

My descriptive statement of the operative intensive extension is as follows:

INTENSIVE

-(I)V

emphasis, expressed in English as 'to do emphatically' the action of the verb stem.

e.g. *Siku moja aliinulia kiti.*
One day he *did* pick up the chair.

-(V)IV

intensity, expressed in English as 'to really do' the action of a verb stem used transitively (plus object).

e.g. *Anapigilia msumari mpaka ndani.*
He is *hammering* the nail in (i.e. beating intensively).

-(V)IV

emphatic intensity, expressed in English as 'to really do emphatically' the action of the verb || stem ____ plus inflectional suffix *plus mbali*.

e.g. *Tuliuliza mabwana kuliachilia mbali shauri lao.*
We asked the men to really *leave off* their plan (i.e. to forget it for once and for all).

2.8 Conclusion

Given these descriptions, an extended verb, containing one of these suffixes || simple or fixed stem ____ plus inflectional suffix (i.e. final vowel), actually occurring in the language, can generally be analysed in terms of what effect the operative extension morpheme has on the sense of the verb stem. A verb stem containing a suffix appropriate in form to one described but violating the syntactic and function/meaning requirements is probably an instance of a fixed stem and is best treated as a simple stem itself capable of extension. More data are needed to adequately describe the instances of compound operative extension on simple and fixed stems mentioned in this paper.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON HYBRID VERBS IN SOMALI

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INTRODUCTION

The term 'hybrid verbs' which is employed in this article covers what has been regarded by some authors as two separate word classes, namely: (a) adjectives and (b) combinations of adjectives with the strong verb *yahay* 'to be'.

Hunter,¹ Larajasse and Sampont, da Palermo, Kirk, Barry, Bell and Moreño all share this divisive approach. Schleicher and Reinisch go even further and do not recognize the unitary nature of the combinations of adjectives with forms of the verb *yahay*, but treat them as sequences of separate words, except in the case of forms with the terminations *a*,² *i* and *ya* which Reinisch describes as 'suffixed relative particles'.

The term 'hybrid verbs', not used by other authors, is introduced here not merely for the sake of innovation. It aims at emphasizing two points: firstly that the forms of the word class to which the term refers, though composite in their structure, are of unitary nature and must be regarded as members of one class, and secondly, that this word class is an integral part of the Somali verbal system.

The approach adopted in this article, in spite of differences in terminology, is a development of the formulations of the German linguist Tiling-Klingenheben in her memorable article 'Adjektive im Somali'. She was the first investigator to recognize the existence of this word-class and she extended the term 'adjective' to include what she regarded as combinations of adjectives with forms of the verb *yahay*.

R. C. Abraham, in the grammar section of his *Somali-English dictionary*, on pp. 289-296, provides a description of these 'verbals' that of von Tiling-Klingenheben. He demonstrates convincingly and lucidly that Somali 'adjectives' are comparable to verbal forms and occupy the same syntactic positions.

The aim of this article is to describe some of the essential characteristics of hybrid verbs which have so far either not been given enough attention or require further clarification.

The transcription used throughout this article is the same as in Galaal's *Hikmad Soomaali* and my *The declensions of Somali nouns*. All the detailed descriptive statements refer to Somali as spoken in the Northern Region of the Somali Republic (i.e. Hargeisa and Burao governorates). With some minor modifications, however, they are applicable to the whole dialect group described as

¹ Details of all works mentioned throughout this article are given in the Bibliography, p. 88. For further references to literature on Somali see Johnson, 'A bibliography of Somali language and literature'.

² i.e. *aa*; Reinisch does not mark the length of the vowel in this case.

Common Somali.³ The approach adopted here could profitably be extended to the remaining dialects also.

THE STRONG VERB *yāhay*

It is necessary, as a preliminary step to the description of hybrid verbs, to give an account of the verb *yāhay* 'to be'. In the literature on Somali some divergence exists in the choice of the representative form of this verb, i.e. the form which would subsume all its individual forms in the way that in English grammars and dictionaries 'be' stands for 'am', 'is', 'was', 'were', etc. In the present article, as in the notes to *Hikmad Soomaali*, the 3rd person singular masculine of the present extensive paradigm is used as the representative form of this verb.

The verb *yāhay* can be analysed into three components: prefix—root—termination.

The prefixes are: *y*, *t* and \emptyset (zero, i.e. the absence of a prefix).

Its root is an alternating one, the alternants being *a* ~ *ah* ~ *Vh* ~ *ya* ~ *yah* ~ *yVh*, where *V* represents a short vowel of the same quality as the vowel which immediately follows the consonant *h*.

Its terminations are: *a*, *aa*, *aaʔeen*, *ay*, *ayd*, *aydeen*, *ayn*, *ayni*, *i*, *id*, *idin*, *in*, *iin* and \emptyset (zero, i.e. the absence of a termination).

The forms of this verb are listed in Table I and are arranged into paradigms. Hyphens are employed to divide components of each individual form.

TABLE I

MAIN POSITIVE PARADIGMS

	Present extensive ^a	Present restrictive
1 sg.	ah-ay	} <i>á</i> ~ <i>Vh</i> (<i>áh</i>) ~ <i>yá</i> ~ <i>yVh</i> (<i>yáh</i>) (prefix \emptyset , termination \emptyset)
2 sg.	t-ah-ay	
3 sg. m.	y-ah-ay	
3 sg. f.	t-ah-ay	
1 pl.	n-ah-ay	
2 pl.	t-jh-iin	
3 pl.	y-jh-iin	
	Past extensive	Past restrictive
1 sg.	ah-aa	ah-aa
2 sg.	ah-ayd	ah-aa
3 sg. m.	ah-aa	ah-aa
3 sg. f.	ah-ayd	ah-ayd
1 pl.	ah-ayn	ah-ayn
2 pl.	ah-aydeen	ah-aa
3 pl.	ah-aaʔeen	ah-aa

^a For a brief account of dialect divisions see Andrzejewski and Lewis, *Somali poetry: An introduction*, pp. 37-38.

^b For an explanation of the terms 'extensive', 'restrictive', 'divergent', 'convergent', 'present-past', 'A' and 'B' see Andrzejewski, 'Inflectional characteristics of the so-called "weak verbs" in Somali'.

MAIN NEGATIVE PARADIGMS

Negative present

1 sg.	ih-i
2 sg.	ih-id
3 sg. m.	ah-á
3 sg. f.	ah-á
1 pl.	ih-in
2 pl.	ih-idin
3 pl.	ah-á

Negative present-past

All persons ah-ayn

DEPENDENT POSITIVE PARADIGMS

Present divergent A

Present convergent A

1 sg.	ah-ay	} <i>á</i> ~ <i>Vh</i> (<i>áh</i>) ~ <i>yá</i> ~ <i>yVh</i> (<i>yáh</i>) (prefix \emptyset , termination \emptyset)
2 sg.	t-ah-ay	
3 sg. m.	y-ah-ay	
3 sg. f.	t-ah-ay	
1 pl.	n-ah-ay	
2 pl.	t-jh-iin	
3 pl.	y-jh-iin	

Present divergent B

Present convergent B

1 sg.	ah-ay	} ih-i (ii) ~ yih-i (yii) ^a
2 sg.	t-ah-ay	
3 sg. m.	y-ah-ay	
3 sg. f.	t-ah-ay	
1 pl.	n-ah-ay	
2 pl.	t-jh-iin	
3 pl.	y-jh-iin	

Past divergent A

Past convergent A

1 sg.	ah-aa	ah-aa
2 sg.	ah-ayd	ah-aa
3 sg. m.	ah-aa	ah-aa
3 sg. f.	ah-ayd	ah-ayd
1 pl.	ah-ayn	ah-ayn
2 pl.	ah-aydeen	ah-aa
3 pl.	ah-aaʔeen	ah-aa

Past divergent B

Past convergent B

1 sg.	ah-aa	ah-aa
2 sg.	ah-ayd	ah-aa
3 sg. m.	ah-aa	ah-aa
3 sg. f.	ah-ayd	ah-ayd
1 pl.	ah-ayn	ah-ayn
2 pl.	ah-aydeen	ah-aa
3 pl.	ah-aaʔeen	ah-aa

^a Note that forms with certain terminations always have vowels of the 'front series'. For the definition and the system of marking of these 'harmonic groups' see Andrzejewski, 'The problem of vowel representation in the Isaaq dialect of Somali'. Such forms are marked here with a cedilla under the first vowel letter.

^b *ii* and *yii* are forms in which the root and the termination are combined in one syllable.

NEGATIVE DEPENDENT PARADIGMS

	Negative present-past dependent A	Negative present-past dependent B
All persons	ah-āyn	ah-ayni

In forms which have the terminations other than # the root always has the alternant Vh, except in the present convergent B. In those forms which have the termination # the distribution of alternants is as follows :⁷

- ā and yVh (yāh) occur when preceded immediately, without a pause intervening, by any word ending in i, ii or ee.
- ā and Vh (āh) occur when preceded by a pause or when preceded immediately, without a pause intervening, by any word which does not fulfil the conditions specified under (a).
- yVh (yāh) and Vh (āh) occur only when they are followed immediately, without a pause intervening, by the conjunction e (ee), iyo or oo.
- ya and ā occur when they are followed by a pause or when they are followed immediately, without a pause intervening, by any word other than the conjunctions specified under (c).

In the present convergent B forms the root has either the alternant Vh or yVh. Vh occurs under the conditions described under (b) above and yVh under the conditions described under (a).

Note that the semivowel y which occurs in the forms of the verb yāhay is not a prefix and is viewed here as part of the root. It might, alternatively, be regarded as a liaison consonant between the preceding word and the verbal form in question. This alternative treatment could also be applied to the final consonant h.

The verb yāhay belongs to the same group as the four 'irregular verbs' listed by Bell in § 33 of his book. They are all characterized by Semitic-like prefixes in some of their tenses. Following Reinisch's terminology I propose to use the term 'strong verbs' for this group and give them the code letters STR. See also Galaal, *Hikmad Soomaali*, p. 62.

Some examples of the forms of the verb yāhay are given here in the section 'Illustrative Sentences'.⁸

⁷ In the introduction to Galaal's *Hikmad Soomaali* (p. 17) a convention is introduced by which all the forms of the verb yāhay which have the termination # are uniformly written with the final letter h. This letter is then interpreted either as the final consonant h or its absence, according to the rules of distribution given here. The advantage of such a convention, which I have used in my other publications, lies in not limiting the text to one particular utterance with fixed places for pauses. Note that in *Hikmad Soomaali* the evg. A and B forms of yāhay are treated as forms of the 'irregular adjective ah' (p. 17) and those of the pres. res. and 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of pres. comp. as the 'II paradigm of the present tense, 4th conjugation' (p. 82).
⁸ pp. 80 ff.

TERMINATIONS OF HYBRID VERBS

Forms of hybrid verbs, like those of weak verbs,⁹ have three components, root—root extension—termination, which always occur in that order. It is, however, more convenient to begin a detailed description of hybrid verbs with an account of their terminations.

There is a close relationship between the terminations of hybrid verbs and the forms of the verb yāhay. It can be described as follows :

The terminations of hybrid verbs are identical with those of the verb yāhay in all the corresponding paradigms other than the present extensive, present divergent A and present divergent B, e.g.

