THE USE OF THE PAST: VARIATIONS IN HISTORICAL TRADITION IN A SOUTH SOMALI COMMUNITY

Virginia LULING

The subject of this paper is the varying perceptions of the past of a social group by different fractions of that group, and, some of the ways in which the idea of the past changes as part of the general changes in that society. The past is a resource on which people can draw for many different purposes.

The social group from which I draw my examples is the core population of the town of Afgooye in southern Somalia 1.

SETTING AND HISTORY

The town of Afgooye lies about 20 miles inland from the Somali capital, Muqdisho, on the lower course of the Shabeelle river. Its position in the band of fertile 'black earth' of the river valley makes it a farming settlement, and the fact that it lies on the direct route inland from the port of Muqdisho has made it a trading centre throughout its history.

At the beginning of the colonial period, Afgooye was inhabited by two Somali clans, whose occupation of the site appears to go back to the 16th-17th centuries AD. One of these is the Geledi, which in terms of the Somali 'total genealogy' is a member of the southern 'Sab' branch of the nation (they belong the Raxanweyn (Miriife) 'Sagal'). Their culture and dialect is quite far removed, that is to say, from those of the 'Samaale' clans of the north. Their settlement was, and is, on the right, or inland, bank of the Shabeelle river.

Their fellow citizens and allies, the Wacaaan clan occupy the other bank. Genealogically they derive from the Hawiye branch of

1. This paper is based on data collected during my initial fieldwork in the years 1966-69, and further five months in the second half of 1989 (with a brief visit in 1980).
the 'Samaale': their dialect is different from that of the Geledi, and so to some extent is their culture; they remain much more involved in the pastoral way of life. Interestingly, these two groups, though widely separated in terms of the traditional social structure, which is expressed in the genealogy, have formed a close alliance for the last two centuries. It has been a powerful alliance for the last two centuries. It has been a powerful alliance; in the 19th century the Geledi, as leading partner, became the dominant political force in southern Somalia.

The power of the Geledi was based on military force, on trade, and on agriculture. Production of grain and other crops in the Shabeelle valley increased greatly during the 19th century through the availability of slave labour; large numbers of slaves were imported from the south, from what is now Kenya and Tanzania. The descendants of these former slaves still form an important part of the population.

With Italian colonisation, followed in 1960 by the independence of Somalia, what had been an independent small 'City State' became incorporated into a larger political entity. An apparatus of government, with its officials drawn from other clan backgrounds, was superimposed on the traditional legal structure of the Geledi/Wacdaan. Along with this process came the settlement in and around Afgooye of large numbers of people from other areas of Somalia, not in any way part of its traditional socio-political structure. Both these processes speeded up with the 'Revolution' of 1969 and the social changes that followed. During the 1970s and 80s, Afgooye grew so much, from just over 6,000 in the 1950s to more than 40,000 in the 1980s, that the Geledi and Wacdaan are now a minority there.

Nevertheless, especially on the right bank — the Geledi side — the outlines of the original settlement are still plain to see; just as the traditional socio-political institutions continue to function, in a modified form, underneath and alongside those of the modern state.

THE TRADITIONAL SOCIETY OF AFGOOYE

I will now sketch an outline of this traditional structure, since it is necessary in order to understand what follows.

The Geledi 'clan' is not in fact a unified group genealogically, but an alliance of lineage groups, some but not all of which might be termed 'castes', though I prefer to avoid the term.

The dominant category I call the Nobles - a translation of the indigenous term Bilis. The core group of Nobles claim common descent, and in fact can be called a clan in the strict sense. Their apical ancestor is Umur (Cumur) Diene 3, who like all Somali ancestors is held to have come from Arabia 4. According to tradition he settled first in Harar (Adari), from where he travelled to the Upper Jubba; from there his descendants migrated until they eventually reached their present site. Notable among the 'Noble' lineage groups are the Gobroon, since one of their members is the titular head of the entire Geledi community, the Sheikh or Sultan. The office has passed in the same dynasty from father to son since the 18th century AD, and still continues. The second category I shall, following Bernhardt Helder, call 'Commoners'. This indicates quite well their relationship to the 'Nobles', though it must not be taken as implying a feudal structure; there were no landlords or tenants in traditional Geledi society. They are clearly distinct ethnically from the Nobles, and at least partly descended from former slaves. The question of their origin and identity is one to which I shall return below.

