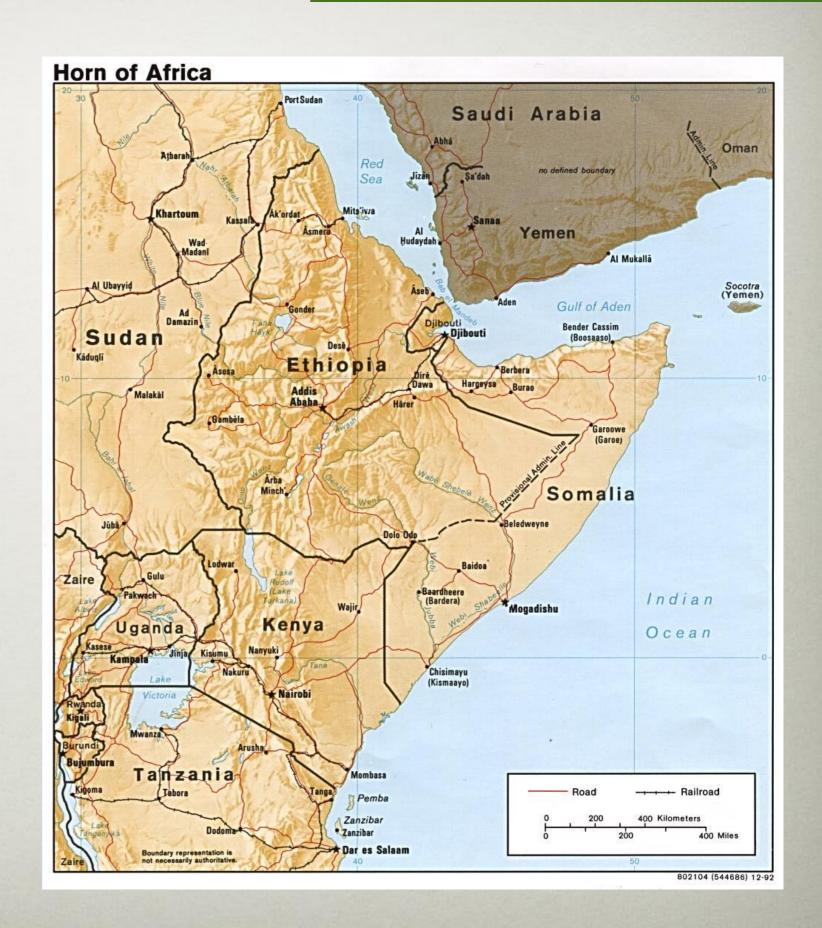
# AJAMI TRADITIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND THE CONCEPT OF ISOGRAPH

Giorgio Banti University of Naples "L'Orientale" (Copenhagen, 11 April 2018)

### LANGUAGES:

- Harari (Ethiosemitic);
- Amharic (Ethiosemitic);
- Argobba (Ethiosemitic);
- Tigrinya (Ethiosemitic);
- Selt'i (Ethiosemitic).
- Somali (East Cushitic);
- Oromo (East Cushitic);
- cAfar (East Cushitic);
- Saho (East Cushitic);
- Alaaba (East Cushitic).



HARARI (since the 16th century, now also used in some locally printed books - digraphia with the official *fidäl*-based orthography of Harari):

Cohen (1931), Cerulli (1936), Wagner (1983a), Banti (2005, 2010).

AMHARIC (since when? especially in Wollo): Drewes (2007), Gori (2007), Wetter (2009, 2012).

ARGOBBA (since when?): mentioned in Wetter (2012: 177 f.).

TIGRINYA (at least since the 2nd half of the 19th century) mentioned in Wetter (2012: 177), Abdulkadir (2016).

SELŢ'I (since when?): Wagner (1983b).

- Somali (since the 2nd half of the 19th century? published data from the southern and the north-western areas):

  Moreno (1955), Cerulli (1964), Banti (field data),
  Cabdiraxmaan (2016)
- OROMO (since the 2nd half of the 19th century?; known examples from the Wollo and the Harar areas):

  Mohamed Hakim (2012)
- CAFAR (since the 1st half of the 19th century? NB Kabir Handa died in 1828 according to Morin 1997: 55):

  Morin (1997).
- SAHO (since when? known example from Irhaafale in the central area):

Banti & Vergari (2014).

ALAABA (since when?): mentioned in Wetter (2012: 177).

Folio 1v of ms. IES 256, one of the oldest witnesses of the Harari *Kitāb al-farāyiḍ*. It is the only ms. that still preserves the original division of the *KF* into three parts. According to Gori (2014) from the 19th century, yet personally I believe it to be earlier.