Wuu wanaagsan-aa.	He was good. (3 sg. m. past extensive)
Way wanaagsan-aa'een.	They were good. (3 pl. past extensive)
Mā wanaagsan-ā.	He is not good. (Negative present)
Mā wanaagsan-āyn.	He was not good. (Negative past)
Nin wanaagsan.	A man who is good. (Present convergent A ; termination #)

In the present extensive, present divergent A and present divergent B paradigms the terminations of hybrid verbs closely resemble the *whole* forms of the corresponding paradigms of the verb yāhay, e.g.

Wuu wanaagsan-yāhay.	He is good. (3 sg. m. present extensive)
Shuqulkaad kú wanaagsan-taháy iigá warran !	Tell me about the job you are good at ! (2 sg. present divergent A)
Shuqulkay kú wanaagsan-yihiin waa maháy ?	What is the job they are good at ? (3 pl. present divergent B)

There are, however, the following differences between them :

- In the terminations of hybrid verbs which resemble those forms of the verb yāhay which begin with the prefix t, the initial consonant consists of a set of alternants t ~ d ~ ḍ ~ sh whose distribution is automatic and determined by the final consonant, semivowel or vowel of the immediately preceding component (root or root extension).
- In the terminations of hybrid verbs which resemble those forms of the verb yāhay which begin with the prefix n, the initial consonant consists of a set of alternants n ~ l (n) ~ r (n) whose distribution is automatic and determined by the final consonant, semivowel or vowel of the immediately preceding component (root or root extension).

⁹ For an account of weak verbs see Andrzejewski, 'Inflectional characteristics . . .'. The code letters for identifying root extension classes of the weak verbs quoted here are the same as in that article.

It is convenient for further description to refer to the sets $t \sim d \sim q \sim sh$ and $n \sim l(n) \sim r(n)$ as sets t^* and n^* respectively, on account of their similarity to the t^* and n^* links in weak verbs.¹⁰

The distribution of these two sets is given in Table II.

TABLE II

Set	The final consonant, semivowel or vowel of the immediately preceding component	The consonant of the set
t^*	b, g, n, r, s	t
	'd, w or a vowel other than those which occur with sh (see below)	d
	q	q
	a vowel which belongs to an alternating root in which one alternant ends in the consonant l and the other, while otherwise identical in shape, does not have the final consonant l, e.g. kulul ~ kulu (See the section 'Roots')	sh
n^*	any semivowel or vowel, any consonant other than r or l	n
	r	r(n)
	l	l(n)

Note that all root extensions except extension # (zero) end in the consonant n. No roots with the extension # have been found which end in sounds other than those listed in the table above. It seems likely that if new roots are introduced through borrowing or innovation the distribution of the alternants in sets t^* and n^* will follow the same pattern as in the links t^* and n^* in weak verbs.

The distribution of the alternants within the sets t^* and n^* in the terminations of hybrid verbs is illustrated in the examples below:

Way 'usúb-tahay.	It is new.
Way adág-tahay.	It is hard.
Way maqán-tahay.	It is empty.
Way qéér-tahay.	It is long.
Way 'ulús-tahay.	It is heavy.
Way lá'-dahay.	She is without it.
Way tudúd-dahay.	It is light.
Way qabów-dahay.	It is cold.

¹⁰ For a description of these links see Andrzejewski, 'Inflectional characteristics ...'.

Way lée-dahay.

She has it.

Way qəqəaq-dahay.

It is bitter.

Way bist-shahay.

It is ripe. (The alternance in this root can be seen from comparison with such forms as :
Way bisil-yihiin. They are ripe.)

Waannu óg-nahay.

We are aware of it.

Waannu ú qəw-nahay.

We are near to it.

Waannu { yaryár-rahay.
(yaryár-nahay).

We are small.

Waannu { qəgól-lahay.
(qəgól-nahay).

We are in agreement with it.

The terminations of hybrid verbs which correspond to those of the present extensive, present divergent A and present divergent B of the verb yəhay have optional variants used in less deliberate style of pronunciation. They are :

	Present extensive	Present divergent A	Present divergent B
1 sg.	ay	áy	ay
2 sg.	t [*] ay	t [*] áy	t [*] ay
3 sg. m.	yəy (yáy)	yəy (yáy)	yəy (yáy)
3 sg. f.	t [*] ay	t [*] áy	t [*] ay
1 pl.	n [*] ay	n [*] áy	n [*] ay
2 pl.	t [*] jin	t [*] jin	t [*] jin
3 pl.	yjin	yjin	yjin

E.g.

Wuu { wənaagsán-yəy.
(wənaagsán-yáy).
Way wənaagsán-tay.

He is good.

(Instead of Wuu wənaagsán-yəhay.)

She is good.

(Instead of Way wənaagsán-tahay.)

Way wənaagsán-yjin.

They are good.

(Instead of Way wənaagsán-yihiin.)

Way nõo-shay.

She is alive.

(Instead of Way nõo-shahay.)

Way nõol-yjin.

They are alive.

(Instead of Way nõol-yihiin.)

There are four tenses of hybrid verbs which do not correspond to any of the tenses of the verb yəhay. They are : present comparative, past comparative, present exclamatory and past exclamatory. Their terminations, however, which are listed below, show close resemblances to those found in the verb yəhay.

	<i>Present comparative</i> ¹¹	<i>Past comparative</i>
1 sg.	i	aa
2 sg.	id	ayd
3 sg. m.	#	aa
3 sg. f.	#	ayd
1 pl.	in	ayn
2 pl.	idin	aydé (aydeen)
3 pl.	#	aaýé (aaýeen)

	<i>Present exclamatory</i>	<i>Past exclamatory</i>
1 sg.	iýaa (iýee)	aaýaa (aaýee)
2 sg.	idaa (idee)	aaýdaa (aydee)
3 sg. m.	aa	aaýaa (aaýee)
3 sg. f.	aa	aydaa (aydee)
1 pl.	inaa	aynaa (aynee)
2 pl.	idinaa (idiin, idaan, ideen)	aydá'aa (aydeen)
3 pl.	aa	aaýá'aa (aaýeen)

Terminations of hybrid verbs, like those of weak verbs, function as exponents of pronominal reference and tense. The designations 1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f., 1 pl., 2 pl. and 3 pl. refer to the potentialities of concord with the substantive pronouns (Bell's 'emphatic pronouns'), which are described in detail in my article 'Notes on the substantive pronouns in Somali'. The term 'tense' subsumes both 'tense' and 'mood', as in my article 'Inflectional characteristics in so-called weak verbs in Somali'. In hybrid verbs the following tenses are found:

present extensive	(abbreviated to)	pres. ext.
past extensive	" "	past ext.
present restrictive	" "	pres. res.
past restrictive	" "	past res.
present comparative	" "	pres. comp.
past comparative	" "	past comp.
present exclamatory	" "	pres. exclam.
past exclamatory	" "	past exclam.
negative present	" "	neg. pres.
negative present-past	" "	neg. pres.-past
present divergent A	" "	pres. dvg. A
present divergent B	" "	pres. dvg. B
past divergent A	" "	past dvg. A
past divergent B	" "	past dvg. B

¹¹ Note that 1 sg., 2 sg., 1 pl. and 2 pl. of pres. comp. always have vowels of the 'front series'; see note 5.

present convergent A (abbreviated to)	pres. cvg. A
present convergent B	" " pres. cvg. B
past convergent A	" " past cvg. A
past convergent B	" " past cvg. B
negative present-past dependent A	" " neg. pres.-past dep. A
negative present-past dependent B	" " neg. pres.-past dep. B

In their functions and syntactic positions all the tenses of hybrid verbs other than comparative and exclamatory are identical with the corresponding tenses of weak verbs. The only modification which this statement requires is that in weak verbs there is no distinction between general and continuous tenses. All hybrid verbs refer to states or activities which are viewed as having duration, whose length, recurrence or absence of recurrence can only be inferred from the context. For further discussion of this point see the section 'Notional associations of hybrid verbs' below.

The present comparative and past comparative tenses have been described in my article 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms. . .', p. 129. Their main characteristics are that their forms occur mainly in sentences involving comparison¹² and that they are not preceded by the indicators *baa* (ayaa, yaa), *miyaa*, *ma* (interrogative), *ma* (negative) or *waa*.

Forms of the exclamatory tenses¹³ are used in sentences which convey the notion of great astonishment, surprise, enthusiastic approval, strong disapproval, etc. Like those of comparative tenses, forms of exclamatory tenses are not preceded by the indicators mentioned above.

Forms of comparative and exclamatory tenses are very rare, except for the 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of the present comparative which occur in a number of commonly used proverbs, and the same persons of the present exclamatory can be heard in animated conversations.

Throughout this article the pres. res. forms of hybrid verbs are used as their 'representative forms'.

For the purpose of further description terminations are classified into the following groups:

1. Terminations beginning with *y*, *t** or *n** or consisting of *#*, and the termination *aa* of the 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of the pres. exclam.

¹² Forms of these tenses sometimes occur in sentences not involving comparison; the most common example is the verb *mahadsán* (SAN') 'to be thanked', which occurs in modern usage in the 2 sg. and 2 pl. pres. comp., when thanking a person.

¹³ In my notes on *Hikmad Soomaali* (N11/5A, pp. 81-2) I have treated forms of the pres. res., pres. comp. and pres. exclam. as the 'II present tense paradigm, 4th conjugation', a classification which is now to be replaced by the present one.

- II. Terminations which begin with or consist of a vowel, except those enumerated in I above or in III below.
- III. The terminations *ahay* (1 sg. pres. ext.), *aháy* (1 sg. pres. dvg. B) and *ahay* (1 sg. pres. dvg. B), and the termination *i* of the pres. cvg. B.

ROOT EXTENSIONS

Root extensions in hybrid verbs, like those in weak verbs, consist of affixes which occur immediately after the root. They are associated with certain types of meaning which are explained in the section 'Notional associations of hybrid verbs'.

Some root extensions are stable, i.e. they have the same shape under all conditions, e.g. the extension *oon* in the hybrid verb *nabdoon* 'to be at peace':

Wuu nabd-oon-yahay. He is at peace.
Wuu nabd-oon-aa. He was at peace.

Others have alternances, i.e. they consist of sets of alternants the distribution of which, as in weak verbs, is determined by the characteristics of the terminations and roots with which they occur. Consider for example the distribution of the alternants *an ~ n ~ l (n) ~ r (n)* of the same root extension.

Way dabr-an-yihiin. They are hobbled.
Way dabr-an-aaheen. They were hobbled.
Way hiq-an-yihiin. They are tied.
Way hiq-n-aaheen. They were tied.
Way dabool-an-yihiin. They are covered.
Way dabool-l-aaheen. They were covered.
 .. (dabool-n-aaheen). " "
Way fur-an-yihiin. They are opened.
Way fur-r-aaheen. They were opened.
 .. (fur-n-aaheen). " "

It is convenient to refer to root extensions of hybrid verbs by capital code letters as was done in the case of weak verbs in my article 'Inflectional characteristics'. Such code letters stand for all the alternants and optional variants of each root extension.

To distinguish the code letters which refer to root extensions of hybrid verbs from those which refer to the root extensions of weak verbs, the former are marked with the sign ', while the latter are not. When root extensions are regarded as combinations of two or more root extensions they are divided by oblique strokes. In such groups the component root extensions not marked with the sign ' are assumed to be identical with the corresponding extensions of weak verbs.

