.:

- (55) *Kullum raina yana tunanin azabaina. Raina kuwa ya karai*
 ‘Ciągłe myślę o moim wielkim bólu. Jestem w rozpacz’
 (dosł. ‘ciągle **moje życie** myśli o wielkim bólu. **Moje życie** jest w rozpacz’)

Bogata stylistyka i frazeologia, która jest cechą tych tekstów, opiera się często na sekwencji wyrażen o podobnej treści, wykorzystujących różne konwencje stylistyczne, w tym zdanie z podmiotem zaimkowym (*ina shan wahala*), *rai* jako odpowiednik osoby oraz metaforę konceptualną z wyrazem *zuciya* ‘serce’:

- (56) *Ka duba, ya Ubangiji, ina shan wahala, raina yana cikin damuwa,*
zuciyata tana makyarkyata saboda tayarwata
 ‘Popatrz, Boże, ja mam problem, cierpię (dosł. ‘**moje życie** jest w kłopotach’), moje serce drży z powodu przebudzenia’

Wyrazem zróżnicowania wzorów konceptualnych w kodowaniu pojęcia osoby jest także używanie zaimka pierwszej osoby w celu wskazania autora tekstu (wypowiedzi). Jest to strategia obca normie stylistycznej komunikacji tradycyjnej, ale powszechnie stosowana w tekstach zamieszczanych współcześnie na portalach internetowych. Autorska prezentacja na blogu Hausa /www.inamafita.blogspot.com/ rozpoczyna się od *Ni dai kenan!* ‘Oto (jestem) **ja!**’, a jej zadaniem jest zwrócenie uwagi na autora tego tekstu.

Inspiracją do używania zaimka pierwszej osoby w konwersacji i tekstach autorskich mogą być wypowiedzi (w tym wywiady) polityków i osób publicznych, także wypowiedzi w języku angielskim. Wywiad z Olusegun Obasanjo, byłym prezydentem Nigerii, który ukazał się w języku hausa po przetłumaczeniu z angielskiego (www.bbc.co.uk/hausa/news/), zawiera wiele zdań rozpoczynających się od zaimka wzmocnionego podkreśleniem:

(57) *Ni ne na dōrawa kaina wannan aiki...*

‘To **ja** jestem stale zaangażowany (dosł. stale angażuje moja głowę) w tę pracę...’

Strategie dyskursywne o tym charakterze, odmienne od pragmatycznych reguł użycia języka w społeczeństwie zhierarchizowanym, przyczyniają się do wykształcania nowych norm użycia języka. Pogłębione studia nad zróżnicowaniem tych strategii i ich funkcjami komunikacyjnymi są wyzwaniem dla badaczy języka hausa.

5. Zakończenie

Różne wzory konceptualizacji pojęcia osoby są w pierwszym rzędzie przejawem bogactwa strukturalnych cech języka. Leksykalne i stylistyczne warianty odpowiedników osoby nie są jednak synonimiczne, różne też są ich cechy pragmatyczne. Leksykalna reprezentacja nazw części ciała, używanych do kodowania osoby w hausa pozwala wyrażać doraźnie manifestowane aspekty osoby i osobowości, takie jak indywidualność (*kai*), cechy fizyczne (*jiki*), wartości duchowe (*rai*) czy rozsądek (*hankali*).

W hausa, podobnie jak w innych językach, do wskazywania osoby używa się zaimków. Jako strategia systemowa zaznaczają one tylko semantyczną cechę rodzaju i liczbę, ale ich użycie w strukturach języka pozwala także kodować relacje międzyludzkie, empatię, postawę nadawcy tekstu. Relacyjne JA jest kategorią narracyjną tekstu, która odzwierciedla językowe i kulturowe przekształcenia w wyrażaniu kategorii osoby.

W tym kontekście można przywołać wyrażenie hausa *ina sonka/ina sonki* ‘kocham cię’, która stała się symbolem nowych tendencji, przewidujących wyrażanie emocji przy pomocy frazy z zaimkiem w formie podmiotu. Jej publiczne używanie stało się przedmiotem licznych kontrowersji i protestów w ostatnich latach⁹. Takie otwarte manifestowanie uczuć jest niezgodne z praktyką *kunya*

⁹ Nośność tej frazy w użyciu językowym wynika z popularności filmów o miłości, które są produkowane na masową skalę w Nigerii. Fraza ‘I love you’ przetłumaczona na język hausa na

(czyli zasadami dobrego wychowania), która nakazuje umniejszanie roli nadawcy tekstu w komunikacji. Ta zasada obejmuje w szczególności relacje między mężczyzną i kobietą i nie przewiduje możliwości słownej deklaracji o uczuciach złożonej przez kobietę. Używanie tej frazy przez młodzież jest już wyrazem przemowienia nowych wartości kulturowych, za którymi podąża język.

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potrzeby filmów przeniosła się do języka codziennego i jest używana zwłaszcza przez młodzież (Chamo 2012: 123).

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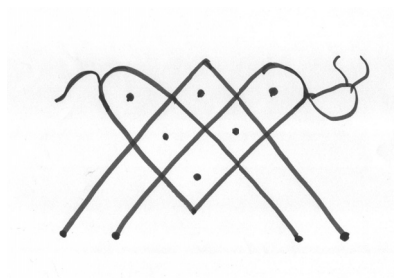
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www.gumel.com/hausa [Imam, Abubakar. 1939. *Magana Jari Ce*]



Bature Tanimu Gagare: działacz społeczny i pisarz

1. Wprowadzenie

Bature Tanimu Gagare, pisarz hausański swego czasu prześladowany przez władze nigeryjskie, rzadko i skąpo wspomniany w artykułach i opracowaniach na temat literatury ludu Hausa, zarówno przez swych rodaków, jak i przez hausanistów zagranicznych, dość nieoczekiwanie stał się bohaterem ożywionej dyskusji na forum internetowym. Podsumował ją Abdalla Uba Adamu, etnograf i antropolog środków masowej komunikacji z Uniwersytetu Bayero w Kano. W swym blogu *Nishadin hululu* (Plotkarska przyjemność) zamieścił krytyczną bibliografię współczesnej prozy hausańskiej¹. Znalazły się w niej, między innymi, informacje na temat poglądów Ibrahima Malumfashi, pisarza tworzącego w hausa i angielskim, pracownika naukowego Uniwersytetu Usmana dan Fodio w Sokoto, nieprzejednanego krytyka literatury jarmarcznej Kano. W powszechnie znanym i szeroko komentowanym artykule Malumfashi przypuścił gwałtowny atak na powieści nurtu *soyayya* (o miłości) i na współczesną hausańską fikcję prozatorską powstałą po 1984 r. (Mulamfashi 1991). Jednocześnie wiele miejsca poświęcił w nim na wysławianie i podkreślanie walorów literackich „neoklasycznego” utworu *K'arshen alewa kasa* (Wszystko ma swój kres) autorstwa Bature Tanimu Gagare (1982)². Powieść tę uważa on za najbardziej znaczący i doskonale skonstruowany utwór, wyróżniający się wśród tych wszystkich, jakiegokolwiek dotąd przeczytał w swym macierzystym języku.

¹ *Annotated Bibliography of Criticism against Hausa Prose Fiction*, 17 marzec 2007, <http://arewanci.blogspot.com/2007/03/annotated-bibliography-of-criticisms.html> [data dostępu 27.01.2010].

² Na okładce i stronie tytułowej widnieje skrócona wersja jego antropionimu: Bature Gagare.

Ustosunkowując się do tej wypowiedzi, Ado Ahmad Gidan Dabino zapytywał, dlaczego powieść *Magana jari ce* (Mówienie jest skarbem) autorstwa Alhajiego Abubakara Imama, „ojca” prozy hausańskiej, jest ciągle wznawiana, a *K'arshen alewa kasa* doczekała się zaledwie jednego wydania i jest od dawna nieosiągalna. Pomija milczeniem fakt, że na ten stan rzeczy miała wpływ polityka przywódców Nigerii. Za czasów prezydenta Shehu Shagariego powieść cieszyła się dużą popularnością wśród młodzieży szkolnej i studentów. Po przewrocie wojskowym i przechwyceniu władzy przez Muhammada Buhariego została ocenizowana i wycofana ze sprzedaży.

Podzielając opinię Ibrahima Malumfashi, przyjrzyjmy się bliżej autorowi powieści i jego jedynej opublikowanej książce.

2. Sylwetka pisarza

Koleje życia Bature Gagare poznamy z przeprowadzonego z nim wywiadu przez Ibrahima Sheme, opublikowanego w internecie³. Okazją do odbycia długiej rozmowy z pisarzem były spory Stowarzyszenia Muzyków i Pieśniarzy, utworzonego przez Bature Gagare w Katsinie, z działającą w tym stanie fundamentalistyczną organizacją ‘Yan Izala⁴. Zwolennicy Bature kwestionowali przepisy prawne zakazujące bębnienia i śpiewania, wprowadzone z inicjatywy Urzędu ds. Prawa Muzułmańskiego (*Hukumar Shari'ar Musulunci*) w stanie Katsina pod pretekstem, że te formy weselenia się i uświetniania uroczystości są sprzeczne z wiarą muzulmańską. To właśnie organizacja ‘Yan Izala nalegała na wprowadzenie w życie tego naruszającego odwieczną tradycję zakazu.

Członkowie Stowarzyszenia potępiili naruszenie odwiecznej tradycji i zażądali natychmiastowego zwolnienia z aresztu znanego muzyka ludowego imieniem Sirajo Mai Asharalle, schwytanego przez Obrońców Sprawiedliwości (*Rundunar Adalci*). Petycję w tej sprawie wystosował Bature Tanimu Gagare, sekretarz generalny Stowarzyszenia, nazywając porwanie barbarzyńskim czynem, niesprawiedliwym, niekonstytucyjnym, naruszającym niezbywalne prawa muzyków do prezentowania swych umiejętności w dowolnym miejscu i wybranym przez

³ Wywiad ten miał miejsce w domu pisarza 5 sierpnia 2001 r. Został początkowo opublikowany w gazecie „Weekly Trust” 17 sierpnia 2001 r, a następnie zamieszczony w internecie pod tytułem „Bature Gagare: marubuci mai yaƙin danniya da wariya” (Bature Gagare: pisarz walczący z uciskiem i segregacją rasową”), <http://www.gumel.com/Hausa/wasiku/Bature-Gagare.htm> [data dostępu 27.01.2005].

⁴ Hausańska nazwa członków *Ġamā'at Izālat al-Bid'a wa-Iqāmat as-Sunna* (Stowarzyszenie do Walki z Innowacjami i Umocnienia Sunny), organizacji zwalczającej bractwa muzulmańskie.

siebie medium (por. Guardian 2001). Gagare ubolewał nad tym, że działająca nielegalnie klika malamów przechwyciła prerogatywy wymiaru sprawiedliwości i sama dokonała interpretacji przepisów szariatu. Domagał się bezwarunkowego zwolnienia Mai-Asharalle z więzienia i zniesienia przepisów godzących w wolność artystycznej samorealizacji; zlikwidowania nielegalnych grup, które siłą narzucały prawa szariatu oraz kompensaty przez rząd stanowy bądź przeprosin tych wszystkich, którzy doznali różnych przykrości (Guardian 2001).

Spór zakończył się zwycięstwem Bature Gagare, gdy wyżej wspomniany Urząd wydał ostatecznie fatwę zezwalającą na wykonywanie pochwalnych pieśni i granie na bębnach przy okazji narodzin dziecka, podczas uroczystości weselnych czy w dniu powoływania na urząd miejscowych notabli⁵.

Bature Gagare urodził się 7 czerwca 1959 r. w Katsinie. W latach 1965–1972 uczęszczał do szkoły podstawowej Gobarau w rodzinnym mieście. Następnie w latach 1972–1977 kontynuował naukę w Koledżu Barewa w Zarii, który ukończył ze przeciętnymi wynikami w nauce. Zrezygnował z dalszej nauki i podjął pracę nauczyciela, powierzoną mu przez kuratorium (*Hukumar Ilmi*) Zarii. Zatrudniony został w wiejskiej szkole w miejscowości Jakawada, w gminie Giwa, gdzie spędził dwa lata (1978–1979). Od czerwca do grudnia 1979 r. uczęszczał do Szkoły Pielęgniarskiej w Katsinie, skąd został relegowany za udział w rewolcie studenckiej. Przeniósł się wówczas do Kano i w 1980 r. podjął pracę w fabryce tekstylnej, znanej jako Bagauda Textile Mills. Zaczął aktywnie działać w miejscowej organizacji związkowej, na skutek czego po trzech miesiącach został zwolniony. Podobnie zakończyła się jego działalność społeczna w nowym miejscu pracy, Universal Textiles, fabryce zlokalizowanej w dzielnicy Bompai w Kano.

Po tych nieudanych próbach znalezienia bardziej trwałego miejsca w życiu powrócił do zawodu nauczycielskiego i przez rok uczył w szkole podstawowej we wsi Kjarama. Był to szczególny okres w jego karierze życiowej. Upodobał życie wiejskie i wysoko cenił walory miejscowych rolników: ich szczerość, prostolinijność, lojalność i inne cechy typowe dla idealnego Hausańczyka – *mutumin kirki*. Prowadził żywot samotnika i miał czas na przemyślenia co do dalszej drogi

⁵ W wywiadzie opublikowanym przez *Weekly Trust* w dniu 17 sierpnia 2001 r. Gagare powiedział: „Jako sekretarz generalny Stowarzyszenia Czynnich Artystów i Ludzi Sztuki miałem zadanie do wykonania: rozbić klikę dyktatorską mułłów, zagrażającą naszym zawodom, a tym samym naszej kulturze. Wiatr, który zmiótł tych fałszywych ulemów i upokorzył sektę Izala w Katsinie był niczym innym jak reakcją ze strony młodzieży, muzyków, artystów i innych muzułmanów na bardzo niebezpieczne powiązanie dyktatury i szariatu w tym stanie. Teraz oczywiście nasze Stowarzyszenie przyjęło twardą postawę i zadało fałszywym mułłom druzgocącą klęskę. <http://fridaydiscourse.blogspot.com/2010/05/discourse-99-no-to-mullah-dictatorship...> (data dostępu 26.06.2013).

życiowej. Jednocześnie dużo czytał, co sprzyjało jego rozwojowi intelektualnemu. Z czasem sam postanowił spróbować swoich sił twórczych. To właśnie w tej zabitej deskami wiosce zrodził się pomysł napisania powieści *K'arshen alewa kasa*, która powstała, jak sam utrzymywał, w ciągu jednego miesiąca.

W latach 1981–1983 Bature Gagare studiował w Koledżu w Kafanczan, na Wydziale Sztuk Pięknych i Anglistyki. Z komunikatu zamieszczonego w czasopiśmie „New Nigerian” dowiedział się o konkursie literackim, zorganizowanym przez Departament Kultury Federalnego Ministerstwa Opieki Społecznej i Kultury, na twórczość literacką w trzech głównych językach nigeryjskich: hausa, ibo i joruba. Nie licząc na sukces, wysłał do jury w Lagosie rękopis (nawet nie maszynopis!) swej powieści, która nieoczekiwanie zajęła trzecie miejsce, przegrywając jedynie z utworami *Turmin danya* (Silny człowiek) Sulaimana Ibrahima Katsiny (1982) i *Tsumangiyar kan hanya* (Przydrożna wierzba) autorstwa Musy Mohammeda Bello (1982).

W drugim roku pobytu pisarza w Kafanczan wstąpił on do związku studentów tamtejszego Koledżu i został wybrany jego sekretarzem generalnym. Kandydował też na stanowisko wiceprzewodniczącego ds. zagranicznych Narodowego Związku Studentów Nigeryjskich. Na dwa tygodnie przed przystąpieniem do egzaminu końcowego w Koledżu stanął na czele demonstracji studenckiej, na skutek czego wraz z czterema innymi działaczami został relegowany z uczelni. Podczas pobytu w Kafanczan zafascynował się ideami socjalistycznymi, ruchami rewolucyjnymi w różnych częściach świata i ich wielkimi przywódcami: Ernesto Che Guevarą, Michaiłem Bakuninem, Leninem, Mao Tse-tungiem, Ho Chi Minhem i innymi. Studiował *Katechizm rewolucjonisty* Siergieja Nieczajewa, wzywający do obalenia ustroju kapitalistycznego drogą krwawej rewolucji.

Po niechlubnym zakończeniu kariery studenckiej w Kafanczan pisarz wrócił do Kano, gdzie zajął się drobnym handlem podstawowymi produktami żywnościowymi. Po rozpadzie Związku Radzieckiego zarzucił swe lewicowe poglądy. Zraził go wyścig zbrojeń między mocarstwami światowymi, który pochłaniał znaczną część dochodu narodowego i pogarszał sytuację ekonomiczną obywateli radzieckich. Niepokoiło go naruszanie praw człowieka, a zwłaszcza represjonowanie pisarzy i przedstawicieli inteligencji. Doszedł do wniosku, że ideologia komunistyczna nie sprzyja rozwojowi i dobrobytowi społeczeństw. Wycofał się z życia publicznego, zrezygnował z dalszych studiów, założył rodzinę i został ojcem pięciorga dzieci. Nieznane są dalsze koleje jego żywota. Od początku 2003 r. w nielicznych publikacjach pisano o nim *Marigayi Tanimu Bature*, odpowiednik polskiego „świętej pamięci Tanimu Bature”. W końcu udało się nam ustalić, że zmarł w styczniu 2003 r.

Przedstawione w skrócie ważniejsze epizody z życia Bature Gagare dowodzą, że był on człowiekiem niezwykle aktywnym, działaczem społecznym z krwi i kości. Angażował się w życie religijne, a wspomniany wyżej spór z ‘Yan Izala zaskarbił mu licznych zwolenników, ale przysporzył także zacieklej wrogów. Od wczesnej młodości stał się postacią szeroko znaną w społeczności hausańskiej. Przeprowadzający z nim wywiad Ibrahim Sheme (2001: 1) zauważa, że już w czasie pobytu w Katsinie, swym rodzinnym mieście, Bature Tanimu Gagare stał się człowiekiem powszechnie znanym i kontrowersyjnym. Obdarowywano go różnymi przydomkami. Jedni uważali pisarza za naruszającego zasady życia społecznego, inni widzieli w nim awanturnika, jeszcze inni – postrzegali go jako muzułmanina⁶ niezbyt religijnego czy wręcz bezbożnika. Mimo to niemal wszyscy doceniali bystrość jego umysłu, przebiegłość i umiejętność trafnej interpretacji różnych zjawisk społecznych.

3. Geneza powieści *K’arshen alewa kasa*

Bature Tanimu Gagare miał rozległe zainteresowania. Czytał literaturę i poznawał zwyczaje hausańskie, fascynowały go książki z zakresu filozofii, interesował się sztuką filmową, poezją i muzyką europejską. Zapytany przez Ibrahima Sheme o genezę jego aktywności pisarskiej, stwierdził, że nie ma żadnego przygotowania w tym zakresie i że umiejętności tej nie wyniósł ze szkoły:

„Piszę tak sobie. Umiejętność ta nie jest niczym innym, jak tylko darem Allaha dla człowieka, i częścią tego, co poznałem, czytając dzieła wielkich pisarzy, żyjących i tych zmarłych. Można powiedzieć, że to Allah obdarzył mnie talentem pomieszczenia słów na kartkach papieru. Nie kieruję się żadnymi zasadami, nie stosuję się do żadnych reguł, ani do czegokolwiek, co przeszkadzałoby mi w uzewnętrznieniu tego, co mnie boli. Słowa napływają z taką intensywnością, że nieraz nie nadążam chwytać ich mym piórem.”
(Sheme 2001: 3)

Indagowany co do powieści *K’arshen alewa kasa* przyznał, że przystąpił do jej pisania pod wpływem problemów życiowych, jakich nie chciał ujawnić. Działalności twórczej sprzyjała spokojna atmosfera na wsi Kjarama, gdzie pracował jako nauczyciel. Środkiem ekspresji literackiej uczynił język hausa, gdyż nie miał odwagi rozpocząć działalności pisarskiej w języku angielskim, będąc nowicju-

⁶ Jest rzeczą zastanawiającą, że w jego antropimie nie ma żadnego imienia muzułmańskiego.

szem (*sabon hannu*) w tym zakresie. Ponadto chciał zaznaczyć swą obecność w historii literatury hausańskiej jako autor pierwszego, obszernego (342 strony) thrillera, gatunku nieznanego wcześniej w dorobku literackim ludu Hausa.

G. Furniss (1996) nazywa *K'arshen alewa kasa* najbardziej znaczącą powieścią wśród tych, które wcześniej ukazały się w języku hausa. Zbiorowym bohaterem utworu pisarz uczynił opierającą się islamizacji i chrystianizacji społeczność Maguzawa⁷. Według przekazów tradycji ustnej miejscem ich pochodzenia jest miejscowość Rogo, położona między Kano a Katsiną. Ich enklawy znajdowały się w okolicach Zarii, Sokoto, Katsiny oraz Bauczi. Dzisiaj mieszkają na obrzeżach emiratów Kano i Katsiny oraz w dolinie Maradi na obszarze Nigru. W XX stuleciu znacznie zmniejszyła się ich liczebność: obecnie w kraju Hausa żyje zaledwie 45.000 Maguzawa (por. Wente-Lukas 1985). W analizowanym wywiadzie Bature Gagare tak oto charakteryzuje bohaterów swej powieści:

„To Hausańcy i Fulanie ukuli etnonim Maguzawa, określając nim część społeczności hausańskiej, której nie zdołano podbić. Ponad sto lat temu Hausańcy i muzułmanie fulańscy uciskali Maguzawa i ich izolowali, bo chociaż byli oni rdzennymi Hausańczykami, to zachowywali swe dawne zwyczaje i wierzenia. Wszelkie wysiłki wojowników dżihadu [Szajcha Usmana dan Fodio] zmierzające do nawrócenia ich na islam i wysiłki misjonarzy chrześcijańskich spaliły na panewce. Z tego powodu nie są w pełni uznawani zarówno przez Hausańczyków, jak i Fulanów. Nie przyznają się oni do nich, unikają ich, mają ich za nic. Nie dopuszcza się ich do nauki, nie pozwala na podjęcie pracy, pozbawia się ich wszelkiej godnej opieki społecznej. Żli i chytry ludzie wykorzystują owych Maguzawa do wywoływania rewolt, organizowania zamachów stanu czy do popełniania przestępstw. Bohater powieści *K'arshen alewa kasa*, niejaki Mailoma, wybrał drogę przestępstwa”.

(Sheme 2001: 4)

Pisarz dobrze poznał tajniki życia Maguzawa. Przebywał wśród nich, kiedy pracował jako nauczyciel w Jakawada. Często odwiedzał ich wioski, porożrzucane w dystrykcie Giwa. Wielokrotnie uczestniczył w ich uroczystościach weselnych, a także brał udział w zgromadzeniach natury politycznej. Przyznaje jednak, że jako muzułmanin nie poznał wszystkich ich zwyczajów, ponieważ zabrakło im trochę wzajemnego zaufania.

⁷ Jeden z rozmówców P. Krusiusa tak oto zdefiniował pojęcie Maguzawa: „To prawdziwi Hausa, ale też prawdziwi poganie. Są oni uciekinierami, którzy nie chcą się modlić i odmawiają wszelkiego postępu”. Por. jego „Die Maguzawa”, *Archiv für Anthropologie* XIV, 1915, s. 189.

4. Treść i przesłanie utworu

Analizowana powieść liczy jedenaście rozdziałów i składa się z dwóch części tematycznych. Pierwsze dwa rozdziały przedstawiają idylliczne życie wioski Maguzawa, zwanej Tsaunin Gwano (Wzgórze Cuchnącej Mrówki). W żywym, konwersacyjnym stylu opisuje się w nich miejscowe zwyczaje, organizację mieszkańców wioski, ich zajęcia, a przede wszystkim ich wierzenia religijne i magiczne⁸. Z miejscowości tej pochodzi Mailoma (*alias* K'anzunzum, *alias* Maguzi), główny bohater utworu. Doświadczony przygód życiowych, postanawia utworzyć organizację terrorystyczną. Jego wysiłki, zmierzające do urzeczywistnienia powziętych zamiarów, zmieniają charakter utworu z powieści realistycznej, przepełnionej szczegółami etnograficznymi, w powieść sensacyjną.

Utwór podejmuje jeden z najbardziej palących problemów Nigerii po zakończeniu krwawej wojny domowej (1967–1970), jaka wybuchła w wyniku secesji Biafry. Problemem tym był los tysięcy zdemobilizowanych żołnierzy po podpisaniu układu pokojowego. Mailoma, świadomy nieuniknionej redukcji federalnej armii, nie czeka na zakończenie wojny. Dezerteruje, a po ogłoszeniu kapitulacji Biafry gromadzi wokół siebie mających nóż na gardle byłych żołnierzy i tworzy z nich terrorystyczne organizacje, które dokonują morderstw, bandyckich napadów i okaleczeń, starają się przejąć kontrolę nad handlem narkotykami, a w końcu przechwycić władzę w kraju:

„To właśnie ja, którego widzicie przed sobą, pochwycę Nigerię w swe szpony. W mych rękach dzierżyć będę całą Afrykę. We właściwym czasie zapanujemy nad całym światem. Tak będzie się nam powodzić w świecie Czarnych, jak powodzi się mafii. Tak będziemy się rządzić, jak się rządzi Cosa Nostra. Będziemy działać, jak się panoszy CIA. Będziemy postępować, jak czyni to KGB. Staniemy się okrutnymi bandytami i wielkimi szmuglerami broni oraz nowoczesnego sprzętu wojskowego. Będziemy uprawiać indyjskie konopie i trujące rośliny, od których uzależniać się będą ludzie. Już zadbamy o to, aby nikt nie wchodził nam w drogę, chyba że ryzykując kulę we łbie. W końcu pod naszą kontrolą znajdą się wszystkie domy publiczne.” (Gagare 1982: 191)

W swych planach Mailoma zmierza do wywołania w kraju zamieszek, likwidacji polityków i obalania kolejnych rządów celem zrealizowania swych zamia-

⁸ Na temat religii i magii powstała praca magisterska Olgi Blumczyńskiej zatytułowana „Obraz życia religijnego Maguzawa w powieści *K'arshen alewa kasa* pióra Bature Gagare”, Zakład Języków i Kultur Afryki UW, Warszawa 2010.

rów. Wspomnienia o wojnie domowej są w tej powieści dosyć liczne i występują w różnych kontekstach. W rozdziale drugim autor opisuje scenę poboru żołnierzy do nigeryjskiej armii. *Sarkin Arna* (Władca Pogan) z Tsaunin Gwano, kapłan miejscowego bóstwa ma dostarczyć trzydziestu rekrutów. Ochoczo wywiązuje się z powierzonego mu zadania, i to nie dlatego, że przemawia do niego hasło „Jedna Nigeria”, lecz dlatego, że dostrzega doskonałą okazję do pozbycia się chrześcijan, którzy starają się zakorzenić w jego „królestwie”. Świadomość polityczna wieśniaków jest wprost zenująca. Politycy w rodzaju Sir Tafawy Balewa, Ahmadu Bello, Ironsiego czy Ojukwu nie mają dla *Sarkin Arna* większego znaczenia. Młodzi mężczyźni idą walczyć za coś, co jawi się dla nich jako całkowita abstrakcja:

„Podróżowali ciężarówką w kierunku Zarii. Nagle jeden z młodych mężczyzn, który tak bardzo płakał z powodu wcielenia go do armii, dotknął ręki kaprała Dano i zapytał: ‘Co to jest ta Nigeria, o której tyle nam mówiłeś?’” (Gagare 1982:54).

Zbliżający się koniec wojny zmuszał żołnierzy do refleksji nad ich przyszłym losem. Niektórzy wstąpili do armii, aby uniknąć kary za wcześniej popełnione przestępstwa. Tak było z Mailomą. Tworząc bandę, zwykł był przekonywać młodych żołnierzy słowami:

„Jak widzicie wojna jest już na ukończeniu. Nasi żołnierze zdobyli prawie wszystkie ważniejsze miasta Ibów. Za sześć miesięcy Ojukwu się uspokoi. A wtedy żołnierze nie będą już potrzebni. A wy, co zamierzacie robić po zakończeniu wojny?”

Cywil zaśmiał się, pociągnął łyk napoju, po czym wyjął małą kartkę i rzekł: ‘Popatrz na to, Gadu. Jest to legitymacja poświadczająca, że jestem żołnierzem w randze podporucznika. Zdezertrowałem i zająłem się czymś, co zapewni mi byt’ (Gagare 1982: 85n.).

Trzon bandy tworzy się już w czasie wojny domowej i opiera się na podstawie etnicznej. Mailoma kontaktuje się z Maguzawa i zjednuje ich dla swej sprawy. Jednym z nich jest porucznik Mati, który pozostaje w armii i zostaje skoszarowany w Kano. Mając dostęp do magazynów wojskowych, staje się głównym dostawcą broni dla nowo tworzącej się organizacji terrorystycznej. Szantaż, zdrada, makabryczna śmierć pojawiają się niejednokrotnie na stronicach tej powieści. W końcu główny bohater ginie od ukąszenia węża czy też od serii karabinowej, co nie jest wyraźnie powiedziane.

Jak słusznie zauważa G. Furniss (1996: 40), powieść *K'arshen alewa kasa* w zasadniczy sposób odbiega od treści i formy wcześniejszego pisarstwa w języku hausa. Ukazuje najbardziej charakterystyczne cechy współczesnego miasta nigeryjskiego: szybkie samochody, pijaństwo, hazard, seks i gwałt. Pojawiające się w niej postacie reprezentują różne warstwy społeczeństwa nigeryjskiego: wyuzdane dziewczęta, żołnierze wywodzący się z różnych grup etnicznych, wieśniacy Maguzawa z rodzinnej wioski Mailomy, misjonarze, ludzie nawróceni na chrześcijaństwo i cała gama postaci charakterystycznych dla północnej Nigerii.

W krótkim czasie po ogłoszeniu drukiem powieść została bardzo życzliwie przyjęta przez czytelników. Stała się obowiązkową lekturą studentów koledżów i uniwersytetów. Kiedy Muhammad Buhari w drodze zamachu stanu w 1983 r. odsunął od władzy cywilnego prezydenta Shehu Shagarięgo, zmianie uległa polityka kulturalna i uaktywniła się cenzura. W ramach osławionej akcji zwanej Wojną z Niezdyscyplinowaniem (War Against Indiscipline) zakazano druku powieści. Odtąd próżno jej szukać na półkach księgarskich, chociaż jest dostępna w sklepach internetowych.

5. Zakończenie

W wywiadzie przeprowadzonym przez Ibrahima Sheme pisarz wyjawiał, że przechowuje w swym biurku dawno ukończoną 450-stronicową powieść zatytułowaną *Tsuliyar kowa da kashi* (Nikt nie jest bez winy). Jej wydawcą miało zostać wydawnictwo Gaskiya Corporation, które jednak popadło w kłopoty finansowe, na tyle poważne, że nie podjęło się ryzyka opublikowania tak obszernego utworu. Po dwuletnim oczekiwaniu Bature Gagare zaczął tłumaczyć ją na język angielski, z nieznanym nam skutkiem. Pisarz doszedł bowiem do wniosku, że jego znajomość tego języka jest dostatecznie dobra i że jest w stanie rywalizować pod tym względem z doświadczonymi autorami. Do podjęcia tego rodzaju próby pisarskiej zachęciły go sukcesy autorów hauszańskich, którzy z powodzeniem rywalizują z kolegami po piórze z południa Nigerii, uznanymi i znanymi na całym świecie autorami angielskojęzycznych powieści. Uważamy jednak, że zmiana środka ekspresji pisarskiej byłaby wielką stratą dla rozwoju twórczości literackiej w hausa, gdyż uważamy Bature Gagare za mistrza słowa i niekwestionowanego ożywiiciela życia kulturalnego północnej Nigerii. Misję pisarza ujmuję w słowach:

„Celem tworzenia dla ludzi jest wywoływanie dyskusji, popierającej jakąś ideę lub ją odrzucającej. Jeśli będą mówić, że moja twórczość prowokuje dyskusję,

i sprawia, że niektórym ze strachu nabrzmiewają na szyi żyły, oznacza to, że wykonuję swoją pracę jak należy” (Sheme 2001: 7).

Pisarz ustosunkowuje się do nieraz krzywdzących o nim opinii, które często są formułowane na podstawie cech bohaterów jego utworu:

„Mówią, że jestem kłótlivy? To ja zapytam, czy wszystko to, co napisał autor, wskazuje na cechy jego charakteru? Jeśli tak, to ja jestem kontrowersyjny, ponieważ za każdym kopnięciem mego pióra widzę, jak wielu czytelników umiera ze strachu. Wielu ludzi przykleja mi fałszywe łatki: mówią, że nie oddaję czci Allahowi, że jestem czarownikiem, wywołuję konflikty i tym podobne rzeczy. Wszystkie te cechy mi przypisywane to kłamstwo. Ludzie mówią, że Allah obdarzył mnie inteligencją. Ale to nie jest tak. Nie jestem bardziej wykształcony od innych, nie mam bystrzejszego umysłu. Od innych ludzi różnię się być może tym, że nie ulegam wpływom i twardo zmierzam do realizacji swych planów” (Sheme 2001).

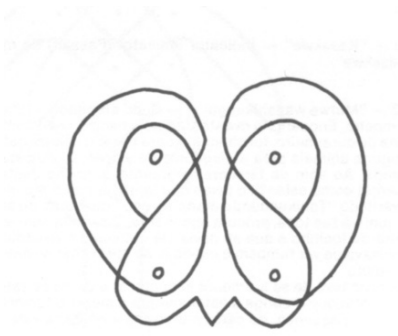
W dalszej części swej wypowiedzi pisarz ustosunkował się do wydarzeń w Katsinie, w których odegrał kluczową rolę. Jako sekretarz generalny Stowarzyszenia Muzyków i Pieśniarzy postawił sobie za cel rozprawienie się z samowolą fałszywych malamów, którzy zagrażali zwyczajom i tradycyjnym zajęciom Hausańczyków. Utrzymywał, że wichur zmian, który naruszał ich interesy i zawstydział działaczy „Yan Izala w Katsinie, był skutecznym narzędziem młodzieży, bębniarzy, ludzi utalentowanych i ogólnie muzulmanów na wszelkie niewłaściwe interpretacje szariatu w okręgu Katsiny. Stowarzyszenie to twardo obstawało przy swoim, dopóki fałszywi malamowie nie odeszli w niesławie:

„Jeśli z tego powodu niektórzy ludzie uważają mnie za awanturnika, to w porządku, zgadzam się z tą opinią” (Sheme 2001).