There is no intermarriage between Nobles and Commoners; as far as I know this still applies. Nevertheless, the position of the Commoners has changed over the last 20 years. With a more commercial society, and opportunities in businesses such as shopkeeping and garages, instead of the old farming economy, economic barriers have broken down, and a majority of Commoners have become wealthy by local standards. The socialist Government's emphasis on equality of all Somalis had helped to change their ideas and those of others. The mayor of Afgooye in 1989 - the only

---

3. I give Geledi proper names in the form they take in the 'Maay' dialect spoken by that community, with the standard Somali form for comparison.
4. He is said to have married Aasha, daughter of Aleemo (Caleemo), son of Maxamed (Maad) Raxanweyn, son of Digil, descendent of the ancestor Sab.

---

one of the official local hierarchy to come from the town itself - belonged to this category. This is symptomatic of the governement policy of advancing members of low-status groups, which can be seen either as an ideologically sound policy of positive discrimination, or as a way of buying support.

One group of people, while strictly speaking part of the Bilis category, are distinct from the other Nobles. These are the Gibil-Caad or 'Lightskin' lineages - descendents of Arab immigrants to Somalia between the 13th and 16th centuries AD 5. They are regarded as men of religion, and as such they hold a special place in traditional society. They are mainly represented in Afgooye by the Adawin lineages group, of which I shall have more to say below. The other Nobles are, if the distinction needs to be made, referred to as Gibil Madhoo, 'Lightskin'.

Cutting across these categories is the division into two moieties: Tolwine and Yeabdaale. For the Darkskin Nobles, the division is expressed in their genealogy, the two groups claiming descent from two brothers, Warrantable and Wariile, great-grandsons of Umur Diine. Lightskin and Commoner groups belong to their respective moieties by alliance with these descent groups and by residence, for the division is for practical purposes a geographical one. The main settlement of the Tolwine lineages is Eelqode (Ceelqode) village; that of the Yebedaale is Balguri; the two villages are near each other and in effect districts of Geledi town. The moiety distinction has no political significance, but has a ritual one in that the two groups hold their main ceremonies separately 6.

This collection of lineage groups forms the 'Geledi Community'. They are united in terms of customary law (traditionally paying diya in common), and in all giving allegiance to one politico-religious head, the Sheikh/Sultan. To them are allied the Wadada, who are also divided into a Noble and Commoner stratum, but do not include any Lightskin component.

TRADITIONAL OUTLOOK AND MODERN INFLUENCES

This traditional society and its outlook survives today, but under pressure from modern influences. Prominent among these is

6. The Tolwine-Yebedaale division is the basis for the line-up in the famous Afgooye 'stick fight', with the Wadada forming part of the Yebedaale side.
nationalism and the Somali state. All are officially encouraged to regard themselves as members of the Somali nation and that alone. Overt adherence to clan and lineage, or even the mention of them, is stigmatised as 'tribalism' and may be considered subversive. This is in spite — of perhaps rather because — of the notorious fact that clan ties are the main factor in the modern political scene — a scene where the once powerful Geledi and the southern clans generally have become very minor actors.

CONTEXTS OF THE PAST

Before giving some examples of the traditions of the Geledi past, I will distinguish three ways of telling about the past, or rather contexts within which the past is recounted.

Geledi-Afgoooye society, like Somali traditional society generally, has no professional chroniclers or remembrancers with the specific task of preserving traditions of the past, and no occasion set aside for reciting such traditions. Nevertheless, these traditions are preserved and recounted informally, generally within the lineage group. My first context is therefore simply 'oral tradition' in its most basic of certain individuals who are acknowledged to be particularly expert — 'If you want to know about the old times, you should ask so-and-so'.

The second context is the praise-singing or chanting which is customary on ceremonial occasions. This takes the form of improvised recitations known as gabay or chanted couplets called shirib. Though anyone may compose gabay or shirib, they are recited particularly by professionals known as laashin. These men are always from the Commoner category, and chant the praises of their Noble patrons, as well as commenting on the affairs of the whole community.

They do not tell the story of the past, however, for gabay and shirib are not narrative forms. ( Narrative verse is rare in Somali tradition). Rather, allusions to historical and legendary events are used, mixed with contemporary references, to praise an individual or a group, or to comment on current events. A good laashin therefore must have his mind well stocked with lore about the past. But he uses it as a store of allusions, a fact which may well encourage vagueness about chronology. These men are not historians, and if they give a prose explanation of the traditions they draw on, this is only a commentary on their art.

