

# 111 Somali ideophones\*

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**ABSTRACT** *The paper presents the first systematic account of a substantial number of Somali ideophones. The ideophones are first defined according to a number of phonological and morphosyntactic criteria, followed by a discussion of the semantic fields covered by ideophones in Somali compared with other African languages (Section 1). The ideophones themselves are then categorized according to basic semantic fields (Section 2), and finally arranged and presented alphabetically with glosses and English translation (Section 3).*

The existence of ideophones in Somali (and other Cushitic languages) seems to have long gone unnoticed by scholars of African languages. E.g. Welmers (1973: 459) does not mention Cushitic, while reporting that ideophones exist 'in virtually every Niger-Congo language, as well as typically in Nilo-Saharan languages and at least in languages of the Chadic branch of Afro-Asiatic.'

It was Andrzejewski who brought them to attention in a passage of his notes to Galaal's (1956) texts:

There is a great deal of fluctuation in the shape and the meaning of words like qac,<sup>1</sup> daf, fiiq, shib, xaf, and in fact the speaker may invent, on the spur of the moment, a new word of this kind to suit his particular need. Words of this kind have often unusual combinations of sounds, impossible in other types of words, and they often suggest, by the acoustic impression they give, the meaning they

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<sup>1</sup> Somali is consistently written in the National Orthography, whose main characteristics are: «c» and «x» are voiced and voiceless pharyngeal fricatives; «dh» is a voiced post-alveolar retroflex plosive; «sh» is a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative and «kh» is a voiceless uvular or velar fricative (found in Arabic loans only). «'» is a glottal stop (unwritten in word-initial position) and «j» a voiced or voiceless palato-alveolar affricate. Doubling of the character shows vowel length and consonant gemination.

The following tags are used in glosses:

ANAPH	anaphoric determiner	JUSS	jussive
ART	definite article determiner	M	masculine
F	feminine	NEG	negative
FOC	focus marker	P	plural
GEN	genitive case	REFL	reflexive pronoun
IMP	impersonal pronoun	S	singular
IMPV	imperative		

convey. I propose to call the words of this kind 'Imitative Words'. The Imitative Words usually occur together with the verb *sii* 'to give' and the verb *yidhi* 'to say' (Galaal 1956: 94; emphasis ours; Somali retranscribed according to the Standard Orthography).

In these few sentences Andrzejewski highlighted all the problems which have become standard issues of the research on ideophones, in Africa and beyond. In the following section we will test Andrzejewski's assumptions in the light of our own data, in order to arrive at a sufficiently strict definition of ideophone in Somali. Summing up and anticipating our results, ideophones in Somali are a subclass of nouns determined on the basis of specific phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic criteria.

### *1. Definition and characteristics of Somali ideophones*

It is well known that no single universal criterion, or even array of criteria, is met by ideophones all around the world, and even in a single language. Childs (1994: 196) suggests that 'a prototype definition with less good members of the class on the periphery and a core of "best" ideophones at the center' would be a possible solution. It is also well known that ideophones share a good deal with onomatopoeias, but, as Kulemekka (1993: 11) puts it 'while iconic or onomatopoeic forms are certainly a part of ideophones, they make up a very small part of the study of the phenomenon.' On the other hand, interjections (of which there is of course a wide array in Somali) fall outside the scope of the present study – and this notwithstanding some possible borderline cases in which an interjection is the basis for some morphologically derived forms (cf. #110 *yur*). In general, interjections do not share with ideophones the same phonological and morphosyntactic restrictions and categorizations.

May ideophones indeed be invented 'on the spur of the moment'? The very existence among Andrzejewski's data of *raṣh* 'a quick movement' (Galaal 1956: 94), created on the basis of English *to rush* (by Galaal himself, or current among Somali expatriates in England in the 50's?) seems to prove this, and also that ideophones 'serve *individual* expressiveness' (Childs 1994: 195). Welmers (1973: 463-4) considers similar assumptions 'wild exaggerations,' suggesting that 'with possible occasional exceptions, ideophones in any languages are, like other forms, part of the community-accepted lexicon of arbitrary associations between sound and meaning.' On the whole our own findings seem to confirm Welmers' opinion, although every Somali devotee of poetry well knows that a good poet (a modern and well-appreciated case in point is Maxamed Ibraahim 'Hadrawi') will frequently insert in his text new, invented ideophones (and much more; for the complex problem of 'what happens in the listener's mind' upon hearing a new word, under which conditions this will be accepted, and how it can be translated, cf. Andrzejewski 1988). Fluctuation does indeed occur (and we have noted a few instances in our list; e.g., #39 *gāb/geb* 'to turn upside down'), but not in any exceptional proportion. Of course, further collection of data with other Somali speakers (of different clan affiliation, geographical origin, and dialect) is needed. On the other hand, if ideophones are cross-linguistically well-

known for their high amount of variability – both interdialectal and intradialectal (cf. Childs 1994: 195), it is interesting to note that at least in one case (#88 shib) correspondence has been found in Tunni (a rather divergent Southern Somali dialect), as well as in the genetically related, but geographically and culturally widely separate Dhaasanac language of the Lake Turkana area. Further study is needed in this area, too.

### 1.1. Phonology

Most Somali ideophones have the shape CV(V)C – the most usual shape of a primitive root in Somali. The usual phonotactic constraints found in all Somali words apply, with one important exception: /m/ is admitted word-finally and does not undergo change into /n/. The number of /m/-final ideophones is fairly large (#16 dām, #41 gam, #48 ham, #83 sām, #102 wum (m), and #107 ya(ā)m), while /n/ is never found in the same position. As explained below, ideophones are feminine nouns and, as all consonant-final feminine nouns, they have High tone on their last or only vowel (realized as a uniformly High tone if the vowel is long). A final vowel is always avoided.

Complete reduplication, in order to convey repetition or intensity of the action expressed, is common, even mandatory in a few cases (cf. tixtix). Partial reduplication often involves the insertion of /l/ in C<sub>2</sub> position:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{CV}_\alpha\text{C} & \rightarrow & \text{CV}_\alpha\text{lV}_\alpha\text{C} \\ \text{E.g.: } \#68 \text{ maf} & \rightarrow & \#68\text{bis malaf} \end{array}$$

The few bisyllabic ideophones involve repetition of the initial V, following the pattern C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>α</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>α</sub>C<sub>3</sub>, in which C<sub>2</sub> is again most commonly /l/; e.g., #9 biliq, #15 dalaq, #58 jalaw, #86 shalab, etc. (but a few exceptions are found: sibiq, dhujuq). Reduplication of a bisyllabic ideophone involves the repetition of the CV segment of the second syllable only, resulting in a trisyllable, i.e.:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{C}_\alpha\text{V}_\alpha\text{C}_\beta\text{V}_\alpha\text{C} & \rightarrow & \text{CV}_\alpha\text{C}_\beta\text{V}_\alpha\text{C}_\beta\text{V}_\alpha\text{C} \\ \text{E.g.: } \#90 \text{ shulux} & \rightarrow & \#90\text{bis shululux} \end{array}$$

The same pattern is followed by a few ideophones which occur as trisyllables only (e.g. #92 tatatac). These last cases are dubious, and are possibly best analysed as recent formations, or even a sort of grammaticalized onomatopoeias, as seems to be implied also by the absence of a metaphoric usage. On the other hand, they behave just like all the other ideophones in all other respects (feminine gender, morphosyntactic restrictions, etc.).

In one case reduplication involves vowel change:

$$\#60\text{bis jiiq} \rightarrow \#60\text{bis jiiq-jaaq}$$

As for Andrzejewski's note on the phonosymbolism which would characterize the ideophones ('the acoustic impression they give'): broadly speaking, Somali ideophones look just as arbitrary as all other words, although, as expected, the 'frequency code' (Ohala 1983) operates in Somali as (possibly) everywhere, yielding a (very rough!) correlation between high pitch vocalizations (essentially: front vowels) and little, light, sharp things/phenomena, on the one hand, and low pitch realizations (back vowels) with large, heavy, dull ones, on the other.

Examples, chosen at random, are #23 dhiiq ‘to give out a hiss’ vs. #28 dhug ‘to give out an imploding hollow noise.’ But no clear-cut correlation is visible in many more cases. Another unexplored area is the correlation between specific consonants and consonant-classes and shades of meaning. From our data it is apparent that Somali ideophones cluster around certain consonants. A count of the consonants occurring in initial and final positions in the ideophones in our list<sup>2</sup> yields the following results:

*Occurrence as initial consonant:*

b	c	d	dh	f	g	h	j	k	kh	l	m	n	q	r	s	sh	t	w	y	y'	
12	1	5	11	9	4	12	10	2	—	1	1	2	10	1	3	7	3	8	4	4	1

*Occurrence as final consonant:*

b	c	d	dh	f	g	h	j	k	kh	l	m	n	q	r	s	sh	t	w	y	y'
17	10	1	—	12	14	2	—	—	—	1	6	—	23	2	2	6	—	8	7	—

*Arranged for frequency of occurrence:*

<i>Initially</i>		<i>Finally</i>	
b, h:	12	q:	23
dh:	11	b:	17
j, q:	10	g:	14
f:	9	f:	12
w:	8	c:	10
sh:	7	w:	8
d:	5	x:	7
g, x, y:	4	m, sh:	6
s, t:	3	h, r, s:	2
k, n:	2	d, l:	1
c, l, m, r, ':	1	dh, j, k, kh, n, r, t, y, ':	0
kh:	0		

A clearer picture is obtained if consonants are arranged according to phonological classes:

	<i>Initially</i>	<i>Finally</i>
'labials' (/b, f, m, w/)	30	43
'coronals' (/d, dh, j, l, n, r, s, sh, t, y/)	47	12
'dorsals' (/g, k, kh, q/)	16	37
'gutturals' (/c, h, x, ' /)	18	19

While no noticeable preferences seem to operate word-initially, in final position an interesting pattern emerges: ideophones tend not to end in a coronal consonant. Coronals, which account for 10 out of 22 consonants, are found as final in only 12 out of 111 ideophones (approx. 10%) – and this remains a fact even when one discounts the fact that a few phonemes are rare and almost never found word-finally in the Somali vocabulary in general. This can be interpreted as a negative confirmation of the 'Coronal Syndrome' (cf. Paradis & Prunet 1991)

<sup>2</sup> For counting purposes, the 111 'basic' ideophones only (i.e., without their reduplicated allomorphs) have been considered.