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Remarks on Swahili – manuscripts in Arabic script: layout and orthography of the *Utendi wa Yusuf*

This article is aimed to shed light on the Swahili-‘Ajamī manuscripts, focusing on the major Swahili classical genre: the *utendi*. Through a philological approach of the text, some critical reflections in the structure and orthography will be pointed out. The *Utendi wa Yusuf* will be used as a text guide comparing three witnesses of the poem. From a comparative study on the three selected texts, variants and common aspects of the poetic layout and handwriting will come to light.

Special thanks to Prof. Eugenie Rzewuski, who embarked me on the Swahili-‘Ajamī manuscripts culture, during some lessons that took place in May 2011 at the University of Naples “L’Orientale”: *asante sana Mwalimu*.

1. Towards a critical edition of the *Utendi wa Yusuf*

The *Utendi wa Yusuf* was mentioned for the first time by Alice Werner in 1918: “There is a poem on Joseph [...] of which I possess an incomplete copy written, to judge by the condition of the paper, a good many years ago. I have also a more modern version of the same (in nearly 800 stanzas) by a living and prolific writer, Muhammad bin Abubakar (Muhamadi Kijuma) of Lamu, who informed me that he had used both the Koran and the Old Testament as his sources”¹.

The only edited version of the poem was published in 1964 by Jan Knappert in *Four Swahili Epics*, however, this version lacks a commentary dealing with its language, its content or its translation. The English translation published in *Islamic Legends* (1985) can be considered an abridged translation which does not go hand in hand with every *beti* of each stanza.

¹ Werner (1917–1920: 124).

Also Ridder H. Samson (1997), underlined this lack of literature: “*Mara nyingi tafsiri hii siyo tafsiri ya maneno yote ya utenzi huo bali ni ufupisho au makhtasari beti kadhaa pamoja*”² (‘However, this translation is not a literal translation of the *utendi*, but an abbreviation or summary of some verses put together’). According to the Abou Egl list (1983: 192), four manuscripts were ascribed to the prolific poet and scribe Muhammadi Kijuma and were written for different scholars different scholars. In addition to this list, further manuscripts also exist³, in some cases they were wrongly ascribed to Kijuma although he cannot be held as the originator of these manuscripts⁴. This study is focused on three of them:

- (1) Ms. 228624, Hichens Collection, called A
This ms., entitled **Kisa cha Yusufu**, was not included in Knappert’s edition and has never been published. It is presently homed at the SOAS library in London and I have got a copy of it from the archives of microfilm copies at Bayreuth University.
- (2) Hs. Or. 9893, called B
The second ms., **Qissati Yusufu**, is listed in the Dammann catalogue (1993: 167) number 375. I have got it from the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*⁵, where it is homed. The ms. was written by Kijuma and sent to E. Dammann in 1937 (♣ 1356) and many sources have indicated it⁶.
- (3) Seminar 1465 H73, called C
The third ms., **Hadithi ya Ya’aqubu na Yusufu**, was written by Muhamadi Kijuma in 1913 (♣ 1332). It is listed in Dammann’s catalogue (1993), number 3 and is now held in Hamburg from where I have obtained a copy of it.

2. The structure of ‘Ajamī texts

Focusing on the Swahili ‘Ajamī texts allows one to look at some features of the the *utendi* structure and style that are changed or eliminated in the transliteration

² Samson (1997: ff 83–94).

³ Ahmed bin Abdalla bin Mohammed, Ms. 279888-Vol. 7, Ms. 354, SOAS. Abdu Rahman Ahmed al-Badawy, M. 1008, Reel I, Ms. 118 and Reel 6, Mss. 183 and 182, SOAS. Muallim Yahya Ali Omar.

⁴ I.e. Kisa cha Yusuf. Ms. 228624, SOAS, Hichens Collection.

⁵ My sincere thanks to Prof. Banti of Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale” for covering the ms. charges.

⁶ A. Egl (1983: 192) and J. Knappert (1964: 6), where the ms. B is referred to as ‘K’.

stage i.e.: (i) frontispiece decoration and colophon, (ii) the stanzas arrangement, (iii) Quranic insertions and *ductus*.

Generally, the first stanzas in every *utendi* form the prologue (*dibaji*) of the poem, in which the poet-narrator usually praises God and introduces the title of the story he is going to tell.

In ms. A, the eulogy praise in the name of Allāh (*basmala*) follows directly the title *Kisa cha Yusufu*, enclosed in a simple triangle-shaped decoration whereas in the ms. B the frontispiece is more accurate and it is decorated with green and red ink. Furthermore in ms. B, the eulogy formula is set below the title, whereas in ms. C, the title is not followed by God's praise, is surrounded by a circular decoration and should be read from bottom to the top⁷.

The narrative section, which constitutes the *utendi* body, is the longest part in every *utendi*; this also occurs in the *Utendi wa Yusuf*, which counts around 700 narrative stanzas. The *utendi* stanza⁸ (*beiti*; sg. *ubeiti*) consists of four lines (*vipande*, sg. *kipande*) of eight syllables each. Each *ubeti* is made up of two bi-colons (*mishororo*, sg. *mshororo*) that group up the four lines in twos. When the caesura (*vituo*; sg. *kituo*) is at the end of the *ubeti* (*kikomo*, pl. *vikomo*) it is more pronounced compared to the others lines, although caesurae and rhyme (*kina*; pl. *vina*) mark the margins. The rhyme of the last line (*bahari*), is usually *-ya* in the whole *utenzi*. In the following overview the structure of the *utendi* stanza is shown as stz. 5 of ms. A of the *UwY*:

Scheme I

Stanza (<i>ubeti</i>) = 32 syllables (<i>mizani</i>)	1 st bi-colon (<i>mshororo</i>)	1 st line (<i>kipande</i>) > 8 syllables	Ya-a-qu-bu ki-wa nda- ni	<i>kituo</i>
	=	2 nd line (<i>kipande</i>) > 8 syllables	pa-li na m-ti yu-wa- ni	<i>kituo</i>
	2 nd bi-colon (<i>mshororo</i>)	3 rd line (<i>kipande</i>) > 8 syllables	ki-za-a mwa-na ya-ki- ni	<i>kituo</i>
	=	4 th line (<i>kipande</i>) > 8 syllables	na-u-tan-du-hu-to-ke- ya .	<i>kikomo</i>

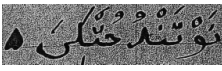
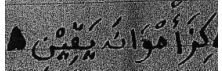
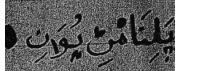
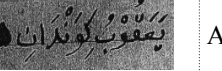
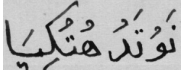
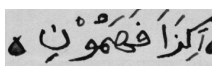
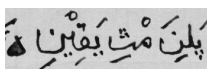
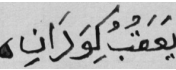
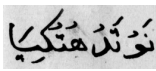
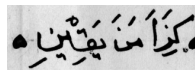
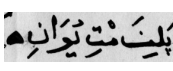
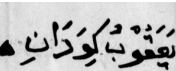
⁷ Cfr. Appendix: Fig.1,2,3 *Frontispieces*.

⁸ For an accurate description of the poetics of the stanzas, see: Vierke (2009: ff.23). I used her *utendi* layout to show the structure of *UwY*.

In the following *scheme II*, focusing on the three ‘ajamī mss. of *UwY*, it is possible to perceive some indistinct aspects of the *utendi* stanza in the transliterated versions of the poem. A first feature, is the small reversed heart, filled with either black ink or different colours, used by the scribes to separate the lines (*vipande*). Secondly, the spelling of the ending rhyme (*bahari*) –*ya*, according to the scribe’s choice:

Scheme II

Stanza (<i>ubeti</i>) 32 syllables (<i>mizani</i>)				
2 nd bi-colon (<i>mshororo</i>) 16 syllables		1 st bi-colon (<i>mshororo</i>) 16 syllables		
4 th line (<i>kipande</i>) 8 syllables	3 rd line (<i>kipande</i>) 8 syllables	2 nd line (<i>kipande</i>) 8 syllables	1 st line (<i>kipande</i>) 8 syllables	

				A
				B
				C

From this suggested structure, it appears that there is no need to define any imaginary *vituo*, as it is seen in *scheme I*, since the caesura between the lines are already an integral part of the *utendi* stanza. Furthermore, it is possible to see that the most common spelling of the ending rhyme with *'alif* being replaced by *'alif maqṣūra* in ms. A whose scribe, indeed, is not the same as that of the two other mss. The final monosyllabic rhyme –*ya*, is the same for the entire length of the poem in all the three mss. and although in ms. B the lines n.2 and n.3 have variants when they are compared with ms. A (*yakini* instead of *yuwani*, *fahamuni* instead of *yakini*), the rhyme is always –*ni* as it should be. Finally, whereas the stanzas are organized in a horizontal way in

all the *utendi* mss., their structure is conventionally displayed vertically in the transliteration⁹.

A third aspect that occurs in the narrative section of the three selected mss., is the insertion of roughly 50 Quranic *āyāt*, which are commonly marked in A by the seal of Solomon at the beginning and at the end of every single Quranic insertion, whereas they are tinted with red ink in B and C¹⁰. In all the three mss., the Quranic verses go hand in hand with the story that is being narrated stanza by stanza; in most cases, they are placed at some intensely dramatic moments of the narration, i.e., Yusuf's prophetic dream, where verse 4 of sura 12 is reported. The use of the Arabic quotations does not play a merely didactic role: they convey the truth of the story that is being narrated, therefore they can be considered the historiographical proof of its narrative authenticity. In these points of the text the Swahili – 'Ajamī writing system is interrupted in order to write in Arabic, with what appears to be a form of literary code-switching.

Some philological considerations about the *ductus* of Swahili writing in 'Ajamī script are necessary to point out. It is strictly related to the scribe's handwriting. On one side, the *ductus* in ms. A, wrongly ascribed to Kijuma, seldom appears to be well defined, probably because of the changes in the ink, or of the scribe's inadequate skills to write in Arabic script. The letters are shapeless in some cases, or too short and they lack the required proportions¹¹. On the other side, also the style clearly points out that mss. B and C have been written by the same hand: the *ductus* is clear, the letters are well defined and the general impression is one of accuracy; the stanzas are well aligned, despite corrections of single lines or words by the scribe, which occur in some cases. The aim "that the writing should look nice and be straight in a line"¹² can be considered well achieved in Kijuma's manuscripts.

The last *utendi* stanzas are devoted to the epilogue (*tamati*) and the poet-narrator's voice comes back to conclude the story: this section usually includes thanks to God, the author's name and the date, although some of these details can also be omitted. In ms. A, the colophon is introduced by a closing sentence, centrally-aligned, in which the scribe informs that is the end of the story of Yusuf, *tammati qaṣīda al-yūsufu*. This sentence is followed by the date of composition, which is entirely written on one horizontal line, centrally-aligned like the closing sentence. The date includes the day, the month and the year. The Arabic noun

⁹ Cfr. Paragraph 4.

¹⁰ Cfr. Appendix: Fig. 4,5,6 *Corpus* and *āyāt*.

¹¹ In ms. A 1.1, 3.1: 'alif is smaller than the others letters.

¹² Quotation from *Hadithi ya Liongo*, second hemistich of stanza 3. See: Egl (1983: 158).

‘year’ (*sana*) is written without any dots and it is not very stylized. There is little accuracy in the colophon of ms. B, which lacks the date and not stylized at all: it just contains the closing salutation *wa as-salām* and nothing more is added. The same Arabic closing salutation is found in ms. C, together with the author’s full name and the full date¹³.

3. The orthography of ‘Ajamī texts

Swahili in Arabic script has been strictly linked to the manuscript culture on the Swahili coast for centuries and today it is part of the conservative Swahili scholars’ heritage and also a symbol of coastal identity (Vierke, 2014). As J.W.T. Allen (1971) points out, when the Arabic alphabet began to be used for Swahili, it was just adapted without any modifications or additions of letters. To spell the Swahili sounds that do not occur in Arabic, copyists used the phonetically nearest Arabic letters without observing any established rule. Further diacritics and modifications to distinguish sounds peculiar to Swahili more clearly were added later, but they were not accepted by all the copyists and editors. Indeed, Swahili in Arabic script has never had a standardized orthography, and many copyists (cf. Lambert 1964; Omar & Frankl 1997; Abdulaziz 1979; Miede 2004), had to introduce special conventions to represent Swahili sounds which do not exist in Arabic, such as the vowels /e/ and /o/, the voiceless phoneme /p/ and the voiced /v/, the prenasalized plosives /mb/ – /nd/. Obviously, the conventions adopted depend on what the individual scribes had chosen. For instance, the ones used by Mwalimu Sikujua¹⁴ are different from Kijuma’s writing, and these are different from the spellings and adaptations used by other scribes.

The philological analysis of the variants in the three manuscript witnesses (A, B, C) points out that the same Swahili sound can have two or more possible renderings. The general trend is that the conventions adopted in A render the Swahili sounds better than the conventions followed in B and C. The different spelling choices inevitably point to differing authorships as well: ms. A cannot be ascribed to Kijuma (its authentic scribe is unknown), whereas B and C certainly belong to Kijuma. Some phonological and morphological features of the Swahili

¹³ Cfr. Appendix: Fig. 7,8,9 *Colophons*.

¹⁴ An important scribe of Swahili poetry in the 19th century. See: Abdulaziz (1979).

‘ajamī system observed in A, B, and C will be seen below, with a few examples of their variants¹⁵.

Phonologically, a first controversial rendering deals with the representation of Swahili alveolar /t/ which is represented by Arabic ت (tā’) or the Sindhi ٹ (teheh) or by ٹ (tteh) used in Urdu ‘abġad:

- (1) Swahili
mti: مِٹِ A; مِٹِ B; مِٹِ C
 ‘tree’

The Swahili velar /g/ is rendered by Arabic غ (ġain) or Malay غ (ng), while the bilabial /p/ is represented by Arabic ب (bā’) or Persian پ (peh). Further Persian letters used in the mss. are ف (veh) to spell the labiodental /v/ and چ (če) to represent the Swahili /ch/, which is also rendered by the unusual Arabic kāf with two dots above. Different renderings also occur for the Swahili prenasalized stops /mb/, /nd/ which are written with nasal + stop or with the addition of the Arabic intensifier šadda, or only with the consonant:

- (2) Swahili
Kamwomba - Akaomba: كَمُوْمَبَّ A; اَكُوْمَبَّ B ; اَكُوْبَّ C
 ‘he prayed’
- Wendiwa*: وِنْدُوْ A, وِنْدُوْ BC
 ‘his brothers’

In other cases, the nasal occurs with the stop also in B and C:

- (3) Swahili
Simbo: سِيْمِبُّ A, سِيْمِبُّ B, سِيْمِبُّ C
 ‘stick’

It is also interesting to observe the rendering of a typical Northern dialect feature, rhotacism, which occurs with nasal clusters (ndʳ): in Kijuma’s mss.

¹⁵ Allen (1971: 7) underlines the need to “distinguish between a genuine variant and a different way of spelling the same word”.

(B, C) it is well represented using the Arabic ر (rā') with or without šadda, whereas it is not well represented in ms. A where it is rendered by the nasal and the stop:

- (4) Swahili
nd'uze: نُنْزِرُ A; رَزُّ B; رُزُّ C
 'his brothers'

In the selected mss., three different renderings also exist for to the cluster /ny/ which is represented by Arabic ي (yā'), with or without the nasal before it, or by the Sindhi پ (beheh):

- (5) Swahili
nyinyi: نِينِي A; پِنِي B; يِي C
 'you (pl.)'

Labialization is a further phonological feature which provides different variants. In many clusters consisting of stop + w, i.e. /mw/ - /bw/, the *w* is missing:

- (6) Swahili
mwisowe: مِوسُو A; مِسُو BC
 'finally'
- bwana*: بُوَانُ A; بَانُ BC
 'lord'

Only in ms. A two additional variant vowel signs are employed to distinguish the Sw. more precisely [i] from [e] and [u] from [o]: the *kasra* written vertically stands for [e], the reversed *damma* renders [o]:

- (7) Swahili
nimependa: نِمِپَنْدَا
 'I liked'
- moyoni*: مَيِّنْ
 'in the heart'

4. Excerpts from the *Utendi wa Yusuf*: transliteration and translation with critical apparatus

The following excerpts provide the ‘ajamī transcription of the *UwY*, its transliteration¹⁶ and translation¹⁷, along with the critical apparatus. In particular, the first column displays the ‘ajamī version of the manuscript, called A, taking it as the *Leithandschrift*; it also includes insertions from the Quran¹⁸, which are highlighted by the Arabic star of Solomon. The second column displays the Swahili transliteration of the poem followed by its translation, which is shown in the third column. The transliteration and the translation go hand in hand with the ‘ajamī text so that we have *parallel textes* which allows one to read the poem in a horizontal or vertical way, according to the individuals preferences of analysis. The critical apparatus is placed below the columns and is subdivided into two distinct sections: the first one provides all the variants, additions, and omissions which occur in the witnesses B and C, compared to A, whereas the second one shows the nouns of Arabic origin¹⁹ occurring in the text and some further observations.

The Abbreviations used for the texts I refer to are the following ones:

- A. Ms. 228624, Hichens Collection.
- B. Hs. Or. 9893, Dammann catalogue n. 375
- C. Seminar 1465 H73, Dammann catalogue n. 3.

¹⁶ Knappert’s transliteration conventions do not distinguish the alveolar plosive of Standard Swahili /d/ and /nd/ from the dental ones, except for the alveolar /t/ which he marks (ch). I do, however, mark all three dental plosives in italics (*t*, *d*, *nd*). which are a phonological feature of Kiamu, corresponding to Standard Swahili /c/ (<ch>). The aspiration, which is phonemic in this Northern dialect, is also marked: although it is not written in the ajami text, it usually occurs along with a voiceless consonant (i.e. k^h, t^h). I also marked rhotacism, another typical Northern dialectal feature, which occurs with a nasal cluster (nd^r).

¹⁷ The following translation can be seen as the first attempt of literal rendering ever done before. Indeed, the English version published by Knappert, J. in *Islamic Legends* (1985) is a summary translation which does not go hand in hand with every *beti* of each stanza. Some differences between my translation and his are marked in the commentary.

Doing my transliteration and translation I received an important support from Dr. Clarissa Vierke of the University of Bayreuth, to whom I am really grateful. Obviously only I am responsible for any mistakes and misunderstandings.

¹⁸ The English translation is from Arberry, A. J.(1955)

¹⁹ They are marked by an asterisk

The abbreviations used in the critical apparatus are the following ones:

<i>var.</i> variant	Kn. : Knappert's version of <i>UwY</i> (1964)
<i>om.</i> omittit	Scl. : Sacleux (1934)
<i>add.</i> addit	Std.: Standard Swahili
<i>praep.</i> praeponit	DS: Southern Dialect
<i>s.l</i> supra lineam	NL: Northern Lexeme
<i>vac.</i> vacuum	Stz.: stanza
	sbj. : subject
	pr.: pronoun

Excerpt 1. The prologue (*dibaji*)

Ajami text	Swahili transliteration	English version
هَذِهِ قَصِيدَةُ يُوسُفَ - ١ - بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	Hadīhi qaṣīdati Yūsufu -1- Bismillah al-Raḥmāni al-Raḥimi	The poem of Yusuf -1- In the name of God the Clement and the Merciful.
مُؤَانِدٌ وَنَعُ كُتُبُ 1 إِنْ لَا مُوَلَّ وَهَبُ حَدِيثُ يَا يَعْقُوبُ نَمِيئِدُ كَوْمِي	Mwando wangu kukutubu Ina la mola wahabu Hadithi ya Ya'aqubu Nimependa kuwambiya.	I begin to write you The name of God the Permissive And the story of Jacob I have wanted to tell you.
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ أَوَّلِ 2 أَسْكُو نَمِئَالِ بَوْنِ أَمْرَتَوَالِ وَقَلَمِ وَ ذُنِي	Bismillahi awali Asio kuwa na mithali Bwana amezotawali Wafalme wa duniya.	In the name of God the first Who has no equals The lord who reigned The kings of the world.

حَدِيثُ يَا يَعْقُوبُ نَا يُوسُفُ ; B قَصِيئِي يُوسُفُ [هَذِهِ قَصِيدَةُ يُوسُفُ

B ; vac. C بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

C مَدُّ وُعُ ; B مَنَدُّ وُعُ [مُؤَانِدٌ وَنَعُ 1.1

C إِنْ لَمَلَّ وَاهَبُ ; B إِنْ لَمَلَّ وَهَبُ [إِنْ لَا مُوَلَّ وَهَبُ 1.2

C يَبْعُوقُوبُ ; B يَبْعُوقُوبُ [يَابَا يَعْقُوبُ | B حَدِيثُ ; AC حَدِيثُ 1.3

C كَوْمِيَا ; B كَوْمِيَا [كَوْمِي | BC نَمِيئِدُ 1.4

C أَوَّلِ ; AB [أَوَّلِ 2.1

var. BC بِكَ أَسِي مِثَالِ [أَسْكُو نَمِئَالِ 2.2

BC بَانَ [بَوْنِ 2.3

BC قَلَمِ [قَلَمِ 2.4

1.1 *kataba كَتَبَ

1.3 The AR. letter و is written with two dots in B: fusion of qāf with wāw: قُؤ < قُؤ.

* ḥadīt حَدِيثُ , * ya'aqūb يَعْقُوبُ

1.4 The *utenzi* ending rhyme, repeated for the entire length of the poem, ends in -ia represented by 'alif maqṣūra بِى in A and by 'alif in B – C.

2.1 * awwalِ أَوَّلِ 2.2 * mithālِ مِثَالِ 2.4 * duniyā دُنْيَا

3	بُوَانَ حَى مُبُوَكِّجَوَ نُدَى وَ كَعْبُدُوَ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ بِي أَمِرَانِي	Bwana huyu mbwa kuchewa Ndiye wa kuabuduwa La Ilaha illa Huwa Yeye amezoeneya.	He is the one to be respected He is the one to be worshipped There is no God except of Him Who permeates everything.
4	يَعْقُوبُ ثُمُو كُولِ نَمَكُو مَرْسَالِ وَ بَرَاهِيمُ خَلِيلِ سَاسَى تَوَحْدِيئِي	Ya‘aqubu thumwa kweli Ni mkuu mursali Wa Brahimu khalili Sasa thawahadithiya.	Yaqub is a real Prophet He is an important messenger Of Ibrahim the friend of God Now I will tell you.
5	يَعْقُوبُ كُو نَدَانِ بَلْنَا مَتِ بُوَانِ كِرَا مَوَانِ يَقِينِ نَوْتَنَدُ حُكِّي	Ya‘aqubu kiwa ndani Pali na mti yuwani Kizaa mwana yakini Na utandu hutokeya.	When Yaqub was inside There was a tree, you know Certainly, when he procreated his son Branches came out.

3.1 بَكِّجَوَ [مُبُوَكِّجَوَ] *praep.* C | بُوَانَ حَى BC

3.2 دِي وَ كَعْبُدُوَ ; دِي وَكْ عَبْدُوَ [نُدَى وَ كَعْبُدُوَ] C

3.3 لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ BC

3.4 سَنَ [بِي] *alit.* C

4.1 يَعْقُوبُ نِكَلِ B يَعْقُبُ ثَمُ وَكَلِ [يَعْقُوبُ ثُمُو كُولِ] C

4.2 مَرْسَالِ AC ; مَرْسَالِ B

4.3 بَرَاهِيمِ C ; بَرَاهِيمِ B بَرَاهِيمِ C

4.4 سَسَ تَوَهْدِيئَا C ; سَاسَ تَوَهْدِيئَا [سَاسَى تَوَحْدِيئِي] B

5.1 دَانِ [نَدَانِ] BC

5.2 يَقِينِ [بُوَانَ] *var.* B | يَلَنَ مَتِ C ; بَلَنَ مَتِ B [بَلْنَا مَتِ]

5.3 فَهْمُونِ [يَقِينِ] *var.* B | مَنَ C ; مَوَانَ [كِرَا] om. B ; كِرَا B

5.4 نَوْتَنَدُ هُنْكِيَا [نَوْتَنَدُ حُكِّي] BC

3.2 * *abada* عَبَدَ

3.3 * *lā 'ilāha 'illā huwa* لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ

4.1 *thumwa*. In Kiamu, aspiration is always marked in nouns starting in P,T,K,CH and belonging to cl. 9/10.

* *ya'aqūb* يَعْقُوبُ.

* *mursal* مَرْسَالِ

* *ibrāhīmu ḥalīlu* اِبْرَاهِيمُ خَلِيلِ

5.1 *ndani* 'inside', 'inside the bed room with the bride'

5.3 * *yaqīn* يَقِينِ

Excerpt 2. The narrative body and a Quranic insertion

189	مَلِكٌ أَكْمَوْمِيَّ كَوْلُ يُوْسُفَ نَحَى كَنَى كَيْنَمَالِيَّ كُوْوَا وَكَجَلَى	Maliki akamwambiya Kweli Yusufu ni haya Kinya kainyamaliya Kuuwawa kacheleya.	Malik told him: “Is this true, Yusuf?” He kept quiet He was afraid of being killed.
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﴿وَشَرَوْهُ بِثَمَنٍ خَجَسٍ دَرَاهِمٍ مَعْدُوْدَةٍ وَكَانُوا فِيْهِ مِنَ الزَّاهِدِيْنَ﴾

‘Then they sold him for a paltry price, a handful of counted dirhams;
for they set small store by him’

190	وَكَمَزَ الْاِخْوَانَ كُوْدُنْ يَكْتَمَانَ دِنَارِ اَرْبَعِيْنَ نُدْرَ وَكَزِيْجَى	Wakamuuza ikhwani Kwa duni yake thamani Dinari arba‘ini Nduze wakazipokeya.	The brothers sold him For a price below his value For forty dinars His brothers received the money.
191	نَالِيُّ مَنُوْ نِمُوْكُفُ سَوَسَاوْ سِمِيْنَعْنَ مَوْلُوْ مَامَبُ سَانَ هُمُوْلَى	Na aliomnunua Ni mwekevu sawa sawa Si mjinga ni mwelewa Mambo sana humweleya.	The person who bought him Was very diligent Was not a fool but mindful He was expert in many fields.

- 189.1 C أَكْمَبِيَا ; B أَكْمَمَبِيَا | أَكْمَوْمِيَّ | BC مَلِكٌ | مَلِكٌ 189.1
 189.2 var.C نَبِيَا ; B هَبَا | نَحَى | BC يُوْسُفُ | يُوْسُفُ | C كَلِ | B نِكَلِ | كَوْلُ 189.2
 189.3 C كَيَّ كَيَّ يَمَلِيَا ; B كَنِيَا كَانَمَلِيَا | كَنَى كَيْنَمَلِيَّ 189.3
 189.4 C كُوْوَا وَكَجَلِيَا ; B كُوْوُ وَكَجَلِيَا | كُوْوَا وَكَجَلَى 189.4
 189.5 [omm.C] وَشَرَوْهُ بِثَمَنٍ خَجَسٍ دَرَاهِمٍ مَعْدُوْدَةٍ وَكَانُوا فِيْهِ مِنَ الزَّاهِدِيْنَ
 190.1 BC اِخْوَانَ | اِخْوَانَ | C وَكَمَزَزَ | وَكَمَزَزَ 190.1
 190.2 C يَكْتَمَانَ | يَكْتَمَانَ | BC كُوْدُنْ | كُوْدُنْ 190.2
 190.3 C اَرْبَعِيْنَ | اَرْبَعِيْنَ | BC دِنَارِ | دِنَارِ 190.3
 190.4 var.BC وَكَزِيْجَى | وَكَزِيْجَى | C دُرْ | B دُرْ | نُدْرَ 190.4
 191.1 BC نَالِيُّ | نَالِيُّ 191.1
 191.2 BC سَوَسَاوْ | سَوَسَاوْ | C نِمُوْكُفُ | B نِمُوْكُفُ | نِمُوْكُفُ 191.2
 191.3 BC سِمِيْنَعْنَ نِمَلُوْ | سِمِيْنَعْنَ مَوْلُوْ 191.3
 191.4 BC هُمُوْلَى | هُمُوْلَى | B سَنَ | سَنَ | C مَبْ | B مَبْ | مَامَبُ 191.4

Qur. 12:20

190.1 **ahwān* اِخْوَانَ

190.2 **dūn* دُونَ

190.3 **dīnār* دِينَارِ

**arbaʿīn* اَرْبَعِيْنَ

**taman* ثَمَنٍ

Excerpt 3. The conclusion (*tamati*)

خَبَارِ إِخْتِمٍ
كُوْعُونِ بَكْرِيْمٍ
إِلَهٍ تَتْرَحْمُ
كُوْعَفُوْنَعَفِيْ

Habari imekhi/imu
Kwa auni ya Karimu
Ilahi taturahamu
Kwa afua na afia.

I have finished to talk
With the help of the Clement
God will be merciful of us
With bless and health.

نِيْمَكْمُ وَالسَّلَامُ
أَتَنْجَزِيْ كَرِيْمٍ
جَنِّ نَمِيْمٍ مَقَامٍ
تُفَوِّجِيْكَ كَرٍ وَمِ

Nimekoma wa Salamu
Atatujazi Karimu
Janna na mema makamu
Tufurahike kwa wema.

I have ended in peace
The Clement will reward us
In Paradise with good needs
We will be happy and good.

تَمَّتْ قِصِيْدَةُ يُوسُفُ

Tammati qaṣīda al-yūsufu.

The story of Joseph ends.

- 723.1 C إِخْتِمٍ ; var.B نِيْمَكْمُ] إِخْتِمٍ | B هَبَ] خَبَارِ 723.1
723.2 BC كَعُونِ بَكْرِيْمٍ] كُوْعُونِ بَكْرِيْمٍ 723.2
723.3 BC تَتْرَحْمُ ; B تَتْرَحْمُ] تَتْرَحْمُ 723.3
723.4 BC كَعَفُوْنَعَفِيْ] كُوْعَفُوْنَعَفِيْ 723.4
724.1 BC نِيْمَكْمُ وَالسَّلَامُ] نِيْمَكْمُ وَالسَّلَامُ 724.1
724.2 C | كَرِيْمٍ] كَرِيْمٍ | B أَتَنْجَزِيْ] أَتَنْجَزِيْ 724.2
724.3 BC نَمِيْمٍ] نَمِيْمٍ | B جَنِّ] جَنِّ 724.3
724.4 var. B; نَمِيْمًا var. C] كَرٍ وَمِ | C تُفَوِّجِيْكَ ; B تُفَوِّجِيْكَ] تُفَوِّجِيْكَ 724.4

C وَالسَّلَامُ... ; B وَالسَّلَامُ] تَمَّتْ قِصِيْدَةُ يُوسُفُ

- 723.1 *habar خَبَارِ *tamma تَمَّ
723.2 *'aun عَوْنِ *karam كَرَمِ
723.3 *'ilah إِلَهٍ *rahīma رَحِمَةٍ
723.4 *'afa عَفَا *'āfiah عَافِيَةٍ
724.1 * salām سَلَامِ
724.2 *'gaza جَزَا
724.3 *'gannat جَنَّةِ
724.4 * faraha فَرَحِ

Appendix
Frontispieces

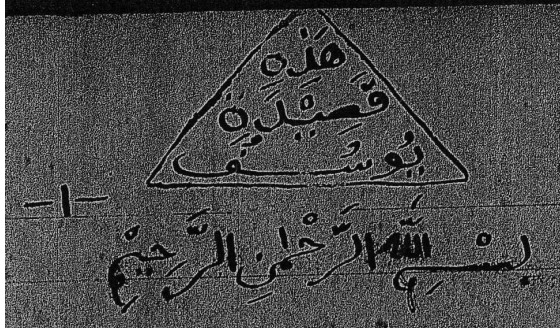


Fig. 1 (Ms. A)²⁰ p. 1

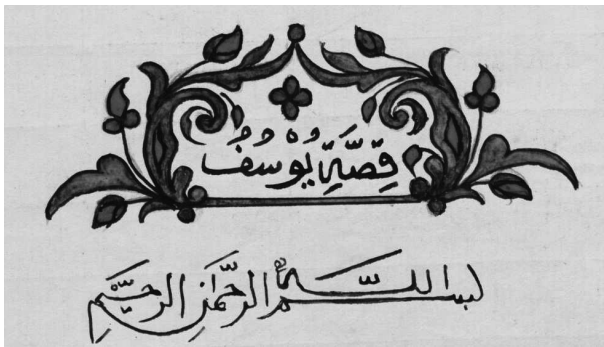


Fig. 2 (Ms. B)²¹ p. 1



Fig. 3 (Ms. C)²² p. 1

²⁰ Ms. 228624, Hichens Collection.

²¹ Hs. Or. 9893.

²² Seminar 1465 H73.

