carries the interval. The normal length vowel in Type Ib also does so, but not the extra short vowel in Type Ia. In bases of other types the interval is carried by the last two components of V.

When the base of Type Ha has an interval from the lower to the higher tone, the patterns are again different. The following example from Y.3 will serve to illustrate the rules.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ha</th>
<th>Ia</th>
<th>Ib</th>
<th>Ic</th>
<th>Id</th>
<th>Ie</th>
<th>If</th>
<th>Hc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áleré</td>
<td>áwe</td>
<td>ála</td>
<td>ásí</td>
<td>átiáj</td>
<td>ábéo</td>
<td>ákággé</td>
<td>ádimó:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again the interval is always present, and is completely carried by a final vowel which is long. In the case of other bases, however, the interval occurs as near the beginning of the base as possible, and in Types Ia and Ib it is actually borne by the personal prefix.

These few observations on the tone-patterns will emphasize what has been seen in other features of the verbal system of Mfinu, that it is impossible to describe this system except with respect to the various types of base that occur. In fact the particular interest of this language arises from the unusual character of these different types of unit, and the part they play in its structure.

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ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN VERBAL FORMS IN THE ISAAQ DIALECT OF SOMALI

By B. W. Andzejewski

§ 1. Introduction

LILAS E. ARMSTRONG in her article ‘The phonetic structure of Somali’ has shown that there is a correlation in this dialect of Somali between tone patterns and grammatical gender in certain types of Nouns. Moreover, at many points in her article she implies by her tone markings that there is also a correlation between other grammatical categories and tone patterns. She states, for example, that plural of both masculine and feminine nouns are pronounced with the mid-level tones in all syllables... exceptions are the feminine words... ending in -ó in the singular... In the section ‘Significant word-tone’ she tone-marks all the Imperatives Singular consisting of long monosyllables with a High-Falling tone mark and gives forms like ‘wawr plural of ‘wawr ‘camel’ (m.). ARMSTRONG’s findings are, in general, further confirmed by Abraham, although in detail his statements and his tone markings often differ from those of Armstrong’s.

The results of my own investigations tally with those of Armstrong, with this exception, though, that what Armstrong regards as ‘tone’ I regard as only a component of the complexes which I propose to call ‘accentual features’ (see § 4 below). It is, however, chiefly a difference of approach rather than a difference in phonetic observation: I have found Armstrong’s data phonetically most accurate, in fact more accurate than those of any other author on Somali. In the literature on Somali views differ on the subject of tone and stress and the case for not considering Somali as a tone language has been put forward by A. Klingenberg. The solution to this divergence of views was offered by Daniel Jones whose pronouncements have suggested to me the present treatment of the accentual features of this dialect.

In my researches I have found that what Armstrong observed was only part of a large system of correlations between accentual patterns and

---

2 This dialect is spoken by the Isaaq or Ishaq (sometimes spelt Ishak, or Ishaq) tribal family, inhabiting the central part of the British Protectorate of Somaliland. For further information and bibliographical data concerning the Isaaq and all the other tribes and tribal families referred to in this article, see J. A. Hunt, A general survey of Somaliland Protectorate, 1914-50, London : Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1931, and I. M. Lewis, Peoples of the Horn of Africa : Somali, Afar and Saho, London : International African Institute, 1953.
3 Armstrong, 140-3.
4 Armstrong, 143.
6 Armstrong on p. 147 states that ‘stress and pitch are closely connected’ in Somali.
grammatical categories. This is particularly clear in the case of the verbal forms, as I shall endeavour to show in this article.

§ 2. The Scope of this Article

The scope of this article is limited to those verbal forms which occur as Main Verbs in a sentence as pronounced in the style of pronunciation described in § 3.

§ 3. Limitations as to the Style of Pronunciation

The statements contained in this article are applicable only to one style of pronunciation which I propose to call the ‘Neutral Style’, i.e. the style in which emotional colouring and specific notional implications are reduced to a minimum. Although such a style may be restricted in actual everyday use, it forms a convenient basis for describing the accentual features of this dialect.

§ 4. Accentual Features

By ‘Accentual Features’ in this dialect of Somali I understand complexes of types of relative stress (intensity) and relative voice-pitch. Before giving an account of the composition of these complexes I find it necessary to describe the component features.

The types of relative voice-pitch (tones) which occur in the Neutral Style of pronunciation are divided here into:

1. High Tone.
   1F. High-Falling Tone.
2. Mid Tone.
3. Low Tone.

Examples 1:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niriq</td>
<td>(I–III) a male baby-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niriq</td>
<td>(III–II) a female baby-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jıqog</td>
<td>(ID) stay, wait (Imper. Sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jıqog</td>
<td>(II) he stayed, he waited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqalaan nin</td>
<td>(III–I–II) he greeted a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqalaan nin</td>
<td>(III–I–III) a man greeted him (her, them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma arkaan</td>
<td>(I–III–III) do they see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma arkaan</td>
<td>(I–III–ID) they do not see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this style of pronunciation High Tone does not occur before a pause.

The types of relative stress which occur in this style of pronunciation are divided into:

I. Even Strong Stress (i.e. a strong stress of equal intensity throughout the syllable).

ID. Diminuendo Strong Stress (i.e. a strong stress in which intensity diminishes throughout the syllable).

2 For the spelling of the Somali examples see § 7.

II. Secondary Stress (i.e. a stress of lesser intensity than I but greater than III).

III. Absence of Stress.

Examples:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niriq</td>
<td>a male baby-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niriq</td>
<td>a female baby-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jıqog</td>
<td>stay, wait (Imper. Sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jıqog</td>
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<tr>
<td>sqalaan nin</td>
<td>he greeted a man</td>
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<tr>
<td>sqalaan nin</td>
<td>a man greeted him (her, them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma arkaan</td>
<td>do they see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma arkaan</td>
<td>they do not see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this style of pronunciation Even Strong Stress does not occur before a pause.

The types of relative voice pitch and relative stress described above combine (occur together) in the following complexes:—

(a) High Tone with Even Strong Stress.
(b) High Falling Tone with Diminuendo Stress.
(c) Mid Tone before a pause with Secondary Stress.
(d) Mid Tone not before a pause with Absence of Stress.
(e) Low Tone before a pause with Absence of Stress.