– the universal tendency to use coronals as the most unmarked and default consonants (e.g. as epenthetic or 'dummy' consonant, as result of place neutralization rules etc.); one may hypothesize that ideophones, in order to be 'expressive', would make use of just what is phonologically most marked. It must be remembered, on the other hand, that we do not know of any calculations of consonant occurrence in the Somali vocabulary in general, against which to test our results.

## 1.2. Morphosyntax

Somali ideophones have the following morphological characteristics:

- unlike ideophones in most African languages, Somali ideophones are not verbs or even verb-like; instead, they are fully-fledged nouns;
- as such they may have a definite or anaphoric determiner suffixed to them;
- they have feminine gender;
- unlike prototypical Somali nouns, they may not be pluralized (but see below);
- they may be, and often are, reduplicated, in order to express repetition or intensity of the action (covering in this way at least partially the range of meanings of nominal plurals).

The use of an ideophone in a positive declarative sentence involves the presence of a nominal focus marker (*baa/ayaa*); a focus-neutral sentence (with *waa*) is generally avoided; two possibilities arise:

- if a nominal is present, it will carry the focus; the ideophone immediately follows, and is therefore part of the verbal piece, within which it constitutes the first element, followed by any adverbial, adpositional and pronominal particle, and by the verbal form itself; e.g.:

<i>irriddii</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	<i>qab</i>	<i>tiri</i>	'the door banged' (#72 <i>qab</i> )
door.F.ANAPH	FOC	<i>qab</i>	said.3F	

- if a nominal is not present, the ideophone itself is focalized, and an affix subject pronoun is suffixed to the focus marker; e.g.:

<i>big</i>	<i>buu</i>	<i>yiri</i>	'he left suddenly' (#5 <i>big</i> )
<i>big</i>	FOC.3M	said.3M	(where <i>buu</i> = <i>baa</i> 'FOC' + <i>-uu</i> 'subject.3M')

As far as collocational restrictions are concerned, ideophones are limited to use with the verb *yiri* 'to say' when intransitive (an 'Ethiopian' or Horn-of-African areal feature; cf. Ferguson 1970), and the verb *sii* 'to give' when transitive; if the use of the ideophone with the verb *yiri* 'to say' is transitive, its use with the verb *sii* 'to give' involves a causative meaning. Transitivity/causativization is restricted on semantic grounds. When used with a suffixed determiner the ideophones acquire full nominal properties and may be used with other verbs too.

As everywhere (cf. Childs 1994: 188), ideophones are much more common in positive, declarative sentences, but in Somali are by no means excluded in negative sentences (cf. #71 and #72 below), in questions (cf. #72, #100, and #110), or, less surprisingly, in imperative sentences (cf. #5 and #10). Finally, ideophones may occur in subordinate clauses (cf. #61 and #73). In many languages ideophones are excluded from topicalized or focused sentences, while

in Somali the very presence of a focalized noun in the same sentence is a prerequisite of their occurrence; on the other hand, it is well known that focus in Somali is a highly grammaticalized phenomenon, at least partially independent of pragmatic considerations. Finally, ideophones are the basis of a (somewhat reduced) derivational morphology, generally through the suffix *-le* 'owner, keeper' (cf. #1, #3, #71 and #72) – but cf. also #110 *yur*, an expression used to frighten off a wild animal, from which both a noun *yurta* 'shooing, chasing away' and a verb *yuree* 'to shoo, scare off' are derived (cf. Zorc 1991: 530).

The pragmatics of the use of ideophones, and their eventual connections with gesture, has not been investigated, but, on the whole, Somali ideophones look much less 'pragmatically bound' than their counterparts in other African languages; it is tempting to think that this is in correlation with their noun-like character.

### 1.3. *Semantics*

Somali ideophones cover a narrower range of meanings than their equivalents in other African languages – such as many Bantu languages (cf. Samarin 1971, Alexandre 1966). It therefore seems scarcely useful to try and force Somali ideophones into Alexandre's grid of semantic fields for the ideophones in Bulu (1966: 14):

- A. idéophones évoquant une perception sensorielle ou illustrant son expression:
  1. auditive; 2. visuelle; 3. tactile; 4. gustative; 5. (pour mémoire) olfactive.
- B. idéophones illustrant ou évoquant le comportement d'êtres vivants: 1. physique:
  - (a) attitude, état; (b) action; 2. moral.
- C. idéophones illustrant l'aspect, l'état etc. d'objets divers: 1. dans leur mouvements; 2. dans leur situation.

Within Alexandre's grid most Somali ideophones could well fit in categories A.1 and B.1/C.1. It is true on the other hand that categories A.1-5 ('la plus riche') comprises in Bulu 'un nombre important d'onomatopées': we tried to exclude them from consideration, and the result is that Somali ideophones expressing noises and auditive impressions seem to be only in part phonosymbolic – contrary to the situation in Bulu, where 'la très grande majorité est, néanmoins, imitative' (Alexandre 1966: 15).

As might be expected, the vast majority of ideophones express intensive or exaggerated shades of meaning: not just 'eating' but 'wolfing down'; not 'killing' but 'wiping out'; not 'breaking' but 'smashing.' Concepts such as 'sipping' or 'nipping' are rarely, if ever, expressed with ideophones.

The category of visual impressions ('moins riche' in Bulu, too) is almost absent in Somali, which rather makes use of a rich range of nouns for different shades of colour and brightness, distinguishing e.g. madow '(matt) black' from *yusuc* 'bright black.'

While Somali ideophones are morphosyntactically nominals, semantically they are verb-like in expressing actions and changes of state, rather than situations. The most common semantic fields are those of:

- A. movement, which can in its turn be loosely subdivided into:
  1. ideophones expressing direction of movement, e.g.

- (a) to start motion, enter, penetrate and their semantic causatives: to put into motion, insert, thrust etc.
  - (b) to stop moving, go out, come off and their semantic causatives: to stop movement, pull off, extract etc.
  - (c) to come down, fall, drop and their semantic causatives: to push, drop down etc.
2. ideophones expressing mode of movement: to hop, to swish, to jump, to rush, to roll, to graze etc.
- B. 1. to hit, in various ways and shades of degree (e.g. to whip, to knock down etc.); and
2. to break (intransitively), in various shades of meaning, and its semantic causatives: to crack, break, smash etc. Other ideophones whose basic meaning centres around the idea of 'catching, grabbing' etc. may also be considered here.
- C. to give out a sound (of various types); obviously, this is the category most likely to display phonosymbolism and true onomatopoeic formation. A few other ideophones express various shades of light behaviour (to sparkle, to lighten etc.). Finally:
- D. many isolated semantic fields, among which particularly common are: to die and to kill, to drink and to eat.

Often semantic fields combine, as when direction and mode of movement are combined – e.g. 'to roll down.' Combinations are particularly common between noise and movement – e.g. in order to describe the noise produced by something coming off abruptly.

All this is tentatively summarized in the Semantic Categorization in Section 2, in which the ideophones are divided among the four basic categories ('Movement', 'Hitting and Breaking', 'Sound and Light', and 'Miscellanea') sketched above. Given the great number of combinations of meaning involving both direction and mode of movement, and both actions and noise, we have considered it advisable to group the ideophones loosely according to shades of meaning.

As for the columns: 'noise' means that either the presence (+) or the absence (–) of noise is implied in the 'basic meaning' of the action expressed by the ideophone. The column labelled 'kind of movement / degree of noise / prototypical subject' is meant to provide a wide array of other possible information, with the aim of narrowing down the 'basic meaning'. A special column ('metaphorical use / derived meaning') is reserved for the attested possibility (+) or not (–) of a metaphorical derived use, in which case the basic meaning itself may be also modified: either narrowed down (as in 'to shit' from 'to splash down') or extended (as in 'to hit (in general)' from 'to whip'). The presence of a metaphorical usage seems important not only in separating proper ideophones from onomatopoeias and interjections, but also as a means of granting ideophones a less individually bound and more collectively acceptable possibility of use – in other words, in a less 'archetypical' ideophonic way. It will

be noticed, for example, that ideophones may be used when discussing politics (#32, 107), or love and romance (#8, 50).

Given the great number of movements and other actions involving noise, in Category C ('Sound and Light') only those ideophones expressing primarily and/or exclusively a noise are included. Obviously, in this category 'noise' is present by default.