Corpus and āyāt

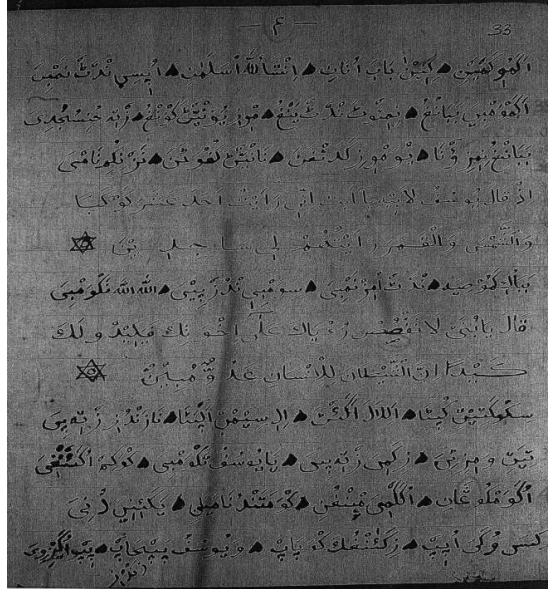


Fig. 4 (Ms. A) p. 4

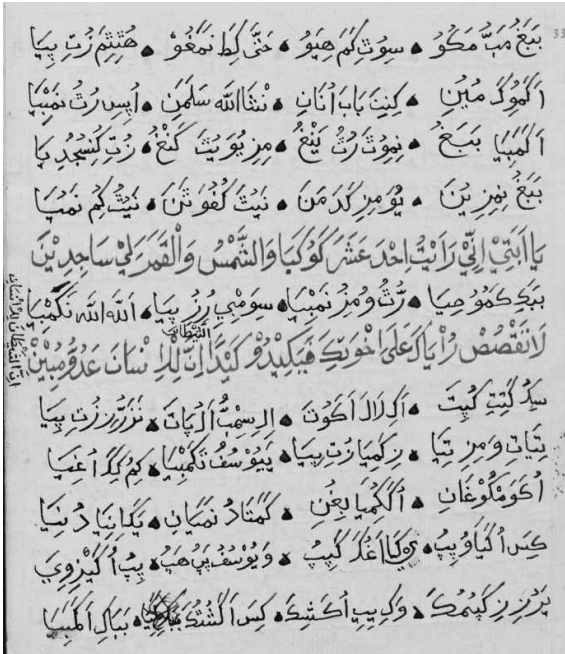


Fig. 5 (Ms. B) p. 4

بَيْعُ مَبْنُوكُوهُ سَوَاتِ كَمْ هَبُوهُ حَتَّى كَيْلِ مَعُوهُ هَبْنِمُ زَتْ بِيَا
 الْكُوَكُ مَبْنُوكُوهُ كَيْنَابَابِ أَنْابِ نَشَاءُ اللَّهُ مَكَانِثَ وَبِسْرَتْ نَبِيَا
 أَكْبِيَا بَسَّحُ هَبُوَتْ رَتْ بَيْعُ هَبِيَا بِيَا كَيْعُ هَبِيَا كَيْسَجِدِيَا
 بَيْعُ مَبْنُوكُوهُ هَبِيَا كَيْمَانِ نَيْتِ رَمِيُونَاهُ حَسْبُكُمْ مَبْنُوكُوهُ
 يَا أَبَتِ إِنِّي رَأَيْتُ أَحْفَ شَرُّ لَوْ كَبَا وَالشَّمْسُ وَالْعَمْرُ
 بَيْعُ الْكُوَكُ مَبْنُوكُوهُ زَتْ وَبِسْرَتْ نَبِيَا سَوِيَا رَمْ بِيَا أَنْتَ اللَّهُ كَلْبِيَا
 رَأَيْتُكُمْ فُيَا كَلَّ عَلَى الْخَوْنِ كَلَّ فَيْكَلُو كَلَّ كَيْدَا إِنْ الشَّيْطَانُ لِلْإِنْسَانِ عَدُوٌّ
 سَيْنِ
 مَبْنُوكُوهُ كَيْسِرِيَا نَلَيْتُ مَبْنُوكُوهُ تَكْفُرَتْ مَبْنُوكُوهُ حَرِيَتْ رَشِيَا
 مَبْنُوكُوهُ أَلَيْتُ كَلْبِيَا يَنْبَا نَيْكُمُ مَبْنُوكُوهُ رَتْ نَفْسِيَا
 يَمْنُوكُوهُ أَنْتُمْ أَمِيرُ مِنْ مَكَّةِ أَمِيكِيَا وَبِكِيَا وَسَيِي نَبِيَا
 مِنْ مَكَّةِ كَلْبِيَا كَنْتُ نَكَلِيَا هَلْ كُمْ أَسْطَانِيَا حَتَّى هَكَذَا وَبِكِيَا

Fig. 6 (Ms. C) p. 4

Colophons

كَتَبَتْ فَصِيحَةً لِيُوسُفَ
 بِلَايْحِ بَوْمِ أَحَدِ ٢٩ مَحَرَّمِ ١٣٥٦

Fig. 7 (Ms. A) p. 72

بِحَقِّكُمْ وَأَسْلَامًا • اتَّجَبَزِ كَرِيمًا • بِنَ نَمَمِ مَقَامِ • تَفَرَّحِ سِتِّيَا
 وَالسَّلَامِ
 حَرِيَتْ
 762

Fig. 8 (Ms. B) p. 71

وَالسَّلَامِ وَبِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 ١٣ ٣٢

Fig. 9 (Ms. C) p. 66

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Etiopski intelektualista i jego dzieło – pomiędzy oraturą a literaturą

Chrześcijańska Etiopia, od pojawienia się jako państwo w początkach naszej ery, funkcjonowała w świecie gdzie pismo było znane, darzone szacunkiem i używane, również do spisywania historii. Osobami, które się tym zajmowały byli nieliczni wykształceni w przyklasztornych szkołach mnisi lub urzędnicy dworscy. Większość społeczeństwa pozostawała poza tym piśmiennym obiegiem, zanurzona w kulturze ustnego przekazu wiedzy i tradycji. Takie *status quo*, utrzymywane w Etiopii przez wieki, służyło zarówno rządzącym, jak i poddanym. W połowie XX wieku w Cesarstwie Etiopskim zachodziły gwałtowne zmiany powiązane z procesami, które miały miejsce również na świecie. Grupa intelektualistów zebrana wokół cesarza Hajle Syllasje I dążyła do szybkiej modernizacji systemu państwowego. Wydarzeniami, które stanowiły cezurę była wojna oraz okupacja włoska Etiopii w latach 1935–1941. Po wyzwoleniu nastąpiły zasadnicze zmiany, a jedną z nich był intensywny rozwój etiopskiej literatury. Publikowano wiele książek, często o charakterze dydaktycznym, co wraz z rozwojem nowoczesnej edukacji wpływało na upowszechnianie się słowa pisanego.

W 1949 roku zostało wydane jedno z najważniejszych etiopskich dzieł dotyczących organizacji państwa i jego tradycji. *Zykre neger* („Rzecz zapamiętana“, ale też i „Rzecz warta pamięci“), autorstwa *balambarasa*¹ Mahteme Syllasje Uelde Mesk’ela, jest zbiorem dokumentów, które ocalały z wojennej pożogi, a także komentarzy, obserwacji i wspomnień autora dotyczących funkcjonowania dworu oraz wydarzeń w państwie końca XIX i początków XX wieku. (Więcej nt. *Zykre neger* por.: Rubinkowska-Anioł 2013) Dzieło stanowi kolekcję źródeł

¹ Tytuł dworski w Cesarstwie Etiopskim.

do badania historii Etiopii, jest także doskonałym materiałem do szerszej analizy, której wyniki mogą wzbogacić naszą wiedzę na temat licznych aspektów etiopskiej kultury.

W niniejszym artykule pokusimy się o znalezienie odpowiedzi na pytanie na ile, niewątpliwie literackie dzieło jakim jest *Zykre neger*, może stanowić dowód na zakorzenie kultury Cesarstwa Etiopskiego w oralności. Badać będziemy ślady oratury w piśmiennictwie, które żywe były jeszcze w połowie XX wieku, kiedy ukazała się księga. Pismo posłużyło autorowi do zamrożenia, usidlenia oraz ocalenia od zapomnienia rzeczy nietrwałych bądź rozproszonych i zebrania ich w jednym miejscu wraz z własnymi obserwacjami na temat przemijającej, jak się wkrótce okazało, ery w dziejach Etiopii. Należy przy tym dodać, że autor – świadomy zmian i sam w nich uczestniczący – zdawał sobie sprawę z nieuchronnej konsekwencji wydarzeń, jaką mogła być całkowita utrata dokumentów (spisanych, oralnych czy materiału ikonograficznego), kluczowych dla wiedzy o cesarstwie i jego kulturze politycznej. Podobne podejście reprezentował cesarz Hajle Syllasje I, który zlecił Mahteme Syllasje pracę nad uporządkowaniem dokumentów i objął patronat nad ich publikacją.

Co więcej, powstanie dzieła dokumentuje proces przechodzenia kultury etiopskiej od oralności ku piśmienności, który był i nadal jest procesem uświadamianym, choć nienazywanym. Księga, zarówno w treści, jak i w formie jest w pewnym sensie symbolem tej zmiany, a jednocześnie hołdu złożonego etiopskiej tradycji państwowej. W rozważaniach nad oralnymi i piśmiennymi komponentami kultury etiopskiej, należy zaznaczyć, że choć autor posługuje się słowem pisanim, to treści jakie przekazuje, forma w jakiej je przedstawia czy wreszcie język jakiego używa zaświadcza o tym, że Etiopia czasów Hajle Syllasje I była miejscem, gdzie informacja częściej przekazywana była ustnie niż za pomocą pisma.

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest odnalezienie przejawów tradycji ustnego przekazu informacji w analizowanej księdze, ze szczególnym odniesieniem do oralnego idiomu, który był od wieków w cesarstwie używany do przekazywania ważnych treści, a także określenie charakteru źródeł z jakich autor korzystał. Jednym z celów szczegółowych będzie więc próba udzielenia odpowiedzi na pytanie czy w tekście *Zykre neger* częściej używane są wyrażenia nawiązujące do mówienia i słuchania, czy też pisanie i czytanie. Jako aneks do artykułu zamieszczamy materiał źródłowy: tłumaczenie wstępu i przedmowy, w których autor prezentuje swój stosunek do dzieła oraz inny intelektualista epoki Hajle Syllasje, *blatta*² Mersie Hazen Uelde K'irk'os, dzieli się opinią na temat *Zykre neger*.

² Wysoka godność honorowa w Cesarstwie Etiopskim.

Rozważania na temat śladów oralności w *Zykre neger* zostały zapoczątkowane przez Hannę Rubinkowską-Anioł w artykule „Memuary...”, gdzie przedstawiono również analizę szaty graficznej tej książki, jak i znaczenia materiału wizualnego w niej zawartego (zdjęć, tabel, spisów, etc.) (Rubinkowska-Anioł 2013).

1. Powody powstania *Zykre neger*

Jak pisze we wstępie autor, powodem powstania *Zykre neger* była obawa o utratę dziedzictwa narodowego w postaci dokumentów oraz wiedzy dotyczącej funkcjonowania Cesarstwa Etiopskiego u schyłku XIX i w początkach XX wieku, do utraty suwerenności w 1936 roku, co zdarzyło się pierwszy raz w historii Etiopii.

Zmiany zachodzące w państwie w połowie XX wieku i ich odzwierciedlenie w literaturze są obszernym tematem, który pozostaje poza ramami określonymi w niniejszym artykule. Można je sprowadzić do dwóch głównych postulatów realizowanych w polityce Etiopii zarówno przez działania cesarza Hajle Syllasje I, jak i dążenia zgromadzonych wokół niego intelektualnych elit, co znalazło odzwierciedlenie na kartach omawianej publikacji. Pierwszym z nich była chęć modernizacji, która wynikała ze „wspólnego doświadczenia intelektualistów” – jak określił to Bahru Zewde. Wspólnym doświadczeniem miała być „świadomość zacofania państwa w stosunku do państw Zachodu, które mieli okazję odwiedzać” (Bahru Zewde 2005: 99). Drugim filarem działań etiopskich intelektualistów wprowadzających w życie myśl cesarza była chęć ocalenia tradycji, zbudowania etiopskiej potęgi w postaci nowoczesnego państwa, jednak w oparciu o własne doświadczenia. Mahteme Syllasje daje temu wyraz we wstępie do swego dzieła, pisząc:

„Wiadomym jest, że wszystkie narody świata, nawet jeśli znajdują się na wysokim szczeblu rozwoju, mają swój własny rodzaj cywilizacji różniący się od innych, nie tylko wyglądem czy językiem, ale także sposobem zarządzania krajem.”³ (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: [7])

I dlatego właśnie, według niego, Etiopia powinna dążyć do stworzenia lepszej organizacji państwa i społeczeństwa, korzystając z wypracowanych przez setki lat własnych wzorców. Mahteme Syllasje w tym duchu odnosi się do materiału,

³ Wszystkie tłumaczenia z języka amharskiego Ewa Wolf-Sore.

który uważa za absolutnie fundamentalny i z tego względu chce go ocalić od zapomnienia publikując w *Zykre neger*. Pisze:

“Jeśli (...) to co przeminęło ulegnie zapomnieniu, a nie zostanie zebrane i uporządkowane, i jeśli chce się iść dalej opierając się jedynie na współczesności, to narażonym się jest na utratę jedności i rozproszenie, ponieważ brakuje wyjaśniającej podstawy (tej jedności).” (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: [7])

W Etiopii literatura funkcjonuje niejako pomiędzy kulturą słowa mówionego i pisanego. Istnieje bogaty korpus literatury pisanej obejmującej tradycyjne gatunki, jak literatura religijna czy kroniki królewskie, a także liczne gatunki oralne, np. poezja. Problem tradycji i modernizacji był podejmowany przez etiopskich intelektualistów od początku pojawienia się słowa drukowanego. Jest on w przypadku Etiopii tym bardziej skomplikowany, że kultura piśmienna jest tu stara jak sama państwowość. Dlatego kultura słowa pisanego, której produktem jest *Zykre neger*, wydaje się być dobrym materiałem do analizy procesu poszukiwania przez Etiopczyków własnej drogi ku rozwojowi i nowoczesności.

Mahteme Syllasje pisze o swoim dziele: „odważyłem się przygotować te memuary, których zawartość nie jest właściwie zgodna z moim wykształceniem” podkreślając, że *Zykre neger* powstała dzięki doświadczeniu i pamięci, a nie jest wynikiem jego pracy zawodowej ani wykształcenia. Może to być odczytywane jako wyraz skromności, zabieg uwarunkowany nakazem kulturowym, nie zaś próba uczciwego przedstawienia swojego stosunku do dzieła i własnych ograniczeń. Mahteme Syllasje bowiem, jak wielu ówczesnych intelektualistów, odebrał gruntowne nauki zarówno w systemie tradycyjnego etiopskiego szkolnictwa kościelnego, jak i w duchu europejskich zasad kształcenia. Uczęszczał do szkół europejskiego typu w Etiopii, a później studiował we Francji, choć, oczywiście, dziedziną w jakiej się kształcił, było rolnictwo. Jednak ważnym okazał się fakt, że jego ojciec, *ts'ehafie tyzaz* „piszący rozkazy” Uelde Mesk'el, nadworny sekretarz cesarza Menelika II, zaszczepił w synu poczucie obywatelskiego obowiązku i umiłowania tradycji. Choć więc Mahteme Syllasje pracował krótko po powrocie ze studiów w zawodzie (zajmował się modernizacją rolnictwa oraz przyczynił się do powstania Wyższej Szkoły Rolniczej w Ambo), to jednak większość życia poświęcił pracy nad zachowaniem zagrożonego wyginięciem dziedzictwa tradycji ustnej. W latach trzydziestych Etiopia, stając w obliczu obcej agresji i utraty własnej niezależności, poczuła się zagrożona utratą tożsamości, na co odpowiedzią były działania etiopskich intelektualistów z cesarzem Hajle Syllasje I na czele. Jednym z owoców tego poczucia i tych działań jest *Zykre neger*.

Świadomość znaczenia wiedzy o państwie, która przechowywana była w pamięci starszego pokolenia i przekazywana ustnie młodszemu, była oczywista dla etiopskich intelektualistów. *Zykre neger* poprzedzają wspomniane już słowa wprowadzające *mek'dym* “przedmowa” oraz *megebija* “wstęp”, z których drugi został napisany przez autora, pierwszy zaś wyszedł spod pióra innego wybitnego etiopskiego intelektualisty Mersie Hazena Uelde K'irk'osa, odpowiedzialnego za Biuro do spraw Historii i Informacji na temat Cesarstwa. Mersie Hazen zwraca uwagę na doniosłość dzieła, ale też na znaczenie momentu, w którym ono powstało – zakończenie włoskiej okupacji. Jest to fakt istotny nie tylko dla Mersie Hazena, podkreśla go także sam autor. Potrzeba wydania tego rodzaju publikacji narodziła się w dużej mierze w obliczu spustoszenia, jakiego dokonano w Etiopii podczas wojny i okupacji. Okres ten miał takie znaczenie dla Etiopczyków, jak niemiecka okupacja dla Polaków, kiedy każde życie dotknięte tym doświadczeniem zostało głęboko naznaczone. Wojna i okupacja, a w ich wyniku groźba utraty tożsamości, sprowokowały do przemyśleń na temat funkcjonowania państwowości etiopskiej. Zniszczenia, które dotknęły kulturę etiopską przyczyniły się do świeżego spojrzenia na to, co i w jaki sposób należy ocalić dla przyszłych pokoleń. Dodaje to wagi księdze, która, jak można przypuszczać, zawiera najważniejsze i najbardziej wartościowe informacje.

2. Badania nad oraturą w literaturze

Zwolennicy teorii oralności oraz badacze zajmujący się współzależnościami pomiędzy oraturą i literaturą poświęcili wiele czasu i miejsca wnikliwej analizie dzieł Homera dowodząc, że stanowiły one nic innego jak spisane przykłady rozbudowanej tradycji ustnej przekazywanej za pomocą wielopokoleniowego łańcucha przekazu. Homer, uważany za genialnego poetę, został dostrzeżony jako niezwykle sprawny rzemieślnik słowa, który stanowił jedno z ogniw tego łańcucha. (Por.: Lord 2010; Haverlock 2006 i 2007; Finnegan 2012) Teoria, która powstała na gruncie badań homeryckich tekstów zakładała początkowo ewolucyjną drogę kultur od oralności do stanu piśmienności. Jak wykazują obecne badania sprawa nie jest tak prosta: różne kultury podążają tą drogą w różnym tempie i w związku z tym znajdują się na różnych jej zakrętach, co związane jest z ich szczególnymi uwarunkowaniami.

W odniesieniu do etiopskiej historiografii okresu panowania cesarza Hajle Syllasje I, bo do tego nurtu zaliczyć należy utwór Mahteme Syllasje, zasadne wydaje się nawiązanie nie tyle do badań nad tekstami Homera, ile do warsz-

tatu Herodota i jego zmagania ze spisywaniem ustnego przekazu. Tym bardziej, że powody spisania przez Herodota *Dziejów* okazują się zbieżne z tymi, o których we wstępie do *Zykre neger* wspomina Mahteme Syllasje. Wielokrotnie podkreśla on znaczenie wiedzy historycznej i interpretacji dawnych wydarzeń dla współczesności, a także przyszłości. Pisze:

“Nie do pomyślenia jest, że użyteczność tego (wiedzy o historii cesarstwa) może zostać zapomniana. Żeby nasz, z natury prawy, naród etiopski na wieki pamiętał o uporządkowanym sposobie życia i ci młodzi ludzie, którzy obecnie zdobywają wykształcenie, jak i przyszłe pokolenia, żeby miały opis tego, jak wyglądała administracja państwowa, żeby ten opis mógł im służyć i być wsparciem, na którym będą mogli się oprzeć.” (Mahteme Syllasje Uelde Mesk’el 1949: [9])

Wedle Andrzeja Grabskiego cele Herodota były podobne: „(historię) rozumiał (...) jako doświadczenie przeszłych pokoleń, które może się okazać użyteczne dla następnych...” (Grabski 2006: 16) Herodot, podobnie jak Mahteme Syllasje, odwoływał się do doświadczenia wojny, z jednej strony jako siły niszczycielskiej, z drugiej zaś jako momentu mobilizacji sił patriotycznych i areny bohaterskich czynów.

Powiązania pomiędzy zamysłem i warsztatem w dziełach Mahteme Syllasje i Herodota są również zadziwiająco zbieżne i odnoszą się bezpośrednio do problemu oralności i piśmienności. Etiopski autor przedstawia przemyślaną konstrukcję swojej pracy we wstępie i tam też odwołuje się do źródeł przekazywanych ustnie. Grabski również jest zdania, że „Herodot opracował swe dzieło podług precyzyjnie przemyślanego planu, który odpowiadał przyjętym przezeń założeniom estetycznym, związanym z tradycją oralną.” (Grabski 2006: 16) Mahteme Syllasje zdaje się kłaść nacisk na równe znaczenie źródeł pisanych i ustnych, co oddaje wielowielkową sytuację oralno-piśmiennej Etiopii. Zaś wedle ustaleń badaczy twórczości Herodota, dla greckiego historyka najważniejszym źródłem była tradycja ustna, którą zbierał i spisywał bardzo skrupulatnie korzystając z pamięci naocznych świadków, przeważnie ludzi starszych, jak i tych którzy posiadali wiedzę na interesujące go tematy. Korzystał więc z informacji przekazywanych przez podróżników, marynarzy czy kupców, ale także uwzględniał w swoim dziele zabytki piśmiennictwa – inskrypcje, pomniki, nagrobki, które sam widział. Herodot nie pominął innych źródeł pisanych, wykorzystywał również, *inter alia*, kroniki. (Grabski 2006: 16) Podobnie Mersie Hazen doceniał wagę pomników jako źródeł historycznych. (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: [5])

3. Pomiędzy słowem powiedzianym a słowem zapisanym

Choć znane jest etiopskie przysłowie, użyte zresztą przez Mahteme Syllasje we wstępie, które mówi: *Beaf jalleu jiresal, bets 'yhfet jalleu jiueresal* „To co powiedziane ulega zapomnieniu, to co napisane jest dziedziczone” w kulturze etiopskiej słowo mówione miało zawsze dużą siłę. Znana i ceniona etiopska poezja *k'ynie* była przez długie wieki poezją oralną: jej siła tkwiła właśnie w ulotności, istniała w momencie jej wygłaszania oraz w pamięci słuchających. Pamięć o niej nie ginęła, gdyż wiadomym jest, że szczególnie trafne sformułowania, metafory, skojarzenia były chętnie wykorzystywane przy innych okazjach i w innych okolicznościach przez innych twórców, nie na zasadzie plagiatu, ale na zasadzie rozwinięcia. W ten sposób stworzono w Etiopii bardzo pokaźne zasoby poezji przekazywanej jedynie drogą ustną. Jednocześnie istniały gatunki typowo literackie, jak kroniki królewskie – *tarik* „historia” – które były spisywane dla potomnych a ich głównym celem było sławienie imienia władcy. Równoległe cyrkulowały przekazy ustne – *afe tarik* „ustna historia” – które ze względu na ich nieobiektywność traktowane są z jednej strony z dozą ostrożności, z drugiej z przekonaniem o ziarnie prawdy w nich zawartym. Terminem oznaczającym oraturę jest termin *syne k'al* „sztuka słowa”, który jest symetryczny do terminu literatura, *syne ts 'yhuf* „sztuka pisma”. *K'al* „słowo” jest więc w Etiopii kojarzone z mową i termin *k'alawi synets 'yhuf* „słowna literatura” wydaje się być dość karkołomną, rzadko używaną kalką językową angielskiego *oral literature*.

Współistnienie literatury i oratury w granicach Cesarstwa Etiopskiego przez tak długie wieki jest ciekawe i ważne dla zrozumienia jego kultury. Jak już było powiedziane, to warstwom rządzącym zależało na utrzymywaniu sytuacji, gdzie pismo było jednym z atrybutów władzy, czy nawet czynników ją legitymizujących. Spisane utwory, jak np. *Kybre negest* „Chwała królów” dawały władcom moc. Najlepiej świadczy o tym przypadek zagarnięcia księgi przez Brytyjczyków i list cesarza Johannysa IV (1872–1889) z prośbą o jej zwrócenie: „gdyż w kraju moim lud nie chce słuchać bez niej moich rozkazów”. (Strelcyn 1956: 7) Lud bowiem widział pismo jako mowę uświęconą, co było związane z faktem, że spisywano przede wszystkim teksty religijne (Biblia, żywoty świętych, etc.) Co więcej księgi ozdabiane były iluminacjami i miniaturami o tej samej tematyce. Słowa uświęcały więc pergamin, na którym były spisywane i sama już księga jako przedmiot traktowana była jak święta.

Kiedy Mersie Hazen pisze w przedmowie do księgi o wojnie włosko-etiopskiej i podkreśla chęć najeźdźców zniszczenia etiopskiej kultury, wyszczególnia i oddziela niejako następujące działania Włochów: niszczenie pomników oraz

zabytków, także piśmiennictwa z jednej strony oraz eksterminację inteligencji i starszyny z drugiej. Pisze: „wyszukiwano i eksterminowano starców, którzy stanowili skarbnicę tradycji ustnej, żeby nie mogli pozostać świadkami.” Jest to istotne z punktu widzenia rozważań na temat znaczenia kultury słowa mówionego i pisanego w Etiopii. Podkreśla dwoistość etiopskiego postrzegania sposobów przechowywania wiedzy, gdzie tradycja ustna traktowana była na równi z pomnikami i zabytkami piśmiennictwa.

Obserwacja problemu oralność *versus* piśmiennosc na gruncie etiopskim dostarcza bardzo ciekawych przemyśleń, szczególnie kiedy zechcemy przyjrzeć się trudnej do uchwycenia granicy pomiędzy nimi. Mahteme Syllasje w swoim dziele nawiązuje zarówno do mówienia/słuchania, jak i do pisanania/czytania. Chociażby we wstępie zwraca się do odbiorców: „Moi drodzy czytelnicy!” przez co bezpośrednio podkreśla, że porozumiewa się z nimi za pomocą pisma. (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: [9]) Odniesienia do mówienia/słuchania lub do pisanania/czytania nie są jednak równoznaczne z przeciwstawianiem zmysłu słuchu, centralnemu w psychodynamice oralności, zmysłowi wzroku, ważniejszemu rzekomo w psychodynamice piśmiennosci. (Ong 2011: 199) Bogaty materiał ikonograficzny, sposób edycji książki oraz forma przytaczanych informacji i źródeł zdają się przeczyć temu podziałowi. Wielość fotografii, tabel oraz schematów, które ułatwiają czytelnikowi śledzenie treści, odwołuje się także do zmysłu wzroku. Ma to na celu wzbogacenie monotonii słowa pisanego stanowiąc swego rodzaju pomost pomiędzy tym, czego dowiadujemy się za pomocą wzroku z zapisanego tekstu, a tym, czego możemy dowiedzieć się bez konieczności znajomości pisma.

4. Nawiązywanie przez Mahteme Syllasje do zmysłu słuchu

Badacz starający się odnaleźć ślady oratory w *Zykre neger* natrafia na liczne tropy. Już w spisie treści widzimy, że niektóre tytuły rozdziałów zaczynają się od przyimka *syle* „o tym”, którego używa się w mowie. Podobnie zaczynają się rozdziały w *Kybre negest*, która przecież była legendą krążącą po Chrześcijańskim Wschodzie, a spisana w Etiopii w XIV wieku. Można więc przywołać wielowiekową tradycję funkcjonowania *syle* w piśmiennictwie, jednak przyimek ten przede wszystkim przywodzi na myśl przekaz oralny – mówcę rozpoczynającego swoją opowieść.

W tekście książki Mahteme Syllasje po wielokroć odwołuje się do poezji, która była przez niego zasłyszana i w formie spisanej pojawia się na kartach *Zykre neger*. Opisując na przykład pałac cesarski i jego otoczenie autor zatrzymuje się

przy ujęciu wody i cytuje twórczość *azmari* – etiopskich bardów i komentatorów, którzy podróżując po kraju przekazywali wiadomości i opowieści historyczne w formie wierszowanej. Jest to czterowiersz – komentarz na temat dbałości cesarza o lud i cesarskiej gotowości do zaspokajania jego potrzeb, tutaj jest to potrzeba nieograniczonego dostępu do wody. (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 9) Kolejne przykłady poezji (s. 293–315) poprzedzone są istotną informacją autora na temat jej znaczenia:

„Przytaczam tutaj dla czytelników tych kilka różnego rodzaju wierszy, które przepojone są patriotyzmem i przez to w czasie wojny służyły jako broń, dlatego właśnie podaję je tutaj w rozdziale dotyczącym wojny.” (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 293)

Jest to wyraźne nawiązanie do wiary w potęgę słowa, w jego możliwości sprawcze. Świadczy też o typowym w kulturach oralnych przekonaniu o działaniu słowem, lub też o zastosowaniu słowa w działaniu. Pisał o tym Walter Ong, który przywołał przemyślenia Bronisława Malinowskiego na ten temat z jednej strony⁴, z drugiej wsparł się przykładem znaczenia hebrajskiego terminu *dabar*, które oznacza zarówno „słowo” jak i „zdarzenie”. (Ong 2011: 70) Przytoczone wiersze są autorstwa kilku poetów, m. in. Tesemmy Yszetie, pierwszego Etiopczyka, którego utwory zostały nagrane w Europie. Jeden z wierszy, które przeznaczone były do ustnego wykonywania i komponowane zgodnie z zasadami utworów oralnych, zaczyna się od słów:

„Słuchajcie mnie, moi ziomkowie, powiem wam coś pożytecznego, kochajcie się bardzo nawzajem...” (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 304)

Odwołań do zmysłu słuchu szukać można również w proklamacjach cesarskich – *auadzach* – nazwanych przez Bairu Taflę „środkami przekazu”. (Bairu Tafla 1984: 365) Bairu Tafla analizuje *auadze* pod kątem zmiany ich formy na przestrzeni dziejów z ustnej na pisaną. Pokazuje na ile idiom oralny zachowny został w dwudziestowiecznych dokumentach tego typu, a na ile zostały wprowadzone nowe cechy typowe dla formy pisanej. Bez względu na te rozważania, istotne jest, że w *Zykre neger* Mahteme Syllasje wielokrotnie przytacza treść proklamacji. Zgodnie z określeniem Erica Haverlocka można je zaliczyć do tekstów, które „mówią” – jest to bowiem spisane słowo mówione. *Auadz* przekazywany

⁴ „Malinowski stwierdza jednoznacznie, że dla ludów „prymitywnych” (oralnych) język jest sposobem działania, a nie odpowiednikiem myśli.” (Ong 2011: 70)

był ustnie przez cesarza ministrowi pióra, wspomnianemu wcześniej *ts'ehafie tyjazowi* „piszący rozkazy”. Ten zaś spisywał je, by później on sam lub rozesłani przez niego heraldowie odczytywali słowa władcy zgromadzonym na placu poddanym. Dlatego *auadže* przytoczone w *Zykre neger* były na końcu podpisane przez urzędnika potwierdzającego zgodność z mówionym oryginałem. Władca zwracał się w nich bezpośrednio do ludu, często w drugiej osobie liczby pojedynczej, językiem potocznym: przytoczony na stronie 896 *auadż* zaczyna się tak: „Słuchaj, słuchaj”. W innym dokumencie czytamy: *arat gizie auadż neggerku ante gyn jematsemma honk* „obwieszczałem już cztery razy, ale ty nie słuchasz”. Jest to *auadż* cesarza Menelika II, w którym władca daje wskazówki postępowania w przypadku zaginięcia bydła. (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 9) Podobnie w *auadżu* o złodziejach cesarz zwraca się do poddanych: „Myślałem, że cię już ukarałem dawno, uciąłem ci rękę, nogę, wychłostałem cię, przypaliłem ci nawet czoło rozgrzanym żelazem, ale ty nie przestałeś kraść.” (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 72) Ostatnią informacją, która jest podawana w większości *auadżów* w *Zykre neger* jest miejsce i czas wygłoszenia – *teneggere* „wypowiedziane” – co w oczywisty sposób nawiązujące do mówienia i słuchania, a nie do pisania i czytania.

Innym fragmentem księgi, w którym autor odwołuje się do zmysłu słuchu jest program dnia monarchy. W punkcie siódmym poniedziałkowego porządku dnia znalazło się wyrażenie *werek'et mesmija* „słuchanie papieru”, co oznacza wysłuchiwanie złożonych na piśmie skarg, zażaleń czy innych problemów. (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 61) Wydaje się zresztą, że cały program tygodnia monarchy (s. 61–65) oparty był na słuchaniu i mówieniu (jak to zresztą przedstawiał w „Cesarzu” Ryszard Kapuściński). Do monarchy w porannych godzinach zgłaszali się interesanci. Termin *cz'uahi* „krzyczący” oznacza petenta, a więc interestanta, który ma jakąś sprawę do władcy, najczęściej zażalenie. (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 61, punkt 1; 62, punkt 1; 63, punkt 1). Sprawy wnoszone przez żołnierzy również przedstawiane były w formie *cz'uhet* ‘krzyk’. (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: 61, punkt 3)

5. Idiom oralny

Szukając etiopskiego idiomu oralnego na myśl przychodzi pojęcie *semyinna uerk* ‘„wosk i złoto” – termin stosowany często przez badaczy z kręgu kultury euroamerykańskiej na określenie całości kultury chrześcijańskiej Etiopii. (Levine 1975) Wosk i złoto – czyli podwójne znaczenie wykorzystywane w wyrafinowany sposób w etiopskiej poezji oralnej i przez setki lat doprowadzone do per-

fekcji, określa też sposób przekazywania informacji, gdzie właściwe znaczenie ukryte bywa pod mniej istotnym przesłaniem. Przez to jedynie człowiek wykształcony i obyty z takim sposobem porozumiewania się może odczytać zasadniczą treść.

Mahteme Syllasje będąc człowiekiem wykształconym niewątpliwie stosował w *Zykre neger* wosk i złoto. Już we wstępie pisząc o powodach powstania księgi pisze takie słowa:

„...ponieważ ucho moje słyszało, że niektórzy ludzie zachowują się tak, jakby państwo nasze nie miało żadnego prawa ani zasad i było rządzone na podstawie li tylko zwyczajów i w pogardzie mają jego ustalone od pradawnych czasów sposoby funkcjonowania. Ci właśnie ludzie, którzy tak twierdzą, są na tyle nierozumni, że nie zadają sobie trudu, aby zbadać i wyjaśnić to, co wydarzyło się przed czternastoma laty. Tę księgę, która obejmuje niewielki zaledwie wycinek dotyczący administracji naszej Etiopii, napisałem, aby zaświadczyła przeciwko nim (tym ludziom).” (Mahteme Syllasje 1949: [8])

We fragmencie tym można zauważyć dwie cechy charakterystyczne dla etiopskiego idiomu oralnego. Jedną jest odwołanie się przez autora po raz kolejny do zmysłu słuchu, drugą zaś zawoalowana krytyka, która nie nazywa rzeczy po imieniu, ale słowami okrężnymi. Prawdopodobnie mowa tu o Etiopczykach, którzy chętnie współpracowali z okupantem, a ich postawa daleka była od patriotycznej.

Można przypuszczać, że księga przepojona jest innymi aluzjami, jednak są one niełatwe do wyłowienia dla badacza spoza kręgu cywilizacji etiopskiej, a ich przesłanie trudne do jednoznacznej interpretacji. Zaznaczamy tutaj ten problem, któremu bez wątpienia należy poświęcić bardziej szczegółowe badania.

6. Podsumowanie

Zykre neger to gruba księga, która dziś więcej skrywa niż ujawnia z wiedzy na temat Cesarstwa Etiopskiego przełomu XIX i XX wieku. Skrywa, bo język amharski jakim została napisana, nie tylko ogranicza czytelników do osób, które go znają. Również w odbiorze współczesnych Etiopczyków posługujących się na codzień amharskim, zastosowany przez Mahteme Syllasje styl i język jest tak skomplikowany, a opisywane sprawy tak obce i odległe, że treść księgi jest dla nich trudna do zrozumienia. Jednak bogactwo wiedzy zebrane przez autora

przekonuje, że warto się zmierzyć z jej zawartością. Księga niewątpliwie dostarcza faktografii, jednak kusi również możliwością wielopoziomowej analizy. Zaprezentowany w niniejszym artykule materiał ujmuje dwa aspekty dzieła: 1. przedstawienie próby etiopskiego autora uporania się ze źródłami zarówno oralnymi, jak i pisanymi w dobie rozwoju etiopskiej piśmienności oraz 2. przedstawienie książki skierowanej do czytelnika żyjącego w kulturze, gdzie słowo mówione miało bez wątpienia większą popularność i siłę wyrazu niż słowo pisane.