The root extensions of hybrid verbs are listed below. Alternants of the same root extension are divided by the alternance sign ~ and optional variants are

placed in brackets. The letter R represents a consonant which is identical with the last consonant of the root, so that reduplication of that consonant occurs at the junction between the root and the extension. Verbs with the same root extension will be said to be of the same extension class.

Code letters	Root extension
Z'	# i.e. zero (absence of affix)
AN'	<i>an ~ n ~ l (n) ~ r (n)</i>
R-AN'	R- <i>an</i>
SAN'	<i>san ~ shan ~ sn</i>
AAN'	<i>aan</i>
OON'	<i>oon</i>
SOON'	<i>soon ~ shoon</i>
TOON'	<i>toon</i>
R-OON'	R- <i>oon</i>
IN/SAN'	<i>isan ~ isn</i>
AYN/SAN'	<i>aysan ~ aysn</i>
Z'/AYN/SAN'	<i>aysan ~ aysn</i>
SIIN/SAN'	<i>siisan ~ siisn</i>

TABLE III

Root extension	Distribution of alternants					
	I		II		III	
AN'	<i>an</i>	[I] [III] [IV] [V]	<i>an</i> <i>n</i> <i>l (n)</i> <i>r (n)</i>	[II] [III] [IV] [V]	<i>an</i> <i>n (an)</i> <i>l (n) (an)</i> <i>r (n) (an)</i>	
SAN'	[VIII] [VII]	<i>I</i> <i>san</i> <i>shan</i>	[II] [VI] [VII]	<i>san</i> <i>sn</i> <i>shan</i>	[III] [VI] [VII]	<i>san</i> <i>sn (san)</i> <i>shan</i>
SOON'			[VIII] [VII]	<i>I-III</i> <i>soon</i> <i>shoon</i>		
IN/SAN'	I <i>isan</i>		II <i>isn</i>		III <i>isan (isan)</i>	
AYN/SAN'	I <i>aysan</i>		II <i>aysn</i>		III <i>aysn (aysan)</i>	
Z'/AYN/SAN'	I <i>aysan</i>		II <i>aysn</i>		III <i>aysn (aysan)</i>	
SIIN/SAN'	I <i>siisan</i>		II <i>siisn</i>		III <i>siisan (siisan)</i>	

The distribution of alternants within root extensions is described here (in Table III) by reference to the type of termination and the type of the root with which a particular extension alternant occurs. For this purpose roman figures are used: those placed *above* a particular alternant refer to the type of termination, as classified at the end of the section 'Terminations' above, while those placed in square brackets *before* the particular alternant refer to the type of root, as classified at the end of the section 'Roots' below. The absence of a roman figure before a particular root extension alternant implies that the characteristics of the root are irrelevant to the alternant.

In the examples below the alternants of root extensions are separated by hyphens from roots and terminations.

AN'

Wuu qoy-án-yəhay.	He is wet.
Wuu qoy-an-aa.	He was wet.
Waan qoy-án-ahay.	I am wet.
<hr/>	
Wuu gaab-án-yəhay.	He is short.
Wuu gaab-n-aa.	He was short.
Waan { gaab-n-ahay. (gaab-án-ahay).	I am short.
<hr/>	
Wuu kú fil-án-yəhay.	He is sufficient for it (i.e. he is up to it).
Wuu kú { fil-l-aa. (fil-n-aa).	He was sufficient for it (i.e. he was up to it).
Waan kú { fil-l-ahay. (fil-n-ahay). (fil-án-ahay).	I am sufficient for it (i.e. I am up to it).
<hr/>	
Wuu lur-án-yəhay.	He is troubled.
Wuu { lur-r-aa. (lur-n-aa).	He was troubled.
Waan { lur-r-ahay. (lur-n-ahay). (lur-án-ahay).	I am troubled.
<hr/>	
SAN'	
Wuu wəreer-sán-yəhay.	He is confused.
Wuu wəreer-san-aa.	He was confused.
Waan wəreer-sán-ahay.	I am confused.

Wuu duray-sán-yəhay.	He has a cold.
Wuu duray-sn-aa.	He had a cold.
Waan { duráy-sn-ahay. duray-sán-ahay.	I have a cold.
<hr/>	
Wuu aqbal-sán-yəhay.	He is in a state of assenting to it.
Wuu aqbal-san-aa.	He was in a state of assenting to it.
Waan aqbal-sán-ahay.	I am in a state of assenting to it.
<hr/>	
Wuu fuu-shán-yəhay.	He is on top of it.
Wuu fuu-shan-aa.	He was on top of it.
Waan fuu-shán-ahay.	I am on top of it.

SOON'

Wuu qg-sóon-yəhay.	He is aware of it.
Wuu qg-soon-aa.	He was aware of it.
Waan qg-sóon-ahay.	I am aware of it.
<hr/>	
Wuu ta-shóon-yəhay. ¹⁴	He is resolved.
Wuu ta-shoon-aa.	He was resolved.
Waan ta-shóon-ahay.	I am resolved.

AYN/SAN'

Wuu 'aɖay-sán-yəhay.	He is angry.
Wuu 'aɖay-sn-aa.	He was angry.
Waan { 'aɖáy-sn-ahay. 'aɖay-sán-ahay.	I am angry.

ROOTS

In their characteristics the roots of hybrid verbs closely resemble those of weak verbs. One of the main problems in describing them arises from the fact that although most of them are stable, some have alternances the distribution of which is determined by the characteristics of the immediately following component, e.g.

Wuu 'ulús-yəhay.	It is heavy.
Wuu 'usl-aa.	It was heavy.

¹⁴ The root has the derivational alternance *tal* ~ *ta*; cf. *táli* (IN) to decide, to advise. Note that the verb *tashóon* (SOONt) is very rare.

In dealing with alternances in roots of particular verbs it is important to draw a distinction between two types of alternance:

- (a) A root may have an alternance which occurs within the forms of the particular verb under observation, e.g.

Wuu qəbów-yəhay. It is cold.
Má qəboob-á. It is not cold.

- (b) It often happens, however, that while within the paradigms of the particular verb under observation the root remains stable, a comparison with other verbs, nouns or attributives reveals alternances. For example the verb *suntán* (AN') 'to be branded' has the root shape *sunt* in all its forms, but comparison with the verb *súmad* (Z) 'to brand' and the noun *sumád* (fem.) 'brand', shows the existence of the alternance *sumad* ~ *sunt*.

In the terminology of description it is useful to distinguish between these two types of alternance. The alternance of type (a) will be referred to as 'immediate alternance' and that of type (b) 'derivational alternance'.

Immediate alternances have been found only in hybrid verbs of classes Z' and AN'. Those of class Z', which are listed below, are described first.

(i)	
'ád	to be white; to be clear
qán	to be complete; to be all
ég	to be similar; to be complete
hún	to be bad
mədów	to be black
qəbów	to be cold
(ii)	
adág	to be hard; to be strong, to be difficult
(iii)	
bisil	to be ripe
je'él	to like; to love
(iv)	
nə'éb	to dislike; to hate
shís	to be fat
'utús	to be heavy
'ustúb	to be new
(v)	
nóol	to be alive
(vi)	
lá'	to lack; to be without

(vii)

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to have, to own, to be saying (something). Forms of the past ext., past res., past dvg. A and past dvg. B of this verb, when used with the infinitive of a weak or strong verb, function as auxiliary parts of a composite conditional tense, e.g. Wuu jəogi lahaa. 'He would stay.' or 'He would have stayed.'

The distribution of root alternants in these verbs depends on the types of terminations with which they occur. The rules of occurrence are so diverse and apply to so few cases in each time that it would be uneconomical to adopt the same method of statement as in the case of the distribution of root extensions. Instead, the alternants are arranged into groups (as above) and into columns which are numbered. At the bottom of each group of columns the distribution of alternants is described in detail.

(i)	
'ad	'add
qan	qamm
eg	ek
hun	hum
mədow	mədoob
qəbow	qəboob

- (1) Before terminations which do not begin with or consist of a vowel, e.g. Wuu 'ád-yəhay. 'It is white.'
(2) Before terminations which begin with or consist of a vowel, e.g. Wuu 'add-aa. 'It was white.'

(ii)		
(1)	(2)	(3)
adag	adk	adak

- (1) Before terminations which begin with y, t*, n* or consist of #, and before the termination i of the pres. cvg. B, e.g. Wuu adág-yəhay. 'It is hard.', Hádíg adag-i má go'ó. 'A strong rope does not break.'
(2) Before terminations which begin with a vowel, except for those given under (1) above and (3) below, e.g. Wuu adk-aa. 'It was hard.'
(3) Before the termination aa of the 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of the pres. exclam., e.g. Kani adák-aa ! 'O how heavy this is !'

(1)	(iii)	(3)
bisil	bisi	bisl
je'el	je'e	je'l

- (1) Before terminations which begin with *y* or *n** or consist of #, and before the termination *i* of the pres. cvg. B and the termination *aa* of the 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of the pres. exclam., e.g. *Wuu bisil-yāhay*. 'It is ripe.', *Timir bisil-i way mā'āntahay*. 'Ripe dates are sweet.', *Tani bisil-aa* ! 'O how ripe this one is !'
- (2) Before terminations which begin with *t** (which is realized then as *sh*), e.g. *Way bisl-shahay*. 'It is ripe.'
- (3) Before terminations which begin with or consist of a vowel, except for those enumerated under (1) above, e.g. *Way bisl-aayeen*. 'They were ripe.'

(1)	(2)
ne'eb	neb'
shilis	shishl
'ulus	'usl
'usub	'usb

- (1) Before terminations which begin with *y*, *t** or *n**, or consist of # ; before the termination *i* of the pres. cvg. B and the termination *aa* of the 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of the pres. exclam., e.g. *Way ne'ēb-tahay*. 'She dislikes it.', *Qóf ne'eb-i má jiró*. 'There is no person who dislikes it.', *Kani 'ulūn-aa* ! 'O how heavy this is !'
- (2) Before terminations which begin with or consist of a vowel, except for those enumerated under (1) above, e.g. *Way neb'-ayd*. 'She disliked it.'

(1)	(2)
nool	noo

- (1) Before all terminations except those which begin with *t**, e.g. *Wuu nool-yāhay*. 'He is alive.'
- (2) Before terminations which begin with *t** (then realized as *sh*), e.g. *Way nōo-shahay*. 'She is alive.'

(1)	(2)
la'	li'

- (1) Before all terminations which do not begin with or consist of the vowel *i*, e.g. *Wuu lá'-yāhay*. 'He lacks it.'
- (2) Before terminations which begin with or consist of the vowel *i*, e.g. *Nin hooló li'-i wáh bá Ku sīn mǎayó*. 'A man who lacks wealth will not give you anything.'

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
IVh(leh) ~ le	lee	leeŷ	lah	lih

- (1) Before the termination # :
- (a) IVh(leh) occurs when the form is followed immediately by the conjunction *e* (ee), *iyo* or *oo*, without a pause intervening. (For the use of the symbol V, see the section 'The strong verb *yāhay*' above.) E.g. *Waa méel bjo lóh óo wānaagsán*. 'It is a place which has water and is good.'
- (b) *le* occurs in all other contexts, e.g. *Hásan baa lé*. 'Hasan owns it.'; *Méel bjo lé má aragteen ?* 'Have you seen a place which has water ?'
- (2) Before terminations which begin with *y*, *t** or *n**, e.g. *Béer būu lée-yāhay*. 'He has a garden.', *Béer bāy lée-dahay*. 'She has a garden.'
- (3) Before the terminations *ahay* (1 sg. pres. ext.), *aháy* (1 sg. pres. dvg. A) and *ahay* (1 sg. pres. dvg. B), e.g. *Béer bāan leeŷ-ahay*. 'I have a garden.'
- (4) Before terminations which begin with or consist of the vowel *a* or *aa*, e.g. *Béer má lah-á*. 'He does not have a garden.', *Béer būu lah-aa*. 'He had a garden.'
- (5) Before terminations which begin with or consist of the vowel *i*, e.g. *Béer má lih-i*. 'I do not have a garden.', *Béer má lih-in*. 'We do not have a garden.'