## 2. Semantic categorization

### CATEGORY A: MOVEMENT

<i>Basic meaning</i>	<i>Noise</i>	<i>Kind of movement / Degree of noise / Prototypical subject</i>	<i>Metaphoric usage / Derived meaning</i>	<i>Ideophone</i>
TO SET OFF, RAISE ETC.				
to start motion, get off	–		+	5 big
to rush off	+	(involving both noise and light)	+ = to burst	12 bul
to lift up	–	(slowly, with care)	–	43 ḥāb
to rise, lift up	–	(quickly)	–	46 haf
TO GO DOWN, FALL, COME OUT ETC.				
to drip	–		–	9 biliq
to drop	+		–	81 rig
to drop	+	(liquid; slowly)	–	93 tixtix
to fall	+	(splattering)	+ = to shit	10 buc
to drop	+	(in a narrow place)	–	58 jalaw
to fall down rolling	+		–	96 wab
to fall upon	–	(wrapping)	+	44 hab
to drop upon	+	(said of water or any liquid)	–	86 shalab
to drop upon	+	(reduplication of #84)	–	86bis shalalab
to shower down	+	(said of water)	–	87 shaw
to pour down	+	(said of water or rain)	–	85 shalaab
to fall, drop	+	(into a liquid)	–	89 shuluq
to crash down	+	(said of something huge, e.g. a stone)	–	102 wum(m)
to fall down	+	(with a soft sound)	–	90 shulux
to crash down	+	(reduplication of #90)	–	90bis shululux
to jump upon	–	(metaphorically: to hug)	+ = to hug	49 haw
to fall upon, attack	–		–	45 hababac
to come out	–		+	40 gaf
to come out	–		–	36 fud
to sprinkle	+		–	33 fash
to sprout	–	(said of something big)	–	37 fug



to break out	–	(said of sweat, rash)	–	34 fax
TO ENTER, PENETRATE ETC.				
to slip in	–	(without noise; also: to catch)	+ = to fuck (vulgar)	19 dhab
to enter, slip into	–	(without noise)	+	84 sibiq
to slip into	–	(without coming out)	–	67 lib
to fall into	–	(without coming out)	–	61 jub
to slip into	–		–	108 yub
to penetrate	–	(neatly)	–	91 shuq
to pass from part to part	–		–	64 juq
to pass through	+	(swishing)	–	109 yulux
to rush	–	(without noise; also: to grab)	–	14 daf
to catch	–	(unexpectedly, without noise)	+ = to rape (vulgar)	69 nab
OTHERS				
to hop	–	(with a target)	–	2 balaw
to hop	–	(with no target)	–	4 baw
to skim past	+	(with speed)	+	98 waf
to make close contact	+		+	54 huf
to pass nearby	+		–	105 xuf
to stop suddenly	–		+	82 sag
to turn upside down	–		–	39 gəb/geb

## CATEGORY B: HITTING AND BREAKING

<i>Basic meaning</i>	<i>Noise</i>	<i>Kind of movement / Degree of noise / Prototypical subject</i>	<i>Metaphoric usage / Derived meaning</i>	<i>Ideophone</i>
to break	–		–	73 qac
to break in two	+	(dangling without falling)	–	24 dhiliq
to break	+	(with a light sound)	–	1 baf
to crush	+	(with a loud sound)	–	3 bash
to crack	+	(with a squeaking sound)	–	22 dhash
to cut	+	(horizontally)	–	56 jaf
to cut	+	(neatly and sharply)	–	103 xaf
to pierce	+	(also: to elbow, push off)	+	50 hig
to prick	–		–	94 tush
to tear	+	(with a ripping noise, e.g. skin, cloth)	–	20 dhac
to puncture	–	(making a hole)	+	21 dhag
to bang	+	(said of iron; higher sound than #42 gub)	–	76 qaw
to slam	+	(said of door)	+ = to gulp down	72 qab

to knock	+	(said of wood)	–	42 gub
to knock	+	(said of wood; with less force than #42 gub)	–	66 kub
to push	–		–	57 jag
to push, shove, drive on	+	(said of animal; derogatory of a person)	–	65 kir
to push, kick	+		–	62 jug
to shoo, chase away	+	(said of animal; derogatory of a person)	–	110 yur
to whip	+		+ = to hit (in general)	100 wash
to disjoint, dislocate	–	(said of a limb)		101 wiiq

## CATEGORY C: SOUND AND LIGHT

<i>Basic meaning</i>	<i>Noise</i>	<i>Kind of movement / Degree of noise / Prototypical subject</i>	<i>Metaphoric usage / Derived meaning</i>	<i>Ideophone</i>
<b>SOUND</b>				
to cry, shout	+	(threatening)	–	106 xuux
to cry, shout	+	(suddenly, loudly)	–	95 waaw
to bark	+	(said of dog)	+ = to over-power	99 wah
to rasp	+	(throat)	–	71 qaaq
to sneeze	+	(suddenly and violently)	–	51 hindhis
to cough	+		–	80 qux
to retch	+		–	79 quuq
to shoot repeatedly	+		–	92 tatatac
to ring, clink	+	(said of bell)	+ = to come to mind	75 qalaw
to squeak	+	(said of wood and bird)	–	60 jiiq
to squeak	+	(same as the above)	–	77 qiiq
to squeak	+	(said of shoes)	–	60bis jiiqjaaq
to bang	+	(said of wood)	–	59 jaq
to explode	+		+	11 bug
to blast	+	(said of hot air)	–	53 hoh
to choke	+	(for sickness, death, surprise)	–	104 xiq
to give out a hiss	+	(said of compressed air)	–	23 dhiiq
to give out a hiss	+	(as #23 dhiiq, but more violent)	–	25 dhiq
to block, deafen	+	(said of ears)	–	26 dhub
to get unblocked	+	(said of ears, containers)	–	31 faq
to pop out	+	(said of air)	–	27 dhuc
to give out a noise	+	(imploding, hollow)	–	28 dhug

to give out a noise	+	(drawn-out)	-	6 biiq
to give out a noise	+	(wheezing, shorter than #6 biiq)	-	7 biq
to stop	+	(said of breath, for surprise or pain)	-	52 hiq
to hush	+		-	88 shib
to thunder	+		-	78 quququc

## LIGHT

to give off a sparkling light	-		-	47 halalac
to give off a piercing light	-	(less violent than #97 wac)	+ = to slip in, penetrate	8 bilig
to give off a piercing light	-	(more violent than #8 bilig)	+ = to tear apart	97 wac
to break out	-	(the same as #83 sām)	+ = to wipe off; to gulp down	16 dām
to go out	-	(the same as #16 dām)	-	83 sām

## CATEGORY D: MISCELLANEA

<i>Basic meaning</i>	<i>Noise</i>	<i>Kind of movement / Degree of noise / Prototypical subject</i>	<i>Metaphoric usage / Derived meaning</i>	<i>Ideophone</i>
to swallow	-	(something small)	-	15 dalaq
to swallow	+	(involuntarily)	-	29 dhujuq
to gulp down	+	(without chewing)	-	63 juluq
to gulp down	-	(something small)	+	107 yalam
to wolf down	-	(not necessarily in one mouthful)	-	17 dig
to wolf down	-		-	48 ham
to wipe off	-		-	41 gam
to wipe off	-		-	68 maf
to wipe off	-		-	68bis malaf
to die	-	(suddenly or violently)	-	74 qalaf
to crackle	+	(said of dry wood or leaves)	-	55 jac
to bubble	+		-	38 fush
to stink	-		-	111 uf
to trick	-	(in playing)	+ = to cheat (in general)	32 fas
to play 'snatch and grab'	-		-	70 nux
to suck	-		-	35 fiiq

to untie	–	+= to flee	30 fag
to fall in a deep sleep	–	–	18 dug
to fill	– (completely, to the brim)	+	13 cib

### 3. Alphabetical listing

#### b

- 1 baf to break with a lacerating, dry sound; used for reed etc., and, in general, of light things breaking with a cracking sound; in the case of bones, while for a larger bone #3 bash would be used, for a smaller bone, such as a finger, baf is preferred:
- farta ayuu baf ka yiri 'his finger broke'  
 finger=F.ART FOC.3M baf from said.3M
- far baa baf tiri 'a finger broke with a crack'  
 finger FOC baf said.3F
- farteeda ayuu baf ka siiyay  
 finger.F.3F.ART FOC.3M baf from gave.3M  
 'he broke her finger with a crack'
- derivative: bafle (cf. #3 bash):  
 qawaaxan waa bafle  
 cane=this declarative-marker baf.owner  
 'this [sugar-]cane is hard to break (and is not good to eat, because dry and fibrous)'
- 2 balaw to hop (generally with a target; cf. #4 baw, of which balaw could be a reduplicative form with partially modified meaning):
- derbigii ayuu balaw ka yiri  
 wall=M.3M FOC.3M balaw from said.3M  
 'he hopped upon the wall, crossed the wall hopping'
- 3 bash to crush (similar to #1 baf, but for larger objects, such as bone, wood etc.):
- lugtiisa ayaa bash tiri 'his leg broke crushing'  
 leg.F.3M.ART FOC bash said.3F
- lafta ayuu bash ka siiyay 'he crushed his bone'  
 leg.F.ART FOC.3M bash from gave.3M
- dhalo ayay madaxiisa bash ku siisay  
 bottle FOC.3F head.M.3M.ART bash to gave.3M  
 'she crashed a bottle on his head'
- derivative: bashle (cf. #1 baf):  
 qawaaxan waa bashle  
 cane=this declarative-marker bash.owner  
 'this [sugar-]cane is easy to break (and tasty, because fresh and juicy)'
- 4 baw to hop lifting the legs from the ground together (as #2 balaw, but without intention and without a fixed target). Often reduplicated:
- arigii baa baw baw yiri  
 goats.M.ANAPH FOC baw baw said.3M  
 'the goats were hopping around'