Both the informal recounting of tradition in the family and lineage context, and its use as allusion and example by the laashin, belong to traditional culture. The third context within which the past is recounted belongs to the modern world. As part of the general drive to record Somali history and culture, which has become especially marked since the introduction of the national script in 1972, several individuals have recently written histories of Geledi-Afgoooye. With one possible exception these have taken the form of theses by students of the National University and the Teachers Training College. To my knowledge there are five of these theses, three of which I have consulted. They are written in Somali, in one case with an Italian version also. (One of the two that I have not consulted is in Arabic). They draw both on oral traditions, and already published sources, such as the work of the Italian Barille dating from the 1930s, and Cassanelli's 'The Shaping of Somali Society'. One has my own thesis in its bibliography. They are therefore not to be taken as primary evidence of oral tradition — a certain incestuousness has set in. Also, these works draw heavily on one another. Altogether, their textual history is complicated.

DIVERGENT TRADITIONS

The Geledi/Wacdaan community was a unity in diversity, an alliance of sub-groups who in spite of tensions kept the peace, often by not raising awkward questions. In their collective myth, they could agree on the broad outlines, and agreed to differ about other elements. I now examine, through three examples out of Geledi/Wacdaan tradition, how its varying versions reflects the position of the tellers, in terms both of the traditional socio-political structure, and of present day influences. Finally I give an example of conflict between an individual and the state over the recounting of the past.

7. Quite distinct from the gabay of northern Somalia.

8. The exception is a book of which I was told by Geledi friends. However, when I spoke to the alleged author, he denied ever having written it. My friends, when I reported this, said that clearly he was suppressing it for fear of getting into trouble through accusations of 'tribalism'. I am still not sure what the truth of the case is; but in any case, their assumption that he was hiding what he had written, and the reason, is instructive.

My first example is a legendary episode relating to the early history of Geledi. It illustrates the different points of view of the Lightskin versus Darkskin (Gibil Madhow) Nobles, and ambiguous position of the Gobroon ruling lineage. The situation of the Gobroon in the Geledi moiety system is slightly odd, for whereas the other lineages trace their descent from two sons of Umur Diine's grandson Subuge, the Tolwiine from Warrantable, and the Yebedaale from Wariile, the Gobroon derive themselves from a third son, Yeraw. They do not therefore belong to either moiety by descent, but only by incorporation — the implications of this will be explored below.

The first version of the story is a summary of the account given me by laashin Abukar Usmann in 1967.

The dynasty of the Gobroon Sheikhs were set in their place by the Abikerow lineage, who as the wealthiest and most powerful have the duty to choose and maintain the culumo, the men of religion. This is how it came about:

The Gobroon at first belonged to the Yebedaale moiety, and settled in their village of Balguri. At that time the Tolwiine settlement at Eelqode never saw the sun, for it was hidden by a thick mist, though the sun shone normally over Balguri. Members of the Adawiin — the Lightskin lineage who are also culumo, men of religion — performed a divination and from it perceived that the good fortune for the Tolwiine village could only be brought by Aalin (Caalin) Warre, son of Warre Aaxmed, head of the Gobroon, who was then a young boy.

Now the boys of Eelqode challenged those of Balguri to a game of ool-oal, a kind of prisoners base, on the empty ground on the river bank between the two settlements. The young Aalin joined in with the rest — he was thus outside his home village and unprotected. Abukar Umar, head of the Abikerow lineage, ordered two of his slaves to wait by the Eelqode goal, grab hold of Aalin, and bring him to Eelqode village. They did, and after the making of a peace-offering, samseeni, to the other side, the arrangement was accepted. The young Aalin took up residence in Eelqode and was

made their Sheikh. With that, the sun rose over the Tolwiine settlement.

This story both validates the claim of the Gobroon dynasty to its religious status, and explains its position in the Tolwiine moiety. It was the descendants of Aalin who were to lead the Geledi of both moieties together to greatness.

It also exalts the importance of the Abikerow as the kingmaking lineage; to this day it is their task to appoint each new Sultan. Their power derives largely from their being the patrons of, and supported by, the large group of commoner lineages known as Aytire — to which the informant belonged. The Abikerow also have a special relationship with the Lightskin Adawiin lineage, whose magico-religious powers are affirmed here, since it was they who made the crucial divination about the importance of the boy Aalin.