When referring to relative pitch and stress in this paragraph, I have used the word ‘type’ in order to emphasize that we are dealing here with terms which have a fairly wide range of phonetic realizations. In a sequence of three syllables, for example, marked as each having High Tone and Even Strong Stress, each syllable may differ somewhat from the others, yet they are all considered to be of the same type. The boundaries between the ranges of each type of relative pitch and stress are very clear in those cases where oppositions (contrasts) can provide us with objective criteria, as in e.g. jıqog ‘stop!’ and jıqog ‘he stopped’. In those cases, however, where such oppositions cannot occur and particularly in longer sentences, the marking of accentual features is to a large extent subjective and arbitrary, i.e. based on personal judgment derived from direct linguistic experience of the data.

It would be possible in this dialect to recognize a larger number of types of relative pitch and stress, but such further distinctions, though they might be of some linguistic interest, would very much complicate the transcription and would divert our attention from the study of the accentual patterns under examination. Moreover, such further phonetic detail would be irrelevant from the point of view of the grammar and the lexicon of this dialect.

§ 5. Pauses

In dealing with the Accental Features described above, it is important to bear in mind that the following Accental Features do not occur before a pause in the Neutral Style of pronunciation: High Tone, Even Strong Stress, and Mid Tone combined with Absence of Stress. This fact is of particular importance in studying the accentual behaviour of those syllables which can occur both before a pause and not before a pause, e.g. the syllables of monosyllabic words and the final syllables of polysyllabic words. Some syllables, of course, can never occur before a pause, e.g. the non-final syllables of polysyllabic words.

§ 6. Accental Units

On the basis of the rôle which the Accental Features play in the grammar of this dialect I have set up five Accental Units (abbreviated to AU) in which I have taken into account the following two positions of a syllable:

- Position (a): when a syllable is immediately followed by another syllable within the same or the following word;
- Position (b): when a syllable is immediately followed by a pause within or at the end of the sentence.

The Accental Units 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, below, have two different phonetic realizations each, according to the position of the syllable on which they occur. This must be borne in mind when interpreting the diacritical marks by which the Accental Units are represented.

The five Accental Units are given in Table I below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position (a)</th>
<th>Accental Units which can occur in verbal forms</th>
<th>Accental Units which cannot occur in verbal forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Tone with Even Strong Stress</td>
<td>AU1</td>
<td>AU2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Falling Tone with Diminuendo Stress</td>
<td>AU3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Tone with Absence of Stress</td>
<td>AU4</td>
<td>AU5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Tone with Absence of Stress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position (b)</th>
<th>The same as in Position (a)</th>
<th>Low Tone with Absence of Stress</th>
<th>High Falling Tone with Diminuendo Stress</th>
<th>Mid Tone with Secondary Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

These five Accental Units are represented by the following diacritics (accentual marks):

- *(the Acute)* represents AU1
- *(the Grave)* represents AU2
- *(the Circumflex)* represents AU4
- *(the Inverted Circumflex)* represents AU5

Absence of any of the above diacritics represents AU3.

The above diacritics are placed over the vowel letters and in the case of doubled vowel letters (representing long vowels) they are placed over the first vowel letter although they refer to the whole long vowel and in fact to the whole syllable.

AU4 and AU5 are rare. AU4 can only occur on the Conjunction **(voo, yoo)**

§ 7. Accental Patterns

In verbal forms Accental Units occur in certain definite and clearly delineated sequences and thus form Accental Patterns. There are nine of these patterns, as shown in Table II below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial Number of the Accental Pattern</th>
<th>Description of the Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AU1 on the last or the only syllable, AU3 on all the other syllables of the form, if any</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AU1 on the penultimate syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AU1 on the antepenultimate syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AU1 on the last syllable, AU1 on the penultimate syllable, and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AU1 on the last syllable, AU1 on the antepenultimate syllable, and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AU2 on the last or the only syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form, if any</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>AU2 on the antepenultimate syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>AU2 on the last syllable, AU1 on the antepenultimate syllable, and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>AU3 on all the syllables of the form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Every verbal form has a stable Accental Pattern of its own with the exception of certain forms which have a set of two or more Accental Patterns. In the case of such forms the selection of the appropriate pattern out of a given set depends on one or more of the following phonological characteristics:

1. In a text where accental marks are used only occasionally, AU3 could be represented by *(the Miron).*
2. In H. H. J. Galal's *Himnad Komaani*, edited, with grammatical introduction and notes, by myself (in the series 'Annotated African Texts', O.U.P.), now in the press, these diacritics are used as tone marks only. Note, however, that owing to the relationship between tone and stress the tone marks in that book represent by implication the Accental Units described here.
3. In the case of monosyllabic forms.
4. In the case of polysyllabic forms.
(i) whether the given form is a monosyllable or a polysyllable;
(ii) whether the last or the only syllable of the given form is short or long;
(iii) the characteristics (given under (i) and (iii)) of an Adjective from which the particular verbal form is derived (4th Conjugation only);
(iv) the nature of the final syllable (i.e., whether it ends in a particular vowel or not);
(v) the comparative length of the given form in relation to the shape of its optional variant.

The rules concerning the distribution of Accentual Patterns in verbal forms are given in Tables III–X in §§ 8–15. The grammatical designations of verbal forms used in these tables are the same as in C. R. V. Bell's *The Somali language.* His division into conjugations is also adopted except that the subdivisions 1A, 1B, 1C, etc., are not recognized here, as they are irrelevant from the point of view of the distribution of Accentual Patterns. Thus the term '1st Conjugation' covers here all its subdivisions (1A, 1B, 1C) and the same applies to the term '3rd Conjugation' which also includes 3A, 3B, and 3C. When departure is made from Bell's terminology, readers will find the explanation of new terms in § 18.

In the spelling used in the examples illustrating the distribution of Accentual Patterns (§§ 8–15 of this article) the symbols are the same as in Armstrong's article 'The phonetic structure of Somali' except for the symbols sh, kh, the vowel symbols and the symbol y. The symbol sh corresponds to Armstrong's š and the symbol kh corresponds to h. The vowels are represented according to the 'Broad System of vowel representation' as described in my article 'The problem of vowel representation in the Isanq dialect of Somali.' On p. 500 in that article readers will also find explanations concerning the symbol y.

