

ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN VERBAL FORMS IN THE ISAAQ DIALECT OF SOMALI

By B. W. ANDRZEJEWSKI

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

LILIAS E. ARMSTRONG in her article 'The phonetic structure of Somali' ¹ has shown that there is a correlation in this dialect of Somali ² between tone patterns and grammatical gender in certain types of Nouns. ³ 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 'plurals of both masculine and feminine nouns are pronounced with the mid-level tones in all syllables... exceptions are the feminine words... ending in -o in the singular...'. ⁴ 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 'aawr plural of 'aawr 'camel' (m.). ⁵ Armstrong's findings are, in general, further confirmed by Abraham, ⁶ 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 ⁷: 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. ⁸ The solution to this divergence of views was offered by Daniel Jones ⁹ 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 a part of a large system of correlations between accentual patterns and

¹ Liliass E. Armstrong, 'The phonetic structure of Somali', *MSOS*, 37, 3, 1934, 116-61.

² This dialect is spoken by the *Isaaq* or *Ishaaq* (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, 1944-50*, London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1951, and I. M. Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London: International African Institute, 1955.

³ Armstrong, 140-3.

⁴ Armstrong, 143.

⁵ Armstrong, 143-5.

⁶ S. Warsama and R. C. Abraham, *The principles of Somali, second edition*, London, 1951 (cyclostyled).

⁷ Armstrong on p. 147 states that 'stress and pitch are closely connected' in Somali.

⁸ A. Klingenberg, 'Ist das Somali eine Tonsprache?', *Zeitschrift für Phonetik*, 3, 5-6, 1949, 289-303.

⁹ Daniel Jones, *The phoneme: its nature and use*, Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1950, §§ 580-2.

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.

Examples¹:—

njrig	(1-3)	a male baby-camel
njrig	(2-2)	a female baby-camel
jogog	(1F)	stay, wait (Imper. Sing.)
jogog	(2)	he stayed, he waited
salaan nin	(2-1-2)	he greeted a man
salaan nin	(2-1-3)	a man greeted him (her, them)
ma arkaan	(1-2-3)	do they see?
ma arkaan	(1-2-1F)	they do not see

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).

¹ 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:—

njrig	(I-III)	a male baby-camel
njrig	(III-II)	a female baby-camel
jogog	(ID)	stay, wait (Imper. Sing.)
jogog	(II)	he stayed, he waited
salaan nin	(III-I-II)	he greeted a man
salaan nin	(III-I-III)	a man greeted him (her, them)
ma arkaan	(I-III-III)	do they see?
ma arkaan	(I-III-ID)	they do not see

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. *jogoji* 'stop!' and *jogoji* '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.¹

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.

¹ cf. the sections 'Language and speech' and 'Levels of abstraction' in E. O. J. Westphal, *The sentence in Venda* (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955).

§ 5. PAUSES

In dealing with the Accentual Features described above, it is important to bear in mind that the following Accentual 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. ACCENTUAL UNITS

On the basis of the rôle which the Accentual Features play in the grammar of this dialect I have set up five Accentual 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 Accentual Units 1, 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 Accentual Units are represented.

The five Accentual Units are given in Table I below:—

TABLE I

	Accentual Units which can occur in verbal forms			Accentual Units which cannot occur in verbal forms	
	AU1	AU2	AU3	AU4	AU5
Position (a)	High Tone with Even Strong Stress	High Falling Tone with Diminuendo Stress	Mid Tone with Absence of Stress	High Tone with Even Strong Stress	Mid Tone with Absence of Stress
Position (b)	Mid Tone with Secondary Stress	The same as in Position (a)	Low Tone with Absence of Stress	High Falling Tone with Diminuendo Stress	Mid Tone with Secondary Stress

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

' (the Acute)	represents AU1
` (the Grave)	" AU2
^ (the Circumflex)	" AU4
˘ (the Inverted Circumflex)	" AU5

Absence of any of the above diacritics represents AU3.¹

The above diacritics² 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 oo (yoo, ʔoo).

§ 7. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS

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

TABLE II

Serial Number of the Accentual Pattern	Description of the Pattern
1	AU1 on the last or the only syllable, ³ AU3 on all the other syllables of the form, if any. ⁴
2	AU1 on the penultimate syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form.
3	AU1 on the antepenultimate syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form.
4	AU1 on the last syllable, AU1 on the penultimate syllable, and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form.
5	AU1 on the last syllable, AU1 on the antepenultimate syllable, and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form.
6	AU2 on the last or the only syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form, if any.
7	AU2 on the antepenultimate syllable and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form.
8	AU2 on the last syllable, AU1 on the antepenultimate syllable, and AU3 on all the other syllables of the form.
9	AU3 on all the syllables of the form.