But now consider a story told by a member of that same Adawiin lineage in 1989.

The Adawiin first settled in Balguri, the village of the Yebedaale moiety, along with the (Darksin) Noble Handab lineage; together they were the first to cut the trees and make settlement. Meanwhile the Abikerow had settled at Eelqode.

However, the Abikerow were under a mysterious curse; each Saturday, several of their young men died. They feared that this curse had been put on them by another lineage, who wanted them to become reduced and powerless. A sheikh belonging to the Abikerow, in search of guidance, went into a cemetery at night to read the Koran. He heard a voice that said, "Take a young man from Balguri and make him a great Sheikh. Your protection depends on this." The Abikerow met and selected the boy they needed (my informant did not explain how, but I assume also by some form of divination), their choice fell on Xusseyn the youngest of the five sons of Adawiin. They went to the father and asked him for his son; when he asked their purpose they replied that they wanted to make him a great Sheikh. Adawiin however said that they must get the consent of the boy's brothers. They refused permission saying, 'our brother is not a slave'. On this the Abikerow decided to take the boy by force.

When the boys of the two settlements were playing a game called goono, the Adawiin sent ten strong slaves to ambush the young Xusseyn and bring him back to Eelqode. The Balguri representatives and their slaves came to rescue the boy and there

9. In Geledi, the word culumo (culuma) is used somewhat loosely to cover all men of religion. The general Somali terme wandaad is less often used in this area.

10. My informant said that he knew which lineage was the aggressor, but would not give its name for fear of arousing resentment.
was fighting. Finally, after a meeting between the Balguri elders and those of the Abikerow, a gift of 40 cows was made to the boy's father Adawin as compensation, and Xusseyn remained in Eelqode. His descendents — my informant among them — remain living there, in a special relationship with the Abikerow as 'their' sheikhs, while the other branches of the lineage live in Balguri.

Here, the story of the boy who in order to bring good fortune, is kidnapped in then course of a game and brought from Balguri to Eelqode, has quite a different significance; it explains why the Adawin live partly in one settlement and partly in the other, and validates the intimate alliance between the Adawin lineage of religious experts and their patrons, the powerful warrior lineage of the Abikerow.

What then of the Gobroon, who do not appear at all in this version? According to my Adawin informants, they only arrived later, and are not descendants of the Geledi at all, but come from the Gaal Jacel — a pastoral clan who have virtually no ties with Geledi. This assertion that the Gobroon are actually outsiders fits their rather anomalous position in the clan genealogy, in between the two moieties. But from the point of view of the Gobroon dynastic myth it is highly subversive, denying their claim to be the true, indeed leading, descendents of the ancestor Umur Dine.

While in this second version, the curse that had to be removed applied only to the Abikerow, in the first the deprivation of the sun affected the whole Tolwiene settlement, and the story implies the destiny of the Gobroon lineage to lead the whole Geledi community.

Both versions, however, emphasize the secular power of the Abikerow lineage, over against the two groups, the Adawin and Gobroon, whose power resides in their religious baraka. Underlying this is the dichotomy in Somali thought between sacred and secular power, men of religion and warriors. But whereas the Adawin have kept to the status of religious experts, the Gobroon went on to double it with secular power.

None of the three university theses mention this episode in either of its versions. Stories like this one, with its emphasis on divination and the miraculous, are absent from these modernising texts.

11. See Lewis 1965.

2. GELEDI VERSUS WACDAAN: THE OVERTHROW OF THE TYRANT

My next example illustrates the relationship between the Geledi and Wacdaan clans. It comes from a rather later stage of Geledi traditional history.

All informants agree that at the time of their settlement at Afgooye, the Geledi, like all the surrounding clans, were under the domination of a somewhat mysterious group of people known as the Silcis, whose settlement was near the site of the present Afgooye town. They are connected in some way with the Ajuran, who controlled a large part of southern Somalia up to the 17th century AD. Legend enlarges on the tyrannical rule of the Silcis, who reportedly levied heavy taxes on the people, and chose Sultan used to claim the virginity of brides before they were delivered to claim the virginity of brides before they were delivered to their husbands.