Many of the examples are taken from Somali oral literature and it must be mentioned in this connexion that the accentual rules described in this article hold good equally well in poetry (when recited and not sung) as in prose; in fact the accentual features are utilized in the Somali system of scansion.

Some of the poets quoted are Northern Daarood but the language used in the quotations does not differ in any way from the Isanq usage. In fact, the dialectal differences between Isanq and Northern Daarood are not very great.

All the quotations from Somali poetry are taken from the collection of Somali poems written down, under dictation from Somali bards, by Mr. M. H. I. Galal. The collection is as yet unpublished.

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§ 8. Accentual Patterns in Verbal Forms of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Conjugations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical designation of the verbal form or forms</th>
<th>Differentiating phonological characteristics</th>
<th>Accentual Pattern of the form or forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Imperative Singular, 1st Conjug.                 | (a) short
|                                                      | (b) polysyllables whose last syllable is short |
|                                                     | (y) long polysyllables and polysyllables whose last syllable is long |
|                                                     | 1                                           |
| 2. Imperative Singular, 2nd Conjug.                 | (a) forms ending in short -i |
|                                                     | (b) forms not ending in short -i           |
|                                                     | 2                                           |
| 3. Imperative Singular, 3rd Conjug.                 | (a) forms ending in -o                        |
|                                                     | (b) forms not ending in -o                  |
|                                                     | 1                                           |
| 4. Imperative Plural                                 |                                             |
|                                                     | 2                                           |
| 5. Present General, Extensive Paradigm              |                                             |
|                                                     | 9                                           |
| 6. Present General, Restrictive Paradigm            |                                             |
|                                                     | 1                                           |
| 7. Past General, Extensive Paradigm                 |                                             |
|                                                     | 9                                           |
| 8. Past General, Restrictive Paradigm               |                                             |
|                                                     | 1                                           |
|                                                     | 2                                           |
| 10. Present Continuous, Extensive Paradigm          |                                             |
|                                                     | 3                                           |
| 11. Present Continuous, Restrictive Paradigm        |                                             |
|                                                     | 5                                           |
| 12. Past Continuous, Extensive Paradigm             |                                             |
|                                                     | 3                                           |
| 13. Past Continuous, Restrictive Paradigm           |                                             |
|                                                     | 5                                           |

1 See n. 1, p. 168; all the syllables not specified as long are regarded as short.
2 Note that the Imperative Singular of the verb 'āy 'to insult' has a long syllable, though it does not comply with the definition given in n. 1, p. 168.
3 In this Table, when the Conjugation is not specified, the accentual rule given extends to all the three Conjugations (1st, 2nd and 3rd); similarly, when the Person of a verbal form is not specified, the rule applies to all the Persons of the given paradigm.
4 Readers are referred to § 18 for information about the grammatical terms marked with the sign †.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical designation of the verbal form or forms</th>
<th>Differentiating phonological characteristics</th>
<th>Accented Pattern of the form or forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. Optative †</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 3rd Pers. Sing. Masculine and Feminine, 3rd Pers. Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Potential †</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Infinitive, 1st Conj.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Infinitive, 2nd and 3rd Conj.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Negative Imperative Singular, 1st Conj.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Negative Imperative Singular, 2nd and 3rd Conj.</td>
<td>(a) forms of shorter shape, i.e. those identical with the Infinitive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) forms of longer shape, i.e. those not identical with the Infinitive</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Negative Imperative Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Negative Present General:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) All Persons Sing. and 1st Pers. Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 2nd Pers. Plur. and 3rd Pers. Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Negative Present Continuous, Variable Paradigm †:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) All Persons Sing. and 1st Pers. Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 2nd Pers. Plur. and 3rd Pers. Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Negative Present Continuous, Invariable Paradigm †:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) forms of shorter shape, i.e. those ending in -a yaw (≈ iyín)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) forms of longer shape, i.e. those ending in -ayín (≈ eynin)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Negative Past</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Negative Past Continuous</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Negative Rhetorical Interrogative †:</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) All Persons Sing. and 1st Pers. Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 2nd Pers. Plur. and 3rd Pers. Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Negative Optative, 1st Conj.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Negative Optative, 2nd and 3rd Conj.</td>
<td>(a) forms of shorter shape, i.e. those identical with the Infinitive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) forms of longer shape, i.e. those not identical with the Infinitive</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Negative Conditional †</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples Illustrating Table III**

1 (a) Hūba dhīg!
Wāhāas dāy, wāha kā sookeëyā na dāy!

1 (β) Awrka gāwra!
‘Gārta naq bān la iydi, iydí yu dīrī La i má cūtán.

1 (γ) Lūg nā baqē ugū ṭogg, lūg nā dīrī!
Liibáan!

2 (α) Naa daryooy, ḥāsha gābī!
Ninkān bāji ō ṭwar ḥun ṭoo ḍüllā ah ṭu shēeg!

2 (β) Mdīgān bān La yiqi, maanyē!
It was said to a Mdīgān, "jest!"
(A proverbial expression which refers to a story about a Mdīgān whose lips and tongue were mutilated and who was afterwards asked by those who had mutilated him to entertain them with jests. Naturally, he could not do it. The sense of this expression is that one must treat well those from whom one expects service.)

---

1 The Impersonal Pronoun La is spelt with a capital letter in order to distinguish it from the Preposition la.
2 iydi ye
3 baqē uugu or baqē ugg.
4 ṭū yoo.
5 ḍüllā ah: note that the final h of ah is not pronounced before a pause.
6 A member of a low caste employed in various menial tasks by other Somalis. According to an
Salamád igá gäsdigíi waláalka.

Make greetings from me reach your brother!
(i.e., 'Give my regards to your brother!')

3 (a) Áwrka i qábó!
'Wah húbó' hál bään siistay.

Seize the he-camel for me!

For 'make sure' I paid a camel.
(A proverb which refers to a story about a young man who gave his only she-camel to an old man for the advice 'always make sure before you act' and greatly benefited from it in the course of his life.)