In root extension class AN', immediate alternances have been found in those verbs whose roots in their representative forms end in a vowel + *m*, e.g. *qim-án* 'to be diminished'. In these verbs the root ends in *m* before the alternant *an* of AN' and in *n* before the alternant *n* of AN', e.g. *Wuu qim-án-yāhay*. 'It is diminished.', *Wuu qin-n-aa*. 'It was diminished.'

Derivational alternances are common in hybrid verbs. In the examples the roots of hybrid verbs are contrasted with those of weak verbs and nouns.

baqh-án	(AN') to be mixed with water (said of milk)
cf. báqah	(Z) to mix milk with water
dabr-án	(AN') to be hobbled
cf. dábar	(Z) to hobble (trans.)
qahl-án	(AN') to be inherited
cf. qáhal	(Z) to inherit
engeg-án	(AN') to be dry
cf. engéj-i	(IN) to dry (trans.)

¹¹ Note that the forms of the verb *lé* with the termination # occur as optional alternatives in the 3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of neg. pres., e.g. *Má lé*. 'He does not have it.', instead of *Má lahá*. In the introduction to *Hikmad Soomaali* (p. 17) those forms of the verb *lé* which occur with the termination # are uniformly written with the final letter *h* which is then interpreted as the consonant *h* or its absence. This convention is comparable to that applying to the verb *yāhay*, see note 7.

gogol-án	(AN') to be made (said of a bed)
cf. gogol	(Z) to make (a bed)
gunt-án	(AN') to be tied in a knot
cf. gũnd	(Z) to tie in a knot
hord-án	(AN') to be hollowed out
cf. hórôq	(Z) to hollow out
jab-án	(AN') to be broken ; to be cheap
cf. jêb-i	(IN) to break (trans.)
ridq-án	(AN') to be pulverized
cf. ridiq	(Z) to pulverize
turq-án	(AN') to be pierced
cf. túruq	(Z) to pierce
wareem-án	(AN') to be speared
cf. warêen	(Z) to spear
durug-sán	(SAN') to be in a shifted position
cf. dúrk-i	(IN) to shift
fuu-shán	(SAN') to be on top of ; to be mounted on
cf. fùul	(Z) to climb on top of ; to mount
ga-shán	(SAN') to have on oneself ; to wear ; to be dressed in
cf. gál	(Z) to enter
cf. gél-i	(IN) to cause to enter
hagaag-sán	(SAN') to be right ; to be in good order
cf. hágáaj-i	(IN) to straighten ; to put right
jili'-sán	(SAN') to be tender ; to be weak
cf. jil'-i	(IN) to cause to be tender ; to weaken
lun-sán	(SAN') to be confused
cf. lúm-i	(IN) to cause to get lost
nab-sán	(SAN') to be frightened ; to be startled
cf. nîb-i	(IN) to frighten ; to startle
wanaag-sán	(SAN') to be good
cf. wanáaj-i	(IN) to do (something) well ; to treat (someone) well
nabd-oon	(OON') to be at peace ; to be safe
cf. nábad	(Z) to achieve peace ; to achieve safety
ruj-án	(IN/SAN') to be uprooted
cf. rûq	(Z) to become uprooted
gum-aysán	(AYN/SAN') to be treated as inferior
cf. gún	(fem. noun) bottom ; a person or persons treated as inferior
rum-aysán	(AYN/SAN') to believe
cf. rún	(fem. noun) truth

Another important feature of roots of hybrid verbs is reduplication, which they share with weak verbs and even with certain nouns. This feature has been

described in the literature on Somali and only a few observations are made here, aiming at clarification of detail.

Almost every verbal root can occur in one of two shapes, one shorter and one longer, which will be referred to as the simple and the reduplicative mould respectively, abbreviated to s. mld. and r. mld. Comparison between the two moulds reveals that the r. mld. contains an additional component, e.g.

hiqán	(AN' ; s. mld.) to be tied
hiqhiqán	(AN' ; r. mld.) to be tied more than once ; to be tied once or more than once each
dillaa'sán	(SAN' ; s. mld.) to be burst open
dildillaa'sán	(SAN' ; r. mld.) to be burst open more than once ; to be burst open once or more than once each

The 'additional' component, which in the above examples is hiq and dil, will be referred to as the 'preradical'. Its structure, as shown below, is usually related to that of the corresponding s. mld.

When the s. mld. begins with or consists of the following sequences, such sequences are identical in shape with the preradical of the corresponding r. mld.

- a consonant + a vowel + a consonant, e.g. taagtaagán (AN' ; r. mld.) 'to stand' (said of more than one person), cf. taagán (AN' ; s. mld.) 'to stand' (said of one person)
- a consonant + a vowel + the semivowel y + a consonant, e.g. qaybqaybsán (SAN' ; r. mld.) 'to be divided into more than two parts ; to be divided into two or more parts each', cf. qaybsán (SAN' ; s. mld.) 'to be divided'
- a consonant + a vowel + the semivowel w, e.g. gawgawra'án (AN' ; r. mld.) 'to be slaughtered' (said of more than one animal), cf. gawra'án (AN' ; s. mld.) 'to be slaughtered'

When the s. mld. begins with or consists of a vowel + a consonant the preradical of the corresponding r. mld. consists of the same vowel + the same consonant + the consonant ', e.g. aas'aasán (AN' ; r. mld.) 'to be buried' (said of several objects), cf. aasán (AN' ; s. mld.) 'to be buried'.

Although these formulations cover the great majority of cases they are not exhaustive. Among the most common exceptions are those listed below in the first column ; corresponding s. mld. forms are given in the second column for comparison.

duudduubán	duubán (AN') to be rolled up
qaaqêeer	qêeer (Z) to be tall, to be long, to be deep
quuqquubán	quubán (AN') to be long and thin, to be tall and thin
gaaggaaabán	gaabán (AN') to be short
googgo'án	go'an (AN') to be severed
gyggubán	gybán (AN') to be burnt

jajabán	jabán (AN') to be broken, to be cheap
laallaabán	laabán (AN') to be folded
q̣aqaawán	q̣awán (AN') to be naked
q̣oq̣oyán	q̣oyán (AN') to be naked
ẉaẉeyn	ẉeyn (Z') to be big

As in weak verbs the two moulds of the root are associated with different types of meaning. The r. mld. conveys the notion of plurality in the sense that it normally refers to states or activities in which :

- (a) one subject is involved more than once, or
 (b) two or more subjects are involved once or more than once each, consecutively or simultaneously.

The s. mld., on the other hand does not normally convey any specific notions of plurality.

Examples :

Kani waa áqal ẉanaagsán.	This is a house which is good.
Kúwani waa aqalló ẉanwanaagsán.	These are houses which are good.
Way yártahay.	She is small.
Way yaryáryihiin.	They are small.
Wuu jabányahay.	It is broken.
Wuu jajabányahay.	It is broken more than once or in more than one place.
Way jabányihiin.	They are broken.
Way jajabányihiin.	They are broken more than once each or in more than one place each.
Wuu hiqányahay.	It is tied.
Wuu hiqhiqányahay.	It is tied more than once or in more than one place.
Way hiqányihiin.	They are tied.
Way hiqhiqányihiin.	They are tied once or more than once each.

From the point of view of their root extension alternants (see the section 'Root extensions'), roots are grouped as shown on the next page. It should be noted that some groups overlap, as their role sometimes differs in relation to different root extensions.

ACCENTUAL PATTERNS

As in the case of weak verbs, accentual patterns are an integral part of hybrid verb forms. In describing these accentual patterns it is useful to introduce the concept of 'stem', by which is understood here the root and its extension, taken together. Moreover, it is also useful to single out initially a small group of forms which have exceptional accentual patterns. This group, which will be referred to

Type	Root ending in :
[I]	two different consonants a doubled consonant the semivowel w or y the consonant k
[II]	a vowel the semivowel w } + a single consonant " " y
[III]	a vowel the semivowel w } + a single consonant other than k, l or r " " y
[IV]	a vowel the semivowel w } + the single consonant l " " y
[V]	a vowel the semivowel w } + the single consonant r " " y
[VI]	the semivowel y or a vowel other than of the type described under [VII] below
[VII]	a vowel, but only in roots, which though stable within particular hybrid verbs, show a derivational alternance l ~ #, i.e. one in which one alternant ends in the consonant l and another, while otherwise identical, does not have the final consonant l, e.g. fuu-shán (SAN') 'to be on top of, to be mounted', cf. faul (Z) 'to climb on top of, to mount'.
[VIII]	a consonant, or a semivowel or a vowel other than of the type described under [VII] above

as 'long monosyllable group' (LMG), is composed of all those forms in the extension class Z' whose roots consist of one long ¹⁶ syllable in the s. mld. and two long syllables in the r. mld., if the r. mld. occurs, e.g. q̣eer, q̣aaq̣eer, ẉeyn, ẉaẉeyn.

¹⁶ A syllable is regarded as long when it contains a long vowel or a vowel + the semivowel w or y + a consonant, e.g. rōon, ẉeyn.

Accentual patterns in hybrid verbs differ according to the tense and, in some cases, person of the form; these are specified in the first column of Table IV. The second column gives the accentual pattern of the stem and the third that of the termination.

For the accentual units (AU) in terms of which the accentual patterns are described here, see my article 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms...' and *The declensions of Somali nouns*, p. 106.

TABLE IV

3 sg. m., 3 sg. f. and 3 pl. of pres. comp., and all forms of pres. res. and pres. cvg. A	In LMG forms : AU2 on the last or the only syllable of the stem, AU3 on the remaining syllables of the stem if any In all forms other than LMG : AU1 on the last or the only syllable of the stem, AU3 on the remaining syllables of the stem if any	#
Forms of pres. ext., pres. dvg. A and pres. dvg. B		The same as the whole corresponding forms of the verb <i>yāhay</i> (STR) 'to be'
1 sg., 2 sg. and 1 pl. of pres. comp. and all forms of pres. exclam.	AU1 on the last or the only syllable of the stem, AU3 on all the remaining syllables of the stem if any	As given in the lists in the section 'Terminations'
2 pl. pres. comp. form and all forms of past comp. and past exclam.		
Forms of all tenses not enumerated above	AU3 on all the syllables of the stem	The same as the terminations of the corresponding forms of the verb <i>yāhay</i> (STR) 'to be'

NOTIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF HYBRID VERBS

The root extensions of hybrid verbs, like those of weak verbs, are associated with various types of meaning, which cannot be described within the framework of rigid formulations. Some extensions have more than one type of meaning and it is not possible to correlate this with any specific formal characteristics. There is, moreover, some overlapping in types of meaning across different extension classes and there are roots which occur in two different classes without any apparent difference in meaning, e.g. *yaabbān* (R-AN') and *yaabsān* (SAN') 'to be astonished'.