Podsumowując można stwierdzić, że Mahteme Syllasje Uelde Mesk'elowi udało się zebrać w *Zykre neger* zarówno ustne, jak i spisane dokumenty z przełomu XIX i XX wieku. Otwartą jest kwestia, na ile czytelne jest rozdzielenie pomiędzy przytaczanymi grupami źródeł, gdzie kończy się sfera przekazu ustnego i wkracza pismo. Nie pozostawia jednak wątpliwości, że autor podjął wyzwanie, by ocalić od zapomnienia jak najwięcej materiału, a czytelnikiem, do którego adresowane było dzieło, był wykształcony Etiopczyk, który potrafił czytać, ale funkcjonował też w sferze kultury oralnej.

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Aneks

Przedmowa

Liczne są prace, które czynił dla kraju naszego, dla Etiopii, Jego Cesarska Wysokość Hajle Syllasje I, począwszy od 1904 A.M.¹ (1911/12 A.D.) aż do 1928 A.M. (1935/36 A.D.). Wprowadzał różne prawa i zasady regulujące, w pozwalających na to granicach, rozliczne sprawy dotyczące sądownictwa, nauki, służby zdrowia, rolnictwa, handlu, a także wiary oraz tym podobnych problemów, aby lud jego wszedł na drogę rozwoju cywilizacyjnego.

Jednak, kiedy wróg wkroczył do naszego kraju, chcąc zaprzepaścić [aby uległy zapomnieniu] wszystkie dobre czyny i trud włożony [w rozwój kraju] przez Jego Cesarską Wysokość, zburzył lub zagrabił wszelkie stojące w jego czasach pomniki historii oraz inne zabytki, a także czynił szczególnie wielkie wysiłki, żeby zniszczyć istniejące zabytki piśmiennictwa. Poza tym również wyszukiwano i eksterminowano starców, którzy stanowili skarbnicę tradycji ustnej, żeby nie mogli pozostać świadkami.

Niczyja dobra praca nie przepada jednak bez śladu, różne pisma oraz świadectwa, które ocalały od pożogi, kradzieży czy zniszczenia, zostały zebrane przez *balambarasa* Mahteme Syllasje i oto znajdują się tu, w tej księdze zatytułowanej „Zykre neger“.

Ta księga zawiera historię cesarstwa i administracji państwowej począwszy od końca panowania cesarza Menelika II do 1928 A.M. (1935/36 A.D.), przedstawioną w całości, aczkolwiek w szczegółowo wyjaśniających częściach. Oprócz tego znajdują się tu różne użyteczne dokumenty pisane pochodzące z różnych czasów.

Balambaras Mahteme Syllasje Uelde Mesk’el opracował tę księgę po wielu staraniach i trudach i przedstawił ją w 1939 A.M. (1946/47 A.D.) temu biuru. A biuro to oceniło należyte użyteczność jego pomysłu. I oto dziś przekazujemy czytelnikom tę wielką dziewięćsetstronicową księgę, w której wyjaśnione są zasady funkcjonowania cesarstwa, jego historia oraz obrzędy dworskie.

Ta księga, nawet jeśli obejmuje niewielką tylko część z licznych prac jakie były podejmowane za czasów panowania cesarza Hajle Syllasje I, to jej autorowi, *balambarasowi* Mahteme Syllasje Uelde Mesk’elowi, który z największą pieczołowitością i cierpliwością wyszukiwał i gromadził wszystkie te dokumenty, należą się prawdziwie wielkie podziękowania.

Addis Abeba, 27 megabit, 1941 A.M. (1949 A.D.)

Dyrektor Biura ds. Historii i Informacji nt. Cesarstwa

Blatta Mersie Hazen Uelde K’irk’os

¹ *Amete Myhret* „Rok Łaski (Pańskiej)” – określenie roku w kalendarzu etiopskim.

Wstęp

Wiadomym jest, że wszystkie narody świata, nawet jeśli znajdują się na wysokim szczeblu rozwoju, mają swój własny rodzaj cywilizacji różniący się od innych, nie tylko wyglądem czy językiem, ale także sposobem zarządzania krajem.

Nie wydaje się rzeczą pożądaną dla jednostki ludzkiej całkowicie porzucić i zaniechać zwyczajów oraz natury kraju, które leżą u jego podstaw i stanowią jego korzenie, a rzeczy wiekopomnych zapomnieć, nawet jeśli, podążając z duchem czasu, naturalny jest rozwój cywilizacyjny i szerzenie nowych, pożytecznych wzorów, a także ulepszących zmian.

W każdym czasie każda rzecz, kiedy się ją zobaczy i kiedy się o niej wie z upływem czasu staje się historią. A zgodnie z łańcuchem historii, każdy człowiek powinien znać przeszłe dzieje i wyciągać lekcję: rzeczy dobre słać, a złe naprawiać.

Dlatego też wszelkie prawa, zasady, przykazania i tym podobne wszystko, co w różnych okresach jest ustanawiane w administracji państwowej, powinno być przekazywane dla przyszłych pokoleń w postaci zachowanej i przygotowanej.

Jeśli tak się nie stanie i to, co przeminęło ulegnie zapomnieniu, a nie zostanie zebrane i uporządkowane, i jeśli chce się iść dalej opierając się jedynie na współczesności, to narażonym się jest na utratę jedności i rozproszenie, ponieważ brakuje wyjaśniającej podstawy [tej jedności].

Z tego też względu, w różnych sprawach, które mogą się wydarzyć, kiedy nie można znaleźć nic zapisanego, po upływie czasu, kiedy umrą starcy i mędrzy, wszystko wydaje się tracić swoją pewność i zmieniać swój wygląd.

Wówczas, kiedy nie ma się na czym oprzeć (dosł. prawda zniknie) trzeba się ciężko napracować i bardzo namęczyć [stracić dużo energii], żeby uniknąć krytyki przyszłych pokoleń i żeby nie wydarzyła się podobna sytuacja w tamtym czasie.

Nasi ojcowie, którzy byli mądrzy i mieli prawodawcze umysły mówiąc: "To, co zawarte w mowie ulega zapomnieniu, to, co jest zapisane jest dziedziczone", zapisywali wszystko w słowach, na których można polegać, [skierowanych] do tych, którzy będą szukać.

Dlatego też wykształcony i będący z natury uważnym człowiek, w czasach, w których żyje, powinien zapisywać w sposób zwięzły to, co widział i czego się nauczył, żeby ofiarować to swej ojczyźnie.

Pewnym jest, że tym, co do dziś powstrzymywało naszych ziomków i wprawiało ich w stan lenistwa [zaniechania] są słowa krytyki, które godzą jak włócznia. Krytyka może być jednak pożyteczna, jeśli jest konstruktywna i wyjaśnia w sposób, który dąży do ulepszenia i naprawy błędów, przeprowadzona przez rozumnych ludzi w sposób uczciwy.

Natomiast ci, którzy niesprawiedliwie, i nie zrozumiałwszy przesłania autora dopuszczają się krytyki zniechęcają potencjalnych pisarzy, przez co szkodzą nie tylko samemu autorowi, ale też swojemu państwu.

W każdym razie, wedle powiedzenia “Ten, co się boi śnić, nie śpi”, trzeba czynić swoją powinność, nie bojąc się włośni krytyki. Pisanie książek na zawsze służy państwu, trzeba więc porzucić szkodliwe obawy.

Ja też, ponieważ o tym pamiętałem, przygotowałem tę książkę w formie pamiętnika i dałem jej tytuł “Memuary/Memorabilia” nie, żeby posądzano mnie, że piszę, aby popisywać się swoją erudycją i umiejętnościami historycznego pisarstwa, ale po to [napisałem ją], żeby spłacić swój dług, a także dlatego, że uważałem za rzecz pożądaną, aby przekazać w formie uporządkowanej wiedzę na temat sięgających starożytności zasad, zwyczajów i kultury etiopskiej oraz przeszłych wydarzeń.

Zasadniczym powodem, dla którego odważyłem się przygotować te memuary, których zawartość nie jest właściwie zgodna z moim wykształceniem, ponieważ ucho moje słyszało, że niektórzy ludzie zachowują się tak, jakby państwo nasze nie miało żadnego prawa ani zasad i było rządzone na podstawie li tylko zwyczajów i w pogardzie mają jego ustalone od pradawnych czasów sposoby funkcjonowania. Ci właśnie ludzie, którzy tak twierdzą, są na tyle nierozumni, że nie zadają sobie trudu, aby zbadać i wyjaśnić to, co wydarzyło się przed czternastu laty. Tę książkę, która obejmuje niewielki zaledwie wycinek dotyczący administracji naszej Etiopii, napisałem, aby zaświadczyła przeciwko nim [tym ludziom].

W środku znajduje się opis sposobów zarządzania państwem (administracji) przed 1928 A.M. (1935/36 A.D.), najbardziej pożyteczne i przydatne rzeczy w postaci, w jakiej sam je widziałem na własne oczy, a także [tych], które z wiarygodnych źródeł pozyskałem.

Poza tym wyjaśnione są tu dodatkowo rangi, godności i kompetencje urzędników państwowych, które były w użyciu tuż przed najazdem wroga zarówno w głównym pałacu (rządzie), jak i we wszystkich zakątkach naszego kraju: jakie mieli przywileje i obowiązki i czym się zajmowali książęta, arystokracja, oficerowie, starszyzna.

Nie do pomyślenia jest, że pożyteczność tego może zostać zapomniana. [Pragnę], żeby nasz, z natury prawy, naród etiopski na wieki pamiętał o uporządkowanym sposobie życia i ci młodzi ludzie, którzy obecnie zdobywają wykształcenie, jak i przyszłe pokolenia, żeby miały opis tego, jak wyglądała administracja państwowa, żeby ten opis mógł im służyć i być wsparciem, na którym będą mogli się oprzeć.

Książka podzielona jest na dwadzieścia rozdziałów, a w każdym z nich znajduje się wiele podrozdziałów i jeszcze mniejszych części. Pogrupowałem je w ten sposób, żeby było wygodnie dla szukającego lub oglądającego. Kiedy przygotowywałem plan, wziąłem za tytuły dwanaście ministerstw, które tworzą departamenty pracy rządu – najważniejszej części cesarstwa.

Dla każdej części dotyczącej pracy poszczególnego ministerstwa opracowałem wstęp wyjaśniający okoliczności i ustawy leżące u podstaw jego powołania.

Poza moimi poglądami jako autora, znajdują się tu wszelkie *auadze*, ustawy i rozkazy oraz inne mające pożytek spisane dokumenty, które trafiły w moje ręce, gdyż ocalały za boskim wstawiennictwem z pożogi wojennej, kiedy to po 1928 A.M. (1935/36 A.D.) kraj był pustoszony przez włoskiego najeźdźcę, ludzie byli eksterminowani w masowych egzekucjach, a wszelkie dobra płonęły.

Są one obecnie uważane za niezwykle cenne, ponieważ nie są dostępne dla wielu i dziś [ich przesłanie] staje się już nieczytelne.

Znajdujące się w każdym rozdziale różne wyjaśnienia, nawet jeśli są nieliczne, naświetlają atmosferę tamtych czasów, od 1900 A.M. (1907/08 A.D.) począwszy po 1928 A.M. (1935/36 A.D.), kiedy wróg przybył do naszego kraju, i są one ułożone chronologicznie.

Moi Drodzy Czytelnicy!

Żałuję niezmiernie, że, tak jak wyjaśniałem powyżej, z licznych praw i ustaw jakie ustanowił, a także tych, które zaprzestał Nasza Cesarska Wysokość Hajle Syllasje I, począwszy od czasu, kiedy został powołany przez Boga z księcia na panującego monarchę do 1928 A.M. (1935/36 A.D.), wiele zginęło w pożodze, a w tej księdze znalazły się te nieliczne, które udało się ocalić.

Jednakże wierzę, że jeśli powiedziano by się więcej lub mniej, to i tak nie dodałoby to ani nie ujęło splendoru cesarzowi, gdyż świat wie i może zaświadczyć o Jego wysiłku i staraniach, dzień i noc bez przerwy, aby kraju naszego doglądać i historię jego czynić ważną.

Tym niemniej, życzenie, które mam i nadzieja, którą żywię, to to, że Bóg obdarzy zdrowiem i długim życiem rodzinę cesarską, aby mogli oni czynić jeszcze większą pracę dla Etiopii i dla jej narodu, a także żeby mogli żyć długi czas z kochającym ich i ukochanym przez nich ludem.

Niech żyje Jego Cesarska Wysokość Hajle Syllasje I.

Niech żyje Etiopia zawsze wolna.

Balambaras Mahteme Syllasje Uelde Mesk'el

Bento Sítio

Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

Escrevendo nas nossas *linguaculturas*

1. Introdução

Com o presente artigo pretendemos, com base na experiência colhida do nosso envolvimento na produção de literatura numa das línguas bantu, o Changana, contribuir na busca de respostas à necessidade de o escritor se servir do sistema conceptual designado por *língua* em articulação com o sistema conceptual chamado *cultura*. Esta articulação desemboca inevitavelmente naquilo a que Sítio 1989 chamou de *linguacultura*.

2. O convívio de línguas em Moçambique

Moçambique é um país multilíngue. Existem dois grandes grupos linguísticos: dum lado, as línguas maternas da maior parte dos moçambicanos, pertencentes ao grupo Bantu e, do outro, a língua oficial, o Português, usado em geral como língua segunda.

De acordo com os dados do Censo de 1980, as línguas bantu são virtualmente faladas por toda a população de Moçambique, já que são línguas maternas de 98,8% da população. O Português é língua materna de apenas 1,2% da população moçambicana. Grande parte dos relativamente poucos moçambicanos que falam Português (24,4%) usa-o em situações de conveniência ou condições de serviço e não de espontaneidade.

O Changana é uma das línguas bantu faladas em Moçambique. Juntamente com o Ronga e o Xitshwa faz parte do grupo Tsonga (S.50 na classificação referencial de Guthrie 1967–1971). As três línguas são mutuamente inteligíveis e são faladas nas províncias de Maputo, Gaza e Inhambane e na zona meridional das províncias de Manica e Sofala, em Moçambique. De acordo com o censo de 2007, o Changana tem cerca de 1.685.333 falantes (10,3% da população

moçambicana). É ainda falado na zona meridional da República do Zimbábue e na província sul-africana do Transval.

O Changana conhece a sua forma escrita há mais de um século. A bibliografia do centenário de Bill 1983 regista mais de 550 títulos. Algumas dezenas de obras produzidas em Moçambique nesta língua não foram incluídas nesta bibliografia. Entre estas salientam-se gramáticas, dicionários, manuais de ensino de língua e obras de ficção.



Author with Eugeniusz, Maputo, Mozambique

3. Língua e cultura na literatura

A cultura é constituída pelos sistemas que incluem conhecimentos, religião e crenças, usos e costumes, língua, técnicas e tudo aquilo que resulta da capacidade criativa do homem. Mas a cultura acaba sendo um legado que ultrapassa o próprio homem: “Uma vez criada, a cultura autonomiza-se do sujeito ou grupo humano aos quais deve a sua origem. Assim, os produtos culturais sobrevivem a quem os criou e constituem um valor acumulativo.” (Amilburu 2006: 65)

Segundo Prah 2000, todos os sectores de cultura acima referidos se interpenetram e, possivelmente, a língua é a componente essencial e facilitadora do desenvolvimento e crescimento da cultura como processo.

A língua, para além da função comunicativa, tem a chamada função cumulativa, que é na essência, a habilidade de reflectir, fixar e preservar a informação da realidade percebida pelo homem. Esta função deriva do facto da inseparabilidade da língua/cultura, dois aspectos da mesma realidade. Por outras palavras, citando Siteo (1989: 63), “a língua e a cultura são duas faces de uma mesma moeda que rola sobre uma terceira (a ideologia – com todas as suas instituições) que as une e delimita. Esta moeda gira sob o impulso da sociedade dando origem àquilo que me atrevi a chamar de *linguacultura*.”

A língua é o instrumento-chave da comunicação mas também o meio principal do estabelecimento e manutenção das relações humanas.

Segundo Polomé 1996, “o vocabulário reflecte categorias culturalmente relevantes.” Ora, se escrever é pôr uma língua ao serviço da cultura da qual faz parte, o escritor, irá servir-se deste sistema conceptual designado por *língua* em articulação com o sistema conceptual que podemos designar por *cultura*. Tanto a língua como a cultura se manifestam em sociedade. Para abarcar o significado das palavras numa determinada língua é necessário ter outras informações sobre a cultura do grupo que fala essa língua. Por outras palavras: “A cultura constitui-se como uma *mediação codificada* entre os seres humanos; por isso é necessário *aprender a decifrar o sentido* dos símbolos culturais, e também *aprender a emitir as mensagens utilizando um código que os outros possam entender*.” (Amilburu 2006: 66).

Os seres humanos estão muitas vezes à mercê da língua particular que se tornou o meio de expressão da sua sociedade. Isto implica que o escritor precisa de associar a maneira de falar de grupos específicos aos respectivos factores culturais para chegar a uma comunicação efectiva e eficiente da mensagem de que a sua obra está impregnada. Implica também que deve compreender a ‘função’ das formas de discurso cujos padrões gramaticais/linguísticos emprega.

4. Escrevendo nas nossas *linguaculturas*

4.1. A produção literária na língua do ex-colonizador

Em muitos países africanos a literatura (ainda) é produzida principalmente nas línguas dos ex-colonizadores. Nesses países há uma larga percentagem de cidadãos que (ainda) não dominam essas línguas e muitos há que nem sequer as entendem.

É este o caso de Moçambique, onde apenas um quarto da população fala a língua oficial, o Português e boa parte dela em situações tais que por razões sociais e políticas não o podem evitar. Grande parte da produção literária acontece nesta língua. Então, a questão que se coloca é a seguinte: escrever no Português (de Portugal), uma língua recém adquirida, falada ainda por uma minoria, iria permitir a expressão dos múltiplos aspectos culturais, sociais, económicos e políticos de uma sociedade africana como a nossa? Esta língua poderá retratar todos os aspectos da vida desta sociedade? Este é um aspecto do problema. O outro está ligado à questão de quem iria beneficiar da literatura produzida nesta língua tida como língua materna um pouco mais de 1% da população.

4.2. A produção literária nas línguas locais

Dissemos mais acima que a língua é o instrumento-chave de comunicação mas também o meio principal do estabelecimento e manutenção das relações humanas. Se a língua, em geral, nos relaciona com esta realidade, a língua materna, cumpre esta função de modo particular e fundamental pois ela é o código primário da percepção da realidade. A segunda língua e a terceira constroem o seu edifício intelectual sobre as fundações estabelecidas pela língua materna. É neste sentido que cabe aqui propor a produção literária (também) nas línguas maternas. Está subjacente a esta proposta a convicção de que quem escreve quer ser lido, compreendido.

No caso concreto de Moçambique, a resposta às perguntas acima colocadas aponta para a necessidade do uso das línguas locais, sem que isso signifique o abandono da língua portuguesa. Esta é uma conquista do povo moçambicano e é parte integrante do seu património cultural. Poucos serão os moçambicanos que defendem o uso das línguas maternas da grande maioria em detrimento do Português.

No futuro, com a erradicação do analfabetismo (que segundo dados do Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas em 2004 estava na ordem dos 53.6% da população moçambicana adulta) e com o cada vez maior domínio da língua portuguesa pelas largas camadas populacionais, irá acontecer que o viver da cultura moçambicana se manifeste também através deste idioma. Aliás, no seio dos escritores moçambicanos já há indícios do emprego da língua portuguesa impregnada de expressões com cores locais cujos matizes só interlocutores familiarizados com as práticas culturais desta sociedade podem decifrar.

Ocorre-nos aqui o exemplo mencionado por Gonçalves (1989: 29) no qual um dos escritores moçambicanos, Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, que nas suas obras

adopta a norma – padrão europeia, “emprega estratégias de escrita que trazem para o texto em Português essa outra realidade linguística nacional, constituída pelas línguas bantas [sic]. Assim, em *Ualalapi*, Ba Ka Khosa não só usa termos dessas línguas, como incorpora, no próprio texto (e não através de um glossário, por exemplo) a explicação do significado de tais termos, utilizando a mesma linguagem literária que caracteriza a sua narrativa:

«o odor nauseabundo do sangue que cobriu a aldeia durante aqueles meses fatídicos em o *nkuaia* (ritual anual e sagrado em que os súbditos, provenientes de todos os cantos do império, à corte se dirigiam)» [Ualalapi: 41]”

As novas formas em que o Português é usado pelos moçambicanos que por uma razão ou outra se servem deste idioma testemunham a incorporação de novos elementos estruturais e valores sócio-simbólicos. Isto pode ser ilustrado por este diálogo por nós testemunhado e que tentamos aqui reproduzir:

- Queres casar¹ aquela rapariga que engravidaste?
- Não sou cobra que morde e não come!²
- Então tens que a lobolar³, primeiro! Tens bois?
- Poucos. Quase sempre que uma vaca do meu curral nasce⁴, as crias morrem...
- Pois é! Vocês jovens de agora! Tens que *phahlar* para *vedares* esse teu curral.⁵
- Comprei para vestir, mesmo!⁶

4.3. Linguacultura e educação

A escolha de uma determinada língua para fins literários envolve a sua adequação às exigências da *linguacultura*. Isto assenta no pressuposto de que no processo da produção de literatura agimos sobre a sociedade forjando, imprimindo, introduzindo novos valores. Mas sendo a língua, ela também, um legado cultural, age sobre nós, levando-nos a raciocinar nos moldes e parâmetros ditados pela cultura que lhe é subjacente.

É este aspecto da função da língua que lhe atribui papel de relevo nos sistemas de educação e nos programas de desenvolvimento em particular. Quando se

¹ O verbo *casar* é usado transitivamente e selecciona sujeito [+ masculino].

² Significa: “Assumo a responsabilidade. Aceito casar-me com a rapariga que engravidei.”

³ *Alembar*, entregar uma espécie de dote de casamento, compensação material à família da noiva, segundo o sistema tradicional.

⁴ O verbo *nascer* é usado transitivamente. O nado é sujeito da passiva.

⁵ Fazer *oferendas aos espíritos dos antepassados* para *proteger* o curral do mau-olhado.

⁶ Significa: “Meti-me num problema e tenho que ser capaz de o resolver!”

fala de desenvolvimento, deve-se ter em linha de conta que o mesmo passa necessariamente pela planificação e pelo desenvolvimento linguísticos e estes não são realizados no vazio mas antes em situações concretas. Cabe neste quadro a alfabetização e educação de adultos nas suas línguas maternas e a Educação Bilingue ao nível do ensino primário.

As autoridades moçambicanas estão empenhadas na redução dos índices de analfabetismo e na formação do cidadão para que este participe activamente e com consciência no desenvolvimento do seu país. Assume-se que manter a pessoa analfabeta “é como vendar-lhe os olhos e convidá-la a caminhar na estrada da vida sem nada poder enxergar.” (Mbeki 2000: IX) O adulto recém-alfabetizado precisa de textos para ler, para se cultivar. Incentivar a produção literária (também) em línguas locais significa evitar que ele volte a ser analfabeto, e, a um nível mais amplo, é pela leitura que ao ser humano se abre uma janela sobre o mundo e se lhe alargam os horizontes.

A promoção do uso das línguas locais na literatura é um dos factores que permitirá a activação do largo número de moçambicanos adultos que, analfabetos até nas suas próprias línguas têm visto a sua participação social, económica e política prejudicada ou limitada, nos vários casos em que essa participação, para ser plena, requer o domínio da língua portuguesa.

O Ensino Bilingue introduzido ao nível da escola primária há quase uma década também visa a satisfação das necessidades sociais e culturais da sociedade moçambicana. O ensino primário em línguas maternas deve ser alimentado com textos nestas línguas. A literatura extra-curricular bem como os textos de carácter didáctico-pedagógico produzidos nestas línguas irão fomentar o gosto pela leitura. E o escritor tem aqui uma oportunidade para dar a sua contribuição.

Empreendimentos desta natureza contribuem para o crescimento harmonioso da sociedade moçambicana.

A maioria dos moçambicanos não fala Português, repetimos. É pois óbvio que a melhor maneira de caminhar com ela rumo ao desenvolvimento científico e técnico é através da sua língua para que tais conhecimentos sejam parte do seu universo cultural.

5. Conclusão

Actualmente, a nível de governos, de organizações nacionais e internacionais, de instituições humanitárias e religiosas, a reflexão em torno de ideias como democracia, desenvolvimento, empoderamento das comunidades, etc. vem sugerindo que, entre outras coisas, é necessário fornecer conhecimentos

e informação às pessoas na língua que elas dominam e com a qual se sentem identificadas. O presente artigo é uma contribuição nesta direcção, na esperança de que este debate continue e forneça com maior eficácia os meios para o desenvolvimento das sociedades africanas.

Toda e qualquer sociedade tem plena consciência da necessidade de preservar, respeitar e valorizar tudo o que fortalece a sua identidade cultural. O escritor não deve alhear-se a este processo. Tem aqui um grande papel a desempenhar: a temática das suas obras literárias contribui para a consolidação da democracia, a recuperação de valores, a solidariedade e a aceitação do outro, enfim, a expressão da cidadania.

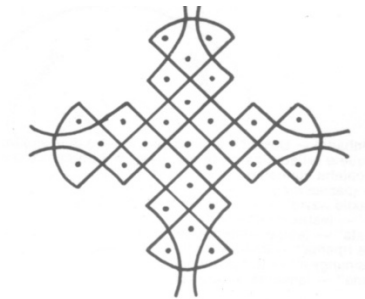
A literatura não será assim uma simples recreação, mas sim uma literatura que tem como preocupação constante e permanente a (re)afirmação e a defesa da nossa identidade sociocultural.

As línguas são diferentes umas das outras na forma mas são da mesma natureza. Qualquer delas tem a capacidade de expressar sentimentos, desejos e receios; tem a capacidade de descrever toda e qualquer realidade. Tem a chamada função cumulativa, que é na essência, a habilidade de reflectir, fixar e preservar a informação da realidade percebida pelo homem. Então, não importando em que língua, é preciso escrever nas nossas *linguaculturas*!

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Słów kilka o potencjalnej przydatności indyjskich rozwiązań politycznych dla demokratyzacji państw Afryki Subsaharyjskiej

Demokratyzacja, rozumiana jako proces zmierzający do przekształcenia rządów autorytarnych w ustrój demokratyczny, przebiega od początku lat dziewięćdziesiątych XX wieku w państwach Afryki Subsaharyjskiej w sposób niezwykle skomplikowany, a niekiedy bardzo dramatyczny, o czym świadczą choćby, charakteryzujące go w przypadku większości państw regionu problemy, na które zwracają uwagę zachodni i afrykańscy autorzy opiniotwórczej pracy zbiorowej zatytułowanej *Democratization in Africa: Progress and Retreat* (Diamond and Plattner 2010). Są to: tworzenie formalnie demokratycznych struktur pozbawionych demokratycznej treści, w tym brak realnego trójpodziału władzy oraz nadmierna jej koncentracja w ramach egzekutywy (zwykle w urzędzie prezydenckim); bardzo powolny rozwój kultury demokratycznej i trwanie sieci relacji typu patron-klient; wykorzystywanie różnic etnicznych, a niekiedy religijnych, w rywalizacji politycznej; przed- i powyborcza przemoc; rażące fałszowanie wyborów; krwawe konflikty wybuchające między innymi w następstwie działań przywódców, którzy niejednokrotnie próbują jak najdłużej i za wszelką cenę utrzymać się u władzy; powrót zjawiska zamachu stanu jako sposobu zmiany ekip rządzących; brak realnej decentralizacji władzy; niski poziom rozliczalności (ang. *accountability*) rządzących lub jej brak; prześladowanie lub korumpowanie przez władzę członków i sympatyków partii opozycyjnych; niewielki szacunek polityków dla idei rządów prawa; utrudnianie przez rządzących działalności wolnych mediów i organizacji społeczeństwa obywatelskiego; ograniczanie przez władzę konstytucyjnie gwarantowanych praw i wolności obywatelskich; zawłaszczanie przez polityków pieniędzy publicznych i utrzymywanie się wysokiego poziomu korupcji; wielowymiarowa słabość lub wręcz dysfunkcjonalność rozmaitych

instytucji państwowych, w tym wymiaru sprawiedliwości; szybko postępujący wzrost nierówności społecznych i nieudolna walka z ubóstwem.

Źródła wspomnianych problemów procesu demokratyzacji w Afryce Subsaharyjskiej mogą przynajmniej po części leżeć w niewłaściwej organizacji politycznej wieloetnicznych społeczeństw państw afrykańskich. Zwykle nie zapewnia ona reprezentantom części grup etnicznych udziału w podejmowaniu decyzji politycznych, zwłaszcza na szczeblu władzy centralnej, i w konsekwencji często nie daje tym grupom możliwości obrony swoich interesów. Wielu współczesnych afrykańskich myślicieli politycznych uważa, że podziały etniczne istniejące w państwach Afryki powinny znaleźć swoje odzwierciedlenie w konstrukcji ich systemów politycznych, co z kolei mogłoby usprawnić proces implementacji demokracji (Trzcíński 2013). Ważnych, ogólnych wskazówek przydatnych dla projektowania modeli demokracji odpowiednich dla państw afrykańskich można szukać w rozwiązaniach istniejących w wieloetnicznych Indiach, choć, co warto podkreślić, ani indyjska myśl polityczna ani indyjskie rozwiązania ustrojowe nie wydają się stanowić inspiracji dla współczesnych intelektualistów afrykańskich.

Edukacyjny dla państw Afryki Subsaharyjskiej walor kazusu indyjskiego systemu politycznego sugerują jednak rozważania wybitnego politologa Arenda Lijpharta (Lijphart 1968, 1980, 1999, 2002, 2008)¹ na temat elementów współrządzenia (ang. *power-sharing*)² w systemie politycznym niepodległych Indii. Współrządzenie w kontekście istnienia podziałów i rywalizacji etnicznej lub/i religijnej wiąże się z włączaniem w proces rządzenia zwłaszcza przywódców oraz partii politycznych reprezentujących odmienne części społeczeństwa podzielonego (pluralnego, sfragmentaryzowanego), tj. składającego się z różnych grup etnicznych lub/i religijnych, stanowiących segmenty (subkultury) takiego społeczeństwa (Wilford 2003, 2011). Współrządzenie elit grup etnicznych w państwach wieloetnicznych może funkcjonować w ramach rozmaitych rozwiązań politycznych, które powinny mieć raczej charakter zinstytucjonalizowany (Parry 1995). Jak zauważa Geraint Parry, autor klasycznej pracy zatytułowanej *Political elites* (1969), w tym „odmiennym od liberalnego rządu przedstawicielskiego” rodzaju demokracji „sposób politycznego działania wynika z ustaleń wynegocjowanych w gronie liderów segmentów w ramach procesu określanego jako ‘ako-

¹ Arend Lijphart (ur. 1936) – holenderski i amerykański politolog, obecnie związany z Uniwersytetem Kalifornii w San Diego; uznawany za główny współczesny autorytet w zakresie demokratycznych metod współrządzenia; autor wielu prac, w których omawia teorię współrządzenia oraz wskazuje przykłady jej empirycznego zastosowania.

² Autor przyjmuje pojęcie „współrządzenie” jako tłumaczenie na j. polski angielskiego terminu *power-sharing* za: *Współrządzenie (power-sharing)* 2008.

modacja (ang. *accommodation*)³ elit” (Parry 1995). Współrządzenie pozwala budować kompromis między elitami tradycyjnymi i typu nowoczesnego (Schmidt 2001).

Głównym ekspertem w zakresie współrządzenia jest obecnie bez wątpienia Arend Lijphart, który sprzeciwia się uznawaniu rządów większości za rdzeń czy wręcz synonim pojęcia demokracji i wskazuje, że rządy większości w społeczeństwie podzielonym mogą utrwać dominację grup większościowych i jednocześnie powodować, że grupy mniejszościowe będą stale pozbawione wpływu na decyzje polityczne. W konsekwencji, Lijphart (1980, 2008) proponuje wprowadzenie w społeczeństwach podzielonych następujących czterech instytucji współrządzenia, a konkretnie jego odmiany nazywanej przez siebie konsocjonalizmem (demokracją konsocjonalną⁴): rządy wielkiej koalicji (tj. złożone z reprezentantów różnych, najlepiej wszystkich, segmentów społeczeństwa podzielonego), autonomię kulturową dla poszczególnych grup lingwistycznych (jeśli grupy zamieszkują konkretny obszar, wówczas autonomia może mieć również charakter terytorialny), proporcjonalność w reprezentacji politycznej i przy mianowaniu członków służby cywilnej, ograniczone prawo weta dla mniejszości, niekiedy przybierające postać wymogu uzyskania kwalifikowanej większości dla niektórych rodzajów zmian w prawie (Andeweg 2001). Lijphart podkreśla, że wskazane przezeń instytucje demokratycznego współrządzenia mogą przybierać różne formy. Stwierdzenie to jest kluczowe w kontekście przyjęcia przez Lijpharta założenia, że w niepodległych Indiach wykształcony został system polityczny posiadający cechy demokratycznego współrządzenia.

Indie uznawane są za demokrację od 1947 roku (z krótką przerwą w latach 1975–1977). Państwo to jest określane jako wieloetniczne, bo zamieszkują je członkowie ponad 2000 grup etnicznych (U. S. Departament of State 2013). Mimo istniejącej w Indiach różnorodności etnicznej, aż około 80% całej populacji tego państwa to wyznawcy hinduizmu (*Encyclopedia of the Nations* 2012). Hinduiści stanowią zatem przeważającą większość w państwie zamieszkałym również przez wyznawców islamu (około 12% ogółu Indusów, *Encyclopedia of the Nations* 2012), chrześcijaństwa, buddyzmu, sikhizmu, dżinizmu oraz innych religii.

Lijphart przypomina, że w przypadku niejednego społeczeństwa sfragmentaryzowanego, to właśnie podziały religijne odgrywają kluczową rolę w tłumaczeniu problemów życia politycznego. Jednakże, jak zarazem podkreśla, choć

³ Pojęcie to można tłumaczyć jako „wzajemne przystosowanie się” lub „kompromis”.

⁴ W polskim piśmiennictwie konsocjonalizm bywa również określany mianem demokracji uzgodnieniowej.

Indie są państwem posiadającym dominującą liczebnie w całej ich populacji zbiorowość religijną oraz inne zbiorowości tego typu, które pozostają w mniejszości, to wyznawcy hinduizmu są wewnątrznie tak dalece podzieleni, zwłaszcza językowo i kastowo, że Indie należy uznać za państwo składające się „jedynie z mniejszości” (Lijphart 2008). Elementem tej perspektywy myślenia jest również stwierdzenie Lijpharta, że nie sposób uznać Hinduistów jako całości za „większość polityczną” (Lijphart 2008) w Indiach. Takie podejście daje Lijphartowi przyczynek do traktowania indyjskiego społeczeństwa jako silnie podzielonego, i w konsekwencji jako nadającego się w sposób naturalny do zastosowania w nim elementów współrządzenia.