3 (b) Mëeshaa'd tagtó ba Ràbbigáa kà 'aabódó.
Amma táag laháw amma tamár
laháw!

Wherever you go fear your Lord!
(A proverbial expression.)

4 Waar tólów, 'élka jëójína!'
Jaráhá dígé, jërrku ba wàa rídàa
Jàlów 'älltémééd é!

Either have strength or have cunning!
(A proverb.)

5 Soomaalídú bëen wày sheegtaa,
bëen se má maahmaahbóó.

What is not honest becomes bad in the end.

Wàh aan daa'áf ahayni dábáday
kà hamaaadaan.

The leg brings near the place which the eye makes distant.
(i.e., 'Things are not always as difficult as they seem at first.' A proverb.)

6 Mëeshaa'd ilít roggóysó ba á jàddin bàà
qoweyýa.

Dag haddii La gôoyó dalóolkáa
haa.

When an ear is cut off, the hole remains.
(i.e., 'If you spoil your own good name, you also spoil the good name of your family or tribe'.
A proverb.)

7 Tói iyó farú dó báan doortay.

Of kinsmen and horses I have chosen kinsmen.
(i.e., 'Kinsmen are more important than wealth'.
A proverbial expression attributed to a Dühubání elder who, apparently, said these words when he was trying to dissuade his kinsmen from attacking a related tribe as a result of a dispute about horses which they had looted.)

Nin yár oo nin wëyn dijía má
aragteen!

Have you seen a small man who has killed a big man?
(From a well-known fable about a squirrel which killed a lion. These are the words of the squirrel as he danced on the lion's body.)

8 Yaa qaybgyaagga Ku bàray?

Who taught you the good way of dividing?
(From an animal fable about meat division.)

Dán bàà i gëlsíy
ma nà dëjí kàro
Mëel La li dëjáy é.

Necesity has put me into it, I cannot refuse (to go to) a place to which I am sent.
(i.e., 'I cannot resist the Fate which forces me to do what I am loath to do.' From a gábay by an anonymous poet.)

9 (a) Garánniy.
Dày yàráday, Gëiddòw,
sìidi
Nuur ú sòó dëgáy é.

We have understood.
I have become young in age, oh Gëiddì, since Nuur came back.
(From a gábay by Mr. Yusuf Haji Aden.)

dalóolkáa = dalóolkaa + bāa; see Bell, §36, 'Contractions with bāa'.

Note that the Accents do not play any role in distinguishing Statements from Questions, e.g., Wùu jëoggà 'He is in' and Mëyëw jëoggà? 'Is he in?'.

The Object Pronoun Ku 'you (Sing.)' is spelt with a capital letter to distinguish it from the Preposition ku (cf. Bell, §42).

A contemporary Somali poet. The quotation given here is taken from a gáabay especially composed for the poet by a play about the advantages of education, performed by Somali schoolboys in several towns of the Protectorate a few years ago. The words quoted were spoken by each of the characters of the play, an old man expressing his joy on the return of his son. In my spelling the poet's name would be written Yúsuf Haji Adán.
Prosperity deceived me. (A proverbial expression attributed to Ḥasan Gaalay,1 who entered too confidently into a war in which he was defeated and killed. These are said to be his last words.) From whatever part of the country people came, they brought news of war. (From a gābay called Ḥuugel ‘The mourning robe’, by Mr. M. H. I. Galaal.) Are you going? In laughter and in jest you are skinning me! (From a gābay by ‘Awed Kuusuushë in which he refers to well-disguised inquest against him recited by another poet.) Their sheep and goats are grazing over there. You know the matter, advise us (what to do). He was praying all night. They were beating the tambourines, they were revelling and pouring out insult, abuse and frenzied words (of excitement and joy). (From a jifto by Ṣuḥaib Abdi Ḥasan11 in which he describes what he saw in the camp of his enemies in one of his visions.)

1 A well-known leader of the ‘Ali Géri section of the Dubalhànte tribe. He lived in the nineteenth century and his name is associated with many battles.
2 yimaadda ba. qálaysaa yée.  A contemporary poet of the Hābar Ja’lō tribe.
3 adān = ad (‘you’ Sing.) + ba; see n. 1, p. 113.
4 garánayê yée.
5 ḥabīnyikû yöö.
6 An optional alternative for ḏurbasnânyeen.
7 An optional alternative for ḏegayeen.
8 An optional alternative for shubayeen.
9 For information about this outstanding historical figure see Enrico Cerulli’s article ‘Muhammad B. ‘Abd Allah Ḥasan’ in the Encyclopedia of Islam, and J. J. Jardine, The Mad Mullah of Somaliland, London, 1923. He is considered by the Somalis as one of their best poets; see Margaret Laurence, A tree for poverty, p. 36.

14 (a) Ḥuusàlaan maalâlo! Markaasuu is yíddi: ‘Ninkà aad wàddiddi!’
14 (b) Rágàw, këbirka waa Lagû kufàa,1 Kàa hâ La qaràdo!
Inamûdû hà qaybeen gãbaygàn.
Shów Garaanî qoofee, Shów ñëgleq.qqàaqëe, Farayërá Lal-hayee.
Shów arkeen.
Súlûnàntû Ku sóo diirây abûr diiratàa 41 4 ñéh.
17. Wàan sóo noqôn. 6 Dooxuulûn nabaadçuuarày baa çàradku mëñàyayn 4 ñéh.

1 kufàa is a contraction of the form kuufa (Present General, Extensive Paradigm) and the Conjunction é, and is an optional alternative to kuufa_yé. The problem of contractions of verbal forms with Conjunctions and the Indicator baa is not dealt with in this article.
2 A well-known bard who died a few years after the Second World War. He belonged to the ‘Ali Géri section of the Dubalhànte tribe.
3 The Infinitive is often used where the Future Tense (with the Auxiliary verbal forms doona, doonta, etc) or the Present Continuous might be expected; cf. W. Cremnau, ‘Zum Gebrauch des Infinitives als “Futurum” im Somali’, Donum natumicon Schrijvers, Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929, 182-9.
4 See n. 3, p. 115.
5 This poem is included in M. H. I. Galaal’s Ḥîkmàd Soomolî.  See n. 3, p. 115.
6 See n. 3, p. 115.  This poem is also included in M. H. I. Galaal’s Ḥîkmàd Soomolî.
Don't hate me before knowing me. (A proverb.)
Don't accompany those men!
Don't ask for advice from a man who is satiated. (i.e. 'A man who has always been prosperous cannot advise someone who is in need'.
A proverb.)
Don't go on foot, mount the he-camel!
The same meaning as in 19 (a) above.