- The fist part of the *KF* consists in a series of numerical sayings based upon 2, 3, 4, 5 or 10 and dealing with life and wisdom.
- The second part is a sort of catechism that explains through questions and answers several doctrinal tenets, and details the duties (*farāyiḍ*) of pious believers. Numerical sayings are very few in this part, and occur only at its end.
- The whole third part consists in another sequence of numerical sayings on the duties related to religion, prayer, fasting, spiritual knowledge, ritual ablutions, etc.



A numerical saying based on 4 from the first part of the KF (f. 2r of ms. IES 256).



Harcatuh zi-harcatin ināy:
dawā ğammic ināy do bilcat aqlilot,
adab ğammic ināy do kalām aqlilot,
cibādat ğammic ināy do dilhi aqlilot,
īmān ğammic ināy do sabri lihādot.

'And four are the mother of four:
the mother of all medicine is eating little,
the mother of all good manners is speaking little,
the mother of all worship is sinning little,
the mother of all faith is bearing patience'

In Banti (2005) I analysed 17 features in the Ajami orthography of four Old Harari literary texts:

- a. the Kitāb al-farāyid,
- b. the "Song of the 4 Caliphs" (= Text B in Wagner 1983a), by shaykh <sup>c</sup>Abdalmālik b. <sup>c</sup>Ābid,
- c. the Masnoy, and
- d. the *Muṣṭafā* (= Text A in Wagner 1983a), by Hāšim b. 'Abdal' azīz b. Amīr Hāšim (1123-79 H./1711-65 C.E.),

### They are:

- i. 4 features that regard how non-Arabic sounds such as  $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{c}'$ ,  $\tilde{n}$ , and g are represented,
- ii. 13 strictly orthographic features such as what is written together as a single word and what not, how final –*u* and –*o* are represented, &c.

# Features of type (i.):

1. Arr represents both Har. t' and palatal č' in the oldest texts. In the*Muṣṭafā*a new special symbol seems to appear for Har. č', and is used systematically in later texts:

2. ن occurs in the older texts both for *n* and where present-day Har. has palatal *ň*. Texts from the late 19th century also have ي for palatal *ň*. Contemporary Har. uses a new sign:

- 3. Har. g and palatal j are both represented by z in the older texts, but some mss. of the KF and of the Masnoy also have several instances of d for velar g. The letter z starts to appear for velar g later, and is now used by some writers both for g and g, side by side with z.
- 4. Har. *t* and palatal *č* are generally represented by in the oldest texts, even though a couple of words are already written with in the *KF*. The *Muṣṭafā* generally has if or *č*. Yet one Harari hymn in the Mawlud published in 2001 spells *anbiyā' āč* 'prophets' with a digraph:

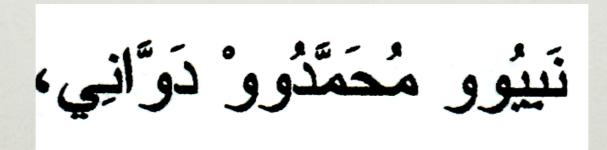
### Some features of type (ii.):

- 1. The genitive/relative particle, always pronounced as *z*-in Mod. Har., is spelt either as <z-> or, etymologically, as <<u>d</u>-> from the *KF* till contemporary written Har.
- 2. The suffixal elements (i.) -nat that forms abstract nouns like magdab-nat "being an influential person", (ii.) the possessives -iy "my", -hād "your (2 sg.m.)", -zo "his", etc., (iii.) the verbal clitics containing the old prepositions I- and b- like -bo "against him", -lo "for him", and their variants, (iv.) the postpositions -be "in, against, by", -de "to, towards", -le "to, for", -kut "like", and (v.) the conjunctions -wā "and -ma "and" are not infrequently written as separate words both in the older texts and in present-day Har.