Co więcej, Lijphart jest głęboko przekonany, że zwłaszcza w okresie 1947–1966 w systemie politycznym Indii funkcjonowały tak głęboko zakorzenione elementy współrządzenia, że właściwie można by go nazywać systemem konsocjonalnym. Istnienie tego systemu właśnie w pierwszych latach po uzyskaniu przez Indie niepodległości przyczyniło się zaś, jak zauważa, do przetrwania Indii jako jednego państwa.

W opinii Lijpharta (2008) w Indiach, począwszy od uzyskania przez to państwo niepodległości, ma miejsce „stopniowy i czasem chaotyczny rozwój współrządzenia”. Ta nowatorska interpretacja indyjskiej demokracji jako konsocjonalnej opiera się na założeniu, że współrządzenie nie zawsze musi być systemem formalnie zinstytucjonalizowanym, lecz czasami może się przejawiać jedynie w niektórych rozwiązaniach ustrojowych, a zarazem po części mieć odzwierciedlenie w obowiązującej praktyce czy zwyczaju politycznym. Tak miało być właśnie w Indiach we wskazanym okresie, nawet jeśli ich system polityczny był zaprojektowany w oparciu o większościowy wzorzec westminsterski (Lijphart 2008).

Lijphart uważa, że szczegółowe badanie indyjskiego systemu politycznego ujawnia zwłaszcza w dwóch pierwszych dekadach trwania indyjskiej demokracji funkcjonowanie w niej *implicite* lub *explicite* wszystkich czterech elementów systemu konsocjonalnego. Odnośnie pierwszego elementu konsocjonalizmu, rządu wielkiej koalicji, jak podkreśla Lijphart, może on przyjmować rozmaity kształt. Rząd składający się z reprezentujących partie polityczne członków różnych grup etnicznych, językowych czy religijnych to najczystsza forma wielkiej koalicji w systemie współrządzenia. Mogą jednak istnieć i inne rozwiązania współrządzenia na poziomie władzy wykonawczej i legislacyjnej, jak na przykład koalicja definiowana nie z perspektywy podziału władzy między różne – powstałe na gruncie etnicznym, językowym lub religijnym – partie polityczne, lecz raczej przy zachowaniu jakiejś proporcji udziału w niej przedstawicieli większości grup etnicznych, językowych czy religijnych podzielonego społeczeństwa. Lijphart

(1980) posiłkuje się przykładami wspólnego rządzenia przywołując zwłaszcza kazusy rozwiązań wypracowanych w Libanie⁵ i na Cyprze⁶, które po części dotyczą rozdziału między główne segmenty społeczeństw podzielonych stanowisk istniejących w ramach prezydentury (prezydenta i wiceprezydenta/wiceprezydentów), rządu (premiera i wicepremiera/wicepremierów) oraz parlamentu (marszałka i wicemarszałków izb).

Jednakże, zdaniem Lijpharta (2008), to zwłaszcza kasus indyjski istotnie wzbogaca wachlarz możliwych w tej materii rozwiązań. Mianowicie od czasów rządów Jawaharlala Nehru w latach 1947–1964, i szczególnie w tym okresie, indyjska rada ministrów, choć tworzona zwykle przez jedną partię (wówczas Indyjski Kongres Narodowy, tj. Partię Kongresową), była rządem niezwykle inkluzyjnym, bowiem zawierała w sobie reprezentację, jak to określił jeden z czołowych indyjskich politologów, Rajni Kothari (1989), „wszystkich głównych części oraz interesów społeczeństwa”. Konkretnie zaś członkowie rządu wywodzili się z różnych grup religijnych, językowych i regionalnych. Taki stan rzeczy w pewnej mierze był odzwierciedleniem centrowej natury Partii Kongresowej, a jego genezy można się doszukiwać jeszcze w składzie osobowym Kongresu przed uzyskaniem przez Indie niepodległości i ich podziałem.

Co do drugiego elementu konsocjonalizmu, kulturowej autonomii grup w społeczeństwie podzielonym, Lijphart (2008) wskazuje, że w demokratycznych systemach współrządzenia może ona przyjąć jedną z trzech form. Po pierwsze, autonomia ta może zostać zapewniona w ramach instytucji autonomii terytorialnej, w tym szczególnie w systemie federalnym, w którym granice regionów pokrywają się z granicami lingwistycznymi. Po drugie, segmenty społeczeństwa podzielonego mogą mieć w państwie możliwość utrzymywania własnych szkół oraz kierowania nimi, a działalność ta powinna być wspierana z kasy publicznej. Po trzecie zaś, segmenty społeczeństwa podzielonego mogą posiadać instytucje regulujące według własnych, autonomicznych praw takie kwestie jak małżeństwo, rozwód, prawa rodzicielskie, adopcja dzieci, dziedziczenie. Zdaniem Lijpharta (2008), w demokratycznych Indiach zostały wprowadzone w życie wszystkie z wymienionych form kulturowej autonomii grup, przy czym najpóźniej, bo zwłaszcza w latach pięćdziesiątych XX wieku, stało się to w przypadku federalizmu lingwistycznego, gdy z terytoriów niektórych z wcześniej istniejących stanów zostały wykrojone nowe. Nie znaczy to jednak, że istniejący obecnie w Indiach podział na stany zadowala wszystkie grupy językowe, bowiem część

⁵ Ich omówienie zob. Harb 2006.

⁶ Ich omówienie zob. Florczak-Wątor i Mikuli 2009.

z nich domaga się kolejnych zmian w mapie politycznej tego państwa związkowego (Lijphart 2008).

W kwestii trzeciego elementu konsocjonalizmu, a mianowicie proporcjonalności, sytuacja w Indiach przedstawia się bardzo specyficznie. Co prawda, jak wskazuje Lijphart, funkcjonuje tam większościowy system wyborczy, ale ponieważ konkretne językowe i religijne segmenty społeczeństwa są skoncentrowane terytorialnie, a państwo to ma charakter federalny, stan ten nie wpływa niekorzystnie na wyborcze szanse członków grup mniejszościowych. Temu pogładowi wydaje się jednak przeczyć fakt, że mniejszość muzułmańska, choć zamieszkuje zwłaszcza duże powierzchniowo obszary przy granicach z Pakistanem i Bangladeszem, obecna jest przecież także na terytorium niemal całych Indii, w tym głównie w dużych miastach. Lijphart uznaje jednak za element indyjskiej proporcjonalności otwarcie się Partii Kongresowej na członków różnych grup religijnych, językowych i regionalnych. Odzwierciedleniem tego stanu rzeczy miało być przydzielanie w różnych rządach Partii Kongresowej licznych stanowisk ministerialnych muzułmanom i Sikhom, a także reprezentantom innych segmentów sfragmentaryzowanego społeczeństwa Indii, oraz różnych stanów i regionów.

Jak wskazuje Lijphart (2008), innym aspektem proporcjonalności w Indiach jest zagwarantowanie w myśl prawa wyborczego reprezentacji parlamentarnej dla przedstawicieli tzw. kasty niedotykalnych (ang. *untouchables* bądź hindi *dalit*, uciskanych) oraz rdzennych plemion (ang. *aboriginals*, hindi *Adiwasi*) w postaci tzw. miejsc zastrzeżonych (ang. *reserved seats*), tj. miejsc, na które mogą kandydować jedynie członkowie tych grup. Lijphart (2008) uznaje też za przejaw proporcjonalności istnienie tzw. *reservations*, tj. kwot przynależnych członkom kasty niedotykalnych oraz rdzennych plemion, a także tzw. Klas Upośledzonych (ang. *Other Backward Classes*) przy zatrudnianiu w instytucjach publicznych oraz przy przyjęciach na studia wyższe.

Należy jednak zauważyć, że wskazane przywileje grup społecznych o najniższym statusie ekonomicznym w Indiach przypominają raczej niektóre prawa gwarantowane mniejszościom w ugruntowanych demokracjach zachodnich niż wymieniany przez Lijpharta jeden z elementów konsocjonalizmu, jakim jest proporcjonalność w reprezentacji politycznej oraz przy mianowaniu pracowników służby cywilnej. Z kolei dwa przytoczone wcześniej przejawy nieoficjalnej proporcjonalności bliższe są raczej odpowiednio drugiemu elementowi konsocjonalizmu, tj. autonomii grup (zapewnianej w ramach federalizmu) oraz pierwszej instytucji konsocjonalnej, a zatem rządowi wielkiej koalicji.

Co się tyczy czwartego elementu konsocjonalizmu, tj. weta mniejszości w odniesieniu do ich zasadniczych praw i autonomii, Lijphart podkreśla, że insty-

tucja ta ma w świecie niezwykle rzadko charakter sformalizowany. Umieszczono ją w ustawach zasadniczych bardzo niewielu państw⁷. Lijphart wskazuje, że weto mniejszości w warunkach demokratycznego współrządzenia zwykle oznacza jedynie istnienie nieformalnego i zwyczajowego porozumienia, zgodnie z którym „mniejszości mogą chronić swą autonomię w drodze blokowania wszelkich prób jej zniesienia lub ograniczenia” (Lijphart 2008). Lijphart (2008) podaje za przykład nieformalnego działania weta w polityce indyjskiej sytuację, jak miała miejsce w 1965 roku, gdy rząd centralny został zmuszony przez polityków wywodzących się z południowych stanów Indii, by językiem ich administracji pozostał język angielski, a nie – jak planował – hindi.

Lijphartowska interpretacja indyjskiej demokracji jako systemu konsocjonalnego wydaje się dalece dyskusyjna. Lijphart (2008) doskonale zresztą zdaje sobie z tego faktu sprawę, gdyż przywołuje, ale i próbuje dezawuować, argumenty swojego głównego w tym przedmiocie krytyka, amerykańskiego politologa-indologa Paula R. Brass. Brass (1991) uważa, że Indii w ogóle nie sposób uznać za demokrację konsocjonalną, przede wszystkim z tego oczywistego względu, że w państwie tym nie powstają typowe dla współrządzenia gabinety koalicyjne, a zatem rządy składające się z rozmaitych partii politycznych tworzonych na bazie jakichś grup etnicznych lub religijnych. Ponadto, jak zauważa Brass, polityka indyjska ma w dużej mierze charakter rywalizacyjny i antagonistyczny, i w konsekwencji nie opiera się na duchu kompromisu wymaganego dla systemu współrządzenia. Lijphart odpira te zarzuty, przypominając, że rządy wielkiej koalicji powinno się uważać za pojęcie bardzo pojemne, które można interpretować niezwykle szeroko. Wskazuje również, że Brass w ogóle nie odnosi się w swojej krytyce rzekomego indyjskiego konsocjonalizmu do opisywanych przez Lijpharta, a obecnych w systemie politycznym Indii bardziej *implicite* niż *explicite* pozostałych elementów konsocjonalizmu, a zatem autonomii kulturowej, proporcjonalności i weta mniejszości.

Być może w dyskursie między Brassem i Lijphartem zachodzi jednak po prostu klasyczne *qui pro quo*, bowiem każdy z badaczy kładzie nacisk na analizę cech polityki indyjskiej w odmiennych okresach. Lijphart skupia swoją uwagę przede wszystkim na doświadczeniach rządów funkcjonujących w Indiach w latach 1947–1966, zaś Brass koncentruje swoje badania głównie na późniejszej praktyce politycznej, charakteryzującej się między innymi postępującymi procesami centralizacji oraz hierarchizacji Partii Kongresowej oraz wzrostem znaczenia na scenie politycznej Indyjskiej Partii Ludowej (Bharatiya Janata, BJP), której

⁷ Lijphart (1980, 2008) wymienia jedynie przykłady konstytucji Belgii, Cypru oraz byłej Czechosłowacji.

politycy – hołdując ideologii kulturowego nacjonalizmu, tzw. *hindutwa* – twierdzą, że rozwiązania istniejące w systemie politycznym Indii w latach 1947–1966 zbyt silnie sprzyjały mniejszościom.

Niemniej jednak, Lijphartowska ocena i analiza indyjskiej demokracji jako konsocjonalnej rzeczywiście wydaje się w istotny sposób wypaczać czteroelementowy model Lijpharta, zwłaszcza w jego najważniejszej części, rządów wielkiej koalicji. Choć bowiem Lijphart przywołuje kazusy swoistych odmian tych rządów, które wypracowano w Libanie i na Cyprze, to w każdym z tych przypadków mają one charakter instytucjonalny, w odróżnieniu od rządów Partii Kongresowej w Indiach, która zwłaszcza w latach 1947-1966 miała w sposób szczególny dbać o udział w niej przedstawiciele większości segmentów etnicznych, językowych czy religijnych sfragmentaryzowanego społeczeństwa. Podobnie i inne elementy konsocjonalne w indyjskiej praktyce politycznej mają charakter nieformalny. Opisywane przez Lijpharta rozwiązania polityczne można nadto interpretować po prostu z perspektywy poszanowania praw mniejszości. Gdyby zaś ich zastosowanie w indyjskim systemie politycznym uznać za dowód na jego konsocjonalny charakter, wówczas należało by i wiele innych, w tym europejskich systemów politycznych posiadających szeroki wachlarz gwarancji dla mniejszości ujmować w ramy teorii i praktyki współzrządzenia.

Wyraźnym, konsocjonalnym elementem ustroju terytorialno-prawnego oraz systemu politycznego Indii od momentu uzyskania przez nie niepodległości jest natomiast federalizm, który w latach pięćdziesiątych (i, w mniejszym stopniu, w sześćdziesiątych) XX wieku nabrał charakteru federalizmu lingwistycznego⁸. Choć oczywiście funkcjonowanie w Indiach federalizmu lingwistycznego nie oznacza, że wszystkie zamieszkujące je w sposób zwarty grupy językowe posiadają własne stany, to przynajmniej system ten dotyczy największych z nich. Wielkość grupy nie jest jednak kryterium kluczowym. Specjalizujący się między innymi w problematyce federalizmu indyjski teoretyk polityczny Rajeev Bhargava (2006) rozwija w ślad za wspomnianym już Paulem R. Brassem (1990) opis bardzo ważnej nieformalnej zasady indyjskiego federalizmu, zgodnie z którą istnienie odrębnej grupy językowej nie może być wystarczające dla posiadania przez nią oddzielnego stanu w ramach indyjskiej federacji. Grupa taka musi bowiem artykułować swe potrzeby politycznie, i to nie tylko na poziomie elit, ale również, a raczej zwłaszcza w wymiarze swych szeregowych członków.

Bhargava zauważa, że, wykształcając specyficzny system federalny, Indiom udało się w sposób unikalny połączyć potrzebę wzmocnienia spójności państwa

⁸ Na temat ewolucji indyjskiego federalizmu w stronę federalizmu lingwistycznego zob. szerzej Bhargava 2006.

z potrzebą uznania różnorodności segmentów to państwo tworzących. Daje zarazem do zrozumienia, że system federalny wyraźnie ułatwił zarządzanie tym wielkim powierzchniowo oraz pod względem liczby ludności państwem.

Co jest jednak ważniejsze z punktu widzenia afrykańskich problemów z demokratyzacją, Bhargava (2006) prezentuje pogląd, że doświadczenia funkcjonującego w Indiach od kilku dekad federalizmu lingwistycznego mogą być przydatne dla budowy i utrzymania systemu federalnego w wieloetnicznych państwach afrykańskich, i to z kilku powodów. Po pierwsze, jak wskazuje Bhargava, nigdy nie powinno się próbować kopiować pełnego wzorca systemu federalnego, który już gdzieś istnieje, lecz raczej próbować kształtować odrębny model państwa związkowego, biorąc pod uwagę rodzime potrzeby oraz zwyczaje, tak jak miało to miejsce w Indiach. Co więcej, jak podkreśla, mimo że system federalny może być uznany za wynalazek Zachodu, to można go dowolnie „przeobrażać w zgodzie ze specyficznymi problemami społeczeństw niezachodnich i kształtować w kontekście lokalnym”, w rezultacie czego jego finalna forma może się „zasadniczo różnić zarówno od zachodnich odpowiedników tegoż, jak i jakichkolwiek rozwiązań znanych z tradycji rodzimej” (Bhargava 2006).

Po drugie, federalizm jako instytucja mająca w wieloetnicznym państwie urzeczywistniać formalne uznanie polityczne odmiennych segmentów społeczeństwa i ich równy status oraz nadawać im daleko idącą samorządność, może w pełni spełniać te funkcje jedynie w porządku demokratycznym, pozbawionym prób zdominowania jednych segmentów przez drugie. Co więcej, trzeba zawsze pamiętać, że wprowadzenie federalizmu może stanowić jedynie część procesu budowania demokracji. Dla jego powodzenia bardzo ważna jest współpraca między władzą centralną a władzami stanowymi. Jak zauważa Bhargava, indyjskie doświadczenie uczy, że jeśli owe wzajemne relacje są poprawne, zyskuje państwo jako całość. Z kolei, zwłaszcza traktowanie przez centrum polityków oraz ludności stanów państwa związkowego w sposób pozbawiony szacunku kończy się najczęściej poważnymi problemami regionalnymi, zwłaszcza w wymiarze stabilności politycznej, które mogą się negatywnie odbić na bezpieczeństwie całego państwa.

Po trzecie, Bhargava zauważa, że nie zawsze wszystkie regiony państwa federalnego powinny być traktowane w ten sam sposób. Zdarza się, że niektóre regiony mają specyficzne potrzeby, które nie są obecne w innych częściach federacji. W takich przypadkach warto, a nawet należy wprowadzić zasadę asymetrycznego traktowania niektórych stanów. Przykładem takiej sytuacji jest uznanie przez władzę centralną Indii za obowiązujące tradycyjne prawo stanu Nagaland, które chroni lokalną tożsamość, ograniczając osiedlanie się na jego terenie imigrantów pochodzących z innych stanów, a zatem i członków innych indyjskich

grup językowych, etnicznych, religijnych. Szczególne, asymetryczne ustalenia zostały również wprowadzone w indyjskich stanach Dżammu i Kaszmir, Sikkim, Mizoram, Goa, Maharashtra i Gudżarat (Bhargava 2006).

Choć Bhargava zdaje się tego wyraźnie nie dostrzegać, dla budowy federalizmu w wieloetnicznych państwach afrykańskich mogą być przydatne również i pewne inne cechy indyjskiego systemu federalnego, które analizuje. W tym względzie należy przede wszystkim podkreślić, że indyjska ustawa zasadnicza nie daje możliwości secesji żadnemu ze stanów tego państwa; organizacja stanów nie może się w Indiach opierać na zasadach prawa religijnego; a reorganizacja stanu, na przykład poprzez wydzielenie jego części jako oddzielnej stanowej jednostki terytorialnej nie może nastąpić bez zgody ogółu mających istotne znaczenie – a zatem zapewne licznych pod względem populacji i aktywnych politycznie – grup językowych zamieszkujących ten stan (Bhargava 2006).

Bardzo istotne jest również to, że Indie są państwem federalnym o, jak to Bhargava (2006) ujmuje, „odchyleniu unitarnym”, co tłumaczy jako stan, w którym podział kompetencji między władzę centralną a władze regionalne charakteryzują dwie szczególne właściwości. Po pierwsze, zakres uprawnień centrum jest znacznie większy od tego, który przynależy regionom. Po drugie zaś, istnieje wiele sfer, w których centrum może ingerować w wewnętrzne sprawy regionów. Rozwiązania te mają prowadzić do sytuacji, w której indyjskie regiony nie tyle „zawierają się” w jednym państwie, lecz „łączą się” w nie ze sobą, co ma zarazem służyć większej spójności terytorialnej Indii (Bhargava 2006).

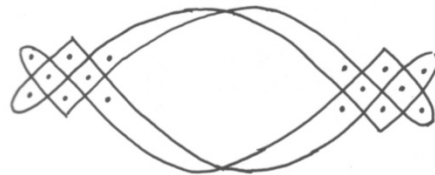
Z analizy indyjskiego systemu politycznego, zwłaszcza jego odmiany, jaka istniała w okresie 1947-1966, oraz indyjskiego federalizmu lingwistycznego można wyciągnąć co najmniej trzy wnioski ważne dla demokratyzacji państw Afryki Subsaharyjskiej. Po pierwsze, system współrzędzenia bądź pewne jego elementy, są przydatne przynajmniej przejściowo w procesie budowania demokracji w państwach wieloetnicznych. Służą one tworzeniu zaufania w stosunkach między elitami oraz członkami różnych segmentów sfragmentaryzowanego społeczeństwa. Po drugie, u podstawy tych stosunków musi leżeć uznanie ogółu segmentów jako odrębnych podmiotów politycznych, posiadających w państwie równy status, co jednak może być trudne do wykonania wówczas, gdy niektóre segmenty nie będą wyraźnie artykułować swego zainteresowania polityką. Po trzecie, jakies elementy współrzędzenia mogą mieć charakter trwałe. Może to być zwłaszcza decentralizacja, na przykład w formie federalizmu lingwistycznego⁹.

⁹ Na temat etiopskiego modelu federalizmu lingwistycznego, istniejącego w systemie niedemokratycznym zob. Trzeciński 2013.

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Tuat – pielgrzymi, *foggary* i *el-kijal*

(fragmenty dziennika pisanego w czasie
II Akademickiej wyprawy Afrykańskiej Sahara 74)

8 stycznia 1975

Wieczorem jesteśmy w Adrarze. Potem biwak w pobliżu miasta we wsi Adrar Ulad Ali. Nocujemy przy niewielkim otwartym kanale prowadzącym wodę (*segia*). Zresztą jesteśmy w centrum nawadniania systemem *foggarów*. Wszędzie widać albo walcowate, obudowane ich otwory, albo tylko kupy ziemi, pośrodku których jest studnia prowadząca do podziemnego kanału. Cały Adrar otoczony tymi *foggarami*, przez miasto – też biegną. Nawet na rynku-placu ciągnie się rząd studni wzdłuż kanału – *foggary*.

9 stycznia 1975

Oglądamy wieś gdzie biwakujemy. Do około 1 godz. po południu, z wielkim zainteresowaniem śledzę system podziału wody, *foggary*, odchodzące od nich *segia*, grzebień dzielące wodę na małe kanaliki, ogrody z basenami (*mażen*), kanaliki (*abadu*) prowadzące wodę na grzędy (*guemun*). Mury otaczające ogrody zdobione grzebieniami z cegły ułożonej ukośnie i z czubków ułożonych z gliny. [...]

Po południu Adrar, zakupy, poczta (znowu jak w Taghit nie ma dla mnie listu) kąpiel pod prysznicem w hotelu (woda zimna). [...] Wieczorem jazda do Tamentit i postój koło oazy. Notuję to 10. I rano, jeszcze przed wyjściem z namiotu.

12 stycznia 1975 Tamentit

10.I spędziłem cały dzień przy kuchni, miałem dyżur. Nareszcie nie marzniemy – nocą jest chłodno, ale nie lodowato, w dzień wręcz upał.

Wspaniały był dzień wczorajszy, to znaczy 11.I. Miejskowa inteligencja – nauczyciele i technicy budujący drogę do Regganu, informowała nas, że będzie



Tamentit – kobiety oczekujące na ceremonię przywitania pielgrzymów

osady. Ale idziemy. Wysokie mury i fosa, kręte uliczki. Domy z gliny, koloru piaskowo-brązowego. Wchodzimy na spory plac. Obok duży dom – nawet z balkonami. Tłum dzieci i kobiet, także mężczyźni. Większość – czarni. Kobiety czarne ubrane bardzo kolorowo, twarze odsłonięte. Jest i grupa kobiet w bieli, całe zasłonięte – widać tylko jedno oko. Otaczają nas dzieci, krzyk, ścisk. Nie pozwalają się fotografować, ale robimy zdjęcia z brzucha. W dali słychać strzały, ale nauczyciele zapewniają, że ceremonia będzie na placu. I szkoda żeśmy posłuchali – Sławek widział przyjęcie pielgrzymów – ich samochód był prawie niesiony przez tłum, oni sami także, ścisk, strzały na wiwat.

Potem wśród krzyków kobiet jednego z pielgrzymów przeprowadzono przez plac do dużego domu. Słychać głos bębnów, idzie duża grupa mężczyzn – ok. 40 osób, czterech gra rytmicznie na bębenkach, reszta idzie z karabinami. Są



Tamentit – uniesiony karabin znakiem do oddania salwy na wiwat

święto przyjęcia pielgrzymów wracających z Mekki. Ma ich być trzech.

Rano idziemy do *ksaru*. Towarzyszą nam nauczyciele i to okazuje się jest źle. Czy wstydzą się tych obchodów, czy boją o nas – odwodzą nas jak mogą od wchodzenia do

to XIX-wieczne kapiszonówki.

Wyglądają wspaniale. Przed dużym domem robią krąg i tańczą wokół, rytm bicia bębnów. W kręgu, w środku orkiestra i kilku tańczących, też z bronią. Po dłuższym okresie orkiestra wychodzi

z koła, zostaje dwóch lub jeden. Stopniowo, w rytm i tańcząc pochylają karabiny lufami do ziemi, napinają kurki i na dany znak razem strzelają. Huk, niespodziewany, zaskakuje nas, dym okropny, ludzie krzyczą z radości.

Fotografujemy, ale ludzie bardzo protestują. Są raczej nastawieni wrogo. Aby ich udobruchać zaczynam tańczyć w rytm bębenków. Biorą mnie do koła, tańczę razem z uzbrojonymi. Potem wychodzę z koła, tańczę obok. To przełamuje lody, stają się bardziej przyjaźni, możemy fotografoać. Ceremonia tańczenia i strzału powtarza się kilkakrotnie. Zaczynamy widzieć szczegóły – w czasie tańca rozdaje się kapiszony, widzimy fazy przygotowania do strzału, znak tego, który zostaje w kole, na który strzelają (przed strzałem ten w kole robi zamach karabinem). W kole tańczy też starzec z kijem, bardzo godny i ważny. Orkiestra wyprężona podchodzi często do brzegu koła, wtedy tańczący robią skłon. Jest i faza podrzucania broni do góry. Po strzale, przerwa. Biorą z puszek proch, ładują do luf (odprzodowe), przybijają wyciorem. Biorę jeden karabin do ręki, oglądam, fotografuję się z nim. Potem znowu tańce. Rychło kończę film – 36 zdjęć.

Kończą tańczyć i rozchodzą się, ktoś podchodzi do mnie, podobało się im, że tańczyłem, wrywa mi włos z głowy. Proszą na kuskus. Ale idę tam, gdzie prowadzą mnie chłopcy, gdzie poszli już Jolcia, Renata oraz Sławek. W mieście słychać tu i ówdzie pojedyncze strzały. Tańce mają ponowić o godz. 14, za dwie godziny. Wchodzę z Jankiem i Karolem do domu, gdzie reszta i technicy drogowi piją już herbatę. Są i daktyle. Rozmowa o handlu z Gao, o *foggarach*. Dużo wiadomości, bo choć technicy nietutejsi, to pytają się gospodarzy. Pokój mały, ciemny, oświetlenie przez otwór w suficie daje tylko smugę jasną, reszta w półmroku.

Ok. 14. Idziemy patrzeć na tańce. Potem wracamy, mijają nas ludzie, w tym i mężczyźni z bronią. Jeden daje mi kapiszon, inny pozwala strzelić – odrzut dość silny. Strzela się zawsze w ziemię. Jeszcze – po tańcach a przed powrotem proszą



Tamentit – mury otaczające pola-ogrody

nas na kuskus. Nareszcie jemy prawdziwy, bardzo dobry. Jest b. ostry, aż pali, jarzyny i mięso na wierzchu. Gospodarz dzieli mięso rękami na kawałki. Jemy z apetytem.

Wracając widzimy ładny grzebień dzielący wodę. W obozie obiad, ale nie jesteśmy głodni. Wieczorem znowu dźwięki bębnow i strzały. Idziemy. Janek bierze raketnicę. Tańce jak w dzień, tyle tylko, że przy świetle bardzo silnej lampy naftowej. Tłum, ścisk, krzyki, tańczymy i my. Strzelamy z raketnicy. Po obejrzeniu – idziemy na kawę do nauczycieli. Jest raczej nudno. Ok. 11–12 w nocy wracamy i śpimy.

Dziś rano wyprawa do ogrodów. Fotografuję grzebień, wielopoziomowe skrzyżowania segii, ulice wśród ogrodów, groby marabutów, cmentarze. Piaskowo-brązowe mury ozdobione grzebieniami, lśniąca w słońcu woda, b. silna zieleń upraw, palmy, niebieskie niebo, ślicznie. System podziału wody nie tylko bardzo ciekawy, ale i ładny, grzebień są po prostu piękne. W południe wracamy, upał w słońcu ok. 40 stopni. Kąpiemy się w basenie – zbiorniku wody przy budowie, potem myjemy w *segii*.

Przychodzą bez przerwy – to nauczyciele, to inżynierowie, to technicy. Ci ostatni przyjeżdżają spychaczem. Jeden z nich rozwala dużą część muru starej *kasby*, wewnątrz której mamy obóz. Okropnie się tym zdenerwowałem i nakrzyczałem na niego.

Wieczorem wyprawa do wsi. Jest już ciemno, na ulicach ludzie. W mroku wyglądają niesamowicie. Chcemy rozmawiać z facetem, który zajmuje się pomiarem przepływu wody w *segiach* i ma pląkietkę z otworami, która jest podstawą wszystkich miar. Ale nie ma go w domu. Wracamy. Zapraszają nas na herbatę. Są miejscowi, inżynierowie, technicy i my. Pracująca tu inteligencja łączy się do nas. Nudzą się strasznie a ponadto nie mają wielu kontaktów z tubylcami. Są z Oranu, Algieru. Miejscowi są nieufni, uważają ich za obcych, mówią o nich



Tamentit – podziemny kanał *foggary* biegnący ku wsi

Algierczycy (sami uważają się za tutejszych, nie za Algierczyków).

15 stycznia 1975 Reggane

Spędziliśmy w Tamentit jeszcze 13 stycznia. Wydarzyło się kilka rzeczy śmiesznych i jedna ważna. [...] Wieczorem 13.I poszliśmy z Jolcią, Teresą i Sławkiem raz jeszcze szukać człowieka mierzącego wodę. Szliśmy znowu po zmroku. Prowadził jeden z techników z budowy drogi. Miasto w ciemności, wąskie uliczki, kręte, odkryte i nad nimi niebo, lub przykryte jakby dachem przejścia pomiędzy domami. Ludzi na ulicach raczej mało, przemykają się szybko, łatwo można się zderzyć z tymi, którzy idą bez światła. Kobiety i dzieci przebiegają niosąc w ręku zapaloną prymitywną pochodnię z trawy lub części palmy, na której rosną daktyle. Pochodnia płonie krótko – tyle tylko, aby się przemknąć. Wrażenia z tej nocnej wędrówki zupełnie niesamowite.

Dochodzimy wreszcie do domu gdzie mieszka przyjaciel naszego technika. Ten dopiero ma nas prowadzić do *el-kijala*, czyli mierzącego wodę. Prowadzi. Przychodzi ten mierzący, nie jest zachwycony wizytą. Naradzają się przez pewien czas. Potem proszą, żebyśmy poczekali, idą gdzieś, wracają, jeszcze czekamy. Tłumaczy nam technik, że mierzący wodę musi usunąć swe żony z części domu, do której wejdziemy. Wreszcie wchodzimy, przyjmuje nas dość zimno, w dodatku w przedsionku, jakby już za drzwiami, ale jeszcze piach nie ubity jak w pokojach, nie położył dywanika, pomieszczenie małe, wąskie. Ale najważniejsze, że przyniósł plakietkę do mierzenia wody i że możemy rozmawiać.

Wbija swoją plakietkę w piach – szer. ok. 20–25 cm, dł. – ok. 1 m. Przy świetle lampy naftowej i latarki odpowiada na pytania. Stopniowo staje się coraz sympatyczniejszy, mówi chętnie. Twarz bardzo żywa, oczy inteligentne, ok. 55 lat. Mówimy i o sposobach mierzenia wody i o księgach i dokumentach, w których spisane są prawa własności do wody, o jego zawodzie, o uzyskiwaniu wody (dzieziczenie, kupno, rozbudowa *foggary*). Trwa to około 2 godzin. Sławek zaczyna

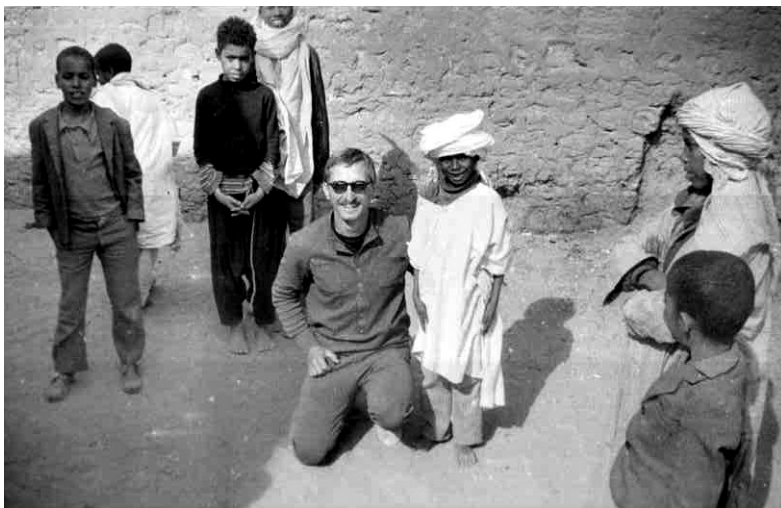


Tamentit – grzebień i małe kanały odchodzące od kanału głównego *foggary*

narzekać na zmęczenie, nasz technik, który tłumaczył b. dobrze – po rozmowie ledwo szedł tak mu zdrętwiały nogi. Wymieniamy pozdrowienia pożegnalne, już bardzo serdeczne, dziękujemy, chcemy mu dać ładny długopis – on odmawia przyjęcia, mówi że to jakbyśmy mu zapłacili, a on z zadowoleniem mówi widząc nasze zainteresowanie. Przeprasza za scenerię przyjęcia, że nic nie dał do jedzenia, ale przyszliśmy niespodziewanie. My jeszcze raz dziękujemy i żegnamy się. Wracamy przez ciemne miasto, jeszcze czasem ktoś idzie, ale już pusto. Na ulicach tu i tam śpią owce, czasem jeszcze ktoś idzie, cisza. Wracamy do obozu przez ogrody, już nie gubimy się tak zupełnie pomiędzy murkami i w płataninie uliczek.

14 stycznia jechaliśmy przez cały Tuat do Regganu. Stanęliśmy dwa razy – w oazie – wsi El Mansour, niedaleko Tamentit oraz przy zburzonym zamku, ok. 80 km przed Regganem. W El Mansour wg przewodnika odchodził szlak w kierunku Teghazy, Taodeni i ku Timbuktu. Stajemy, aby zobaczyć tę miejscowość. System wodny, budownictwo – jak w Tamentit. Ale mniejsze. Wiele domów pustych, w ruinie, tłumaczą że po deszczu. [...]