- lugihii buu dhulka baw ka siiyay  
legs.M.ANAPH FOC.3M hearth.M.ART baw from gave.3M  
'he lifted his legs from the ground'
- 5 big to get off suddenly (cf. also #12 bul):  
big buu yiri 'he left suddenly'  
big FOC.3M said.3M  
big dheh ee soo laabo 'go and come back!'  
big say.IMPV.S and here turn.IMPV.S  
big iska dheh 'run away!'  
big REFL.from say.IMPV.S  
hal mar bay big isla yiraahdeen  
1 time FOC.3P big REFL.with said.3P  
'they all left suddenly'
- metaphorical usage:*  
nalkii baa big (big) leh 'the light comes and goes'  
light.M.ANAPH FOC big (big) said.3M  
(leh is used here instead of the synonymous yiri 'he said')  
nalkii ayuu big (big) ka siiyay  
light.M.ANAPH FOC.3M big (big) from gave.3M  
'he switched the torch on and off intermittently'
- 6 biig to give out a long, drawn-out noise (e.g. a fart):  
dameertii dhuuso bay biig ka siisay  
she-donkey.F.ANAPH fart FOC.3F biig from gave.3F  
'the she-donkey farted'
- 7 biq to give out a neat wheezing sound (shorter than #6 biig):  
buufinkii baa biq yiri 'the ball let off a wheezing sound'  
ball.M.ANAPH FOC biq said.3M  
kilkishiisii ayuu biq ka siiyay  
armpit.F.3M.ANAPH FOC.3M biq from gave.3M  
'he squeezed his armpit making a wheezing sound' (children's game to show strength)
- 8 bilig to give off a sudden moving and piercing light, as of lightning (cf. #96 wac, but less violent):  
nalkii baa meel fog bilig ayuu ka yiri  
light.M.ANAPH FOC place far bilig FOC.3M from said.3M  
'light appeared suddenly from afar'  
*metaphoric usage:* 'to slip in, penetrate':  
jacayl baa bilig igu yiri  
love FOC bilig me.in said.3M  
'love penetrated suddenly into me'
- 9 biliq to drip down:  
wax baa biliq igu soo yiri 'something wet dripped on me'  
thing FOC biliq me.in here said.3M  
caano ayuu biliq ku siiyay  
milk FOC.3M biliq in gave.3F  
'some milk dripped out of the baby's mouth' (lit.: 'the baby let some milk dribble out of his mouth')
- 10 buc to fall splattering down (intransitively) and the sound made thereby:  
dhulka ayuu buc ku yiri 'it splattered on the ground'  
earth.M.ART FOC.3M buc in said.3M

ukuntii      baa      buc      dhulka      ku      tiri  
egg.F.ANAPH    FOC      buc      earth.M.ART    in      said.3F  
'the egg fell splattering on the ground'

*metaphorical usage:* 'to shit' (used for children only):

cunuggii      baa      buc      siiyay      'the child shat'  
child.M.ANAPH    FOC      buc      gave.3F

hooyo,      buc      sii!  
mother      buc      give.IMPV.S

'baby, shit!' (said by the mother, who calls her child 'mother')

- 11 bug      to give off a hollow, booming sound; also said of beaten leather or mat:  
buurtii      baa      bug      tiri,      dabkii      baa      bul      yiri  
mountain.F.ANAPH    FOC      bug      said.3F    fire.M.ANAPH    FOC      bul      said.3M  
'the mountain erupted, and the flames suddenly rose' (for bul cf. #12)  
durbaankii      buu      bug      (bug)      ka      siiyay  
drum.M.ANAPH    FOC.3M      bug      (bug)      from      gave.3M  
'he hit the drum with a booming sound'

*metaphorical use:*

dadkii      baa      bug      yiri      'people ranted (e.g. with rage)'  
people.M.ANAPH    FOC      bug      said.3M  
dagaalkii      baa      bug      yiri      'fighting broke out'  
fight.M.ANAPH    FOC      bug      said.3M

- 12 bul      to rush off, with both sound and sight as a result of the action (e.g. a horse,  
person, people taking off, or a fire breaking out):  
fardihii      baa      bustii      ka      bul      siiyeen  
horses.M.ANAPH    FOC      dust.F.ANAPH    from      bul      gave.3P  
'the horses have raised the dust (rushing off)'  
dabkii      baa      bul      yiri      'the fire burst out all of a sudden'  
fire.M.ANAPH    FOC      bul      said.3M  
ka      bul      dheh      'get up and go away!' (an Isaaq idiom)  
from      bul      say.IMPV.S  
ka      bul      sii      'make them go away!' (an Isaaq idiom)  
from      bul      give.IMPV.S

*metaphorical usage:*

siyaasaddooda      ayaa      dadkii      bul      ka      siisay  
policy.F.3P.ART    FOC      people.M.ART    bul      from      gave.3M  
'their policy made people burst (with rage)'

### C

- 13 cib      to fill to the brim:  
calooshii      baa      cib      tiri      'the stomach is filled up'  
stomach.F.ANAPH    FOC      cib      said.3F  
martidii      ayuu      caano      cib      ka      siiyay  
guest.F.ANAPH    FOC.3M      milk      cib      from      gave.3M  
'the guest fully satiated himself with milk'  
*metaphorical usage:*  
ciil      buu      cib      yiri      'he has become full of rage'  
anger      FOC.3M      cib      said.3M

## d

- 14 daf (a) to rush into or out without noise:  
 aqalkii buu daf ku yiri 'he rushed into the house'  
 house.M.ANAPH FOC.3M daf in said.3M  
 aqalkii buu daf yidhi  
 house.M.ANAPH FOC.3M daf said.3M  
 'he rushed into the house' (Galaal 1956: 94)  
 (b) to grab something without noise and without careful consideration of  
 what is taken and from whom or where:  
 shaarkii buu daf yiri 'he grabbed the shirt'  
 shirt.M.ANAPH FOC.3M daf said.3M  
 cunuggii bay baf siisatay 'she grabbed her child'  
 child.F.ANAPH FOC.3F baf gave.3F  
 (siisatay is an 'auto-benefactive' derived form of the verb sii 'to give')
- 15 dalaq to swallow something small without noise:  
 tixsi baa dalaq igu yiri 'a fly landed in my mouth'  
 fly FOC dalaq me.in said.3M  
 xanjo ayuu dalaq siiyay  
 gum FOC.3M dalaq gave.3M  
 'he swallowed a chewing gum (by mistake)'
- 16 dām<sup>3</sup> (a) to break out suddenly (light, fire; = #80 sām):  
 dabkii baa dām yiri 'fire broke out suddenly'  
 fire.M.ANAPH FOC dām said.3M  
 (b) to finish:  
 cuntadii ayuu dām siiyay 'he cleaned all the food out'  
 food.F.ANAPH FOC.3M dām gave.3M  
 cuntadii ayuu dām ka siiyay  
 food.F.ANAPH FOC.3M dām from gave.3M  
 'he was the one who cleaned all the food out'  
*metaphorical usage:* to be destroyed; to wipe out:  
 dagaalka awgiis, magaaladii baa dām tiri  
 fight.M.ANAPH cause.F.3M town.F.ANAPH FOC dām said.3F  
 'after the war, the town was in utter ruin'  
 colkii buu dām ka siiyay  
 warriors.M.ANAPH FOC.3M dām from give.3M  
 'he completely wiped out the warriors'
- 17 dig to wolf down (not necessarily in one mouthful; cf. #62 juluq):  
 dhagax baa dig igu yiri 'I swallowed a stone'  
 stone FOC dig me.in said.3M  
 libaaxii ayaa hashii dig siiyay  
 lion.M.ANAPH FOC she-camel.F.ANAPH dig gave.3M  
 'the lion wolfed down the she-camel'
- 18 dug to fall in a deep sleep:  
 dug dheh 'hush, hush; go to sleep!' (said to a child)  
 dug say.IMPV.S

<sup>3</sup> The Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) tract – which is not written in the National Somali Orthography – is marked here when distinctive only by /./ under the relevant vowel.

daal            awgii            ayuu            (hurdo)    dug    la    yiri  
 fatigue    cause.M.ANAPH    FOC.3M    (sleep)    dug    with    said.3M  
 'he was dead tired and he fell asleep'

## dh

19 dhab

(a) to slip in:

faraantigii    baa            farta            dhab            igaga            yiri  
 ring.M.ANAPH    FOC    finger.F.ART    dhab    me.in.from    said.3M  
 'the ring slipped in my finger'

guskii            baa            gabaddha            dhab            ku            yiri  
 penis.M.ANAPH    FOC    girl.F.ART    dhab    in    said.3M  
 'he entered the girl with his penis'

(b) to catch without a noise:

tuuggii            ayuu            dhab            yiri  
 thief.M.ANAPH    FOC.3M    dhab    said.3M  
 'he caught the thief without a noise'

*metaphorical usage:* to fuck (vulgar):

gabaddhii            buu            dhab            ku            siiyay  
 girl.F.ANAPH    FOC.3M    dhab    in    gave.3M  
 'he fucked the girl'

20 dhac

to tear with a ripping noise, e.g. skin, cloth:

maqaarkii            baa            dhac            iga            yiri  
 skin.M.ANAPH    FOC    dhac    me.from    said.3M  
 'my skin tore with a rip'

maqaarkii            buu            dhac            ka            siiyay  
 skin.M.ANAPH    FOC.3M    dhac    from    said.3M  
 'he tore off the skin'

shaarkii            ayaa            duudka            dhac            ka            yiri  
 shirt.M.ANAPH    FOC    back.M.ART    dhac    from    said.3M  
 'the back of my shirt ripped'

*but also:*

lugtiisa            ayaa            dhac            tiri            'his leg crushed' (like #3. bash)  
 leg.F.ANAPH.ART    FOC    dhac    said.3F

21 dhag

to puncture making a small hole (cf. #20 dhac):

maqaarkii            ayuu            dhag            ka            siiyay  
 skin.M.ANAPH    FOC.3M    dhag    from    gave.3M  
 'he made a little hole in the skin'

sakiin            buu            dhag            ku            siiyay  
 blade    FOC.3M    dhag    in    gave.3M  
 'he made a little hole with the blade'

nabarkii            baa            dhag            yiri            'the wound opened'  
 wound.M.ANAPH    FOC    dhag    said.3M

*metaphorical usage:*

qalbigii            baa            dhag            yiri            'my heart broke'  
 heart.M.ANAPH    FOC    dhag    said.3M

xanaaq            ayuu            dhag            yiri            'he got mad (with rage)'  
 anger    FOC.3M    dhag    said.3M

22 dhash

to break with a squeaking noise (v. #1 baf, but on a lower tone):

qarinkii            ayuu            dhash            ka            siiyay  
 cane.M.ANAPH    FOC.3M    dhash    from    gave.3M  
 'he broke the (wet) cane with a squeaking noise'