Every verbal form has a stable Accentual Pattern of its own with the exception of certain forms which have a set of two or more Accentual 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 accentual marks are used only occasionally, AU3 could be represented by - (the Macron).

² In M. H. I. Galaal's *Hikmad Soomaali*, 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 Accentual 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 ¹ ;
- (iii) the characteristics (given under (i) and (ii)) 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*.² 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 *ŷ*. The symbol *sh* corresponds to Armstrong's *ʃ* and the symbol *kh* corresponds to her *x*. The vowels are represented according to the 'Broad System of vowel representation' as described in my article 'The problem of vowel representation in the Isaaq dialect of Somali'.³ On p. 569 in that article readers will also find explanations concerning the symbol *ŷ*.

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 Daaròod but the language used in the quotations does not differ in any way from the Isaaq usage. In fact, the dialectal differences between Isaaq and Northern Daaròod 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. Galaal. The collection is as yet unpublished.

¹ For the purposes of our present description a syllable is considered as long when it has a long vowel, or a short vowel followed by *w* or *y* and a consonant within the same word, e.g. *wēyn* 'big', *qāwr* 'look'. Considerable difficulty arises in the case of those polysyllabic forms of the Imperative Singular, 1st Conjugation, which end in *-ow* or *-aw* (see C. R. V. Bell, *The Somali language*, London : Longmans, 1953, § 120). In these forms the final syllable can either be short or long and the choice is optional. It may be noted, however, that all these forms, with the exception of *bīlaw* 'begin' and *qābow* 'cool down', occur more frequently with a long final syllable and have, consequently, the Accentual Pattern 6.

² C. R. V. Bell, *The Somali language*, London : Longmans, 1953, abbreviated to Bell throughout this article.

³ BSOAS, xvii, 3, 1955, 567-80.

§ 8. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN VERBAL FORMS OF THE 1ST, 2ND, AND 3RD CONJUGATIONS

TABLE III

Grammatical designation of the verbal form or forms	Differentiating phonological characteristics	Accentual Pattern of the form or forms
1. Imperative Singular, 1st Conj.	(a) short ¹ monosyllables (β) polysyllables whose last syllable is short (γ) long monosyllables ² and polysyllables whose last syllable is long	1 2 6
2. Imperative Singular, 2nd Conj.	(a) forms ending in short <i>-i</i> (β) forms not ending in short <i>-i</i>	2 6
3. Imperative Singular, 3rd Conj.	(a) forms ending in <i>-o</i> (β) forms not ending in <i>-o</i>	1 6
4. Imperative Plural ³		2
5. Present General, Extensive Paradigm † ⁴		9
6. Present General, Restrictive Paradigm		1
7. Past General, Extensive Paradigm		9
8. Past General, Restrictive Paradigm		1
9. Past General, Independent Paradigm † : (a) 1st Pers. Sing., 2nd Pers. Sing., 3rd Pers. Sing. Feminine, and 1st Pers. Plur. (b) 3rd Pers. Sing. Masculine, 2nd Pers. Plur., and 3rd Pers. Plur.		2 1
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. 108 ; 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. 108.

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 †.

Grammatical designation of the verbal form or forms	Differentiating phonological characteristics	Accentual Pattern of the form or forms
14. Optative † (a) 1st Pers. Sing., 2nd Pers. Sing., 1st Pers. Plur., and 2nd Pers. Plur. (b) 3rd Pers. Sing. Masculine and Feminine, 3rd Pers. Plur.		2 9
15. Potential †		9
16. Infinitive, 1st Conj.		2
17. Infinitive, 2nd and 3rd Conj.		1
18. Negative Imperative Singular, 1st Conj.		2
19. Negative Imperative Singular, 2nd and 3rd Conj.	(a) forms of shorter shape, i.e. those identical with the Infinitive ¹	1
	(β) forms of longer shape, i.e. those not identical with the Infinitive	2
20. Negative Imperative Plural		2
21. Negative Present General: (a) All Persons Sing. and 1st Pers. Plur. (b) 2nd Pers. Plur. and 3rd Pers. Plur.		1 6
22. Negative Present Continuous, Variable Paradigm †: (a) All Persons Sing. and 1st Pers. Plur. (b) 2nd Pers. Plur. and 3rd Pers. Plur.		5 8
23. Negative Present Continuous, Invariable Paradigm †	(a) forms of shorter shape, i.e. those ending in -ayn (-eyn)	4
	(β) forms of longer shape, i.e. those ending in -aynin (-eynin)	5
24. Negative Past		1
25. Negative Past Continuous	(a) forms of shorter shape, i.e. those ending in -eyn	4
	(β) forms of longer shape, i.e. those ending in -eynin	5
26. Negative Rhetorical Interrogative †: (a) All Persons Sing. and 1st Pers. Plur. (b) 2nd Pers. Plur. and 3rd Pers. Plur.		2 6
27. Negative Optative, † 1st Conj.		2
28. Negative Optative, 2nd and 3rd Conj.	(a) forms of shorter shape, i.e. those identical with the Infinitive	1
	(β) forms of longer shape, i.e. those not identical with the Infinitive	2
29. Negative Conditional †		1