The aspect of meaning which is associated with all forms of hybrid verbs is that they describe a particular state, quality or activity viewed specifically as having duration, i.e. being continuous or having some degree of persistence. In addition,

individual root extension classes of hybrid verbs have their own particular notional associations which are described here under separate headings and are contrasted with the notional characteristics of corresponding weak verbs (i.e. those which have the same root).

In the actual formulations, the concept of 'durational neuter-passive' is used, which requires some explanation. The word 'durational' conveys the notion of duration, with which all hybrid verbs are associated. By 'neuter-passive'¹⁷ it is understood here that the state or quality denoted by the verb is viewed as having resulted from either an activity applied from outside or, less commonly, from a spontaneous change from within. Which of these two possibilities is involved can only be discerned from the context, as the agent of such an activity is never stated, e.g.

Albāabku wuu furānyāhay. The door is opened (i.e. has been opened by someone or something, or has opened itself, and is still in that state).

Albāabkii wuu furnaa. The door was opened (i.e. was opened by someone or something, or opened itself, and was in that state at the time referred to).

Extension class Z'

Verbs of this class are associated with the notion 'to have a particular quality or characteristic, to be in a particular state'. This type of meaning is thrown into relief by comparison with the meaning of the corresponding weak verbs of class Z'/AAN, which is 'to acquire a particular quality or characteristic, to achieve a particular state'. Compare for example :

'ās (Z') to be red	'asāw (Z'/AAN) to become red
kuḷūl ,, to be hot	kuḷulāw ,, to become hot
q̄g ,, to be aware, to know	q̄gōw ,, to become aware, to come to know
yār ,, to be small	yarāw ,, to become small

The number of hybrid verbs in this class is fairly small. All the examples found are listed below.

adāg to be hard, to be strong, to be difficult
'ād to be white, to be clear
'ās to be red
bisil to be ripe

¹⁷ I am indebted to Professor Malcolm Guthrie for suggesting to me the term 'neuter-passive' which has been used in Bantu studies. It seems that this term could also be applied to the notional associations of weak verbs of class AM, in preference to 'agentless passive'.

djhin	to have udders full of milk
dán	to be complete, to be all
dèer	to be tall; to be long; to be deep
dów	to be near
ú ég	to be similar to
kú ég	to be complete
'eēdín	to be raw
fayów	to be healthy
feeyig	} to be alert, to be cautious
feejig	
fpojig	
fóg	to be far away
fudúd	to be light (in weight), to be easy
hún	to be bad
idil	to be all
irmáan	to be in milk
je'él	to like, to love
kulúl	to be hot
lá'	to be without, to lack
le'ég	} to be equal to (in size)
léeg	
má'áan	to be sweet
mādów	to be black
mōog	to be ignorant of
ne'éb	to dislike, to hate
nōol	to be alive, to be lively
nūgúl	to be delicate, to be sensitive to hardship (especially thirst)
óg	to be aware of, to know
oggól	to be in agreement with, to be consenting to
qābów	to be cold, to be cool
qāqāaq	to be bitter
qaydín	to be raw
fōon	to be good, to excel
fōp	to be good ¹⁸
shilis	to be fat
'ulús	to be heavy
'usúb	to be new
wēyn	to be big
yár	to be small

¹⁸ This is a rare word which occurs mainly in its pres. cvg. A form, e.g. wáh sán 'a good thing'; cf. samáan (fem. noun) 'goodness, kindness' and samée (Z'/AYN) 'to make'.

An exception:

lé to have, to own, to be saying (something). This verb is also used as an auxiliary in composite conditional tenses (see the section 'Roots').

Extension class AN'

Verbs of this class are associated with the following types of meaning:

- Durational neuter-passive of corresponding weak verbs of class Z or, rarely, of class IN. In contrast, corresponding weak verbs of classes AN'/AAN and AM, whenever they occur, have the meaning of non-durational neuter-passive combined with the notion of 'becoming', i.e. achieving the particular state or quality.¹⁹
- 'To be (in the sense "to continue" or "to persist") in a particular state; to be characterized by a particular quality.' The corresponding weak verbs of classes Z, AN or AN'/AAN, whenever such occur, have the meaning 'to achieve a particular state; to become characterized by a particular quality'.

Examples of verbs of class AN', with the meaning of type (a) are given below in the first column and the corresponding weak verbs of classes Z and IN are given in the second column for comparison.

AN'		Z	
beerán	to be cultivated, to be under vegetation	béer	to cultivate
daboolán	to be covered	dabool	to cover
diirán	to be stripped of bark	diir	to strip of bark
qaawa'án	to be injured	qáawa'	to injure
qá'án	to be taken as loot	qá'	to loot, to rob, to fall, to befall, to occur
qimán	to be diminished, to be deficient	qin	to reduce, to diminish
qisán	to be built	qis	to build
talán	to be bewitched	tál	to bewitch, to do

¹⁹ The translation of hybrid verbs with the meaning of type (a) presents considerable difficulties. The nearest English equivalent is the verb 'to be' + a past participle functioning as an adjectival complement. This construction can, however, be ambiguous (see F. R. Palmer, *A linguistic study of the English verb*, pp. 68-69). If we translate *Marádii way jeehnayd.* as 'The cloth was torn', it may be implied that either the cloth was *already* in a torn state at the time referred to, or that it got torn at that time. Hybrid verbs are always associated with duration, and for this reason the nearest literal translation of forms of this kind would be 'to be in such and such a state', e.g. *jeehán* (AN') 'to be in a torn state'. In the translations of examples, whenever the English is ambiguous in the way described, it should be interpreted as implying a *continuing state*.

farnurán	to be split into two	farhur	to split into two
godán	to be depressed (said of a surface), to be curved	god	to make a depression, to bend
gudán	to be circumcized or infibulated	gud	to circumcize or infibulate, to travel by night
hiqán	to be closed, to be tied	hiq	to close, to tie
jeehán	to be torn	jeeh	to tear (trans.)
lurán	to be troubled, to be annoyed	lur	to trouble, to annoy
oodán	to be fenced	ood	to fence
saarán	to be superposed, to be on top	saar	to put on top
simán	to be levelled, to be aligned	sin	to level, to align
shidán	to be lit	shid	to light
suntán	to be branded	súmad	to brand
tágán	to be raised, to be erect, to stand	tág	to raise
turgán	to be pierced	turuq	to pierce
tubán	to be herded closely together	túb	to herd closely together
IN			
go'án	to be cut off	gò	to cut off
jabán	to be broken, to be cheap	jébi	to break (trans.)
qawán	to be bared, to be naked	qáwi	to bare

Some corresponding verbs of classes AM, AN'/AAN and Z are given below for further comparison.

AM

dabóolan	to 'become' covered
qíman	to 'become' reduced, to 'become' diminished
hiqan	to 'become' closed, to 'become' tied
jeehan	to 'become' torn

AN'/AAN

hiqnaw	to 'become' tied, to 'become' closed
sinnaw	to 'become' levelled, to 'become' aligned
tubnaw	to 'become' closely herded together

Z

gó'	to 'become' cut off
jáb	to 'become' broken

Examples of verbs of class AN' with the meaning of type (b) are given below in the first column and the corresponding weak verbs of classes Z, AN, or AN'/AAN in the second column, for comparison.

AN		Z	
aammusán	to be silent	áammus	to become silent
engegán	to be dry	engeg	to become dry
guqán	to be dry (said of milch animals)	gúq	to become dry (said of milch animals)
qallalán	to be dry	qállal	to become dry
qoyán	to be wet	qóy	to become wet
AN		AN	
ú baahán	to be in need of	ú baahó	to become in need of
badán	to be many, to be much, to be characterized by much	badó	to become many, to become much, to become characterized by much
ballaaqán	to be wide, to be broad	ballaaqó	to become wide, to become broad
gadaamán	to be gathered around	gadaamó	to 'become' gathered around
maqán	to be empty, to be exhausted (said of stores or supplies)	maqó	to become empty, to become exhausted (said of stores or supplies)
AN'/AAN		AN'/AAN	
fcejigán	} to be alert, to be cautious	fcejignaw	} to become cautious, to become alert
fpojigán		fpojignaw	
fi'án	to be good	fi'naw	to become good
kú filán	to be sufficient	kú fillaw	} to become sufficient
		(kú filnaw)	
gaabán	to be short	gaabnaw	to become short
ladán	to be well	ladnaw	to become well
'okán	to be in a state of satiety as regards water, to be on the way back from a watering place (said of livestock)	'okanaw	to reach the state of satiety as regards water (said of livestock)
wa'án	to be good	wa'naw	to become good

Extension class R-AN'

Verbs of this class are associated with the following types of meaning :

- (a) Durational neuter-passive of the corresponding weak verbs of class Z.
 (b) 'To be in a particular state ; to be characterized by a particular quality or attitude'. The corresponding weak verbs of class Z have the meaning 'to achieve a particular state ; to become characterized by a particular quality or attitude'. Note that the verb *roobbán* has no corresponding weak verb.
 (c) 'To be in a particular state which might be regarded as the static, continuous or persistent equivalent of an activity described by the corresponding weak verb of class Z'.

There are very few verbs in this class and all the examples found so far are listed below, grouped according to their types of meaning. The corresponding weak verbs are given in the second column for comparison.

R-AN'		Z	
(a)			
djllán	to be in a beaten state (physically)	djl	to beat ; to kill
dibbán	to be troubled, to suffer inconvenience	dib	to trouble, to cause someone inconvenience
doonnán	to be betrothed (said of women only)	doon	to seek
gallán	to be invaded	gál	to enter
nummán	to be created	hun	to create
(b)			
ká 'aggán	to be totally averse to	ká 'ag	to become totally averse to
ú 'aggán	to be totally dedicated to	ú 'ag	to become totally dedicated to
dállán	to be tired	dál	to become tired
diirán	to be warm	dír	to become warm
haq dān	to remain left behind	hāq	to become left behind
ha'raaddán	to be thirsty	harrāad	to become thirsty
oommán	to be due for watering, to be thirsty, to be on the way to a watering place (said of livestock)	oon	to become due for watering, to become thirsty (said of livestock)
rimmán	to be pregnant (said of animals only)	rin	to become pregnant (said of animals only)
roobbán	to be under rainfall	cf. ròob	(masc. noun) rain
yaabbán	to be astonished	yāab	to become astonished

(c)			
deggán	to be settled in a place, to reside	dég	to alight, to become settled in a place
djiddán	to be opposed to	djid	to refuse
djullán	to be engaged in a raid	djul	to raid
maggán	when this verb is preceded by the prepositional particle <i>lá</i> and/or is followed by the particle <i>in</i> 'that' it means 'to be resolved, to intend' ; when, however, it is preceded by a direct object, and occurs without the prepositional particle <i>lá</i> it means 'to be engaged in molesting someone without provocation'	māg	in the first of the two contexts given on the left this verb means 'to resolve, to decide' ; in the second context it means 'to molest without provocation'
soommán	to be in the state of fasting	soon	to observe a fast

Extension class SAN'

Verbs of this class are associated with the following types of meaning :

- (a) Durational neuter-passive of the corresponding weak verbs of class IN.
 (b) 'To be in a particular state ; to be characterized by a particular quality or attitude.' The corresponding weak verbs of class Z have the meaning 'to achieve a particular state ; to become characterized by a particular quality or attitude'.
 (c) 'To be in a particular state which might be regarded as the static, continuous or persistent equivalent of an activity described by the corresponding weak verb of class Z.'
 (d) 'To have a quality whose nature is suggested by the meaning of the corresponding noun.'