- vs. qarinkii ayuu baf ka siiyay  
cane.M.ANAPH FOC.3M baf from gave.3M  
'he broke the (dry) cane with a cracking noise'
- 23 dhiig a sound coming intermittently from less tightly compressed air. A sound from more compressed air is, however, #25 dhiq:  
dhuuso ayuu dhiig ka siiyay  
fart FOC.3M dhiig from gave.3M  
'he farted with a long, high noise' (the sound expressed by #6 biiq is lower)
- 24 dhiliq to snap in two; the broken part dangles without falling:  
sabuulkii baa dhiliq yiri  
corn-cob.M.ANAPH FOC dhiliq said.3M  
'the corn-cob broke off'  
gacantiisa ayaan dhiliq siiyay  
arm.F.3M.ART FOC.IS dhiliq gave.3M  
'I broke his arm'
- 25 dhiq an intermittent sound coming from tightly compressed air. Cf. #23 dhiig  
buufinkii baa dhiq yiri 'air hissed out of the ball'  
ball.M.ANAPH FOC dhiq said.3M
- 26 dhub to block, deafen (ears):  
dhegahaygii baa dhub yiri 'my ears blocked'  
ears.M.1M.M.ANAPH FOC dhub said.3M  
onkodkii baa dhub i siiyay  
thunder.M.ANAPH FOC dhub me gave.3M  
'the thunder deafened my ears'
- 27 dhuc to pop out (air):  
boocii buu dhuc ka siiyay  
booc.M.ANAPH FOC.3M dhuc from gave.3M  
'air came with a pop from the seed of the *booc* tree (*Calotropis procera*)'  
with a determiner:  
dhucdiisa ayaan maqlay  
dhuc.F.3M.ART FOC.IS heard.IS  
'I heard that he was making something pop'
- 28 dhug to boom, give out a hollow, imploding or booming noise:  
dhegihi baa dhug na yiri  
ears.M.ANAPH FOC dhug us said.3M  
'our ears boom'  
madaaficii ayaa dhug leh 'the guns are booming'  
guns.M.ANAPH FOC dhug said.3M  
(for leh cf. #5 big)
- 29 dhujuq to swallow (involuntarily), to drop down:  
candhuuf buu dhujuq siiyay 'he swallowed noisily'  
saliva FOC.3M dhujuq gave.3M  
dhagaxii baa ceelka dhujuq ku yiri  
stone.M.ANAPH FOC well.M.ART dhujuq in said.3M  
'the stone splashed into the well'
- f
- 30 fag to untie:  
xariggii baa fag yiri 'the rope untied'  
rope.M.ANAPH FOC fag said.3M

- fag sii! 'untie him!'  
*fag* give.IMPV.S  
*metaphorical usage:* to flee away (= #5 big, #12 bul):  
 wiilkii baa fag yiri 'the boy started running'  
 boy.M.ANAPH FOC *fag* said.3M
- 31 *faq* to get unblocked, open suddenly (ears, container etc.):  
 haantii baa faq tiri  
 haan.F.ANAPH FOC *faq* said.3F  
 'the *haan*-container suddenly opened'  
 dhiishii ayuu faq ka siiyay  
 dhiil.F.ANAPH FOC.3M *faq* from gave.3M  
 'he opened the *dhiil*-container suddenly'
- 32 *fas* to trick, induce in error (in playing; cf. #67 nux):  
 fas ayaan ku siiyay 'I tricked you'  
*fas* FOC.1M in gave.1M  
*metaphorical usage:*  
 dawladda Ruushka Soomaaliya siyaasaddeeda ayay  
 state.F.ART Russian.M.ART Somalia policy.F.3F.ART FOC.3F  
 fas u siisay  
*fas* to gave.3F  
 'Russia cheated Somali political (strategy) (feigning friendship, and then changing its mind)'
- 33 *fash* to splurt out, sprinkle:  
 dhiggii baa fash soo yiri 'blood splurted out'  
 blood.M.ANAPH FOC *fash* here said.3M  
 biyo buu fash igu siiyay 'he sprinkled me with water'  
 water FOC.3M *fash* me.in gave.3M
- 34 *fax* to break out (sweat, rash):  
 finan ayaa wejiga fax iga soo yiri  
 pimples FOC face.M.ART *fax* me.from here said.3M  
 'my face broke out in spots'  
 qandhadii markay jabtay ayaa dhidid fax  
 fever.F.ANAPH when.3F break.3F FOC sweat *fax*  
 ka soo yiri  
 from here said.3M  
 'when the fever dropped drops of sweat broke out'  
 cabsi ayaa dhidid fax iga soo siisay  
 fear FOC sweat *fax* me.from here gave.3F  
 'I sweated with fear'
- 35 *fiiq* to suck (without smacking the lips):  
 fiiq bay kaga siisay caanihii  
*fiiq* FOC.3F from.from gave.3F milk.M.ANAPH  
 'she drank the milk with a sucking noise' (Galaal 1956: 94)  
 ha ku fiiq mahato!  
 JUSS in *fiiq* desire.2S  
 'toast!' (neologism proposed by Cabdulqaadir Salaad Dhoorre)
- 36 *fud* to come out unexpectedly and noiselessly (the opposite of #61 jub):  
 libaax baa jiqda fud ka soo yiri  
 lion FOC thicket.F.ART *fud* from here said.3M  
 'suddenly a lion came out of the thicket'

cirbad buu marada fud uga siiyay  
 needle FOC.3M cloth.F.ART *fud* to.from gave.3M  
 'he inserted a needle in his clothes (so that it would unexpectedly come out and prick)'

37 fug to sprout from the ground (said of something big):  
 barabujistii ayaa dhulka fug ka soo tiri  
 mushroom.F.ANAPH FOC earth.M.ART *fug* from here said.3F  
 'the mushroom sprouted from the ground'

mirtii ayaa abuurka dhulka fug  
 night-event.F.ANAPH FOC seed.M.ART earth.M.ART *fug*  
 ka soo siisay  
 from here gave.3F

'the night rain made the shoots sprout out'

38.fush to bubble:  
 canjeeradii fush (fush) ayay tiri  
 canjeero.F.ANAPH *fush* (fush) FOC.3F said.3F  
 'the *canjeero*-bread started to bubble'  
 dabkii baa soortii fush fush ka siiyay  
 fire.M.ANAPH FOC food.F.ANAPH *fush fush* from gave.3M  
 'the flame made the meal bubble'

## g

39 gāb / geb to turn upside down:  
 caanihii baa gāb yiri 'milk suddenly overturned'  
 milk.M.ANAPH FOC *gāb* said.3M  
 caanihii ayuu gāb siiyay 'he overturned the milk'  
 milk.M.ANAPH FOC.3M *gāb* gave.3M

40. gaf: to come out, off:  
 godaxdii baa gaf soo tiri 'the thorn came out by itself'  
 thorn.F.ANAPH FOC *gaf* here said.3F  
 gaf soo sii! 'pull it out!'  
 gaf here give.IMPV.S  
 libaaxii beerkii buu gaf soo siiyay

lion.M.ANAPH liver.M.ANAPH FOC.3M *gaf* here gave.3M  
 'the lion tore his liver out'

*metaphorical use:*

catarkeeda ayaa gaf igu soo yiri  
 perfume.M.3F.ART FOC *gaf* me.in here said.3M  
 'her perfume came over me'

41 gam to exterminate (cf. #66 maf):  
 daacuunkii awgiisa ayaa dadkii  
 cholera.M.ANAPH cause.M.3M.ART FOC people.M.ANAPH  
 gam yiri  
 gam said.3M  
 'people were wiped out by cholera'  
 dawacadii ariga ayay gam ka siiyay  
 jackal.F.ANAPH goats.M.ART FOC.3F *gam* from gave.3M  
 'the jackal totally wiped out the goats'

- 42 gub to knock or to beat wood (used transitively only):  
 gub (gub) ayuu ka siiyay 'he knocked it repeatedly'  
 gub (gub) FOC.3M from gave.3M

## h

- 43 ḥab to rlift upwith care:  
 cunugga ḥab sii 'pick up the baby!'  
 child.M.ART ḥab give.IMPV.S  
 hooyadii cunuggii ayay ḥab siisay  
 mother.F.ANAPH child.M.ANAPH FOC.3F ḥab gave.3F  
 'the mother picked up her child'

- 44 hab [-ATR] to fall upon, wrapping completely:  
 maro hab ku sii!  
 cloth hab with give.IMPV.S  
 'cover it with a cloth!' (e.g. in case of fire)  
*metaphorical usage:* to fall upon, overwhelm, as #94 wab, but in a more complete and overwhelming sense:  
 hogol adduunyo ayaa hab igu tiri  
 cloud world FOC hab me.in said.3F  
 'life misfortunes have fallen on me'

- 45 hababac to fall upon, attack:  
 libaaxii ayaa hababac igu soo yiri  
 lion.M.ANAPH FOC hababac me.in here said.3M  
 'the lion sprang on to me'

- 46 haf to rise:  
 hooyadii baa haf tiri 'the mother rose up'  
 mother.F.ANAPH FOC haf said.3F  
 naagtii cunuggeedii bay haf la soo tiri  
 woman.F.ANAPH child.M.3F.ANAPH FOC.3F haf with here said.3F  
 'the woman caught up her baby'

- 47 halalac to give off a sparkling light:  
 warmihii baa meel fog halalac ka yiri  
 spears.M.ANAPH FOC place far halalac from said.3M  
 'from afar the spears gave off a white spark'  
 muraayad ayuu halalac ii siiyay  
 mirror FOC.3M halalac me.to gave.3M  
 'he signalled me from afar with a mirror'