Don't be mean to each other (for if you do) you will part; don't despise one another (for if you do) you will fight one another. (A proverb.)

Don't go!
A shield-bearer (i.e. a grown man) does not get lost. (A proverb.)
Wisdom does not enter the mind which milk has entered. (i.e. 'A rich man is seldom wise'. A proverb in which milk symbolizes wealth.)
What you are not does not catch you. (i.e. 'False suspicions don't harm anyone'. A proverb.)

Dhows do not sail in a hull in the Karan season. (From a gably by Salaan 'Arrabey.)
I don't know or I don't recognize.
Blessing and goodness do not fall into our cars. (From a gably called Hengu 'The mourning robe', by M. H. I. Galaal.)
He isn't coming back.
Aren't you eating it? or Aren't you going to eat it?

The same meaning as in 23 (a) above.

Don't have a long nose, it will be wretched.
A man who has not learnt 'why' has not learnt anything. (i.e. 'A man who has not learnt to ask himself the question 'why' has not learnt anything'. A proverb.)
I have not sworn you in for victory, I have sworn you in for a battle. (A proverbial expression attributed to a Somali leader of a warlike expedition, who said these words while taking the customary oath of obedience from his warriors.)
I wasn't listening to their talk.
I have not seen it, tell me about it.
The same meaning as in 25 (a) above.

Won't you loot these camels?
Won't you (Phr.) go to Burro?
Make an enclosure for (or put into an enclosure) the sheep and goats; let not the hyena eat some of them!
Let not a preacher make you miss the (merry) song! (From a baliwo.)
Tie the he-camel by its front legs, let it not run away!
The same meaning as in 26 (a) above.

If I said to myself 'write' about the love that entered me, a thick book would not contain it. (From a baliwo.)

---

1 talâ ha.
2 talâ ha.

3 Karan is the season approximately between 15 July and 24 August; see J. A. Hunt, A general survey of Somaliland Protectorate, 1944-50, 10.
4 The forms of the Negative Present Continuous, Variable Paradigm are extremely rare in this dialect; some speakers consider them incorrect except in poetry.
§ 9. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN VERBAL FORMS OF THE 4TH CONJUGATION

**Table IV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammaratical designation of the verbal form or forms</th>
<th>Differentiating phonological characteristics</th>
<th>Accentual Pattern of the form or forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1. Present, Extensive Paradigm</td>
<td>(a) Verbal Forms derived from those Adjectives whose Simple Singular Form consists of a long monosyllable</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Verbal Forms derived from those Adjectives whose Simple Singular Form consists of a polysyllable or a short monosyllable</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Present Restrictive Paradigm</td>
<td>(a) Verbal Forms derived from those Adjectives whose Simple Singular Form consists of a long monosyllable</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Verbal Forms derived from those Adjectives whose Simple Singular Form consists of a polysyllable or a short monosyllable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) 2nd Pers. Plur.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) 3rd Pers. Sing., Mascul. 3rd Pers. Sing., Fem., and 3rd Pers. Plur.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(β) Verbal Forms derived from those Adjectives whose Simple Singular Form consists of a polysyllable or a short monosyllable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Past Extensive Paradigm</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Past Restrictive Paradigm</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Past Comparative Paradigm †:</td>
<td>(a) All Persons Sing. and 1st Pers. Plur.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) 2nd Pers. Plur. and 3rd Pers. Plur.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Negative Present</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Negative Past</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Examples Illustrating Table IV*

1 (a) Aabbahaa miyyu nboolyahyay? 
   Way daaqeeqiyihiiin daaarahaasu.

1 (β) Bëenadaa hare runtadaa dambay 
   u ḫuntahay.

   Ḳaanuun baaan haydugahay
   Sḏii ḫunshâddii Gḏân ē.

2 (α) ḲaaNT a ugu ṭewyn.
   Belayyo Ku maa aragtô Ḳu maa maqashà 2 kâ ṭoon.

2 (β) ḲaaNT a ugu ḫaanaaTTsàn.
   Ḳ̣iyätà 2 ṭewyni.

3 (α) Anigu Kàn lâʔas yàri.
   Aaligu Ḳ̣abdi kâ hoolo ḫâddin 2, 
   maahad u aawin weydày?

3 (β) Ḳâniku naqà lâʔas yàridin.
   Ipâ ḫaqli Ḫwyndin.

3 (α) Pâraskanu kâas kâ ṭoon.
   Ḳâsan Kââ ḫaqli Ḫwyndin è lâ ṭashô!

3 (β) Nim ḫuulay dântig Ḳâa 2 ṭewyn.

   Ṣàn bâdar kâ ṭag darân
   ninkuu ṣiḫaku fuulaa ē.

4 Shaarubô ḫàddah 7
   bây bârûr
   Shâlîsh saarrayd ē.

   1 aabaahaa = aabbaan + baa; see n. 1, p. 113.
   2 maqashaa = maqasho + baa; see n. 1, p. 113.
   3 See n. 1, p. 119.
   4 iyadda = iyadda + baa; see n. 1, p. 113.
   5 koolo borough.
   6 fuulaa ye.
   7 shaaruba nabadi.
§ 10. Accentual Patterns in the Forms of the Irregular Verbs *yimi* and *yiil*.

**Table V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. All forms except 3rd Pers. Sing, Masc. Past General, Independent Paradigm</th>
<th>The same Accentual Patterns as in corresponding forms of the 3rd Conjugation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. 3rd Pers. Sing, Masc. Past General, Independent Paradigm</td>
<td>Accentual Pattern 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Imperative Sing.</td>
<td>Accentual Pattern 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *biyá lihi.*

2. *A well-known Somali sage, contemporary with Mغammad ُأَبْدِيْلْهَ حَاسَن. Many proverbs and wise sayings are attributed to him. He belonged to the *Habár Yoonis* tribe (Reer *Aynanshe*).*

3. *humé* ُنَِّ.