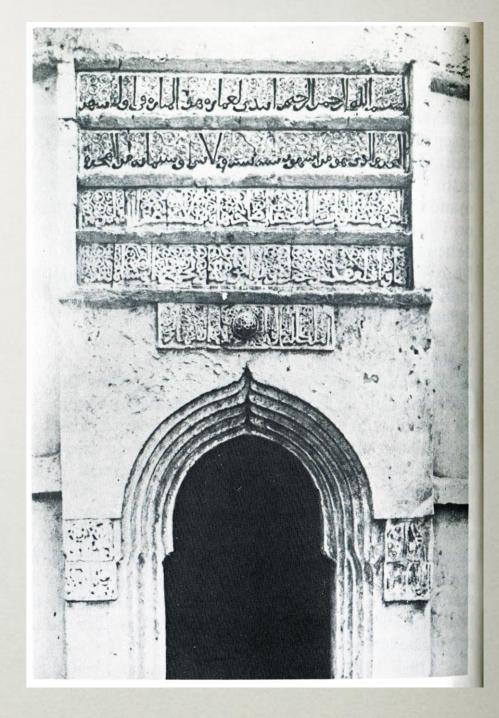
3. Har. words that end in -u, or -o are either spelt simply with final damma or frequently with alif otiosum in the older texts, e.g.:

nabō 'oh Prophet!'

In contemporary written Har. one finds double waw in similar contexts, e.g., in the 2006 Mawlud:

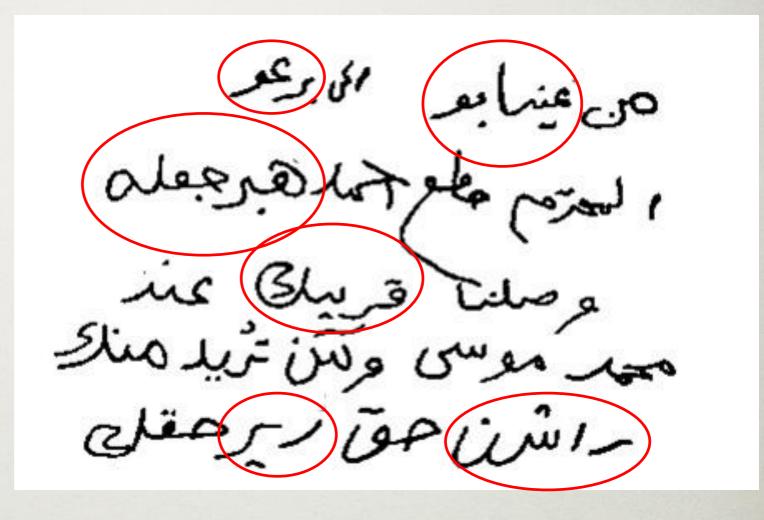


nabyō Muḥammadō dawwāni 'Oh Prophet Mohammed, heal me!' Arabic has been used for centuries for writing in the countries where the Somalis lived, both for writing on stone, on wood (e.g., for teaching the Qur'aan), and on other writing materials.



The inscription above the door of the old minaret of the Al-Jaamic mosque in Xamarweyne. It bears the date 1 *muharram* 636 H. (= 14 August 1238).

Frequently scribes mixed Arabic and Somali in their letters.



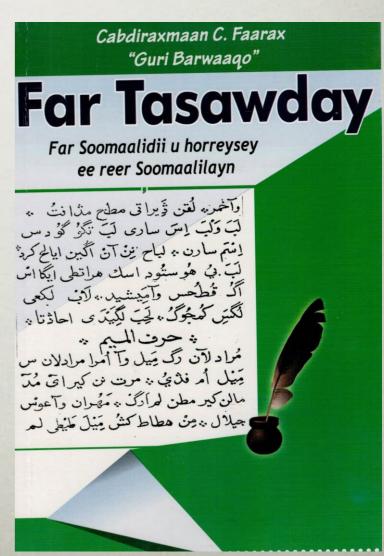
The beginning of a letter in broken colloquial Arabic mixed with Somali (published by Lewis 1958: 138):

Min <sup>c</sup>Aynabo ilâ Bur<sup>c</sup>o. Al-muḥarram Jāma<sup>c</sup> Aḥmad Habar Je<sup>c</sup>lo waṣalanā farrīnka <sup>c</sup>inda Muḥammad Mūsā. Walākin turīdu minka rāšin ḥaqq rēr ḥaqqak ...

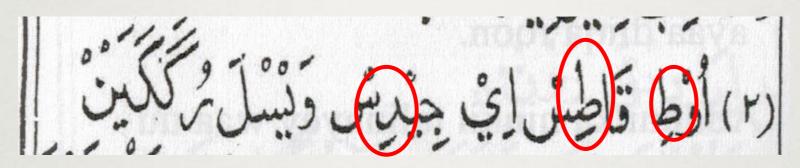
According to a tradition reported by Cerulli (1964) and Cabdiraxmaan (2016), Ibraahiim Cabdalla Mayal of the Makaahiil clan tried to adapt the Arabic alphabet for writing Somali in the second half of the 19th century, in what would later become British Somaliland. His pupil Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil published a booklet with some letters and proverbs with this system in 1934. Cabdiraxmaan (2016) found it and published a study on it.