- 48 ham to eat greedily, in big mouthfuls:  
 ham sii 'eat! (baby talk)'  
 ham give.IMPV.S  
 ham ka sii 'eat from it!'  
 ham from give.IMPV.S  
 sacab bariis ah ayuu ham siiyay  
 palm-of-hand rice is FOC.3M ham gave.3M  
 'he ate a handful of rice in a single mouthful'  
 rashiinkayga ayuu ham ka siiyay  
 food.M.IS.M.ART FOC.3M ham from gave.3M  
 'he ate from my food'

- 49 haw to jump upon:  
 libaax baa haw soo yiri 'a lion jumped on me'  
 lion FOC haw here said.3M

- metaphorical usage:* to hug:  
aabbhiis ayuu haw ku yiri 'his father hugged him'  
father.M.3M FOC.3M haw in said.3M
50. hig: (a) to pierce:  
fallaartii baa hig ku tiri 'the arrow pierced him'  
arrow.F.ANAPH FOC hig in said.3F  
eebadii buu hig ku siiyay  
small-spear.F.ANAPH FOC.3M hig in gave.3M  
'he pierced him with his small spear'
- (b) to elbow, push off:  
xusul ayuu hig ku siiyay 'he pushed him out of the way'  
elbow FOC.3M hig in gave.3M
- metaphorical usage:*  
jacayl baa hig igu yiri 'love has overcome me'  
love FOC hig me.in said.3M
- 51 hindhis to sneeze suddenly and violently:<sup>4</sup>  
hindhis ayuu yiri 'he sneezed violently'  
hindhis FOC.3M said.3M  
hindhis kaa sii 'sneeze!' (said to a child)  
hindhis you.from give.IMPV.S
- 52 hiq to stop (breath, for surprise or pain):  
naxdin baan hiq la iri 'I held my breath for fear'  
fear FOC.IS hiq with said.IS  
go'aankii dilka ayaa hiq ka siiyay  
decision.M.ANAPH execution.M.ART FOC hiq from gave.3M  
'the death sentence made him hold his breath'  
neeftii baa hiq iga siin  
asthma.F.ANAPH FOC hiq me.from giving  
'asthma is making me breathless'
- 53 hoh to blast (such as hot air):  
hongor baa hoh igu tiri 'a blast of hot air caught me'  
hot-wind FOC hoh me.in said.3F  
ololkii buu wejiga hoh igaga siiyay  
flame.M.ANAPH FOC.3M face.M.ART hoh me.in.from gave.3M  
'he put the flame near my face'
- 54 huf to graze, skim:  
ushii ayuu huf huf ka siiyay  
stick.F.ANAPH FOC.3M huf huf from gave.3M  
'he waved the stick repeatedly in front of him'
- metaphorical sense:*  
hibilka baan biyo huf ku siiyay  
meat.M.ART FOC.IS water huf in gave.IS  
'he warmed up the meat with water' (: he did not really cook it)

<sup>4</sup> Although also a 'normal' root, from which a verb and various nouns are obtained, hindhis is here considered an ideophone, as it behaves as such according to all our criteria.

j

- 55 jac to crackle (dry leaves or wood):  
 caleemaha ayaa jac jac leh 'the leaves are crackling'  
 leaves.M.ART FOC jac jac said.3M  
 (for leh cf. #5 big)  
 dabkii baa geedkii jac jac ka siinayaa  
 fire.M.ANAPH FOC tree.M.ANAPH jac jac from is-giving.3M  
 'fire is burning the wood with a crackling noise'  
*with a determiner:*  
 jac-jacdii geedaha ayaan meel fog ka maqlay  
 jac-jac.F.ANAPH trees.M.ART FOC.IS place far from heard.IS  
 'I heard the crackling of wood from afar'
- 56 jaf to cut (horizontally):  
 balkii baan jaf ka siiyay  
 stalk.M.ANAPH FOC.IS jaf from gave.IS  
 'I horizontally cut the stalk'
- 57 jag to push (like #62 jug, but with lesser strength):  
 gacantii ayuu jag igu siiyay  
 arm.F.ANAPH FOC.3M jag me.in gave.3M  
 'he pushed my arm'
- 58 jalaw to fall, drop in a narrow place (a hole etc.):  
 shilinkayga ayaa godkii jalaw ku yiri  
 shilling.M.IS.M.ART FOC hole.M.ANAPH jalaw in said.3M  
 'my money fell into the hole'  
 dabab ayuu jalaw igu siiyay 'he made me fall into a trap'  
 trap FOC.3M jalaw me.in gave.3M
- 59 jaq to give off a banging noise:  
 tusbaxii baa jaq yiri 'the rosary knocked'  
 rosary.M.ANAPH FOC jaq said.3M  
 aleelihii buu jaq jaq ka siiyay  
 shells.M.ANAPH FOC.3M jaq jaq from gave.3M  
 'the shells were knocking together'  
*with a determiner:*  
 jaq iyo juqdii buu gabay  
 jaq and juq.F.ANAPH FOC.3M failed.3M  
 'every noise stopped' (for juq cf. #64)
- 60 jiiq to squeak (wood, shoes; also a little bird):  
 jiiq ayuu ka siiyay 'he made a squeaking sound'  
 jiiq FOC.3M from gave.3M  
 ushii buu jiiq (jiiq) ka siiyay  
 stick.F.ANAPH FOC.3M jiiq (jiiq) from gave.3M  
 'he bent the stick with a squeaking noise'  
 shimbirihii baa jiiq jiiq leh 'the birds squeaked'  
 birds.M.ANAPH FOC jiiq jiiq said.3M  
 (for leh cf. #5 big)
- 60bis jiiq-jaaq (irregular reduplication of #60 jiiq) expresses the noise given off by  
 leather sandals:  
 dacaskiisa ayaa jiiq-jaaq yiri  
 sandals.M.3M.ART FOC jiiq-jaaq said.3M  
 'his sandals were squeaking'

- markuu soconayo kabihiisa ayuu jiiq-jaaq  
 when.3M is-walking.3M shoes.M.3M.ART FOC.3M jiiq-jaaq  
 ka siiyaa  
 from gives.3M  
 'when he walks he makes his shoes squeak'
- 61 jub to fall into, dive; to insert, slip into (completely, cf. #36 fud and #64 jug):  
 wabigii ayuu jub yiri 'he dived into the river'  
 river.M.ANAPH FOC.3M jub said.3M  
 toorrey buu caloosha jub uga siiyay  
 dagger FOC.3M stomach.F.ART jub to.from gave.3M  
 'he slipped the dagger into the stomach'  
 ninkii wabigii jub yiri baa dhintay  
 man.M.ANAPH river.M.ANAPH jub said.3M FOC died.3M  
 'the man who had dived into the river died'
- 62 jug to push, kick:  
 dhagax baa jug nagu yiri 'a stone fell upon us'  
 stone FOC jug us.in said.3M  
 gaashaankii ayuu jug nagu siiyay  
 shield.M.ANAPH FOC.3M jug us.in gave.3M  
 'he knocked us with the shield'
- 63 julug to gulp down (something solid) without chewing (cf. #72 qab for liquids):  
 cadkii ayuu julug ka siiyay  
 meat.M.ANAPH FOC.3M julug from gave.3M  
 'he swallowed the meat in one gulp'
- 64 jug to slip in and go out, to pass through:  
 qodax baa cagta juq iiga tiri  
 thorn FOC foot.F.ART juq me.to.from said.3F  
 'the thorn jabbed into my foot'  
 maskii buu qori afka juq uga siiyay  
 snake.M.ANAPH FOC.3M stick mouth.M.ART juq to.from gave.3M  
 'he plunged the stick into the snake's mouth'
- k
- 65 kir to push, shove, drive on (normally used for donkeys; derogatory for people):  
 kir ayuu i yiri 'he sent me away'  
 kir FOC.3M me said.3M  
 as an interjection:  
 kir, iga tag 'go away, do not press me!'  
 kir me.from go.IMPV.S
- 66 kub to knock (= #42 gub, but with less noise):  
 irriddii ayuu kub kub ka siiyay  
 door.F.ANAPH FOC.3M kub kub from gave.3M  
 'he knocked at the door'
- l
- 67 lib to enter completely without coming out:  
 qodaxdii baa lib i tiri 'the thorn stuck into me'  
 thorn.F.ANAPH FOC lib me said.3F

warankii ayuu mar lib ku siiyay  
 spear.M.ANAPH FOC.3M time lib in gave.3M  
 'he thrust the spear into him'

## m

- 68 maf to wipe out, exterminate (= #41 gam):  
 abaarta awgeeda ayay maf yiraahdeen  
 drought.F.ART cause.M.3F.ART FOC.3P maf said.3P  
 'because of the drought they got wiped out'  
 habaar buu maf ku siiyay 'he wiped them out with a curse'  
 curse FOC.3M maf in gave.3M
- 68bis malaf = #68 maf, = #16 dam, = #41 gam

## n

- 69 nab to grab without noise, unexpectedly:  
 qodaxdii baa marada nab igaga tiri  
 thorn.F.ANAPH FOC cloth.F.ART nab me.in.from said.3F  
 'the thorn stuck into my clothes'  
 tuuggii ayuu nab siiyay  
 thief.M.ANAPH FOC.3M nab gave.3M  
 'he grabbed the thief unexpectedly'  
*metaphorical usage:* 'to rape, fuck by force' (vulgar):  
 gabaddhii buu nab ku siiyay  
 girl.F.ANAPH FOC.3M nab in gave.3M  
 'he raped the girl'
- 70 nux to play 'snatch and grab' (to hold something out and then snatch it back as opponent tries to grab it; cf. #32 fas):  
 cunuggii ayaa nux i yiri  
 child.M.ANAPH FOC nux me said.3M  
 'the child got the better of me'

## q

- 71 qaaq to rasp, e.g. clearing one's throat; to cry violently producing a rasping sound:  
 cunugga qaaq ha ka siinin  
 child.M.ART qaaq NEG from give.NEG  
 'do not let the child cry!'  
*often used with a determiner with verbs other than yiri and sii:*  
 qaaqtii ayaan ku toosay 'the loud crying awoke me'  
 qaaq.F.ANAPH FOC.IS in woke.3M  
 qaaqiisa ayaan maqlay 'I heard him cry out loud'  
 qaaq.F.3M.ART FOC.IS heard.3M  
*derivative:* qaaqle:  
 Cabdi waa qaaqle 'Cabdi is a very noisy guy'  
 C. declarative-marker qaaq.owner
- 72 qab to slam shut (door):  
 irriddii ayaa qab tiri 'the door banged'  
 door.F.ANAPH FOC qab said.3F  
 irriddii qab ma dhihin 'the door did not bang'  
 door.F.ANAPH qab NEG say.NEG



irridi      ayuu      qab      ka      siiyay  
 door.FANAPH    FOC.3M    qab      from      gave.3M  
 'he banged the door'

maxaad      qolka      qab      iigu      siisay?  
 what.you    room.M.ART    qab    me.to.in    gave.2S  
 'why did you lock me in a room?'