There is a large number of verbs in this class and the great majority of them have the meaning of type (b).

Examples :
 SAN'

(a)		IN	
daadsán	to be spilled, to be scattered	dāadi	to spill (trans.), to scatter (trans.)

karsán	to be cooked, to be boiled	kári	to cook, to boil
liishán	to be softened (said of hides softened by rubbing with a stick)	liili	to soften (hides, in this manner)
mahadsán	to be thanked	mahádi	to thank
mehersán	to be married (by Muslim marriage contract)	mehéri	to marry (said of a man of religion who performs the ceremony)
qaybsán	to be divided	qáybi	to divide
kú tiirsán	to be supported by, to lean on	tiiri	to support, to prop
tirsán	to be counted ; with the prepositional particle <i>kú</i> or <i>ká</i> this verb means 'to be counted among', i.e. 'to belong to'	tiri	to count

(b)

Z

argaggahsán	to be terrified	argággah	to become terrified
'aashaqsán	to be in love with	'áashaq	to fall in love with
bəraarugsán	to be awake	bəráarug	to become awake, to wake up
bararsán	to be swollen	bárar	to become swollen
dəbe'sán	to be loose	dəbe'	to become loose
durugsán	to be in a shifted position	dúrug	to shift position
duraysán	to have a cold	dúray	to catch a cold
kú dęgsán	to be stuck to, to be firmly attached to, to have a firm grip on	kú dęg	to become stuck to, to become firmly attached to, to grip
fajisán	to be greatly surprised	fája'	to become greatly surprised
farahsán	to be joyful	fárah	to become joyful
hagaagsán	to be straight, to be all right	hagaağ	to become straight, to become all right
jili'sán	to be soft, to be weak	jili'	to become soft, to become weak
ma'aluushán	to be lean, to be emaciated	ma'alüul	to become lean, to become emaciated

marqaansán	to be elated, to be in ecstasy	marqaan	to become elated, to achieve ecstasy
ruqsán	to be uprooted, to be dislodged from a base or socket	rúq	to become uprooted, to become dislodged from a base or socket
suuhsán	to be unconscious	suuh	to become unconscious
wəreersán	to be confused, to be troubled, to be worried	wəreer	to become confused, to become troubled, to become worried
yaabsán	to be astonished (an optional alternative to <i>yaabbán</i> , R-AN')	yáab	to become astonished

(c)

aqbalsán	to be inclined to accept, to be resolved to accept	áqbal	to accept, to receive
bahsán	to be spread out in area, to be out (of an enclosed space)	báh	to come out
dama'sán	to be resolved, to intend	dáma'	to resolve, to decide
didsán	to be in the process of stampeding, to be in the process of running away in fright	díd	to stampede, to run away in fright
djidsán	to be opposed to (an optional alternative to <i>djiddán</i> , R-AN')	djid	to refuse
dunsán	to be in the process of collapsing (said of buildings, escarpments, etc.)	dún	to collapse (intrans.) (said of buildings, escarpments' etc.)
fuushán	to be on top of, to be mounted	fui	to climb on top of, to mount
kú sóo	to be crowded around	kú sóo	to form a crowd around
hoonsán		hoon	
kú raa'sán	to be in agreement with	raa'	to follow, to accompany
taageersán	to be engaged in giving help or support	taageer	to give help or support
wəreegsán	to extend around	wəreeg	to move around, to move over

(d)

		Corresponding noun	
'aansán	to be famous	'aan	(masc.) fame, a famous person or persons
bəɖowsán	to be naive, to be unaccustomed to town life	bəɖow	(masc.) a nomad, a country bumpkin
qaalisán	to be expensive	qáali	(masc.) an expensive object or objects
quruhsán	to be beautiful	qurúh	(fem.) beauty
təajirsán	to be rich	təajir	(masc.) a rich person, a merchant
wənaagsán	to be good	wənaag	(masc.) goodness, good action or actions, favourable occurrence

Extension class AAN'

Only one verb has been found in this class :

bannáan	to be open (said of spaces), to be free	cf. bannēe (AYN) to clear (a space)
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Extension class OON'

Only two verbs have been found in this class :

ɖɔgsóon	to be sheltered	cf. ɖɔgsi (masc. noun) a sheltered place ; a Koranic school
nabdoon	to be at peace, to be secure	cf. nábad (Z) to become at peace, to achieve peace nabád (fem. noun) peace

Extension class SOON'

Only three verbs have been found in this class :

doorsóon	to be changed in nature or appearance	cf. dɔori (IN) to change (trans.), to exchange
ɔɖoon	to be aware of, to be cognizant of	cf. ɔg (Z') to be aware of, to know
tashóon	to be resolved (very rare)	cf. táli (IN) to decide, to advise

Extension class TOON'

Only one verb has been found in this class :

ɖigtóon	to be warned, to be alerted	cf. ɖig (Z) to warn, to alert
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Extension class IN/SAN'

Verbs of this class, which is very small, are associated with the following type of meaning : Durational neuter-passive of the corresponding weak verbs of class IN.

Examples :

IN/SAN'		IN	
kú ɖejisán	to be stuck to, to be firmly attached to (This verb has the implication that the state is a result of directly applied activity, while in the case of kú ɖegsán (SAN'), this state might or might not be the result of such an activity.)	kú ɖéji	to stick (trans.) to, to attach firmly
həgaajisán	to be straightened	həgaaji	to straighten
rujisán	to be uprooted, to be dislodged from a base or socket (This verb has the implication that the state is a result of directly applied activity, while in the case of ruqsán (SAN'), this state might or might not be the result of such an activity.)	rúji	to uproot, to dislodge from a base or socket

Extension class AYN/SAN'

Verbs of this class, which are not numerous, are associated with the following types of meaning :

- Durational neuter-passive of the corresponding weak verbs of class AYN.
- 'To be in a particular state of mind or body, the nature of which is suggested by the corresponding noun.'

Examples :

(a)

'aanaysán	to be mixed with milk	AYN	
kooraysán	to be saddled	'aanée	to put milk in
rabbaysán	to be tamed	koorée	to saddle
safaysán	to be cleaned	rabbée	to tame
sumaysán	to be treated with poison	safée	to clean
	(said of arrows, water, etc.)	sumée	to treat with poison, to poison

(b)

		<i>Corresponding noun</i>	
'aḍaysán	to be angry	'aḍo	(fem.) anger
gaajaysán	to be hungry	gaaajo	(fem.) hunger
rumaysán	to believe	rūn	(fem.) truth

Extension class Z'/AYN/SAN'

Verbs of this class, which are very few, are associated with the following meaning : Durational neuter-passive of the corresponding weak verbs of class Z'/AYN.

Examples :

Z'/AYN

'addaysán	to be whitened, to be made clear	'addée	to whiten, to make clear
bislaysán	to be cooked	bislée	to cook
samaysán	to be made	samée	to make

Extension class SIIN/SAN'

Only one example has been found in this class :

gaaḍsiisán	to extend so as to be in contact with, to be in a position of having reached a particular point, to be accomplished	cf. gaaḍ (Z) to reach
		cf. gaaḍsii (SIIN) to cause to reach

ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES

Sentences containing examples of hybrid verb forms can be found in Galaal's *Hikmad Soomaali*, where they are designated as 'A and v.4' and in my article 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms' where they are referred to as

verbs of the 4th conjugation. Further examples are given in this section and arranged according to the tenses which they illustrate. Each hybrid verb under discussion is given with annotations immediately after the translation. Additional glosses are provided below this, and there, all unusual words which are not found in R. C. Abraham's dictionary or require further elucidation are explained.

It happens sometimes that an illustrative sentence contains a hybrid verb which belongs to a tense other than the one under discussion. All such forms are annotated in the additional glosses mentioned above. All the forms of the verb *yahay* 'to be' which occur in such sentences are also given there.

All the examples in this section are taken from oral literature, including radio plays. The only exception is the example given for the past comp. (an extremely rare tense) which was obtained from a conversation reconstructed by a Somali speaker.

The following abbreviations are used :

HS	<i>Hikmad Soomaali</i>
Pr.	Proverb or proverbial expression
QA	<i>Qaalle qadduun</i> by Muuse H. I. Galaal, a novel, as yet unpublished ; the typescript is available in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies
R	Radio play
SFD	<i>Sheekooyin fogaan iyo dhowaan ba leh</i> by Mohamed Farah Abdillahi (cyclostyled) ; a copy is also available in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Sh.J.	A traditional story about a man who was born a eunuch, narrated by Sheikh Jama Omar Esa ; tape-recording and transcript available at the School of Oriental and African Studies

Figures refer to lines in the texts.

Pres. ext.

Bállan haḍbeennimo jarmaadó groomnimó ayhu ú rōonyahay.

Arrangements of the evening are good for the journey of the morning. (Pr.)

rōonyahay, 3 sg. m. pres. ext. of rōon (Z') to be good, to excel

jarmáado (fem. noun) setting out on a journey early in the morning, travelling early in the morning

Ilalayn, waad hujaysantahay.

Indeed, you are accused of an offence ! (HS23/29)

hujaysantahay, 2 sg. pres. ext. of hujaysán (AYN/SAN') to be accused of an offence ; cf. hūjo (fem. noun) offence, transgression, hūjōe (AYN) to accuse, to blame, hūjōw (OOB) to 'become' accused or blamed

Past ext.

Márkii suldaankènnu soo noqdáy áad iyó áad báynu ú farahsanayn.

When our sultan returned we were very, very happy. (R)

farahsanayn, 1 pl. past ext. of farahsán (SAN') to be happy, to be contented; cf. fàrah (Z) to become happy, to become contented, ká fàrhi (IN) to make someone happy, to make someone contented

Násab haddaad tihlin gaaláda waad ní'i lahaydeen é.

If you were noble you would hate the infidels. (From a poem by Máhámmed 'Abdillé Hasán)²⁰

lahaydeen, 2 pl. past ext. of lé (Z') used here as an auxiliary with ní'i, the infinitive of ná' (Z) to hate, and conveying the notion of a conditional occurrence

tihlin, 2 pl. pres. dvg. A of yàhay (STR) to be

násab (masc. noun) noble descent, nobility of character

Pres. res.

Wāh is weydiini má humá e wāh is weydáaris bāa hūn.

Asking each other about things is not evil, but deceiving is evil. (Pr.)

hūn, pres. res. of hūn (Z') to be bad, to be evil

weydiin (fem. noun) inquiring, requesting; cf. weydli (IN) to inquire, to request

humá, 3 sg. m. neg. pers. of hūn (Z')

weydáaris (masc. noun) causing to pass, causing to skirt; cf.

weydáari (IN) to cause to pass, to cause to skirt; is weydáaris deceiving, defrauding, stealing

Shálay wábaan is lahaa: adigóo qúq á ayāa uurkutaallaysán.

Yesterday I was saying to myself: you alone are in distress. (R)

uurkutaallaysán, pres. res. of uurkutaallaysán (AYN/SAN') to be in

distress, to be worried; cf. uurkutáallo (fem. noun) distress, worry;

uurkutaallée (AYN) to cause distress, to cause worry; cf. ūr

(masc. noun) belly; kú (prepositional particle) in; taal, 3 sg. f.

pres. gen. ext. of yaal (STR) to dwell

lahee, 1 sg. past dvg. B of lé (Z') to have, to own, to be saying (something)

adigóo = adiga oo, for constructions with oo see Note 8/7A in

Hikmad Soomaali

qúq (fem. noun) self, singleness, being alone

á, pres. cvg. A of yàhay (STR) to be; note that adigóo qúq á literally means 'you who are (were) alone'

²⁰ For an account of the life and works of this poet see Andrzejewski and Lewis, *Somali poetry: an introduction*, pp. 53-56.