The 1st page of Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil's booklet

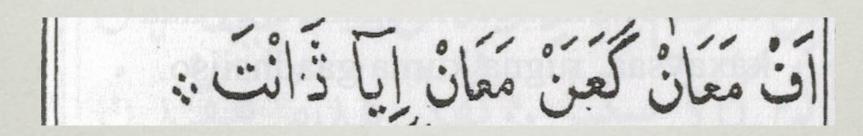
The cover of Cabridaxmaan (2016)



Two proverbs from Maxamed Cabi Makaahiil's booklet:



Oodi qaadis ii jiidis waysla rugageyn 'Carrying a thorny bush or dragging it you are always bringing it to your home' (p. 21)



Af macaan gacan macaan iyaa dhaanta 'A helpful hand is better than a helpful mouth' (p. 23)

At the end of the 19th century, the well-known Sheekh Awees Maxamed from Brava (d. in 1909, according to Cerulli, 1964: 117) composed several religious poems both in Arabic and in different dialects from southern Somalia.

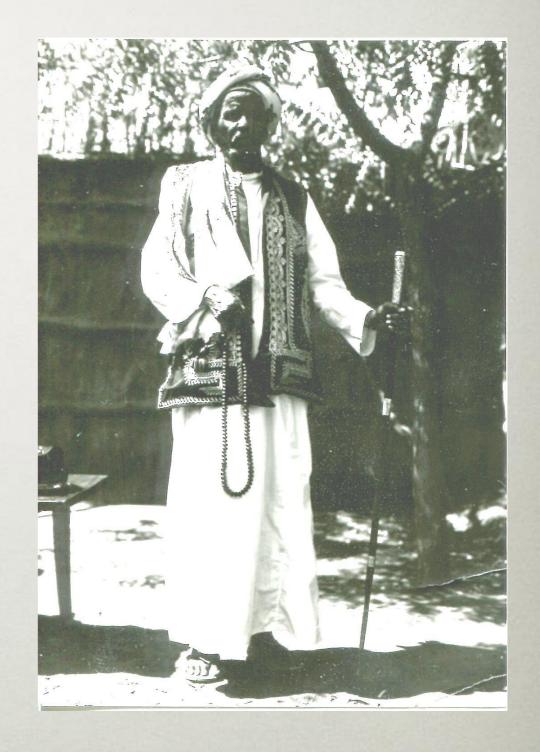
### Main sources on Sheekh Awees:

- · Cerulli, Somalia, vol I: 187 f., vol III: 117-38.
- · Moreno, Il somalo della Somalia: 364-67.
- Said S. Samatar, "Sheikh Uways Muhammad of Baraawe, 1847-1909. Mystic and reformer in East Africa".
- °Abd al-Raḥmān b. °Umar al-Qādirī, Jalā' al-caynayn, and Jawhar al-nafīs (2 books about his manāqib).

- · Cerulli (Somalia, vol. III: 117 f., 127 f.) mentions:
  - 1) a "canzone" ('song') by Sh. A. called Axad Sheeki on the devastations caused by the Siyid's movement (with text, translation and notes);
  - 2) one "preghiera" ('prayer') in Hawiye dialect, that begins by Yaa nebi salaam caleeka (with text, translation and notes);
  - 3) three "preghiere" in Rahanween dialect (i.e., in Maay), and one in Daarood dialect (in the same ms. as 2. above, acquired by him in 1923 in Mogadishu);
- Moreno (*Il somalo della Somalia*) provides the text and translation of one of the poems ("*la celebre qaṣîda*", 'the well-known *q*.') in Maay, that begins by *Laa ilaaha, ilaah kaleto maba yaalo* (from a Bravanese ms. owned by an <Adde Mugno>, "Vice capo distretto di Mogadiscio").

- In 1984 (?) in Buulo Mareerto (near Marka), together with the late Giorgio Cardona and prof. Cabdalla Cumar Mansuur I visited *Sheekh* Abuukar Maxamed Yare, a nephew of *Sh.* A., who was then the General *Naa'ib* of the Qaadiriyya. He headed a *jameeco* and showed us several mss. with poems by *Sh.* A.

  It was possible to take pictures of
  - It was possible to take pictures of several of these poems, and to have them read by him.
- No information whether Sheekh
   Abuukar is still alive, nor about the
   mss. But Buulo Mareerto has already
   been under Shabaab rule for several
   years, and the mss. may have been
   destroyed by the Shabaab's anti-Sufi
   fury.