Stopniowo droga zbliża się do płaskowyżu leżącego od strony wschodniej. Widać gdzie zaczynają się *foggary*, jak prowadzone są wzdłuż spadku, ku wsioom leżącym niżej. Zatrzymujemy się przy dużej budowli, w ruinie. Myślałem że to początek *foggary*, ale nie wygląda to tak okazale. Raczej zamek (*ksar*), mury bardzo wysokie, kamień pomieszany z gliną, w środku studnia. Otoczony cmentarzem. Zwiedzamy, fotografujemy. Wieczorem przyjeżdżamy do Regganu, jest benzyna, kupujemy i już bezpiecznie będziemy mogli wracać (w Adrarze nie było). [...]



Reggan – chłopcy z oazy chcący się fotografować

Ludzie wrodzy, rzucają kamienie, nie pozwalają oglądać ani fotografować. W mieście jesteśmy później (rano pomagamy Belgom, którym zepsuł się Land Rover). Kobiety – gdy je fotografujemy też rzucają kamienie. Ale potem otaczają nas chłopcy, patrzą przez aparaty, chcą być fotografowani. Prowadzą nas do ogrodów – oglądamy *segie*, *mażeny*, suszące się cegły z gliny (*tuba*) [...] Miasto senne, duży rynek zupełnie pusty. Brak sklepów, jest kilka a w nich nic. Mężczyźni leżą na ziemi, czekają na nic. Przy drodze i wokół Regganu pełno zdechłych kóz i owiec. To kupcy wyrzucają padłe sztuki po przejechaniu drogi z Mali do Regganu.

16 stycznia 1975 Reggan

Zwiedzaliśmy dziś okolice Regganu. Wieś Taurit o ok. 3–4 km. Typowa zabudowa z *banko*, dawne mury i fosa – zapuszczone, wiele domów w ruinie. Widziałem jak wypuszczono wodę z mażenu i jak rozprowadzano ją po grzędach. Dość to malownicze, fotografowałem dokładnie. Potem natknąłem się na człowieka, który młotkiem i żelaznym przecinakiem robił żarna. Obok suszyły się cegły – *tuba*. Wyjaśniono mi, że to murarz. [...]



Reggan – murarz wyrabiający kamienne żarna

17 stycznia 1975 Tamentit

Rano wyjechaliśmy z Regganu. Fotografujemy drogowskaz na rozstajach. Pista do Nigru i druga do Mali. Do Gao 1300 km, do Timbaktu ok. 1600 km. Za daleko, a szkoda. Wieczorem przyjeżdżamy do Tamentit, witają nas starzy znajomi. [...]



Wieś Uled Aissa pod Tafautem w oazie Gurara
– autor z plakietką do pomiarów przepływu wody

Komentarz

AWA 74 czyli Druga Akademicka Wyprawa Afrykańska Studenckiego Koła Naukowego Afrykanistów UW trwała od września 1974 do lutego 1975 r. Trasa w Afryce biegła przez Maroko, Saharę Hiszpańską, Mauretanię, Algierię i Tunezję. Organizatorem i kierownikiem wyprawy był Leonard Adamowicz, kierownikiem naukowym Michał Tymowski. Uczestniczyło w niej 18 osób, w tym 15 studentów podyplomowych studiów afrykanistycznych, mających ukończone studia magisterskie w zakresie archeologii, ekonomii, etnologii, farmacji, geografii, historii, medycyny. Transport zapewniały dwa wojskowe, terenowe Stary dobrze sprawujące się na pustyni pod nadzorem inżyniera Jana Higersbergera i doświadczonego kierowcy Tadeusza Kopańskiego. Wadą starów było ogromne zużycie paliwa, w dodatku był to okres kryzysu paliwowego, więc zdobycie i opłacenie paliwa stanowiło niemały problem.

Wśród osób wymienionych w przytoczonym fragmencie dziennika, poza Lonkiem (Leonardem Adamowiczem) i Jankiem Higersbergerem są: Karol Argasiński, Teresa Butrym, Krzysztof Hordyński, Jola Koziorowska, Renata Manitus i Sławek (Ładysław) Zajda.

Oaza Tuat, której dotyczą notatki ciągnie się od Adraru na północy do Regganu na południu na długości około 160 km. Tworzy ją wiele osad różnej wielkości. Jej początki sięgają czasów przed przybyciem Arabów (w VIII w. n.e.).

Była przez stulecia jednym z najważniejszych miejsc leżących na karawanowym szlaku transsaharyjskim. Głównym miastem docelowym karawan było na południe od Sahary Timbuktu. Tuat, w tym osadę Tamentit, wzmiankują Ibn Batuta i Ibn Chaldun. Pierwszym Europejczykiem, który dotarł do Tuatu był Genueńczyk Antonio Malfante. W XV w. wysłał on z tej oazy do Genui list z opisem tamtejszego handlu i osadnictwa. Karawany wracając z południa prowadziły między innymi zakupionych tam niewolników. Niektórzy z nich byli kupowani przez tuatańskich Berberów i Arabów i zostawali w Tuacie. Dlatego ludność tamtejsza jest w dużej części czarna.

Oaza mogła pełnić swoją rolę ośrodka osadnictwa oraz etapu na szlaku karawan dzięki obfitości wody uzyskiwanej przez system *foggary*. Na płaskowyżu rozciągającym się po wschodniej stronie oazy wybijane były głębokie studnie dochodzące do poziomu wodonośnego. Z nich wodę prowadzono lekkim spadkiem podziemnymi kanałami biegnącymi w kierunku zachodnim, docierającymi do wsi leżących na równinie, poniżej płaskowyżu. Dalej na zachód rozpościerają się wielkie obszary piaszczystych, wydmych ergów.

System podziału wody i jej rozprowadzania na pola-ogrody ma dwa warianty. Jeden polega na skierowaniu całej wody z kanału *foggary* do konkretnego ogrodu, przez określony czas, następnie do kolejnego ogrodu itd. Nie dzieli się więc wody na małe kanały, ale wedle czasu jej użytkowania. System ten jest uważany za niewygodny, gdyż woda w *foggarze* płynie nieprzerwanie i część właścicieli musi z niej korzystać nocą. Jest to system uznawany za berberski, zbudowany przed przybyciem Arabów do Tuatu. Drugi system, przypisywany Arabom, polega na podziale wody z głównego kanału *foggary* na różnej wielkości małe kanały, należące do poszczególnych właścicieli. Woda płynie małymi strugami na poszczególne pola-ogrody. Tam zbierana jest do basenów zwanych *maženami* i wypuszczana na grzędy w porze dogodnej dla każdego z właścicieli. Wadą systemu jest utrata części wody zbieranej w basenach w rezultacie parowania.

W celu podziału wody z głównego kanału *foggary* na małe kanały w miejscu wyjścia głównego kanału na powierzchnię, w pobliżu oazy lub już na jej terenie umieszczany jest grzebień, czyli zbudowana z gliny przegroda z podziałami (palcami). Od tych podziałów odchodzą kanały należące do poszczególnych właścicieli. Wielkość kanału, przepływ wody i jej ilość decyduje o możliwościach uprawy i o rozmiarze ogrodu. Własność dotyczy więc wody, a ziemi tylko wtórnie. Dziedziczenie, podziały spadkowe, kupno, dotyczą wody. Kradzież nie polega na przesuwaniu granicy upraw i zajęciu ziemi, ale na zagarnięciu części wody, na przykład poprzez przesunięcie palców na grzebieniu. Dlatego tak ważne są pomiary przepływu wody. *El-kijal* zajmujący się tymi pomiarami należy do ważnych dostojników miejscowych. Pomiar polega na ustawieniu plakietki na

grzebieniu i umieszczeniu przy mierzonym kanale określonej wielkości otworu znajdującego się na plakietce. Przepływ przez otwór musi być stały, a poziom wody w *foggarze*, powyżej plakietki nie powinien rosnąć.

Pisany ręcznie dziennik wyprawy zajął dwa stukartkowe zeszyty szkolne. Pisałem w namiocie, leżąc na materacu, zazwyczaj wieczorem przy świetle świecy lub lampy naftowej. Czasem rano, o świcie. Pisząc szybko, dla własnego użytku, stosowałem skróty, nie dbałem o interpunkcję ani o styl, nie byłem konsekwentny w stosowaniu terminologii – stąd w przytoczonym fragmencie nazywam osady raz wsiami, raz miastami, albo waham się co do rodzaju i odmiany słowa *foggara* (raz *foggar*, raz *foggarów*). Na osobnych pięciu kartkach mam zapisane nazwy narzędzi używanych przez *el-kijala*, nazwy miar wody, pól, ogrodzeń, grządek itp. Obok transkrypcji nazw w alfabecie łacińskim, część nazw zapisana jest alfabetem arabskim. Nie pamiętam już, czy zapisał to *el-kijal*, czy tłumacz. Mam także trzeci zeszyt zawierający dużą część tekstu wygładzoną stylistycznie, z uzupełnieniami i wyjaśnieniami, których zabrakło w dzienniku pisany na bieżąco. Jednakże tutaj przytaczam tekst pierwotny, nie poprawiam niczego, gdyż ta wersja wydaje mi się najbliższa moim myślom i wrażeniom z czasu wyprawy. Poza dziennikiem robiłem również zdjęcia i dokumentację zrobionych fotografii. Kilka zdjęć dołączam do wybranego fragmentu.

Animal names in Nilotic and Khoisan languages from a comparative-reconstructive perspective

1. Introduction

The study of animal names has been an attractive field of research in African linguistics time and again. This is largely, but not exclusively, due to its implicit cognitive aspects. This article deals with animal names in unrelated language families: Nilotic (Nilo-Saharan phylum; north-eastern Africa) and Khoisan (southern Africa).

Generally speaking, animal names (just like any other words or lexical morphemes) can be of diverse origin. They can, for instance,

- be reflexes of (historically reconstructible) proto-languages, i.e. genetically inherited words;
- result from language contact and, hence, be borrowings;
- derive from sound symbolism, i.e. be onomatopoeic words or ideophones;
- be periphrastically formed as compounds or (mostly complex) descriptive expressions (e.g., nominalized finite verb constructions);
- represent lexical innovations.

Previous (provisional) analyses of animal names in Maa (Eastern Nilotic [= EN]; Vossen 2014) and Kalahari Khoe [= KK] (Central Khoisan; Vossen 2011, 2013) have shown that in both families by far the majority of names are lexical innovations (simplex forms), followed by ideophonic expressions which occur in abundance in KK and frequently in EN. Among periphrastic constructions, compounded names prevail over other descriptive forms in KK, whereas almost exactly the reverse situation is observed in EN. Against this background, loanwords and inherited names tend to present themselves in relatively small numbers in both families. While borrowings (especially from Bantu languages) do occur at least occasionally in KK, they appear to be few in EN. Inherited

names so far turned out to be few in both families; they will be dealt with in more detail in the present article.

2. Inherited names in the Nilotic family

Nilotic languages certainly belong to the best documented languages within Nilo-Saharan and possibly in Africa as a whole. Linguistic historical reconstruction on the basis of the comparative method has therefore been possible since decades and has, in fact, been conducted to a certain extent. To this day, systematic comparisons were carried out and published by Rottland (1982) for Southern and by Vossen (1982) for Eastern Nilotic. For Western Nilotic, the third primary branch of the Nilotic family, such comparison is still to be taken. However, Köhler (1948) in his famous but unpublished comparative study, in which the genetic status of Nilotic as a family in its own right was first established and linguistically proven, presents comparative sets of presumably common roots for Nilotic as a whole as well as for two of the three subfamilies. Curiously enough, he did not overtly distinguish between Southern and Eastern Nilotic for which he set up joint comparative series (under the label “Eastern Nilotic”), while in the appended tree diagram this distinction is clearly made (just as in his follow-up publication of the introductory chapter of the dissertation, see Köhler 1955). Although Köhler has taken great pains over the compilation of these sets, he did not dare go beyond this step and offer lexical reconstructions. Such can be found in small quantity in Hall *et al.* (1975) and in Ehret (2001), who ventured even to reconstruct Nilo-Saharan of which Nilotic forms part as a more recently emerged sub-branch.

In Appendix 1 reconstructions of animal names contained in the above-mentioned sources are listed for each of the reconstructed stages in the development of Nilotic languages. In the case of Köhler (1948), just one representative form from each comparative set is given. The classification underlying these reconstructions/representatives is as follows:

Nilotic (Proto-Nilotic = PN)

Western (Proto-Western Nilotic = PWN)

Southern (Proto-Southern Nilotic = PSN)

Kalenjin (Proto-Kalenjin = PK)

Omotik-Datooga (Proto-Omotik-Datooga = POM)

Eastern (Proto-Eastern Nilotic = PEN)

Bari (group, not reconstructed)

Teso-Lotuko-Maa (Proto-Teso-Lotuko-Maa = PTLM)

Teso-Turkana (group, not reconstructed)

Lotuko-Maa (Proto-Lotuko-Maa = PLM)

Lotuko (group, not reconstructed)

Ongamo-Maa (group, only partially reconstructed)

In spite of their reconstructibility, some of the forms contained in Appendix 1 would ultimately seem to be of onomatopoeic origin: Western Nilotic *nau* ‘cat’, PSN/PK *ɲkək, PEN *-kər- / PTLM *-kɔ-kɔ- ‘chicken’, and PTLM *-bou- ‘hyena’. Another item, *sigir-io* ‘donkey’, listed as common Southern and Eastern Nilotic by Köhler (1948), was shown by Ehret (1971) to be a Southern Nilotic loanword in Eastern Nilotic.

All in all, 158 lexical forms have so far been reconstructed or set up for different historical levels in the emergence of Nilotic languages. They distribute over 72 glosses for animals, which is a relatively small number in view of the large amount of names that exist in individual languages. Hence, one might miss reconstructions for such “prominent” (in terms of outer appearance, ritual and/or economic significance, negative or positive connotation, etc.) and common animals as baboon, bat, eland, hippopotamus, kudu, lizard, mosquito, ostrich, pigeon, porcupine, prey birds (except ‘falcon’), and rhinoceros, to name but a few. Table 1 summarizes the allocation of reconstructions/common forms to proto-stages:

Table 1. Nilotic reconstructions/common forms in absolute and proportional figures

	PN	PWN	PSN	PK	POD	PEN	PTLM	PLM
absolute	8	5	14	63	5	22	25	16
in %	5.0	3.2	8.9	39.9	3.2	13.9	15.8	10.1

Obviously, the low figures for PN and PWN are partly due to the fact that to this day no systematic comparison has been undertaken; it is also clear, however, that earlier stages of development tend to be less or underrepresented as compared to more recent ones. As a rule of thumb: the greater the time depth involved the lower the number of reconstructions. The equally low figure of reconstructions for POD must be explained differently, though, because Omotik as a main pillar of comparison was nearly extinct at the time of data collecting and could hence be documented to a limited extent only. Consequently, just a reduced set of lexical comparative series was available as a basis of reconstruction. A few more ancient forms may be inferred from the overall Nilotic comparison

although no such reconstructions have been offered. For example, ‘lion’ has been reconstructed for PK in Southern and for PTLM/PLM in Eastern Nilotic, but it has not been reconstructed for either PSN or PEN. Nevertheless, the PK and PTLM/PLM reconstructions no doubt are cognates and must therefore be assumed to have existed already at a time when Southern and Eastern Nilotic had not yet diverged from their ancestor language. If we add to Southern and Eastern the common Western Nilotic *tuj* (which, curiously, has not been listed by Köhler), we must come to the conclusion that ‘lion’ can even be reconstructed for the oldest stage of Nilotic, probably as **tuj*, since **ɲe* in Southern and **ɲa* in Eastern Nilotic represent sort of fossilized prefixes whose former function is anything but known (for a possible explanation, however, see Vossen 1982: 301ff.).

Another interesting aspect of analysis is to check in which way lexical reconstructions cut across zoological taxonomy. Table 2 contains the respective figures:

Table 2. Nilotic reconstructions and zoological classification

	amphibians	birds	fish	insects	mammals	reptiles	other
absolute	1	10	1	13	37	5	5
in %	1.4	13.9	1.4	18.0	51.5	6.9	6.9

That mammals prevail definitely over any other class in this statistics does not really come as a surprise. On the whole, they are not only many more in number than, for instance, reptiles and amphibians; more importantly, they are in many ways more relevant to human life. Insects probably outnumber mammals in quantitative respects, but only few such as bees, flies, mosquitoes, etc. play a significant role in everyday life. Fish, on the other hand, may also occur in large varieties, but they are geographically restricted to riverine systems and lakes, of which there are not so many in the Nilotic-speaking area as a whole.

Finally, an intriguing distinction may be made between domestic and non-domestic (wild) animals. In our sample, almost exactly two thirds (48 = 66.7%) of the reconstructions refer to non-domestic animals, while 26.4% (19) are related to domestic ones. Another five (= 6.9%) reconstructions cannot unambiguously be classed as either domestic or non-domestic. The non-domestic domain largely comprises “prominent” animals (in the above-mentioned sense) and animals of cultural and/or economic value or significance. Although at first glance the share of domestic terms falls clearly below that of non-domestic ones, it is in fact fairly

high, as we shall see below, thus reflecting the overall importance of livestock and the so-called “cattle complex” that many Nilotic societies are well-known and famous for.

3. Inherited names in the Central Khoisan family

In this article, the discussion of lexical reconstructions in Khoisan is confined to the Central (Khoe) family, which not only comprises the largest number of known languages and dialects but, more importantly, represents the only Khoisan unit that has both systematically and comprehensively been studied by applying the comparative method of historical linguistics (Vossen 1997). (In 2010, however, an impressive reconstruction of “Kx’a”, the linguistic ancestor of Northern Khoisan and #Hoan, a language of east-central Botswana formerly considered as isolate, was published by Heine & Honken. As solid as this reconstruction presents itself, it does not contain a lot of lexical items related to animals and is therefore not taken into account in this paper.)

Appendix 2 gives the lexical reconstructions set up by Vossen (1997) for animal names in Khoe. The underlying classification of Khoe is as follows:

Khoe (Proto-Khoe = PK)

Khoekhoe (Proto-Khoekhoe = PKK)

Kalahari Khoe (Proto-Kalahari Khoe = PKalK)

West Kalahari Khoe (Proto-West Kalahari Khoe = PWKalK)

East Kalahari Khoe (Proto-East Kalahari Khoe = PEKalK)

A total of 136 lexical forms have so far been reconstructed for different historical levels in the emergence of Central Khoisan languages. They distribute over 43 glosses for animals, which again is a comparatively small number considering the large amount of names that exist in individual languages. And, again, one might miss reconstructions for some “prominent” and common animals. For example, given the many varieties of antelopes and gazelles that live in southern Africa, six reconstructions appear to be very few. No reconstructions are possible, for instance, for wildebeest and gemsbok. Apart from python no other snake species seems reconstructible. And other animals of importance in hunter-gatherer societies and beyond, such as iguana and several birds and insects, also lack linguistic reconstructibility. Table 3 summarizes the allocation of reconstructions to proto-stages:

Table 3. Khoe reconstructions in absolute and proportional figures

	PK	PKK	PKalK	PWKalK	PEKalK
absolute	17	13	38	36	32
in %	12.5	9.6	27.9	26.5	23.5

While the number of reconstructions within the Kalahari Khoe branch range from 32 to 38 and are, thus, more or less on the same quantitative level, PK and PKK reconstructions fall clearly below this range. This was to be expected for PK because of the greater time-depth involved, but not for PKK. However, the amount of reconstructible names in PKK should actually be way beyond the thirteen items that have been set up. This small number explains itself by the mere fact that no Khoekhoe-exclusive comparative series, i.e. series not shared by languages of the Kalahari Khoe branch, were compiled; instead, all PKK reconstructions are based on Khoe-wide comparative series of lexical cognates, whose number is limited.

A semantic analysis of reconstructed names yields some noticeable results. Table 4 shows the figures for the major zoological taxonomic units:

Table 4. Khoe reconstructions and zoological classification

	birds	fish	insects	mammals	reptiles	other
absolute	3	1	4	28	5	2
in %	7.0	2.3	9.3	65.1	11.6	4.7

Most of what has been said in interpreting percentage shares in Nilotic (section 2) also applies to the Khoe case. An apparent difference consists in the lack of amphibians in the latter language family.

A vast majority of reconstructed forms refer to non-domestic animals (39 = 90.7%), domestic terminology being restricted to three items (= 7.0%). (One reconstruction cannot be assigned to either domestic or non-domestic animal vocabulary.) Such findings cannot really be surprising because only in more recent times has livestock-keeping become an important economic factor in the hunter-gatherer societies of the Khoe family, i.e. principally in the whole Kalahari branch. Societies representing the other, smaller branch of Khoe, that is Khoekhoe, have been living on cattle-keeping for ages, and this is clearly reflected in their lexicons. This economic difference between Khoekhoe pastoralists and Kalahari Khoe foragers creates a kind of falseness in the historical linguistic reconstruction of Proto-Khoe: the fact that Khoekhoe has more names

for domestic animals than Kalahari Khoe, whereas the latter has probably more non-domestic terminology than Khoekhoe, naturally reduces the potential for PK reconstructions in these semantic domains.

4. Nilotic and Central Khoisan: a comparison of findings

Unfortunately, neither absolute figures nor percentages of reconstructions for animal names in the two families can after all be very conclusive because the reconstructive work was based on quantitatively diverse sets of lexical data: the larger the sample of comparison the larger the number of potential reconstructions. Moreover, percentages of reconstructed animal vocabulary have not been measured against those of other semantic domains. What is worth having a closer look at, however, is zoological taxonomy and, from an economic-anthropological point of view, the domestic vs. non-domestic terminology issue.

For the sake of comparability, the percentages already contained in Tables 2 and 4 are taken up again in a contrastive way (Table 5).

Table 5. Percentages of reconstructed Nilotic and Khoe zoological taxonomy in contrast

	amphibians	birds	fish	insects	mammals	reptiles	other
Nilotic	1.4	13.9	1.4	18.0	51.5	6.9	6.9
Khoe	–	7.0	2.3	9.3	65.1	11.6	4.7

In both language families the share of mammals among the reconstructed animal vocabularies prevails over the rest of taxonomic categories. In Nilotic insects and birds come next, whereas in Khoe reptiles and insects represent the second and third largest categories. Amphibians are entirely absent from the list of Khoe reconstructions. It would seem that no wide-ranging linguistic or extra-linguistic inferences can be made from these observations. In contrast to this, a comparison of figures for reconstructed domestic and non-domestic vocabularies seems more conclusive. Remember the respective figures in Nilotic and Khoe (Table 6):

Table 6. Percentages of reconstructed domestic vs. non-domestic vocabulary

	Nilotic	Khoe
domestic	26.4	7.0
non-domestic	66.7	90.7

As stated previously, the proportional gaps between Nilotic and Khoe in both domains can be explained through economic background. In most Nilotic societies livestock-keeping has been of central importance since times immemorial; hence the portion of especially cattle-related lexicon is correspondingly huge not only in the modern but also in hypothetically reconstructed languages. The Khoe case is more complex. While the economy of Khoekhoe speech communities has been livestock-based for ages, Kalahari Khoe speakers until not so long ago relied extensively upon a forager mode of life, in which wild animals were elementary. That explains the 26.4 per cent of domestic vocabulary in Nilotic (as against only seven per cent in Khoe) on the one hand, and the 90.7 per cent of non-domestic vocabulary in Khoe (as against 66.7 per cent in Nilotic) on the other hand. If, however, Khoekhoe was reconstructed separately from Kalahari Khoe, i.e. if lexical comparative series were set up separately for Khoekhoe and Kalahari Khoe, then we would probably arrive at many more PKK reconstructions than listed in Appendix 2, and the figures for reconstructed domestic vocabulary in Khoekhoe would come (much) closer to those representing domestic lexicon in Nilotic.

5. Conclusion

There remains the question of what extra-linguistic insights in particular we might gain from the above comparison of reconstructed animal vocabularies beyond what has already been said. The answer is: not much more at this point. It would be interesting for future comparison, though, to enlarge the sample of language families especially by taking into consideration data from such linguistic units whose speakers follow up other economies than herding or foraging, e.g. field cultivation or mixed economies. It could also be revealing to direct further comparison to the question of why certain animals can be reconstructed for earlier proto-stages in one language family but not in the other. What does it mean, for instance, to have a reconstruction for ‘rhinoceros’ in Proto-Khoe but not in Proto-Nilotic if we can take it for granted that rhino was to be found in both language areas at the time when these proto-languages existed? And last but not least, the role of borrowed animal names within reconstructed sets ought to be analyzed in more detail than has been the case so far.

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Appendix 1.

Inherited names for animals in Nilotic (E = Ehret, H = Hall, K = Köhler)

GLOSS	NILOTIC	WESTERN	SOUTHERN	EASTERN
animal (game)		lei (Nuer; K)	-tʃaŋ (Lotuko; K) PSN/PK *tʃa:ŋ	PTLM *-tiaŋ-
antelope (sp.)			PK *sɪ:rɑ:n, PK *pɔ:Rɪn	
baboon			PK *moyo:s	
bat		alik (Dinka; K)	PK *rɛ:rɛ:s	
bee		kie (Shilluk; K) PWN *kiec (E)	-ógoro (Maasai; K) PK *sekem	PLM *k₃o-t₁or-
bird	kwen- (Bari; K); PN *weŋ (H)		PSN *tɑ:rɪ:t, PK *tɑ:rɪ:t	PEN/PTLM/PLM *-kuɛŋ-
buffalo	jo:p (Shilluk; K)		PK *sa:y, PK *kiruk, POD *mwas	PTLM/PLM *-k₃o-soku-an
bull, ox	PN *mɔ:r 'ox' (E)		PK *e:R, PK *wun	PTLM/PLM *-mɔŋ-ɔ; PLM *-ɔɪŋ (E)
calf, female; heifer			PSN/PK *mɔ:r 'calf'	PEN *-tagw-, PLM *-tauw-
cat		ɲau (Nuer; K)		
caterpillar			PK *tɑ:pɔpɔ:r	
cattle		ɣok (Nuer; K)	kisok (Bari; K) PSN/PK *tɔc	PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k₁ɪ-t₂ʊ(k)
chicken			PSN/PK *ŋkək	PEN *-kɔr-, PTLM *-kɔ-kɔr-
cockroach			PK *solop	
Colobus monkey		PWN *dol (E)	PK *kɔŋɔy (E)	
cow	jaŋ (Nuer; K); PN *kiʃeŋ (E); PN *dheŋ, pl. *dhək (H)	PWN *ɖyaŋ, pl. *ɖyok (E)	PSN/PK *te:, PSN/PK *təŋ	PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k₁ɪ-t₁eŋ

GLOSS	NILOTIC	WESTERN	SOUTHERN	EASTERN
crocodile	ɲaŋ (Nuer; K); PN *ɲaŋ (H)		PK *tɲɔ:ŋ, PK *kɔRkɔR	PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k ₁ i-ɲaŋ-
dam			PK *i:ywak	
dog	PN *gok (H)		PK *ŋo:k	PEN *-di-, PTLM *-ki-ŋɔk-
donkey			sigir-io (Nandi; K) PK *sikir	
elephant			-tome (Teso; K) PSN *pe:L, PK *pe:l	PEN/PTLM/PLM *-tɔm-ɛ, pl. *-tɔm-ɪa
falcon			PK *si:rer	
fish		rɛ:c (Acooli; K)		
flea			PK *kɪmt	
fly	lwaŋ (Dinka; K); PN *kwelʔɔ:ŋ (E)		PSN *kɑ:Lya:ŋ, PK *kɑ:lyɑŋ	PEN *-k ₃ ɔ-dʷAŋ-a, PLM *-k ₃ ɔ-JAŋ-a-
frog			PK *mo:roro:c	PEN *-dɔk, PTLM *-k ₁ i-dɔdɔk-
giraffe	-ko-ri (Teso; K)		POD *kɔy, *kɔŋ	PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k ₃ o-ri-
goat		dɛ:l (Nuer; K)	-kine (Teso; K) PSN *no(:) 'goats' (cf. 'sheep'), PK *ɑr	
goat, castrated			PK *seti:m	
goat, (she-)			PK *supe:n (cf. 'female sheep'), PK *ŋara:r	PEN *-k ₁ i-nedʷ, PTLM/PLM *-k ₁ i-ne
goat, he-	PN *kwero(i)- (E)		PK *kwɛR	PTLM *-k ₃ ɔr-, pl. *-k ₃ ɔr-
goose, wild		twot (Dinka; K)		

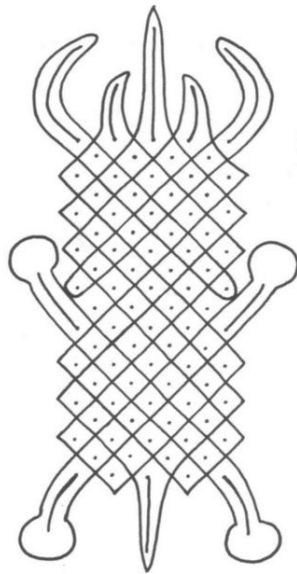
GLOSS	NILOTIC	WESTERN	SOUTHERN	EASTERN
guinea fowl			tapiŋi (Bari; K)	PEN *-tapiŋ-, PTLM *-tapeŋ-
hare			likito ⁹ (Bari; K)	
			PK *lɛ:(ŋ)k	
heifer			PK *rɔ:r	
heron			PK *rɪ:r	
hippopotamus		rou (Dinka; K)	PK *makay, *makaw	
hyena			-bu (Teso; K)	
			PK *make:t	PTLM *-bou-
kudu			PSN *sarɑ(:)m, PK *sɑ:ra:m	
larva			PK *kɔ:t	
leopard		kwac (Dinka; K); *kwac (E)	PK *meli:l	PEN/PLM *-k ₃ o- gwor-, pl. *-uwor-
lion			ŋetup (Nandi; K)	
			PK *ŋetup	PTLM/PLM *-.ŋat ₁ up-
lizzard			PK *rɪŋkɪs	
locust			majat- (Bari; K)	
			PK *ta:ləm	PEN *-mayat-, PTLM *-maat-
louse		ɲok (Dinka; K)	PK *(k)ɪ(n)sɪr, POD *ɲok	PTLM *-ɬac- ~ *-.ɬac-
monkey (sp.)			POD *rɛ:kwa	
mosquito				PTLM *-sɔrɔ-
ostrich		wut (Nuer; K)		
owl		PWN *gum- (E)	PK *yu:kuk	
pig			-potir (Lotuko; K)	
pig, wild			PK *tɔ:rɑ	
pigeon		kur (Dinka; K)	PK *tuk	

GLOSS	NILOTIC	WESTERN	SOUTHERN	EASTERN
porcupine			jaja (Bari; K) PK *sɑ:pɪt	
puppy				PTLM *-kui-
python			POD *ɪnɑl	PEN *-k ₍₄₎ i-t ₁ un ~ *-k ₍₄₎ i-t ₁ uŋ
ram			PK *me:ŋk	PTLM *-merekɛkʷ-
rat			PSN/PK *mor	PEN *-mirdʷ-
rhinoceros			-muŋ (Maasai; K)	
sand flea			PK *muk	
scorpion	-toni (Lotuko; K)			
sheep		rɑ:m- (Shilluk; K)	-ker (Lotuko; K) PSN/PK *kɛ:c, pl. PSN *no(:) / PK *kɛ:ci:r	
sheep, castrated			PK *seti:m	
sheep, female			PK *supe:n	
snake		two:l (Acooli; K)	munu (Bari; K) PK *ɛ:rɛ:n	
termite			PK *ta:R	PEN/PTLM *-munu-
tick	PN *macer ~ *mecer (E)		PK *ta:lɔ:s, PK *siŋko:r, PK *sɑ:y	PEN/PLM *-mat ₂ er-
tsetse fly			PK *soko:r	
turtle		ŋir (Nuer; K)		
vulture		cwor (Dinka; K)	PSN *mɔtɔ:ŋ	PTLM *-tarok-
wasp			PK *kara:m	
worm			PK *ko:t	PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k ₄ ur-ut-
zebra			e:digo (Lotuko; K)	

Appendix 2.**Inherited names for animals in Central Khoisan (Khoe)**

GLOSS	PK	PKK	PKALK	PWKALK	PEKALK
aardvark			*!go	*!go	*go
aardwolf				*!i	
antelope, small			*!gãĩ	*gãĩ	
bat-eared fox	*!ʔa	*!ʔa	*!ʔa	*!ʔá	*!ʔa
bee, honey	*dani	*dani	*dani	*dani	*dani
beetle			*!lama	*!lama	*!lama
bird			*dzada	*dzada	*dzada
buffalo	*!ao		*!áò	*!áò	*!áò
chameleon			*n!nado	*n!nádò	*ngado
cow		*goma		*goe	*be
crocodile	(*!ona)				*cona
dog		*ʔari			*ʔaba
dog, wild			*!xadu		
duiker			*n!nâũ		
eland			*du	*du	*du
elephant	*!xoa	*!xoa	*!xoa	*!xoa	*cxoa
fish			*!ʔau	*!ʔáù	
fly	*!gani		*!gani	*!gani	*!gini
fox, (jackal ?)	*!gidi		*!gidi		*!gídè
giraffe	*n!gae	*n!gae	*n!nabe	*n!nabe	*ngabe
hare	*!ʔôã		*!ʔôã	*!ʔôã	
hartebeest			*!é	*!é	*!é
hippopotamus	*!xao		*!xáò	*!xáò	*xáò
hornbill				*!gau	
impala	*kxʔada		*kxʔada	*kxʔadá	*kʔada

GLOSS	PK	PKK	PKALK	PWKALK	PEKALK
kudu			*doa	*doa	*doa
lion	*xam	*xam	*xam	*xam	*xam
locust		*ɥom~*ɥum	*ɥom ~ ɥum	*ɥom ~ ɥum	
monkey			*dzadi	*dzadi	
ostrich		*lʔami	*lgado	*lgado	*lgado
pangolin			*nlnámí	*nlnámí	*nlnámí
porcupine	n!gua ~ n!goa		*n!nue	*n!nue	*ngúé
python			*loba	*loba	
rat, mouse			*nɥnuni ~ *nɥguni	*nɥnuni ~ *nɥguni	*tudu
rhinoceros, square-lipped	*n!gaba	*n!gaba	*n!nábá		*ngábá
rhinoceros, hook-lipped			*lhi	*lhi	*lhi
scorpion			*lxʔadi	*lxʔadí	*lʔadi
sheep	*gu	*gu	*gu	*gu	
snake	*lxʔao	*lxʔao	*lxʔao		*lʔao
springhare			*ɥgo	*ɥgo	*jo
tortoise			*lgoe	*lgoe	*lgoe
vulture	*kxʔani	*kxʔani	*kxʔāĩ	*kxʔāĩ	*kʔāĩ
warthog			*lxu	*lxu	*lxu



Quo vadis, Nollywood?