Past res.

Ninka tajaarka á na ináanta aabbéheed baa je'láa inuu ú guriyó.

And the girl's father wanted to marry her to the man who was rich. (SFD)

je'láa, 3 sg. m. past res. of je'el (Z') to like, to love, to want; note that the root has the alternance je'el ~ je'l

á, pres. cvg. A of yàhay (STR) to be

ninka tajaarka á, lit. 'the man who is (was) the rich man'

Wáha La yiqi: nín bóqor á ayāa si áad á ú shishlāa.

It was said: A king was very fat. (SFD)

shishlāa, 3 sg. m. past res. of shilis (Z') to be fat; note that the root has the alternance shilis ~ shishl

á, pres. cvg. A of yàhay (STR) to be

nín bóqor á, lit. 'a man who is (was) a king'

á, as above

si áad á, lit. '[in] a manner which was much'

Pres. comp.

Ta labáad na, iga má qaashó iyo tá'ab bādnid, haddana igá hooló bādnid.

And secondly, you do not have more frugality and hard work than I, yet you have more wealth. (HS17/8-9)

bādnid, 2 sg. pres. comp. of bādán (AN') to be much or many; to have much or many

igá = i (1 sg. object pronoun particle) + ka (prepositional particle) which here conveys the notion of the comparative degree of the quantity denoted by the verb

bādnid, 2 sg. neg. pres. of bādán (AN')

igá, as above

Habár faqqidá legdini wāh ngá fudūd.

Wrestling is easier than [any]thing for an old woman who is sitting [and watching]. (Pr.)

fudūd, 3 sg. f. pres. comp. of fudūd (Z') to be light in weight, to be easy

faqqidá, 3 sg. f. pres. gen. cvg. A of fāqdi (Z) to remain in the sitting position, to sit

ngá = u + ka (prepositional particles); u means here 'for' and ka conveys the notion of the comparative degree of the quality denoted by the verb

Past comp.

Ninkii igá hóos shaqáyn jiray igá la'ág bādnāa.

The man who used to work under me had more money than I.

bādnāa, 3 sg. m. past comp. of bādán (AN') to be much or many, to have much or many

igá, see the first sentence illustrating pres. comp.

Pres. exclam.

Wáar, gó'u 'ulúsaa !

O men, how heavy this sheet is ! (QA1871)

'ulúsaa, 3 sg. m. pres. exclam. of 'ulús (Z') to be heavy

Past exclam.

Waddáda Lóo maráa wád yáallaa ye, Wardéeréey wanaagsanáydee !

Death dwells on the road by which one travels there, O Wardéer, how fine you were ! (From a héello poem)²¹

wanaagsanáydee, 2 sg. past exclam. of wanaagsán (SAN') to be good, to be fine

maráa = maró + baa

wád (masc. noun) death

Wardéeréey = Wardéer + eey (exclamatory suffix used with feminine nouns ending in a consonant) ; Wardéer is a place in the Ogaden, where the poet's beloved lived. He laments that he cannot visit her because of the fighting which was taking place on the border.

Neg. pres.

Wáh bá idiinka má baahni.

I do not need anything from you. (Sh.J.)

baahni, 1 sg. neg. pres. of baahán (AN') to need ; note than this verb is always preceded by the prepositional particle u ; cf. ú baahó (AN) to develop a need for

idiinka = idin (2 pl. object pronoun particle) + u (prepositional particle) bound with the verb baahán + ka (prepositional particle) 'from'

Méel hál Lagú qalay ma ná hilib yará, ma ná hūgun yará.

A place in which people have slaughtered a she-camel is not short of meat and is not short of noise. (Pr.)

yará, 3 sg. f. neg. pres. of yár (Z') to be small in size or quantity, to have something which is small in size or quantity, to possess a quality in a small degree

ma ná hilib yará, lit. 'and does not have little meat' i.e. is not short of meat

ma ná hūgun yará, lit. 'and does not have little noise' i.e. is not short of noise ; the proverb refers to the noise of the people who participate in the meal, which when a big animal is slaughtered becomes a lively social occasion

²¹ For an account of this genre of poetry see Andrzejewski and Lewis, *Somali poetry: An introduction*, pp. 49-51.

Neg. pres.-past

Miyáydāan qgāyn in méesha shaydaan iḡogó ḡo idin sihri doonó ?

Do you not know that there is a devil in the place and that he will cast a spell over you ? (R)

qgāyn, neg. pres.-past of ḡg (Z') to be aware of, to know

miyáydāan = miyāa (interrogative indicator) + aydin (2 pl. pre-verbal subject pronoun) + aan (negative particle)

Pres. dvg. A

Bēlāayo intay Kāa maqántaháy qāyrkāa ayáy kú maqántahay.

Misfortune, when it stays away from you, it is away [busy] with people exactly like you. (Pr.)

maqántaháy, 3 sg. f. pres. dvg. A of maqán (AN') to stay away, to be away, to be absent

qāyrkāa = qāyr + kāa

qāyr (masc. noun) person or persons of the same age and sex, person or persons whose life circumstances are very similar

kāa (2 sg. possessive definitive) your

maqántahay, 3 sg. f. pres. ext. of maqán (AN') (see above)

Bál ninkāa inta 'ilmiglisu gaaḡsiisányaháy hubsó.

Well, ascertain to what point that man's knowledge extends. (HS23/11-12)

gaaḡsiisányaháy, 3 sg. m. pres. dvg. A of gaaḡsiisán (SIIN/SAN') to extend so as to be in contact with, to be in a position of having reached a particular point, to be accomplished ; cf. gaaḡ (Z) to reach, to achieve a contact with, gaaḡsli (SIIN) to cause to reach, to cause to achieve contact with

Pres. dvg. B

Nin La lēeyqhay wáh ma lēeyqhay ?

Does a man whom someone owns, own [any]thing ? (Pr.)

lēeyqhay, 3 sg. m. pres. dvg. B of lé (Z') to have, to own, to be saying (something)

lēeyqhay, 3 sg. m. pres. ext. of lé (Z') ; note that this form is identical in shape with the first lēeyqhay in the sentence

Wáha Álle ḡgyqhay qgāal u má baahná.

What God knows does not need [human] knowledge. (Pr.)

ḡgyqhay, 3 sg. m. pres. dvg. B of ḡg (Z') to be aware of, to know

qgāal (masc. noun) knowledge ; reference is made here to human knowledge and this proverbial expression conveys a warning against trying to fathom too far the mysteries of life

baahná, 3 pl. neg. pres. of baahán (AN') (see the first sentence illustrating neg. pres.)

Past dvg. A

Ninkli baa márkuu hiqnáa labaatan maalmóod biiddoodkii kú yiqi, wáhaan dphonayaa
inaan bóqorka ú tagó oo lá hadló.

When the man had remained imprisoned for twenty days he said to the slaves,
I want to go to the king and speak to him. (SFD)

hiqnáa, 3 sg. m. past dvg. A of hiqn (AN') to be tied or imprisoned,
to remain tied or imprisoned; cf. hiq (Z) to tie, to imprison

Allaylee, anaa garánayá wúhuu kú humáa.

By God, I know in what he was bad. (HS18/24)

humáa, 3 sg. m. past dvg. A of hún (Z') to be bad

Allaylee (unclassified) by God!; a pious invocation used at
times as an expletive; the structure of this word is obscure

Past dvg. B

Kab'álaf iyo Hpuryo wáhay degganaayeen qúl qodáal áh oo beeró badán lé.

The place in which Kab'álaf and Hpuryo were encamped [was] an area which
consisted of cultivated land and which had many gardens. (SFD30)

degganaayeen, 3 pl. past dvg. B of deggan (R-AN') to be encamped in,
to reside; cf. deg (Z) to alight, to descend, to encamp

Kab'álaf and Hpuryo, names of a husband and wife, well-known
characters in Somali oral traditions

wáhay degganaayeen, lit. 'what they were encamped in was' i.e.
the place in which they were encamped was...

qodáal (masc. noun) cultivated land; cf. qód (Z) to dig

á, pres. cvg. A of yáhay (STR) to be

badán, pres. cvg. A of badán (AN') (see the first sentence
illustrating pres. comp.)

lé, pres. cvg. A of lé (Z')

qúl qodáal áh oo beeró badán lé, lit. 'an area which is cultivated
land and which has gardens which are many'

Pres. cvg. A

Nimá 'ulamá á, oo Rábbi ú 'aggán ayáannu nahay oo Ilaahay wihii aannu ká
doonnó sáhal buu nóo siiyaa ye.

We are men who are *ulema* and who are totally dedicated to the Master, and
God gives us with ease what we ask Him for. (Sh.J.)

'aggán, pres. cvg. A of 'aggán (R-AN') which when used with the
prepositional particle *u* means 'to be totally dedicated to', and with
the prepositional particle *ka* 'to be totally averse to'; cf. 'aag (Z),
with *u*: 'to become totally dedicated to'; with *ka*: 'to become
totally averse to'

'uláma (fem. noun) *ulema*, learned men of religion; note that

'ulimo is a more common form

á, pres. cvg. A of yáhay (STR) to be

Rábbi (masc. noun) master, lord; here: God

nahay, 1 pl. pres. ext. of yáhay (STR) to be

Nin wëyn 'Tág!' La má yjdaahdó ee wihii kú tagó ayáa La tusaa.

One does not say 'Go!' to a man who is mature, but one tells him something
on account of which he will go. (Pr.)

wëyn, pres. cvg. A of wëyn (Z') to be big, to have something which is

big, to possess a quality in a large measure

nin wëyn, lit. 'a man who is big' i.e. a man who is mature

Pres. cvg. B

Nin ilkó wëyni hadduu gó'ayó inuu qóslayáa La mpoadaa.

If a man who has big teeth is dying, people imagine that he is laughing. (Pr.)

wëyni, pres. cvg. B of wëyn (Z') (see the sentence above)

nin ilkó wëyni, a man who has big teeth; this proverb implies
that appearances are often deceptive in a person who has the
reputation of being strong and prosperous

Past cvg. A

Márkii ninkii réerka laháa ye saboolka ahaa martidii faráa badnáyd arkáy buu nahay;
há yeeshó e wuu ká hishooday inuu 'arrawshó.

When the man who was in charge of the hamlet, and who was a poor man,
saw the guests who were great [in] number he was startled; nevertheless
he was ashamed to send them away in the afternoon. (HS20/6-8)

badnáyd, 3 sg. f. past cvg. A of badán (AN') (see the second sentence
illustrating pres. comp.)

laháa, 3 sg. m. past cvg. A of lé (Z'), which here has the
specialized meaning 'to be in charge of'

ahaa, 3 sg. m. past cvg. B of yáhay (STR) to be

faráa = faraha = faró + the definite article *ka*

faró (masc. noun) number, group, amount; this word is
probably a plural form of *fár* finger

faráa badnáyd, lit. 'who were great number'

há yeeshó e, nevertheless; note that this phrase contains 3 sg. f.
optative of *yéel* (Z) to do, to agree

'arrawshó, or optionally, 'arraabiyó, 3 sg. m. pres. gen. dvg. A of
'arraabi (IN) to cause to travel in the afternoon; reference is
made here to the hardship of travelling in the heat of the after-
noon and the risk of not reaching the next village before sunset

Past cvg. B

Góor qów baa rággli wáaweynaa na geeláshli hór yimi.