### Known poems by sh. Awees and their witnesses:

- 1) "Axad Sheeki": Cerulli, ms. A;
- 2) "Yaa Nebi salaam caleeka": Cerulli, ms. C, composed in the Benadir;
- 3) "Laa ilaaha, ilaah kaleto maba yaalo": Moreno, ms. D, composed in Biyooley;
- 4) "Salaad badanow": mss. A, C, composed in northern Somalia;
- 5) "Mawlla qeerka ma jiro": mss. A, B, C, D, composed in the Benadir;
- 6) "Sallaa Alla calaa Axmaddaa": mss. A, C, composed in the Benadir, in the interriverine area;
- 7) "Abbaay sittidey"; ms. A, a second ms. from Sandra Vianello, composed in Beled el-Amiin;
- 8) "Abaay Nabiyow": ms. C, composed in Lower Shabeelle.

The first folio of manuscript A that was in Buulo Mareerto in 1984, with the beginning of Abbaay Sittidey by Sheekh Awees.

The first two lines are:

Abbay Sittidey Abbay Sittidey, nuurkii Mukhtaar batuula Nawii

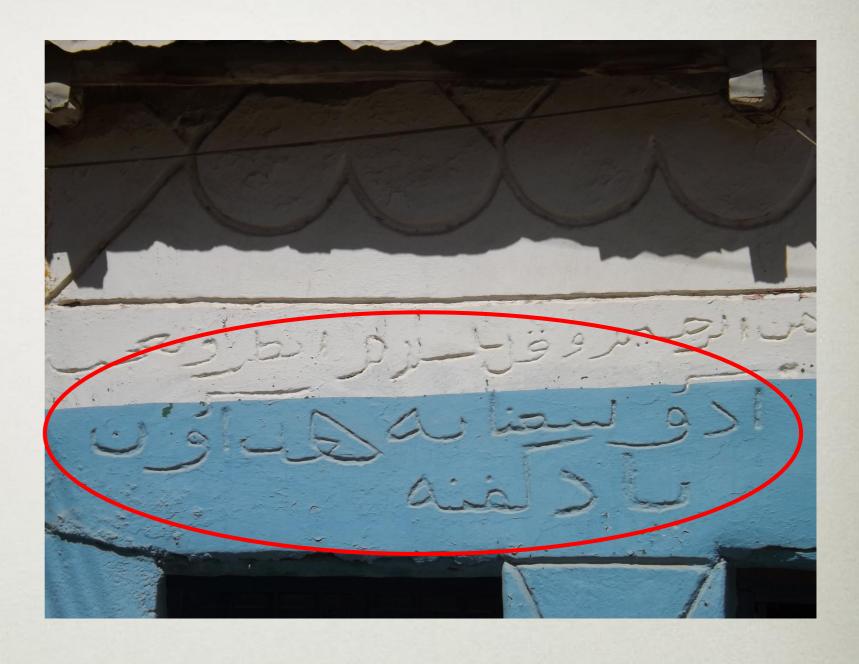
Iimaanka salaat zakaata xajaa, soonkaa sabarkaada Abbay Sittidey

'My Dear Lady, my Dear Lady, light of the Chosen one, virgin of the Prophet,

Faith, prayer, zakat, xajj, fasting are your patience, my Dear Lady!'

والمى سنانى واباد المسادل نور کی مختار بتوانده الماكمالة ذكارجما صونكاصم قادرباي ستذي بابكالسسماللف بدبي النع محد واليوكي لونوني بصرنور بدنوي بدنكاهم ئ برغي برڪا ذبشارسي بلنعي،وكابرغيلكل مندى بيمانك بايستاي بربارنويوادبنني اوكا ى مىلمېنت كالايان اباى سلاي بدغ لبحابوربور لرحا ى بورسارلدايمانيددي يبادي لرحاباشالنجا د، برخبرسالم علي نوايب برهان بابكابرنكي وكا بركاي حالكاذرباي سناني تلعادتهمان تغتاد شفا م توكتاستجاريايستاني توفيق لدغيق تبوالتو ا ت توحيللتواي اباي ستكي توبكاكلتومتوبكجنا تمنكي عملكاذ اباي ستأي ئه جیانو ۱۱ اهان ۱۱ مای ستانی جا ڪاجهان رصلڪاجنوا ى حسكار مضان حسنوراديس حبكامجانح بغادقرون مرنة اطعلايس حساد متليس في حاشا حالكاذ وماي ستلاي

A Somali Ajami notice on the first shop for selling women's goods that was set up in Ceerigaabo (Somaliland) in the 50s



Adoo soconaaya ha-daawan yaad kufine

'While you are walking, don't stare, because you may stumble'

The Somali Ajami spelling conventions of Maxamed Cabdi Makaahiil, Ceerigaabo and *Sh.* Awees differed from each other:

	M. C.	Cerigaabo	Sh. Awees
	Makaahiil		
g			غ ~ ک
d	Š		4
d	د ~ ط	7	2

Oromo Ajami will be discussed in more detail tomorrow.