W byłej stolicy Nigerii Lagos, zwłaszcza w jednej z dzielnic tej metropolii zwanej Surulere, a także w położonym na południowym-wschodzie mieście Enugu niemal codziennie można spotkać ekipy filmowe robiące zdjęcia. Niekiedy już po tygodniu¹ od momentu ich rozpoczęcia gotowy produkt w postaci płyty CD lub DVD dostępny jest na targu, w sklepach specjalizujących się w sprzedaży filmów, a czasem nawet w Internecie. Lagos i Enugu uważane są za najważniejsze centra przemysłu filmowego, który określa się jako Nollywood. To początkowe „N” w nazwie pochodzi oczywiście od Nigerii, ale błędem byłoby utożsamianie tego rynku filmowego z kinem nigeryjskim², choć niekiedy takie uproszczenie powielane jest w mediach. Kto zatem stoi za etykietką Nollywoodu? Przede wszystkim przedstawiciele jednego z trzech najliczniejszych ludów Nigerii – Ibów. Wprawdzie wśród najpopularniejszych aktorów znajdziemy też Jorubów i Hausańczyków, ale za kształt i tematykę filmu oraz za jego finansową stronę odpowiadają niemal bez wyjątku Ibowie³.

W moim przekonaniu jednym z kluczy do odpowiedzi na pytanie, dokąd zmierza Nollywood jest właśnie przyjrzenie się ludziom, którzy mają największy wpływ na opisywany rynek filmowy. Zacznijmy od obowiązujących w Nigerii stereotypów, zgodnie z którymi trzem dominującym tam grupom etnicznym

¹ Jak pisze Ajibade (2013: 268–269) „najszybsi” reżyserzy Nollywood potrafią nakręcić film w przeciągu trzech lub czterech dni. Zgodnie z tą zasadą Tchidi Chikere wyprodukował około 300 filmów.

² Mianem kina nigeryjskiego można określić produkcje powstające do lat 70. XX wieku. Wyprodukowanie filmu na taśmie celuloidowej wymagało wówczas dużych nakładów finansowych i technicznych, na co nie mógł sobie pozwolić sektor prywatny. Z początkiem lat 80. branża filmowa przestała być wspierana przez państwo.

³ Choć w Nigerii produkcją filmów zajmują się również Hausańczycy, to skupieni są oni wokół zupełnie innych ośrodków, zwłaszcza północnonigeryjskiego miasta Kano, stąd nazwa tamtejszego rynku filmowego – Kanywood. Odmienność kulturowa i językowa tych filmów sprawia, że przeznaczone są one głównie dla hauskańskiej publiczności.

przypisuje się pewne cechy. Hausańcy, postrzegani często przez pryzmat religii muzułmańskiej, uważani są za tradycjonalistów, a także za ludzi lubujących się we władzy (zresztą nie bez podstaw, gdyż większość przywódców niepodległej Nigerii pochodziła właśnie z ludu Hausa). Jorubowie mają opinię intelektualistów, osób najlepiej wykształconych i najbardziej zorientowanych na Zachód. Niejako ucieleśnieniem tego stereotypu jest pisarz Wole Soyinka, który dostał nagrodę Nobla w dziedzinie literatury. Natomiast Ibowie znani są ze swego sprytu, kreatywności, otwarcia na ryzykowne przedsięwzięcia, zbyt dużego mniemania o sobie, a przede wszystkim z umiłowania do pieniędzy. Popularne w Nigerii określenie „Igbo sense” używane jest za każdym razem, gdy ktoś z Ibów postąpi zgodnie z powyższymi zasadami, jak choćby kierowca taksówki przywołany w poniższym żarcie:

A Unclad woman boards an igbo man taxi in lagos,

[W Lagos naga kobieta wsiada do taksówki kierowanej przez Ibo]

Ibo man staring at her says nothing but does not start the car.

[Ibo patrzy na nią i nic nie mówi, ale też nie rusza]

Woman: wat? U've neva seen a Unclad woman before,

[Kobieta: Co jest? Nigdy wcześniej nie widziałeś nagiej kobiety?]

driver: I no dey look u madam, I just dey wonder where u keep the money wey u wan take pay me⁴

[Kierowca: Nie patrzę na Panią, tylko się zastanawiam, gdzie Pani ma pieniądze, żeby zapłacić za przejazd]

Te stereotypy w pewnym stopniu znajdują potwierdzenie u samych Ibów. Jeden z nich, gubernator stanu Abia — Orji Kalu w przemówieniu do swego ludu⁵ wypowiedział następujące słowa: *Martwi mnie, kiedy inne ludy określają Ibów jako miłośników pieniędzy. A kto nie lubi pieniędzy? Dlaczego ludzie łupią skarby, kiedy mają do nich dostęp, jeśli nie ze względu na umiłowanie pieniędzy* Różnica pomiędzy nami i innymi jest taka, że Ibowie wierzą, iż na pieniądze trzeba ciężko zapracować⁶ W dalszej części swojego przemówienia Kalu podkreśla inną cechę Ibów – ich szybkie przystosowywanie się do nowych warunków.

⁴ post użytkownika honeric01 na forum internetowym Nairaland (<http://www.nairaland.com/557668/ibo-man-sense-need-yourself>), dostęp z dnia 13-12-2013. Zachowana została oryginalna pisownia.

⁵ Przemówienie było wygłoszone 19 stycznia 2001 roku podczas spotkania Ibów (*Igbo Summit*) w Enugu.

⁶ Cytowany fragment przemówienia przytaczam za Akubue (2013: 16) w moim własnym tłumaczeniu.

Dlatego też, jak twierdzi, nie ma takiego miejsca na ziemi, gdzie nie byłoby Ibów i dlatego określani są oni „solą ziemi” lub „Żydami Afryki”.

„Baroni” Nollywoodu skupieni są wokół jednego z największych targowisk na świecie – *Alaba Market* w Lagos. Określanie ich mianem „kartelu z Alaby” (Rice 2012) zwraca uwagę na niezbyt czyste reguły kontrolowanego przez nich biznesu. Wielu z nich to przedsiębiorcy czerpiący zyski ze sprzedaży płyt z filmami, którzy kierują się zasadą, że inwestycja w film powinna przynieść szybki zarobek. Określają sami siebie jako siłę napędową Nollywood i mienią się twórcami potężnego rynku filmowego. Biznes zaczęli najczęściej od pirackiego kopiowania i sprzedaży płyt z hollywoodzkimi filmami. Może właśnie dlatego piractwo stało się częścią systemu i nie jest specjalnym zagrożeniem dla Nollywoodu. Powszechnie stosowaną przez handlowców metodą jest sprzedaż jak największej ilości płyt z danym filmem w jak najkrótszym czasie po jego pojawieniu się na rynku. Wypracowany wówczas zysk jest jedynym, na jaki mogą liczyć „mecenasi” przemysłu filmowego. Po tygodniu lub dwóch pojawiają się już płyty z nielegalnymi nagraniami i następuje okres, kiedy zysk z wyprodukowanego filmu czerpią piraci (Rice 2012).

Przedsiębiorcy z Alaby zdają sobie sprawę z tego, że instytucje prawne w Nigerii nie działają zbyt pręźnie, sami więc stworzyli zasady rynku kontrolując jego dostawy i koszty produkcji. Budżet przeciętnego filmu nollywoodzkiego wynosi od 20 do 50 tysięcy dolarów i nie może być przekroczony. Jak pisze Rice (2012) kilka lat temu przedsiębiorcy postanowili rozprawić się z aktorami stawiającymi zbyt wysokie wymagania finansowe. Umieścili ich nazwiska na „czarnej liście”, co uniemożliwiło im grę w jakimkolwiek filmie do czasu, gdy poprosili o przebaczenie.

Skoro wiemy już, kto rządzi światem Nollywoodu, skupmy się teraz na najważniejszym produkcie tego przemysłu — filmach. Przyświecająca twórcom filmów nollywoodzkich zasada, że film jest przedsięwzięciem biznesowym, które musi przynieść jak największe zyski w jak najkrótszym czasie determinuje w znacznym stopniu jakość produkcji. Filmy nollywoodzkie — zwłaszcza pierwsze, ale też sporo produkowanych obecnie — bardziej przypominają amatorskie produkcje niż kino profesjonalne. Sceny filmowane są niekiedy tylko raz, a montaż polega na połączeniu scen i przedzieleniu ich jakimś ogólnym widokiem miejsca akcji (np. widok na Lagos). Zdjęcia są dość monotonne, gdyż wszystkie robione są kamerą umieszczoną na statywie. Ukazują one zwykle dwoje aktorów siedzących lub stojących w jakimś pomieszczeniu i rozmawiających ze sobą, a ruch kamery ograniczony jest do przybliżenia sylwetki mówiącej postaci. Użycie dźwigu lub szyn, po których mogłaby się przesuwać kamera niepotrzebnie zwiększyłoby budżet. O obsadzie nie decyduje reżyser, lecz sponsor, który kieruje

się przede wszystkim popularnością aktorów. Próby odbywają się przed samym nagraniem poszczególnych scen. Postprodukcja trwa zaledwie kilka godzin, co pokazuje, że nie przywiązuje się żadnej wagi do jakości obrazu i dźwięku⁷. Sami Nigeryjczycy wiedzą, że słabościami nollywoodzkich filmów są scenariusze (a właściwie ich brak), reżyseria, brak przygotowania scenicznego aktorów (większość z nich to amatorzy, którzy do filmów trafili przypadkowo ze względu na swą urodę lub koneksje w środowisku filmowym) oraz narracja ograniczona do prostych dialogów. Chęć zysku powoduje również nieustanną eksploatację tych samych tematów i motywów, które mogą przynieść filmom kasowy sukces, co nadaje im nudną schematyczność.

Według różnych szacunków produkuje się w Nigerii od pięciuset do tysiąca filmów rocznie⁸, a niektórzy zawyżają tę liczbę nawet do dwóch tysięcy (Severino, Ray 2011: 124), co daje drugie lub trzecie miejsce na świecie. Masowa produkcja filmów zaczęła się w latach 80. XX wieku, w czasie upowszechnienia się technologii wideo, dzięki której obniżyły się koszty produkcji. Powstałe wówczas filmy stały się wzorcem dla wielu późniejszych, które zdominowały lokalną produkcję i stały się popularne w wielu krajach Afryki⁹.

Produkcje nollywoodzkie nazywane są przez badaczy (m.in. Larkin 2008) „nigeryjskimi filmami wideo” (*Nigerian video films*), gdyż początkowo głównymi nośnikami filmów były kasyety wideo, a dopiero z czasem zostały one wyparte przez płyty CD i DVD. Filmy trafiają przede wszystkim do odbiorców indywidualnych, którzy oglądają je we własnych domach lub w tzw. „salonach wideo” (*video parlors*), czyli niewielkich pomieszczeniach znajdujących się w prywatnych domach lub na zapleczach sklepów, w których za niewielką opłatą można obejrzeć jeden lub kilka filmów (Larkin 2000: 241).

Wydawać by się mogło, że chętnym do szybkiego osiągnięcia zysku przedsiębiorcom nic nie stoi na przeszkodzie, by każdy temat, który mógłby przypaść do gustu publiczności, znalazł swoje odbicie na ekranie. Nie jest to jednak takie proste, gdyż filmowcy w Nigerii działają pod silną presją cenzury. Główną instytucją

⁷ Wszystkie wymienione cechy produkcji filmów nigeryjskich wymienia w swoim artykule Ajibade (2013: 271) porównując je jednocześnie z filmami hollywoodzkimi.

⁸ Larkin (2008: 174) pisze o ponad pięciuset filmach, które w ciągu roku trafiają na rynek, podczas gdy Castells (2013: 92) mówi już o tysiącu filmów rocznie. Rozbieżność w liczbach można wytłumaczyć tym, że publikacja Castellsa wydana jest nieco później, a Nollywood cały czas prężnie się rozwija. Trzeba też pamiętać, że wszystkie stwierdzenia odnoszące się do ilości filmów są szacunkowe.

⁹ M. Krings (2010: 75) relacjonuje, że już w pierwszych latach XXI wieku filmy nollywoodzkie były sprowadzane do Tanzanii i sprzedawane nie tylko miejscowej ludności, ale także handlarzom z Zambii, Mozambiku i Demokratycznej Republiki Konga.

zajmującą się cenzurowaniem filmów jest ogólnonarodowa Rada (*National Film and Video Censors Board*), przez którą muszą przejść wszystkie filmy pojawiające się na rynku, zarówno te produkowane w Nigerii, jak i importowane. Jeszcze na początku wieku cenzura nie dopuszczała do powszechnego obiegu filmów, w których dochodziło do pocałunku między aktorami. Dodatkowo w każdym ze stanów istnieje lokalny oddział cenzury, więc nawet najmniejszy twórca nie ucieknie przed jej baczny nadzorem.

Typowy nollywoodzki film ma przewidywalny układ. Zazwyczaj widz obserwuje konflikt wynikający ze zderzenia tradycji reprezentowanej przez wieś (religie rodzime, lokalny język, poczucie wspólnoty) z miastem uosabiającym nowoczesność, religie monoteistyczne i indywidualizm (Severino, Ray 2011: 124). Przykładowa akcja rozgrywa się w willi zamieszkiwanej przez niezwykle bogatych ludzi, którzy są niemal bez wyjątku przedstawicielami ludu Ibo. Bramy prowadzącej na posesję strzeże odźwierny będący obowiązkowym bohaterem drugoplanowym. W willi mieszka rodzina, która przeżywa problemy wynikające z intryg snutych przez sąsiadów lub krewnych, przybycia do ich domu osoby trzeciej, przyczyn losowych (śmierć, utrata pracy, wypadek) lub też działania sił nadprzyrodzonych. W filmie zazwyczaj pojawiają się także pastor i czarownik lub znachor. Ci dwaj ostatni zazwyczaj szkodzą głównym bohaterom próbując, zwykle na zlecenie osób trzecich, sprowadzić na niech nieszczęście lub śmierć. Pastor natomiast stara się pomóc bohaterom w przezwyciężeniu czyhających na ich życie i zdrowie nadprzyrodzonych sił. Częstymi bohaterami są też policjanci ścigający przestępców, ochroniarze majątnych ludzi, rodzice ingerujący w małżeństwo swoich dorosłych już dzieci (najczęściej w plany matrymonialne córki, która zmuszana jest do poślubienia syna bogatego przyjaciela rodziców, choć zakochana jest w kimś innym), teściowie pokłóceni z zięciem lub synową. Scenariusz wyjaśnia jak doszło do złamania serca głównej bohaterki lub bohatera, rozbicia rodziny, zdrady, nadużycia zaufania w transakcjach biznesowych. Do popularnych miejsc akcji oprócz wewnątrz domów należą biuro, pokój hotelowy, bar, sklep lub gabinet kosmetyczny. Nie może zabraknąć sceny rozgrywającej się w kościele (najlepiej zielonoświątkowym) i ukazującej wiernych, którzy śpiewem, tańcem i okrzykami wielbią Boga (Larkin 2008: 170–183).

Niemal wszystkie elementy typowego nollywoodzkiego filmu ma w sobie produkcja z 2006 roku „Take me to Jesus”, która ukazuje konflikt pomiędzy młodym małżeństwem mieszkającym w mieście i matką reprezentującą tradycyjne wierzenia i wartości, która chce kontrolować życie swojego syna. Główni bohaterowie filmu mimo braku przeciwwskazań medycznych wciąż nie mają dzieci, nad czym oboje ubolewają. Kobieta wierzy, że przyczyną takiego stanu rzeczy jest klątwa rzucona przez przodków jej męża. Chce z pomocą pastora i członków

lokalnego kościoła temu zaradzić, ale na przeszkodzie stoi mąż, który wyśmiewa się ze swojej żony Abigail uznając jej obawy za przesady, a do członków kościoła odnosi się z coraz większą wrogością. Zmienia swoje nastawienie dopiero wówczas, gdy dzięki modlitwom żony udaje mu się przezwyciężyć atak choroby. Od tego momentu życie bohaterów odmienia się. Abigail zachodzi w ciążę, jej mąż porzuca romanse i alkohol, razem jadą na wieś, by przy pomocy modlitwy i śpiewu zdjąć klątwę przodków. Gdy wydaje się, że młodemu małżeństwu nic już nie stanie na drodze szczęścia, z wizytą przybywa teściowa Abigail. Starsza pani od momentu przekroczenia progu daje znać o swojej niechęci do synowej i robi wszystko by poróżnić ją ze swoim synem. Pewnej nocy Abigail ma sen, w którym demon o twarzy teściowej chwyta świetlny miecz i uderza ją w brzuch. Po przebudzeniu kobieta czuje potworny ból, którego przyczyną okazuje się poronienie. Po jakimś czasie jednak ponownie zachodzi w ciążę, a kiedy jest już blisko rozwiązania znów widzi we śnie demony, które chcą odebrać jej dziecko. Jest przekonana, że o jej dziecko toczy się walka w świecie nadprzyrodzonym, zaprasza więc do domu członków swojego kościoła z prośbą o wspólną modlitwę. Zaraz po tym wydarzeniu teściowa wraca do rodzinnej wsi, gdzie udaje się do czarownika, przy pomocy którego chce unicestwić Abigail, gdyż przedsięwzięte przez nią środki mające doprowadzić do powtórnej utraty ciąży przez dziewczynę okazały się bezskuteczne. Czarownik zostaje jednak zabity kulistym piorunem, a teściowa, także porażona piorunem, trafia do szpitala. Tam przyznaje się swemu synowi do niecznych czynów, nawraca się na chrześcijaństwo i uzyskuje przebaczenie. Film kończy scena w kościele zielonoświątkowym, podczas której do wspólnoty przyjęte jest nowo narodzone dziecko Abigail, a ona sama składa świadectwo swojej wiary.

W ostatnich produkcjach pojawia się coraz więcej przemocy, obsceniczności, okrucieństwa i agresywnego języka. Bohaterowie filmowi dorabiają się swojego majątku w sposób nieuczciwy (kradzieżą, oszustwem lub przy udziale czarownika, który zażądał w zamian ludzkiej ofiary, najczęściej bliskiego członka rodziny). W filmach pokazywane są praktyki okultystyczne, nadużywanie alkoholu i narkotyków, porywanie dzieci. Prostytucję przedstawia się jako jedyny sposób dla młodych, biednych dziewczyn na zdobycie wykształcenia, pracy czy majątku. Rzeczywistość nadprzyrodzona (szatan, demony, duchy, przodkowie) ma ogromny wpływ na losy bohaterów, którzy są świadkami wydarzeń niedających się wyjaśnić w sposób racjonalny (pęknięcie luster, unoszenie się przedmiotów, przemiana ludzkiej istoty w zwierzę lub wampira).

Jak pisze Larkin (2008: 182), filmy nollywoodzkie używają języka melodramatu, który rządzi się przesadą i wyolbrzymieniem dylematów moralnych do tego stopnia, że stały się czarno-białe. Dlatego też bohaterowie są wyraziści – dobrzy

lub złości, a sposób ich gry jest bardzo emocjonalny i egzaltowany. Śmiech, płacz, ból są zawsze skrajne, a przesadna mimika i gesty aktorów nie pozostawiają widzowi złudzenia, co do tego, czy bohater jest wściekły, zdumiony czy rozbawiony. Bohaterowie często podnoszą głos, mocno gestykują. Sceny drastyczne pokazujące śmierć, strach, rozpacz są rozciągane w czasie, tak samo jak przeżycia wewnętrzne głównych bohaterów.

Pod względem filmowych środków wyrazu filmy nollywoodzkie przypominają latynoamerykańskie telenowe. To właśnie nimi inspirowali się najpierw twórcy telenowel nigeryjskich popularnych w latach 80., a potem producenci współczesnych filmów. Większość filmów ma dwie albo więcej części. Czasem pierwsza z nich stanowi pełnowartościowy film, a kolejne części tylko dodatki. Zdarzają się też produkcje kilkugodzinne w odcinkach, a akcja każdego z nich urywa się w punkcie kulminacyjnym. Produkcje nollywoodzkie cechuje emocjonalność, moralizatorstwo, melodramatyzm i duża liczba przeplatających się wątków. Sceny kręcone są głównie w pomieszczeniach i charakteryzuje je przewaga dialogu nad akcją. Ta ostatnia cecha, poza czynnikiem finansowym (obniżenie kosztów produkcji) znajduje też inne wyjaśnienie. Takie rozwiązanie sprawia, że film można śledzić słuchając dialogów, a niekoniecznie patrząc cały czas na ekran. Jest to o tyle istotne, że filmy oglądają w domach bardzo często nigeryjskie gospodynie, które w tym samym czasie wykonują też inne obowiązki domowe, na przykład, przygotowywanie jedzenia. Jak pisze Ajibade (2013: 268) obejrzenie filmu hollywoodzkiego, w którym opowieść przekazywana jest przede wszystkim przy pomocy kamery, wymaga od widza śledzenia tego, co dzieje się na ekranie. Gospodynie muszą więc przerywać oglądanie i naciskać pauzę za każdym razem, gdy oddalają się od źródła obrazu. Tymczasem filmy nollywoodzkie mogą śledzić zerkając tylko czasami na ekran.

Filmy nollywoodzkie są z reguły kontaminacją różnych gatunków. W każdym z nich pojawiają się elementy filmu akcji, horroru, melodramatu, musicalu, komedii. Można jednak w zależności od miejsca i czasu akcji wyróżnić dwa typy filmów. Jeden obrazuje rzeczywistość współczesnych metropolii, a drugi przenosi akcję w czasy odległe i w tradycyjnie funkcjonującą społeczność wiejską. Ten ostatni typ filmów pretenduje do miana historycznego, jednak twórcy nie tyle starają się pokazać konkretne wydarzenia historyczne czy odzwierciedlić życie społeczności Ibo w czasach przedkolonialnych, ile odwołują się do pewnych stereotypowych wyobrażeń, jakie współcześni Nigeryjczycy mieszkający w mieście mają na temat swojej przeszłości. W filmach pojawia się więc lokalny wódz czy król, rada starszych, społeczność wsi, wszyscy ubrani w „tradycyjne stroje” składające się z przepasek na biodra, skór zwierzęcych, zwłaszcza lamparcich oraz ozdób z muszelek kauri, koralu i ptasich piórek. Jak określił to Emeka Nwabueze,

filmowiec nigeryjski mieszkający w Ghanie, „tworzymy nieistniejącą kulturę, nieistniejącą tradycję, coś zupełnie nowego¹⁰” i jako przykład podał kobiecie kostium składający się z biustonosza ze skóry kobry, choć w czasach, o których opowiada film kobiety nie zasłaniały niczym biustu. Chodzi o to, by w każdym kolejnym filmie pojawiały się inne kostiumy, scenografia i rekwizyty, które zaintrygowałyby widzów.

Wraz z rozwojem technologicznym i skokowym wzrostem przemysłu filmowego następuje rozbudowa jego zaplecza. Aktorzy grają coraz lepiej dzięki zdobytemu doświadczeniu lub ukończeniu szkół filmowych, do produkcji wynajmowane są profesjonalne ekipy realizacyjne dysponujące coraz lepszym sprzętem, producenci zaczynają szukać innych form finansowania filmów, by móc zrealizować coraz bardziej ambitne założenia i nie czuć się uzależnionymi od wymogów stawianych przez przedsiębiorców z Alaby¹¹. Doprowadziło to do powstania tzw. „nowego Nollywood” – filmów z międzynarodową obsadą, wysokim, jak na Nigerię budżetem (osiągającym nawet 1 milion dolarów), charakteryzujących się wysoką jakością produkcji. Przykładem może być nagradzany na różnych festiwalach film „Ije: The Journey”. Opowiada historię Chiomy, która wyemigrowała z Nigerii do Stanów Zjednoczonych, gdzie zrobiła karierę muzyczną. Jej „amerykański sen” trwa do czasu, gdy zostaje oskarżona o zabicie trojga mężczyzn, w tym własnego męża i osadzona w areszcie. W wersję wydarzeń oskarżonej – mąż został zabity przez dwóch znajomych, których ona następnie zastrzeliła – nie chce uwierzyć ani policja, ani nawet jej obrońcy. Z pomocą Chiomie przychodzi siostra, która przyjeżdża z Lagos do Kalifornii, wynajmuje adwokata, a także na własną rękę próbuje znaleźć dowody, które by mogły pomóc w ustaleniu prawdy. Obraz rzeczywistych wydarzeń ukrywany jest przed widzem niemal do końca filmu, kiedy to dowiadujemy się, że Chioma zabiła dwóch znajomych męża po tym jak została przez nich w brutalny sposób zgwałcona, a zaraz potem zastrzeliła męża, gdyż na gwałt przyzwolił i był jego biernym świadkiem.

W rolach siostr występują najpopularniejsze nigeryjskie aktorki, ale w rolach drugoplanowych zostali zatrudnieni aktorzy amerykańscy. Niemal cała akcja filmu rozgrywa się w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Standard produkcji utrzymany jest na bardzo wysokim poziomie. Dystrybutorzy zadbali o ochronę praw autorskich związanych z filmem. Nie można go już obejrzeć za darmo w popularnych serwisach, można jednak wykupić kilkudniowy dostęp do filmu lub kupić płytę

¹⁰ Jego wypowiedź, którą cytuję w swoim artykule B. Meyer (2010:14) odnosi się wprawdzie do filmów produkowanych w Ghanie, ale ta sama zasada stosowana jest w Nigerii.

¹¹ Producent znanego nie tylko w Nigerii, ale i zagranicą horroru „The figurine” nie chciał zapożyczać się u przedsiębiorców z Alaby. Połowę kosztów wyprodukowania filmu pokryła pożyczka bankowa, a inną część reklama polegająca na lokowaniu produktu.

z jego nagraniem w największych sklepach internetowych. Czytelna fabuła, brak egzaltacji w grze aktorskiej, próba pokazania wydarzeń przy pomocy ruchomej kamery, dopracowana postprodukcja sprawiają, że film jest swoistym ewenementem w skali produkcji nollywoodzkich. Z Nollywoodem wiążą go aktorki grające główne role i przewaga dialogów nad akcją.

Na powstanie nowego Nollywoodu miały wpływ różne czynniki, ale dwa z nich wydają się szczególnie istotne. Pierwszy to pojawienie się w 2005 roku tzw. „afrykańskich Oskarów”, czyli nagród filmowych wręczanych przez *African Movie Academy Awards*. Nigeryjscy twórcy zrozumieli, że aby starać się o statuetkę w jednej z wielu kategorii i skutecznie konkurować na kontynencie afrykańskim z coraz prężniej rozwijającą się kinematografią z Kenii, Republiki Południowej Afryki lub Ghany muszą podwyższyć standardy produkcji filmowej. A jest o co walczyć, gdyż nagroda przyznana aktorowi, reżyserowi czy filmowi jest jednocześnie najlepszą reklamą, nie tylko w Nigerii, ale w całej Afryce, a nawet w Stanach Zjednoczonych czy w Europie. Drugim ważnym czynnikiem zmieniającym oblicze Nollywood są rosnące wymagania publiczności. W Nigerii powoli odbudowuje się klasa średnia, która zaczyna chodzić do nowo powstających kin, a poza granicami kraju na filmy czeka diaspora. Ci nowi widzowie gotowi są zapłacić nieco więcej niż jednego dolara za obejrzenie najlepszych, nagrodzonych na festiwalach filmów, ale też oczekują produkcji na poziomie światowym.

Jedno jest pewne. Nollywood pozostanie kinematografią, w której pierwsze skrzypce będą grał Ibowie. Podobnie jak Hollywood czy Bollywood, tak i Nollywood będzie kojarzony z przemysłem i biznesem, który ma przynieść zyski, a unoszący się nad tą branżą duch „Igbo sense” będzie chyba zawsze czynnikiem wyznaczającym kierunek jej rozwoju, o czym przekonuje choćby wypowiedź Chineze Anyaene – reprezentantki „nowego Nollywood”:

Kiedy byliśmy jeszcze w szkole, zwykliśmy produkować piętnastominutowe filmy, które kosztowały mnóstwo pieniędzy. Można było wydać nawet 20 tysięcy dolarów na nakręcenie 15-minutowego filmu; filmu, który był inwestycją nieprzynoszącą żadnych zysków. Wtedy powiedziałam sobie, że muszę poszukać sposobu na przekształcenie filmu w coś komercyjnie opłacalnego zamiast tracić czas i pieniądze na przedsięwzięcie, na którym nie da się zarobić.¹²

Taka postawa sprzyja stawianiu na rozwiązania sprawdzone. Nie znajduje tu raczej miejsca kino eksperymentalne czy artystyczne. Nollywood kurczowo

¹² Fragment wywiadu z reżyserką opublikowanego w *Saturday Van*, 26 stycznia 2013, s. 28.

trzyma się pewnego modelu, choć sama jakość produkcji (szczególnie pod względem technicznym) niewątpliwie dogania światowe standardy i właśnie zmian na poziomie formy, a nie treści można nadal oczekiwać. Nie znikną zatem wątki tematyczne, które przyniosły temu przemysłowi tak wielką popularność. Filmy mają tłumaczyć w sposób przekonujący, co nie znaczy racjonalny, problemy nękające nigeryjskie społeczeństwo. Nie jest więc ambicją producentów poruszanie tematów uniwersalnych. Nadal będzie to kinematografia zorientowana na nigeryjskiego, (szerzej: afrykańskiego) widza, który chce oglądać na ekranie historie i bohaterów, z którymi może się utożsamiać. Nie wydaje się, by Nollywood chciał rywalizować z Hollywoodem o międzynarodową publiczność. Nawet jeśli produkcje nollywoodzkie zaczynają pojawiać się w amerykańskich i europejskich kinach, to przyciągają raczej afrykańską diasporę niż zachodniego kinomana¹³. Dla tego ostatniego pozostają one kulturową ciekawostką.

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¹³ Ajibade (2013) pisze, że głównymi odbiorcami nollywoodzkich filmów na zachodzie są głównie badacze zajmujący się zjawiskiem Nollywoodu, a także, sporadycznie, osoby, które mają styczność z Nigeryjczykami, tj. ich znajomi lub rodzina.

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Africans in the eyes of Poles. Conclusions of the Polish Assessment of Values and Attitudes and other empirical studies

The necessity of emigrating from one's home country is always a difficult and painful experience regardless whether it is caused by war, political situation or attempts to raise standards of living (Nowicka 2011: 7). The problem may stem from the need to use a foreign language, but this barrier is usually the easiest to overcome. However, when this issue is combined with cultural and religious differences, as in the case of African immigrants in Poland then the integration to the new environment becomes a really hard task, especially if the local society is homogeneous and closed to strangers (Budakowska 2013). An additional issue behind the low number of Sub-Saharan African migrants is suggested in the work of Marta Danecka and Emilia Jaroszevska. According to them hurdles for migrants include: relations problems (troubles with the attitudes of the Polish society), cultural, communication and climatic barriers as well as the lack of well-trodden migration routes (2013: 161–177).

Difficulties of integration of Africans who decided to settle in Poland are well known. Straight from the beginning, they need to get used to the unfamiliar setting. For many, this is the first contact with snow and sub-zero temperatures. Another challenge is a Polish diet. Polish food is dissimilar to African food, without even taking religious limitations into consideration. Because there is a relatively small number of African immigrants in Poland, they have not yet developed merchandise and gastronomy. Also, the language barrier makes it difficult to settle. Polish language is hard to learn and the ability to speak foreign languages amongst Poles, especially in the little towns is not common. These are 'rational' problems which every immigrant should be aware and prepared for. The biggest problem, which immigrants are facing is hostility, if not physical aggression towards Africans.

The essay “Beginnings of the African diaspora by the river Vistula” of Krzysztof Wittels (2010: 13) concludes that relations between Poles and Africans are embedded into historical contexts. The first image of an African man is included in the *Psalterium Florianense* (*Psalterz Floriański*) from the end of 14th century. Poles travelled in Africa and Africans, albeit a small number and often as slaves, settled in Poland.

These contacts were rare and limited to royal and nobility courts. In fact, ordinary Poles did not have any links with the African continent. Perhaps, if 25 years ago there was a poll amongst Polish people asking what they think about Africa, probably the most common answer would refer to the novel (or the film based on the novel) by Henryk Sienkiewicz “In Desert and Wilderness” or other popular literature (Średziński 2014).

In the communist era, seeing a foreigner, especially of a different skin colour, on a Polish street was a rare occurrence. Of course there was a co-operation between political elites in Poland and socialist African countries; however for an ordinary Polish person a contact with a foreigner (204) was uncommon. Even students from different countries were not frequent visitors as there were very few of them.

First students from Africa appeared in Poland after 1960 (Chilczuk 2014). Until 1970 there were altogether 211 African students who graduated from Polish universities. This number grew up to 393 in the next decade. From 1981 to 1990 this number raised to 725. In the next decade there were 1764 graduates from Africa. They represented most – 45 African countries. Altogether, from 1961 to 2000 African graduates comprised 18% of all foreigners graduating from Polish universities (Chilczuk 2014).

Despite the fact that the number of African students has grown since 1990, still few Africans select Poland as their chosen country to settle down. Until 1990, there were only 88 people expecting to settle down in Poland. In the next five years this number grew to 195. In the 2004, when Poland joined the EU, there were 164 Africans living in Poland, however in 2008 there were only 117 of them (Central Statistical Office 2009: 433). Among this group of 117 Africans living in Poland, there were 86 men and 31 women. Only 19 Africans (there were 5 women in this group) chose to settle in rural areas.

The data obtained from the Office for Foreigners suggests that in 2011 there were 4347 Africans with the right to stay (UDSC 2014). This figure includes both groups – those who chose Poland as their target country and those for whom this is only a temporary or transit country. The greatest proportion of migrants – 847, came from Nigeria, 677 from Tunisia and 609 from Egypt. There were 474 people from Algeria, 292 from Morocco and 159 from Cameroon. Of course, apart from

‘official’ immigrants there are also illegal immigrants, but there is no reliable data on their number, just speculation. Unofficially, there may be around million illegal immigrants in Poland of whom Africans are just a fraction.

It is not many taking into consideration that Africa is currently the biggest ‘supplier’ of immigrants. Polish Press Agency stated on 16th November 2012 that: “In 2010, over 800 000 people mostly from Africa and Asia acquired citizenship of one of the EU countries” (Onet 2014). It means that Poland is still an unattractive place for immigrants. “Experts emphasise that in the current state of the economy Poland needs more immigrants. The report of the Energy for Europe foundation cited in „Rzeczpospolita” concludes that from now to 2050 Poland needs 5.2 million of people to settle in order to prevent depopulation caused by the low child birth ratio and the emigration of Poles, mostly to the UK” (Wyborcza.pl 2014).