*metaphorical usage:* to swallow (a liquid):

qab      dheh!      'swallow it down!'  
 qab      say.IMPV.S

biyihii      ayuu      mar      qab      ka      siiyay  
 water.M.ANAPH    FOC.3M    time    qab      from      gave.3M  
 'he drank the water in one gulp'

*derivative:* qabqable 'a political broker' (said of somebody who is good at making social connections; not as negative as af minshaar)

73 qac to break (similar in meaning to #3 bash):

galaaskii      baa      qac      yidhi      'the glass broke' (Galaal 1956: 94)  
 glass.M.ANAPH    FOC    qac    said.3M

ushii      bay      qac      ka      siisay  
 stick.F.ANAPH    FOC.3F    qac      from      gave.3F  
 'she broke the stick'

qorigii      qac      yiri      baa      iga      naxshay  
 stick.M.ANAPH    qac    said.3M    FOC    me.from    frightened.3M  
 'the stick breaking frightened me'

74 qalaf to die:

buu      qalaf      yiri      'he popped off'  
 FOC.3M    qalaf    said.3M

ushii      buu      qalaf      uga      siiyay  
 stick.F.ANAPH    FOC.3M    qalaf    to.from    gave.3M  
 'he beat him with a stick until he died'

75 qalaw to ring (bell around cattle's neck):

koortii      buu      qalaw      qalaw      ka      siiyay  
 bell.F.ANAPH    FOC.3M    qalaw    qalaw    from      gave.3M  
 'he made the bell ring'

*metaphorical usage:* to come to mind:

qalbiga      ayuu      qalaw      iga      soo      yiri  
 heart.M.ART    FOC.3M    qalaw    me.from    here    said.3M  
 'it has come to my mind'

*metaphorical usage:* to die

naftii      baa      qalaw      ka      tiri      'he died'  
 life.F.ANAPH    FOC    qalaw    from    said.3F

jacayl      baa      qalaw      ka      siiyay      'love killed him'  
 love      FOC    qalaw    from    gave.3M

76 qaw to bang producing a high sound (iron; higher than #42 gub):

birtii      baa      qaw      (qaw)      tiri      'the iron banged'  
 iron.F.ANAPH    FOC    qaw      (qaw)    said.3F

qaw      ka      sii      'bang it!'  
 qaw      from    give.IMPV.S

tarniiggii      baa      qaw      (qaw)      leh  
 iron-sheet.M.ANAPH    FOC    qaw      (qaw)    said.3M  
 'the sheet of iron banged' (for leh cf. #5 big)

77 qiiq to squeak (= #60 jiiq)

78 quququc to thunder:

onkodkii                      baa      quququc      soo      yiri  
 thunder.M.ANAPH      FOC      quququc      here      said.3M  
 'the thunder came thundering'

79 quuq to retch:

markuu      xoqanay      ayuu      dhawr      goor      quuq      yiri  
 when.3M      scratched.3M      FOC.3M      several      time      quuq      said.3M  
 'when he cleared his throat he retched a few times'  
 mantaggii      baa      quuq      iga      siinayaa  
 vomit.M.ANAPH      FOC      quuq      me.from      is-giving.3M  
 'vomit makes me retch'

80 qux

to cough:

dureygii                      baa      qux      (qux)      ka      siin  
 cold.M.ANAPH      FOC      qux      (qux)      from      giving  
 'head-cold makes him cough'

## R

Note: rash: 'a quick movement', as in rash yidhi 'he moved quickly' (Galaal 1956: 94) is an English loan from 'to rush.'

81 rig

to fall down noisily:

markaan      wareerey      ayaan      dhulka      rig      ku      iri  
 when.IS      got-dizzy.IS      FOC.IS      earth.M.ART      rig      in      said.IS  
 'when I fainted I dropped to the ground'  
 dhulka                      ayuu      rig      ku      siiyay      'he threw him to the ground'  
 earth.M.ART      FOC.3M      rig      in      gave.3M

## S

82 sag

to stop suddenly; to leave, abandon:

jidkii                      baa      sag      yiri      'suddenly the street came to an end'  
 road.M.ANAPH      FOC      sag      said.3M

sag      ayuu      ii      siiyay                      'he suddenly left me'  
 sag      FOC.3M      me.to      gave.3M

*metaphorical usage:*

nasiibkii                      baa      sag      ii      siiyay  
 fortune.M.ANAPH      FOC      sag      me.to      gave.3M  
 'luck suddenly left me'

83 sām

to go out, off suddenly (said of light; = #16 dām):

nalkii                      baa      sām      yiri                      'the light went out'  
 light.M.ANAPH      FOC      sām      said.3M

araggiisii                      baa      sām      yiri                      'he has lost his sight'  
 sight.M.3M.ANAPH      FOC      sām      said.3M

84 sibiḡ

to slip in without noise:

ulihii                      bay                      mardada      sibiḡ      ku      siiyeen  
 sticks.M.ANAPH      FOC.3P      mardo.FART      sibiḡ      in      gave.3P  
 'they put the branches into the mardo' (horizontal lengths of rope used in  
 building the walls of the *mundul* [circular mud house])

*metaphorical usage:*

tuuggii                      baa                      jiqda                      sibiḡ                      iiga                      yiri  
 thief.M.ANAPH      FOC      thicket.FART      sibiḡ      me.to.from      said.3M  
 'the thief dogged me in the thicket'

jacayl baa sibiḡ igu yiri 'love overwhelmed me'  
love FOC sibiḡ me.in said.3M

with other verbs:

hadalka yuusan sibiḡ kugu marin  
talk.M.ART JUSS.3M.NEG sibiḡ you.in pass.NEG  
'do not let any word slip away from you'

## sh

- 85 shalaab to pour down continuously (said of water; possibly an Ogaadeen idiom; cf. #87 shaw, but less violent and noisy):

roobkii baa shalaab soo yiri  
rain.M.ANAPH FOC shalaab here said.3M  
'the rain came pouring down'

iyadoo cadar ah ayaa mar roob shalaab soo yiri  
she.and good-cloud is FOC time rain shalaab here said.3M  
'although the weather was fine, all of a sudden it showered'

- 86 shalab to drop upon (said of water or liquid):

biyo ayaa shalab igu soo yiri 'some water fell on me'  
water FOC shalab me.in here said.3M

biyo ayuu shalab igu siiyay 'he threw some water over me'  
water FOC.3M shalab me.in gave.3M

- 86bis shalalab reduplication of #86 shalab (said of rain or water coming down without noise):

biyihii baa shalalab igu soo yiri  
water.M.ANAPH FOC shalalab me.in here said.3M  
'a lot of water fell upon me'

biyo ayuu shalalab igu siiyay 'he poured water on me'  
water FOC.3M shalalab me.in gave.3M

- 87 shaw to shower down, rain in buckets:

roobkii baa shaw soo yiri  
rain.M.ANAPH FOC shaw here said.3M  
'the rain came down showering'

- 88 shib to fall silent, to hush:

shib dheh 'be quiet!' (Galaal 1956: 94)  
shib say.IMPV.S

degdeg ayuu shib u yiri 'he stopped speaking suddenly'  
hurry FOC.3M shib to said.3M

hadalkii buu shib ku siiyay  
talk.M.ANAPH FOC.3M shib in gave.3M  
'he stopped him from speaking'

Cf. Tunni (a Southern Somali dialect) šúb (Tosco 1997: 113); cf. also Dhaasanac šáb 'quiet' (unpublished field notes).