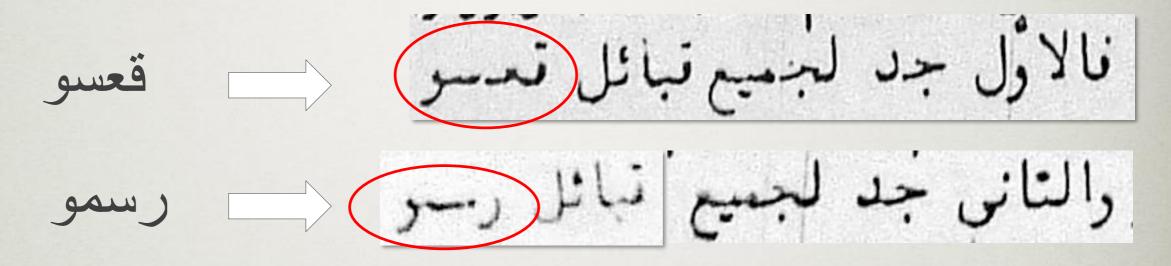
Suffice it to point out here that there are considerable differences through time, and between Oromo Ajami texts from Wollo and those from Harar.

# Sources for Saho Ajami

- (i.) Arabic texts with Saho names and words, e.g.:
  - Ibrāhīm al-Muḥtār (1909-1969), former mufti of Eritrea, wrote among other things:
    - al-Fatāwā al-Minifirāwiyya fī muhimāt aḥkām almadāhib, unpublished ms.,
    - al-Hādiya ilà mā fī al-luġa al-Sīhāwiyya min al-alfāẓ al-carabiyya, unpublished ms.,
    - al-Hāwi li-aḥbār al-šacb al-Sīhāwī, unpublished ms.
  - Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Utmān Abū Bakr (b. 1945):
    - Ta'rīḥ Iritriyā al-mu<sup>c</sup>āṣir arḍan wa ša<sup>c</sup>ban, Cairo 1994.

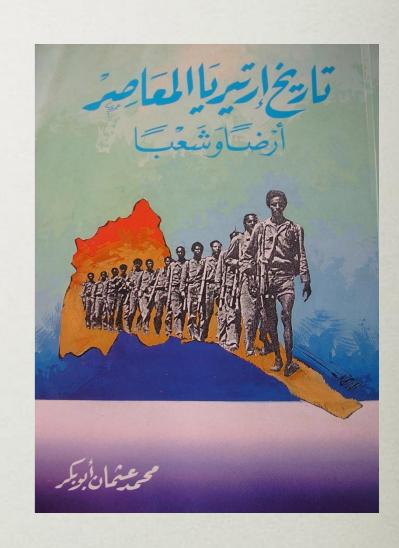
- ii.) Religious nazme hymns written in Ajami:
  - for instance, *shekh* Soliiman Ismaaciil Maxammad from Irhaafalo (center-souith of the Saho-speaking area, met by myself and Vergari in 2010).
- iii.) Songs by contemporary Saho singers written in Ajami (vs. other Saho singers who write their texts in adapted *fidäl* or Roman characters:
  - for instance, Cumar Hadbar (born in the southern Saho-sopeaking area; data collected in London in 2014).

### Saho words in Arabic texts (I)



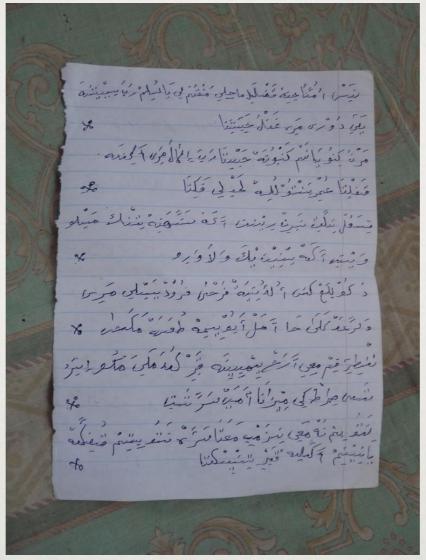
The names of the Saho clans of the *Gacaso* and *Dhasamo* from the Minifire (from p. 2 of an unpublished typed ms. by Ibrāhīm al-Muḥtār, maybe the first draft of his al-Fatāwā al-Minifirāwiyya).