At least some of them need to come from Africa as this continent has the biggest rate of natural increase and the youngest society in the world. Whether they will come depends not only on the attractiveness of our labour market and development opportunities but also on the attitudes of Poles towards immigrants from Africa.

1. Contacts with Africa

The political change of 1989 opened the border for foreign visitors as well as for Poles, who could at last travel abroad without obstacles and experience new cultures. Travelling grew really popular after 2000, when Polish currency became stronger and Polish salaries were more comparable to those of other Europeans. This allowed thousands of Poles to spend their holidays abroad. Their favourite destination for many years was Egypt. In 2006, holidays in Egypt were chosen by 21.69% of those who went abroad for holidays. In 2012 this quota grew up to 30.66% (Raport podróżnika 2013: 16). Also in 2012 the fifth place amongst favourite holiday destinations was taken by Tunisia. “Egypt is an absolute leader when it comes to holiday destinations of Poles. It didn’t lose its position even in the revolutionary for this region year 2011. It is worth to mention that contrary to Egypt, Tunisia systematically loses its popularity. This is a country similar in many ways to Egypt – ancient monuments, similar climate, culture etc. However, whilst Egypt managed to rebuild its position among Polish tourist, Tunisia still remains in a deep crisis” (Raport podróżnika 2013: 16).

Polish ‘affection’ towards Egypt is caused by the financial availability of this holiday destination. Egyptian holidays are much cheaper comparing to other

foreign destinations. However, in 2014 this situation may change drastically as the socio-political situation in Egypt is much more unstable after the military coup in 2013.

Destination 'Egypt' can be replaced by other African countries. More often Poles choose holidays in Kenya, Republic of South Africa or the latest trend – Senegal and Gambia. But is two weeks of the holiday leisure enough to get to know local customs and culture? According to Wojciech Jagielski, even these short trips can have a certain exploration value: "Poles never travelled to Africa. We've just started doing it. I think that for your generation Africa is not going to be as remote as it is for my generation. This mobility of Poles, if only expressed by these trips to Egypt and Tunisia or Kenya and Republic of South Africa makes that people don't see this Africa only through the TV flashes which show Africa in only one way – dying of starvation or murdering each other in a barbarian way. Africa becomes more plastic. People stop being afraid of Africa. And this is only the beginning of this process" (Średziński 2014).

In Poland usually the first opportunity of contact with an African was a visit to the now demolished 10th Anniversary Stadium which from 1989 to 2008 functioned as the Europe's largest open-air market. Such encounter was doomed to reinforce all sorts of negative stereotypes (Ząbek 2009: 170–171).

The emergence and development of careers of African sportsmen provided a break in a stereotypical perception of Africans. Of course, the best example here is the career of the Nigerian footballer – Emmanuel Olisadebe who obtained Polish citizenship and became the first black footballer in the Polish national team. But he was not the only one. The Internet portal 'Afryka.org' published on 8th February 2014 a list of African footballers playing for the Polish Premier League and these who already left for different football clubs. There are 123 such players (Afryka.org 2014).

While describing the contacts between Poles and Africans it is impossible to omit the role of the Catholic Church. According to the data of the Polish Episcopal Conference, the Commission for Mission from 19th December 2013, there is 827 Polish missionaries including 81 priests, 23 lay brothers, 344 nuns and 379 monks (Episkopat.pl).

Sadly, diplomacy does not strengthen the relationship between Poland and African countries. It seems that this region of the world and its potential is still overlooked despite that there exists as much as 54 countries on the African continent.

"The scope and level of relations between Poland and Africa is uneven, with clear privileged Arabic countries of the North Africa and a distinguished Sub-Saharan country – Republic of South Africa. Poland has 10 embassies in Africa

– 5 in the North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia) and 5 in the Sub-Saharan Africa (Angola, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa). According to the guidelines of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the latter serve as regional centres covering few or more countries. In Warsaw there are 4 diplomatic missions from the Sub-Saharan Africa (Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa) and 5 from the North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia)” (MSZ 2014).

2. How do we perceive Africans

Between February and March 2012, the Millward Brown SMG/KRC research institute conducted a research for the „Afryka Inaczej” Foundation. One of the key conclusions was that Poles still do not know much about Africa and its inhabitants. “Only one in ten Polish people claims that he or she knows a lot or quite a lot about Africa, and only one in hundred says that he or she knows very much. Almost 2/3 of respondents know little or very little. On the other hand results we obtained are not diametrically different from results from South America or Asia” (Średziński 2010: 11; Carvalho 1990).

This is the result of the very little contact with Africans. Only 15% of Polish people meet Africans where they [Poles] live but only 7% have any personal contacts. Indeed, it is much more than in 1990, nevertheless it is still very little. The attitude of Poles towards Africans is partially caused by the lack of contact. The biggest group of respondents (63%) stated to be indifferent towards Africans. Positive feelings were declared by around 25% of interviewees and negative ones by around 10%. “Indeed, more people declare a positive attitude towards Africans than to Asians and Roma people. The level of positive feelings to Africans is comparable to citizens of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)” (Średziński 2010: 16).

This is confirmed by the data of the research institute of the Polish Assessment of Values and Attitudes of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw. Their research from 2009 suggests that 57% of Poles expressed an indifferent attitude towards Africans, positive feelings were declared by 30.7%, whilst negative ones by only 9.8% (PPPiW 2009 and 2010)¹. This is much ‘better’

¹ The empirical basis for the paper is data obtained from a research project conducted within the research series of the Polish Assessment of Attitudes and Values (Polski Pomiar Postaw i Wartości – PPPiW): Family-Religion-Society 2009 (national sample, n = 1245). This research project was conducted between 01 and 10 May 2009 by the staff of the Institute of Sociology UKSW. Also results of the Culture and Cultures of Warsaw Citizens project were used as well (sample of Warsaw

outcome than results for Roma people (37.5% negative answers), Arabs (25.3% responses) and Jews (19.9% responses).

These results may suggest that Poles do not identify inhabitants of the 'Arab' North as Africans. 'True' Africans seem to be only black citizens of Central and South Africa (Ząbek 2009: 171–173). "Descriptions of Africans were made using the most basic superficial cognitive categories. To Poles, the word 'African' straight away brings to mind a black person. Subsequently, associations regarding difficult socio-economic conditions in Africa appear" (Średziński 2010: 17).

Opinions of Africans depend on the gender of respondents. More women than men have an indifferent attitude towards Africans: (women: 60.3%; men: 53.4%). But men more often present extreme attitudes towards foreigners, both positive (men: 31.7%; women: 29.9%), and negative (men: 12.5%; women: 7.35%).

However, the greatest discrepancies are visible considering the age of respondents. The most open towards foreigners coming from Africa are people between 18 to 24 years of age (38.7% positive opinions) and between 25 to 34 years (38% positive opinions). The biggest concerns are expressed by the oldest respondents. A negative attitude among people older than 65 was declared by 14.9% (this includes 3.6% who declared an extremely negative attitude). Surprisingly, extremely negative opinions are very often in the youngest group of respondents (2.2% of people from 18 to 24 years old and 2.7% of people from 25 to 34 years old). This is clearly a lot more than in the 35–64 year old group.

The opinions are also shaped by a level of education and a place of living. The lower level of education and the smaller town, then there is less positive attitudes and the more negative ones. The most open to contact with Africans are intelligentsia (43.2% positive attitudes), businessmen (36.9% positive attitudes) and pupils and students (38.1% positive attitudes) and atheists (58.3% positive attitudes). Interestingly, as much as 29.7% unemployed people declared a positive attitude towards Africans, this stood to contrast to 15.6% who declared negative attitudes). Negative attitudes were declared mostly by office workers (11.4%), unqualified workers (11.5%), disability benefits claimants (13.2%), retired people (12.1%) and religiously indifferent (16.2%).

The more detailed questions are asked about Africans, the more positive attitudes towards them are expressed. The research for the „Afryka Inaczej” Foundation suggests that almost 62% of Poles would not mind being friends with an African or having an African General Practitioner. Moreover, they would not mind if an African was a teacher (65%), a neighbour (66%) or a work colleague

(68%). This openness does not extend to the issue of marriage. A son or daughter-in-law coming from Africa would be acceptable for only 45% of respondents (it is 1% more than people who would accept a relationship with an Asian). The authors of the research of the „Afryka Inaczej” Foundation state: “The opinions accepting a ‘mixed’ relationship were much less often. It was also visible that for Polish people a relation of a Polish man with an African woman is much more acceptable, than an African man and a Polish woman. Such relationships ‘wake demons up’ activating the worst stereotypes regarding the perception of Africans” (Średziński 2010: 21).

Let us look at some PPPiW research from 2009 (nation sample) and 2010 (inhabitants of Warsaw). The data presented show increase of negative attitudes towards settlement of Africans in Poland. In 2009 31.1% of respondents agreed that there was no place in Poland for foreigners of African origin. In 2010 this number rose to 33.9%, which could result from the incidents reported that year by Polish media, e.g. a conflict of a few Nigerians with the police in Warsaw, which ended up in shooting and death of one African. At the same time the percentage of people rejecting the statement (there is no place to Africans in Poland) grew from 9.8% to 13.1%. It shows an increase in tolerant attitudes. We can conclude that opinions of Poles about Africans are polarizing, which is also shown by the decrease of indifferent attitudes- from 56.7% to 51.2% and numbers of respondents expressing difficulties in answering the question from 2.4% to 1.7%.

Intolerance towards Africans is significant also among respondents who generally disagree with the opinion that foreigners shouldn't settle in Poland. Out of 777 people (2010) rejecting the statement, 301 (38.7%) confirmed, that the Africans shouldn't stay in Poland, which shows incoherence in their opinions.

3. Consequences of immigration

Most of Poles (59%) believe that cultural differences are noticeable and Polish and African lifestyles are disparate. This does not change the fact that 37.2% think that the presence of Africans makes Poland more open to other cultures. Still, 54.6% state that Africans in Poland do not have any effect on the Polish culture (PPPiW 2010). Perhaps they think that because they consider African culture inferior to Polish culture (33%) (Średziński 2010: 24).

Let us come back to PPPiW research. In 2010 more respondents (33.8%) expected African immigrants to gain competence in Polish culture. This percentage rose from 31.1% in 2009. However, at the same time more people (13.1% compared with 9.6%) think cultural integration of Africans in Poland

is not necessary. As previously we can notice polarization of attitudes reflected in: the fall of indifference towards the subject – 51.4% from 56%, as well as in difficulties in responding – from 1.7% to 2.5%.

Similarly as in the subject of settlement, respondents give different opinions in general and particular context. Out of 249 respondents (2010) claiming that foreigners moving to Poland don't have to learn Polish language and culture, 113 (45.4%) express this expectation towards African immigrants. This inconsistency suggests the need of further research.

Poles feel threatened by the migration from Africa, both in terms of social security and taking over Polish jobs. 30% of respondents stated that are afraid of African criminals, and 47% are concern for the lack of work due to the migrants influx. We do not treat all immigrants the same way: "The qualitative research shows that the social status of immigrants affects the attitudes towards them. People of a high social status (doctors, sportsmen) who do not compete economically with Poles are acceptable. Their social skills and their approach to people (kind-heartedness, openness, and friendliness) are much appreciated. In smaller communities (Włocławek) they are treated like 'one of us', they are well known and respected. However, these people are not perceived as typical immigrants but the elite of Africans ("these are the better ones, the crème de la crème of Africa, educated, professional, not all of them are like that, for sure")" (Średziński 2010: 24).

More optimistic is the fact that the vast majority of interviewees do not agree with a statement that 'Poland belongs to Poles and there is no place for foreigners here'. However, if an African would like to settle here, he or she needs to learn Polish and his/her children should attend to a Polish school (PPPiW 2009 and 2010). More unsettling is that Poles are not convinced about a possibility of the successful immigrant integration with the Polish society. As much as 34% of respondents do not believe in the integration of Africans, 25% thinks that the integration is possible and 25% did not have any opinion on the matter.

4. Conclusion

The attitude of the Polish society towards strangers is going to be one of the most important issues in the near future affecting the level of immigration. However, demographers' pleads for creating programmes of incentives for immigrants which are to serve as a remedy to the ageing society still fall on deaf ears. For an ordinary Polish person who is constantly under a threat of unemployment or working for very little money, such programmes are

incomprehensible. Poles do not see the need of bringing strangers if the Poles themselves cannot secure employment. Therefore, strangers are seen as competition taking over much needed jobs. Common hostility towards foreigners from other places than Western Europe and USA discourages from dealing with the problem even these politicians who understand the need for immigrants.

Despite the crisis-related, growing, nationalistic and xenophobic attitudes, the search for the educated, ambitious and creative immigrants has already started especially in the ageing Western Europe. Without such migrants, the economy would not be able to afford to pay costs of the ageing societies. Poland needs to take part in this race. Therefore there is a need to double efforts for changing attitudes of Poles to show benefits of the increased immigration and to change their feelings towards strangers.

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A glimpse at the history of Swahili lexicography

1. Introduction

The old quip attributed to [Max] Weinreich, that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy, is being replaced in these progressive days: a language is a dialect with a dictionary, grammar, parser and a multi-million-word corpus of texts – and they'd better all be computer tractable. When you've got all of those, get yourself a speech database, and your language will be poised to compete on terms of equality in the new Information Society. (Ostler 2008: 458)

Swahili, as one of the best-described African languages with a significant number of dictionaries, distinguishes itself from other African languages with regard to the availability of various electronic resources. Users of the language can pride themselves on possessing a publicly available annotated corpus (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili), morphological and syntactical analyzers,¹ and modern electronic dictionaries.

Nevertheless, in the era of new technologies, it is extremely hard to compete in the field of corpora and electronic lexicography with, for example, European languages. Ostler (2008: 458) notices that “corpora developed for less studied languages are predominantly less well backed by investment. The profit motive is largely lacking as a support for the development of corpora for these languages.” Apart from corpora, the above is also true for other electronic resources, including dictionaries, which are in the center of interest of this article. As for Swahili, for years, such investment has mostly been derived from academic interest that has struggled to introduce changes. But before, since the 19th century, grammars and dictionaries for most Bantu languages, including Swahili, have been compiled by missionaries and government officials, predominantly of European origin. In

¹ cf. Hurskainen (1996), De Pauw *et al.* (2006) on morphological analysis of Swahili.

his 1964 paper, Benson nursed a hope that this would change, and that future African scholars would add their own imprint into this field. Today it is widely acknowledged that he had foreseen this change. Much has changed in the field and this article aims to look at the developments within the field of Swahili lexicography from its beginnings in the mid 19th century to the present digital era.

2. Swahili lexicography research

Up until the present, over 100 Swahili language-based dictionary publications of various types have been issued (cf. Ohly 2002). Swahili lexicography has been discussed in many papers that often focus on specific subject matters, e.g. the construction of the dictionary article in a student's dictionary (Mdee 1984), the role of a dictionary in teaching a language (Chuwa 1999, Mbaabu 1995) or the standardization of the Swahili language (Kiango 1995, Mdee 1999).

Critical analysis and various attempts at comprehensive summaries have also been undertaken. A.R. Chuwa, who was actively involved in the research work of TUKI², a leading lexicographical unit for Swahili, defined the problems which modern Swahili lexicography has encountered (cf. Chuwa 1996). Consequently, she grouped the publishing of dictionaries by dividing them into three separate phases. Phase one consists of dictionaries first printed in the last decade of the 19th century, phase two – publications from 1939–1958, whilst the last one has lasted from 1981 onwards. From the index of over 100 lexicographical publications, she based her analysis on the key works. The first phase in Chuwa's classification consists of the earliest dictionaries compiled by missionaries, the second includes publications of the Inter-territorial Swahili Language Committee, while the last starts with the publication date of the first TUKI dictionary.

I. Herms, a researcher in the field of Swahili-German lexicography (Herms 1999), attempted to summarize the achievements in this field (Herms 1995). In her analysis of Swahili lexicography she distinguishes three types of dictionaries: bilingual, monolingual and trilingual. The author does not divide them into separate groups, instead only detailing one representative dictionary of a given type. As an example of a bilingual dictionary *The Friendly Swahili English Dictionary* (Baba Malaika 1994) is listed, while *Kamusi ya Maana na Matumizi* (Bakhressa 1992) is given of a monolingual, and the Swahili-Arabic-English

² Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili – TUKI (Eng. *Institute of Kiswahili Studies*, formerly *Institute of Kiswahili Research*), one of the institutes of the University of Dar es Salaam at present known as TATAKI – Taasisi ya Taaluma za Kiswahili (Eng. *Institute of Kiswahili Research*).

Taathira za Kiarabu Katika Kiswahili pamoja na Kamusi Thulathiya (Bosha 1993) of a trilingual.

The bilingual dictionaries have the biggest target market and among them a well-defined division can be made between general and specialized dictionaries. The predominant amount of all available publications falls into the first group – bilingual general dictionaries, which can be grouped into several characteristic time periods that changed over time as a consequence of historical transformations. In the following paragraphs, I aim to elaborate on the development phases of Swahili lexicography as proposed by Chuwa (1996), but with the new addition of available electronic resources. This paper does not intend to present a comprehensive list of dictionaries published so far. Such research papers appear intermittently in various bibliographies (e.g. Hendrix 1982, Meier 1984), which are complementary to each other.

3. History of Swahili lexicography

The main sources of research data regarding Swahili lexicography are the dictionaries themselves. Expanded introductions, which are preludes to the actual dictionaries in the oldest editions, document the 19th-century beginnings of this new field on the African continent. They help to construe a coherent history and provide insight into the work of the lexicographers.

The earliest documented history with regard to the Swahili language is inevitably associated with the Arabs and their aspirations to expand their trade influences on the east coast of Africa, and later with the European missionaries pursuit of a significant political foothold and dominance in the region. Sample records of letters dating as far back as the year 1300 were written in Swahili with the use of Arabic script. Swahili was of interest to traders, explorers, missionaries and administrative personnel. Meier (1984) mentions a list of 12 Swahili words, which were recorded as far back as in 1630. In 1811, Swahili words were noted down by the German Admiral Kursenstern, as well as by many other explorers residing during that period in the region of East Africa. Whiteley (1973) cites five different lists with Swahili words dating from before 1850. All of them are characterized by a lack of cohesive orthography, commentaries or even information regarding the locations in which these words were transcribed.

However, it should be acknowledged that the history of actual lexicography begins in the mid-19th century with the arrival of the German missionary, Dr. Ludwig Krapf to Africa. When he came to Zanzibar somewhere around New Year's Day in 1844, in order to request permission from the then reigning

Sultan Said-Said to establish himself in Mombasa, he was unaware that he would become the pioneer of Swahili lexicography, one of the African languages with the most widespread use. In May 1844, with previous experience recently acquired in Ethiopia (cf. Dammann 1977), the German missionary, who at the time served under the Church Missionary Society, initiated his studies into this new and exotic language upon his arrival in Mombasa. His curiosity and strong work ethics had already brought forth results as early as in 1845, when he sent the first draft of a grammar book, word-list and a translation into Swahili of the Holy Gospel (of John and of Luke) to his superiors. These materials were supposed to aid future missionaries being sent to East Africa, so that they were better prepared and educated upon arrival (Krapf 1964 [1882]).

His new assistant, Reverend Johann Rebmann, arrived in Africa in 1846, and during his 140 day ocean voyage he studied Krapf's notes. The faithful assistant also dedicated himself to bettering the use and understanding of the Swahili language. His undying commitment finally bore fruit as early as 1861, when his Swahili word listing with English language commentary was published and distributed (Hendrix 1982). Both missionaries did not however solely limit their interests to the Swahili language used in Mombasa, but also collected data on other dialects and languages used in the region (cf. Benson 1964 for a detailed discussion on early work on Swahili).

Swahili grammar, *An Outline of the Elements of the Kiswahili Language*, written by Ludwig Krapf, was first published in 1850 in Germany by the Ludwig Friederich Focus publishing house. In the same year, the same publisher released the Swahili word list together with equivalents in five other dialects, *Vocabulary of Six East African Languages: Kiswaheli, Kinika, Kikamba, Kipokomo, Kihiau, Kigalla*. The publication served as a basis for the later released Swahili-English dictionary (Krapf 1964 [1882], Hendrix 1982).

A Swahili-English dictionary written by Krapf was published in 1882 – a year after the author's death – under the title *Dictionary of the Suahili Language*. Work on the publication had begun in 1879, but the compiling of the dictionary was finished by the missionary society, which ultimately decided not to interfere with the original version and publish it unchanged. Despite future criticism of the work, the manuscripts of both Dr. Krapf and his associate, Rev. Rebmann, as well as the dictionary itself, were sources which were referenced by their contemporaries and future Swahili-language researchers. Together with the works of other German missionaries (cf. Benson 1964), they also served as a basis for a second important publication – the textbook *A Handbook of Swahili Language (as spoken at Zanzibar)* prepared by Dr. Edward Steere, the missionary bishop to Central Africa. First released in 1870, it consisted of a short introduction to the

Zanzibar Unguja dialect grammar, as well as an English-Swahili and Swahili-English dictionary. The works of Krapf, based on the Mvita dialect, and Steere's textbook help initiate further research into the language.

By the end of the 19th century, missionaries had compiled many other works. Amongst those of note are the following: *Dictionnaire français-kisouahili* authored by Father Dutrieux in 1880, *Vocabulaire français-kiswahili et kiswahili-français* written by the White Fathers (Père Blancs) in 1885, authors of a Swahili-Latin dictionary; grammar book with a German-Swahili dictionary, *Praktische Grammatik der Suaheli-Sprache auch für den Selbstunterricht. Mit Nebungstücken, einem Lesebuche und einem Deutsch-Kiswahili Wörterbuch* by August Seidel from 1890 or a similar paper authored by Friedrich von Nettlebladt in 1891 (cf. Hendrix 1982).

The most meaningful contribution to refining and updating dictionaries in this early period of Swahili lexicographical history was however made by such missionaries and researchers as C. Sacleux, A.C. Madan, and C. Velten (cf. Ohly 1966).

The largest French-Swahili dictionary was written by Father Charles Sacleux, which was 1,114 pages long and was first published in 1891. The second, 1939 edition was expanded with a Swahili-French dictionary and contained linguistic material, which remains an invaluable resource to this day. Sacleux took into account the Mrima and Mvita dialects, alongside Unguja that was taken as a normative dialect. This work was later valued as having scholarly significance, with its detailed definitions and citations of old songs and poetry as authoritative samples of the language (Benson 1964).

With regard to the English language, the continuator of Steere's work was Arthur C. Madan, who published an extensive English-Swahili dictionary in 1902, which he soon expanded in 1903 with its Swahili-English counterpart. Madan's dictionary was mainly based on the word list published in Bishop Steere's grammar book and similarly consisted of a vocabulary based on the Zanzibar dialect. Nonetheless, the linguist listed the works by Krapf and Sacleux alongside those by Steere, portraying them as authors of the most important previously published lexicographic material.

With respect to the German language, the major work of the period is that of Prof. C. Velten, who based his work on Madan's publications, which resulted in the printing of a two-volume dictionary *Suaheli-Deutsch* in 1910 and *Deutsch-Suaheli* in 1933. These dictionaries were later reprinted as supplements to a grammar book (Velten 1938).

The end of the 19th century and the turn of the 20th century was a period dominated by missionary publications. Dictionaries compiled during this time

were above all prepared with missionaries and colonial administration in mind. They are characterized by a lack of coherent orthography and expanded dictionary articles, more suitable for an encyclopedia than a dictionary. This was especially the case with Swahili as the source language, where the authors attempted to precisely and descriptively define the meaning of a given entry. The German dictionary by Velten (1938) seems to be progressive for its time with the use of noun class numeration as a symbol for morphological information,³ and through supplying translatory equivalents instead of extensive definitions. Due to its orthography, the Swahili-French dictionary of Father Sacleux (1939) should be placed alongside the publications by Krapf (1882), Sacleux (1891), Madan (1903) and Velten (1938) as part of this phase. This dictionary, which was listed in the second phase of A. Chuwa's classification (1996), can be characterized by a still non-standardized, albeit thought-out and coherently executed orthography.

The next period was initiated by the creation of the Inter-territorial Language Swahili Committee after the First World War, with the rapid increase in demand for education in the East African territories. Its first task was a revision of existing dictionaries edited by Madan. The revision work was undertaken by the Secretary of the Committee, Frederick Johnson, and resulted in the publication of *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* and *A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary* in 1939, two years after the author's death in 1937. The dictionary was updated with modern vocabulary, based on a new macrostructure (derivatives, nouns and adjectives were placed under the verb root), and above all presented with unified orthographic rules. The language description, which was from then on to be used throughout the educational system, media and administration, was designed for the wider community. The dictionary that revolutionized Swahili lexicography for years to come became a fundamental source for future lexicographers and the most widely used work in the field (cf. Chuwa 1996). It should also be noted that Johnson's second immense achievement was the compilation of the first monolingual Swahili dictionary *Kamusi ya Kiswahili yaani Kitabu cha Maneno ya Kiswahili* in 1935.

The period of British dominance on the East Coast ends with the publishing of the English-Swahili dictionary by Snoxall in 1958. Mainly compiled with Africans wanting to learn the English language in mind, it was based on the word-list of the *English-Reader's Dictionary*. By borrowing from lexicographical achievements in the English language, the author simultaneously initiated a new phase in the field.

³ Instead of class prefixes.

With the new historic circumstances of the second half of the 20th century, multiple Africanist institutes were founded across the world and one of the aims they set out to achieve was the compilation of dictionaries. Up until the early 1980s many dictionaries were written which were predominantly intended for use by foreign students learning the Swahili language. Their authors were mostly Africanists with no lexicographical background. By observing the global development of lexicography, they attempted to include the most useful vocabulary. During this period most dictionaries were small, primarily for student use, while some of their word-lists were based on other lexicographical publications, such as the English dictionary entries in the Swahili-English dictionary by Perrott (1965), which coincide with entries in other dictionaries from the *Teach Yourself* series. Alongside English or German-based publications dedicated for students (Perrott 1965, Höftmann 1963, Cahill 1972, Jahadhmy 1981), we can find many publications in this period based on other, non-colonial languages, e.g.: Ol'derogge (1961) and Kutuzov (1965) for Russian, Stopa and Garlicki (1966) for Polish, Merlo-Pick (1978) for Italian, Lodhi and Otterbrandt (1978, 1987) for Swedish, or Wazaki (1980) for Japanese.

The publication of the monolingual Swahili dictionary by the African TUKI institute in 1981 marks the beginning of the next lexicographical period and fulfills Benson's (1964) hope of the increased involvement of African researchers. The dictionary's importance is of special note, as in the following years it became the fundamental source on the basis of which authors of bilingual publications constructed their works. Created by a group of enthusiasts – lexicographers, it was aimed at supplanting the already 40-year-old Johnson's dictionary and replacing it as the main language standardization resource. The inclusion of native users of the language into the process of compiling the dictionary positively influenced not only the updating of the word-list of already published dictionaries, but also the identification and organization of meanings. It has experienced unwavering and overwhelming popularity (cf. Herms 1995, also Hurskainen 1994) and by 1992, 18 reprints had been published.

During that time, in institutes all across the world new dictionaries continued to be created and their authors focused on their user-friendliness. So-called *practical dictionaries* were compiled, in which the authors attempted to define the lexis necessary for everyday communication. Specialized and modern vocabulary from the fields of politics and science was also taken into account. Such titles as *The Friendly Modern Swahili - Modern English Dictionary* by Baba Malaika (1994) or *Modern Swahili Words* by Hurskainen (1988), which introduce lexis absent in earlier dictionaries, have been printed. During that period many specialized dictionaries have also been published by African researchers from e.g. TUKI,

also by Ohly (1987a, 1987b), and Hurskainen (1989). Such general bilingual publications as Lenselaer (1983), Miachina (1987), Legère (1990), Höftmann and Herms (1992), Bakhressa (1992), Gromova (1996), Knappert (1996), Polikanov (1997), TUKI (1996, 2001), Awde (2000), Chuwa (2001) can also be listed here.

The final, current phase of Swahili lexicography was initiated with the 2002 publication of the Swahili-Finnish-Swahili dictionary (Abdulla *et al.* 2002). Compiled at the Helsinki University, the dictionary is the first paper publication whose authors based their lexicographical work on data from an electronic corpus of the Swahili language – the Helsinki Swahili Corpus (HCS 2004). It initiated the beginning of modern corpus-based lexicography already widely practiced in the Western World since the 1980s. The other HCS corpus-based dictionary published so far is the Swahili-Polish Dictionary, which was recently released as a simplified print version of its electronic counterpart (Wójtowicz 2013).

During this time, since the 1990s the new internet medium has also been introduced into Swahili lexicography and electronic dictionaries have started to be compiled, which will be discussed in the following section.

4. Electronic dictionaries

Alongside the printed publications of the last period, the creation of electronic dictionaries is also taking place. Due to their form, they tend to enter the consumer market very effectively. Such dictionaries have been made available on CD-ROM together with their hardcopy counterparts, e.g. the CD-ROM version of Swahili-English and English-Swahili Dictionaries published by TUKI⁴ (2002), which are in fact merely printed dictionaries made available in an electronic form. Several dictionaries exist which were created by exploiting monolingual databases linked to a hub language, e.g. the Ergane translation dictionary,⁵ which offers Swahili as one of its languages (cf. Wójtowicz 2003). But there are also some *e-dictionaries* compiled from scratch as an electronic publication and made available on the Internet. Some of these dictionaries will be further discussed below.

Apart from the advantages and capabilities offered by this medium, as has been widely discussed (cf. De Schryver 2003, Fuertes-Olivera, Bergenholtz 2011), electronic publications seem to be a beneficial alternative for such languages as Swahili, where the publication of traditional dictionaries is not profitable enough for commercial publishers; therefore, as a consequence, they are very rare and,

⁴ The dictionary has been also published online <http://kess.co.tz/eng-swa/index.html>

⁵ <http://travlang.com/Ergane/> [all websites accessed in March 2014].

even if published, often never updated. Furthermore, electronic dictionaries are also very popular among language students from across the world, especially when paper dictionaries are hard to obtain. Summarily, they also seem to be an obvious solution in today's digital age of the information society.

An overview of various electronic dictionaries has been presented in Wójtowicz (2003). As such, they are of varying content and quality, but over the last 10 years new interesting initiatives have been undertaken that have managed to produce modern, up-to-date dictionaries.

A detailed presentation of four electronic bilingual Swahili ↔ English dictionaries that are worth noting was given in De Pauw *et al.* (2009). Special reference shall be made in this paper to three of them, these are *The Internet Living Swahili Dictionary*⁶, *The TshwaneDJe Swahili–English Dictionary*⁷ and *The FreeDict Swahili–English xFried Dictionary*⁸.

The *Internet Living Swahili Dictionary* is the most famous, most extensive, and the first electronic Swahili-English dictionary, which started to be developed in the early 1990s. From the beginning, it has been published and developed online as part of a community effort. Every online user can propose an entry that consequently will be added after editing. Lately the project has been expanded and renamed as the *Kamusi Gold Global Online Living Dictionary*. It is described as “a participatory international effort dedicated to improving knowledge of the world's languages. [...] term mission is to produce dictionaries and other language resources for every language, and to make those resources available for free to everyone.” Its aim is to produce a set of monolingual dictionaries with definitions for every single recognized concept that is then matched with the same concept in all other participating languages. So far, English and Swahili still possess the largest databases (with over 60 000 entries) offered in the Kamusi Project.

The *TshwaneDJe Swahili–English Dictionary* (De Schryver *et al.* 2006, De Pauw *et al.* 2009) was the first corpus-based⁹ electronic Swahili dictionary. From 2004 onwards it can be accessed online for free or as a stand-alone download after purchasing the product. It includes over 16 000 entries. The most interesting innovation are the headwords that include full orthographic words in addition to stems chosen on the basis of a frequency count. It features morphological decomposition, corpus-based examples, and a system of cross-references linking root-derivative pairs.

⁶ <http://www.kamusi.org/>

⁷ <http://africanlanguages.com/swahili/>

⁸ <http://dict.uni-leipzig.de/dictd>

⁹ The corpus was a fifteen-million-word TshwaneDJe Swahili Corpus designed for the project, not publicly available as a resource.

The *FreeDict Swahili–English xFried Dictionary* (Bański and Wójtowicz 2009) is the only dictionary that uses the open-source architecture of the FreeDict project and is available on a free license. Therefore, it is the only dictionary at the moment¹⁰ offering its sources freely available for downloading.¹¹ The Swahili-English dictionary was the first FreeDict dictionary encoded according to the guidelines of the TEI P5 XML standard. Although it includes only 2600 entries, they can be expanded with little effort from all interested users. The dictionary can be accessed online or downloaded for offline use in various formats, e.g. in the DICT format, for which available clients can use free-standing desktop applications, or to be integrated into editors or web browsers. Within the same project, a *Swahili-Polish Student FreeDict Dictionary*, consisting of 1350 entries, is disseminated.

In 2013, another corpus-based dictionary was published – the *Electronic Swahili-Polish Dictionary*¹² (Wójtowicz 2013). The macrostructure of the dictionary has been based on data from the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS 2004) and updated with vocabulary from modern Swahili textbooks. It contains over 6000 entries, with this number still expanding. Every entry is described with POS information and additional morphological features. The default splitting approach to the status of derivatives can be reverted into a lumped view thanks to consistent XML encoding. The XML encoding of the data is what allows for switching between presentation modes easily, with run-on references in the splitting mode acting as placeholders for information that can be put in their place in the lumping mode. The extended system of cross-references, which points derivatives to their roots, is also graphically visualized as a multi-level hierarchical presentation of derivational families (Bański and Wójtowicz 2011). It serves not only as a navigational tool but, most of all, as an educational aid for students of Swahili.

5. Conclusion

From a historical perspective, it can be clearly seen that the first dictionaries were mainly a response to practical needs. It is also noticeable that lexicographic publications express the historical and political implications of the language under consideration.

¹⁰ Before its transformation, the Kamusi Project also provided files of the Swahili-English and English-Swahili dictionary for download.

¹¹ <http://sourceforge.net/projects/freedict>

¹² <http://kamusi.pl>

Up until the 1980s, all Swahili dictionaries had been created by foreigners, and mostly with foreigners in mind. Kiango (2000) describes the research goals of the first dictionaries compiled for such languages as Swahili. As such, they were supposed to serve as a form of assistance for Europeans residing in African territories and were not intended for Africans themselves. Therefore, the engagement of the Tanzanian TUKI institute in the field of lexicography work was long awaited and met with great enthusiasm. This allowed for the introduction of new monolingual publications intended for the Swahili language users themselves, while simultaneously being just as popular among European readers.

Currently, Swahili lexicography does not lag behind the new lexicographic trends and solutions, which is most noticeable in the field of electronic publications that in many places have intercepted the existing markets for dictionaries and slowly replaced the traditionally published dictionaries.

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