Examples Illustrating Table III

- 1 (α) **Húbka díg !** Put down the weapons !
Wáháas dáy, wáha ká sokeeyá Look at that thing and the thing which
na dáy ! is beyond it ! (i.e. 'In dealing with any matter take into account all its aspects and its consequences!'—A proverb.)
- 1 (β) **Áwrka gáwra' !** Slaughter the he-camel !
'Gárta náq' baa La¹ i yíqí é,² 'kú It was said to me 'judge the case' but it
dirir' La i má oqán. was not said to me 'fight about it'.
(A proverbial expression showing the principle that a judge under the Somali tribal law should not fight to enforce his sentence.)
- 1 (γ) **Lúg ná baqé ugú³ jòog, lúg ná** Stand on one leg (ready) for retreat
dirir ! and on one leg (ready) for fighting.
(A proverb.)
- Ljibàan !** Prosper ! (A blessing used as an expression of thanks.)
- 2 (α) **Naa dáyòoy, hásha qáybi !** Oh She-Jackal, divide the she-camel !
(From a well-known fable about meat division.)
- Nínkán báji óo⁴ wár hún óo** Frighten this man and tell him bad and
qíilló áh⁵ ú shèeg ! alarming news ! (From a humorous story about a man who wanted to frighten someone by telling him that the world was going to be turned upside down next day.)
- 2 (β) **Mjdgàan baa La yíqí, maanyèe !** It was said to a Mjdgàan,⁶ 'jest !'
(A proverbial expression which refers to a story about a Mjdgàan 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 **yíqí_ýe**. ³ **baqá_ugú** or **bagé_ugú**. ⁴ **báji_yòo**.

⁵ **qíillá_áh**; 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

- Salaamád igá gaqsi waláalkáa ! Make greetings from me reach your brother ! (i.e. 'Give my regards to your brother !')
- 3 (a) Áwrka fi qabó ! Seize the he-camel for me !
'Wah hubsó' hál bàan siistay. 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 (β) Méeshaad tagtó ba ¹ Rábbigáa ká 'absóod. Wherever you go fear your Lord ! (A proverbial expression.)
- Amma táag lahaw amma tamár lahaw ! Either have strength or have cunning ! (A proverb.)
- 4 Waar tólów, 'ólka jóoja ! ² Oh, kinsmen, stop the war ! (From a geeráar ³ by Saláan 'Árrabey.⁴)
- Jaráha díga, jírku ba waa rídaa Put down the bridle, a heavy rain also
Jálaw 'aleeméed é ! scatters withered leaves ! (i.e. 'Stop the preparations for war ; if you fight, our tribe, which is superior in strength, will scatter you as a heavy rain scatters withered leaves !')
- 5 Soomaalídu béen wáy sheegtaa, Somalis tell lies, but they do not make
béen se má maahmaahdó. false proverbs. (A proverb.)
- Wáh aan daa'ád ahayni dabádáy What is not honest becomes bad in the
ká humaadaan. end. (A proverb.)
6. Méeshii ili fógaysó ba ⁶ áddin baa The leg brings near the place which
dqweeyá. the eye makes distant. (i.e. 'Things are not always as difficult as they seem at first'. A proverb.)