Soon the grown men came also to the herds of camels. (QA902-3)

wáaweynaa, 3 pl. past cvg. B, r. mld. of wēyn (see the second sentence illustrating pres. cvg. A)

qów, pres. cvg. A of qów (Z') to be near

góor qów lit. 'time which is near', i.e. soon

geeláshli hór yimi, lit. 'came before the herds of camels', i.e. came to the herds of camels and stood in front of them

Neg. pres.-past dep. A

Fáras aanád lahayn futaqarád baa Lagá helaa.

You get a sore backside from a horse which you do not own. (Pr.)

lahayn, neg. pres.-past dep. A of lé (Z')

futaqarád (masc. noun, archaic) a sore on the backside; cf. fúto (fem. noun) backside; the second component of this compound noun is obscure

Lagá helaa, lit. 'someone gets (it) from ' or 'people get (it) from '

Neg. pres.-past dep. B

Náf aan náag lahayni nolól má haysató.

A person who has no wife does not have [a happy] life.

lahayni, neg. pres.-past dep. B of lé (Z')

náf (fem. noun) soul, person, man

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10. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 273, 1995, 1025-1026.

Finally, a number of eccentric forms should be noted, in all of which some kind of reduplication occurs. Such eccentric forms represent only a very small percentage of the sample available :

eehar'haat- (PR eehar- 'follow') 'be always following'

xwayluwuw- (PR xwayluw- 'bear children') 'be generally producing children'

dararah- (PR dah- 'enter') 'be continually coming in'

Some examples of these forms should be noted :

lôhi kâ warḥaaḥatiikâ 'the road is impassable'

bâha uruuxaaxin guri puriûts 'the hyena went on pulling and got further away'

tari hiikwâ in duûx dâqay tari hi'imamiit 'they took their cattle and wandered off (during the period)'

daqô do Gwande tana aakô in leeleehiit 'the children from Gwande's family were looking for their father'

tari âdoo ri-r koomamiit umu qo deelo rô 'and they went on like this everyday'

gârma ina /aa/aamamin bârà mâr'i gana hootaatin 'the child was weeping in the house which he was living in'

naagay na/a'i-w ôs kukâ ? gina /ay(i)mamiis bârà mar'i-r ôsi nai uraarayé 'where are those children of his ? I fed them in his house and they grew up (over a long period)'

bâhu niwa hardahiyé bahâ-r in kâri mûuxâaxin 'when the hyenas arrived their fellow-hyena was set upon (by them)'

lawulû-wôs giri warqés guri muutaatin âr lawulu-w ôs 'he changed his spears and went on stabbing it (snake) with them'

inûs gu âlûwa eehar'haât ne gunawa qaaseesén 'he was following behind him, and laughing at him the while'

tu'ô iri tlubaabin, Kâreeri i bârà do hootaatin 'it was raining hard and Kareeri stayed in the house'

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing discussion the main characteristics of the Iraqw radical can now be summarized : the simple radical is commonly of a bi- or tri-literal shape but all shapes can be grouped into classes on the basis of the subsidiary patterns which can be inferred from a given primary one. The two main primary patterns are those with a final long vowel, and those with a final short vowel. Of these . . . VVm- in the former and final . . . aw- in the latter represent the two most clearly differentiated groups. Both these primary patterns are associated

with two subsidiary patterns, occurring in the 2nd and 3rd Person respectively.¹ Most other primary patterns have only one subsidiary pattern, occurring in the 2nd Person.

The majority of simple radicals may be associated with post-radical extensions of a shape -VVC- (-VVs-, -VVt-, -VVm-). The first of these is associated with a Causative connotation and the two latter with a Progressive connotation, though the precise distinction between the two is not always easy to establish. Extensions may also occur with internal extensions : the first and second with a shape -ma-, and the second and third with a shape -aaC-, both of which are associated with a repetitive or habitual connotation, though here again there is a considerable range of connotation.

These general statements do not, however, seem to provide any further evidence for Semitic or Cushitic affinities. The bi- or tri-literal shape of the simple radical is a Semitic characteristic but there is little else in support of this. In the absence of tone-classes and in the general position of extensions there is perhaps some affinity with Cushitic. Partial reduplication is, of course, extremely common, though not, perhaps, in the specific patterns of Iraqw. In conclusion, therefore, one is forced to maintain the view that the language should be treated as an isolated unit, without affiliation to any of the established larger groupings.

¹ An example from each of these two may be useful here :

kâw- 'go'		lootîim- 'milk (a cow)'
kâw	1st Pers. Sing.	lootîim
keér	2nd Pers. Sing.	lootîin
kây	3rd Pers. (Gp. 1 Nominals)	lootîn
keér	3rd Pers. (Gp. 2 Nominals)	lootîin

Gp. 1 nominals includes masculine personal subjects : Gp. 2 nominals includes feminine personal subjects.

THE OPERATION OF GENDER IN HAUSA: THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND GENITIVE COPULA

By F. W. PARSONS

In a previous article a definition was given of the term 'gender' as applicable to Hausa, together with a brief description both of the types of word that control its operation and of its exponents, i.e. the types of word that are affected by it.¹ In this article it is proposed to give a more detailed description of the operation of gender in Hausa as it affects some of the exponents and also to consider certain anomalies, real or apparent, in the system.

Before proceeding to do so, however, I feel it incumbent upon me to clarify something that was said in the previous article. I refer to the exclusion from further consideration of what is generally termed 'the plural' on the ground that this series of concords, although syntactically commutable with the other two series termed 'masculine' and 'feminine', is—unlike them—not controlled by a *basic* form of Nominal, but only by a mutated or inflected form thereof.² Now it may be contended that, since the expression 'a basic form of Nominal' was nowhere defined except by implication, this argument for excluding the plural was a circular one. It may further be objected that, whereas the two forms *jaakli* 'he-ass' and *jaakaa* 'she-ass' can be regarded as morphologically of equal status, the two forms *zaakli* 'lion' and *zaakanyaa* 'lioness' can scarcely be so regarded; and of this latter pair only the masculine form can be properly described as 'basic', the feminine form containing a formative suffix *-anyaa* or *-nyaa*. I fully admit the force of this objection and to having been guilty of an oversimplification in my statement. For the term 'basic' I now wish to substitute the term 'pluralizable'. I do not wish at this stage to discuss in detail the difference between what I term 'feminine' and 'feminative' Nominals, but only to say that *jaakaa* and *zaakanyaa* are respective examples of the two. Now it happens that in the particular case of *zaakli* and *zaakanyaa* there is only one plural form extant, viz. *zaakookii*, which is morphologically derivable from *zaakli*. But with other feminatives having the suffix *-(a/i/u)nyaa*, or else a simpler form of the same suffix without the nasal *-(i)yaa*/*-(u)waa*, plurals are regularly formed from the stems of such Nominals, as well as from their bases.³ e.g. *kibiyooyii* 'arrows', from the stem of the only extant singular form *kibiyyaa*, alongside *kibau* and *kibai*, which are formed straight from the base *kib-*; *tukunyooyii* 'cooking-pots', from

the stem of the only extant singular form *tukunyaa*, alongside *tukwaaanee* and *tukwankwanii*, which are formed straight from the base **tukn-*; *'akwiyooyii* 'goats' from *'akwiyaa*, alongside *'awaakii* from the base **'auk-*. Indeed in the case of many Nominals only such extended forms are extant, both in the singular and the plural, e.g. *giginyaa*, pl. *giginyooyii*/*giginyuu* 'deleb-palm'; *bishiyaa*, pl. *bishiyoooyii* 'bush, tree'; *beeguwa*, pl. *beeguwooyii* 'porcupine'; *hanyaa*, pl. *hanyoooyii* 'road, way'; *kyanwaa*, pl. *kyanwooyii* 'cat'; *muryaa*, pl. *muryoooyii* 'voice'; *shirwaa*, pl. *shirwooyii* 'kite'. Now plurals of this type and structure may at a strictly morphological level be described as feminative, or even feminine plurals; but neither with regard to the concords they control nor to their meanings do they exhibit any difference from plurals of the morphologically direct type.⁴ It is therefore apparent that pluralization is to be regarded as a morphological process of a different order from feminization as represented by *zaakanyaa*, *'akwiyaa*, *tsoofuwaa*, etc., or indeed from other forms of nominal suffixation as represented by, e.g., *sàrantàa* < **sàrak-t-àa* 'office of chief' or 'official position', an abstract derivative from the extended base of *sarkii* 'chief', *saraak-*, which appears also in *bàsaràakèe* 'office holder', in *saraunlyaa* 'queen, etc.' and in the common plural of all three words, *saraakunaa*; this word *sàrantàa*, too, having plural forms *sàrantuu* and *sarautooii* formed therefrom. Hence, by 'pluralizable' I mean capable of transformation by a process of such an order, the ensuing form or forms always controlling plural concords.⁵ The term 'extendable', being used, is not a suitable one, since (i) by no means all plural forms are extensions of singular forms, e.g. *giginyaa*, pl. *giginyuu*, and *sàrantàa*, pl. *sàrantuu* (see above); *màcèe/màataa*, pl. *maataa* 'woman, wife, female'; (ii) many plural forms are themselves extendable, e.g. *maatàayee* = *maataa* 'women, wives, females' (above); *mazàajee* = *mazaa*, pl. of (na)mijli 'man, male, husband'; *'itaatuwaa* 'trees', pl. of *'itaacee* 'wood, tree', pl. of *'ic(e)ee* 'wood'.⁶ But—and this is the real criterion—such further extended or 'double' plural forms⁷ do not as a rule involve any change in the concords, which are still simply plural,⁸ as do such further extensions as *'akwiyaa*—*'akwiyooyii*. Where they do involve such a change,

¹ e.g. *'akwiyooyii* is completely synonymous with *'awaakii*: it does not merely denote *she-goats*.

² Tonal change within the base, be it noted, is not an additional criterion. For (i) by no means all Nominals have contrasted tones in their bases as between their singular and plural forms; (ii) some feminatives, though a minority, have a different tone in their bases from that of the corresponding masculine form; (iii) abstract and other derivative Nominals have a set tone-pattern, or tone-patterns, depending on their structure and meaning and in no way related to the tone-pattern of the Nominal from which they are derived.

³ See 'An Introduction to Gender in Hausa', 120.

⁴ Not all double plural forms, however, are further extended, e.g. *'awaakai* = *'awaakii* 'goats' (cf. *'asirai*, pl. *'asirai* 'secret'), whilst others, e.g. *'asirurrukàa*, are equally derivable either from the singular or from the shorter plural form.

⁵ They may, however, involve some change of meaning, either in the direction of greater numbers, or else some idiomatic connotation, e.g. *mazàajee* 'he-men', heroes' (cf. *'iskaa* 'air, wind', pl. *'iskookii* 'evil spirits').

¹ 'An Introduction to Gender in Hausa', *ALS*, I, 1960, 117–136.

² op. cit., 121.

³ By the term 'base' I mean all that remains of a singular Nominal that does not contain any regular (and usually also 'living') formative element when it has been stripped of its vowel termination and its tone-pattern. By the term 'stem' I mean all that remains of an extended or derived Nominal similarly stripped.