- 89 shuluq to fall, drop into the water or a liquid:

shilin baa shuluq biyaha igaga yiri  
shilling FOC shuluq water.M.ART me.in.from said.3M  
'my coin fell into the water'

anigii baa warta shuluq ka iri  
I.ANAPH FOC pond.F.ART shuluq in said.1S  
'I fell into the pond'

warta ayaan shuluq ku siiyay  
 pond.F.ART FOC.IS shuluq in gave.IS  
 'I pushed him into the pond'

- 90 shulux to fall into or out of something with a soft sound:  
 maskii baa oodda shulux ka soo yiri  
 snake.M.ANAPH FOC fence.F.ART shulux from here said.3M  
 'the snake slithered through the fence'  
 dhagaxii buu oodda shulux ku siiyay  
 stone.M.ANAPH FOC.3M fence.F.ART shulux in gave.3M  
 'he threw the stone into the fence'

- 90bis shululux reduplication of #90 shulux:

mas baa cawska shululux ku yiri  
 snake FOC grass.M.ART shululux in said.3M  
 'a snake passed through the grass zigzagging'

- 91 shuq to penetrate neatly (cf. #64 juq):  
 mindidii baa shuq tiri 'the knife slipped into him'  
 snake.F.ANAPH FOC shuq said.3F  
 mindidii buu shuq ku siiyay  
 knife.F.ANAPH FOC.3M shuq in gave.3M  
 'he thrust the knife into him'  
 dhawr goor ayuu eebadii shuq shuq  
 several time FOC.3M short-spear.F.ANAPH shuq shuq  
 ka siiyay  
 from gave.3M  
 'he stabbed him repeatedly with the short spear'

# t

- 92 tatatac to shoot several times in a row, to machine-gun:  
 boobihii ayaa tatatac yiri  
 machine-gun.M.ANAPH FOC tatatac said.3M  
 'the machine-gun went 'ta-ta-ta''  
 rasaastii buu tatatac ka siiyay  
 shots.F.ANAPH FOC.3M tatatac from gave.3M  
 'he machine-gunned'

- 93 tixtix to drop slowly:  
 roobkii baa tixtix soo yiri 'rain is beginning to fall down'  
 rain.M.ANAPH FOC tixtix here said.3M

- 94 tush to prick:  
 qodax baa tush igu tiri 'a thorn pricked me'  
 thorn FOC tush me.in said.3F  
 cirbaddii ayuu tush ku siiyay  
 needle.F.ANAPH FOC.3M tush in gave.3M  
 'he pricked him with the needle'

# W

- 95 waaw to cry out suddenly and loudly:  
 markuu gacanteedii uu dhiliq siiyay ayay waaw tiri  
 when.3M arm.F.3F.ANAPH 3M dhiliq gave.3M FOC.3F waaw said.3F  
 'when he broke her arm she cried out' (for dhiliq cf. #24)

- maxbuuskii      baa      waaw      laga      keenay  
prisoner.M.ANAPH      FOC      waaw      IMP.from      took.3M  
'they made the prisoner cry out'
- 96 wab      to fall down rolling:  
cunuggii      ayaa      dhulka      wab      ku      yiri  
child.M.ANAPH      FOC      earth.M.ART      wab      in      said.3M  
'the child fell down rolling'  
wab      ayuu      dhulka      ku      siiyay  
wab      FOC.3M      earth.M.ART      in      gave.3M  
'he turned him over (in the fight)'
- 97 wac      to give out a sudden and violent light (more violent than #8 bilig):  
hillaacii      baa      wac      yiri      'lightning flashed'  
lightning.M.ANAPH      FOC      wac      said.3M  
*metaphorical usage:*  
qalbigii      ayaa      wac      yiri      'his heart broke'  
heart.M.ANAPH      FOC      wac      said.3M  
hadalkiisa      ayaa      qalbigeedii      wac      siiyay  
talk.M.3M.ART      FOC      heart.M.3F.ANAPH      wac      gave.3M  
'his words broke her heart'  
(cf. #21 dhag: qalbigii baa dhag yiri; cf. also under #8 the sentence  
jacayl baa bilig igu yiri 'loved penetrated suddenly into me', in which  
the presence of the subject 'love' – a positive concept – calls for the use of  
bilig)  
waaberkii      baan      cadawga      weerar      wac      ku      siiyay  
dawn.M.ANAPH      FOC.IS      enemy.M.ART      attack      wac      in      gave.3M  
'I took the enemies by surprise at dawn'  
mindidii      ayuu      wac      wac      igu      siiyay  
knife.F.ANAPH      FOC.3M      wac      wac      me.in      gave.3M  
'he flashed his knife in front of me'
- 98 waf      to skim at high speed:  
galayr      baa      hortaydii      waf      yiri  
hawk      FOC      front.F.IS.F.ANAPH      waf      said.3M  
'the hawk skimmed past me'  
ushii      buu      hortaydii      waf      waf      ku      siiyay  
stick.F.ANAPH      FOC.3M      front.F.IS.F.ANAPH      waf      waf      in      gave.3M  
'he threatened me with a stick'  
*with other verbs:*  
xabbaddii      baa      waf      igu      ag      martay  
bullet.F.ANAPH      FOC      waf      me.in      side      passed.3F  
'the bullet skimmed past me'  
*metaphorical usage:*  
waḍkii      baa      waf      igu      ag      maray  
death.M.ANAPH      FOC      waf      me.in      side      passed.3M  
'death passed near me'
- 99 wah      to bark:  
eygii      baa      wah      yiri      'the dog barked'  
dog.M.ANAPH      FOC      wah      said.3M  
eygii      ayuu      wah      ka      siiyay  
dog.M.ANAPH      FOC.3M      wah      from      gave.3M  
'he made the dog bark'

eygii wah yiri baan dhagax ku tuuray  
 dog.M.ANAPH wah said.3M FOC.IS stone to threw.IS  
 'I threw a stone to the barking dog'

*metaphorical usage:* to overpower:

uur baa wah igu soo yiri 'a bad smell overpowered me'  
 smell FOC wah me.in here said.3M

100 wash

to hit with a whip or branch:

serbi baa wash laygu siiyay 'I have been hit with a switch'  
 switch FOC wash IMP.me.in gave.3M

*metaphorical usage:* to hit in general:

maxaad igu soo wash tiri? 'why did you hit me?'  
 what.2S me.for here wash said.2S

maxaad wash igu siisay? 'why did you hit me?'  
 what.2S wash me.to.for gave.2S

101 wiiq

to dislocate:

jilibkii baa wiiq i yiri 'my knee was dislocated'  
 knee.M.ANAPH FOC wiiq me said.3M

gacantii ayuu wiiq iga siiyay  
 arm.F.ANAPH FOC.3M wiiq me.from gave.3M  
 'he dislocated my arm'

102 wum (m)

to fall to the ground with a crashing sound (said of something large, e.g. a stone; cf. #11 bug, but with a more explosive sound):

looxii ayaa dhulka wumm ku yiri  
 plank.M.ANAPH FOC heart.M.ART wumm in said.3M  
 'the plank crashed to the ground'

*with a determiner:*

wumta dhagaxa ayaan maqlay  
 wum.F.ART stone.M.ART FOC.IS heard.IS  
 'I heard the stone crash heavily'

## X

103 xaf

to cut neatly and sharply:

mindidii cusbayd buu hilibkii xaf  
 knife.F.ANAPH new.3F(Past) FOC.3M meat.M.ANAPH xaf  
 kaga siiyay  
 with.from gave.3M

'he cut the meat with the new knife' (Galaal 1956: 94)

104 xiq

to choke (for sickness, death); to take one's breath away; to hold one's breath; to sob one's heart out after crying:

mar uun baa nafta xiq ka tiri  
 time just FOC life.F.ART xiq from said.3F  
 'he gave out his last breath'

naftii baa iga xiq xiq siini  
 life.F.ANAPH FOC me.from xiq xiq to-give  
 'my breath is blocked' (e.g. by asthma)

105 xuf

to skim, pass quickly nearby:

gaarigii baa agtayda xuf ku yiri  
 car.M.ANAPH FOC near.F.IS.F.ART xuf in said.3M  
 'the car grazed past me at high speed'

- gabaddhii baa gaari xuf siiyay  
 girl.F.ANAPH FOC car xuf gave.3M  
 'the girl was knocked down by a car passing by at high speed'
- 106 xuux to give off a sudden cry or shout in order to threaten:  
 libaaxii baa xuux igu yiri  
 lion.M.ANAPH FOC xuux me.in said.3M  
 'the lion's shout frightened me'
- gabaddha afkudablihii ayaa xuux siiyay  
 girl.F.ART ghost.M.ANAPH FOC xuux gave.3M  
 'the ghost scared the girl'

## y

- 107 yalam to gulp down something little:  
 xanjadii ayuu yalam siiyay  
 gum.F.ANAPH FOC.3M yalam gave.3M  
 'he swallowed the gum'
- yaxaaskii mar buu nafkii yalam  
 crocodile.M.ANAPH time FOC.3M animal.M.ANAPH yalam  
 ka siiyay  
 from gave.3M  
 'the crocodile swallowed it in one gulp'
- metaphorical usage:*  
 ciidankii Soomaaliyeed Xabashidii buu yalam  
 army.M.ANAPH Somalia.GEN Ethiopia.F.ANAPH FOC.3M yalam  
 ka siiyay  
 from gave.3M  
 'the Somali Army swallowed Ethiopia easily'
- yalam baan ka siini (doonaa) ayuu yiri  
 yalam FOC.1M from to-give (want.IS) FOC.3M said.3M  
 'he said that he would swallow me' (lit.: 'he said: 'I (shall) swallow you')
- 108 yub to slip into (cf. #67 lib):  
 maskii ayaa ciidda yub ka yiri  
 snake.M.ANAPH FOC sand.F.ART yub from said.3M  
 'the snake slipped into the sand'
- warankii ayuu yub ku siiyay  
 spear.M.ANAPH FOC.3M yub in gave.3M  
 'he slipped the spear into him'
- 109 yulux to pass through with a swishing sound:  
 maskii baa oodda yulux ku yiri  
 snake.M.ANAPH FOC fence.F.ART yulux in said.3M  
 'the snake swished through the fence'
- godkii buu yulux ku yiri  
 hole.M.ANAPH FOC.3M yulux in said.3M  
 'it entered into the hole with a swishing sound'
- 110 yur to shoo off, chase away a wild animal (or, derogatorily, a person):  
 yur ayuu yiri 'he rudely sent them away'  
 yur FOC.3M said.3M  
 yur, ha i cunin  
 yur NEG me eat.IMPV.NEG  
 'go away; do not 'eat' me' (said to somebody who is behaving very badly)

yur    maxaad    ii    tiri?                    'why did you chase me off?'  
 yur    what.2S    me.to    said.2S  
 cunuggii            baan    yur            sii            iri  
 child.M.ANAPH    FOC.IS    yur    give.IMPV.S    said.IS  
 'I said to the child to chase it away'  
*derivatives:* yurta 'shooing, chasing away'; yuree 'to shoo, scare off'  
 (Zorc 1991: 530)

111 uf            to emit a bad odour, to stink:  
 uf            buu            yiri                                    'he farted (without noise)'  
 uf            FOC.3M    said.3M

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