¹ tagtá ba.² An optional alternative for joojiya.³ geeráar is a kind of alliterative poem sung or recited. For further information about the types of Somali poetry (gabay, hées, jiifto, bálwo, etc.) see J. W. C. Kirk, *A grammar of the Somali language, with examples in prose and verse*, Cambridge: University Press, 1905, 170-83; M. Maino, *La lingua somala, strumento d'insegnamento professionale*, Alessandria, 1953, 44-53; Margaret Laurence, *A tree for poverty*, Nairobi: The Eagle Press for the Somaliland Protectorate, 1954, 5-16.⁴ One of the most famous Somali bards. His poems are known by heart by many Somalis and quotations from his poems have acquired the status of proverbs. He died at an advanced age soon after the Second World War. Many of his poems have been recorded in Mr. M. H. I. Galaal's unpublished collection. For some further information see Margaret Laurence, *A tree for poverty*, 37-8.⁵ A well-known Somali bard of the 'Iidagale tribe who lived in the nineteenth and the

- Dég haddii La gəoyó daloolkaa ¹ When an ear is cut off, the hole
haqá. remains. (i.e. 'If you spoil your own good name, you also spoil the good name of your family or tribe'. A proverb.)
- 7 Tól iyó fardó tól bàan doortay. Of kinsmen and horses I have chosen kinsmen. (i.e. 'Kinsmen are more important than wealth'. A proverbial expression attributed to a Dulbahante 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.)
- Nín yár ôo nín wəyn dīláy má Have you seen a small man who has
aragteen ? ² 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 qaybwanāagga Ku ³ baráy ? Who taught you the good way of dividing? (From an animal fable about meat division.)
- Dán baa i gəlisáy Necessity has put me into it, I cannot
ma ná dīdi karó refuse (to go to) a place to which
Méel La ti diráy é. I am sent. (i.e. 'I cannot resist the Fate which forces me to do what I am loath to do'. From a gabay by an anonymous poet.)
- 9 (a) Garānnay. We have understood.
Dá' yarāaday, Géeddów,
sídi I have become young in age, oh
Nuur ú sóo dəgáy é. Géeddi, since Nuur came back.
(From a gabay by Mr. Yusuf Haji Aden.)⁴

¹ daloolkaa = daloolka + baa; see Bell, § 36, 'Contractions with baa'.² Note that the Accentual Patterns do not play any rôle in distinguishing Statements from Questions, e.g. Wūu jogaa 'He is in' and Miyūu jogaa ? 'Is he in ?'.³ The Object Pronoun Ku 'you (Sing.)' is spelt with a capital letter to distinguish it from the Preposition ku (cf. Bell, § 42).⁴ A contemporary Somali poet. The quotation given here is taken from a gabay especially composed by the poet for a play about the advantages of education, performed by Somali school-boys in several towns of the Protectorate a few years ago. The words quoted were spoken by one 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 Yūsuf Haji Adán.

9 (b) Ādduun i khatál.Dánkii Lagá yjmaaddó ba ²

arláda

Diilló Lagá kéen yé.10. Miyáad tégaysaan?Qósolka iyó haasaawáháad igú
qálaysaa é.³11. Áqigpódii baa hággáa dáaqayá.Hajadáas adaa ⁵ garánayá é,⁶
nalá táli.12. Həbəynkii oo ⁷ qán bñu
tukánayay.Waa ná durbaansánaayeen,⁸Waa ná dabbáal dégaayeen,⁹Duujó iyó 'áy iyó durruqaan way
shubayeen.¹⁰

Prosperity deceived me. (A proverbial expression attributed to Āadan Galáyd 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 woe. (From a gábay called Həngél 'The mourning robe', by Mr. M. H. I. Galaal.)

Are you going?

In laughter and in jest you are skinning me! (From a gábay by 'Āwed Khuurshé ⁴ in which he refers to well-disguised invective 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 jiiſto by Maḥammed 'Abdillé Hasán ¹¹ 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 Āulbahánte tribe. He lived in the nineteenth century and his name is associated with many battles.

² yjmaaddá ba. ³ qálaysaa yé. ⁴ A contemporary poet, of the Həbār Ja'ló tribe.

⁵ adaa = adi ('you' Sing.) + baa; see n. 1, p. 113.

⁶ garánayé 'é.

⁷ həbəynkii yoo.

⁸ An optional alternative for durbaansánaayeen.

⁹ An optional alternative for dégaayeen.

¹⁰ An optional alternative for shubayeen.

¹¹ For information about this outstanding historical figure see Enrico Cerulli's article 'Muhammad B. 'Abd Allāh Hassān' in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and D. 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.

13. 'Āli baa lá shaqáyayá.Yaa ká qaylinayáy méeshii?14 (a) Hásháada aan máalo!Markaasuu is yiſi: 'Ninka aad
wa'didid!'14 (b) Rágow, kjbirka waa Lagúkufáa,¹Káa há La ogaado!Inammádu há qaybeen gábaygán.15 Shòw Fəranji qoofee,Shòw fəleg qaaqaaqee.Farayaré La laayee.Shòw arkeen.16. Anigu hōgtaydāan ká bíqi ³

Inay humeeyāan é.