4. *The four Irregular Verbs which have, in some of their paradigms, the Semitic-like prefixes (Bell, §§ 33 and 62) are referred to in this article by their 3rd Pers. Sing, Masc. Past General, i.e. by the following forms: *yimi* 'he came', *yiî* 'he said', *yiîin* 'he knew', *yiil* 'he stayed'. Note that the verb *yimi* has no Positive Imperative; *kaâlay* (plur. *kaâlaya*) 'come' belongs to a different root.*

§ 11. Accentual Patterns in the Forms of the Irregular Verbs *yiîn* and *yiî*.

**Table VI**

| 1. All forms | The same Accentual Patterns as in corresponding forms of the 1st Conjugation. |

Examples Illustrating Table V

(Selected from the whole range of forms, 1–3, covered by this Table.)

1. *Faq faqâadu yimaadda.* Secret discussion comes to an assembly ground. (i.e. 'What is discussed in secret eventually comes to be discussed in the tribal assembly'. A proverb.)

2. *Mahâd oqân?* What will you say?

3. *Yimi.* He came.

4. *Ràg ninkii dàshâlaa se waa dajo gir kàrayaa dèb!* But tell (him that) amongst men the man who tries hard will be able to survive (till the rainy season)!(From a gâbay by M. H. I. Galla.)

§ 12. Accentual Patterns in the Verbal Forms of the 4th Conjugation Derived from the Adjective *leh*.

**Table VII**

| 1. All forms except the forms of the Present General Extensive Paradigm | The same Accentual Patterns as in the corresponding forms of the 4th Conjugation. |
| 2. Present General Extensive Paradigm | Accentual Pattern 7 |

1. *This poem is included in M. H. I. Galla's *Hikmâd Soomaali.*
2. *Also known as *Fârah Sanweyné,* a Somali sage and lawyer who lived in the sixteenth century and belonged to the *Habár Jaâlo* tribe.*
Examples Illustrating Table VII
(Selected from the whole range of forms covered by this Table.)

Dawó má lahá náag humi haddáy
djiddo wanaáda čé.

Nin la léeyahay wáb má léeyahay?

There is no remedy for a bad wife (‘a bad wife has no remedy’) when she refuses
good advice. (From a gábab by
Abdilláhí Munsé.)

Does a man who is owned himself own
anything? (i.e. ‘When one is economically
dependent on someone one has no freedom
of action’. A proverbial expression.)

§ 13. Accentual Patterns in the Verbal Forms of the 4th Conjugation
Assumed to be Derived from the Adjective ah

Instead of enumerating the Accentual Patterns of the forms in question it is
more convenient to list the forms; the Accentual Patterns are shown here in the
diaccritical markings.

| Table VIII |
|---|---|
| Singular | Plural |
| 1st | 2nd | 3rd Masc. | 3rd Fem. | 1st | 2nd | 3rd |
| Present Extensive Paradigm | aháy | tahay | yahay | tahay | nahay | tihin | yihin |
| Present Restrictive Paradigm | áh | áh | áh | áh |
| Past Extensive Paradigm | ahaa | ahayd | ahaa | ahayd | ahayn | ahaydeen | ahayeen |
| Past Restrictive Paradigm | aháa | aháa | aháyd | aháy |
| Negative Present | jii | jhid | ahá | ahá | jjin | jjidin | ahá |
| Negative Past | ahayn | ahayn | ahayn | ahayn | ahayn | ahayn |

Examples Illustrating Table VIII
(Selected from the whole range of forms covered by this Table.)

Maacaalá 2 heebtá ah.
Dooqo sákeeyé má ahá.

There is a town on the coast.

Fools are not friends or near relatives.
(i.e. ‘Fools are useless as friends or near
relatives, as they are incapable of carrying
out the duties and obligations which such
relationships imply’. A proverb attributed
to Gileed Hijaal.)

§ 14. Accentual Patterns in Verbal Forms in Compound Tenses 1

Table IX

1. The Infinitive, in a Compound Tense  

The same Accentual Patterns as on the
Infinitive in Non-Compound Tenses.

2. The Auxiliary verbal form or forms  

The same Accentual Patterns as on the
corresponding Non-Auxiliary verbal
form.

Examples Illustrating Table IX
(Selected from the whole range of forms covered by this Table.)

Ma imin kárayasaa? Will you be able to come?
Barbas ciisään u harráyín jirraa.

I used to go in front of singing young men.
(From a children’s poem 3 about the black
ant called jima’. In this line the ant
explains why he always keeps his mouth
open: he used to lead the young men
who go around villages calling on girls to
dance with them.)

§ 15. Accentual Patterns in Partly Verbal Compound Constructions

Máayo, máyáx, etc.

Instead of enumerating the Accentual Patterns of these constructions it is
more convenient to list them. The Accentual Patterns, shown in the diaccritical
markings, are not considered here as Accentual Patterns of verbal forms but as
combinations of the Accentual Pattern of the Particle (Indicator) ma and of
Accentual Patterns of the reconstructed verbal forms given in brackets. 3

| Table X |
|---|---|
| 1st Pers. Sing. | maaayó (* má hayó) |
| 2nd | máyáx (* má hayó) |
| 3rd Masc. | máyáx (* má hayó) |
| 3rd Fem. | máyáx (* má hayó) |
| 1st Plur. | máynó (* má hayó) |
| 3rd Sas. | máyáx (* má hayó) |
| 3rd Sas. | máyáx (* má hayáx) |

1 i.e the Tenses composed of an Infinitive followed by an Auxiliary Verb, e.g. wuu ímáan
doonaan ‘he will come’, garán máayo ‘I don’t know’.
3 It is now also evident from the material presented by M. M. Moreno in his Il Somalo della
Somalia—pronouns e testi del Besaidir, Darod e Digil, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello
Stato, 1933, that all the Continuous Tenses (Aspetto Progressivo) could be considered as con-
tracted Compound Tenses in which the Auxiliary Verb would be *hay (2nd Conjugation). As
Dr. Moreno’s book appeared when this article was already completed, it is regretted that no
fuller references are made here to this important work.
In support of the hypothetical reconstruction given above it may be said that the Syntactic Particle ma can never be used with these constructions, as, in my view, it is already incorporated in them, and that in certain other Somali dialects the verbal element -hay- or -haay- is used in the formation of Continuous Tenses, e.g. ḥibb buu 'mubahayn 'he is eating meat' (Maqeerdeen Dialect), waa joogqadówaхаа 'I am stopping' (Buñadir Dialect).