The story of how the Silcis and their Sultan were overthrown is one of the most frequently repeated in Geledi/Wacdaan traditions; it is a crucial component of the shared myth that validates their alliance. The main story line remains constant in all tellings; it is full of dramatic detail. The sultan's daughter emerges as a leading figure, a capricious female tyrant, collecting the taxes of grain backed by her two slaves — heavy characters, one supposes — either going round the town with a donkey or a camel to load the grain, or seated by the river bank on a silver stool, to exact it from anyone trying to water their animals. Seated there, she is said to have ordered the people to bring her buun, the local delicacy of fried coffee beans, and if it was not hot enough the slaves would whip them.

I give here two accounts of the climactic episode. The first is from one of the University theses; it summarises the Geledi/Gobroon tradition:

Ibrahim Adeer was the first Sultan of the Geledi. He was the first to oppose the tyranny and evil customs of the Ajuran (here the Silcis are identified with the Ajuran); before his time the Ajuran demanded tribute from both the Geledi and other peoples.

The Sultan of the Ajuran ordered that every morning each family should give his daughter a measure containing maize and fried coffee beans; if they failed to do so the family could not draw

12. The tradition is also told by Barile (1935) pp. 109-110.
water or cross the river. The girl and her slaves sat on the east bank of the river to receive the tribute.

The Geledi, unable to bear this last tax, resolved not to pay it. What is more, they decided that instead of bringing the tribute they would whip the princess, so that she would flee to her father and tell him what had happened: the Geledi intended that this should lead to confrontation. The man who was chosen to whip the princess was called Moordiname Xusseyn. As they had expected, the refusal to pay the tax led to tumult and fighting. After the man who had been chosen whipped her and drove her right up to her house, which was near the river, the Princess, weeping, chanted this verse:

'Aabow, aabow, amirimo waa ka suushay'
'Amar waa Moordiname Xusseyn'.

'O Father, O Father, your rule has fallen from you;
The ruler now is Moordiname Xusseyn'.

The Sultan Cumar Abroone, when he saw his daughter weeping, was enraged and called to arms his men, who attacked the village of Eelpode; but in this battle he was defeated, and he composed this verse, cursing them:

'Afay gooye — afcaada Allah ka gooye!'
'My mouth is cut; may Allah cut your mouth!'

i.e. they have taken my power, may Allah destroy them! The name of the district, Af-gooye 'cut mouth' comes from this verse 13.

The other account is a text given me by an elderly Wacdaan man in 1967:

The daughter of Sultan Cumar Abroone was called Fay Cumar Abroone. They brought this girl hot 'bun'...if they did not bring the 'Kurbaan' dish hot, the slaves who sat beside her beat them; they whipped the Geledi... Then the Gobroon came, the Gobroon's guard were the Wacdaan... Wacdaan made war; he attacked their town; he took away her stool from the girl and threw it in the river; he took away the whips from the slaves, and they all came back again (i.e. The Silcis and their allies) and once more they fought. The father who ruled the Silcis said: 'They have cut my mouth' — he named (the town) Af-gooye.

---


---

So in this version, the Wacdaan, who in the other account did not appear at all, become the chief actors, and the liberators of the Geledi from the common tyrant. This fits in with the view of the Wacdaan, who see themselves as the dominant partners in the military alliance. They tend in fact to consider the Geledi an unwarlike and somewhat effete lot, who, for all their magical arts, would have got nowhere without the support of their more virile allies.

What is agreed by both groups, is that during the wars which immediately followed — for the Silcis attempted a comeback, supported by other related clans — the Geledi-Wacdaan alliance was made and cemented.

3. NOBLES VERSUS COMMONERS, AND STATES HISTORY VERSUS LOCAL TRADITION: THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMONER LINEAGES

My final example is not a story, but concerns the origin of the people that I have called 'Commoners', or rather, of one particular group of lineages falling within that category. Diverse views reflect the interest of the Commoners themselves and the Nobles. An episode which arose out of the controversy demonstrates the attitude of the modern state to history.

There is in fact an obscurity about the origins of these people. As I mentioned above, there was a large imported slave population in southern Somalia in the 19th century, and traditions (such as the story of the Sultan's daughter given above) suggest that slavery was a part of society from a much earlier date. There is no doubt that the Commoner population derives at least in part from freed slaves. And yet local terminology distinguishes between slaves, addoon, and free commoners — xabash. Are the latter simply descendents of slaves who were freed at an early period, and so established themselves over the generations as separate lineages? This idea, first suggested by Cerulli 14, has been taken up by a number of writers. It has been disputed, however, and there is still no conclusive evidence on the subject 15. All my own efforts to get enlightenment from the people concerned themselves have so far been fruitless.