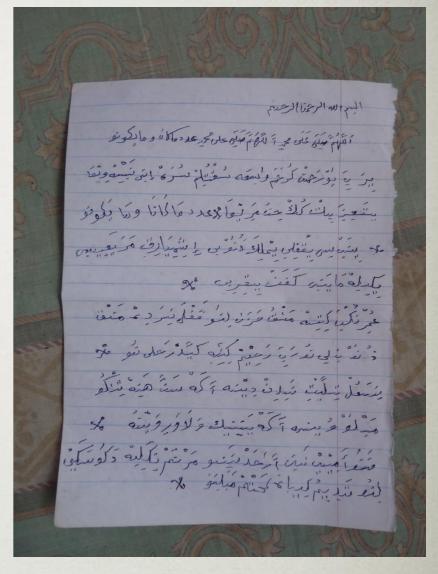
Saho words in Arabic texts (II)



The same names *Dhasamo* and *Gacaso* spelt exactly in the same manner by Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Utmān in his *Ta'rīḥ Iritriyā* (1994).



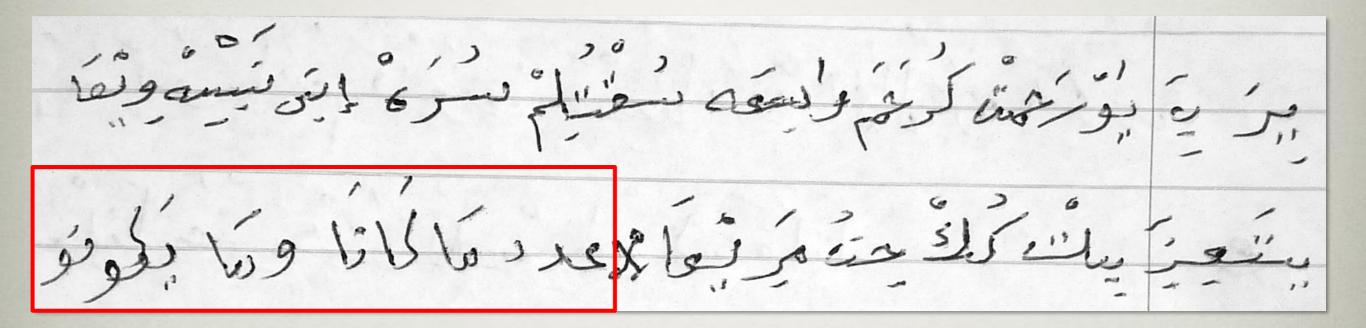




Sheekh Soliiman Ismaacil Maxammad interviewed in Irhaafalo (Eritrea), 27-28 January 2010.

His nazme hymn, Yi Rabbi yol raxmat 'My Lord, be merciful to me!' Recording of a chanted version of this nazme from a 1979 cassette.

## The 1st stanza: Saho Ajami + Arabic refrain



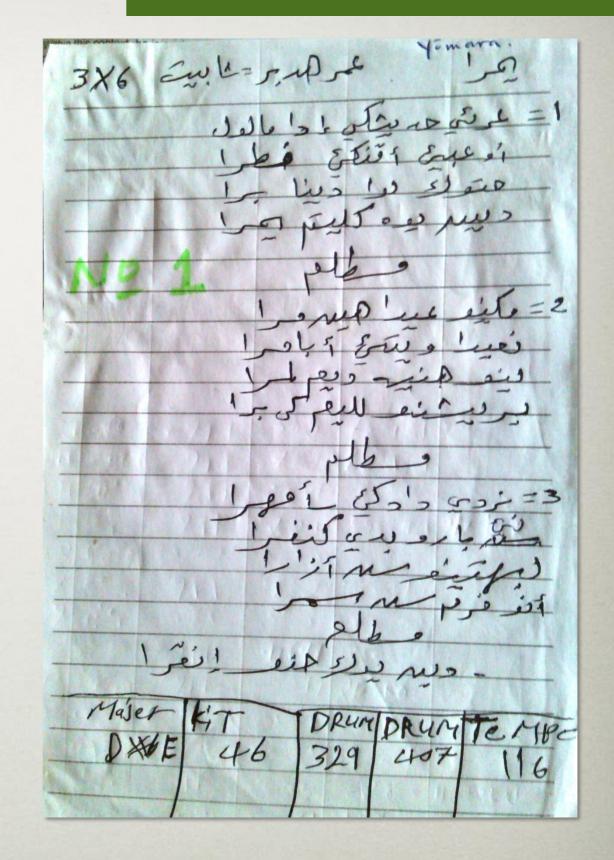
Yi Rabbi yol raxmat, Ku raxma waasica
Sugto lem sorhah[a], inni nabseh weeca
Yi tacizzibe ged, Kok xino marhiica
'My Lord, be merciful to me, Your mercy is huge,
Since I don't know what awaits me, I cry for my destiny,
If You punish me, I cannot stand up against You'