Examples Illustrating Table X

(Selected from the whole range of forms covered by this Table.)

Djoni mâxayn.

‘Mëesha tège mâyö’ La má
yiq̲a̲ahd̲h̲o̲ — oo ‘imri baan Ku
gaalxiiin; ‘wáxá ‘uni mâyö’
La má yiq̲a̲ahd̲h̲o̲ — oo ‘alaf
baan Kúu géyn.

They don’t want it.

One does not say (i.e. one should not say) ‘I shall not go to that (particular place’)—the circumstances of life have not (yet) made you go there; one does not say ‘I shall not eat that thing (i.e. that particular dish or kind of food)’—faté has not (yet) brought you to it.

(A proverb.)

§ 16. THE EXTENT OF GENERALITY OF THE ACCENTUAL RULES GIVEN IN §§ 8–15

The accentual rules given in §§ 8–15 have been arrived at through the study of a large number of examples both in test frames and in continuous texts and have been tested by listening to and taking part in conversations in natural conditions. As an additional check, use has been made of gramophone records (both disc and tape) and, in some cases, of the Livingstone Tonometer.1

As I have found confirmation of the rules stated in this article in all the verbal forms which have come under my observation over a period of some five years of research, I assume that there is a high degree of probability that these rules are general, i.e. valid for all the specified verbal forms in this dialect, in the Neutral Style of pronunciation (see § 3).

It may be of some interest to note that similar accentual rules, though different in some details, obtained also in the Somali spoken by the ‘Iise, the Gëdëbërs, the Northern Daarood, and the Northern Hawiye.

§ 17. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN VERBAL FORMS IN OTHER STYLES OF PRONUNCIATION

The accentual patterns in verbal forms are essentially the same in other styles of pronunciation, although they differ sometimes by having the following characteristics:

1 Invented by Father A. M. Jones; for the description of this instrument see his article

(a) wider pitch intervals,
(b) more intense stress contrasts,
(c) using crescendo strong stresses instead of even strong stresses,
(d) using rising pitch instead of even high pitch,
(e) using before a pause those accentual features which in the Neutral Style are restricted to positions not before a pause.

§ 18. CONCLUSION

A. The Relevance of the Study of Accentual Patterns for Establishing Verbal Paradigms

When the Accentual Patterns described in §§ 8–15 are taken into account we shall find grounds for subdividing or rearranging the verbal paradigms already established and for establishing new ones. If we do so, we shall also discover that the necessity for such changes and innovations is often further confirmed by other morphological characteristics and by the syntax of this dialect. Moreover, a systematic examination of Accentual Patterns draws our attention to paradigms which might have been established by the study of verbal endings alone, but have been either partially or completely overlooked in the works on Somali grammar. In the following sections of this paragraph I shall endeavour to give an account of these innovations and changes.

B. Restrictive and Extensive Paradigms

The Present General, Past General, Present Continuous, and Past Continuous of all the four conjugations, should be subdivided, on the grounds of different Accentual Patterns, into two separate paradigms each, which I propose to call ‘Restrictive’ and ‘Extensive’. The forms of the Restrictive Paradigms are distinguished from the forms of the Extensive Paradigms by Accentual Patterns as shown in Tables III–IX, and this subdivision is further justified by the following morphological and syntactic characteristics:

(a) In the 1st, the 2nd, and the 3rd Conjugations the forms of the Restrictive Paradigms of the Present General and Present Continuous end in the short vowel -a, while the corresponding forms of the Extensive Paradigms end in a long vowel -aa (Bell, § 37 (ii)).

(b) The forms of the Restrictive Paradigm have no 2nd Person Singular and Plural and 3rd Person Plural (on account of the facts given under (d), (e) and (f) below).

(c) In the 4th Conjugation the forms of the Restrictive Paradigm of the Present are identical with the ‘Simple Forms’ of the Adjectives from which they are derived. (By ‘Simple Form’ of an Adjective I understand that form which has no verbal ending and no Subjectival Ending -a (Bell, § 40, iii); a Simple Form can be either Singular or Plural, e.g. yar ‘small’, wanaagsan ‘good’, Plural: yar yar, wanaagsan.) The Extensive Paradigm, on the other hand, has a full set of verbal endings: -ahay, -tahay, -yahay, -tahay, -nahay, -yihin, -wikin (Bell, § 90).
Optative, and distinguish it from the Subjunctive (Bell, § 96 and § 107). The Optative differs from the Subjunctive as follows:

(a) The Optative has the Accental Patterns as shown in Table III, while the Subjunctive has the same Accental Patterns as the Negative Present (see Table III).

(b) In the 2nd and 3rd Persons Plural the forms of the Optative end in -een while the corresponding forms of the Subjunctive end in -aan.

(c) The Optative can occur as the Main Verb of a sentence while the Subjunctive can only occur in Dependent Clauses.

The Optative Paradigm of the verb keen 'bring' is given below, as illustration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Optative Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aan kēno</td>
<td>let me bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aad kēntīd</td>
<td>may you (Sing.) bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hà kēno</td>
<td>let him bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hà kēnto</td>
<td>let her bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aynu kēnno</td>
<td>let us (incl.) bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aannu kēnno</td>
<td>let us (excl.) bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aad kēnten</td>
<td>may you (Plur.) bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hà kēnnen</td>
<td>let them bring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. The Potential and the Negative Present Continuous, Invariable Paradigm

The two paradigms which I propose to call the Potential and the Negative Invariable Present Continuous could be established on the grounds of their verbal endings and are included here for the sake of completeness.