14. 1957, p. 54 ff.
I did however question one group of people directly, asking them to tell me the 'real' origin of their lineage. These were members of the Maalin Umur (Macalin Curcur) lineage of the Aytire group (see above). The Aytire have a well established and respectable position in the community, and as I have mentioned, stand in a relationship of clients-patron to the powerful Abikerow Noble lineage.

The answer these informants gave me was that they had arrived along with the Noble lineages from 'Gedo and Gesaso' — the places on the Upper Juba from which the Geledi immigration is traced. They are claiming, that is to say, the same starting point as the Nobles, if not actually the same ancestor. The name 'Aytire' they explained as being derived from *cittire* — 'wiper out of rancour' i. e. peacemaker.

On the other hand, the version of the Aytire origin accepted among the Nobles was given by the writer of the third thesis.

The Aytire were the second section of the Tolwiine. They were people who had once been slaves, but were later set free. They were given land which is known as Aytire land to this day... the meaning of 'Aytire' is 'Gaay-e' — 'wipe out shame' i. e. those whose shame (of slavery) had been wiped out. 16

The thesis was presented in June 1988. In the following month the writer was arrested on a charge of 'tribalism'. According to her own account, it was this passage which had led to her arrest. Academic documents of this kind do not normally come before the eyes of the security services, but it appears that information was laid against her, and informants of mine believed that an Aytire pressure group in Afgooye was responsible.

The content of the accusation was however quite different from the motives behind it. The authorities were not interested in the Aytire or their origins. She was accused of 'tribalism', a charge supported by the number of clan and lineage names that appear in her work. What made her situation worse, from the Government point of view, was that her supervisor at the University came from the North — i. e. he was a member of the northern Isaaq clan family among others, accepts that they did. A few Bantu-derived words support the theory.

questioning the contradictory views of their neighbours, even though they interacted with them constantly. This reflects a polity in which diverse groups were held together by their common interests, without any need to impose a monolithic unity. It contrasts with the recent situation in the modern state, in which a centralised power maintaining itself by force is compelled to propagate a vision of a unified past, and suppress as subversive any divergent views.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


MODÈLE DE REPRÉSENTATIONS
OU REPRÉSENTATIONS DE MODÈLES?

PROBLÈMES ET ENJEUX DES ÉTUDES DE PARENTÉ SOMALIE

Marcel DJAMA

Dans cette communication on se propose de présenter un parcours de recherche qui a pour finalité la construction d'un modèle d'analyse de l'impact sur l'organisation sociale de communautés du nord-ouest de la Somalie, des changements techno-économiques survenus dans cette région au début de ce siècle. Au cours de la décennie 1920/30, des communautés villageoises se sont constituées dans une zone qui s'étend du nord des provinces de Awdal et Woqooyi Galbeed en République de Somalie, à la plaine de l'Hirgiga, en Ethiopie. Les rares travaux qui ont abordé l'étude des populations de ces régions, font référence au processus de sédentarisation, mais avancent des hypothèses divergentes quant aux facteurs à son origine. Lewis (1961 : 90), propose une hypothèse diffusionniste qui fait une large place au rôle des communautés religieuses somalies et au transfert des technologies agricoles qu'ils opèrent à partir de leur voisin Oromo. Un autre auteur, Samatar (1985 : 22), réfute cette hypothèse et fait intervenir trois autres facteurs combinant les effets de sécheresses particulièrement dures, l'apparition de marchés locaux suite au développement du commerce de bétail et l'impact des razzias conduites par les troupes abyssines qui ont pu rendre inaccessibles aux pasteurs leurs pâturages traditionnels.

En relation avec ce processus, nous avons fait l'hypothèse que ces transformations d'ordre techno-économique n'étaient pas sans influence sur la sphère de l'organisation sociale; qu'elles supposaient un réaménagement des rapports sociaux lignagers — tels qu'ils sont définis dans le cadre d'une étude des pasteurs du nord de la Somalie — en une formule dans laquelle dominent les liens communaux produits dans le contexte de la sédentarisation.