'Addada mā kānā [sic!] wa-mā yakūnū [sic!]

### The Saho Ajami tradition (7)

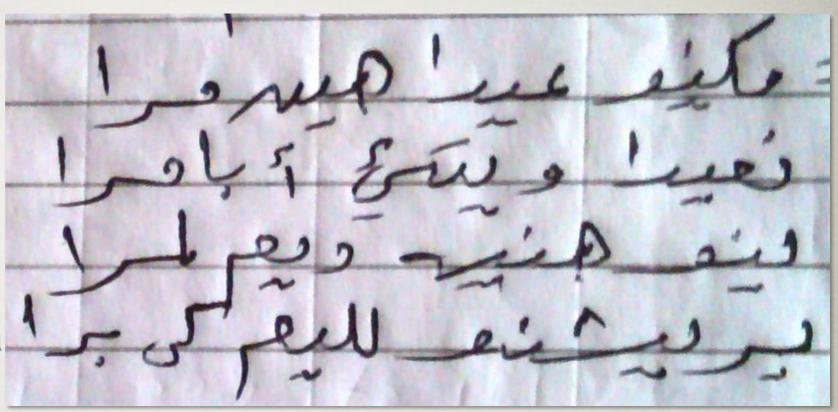


Cumar Axmad Cabdalla "Hadbar"
Interviewed in London, April 2014
Text of his song *Yi mara* 'My people',
from his new album *S & A* 



The second stanza

Makino cayda hin mara
Ni cayda wayte aba mara
Lino hanih dhic le mara
Barhishno lellec kee bara



'We are not people who lack (our) traditions, (Yet) our traditions lost who fulfills them. Even if we have capable people, We should distinguish between day and night'.

An **isogloss** is the geographic boundary of a certain linguistic feature, such as the pronunciation of a certain sound, the use of a particular word for a certain meaning, or the occurrence of some morphological or syntactic feature.

Major dialects are typically demarcated by groups or bundles of isoglosses, rather than by single isoglosses. Analysis of isoglosses provides important cues for past histories of contacts and/or isolation of language communities. Similar to an isogloss, an **isograph** is a term that has been used for some years for a feature of a script that distinguishes it from related script series, e.g., the forms of some letters of the Iron Age Old Hebrew script that differ from their counterparts in Old Aramaic and Phoenician.

More broadly, just as any clearly identifiable linguistic feature can be used as an isogloss, any clearly identifiable feature in a writing system can form an isograph:

- > the shape of a specific letter or character;
- the use of a certain calligraphic style vs. another one, e.g., of the barnāwī and the maghribī styles in W. Africa;
- the use of a specific character for representing a sound or a word;
- a strictly orthographic feature such as one of those seen above for Harari Ajami; &c.

	Old Harari	Cont. Harari	East. Oromo	Wollo	Wollo Amharic
č	ش رت	ش ش ش	پی	ش ( ج ) ( ج	ش ~) ( m)
č'	۵	(پا	??	<u>ظ</u>	当
ñ	(j)	ر پی ا	نې کړي	(نچ / نج	ني

# The representation of g

	Old Harari	Contemp. Harari	East		Wollo Oromo	Wollo Amharic
g	ج - ک	چ کر چ	( ق		اڭى	(اق
	South. So Sh. Awee		naliland Makaahiil	Kal	Afar oir Handa	Saho Irhaafalo
g	نے ہاغ	<u> </u>	ر ا		(ک	ق )
		J	-1			

	<b>d</b>
Saho	
<sup>c</sup> Afar (Kabir Handa)	(ع)
Eastern Oromo	
Wollo Oromo	ڎ
N. Somali (M.C. Makaahiil)	ػ
S. Somali (sh. Awees)	
Modern Harari	
Old Harari	

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