The endings of the Potential are like those of the Past General (Extensive Paradigm), except that in all the Persons Singular and in the 1st Person Plural they have -ee instead of -ey (Bell -ey).

The Potential Paradigm of the verb kēen 'bring' is given below, as illustration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shōw kēnne</td>
<td>maybe I shall bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōw kēnten</td>
<td>maybe you (Sing.) will bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōw kēnne</td>
<td>maybe he will bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōw kēnten</td>
<td>maybe she will bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōw kēnnen</td>
<td>maybe we shall bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōw kēnten</td>
<td>maybe you (Plur.) will bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōw kēnnen</td>
<td>maybe they will bring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms of the Negative Invariable Present Continuous are almost identical in shape with the forms of the Negative Past Continuous, except that they end in -ayn or -ayan instead of -eyn or -eyin. Note, however, that in the case of 'Front Forms' marked here with the cedilla -eyn or -eyin can be used as optional alternatives to -ayn or -ayan. The forms of this paradigm can occur only after the Negative Syntactic Particle aan (simple or combined

1 In Note 14,27B to Hikmad Soomandi I referred to this paradigm as the 'Restricted Continuous Form'.
2 i.e. forms in which all the vowels are 'fronted' (palatalized); for information concerning
with other Syntactic Particles and/or the Subject Pronouns aân, aad, uu, etc.). The forms of this paradigm, like those of the Affirmative Present Continuous, refer either to the present or the future, e.g. waanu imâna > he is not coming'. The forms of this paradigm are invariable, i.e. the same for all the Persons.

F. The Negative Rhetorical Interrogative and the Negative Optative

The paradigms which I propose to call the Negative Rhetorical Interrogative and the Negative Optative have to be distinguished from the Negative Present and the Negative Past respectively, on account of their Accental Patterns. The forms of the Negative Rhetorical Interrogative have the same endings as the Negative Present General but have different Accentual Patterns as shown in Table III. Moreover, they differ from the Negative Present General by the fact that they are always preceded by the following combinations of the Syntactic Particle ma and the Subject Pronouns aân, aad, uu, etc.: maan, maad, muu, may, maynu, maanuu, mayin, may (instead of ma aân, ma aad, mù uu, etc.). The meaning associated with this paradigm is that of negative rhetorical questions with an implication of encouragement or excitement, e.g. Berbera maad tüzir? 'won't you go to Berbera?', 'why not go to Berbera?'

The forms of the paradigm, which I propose to call the Negative Optative, have the same endings as the Negative Past General, but differ from it by their Accentual Patterns. They can occur only after the Syntactic Particle yaa combined with the Negative Syntactic Particle aân and/or the Subject Pronouns aân, aad, uu, etc. (cf. Bell, § 107). The meaning associated with this paradigm is that of prohibition or negative wishes, e.g. yâanu soo noqon 'let him not come back', 'may he not come back'.

G. The Negative Conditional

Like the Potential and the Negative Invariable Present Continuous the Paradigm which I propose to call the Negative Conditional could be established on the grounds of its endings and is included here for the sake of completeness. The endings of the Negative Conditional are like those of the Past General (Extensive Paradigm), except that in all the Persons Singular and 1st Person Plural they have -seen instead of -ay (Bell, -ey). The Negative Conditional of the verb këen is given here as illustration:

màa aân keenëen  | I should not bring. I should not have brought  
màa aad keenëen  | you (Sing.) would not bring. you would not have brought 
mùu aân keenëen  | he . . .  
mùu aad keenëen  | she . . .  
mà ay keenëen  | we . . .  {incl.} . . .  
mà ay keenëen  | we . . .  {excl.} . . .  
mà aynu  | you (Plur.) . . .  
maanuu  | . . .  
mà ayin keenëen  | . . .  
mà ay keenëen  | . . .  

1. While the Variable Paradigm of the Negative Present Continuous has the same (variable)

H. The Comparative Paradigms of the Present and Past (4th Conjugation)

The paradigms which I propose to call the Comparative Paradigms of the Present and Past, 4th Conjugation, can be established on the grounds of their Accentual Patterns and their verbal endings.

These paradigms have the following endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>-ayd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sign (—) indicates that the particular form has no ending and is identical in shape with the Simple Form of the corresponding Adjective.

The forms of these two paradigms occur in sentences which do not contain the Syntactic Particles ma and waa and never stand in agreement with the Subject Pronouns aân, aad, uu, etc. The term 'Comparative Paradigm' was suggested to me by the fact that the forms of these two paradigms occur chiefly in sentences of comparison.

Examples:

(a) Comparative Paradigm of the Present of the verb (4th Conjugation)
badan (to be) many, much:—

(annugu) kà la'aq bëmmi  | I have more money than he (she, they) you (Sing.) have more money than . . .  
(adigugu) kà la'aq bëmmid | he has more money than . . .  
(isagugu) kà la'aq badan  | she has more money than . . .  
(iyya'ugu) kà la'aq badan  | we (incl.) have more money than . . .  
(annaga) kà la'aq bëmmi  | we (excl.) have more money than . . .  
(iyinku) kà la'aq bëmmid  | you (Plur.) have more money than . . .  
(iyaga) kà la'aq badan  | they have more money than . . .

(b) Comparative Paradigm of the Past of the same verb:—

(annugu) kà la'aq badmaa  | I had more money than he (she, they) you (Sing.) had more money than . . .  
(adigugu) kà la'aq badnaad | he had more money than . . .  
(isagugu) kà la'aq badnaad | she had more money than . . .  
(iyya'ugu) kà la'aq badnaad | we (incl.) had more money than . . .  
(annaga) kà la'aq badnaxin | we (excl.) had more money than . . .  
(iyinku) kà la'aq badnayde | you (Plur.) had more money than . . .  
(iyaga) kà la'aq badnaayde | they had more money than . . .

1. In Note 11/8A to Hikmad Soomaali I referred to this paradigm as the '4th Paradigm of the Past Tense (v4)'.

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*Note: This text appears to be a page from a book discussing the语法 of the Isaaq Dialect, focusing on the Negative Rhetorical Interrogative and the Negative Optative, Comparative Paradigms, and Accentual Patterns in Verbal Forms.