Suldáankii Ku sóo diráy abáar

diiratāa qí'i ⁴ qéh.17 Waan sóo noqón. ⁶

Dooḥyádán nabaadgūráy baa

dāadku mula'yáyn ⁷ qéh.

'Āli was working with him (her, them).
Who was shouting in that place?

Let me milk your camel for myself.

Then he said to himself: 'May you preach to the man!' (i.e. Then he said to himself: 'Preach to the man!')

Oh men, through pride people fall, let that be known! (The refrain (qəntaal) of a gábay by Ismaa'il Miré.²)

Let the boys learn this poem by heart.

Maybe the European will go far away, maybe the stars (astral influences) will change, and those who are few (small tribes) will be attacked. (From a hées.)

Maybe they will see it (him, her, them).

I fear (I shall fear) that they will spoil my reputation. (From a gábay by Maḥammed 'Abdillé Hasán; this line refers to his Somali opponents.)

Tell the sultan who sent you: 'A drought which lays bare (i.e. strips the land of vegetation) will occur'. (From a gábay ⁵ by M. H. I. Galaal.)

I am coming back.

Tell him: 'The flood-water will scurry like a lizard in these valleys which have become bereft of vegetation'. (From a gábay ⁸ by M. H. I. Galaal.)

¹ kufáa is a contraction of the form kufaa (Present General, Extensive Paradigm) and the Conjunction e, and is an optional alternative to kufaa 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 'Āli Géri section of the Āulbahánte tribe.

³ The Infinitive is often used where the Future Tense (with the Auxiliary verbal forms doonaa, doontaa, etc.) or the Present Continuous might be expected; cf. W. Czermak, 'Zum Gebrauch des Infinitivs als "Futurum" im Somali', *Donum natalicium Schrijnen*, Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929, 182-9.

⁴ See n. 3, p. 115.

⁵ This poem is included in M. H. I. Galaal's *Hikmad Soomaali*.

⁶ See n. 3, p. 115.

⁷ See n. 3, p. 115.

⁸ This poem is also included in M. H. I. Galaal's *Hikmad Soomaali*.

18 Barashó horteed ha i ní'in !

Nimánkää ha ráa'in !

19 (a) Nin dergáy taló ha ¹ weydiin.

Ha lugáyn é áwrka fùul !

19 (β) Nin dergáy taló ha ² weydiinnin.

Ha lugáynin é áwrka fùul !

20 Ha is qadinnína, waa kala
tégaayaan é; ha ná is
quuqsannína, waa is dijaysaan é.

Ha tégína !

21 (a) Gaashaanqaad má ambadó.

Hirgi 'aano galéen hikmadi má
gashó.

21 (b) Wáhaanád ahayni Ku má
qabtáan.

Dponyúhu hawáal

ku má so'daan

Héelli Karaméed é.

22 (a) Má garánayó.⁴

22 (b) Dégéhèenna khàyrka iyó samùu
u má qá'aayaan é.

23 (a) Wàanu sóo noqónáyn.

Miyáanad 'únáyn.

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 lull in the
Karán³ season. (From a gábay by
Saláan 'Arrabey.)

I don't know or I don't recognize.

Blessing and goodness do not fall into
our ears. (From a gábay called
Hengél '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?

23 (β) Wàanu sóo noqónáynin.

Miyáanad 'únáynin?

24 Nin aan¹ wáayo barani wahbá
má barán.

Gool Kuu má qaarán, gémbi baan

Kuu qaartay.

25 (a) Hádalkòdii má aan dēgaysánéyn.

Ma árkéyn é iigá wárran.

25 (β) Hádalkòdii má aan

dēgaysánéynin.

Ma árkeynin é, iigá wárran.

26 (a) Gēelán maad qā'did?

26 (b) Bur'ó maa² tagtāan?

27 Adiga òod yàanu qurwāagu wah
ká 'únin é !

28 (a) Wādaad yūu Ku qaafin qaantáda !

Áwrka dábar yàanu ká bahsán é !

28 (β) Wādaad yūu Ku qaafinnin
qaantáda !

Áwrka dábar yàanu ká

bahsánnin é !

29 Haddii aan 'qór' is aqí

qaráamka i galáy

Kitāab qaró lihi³ má

qaadéen.

The same meaning as in 23 (a) above.

" " " "

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 ex-
pedition, 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 (Plur.) go to Bur'ó?

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 bálwo.)

Tie the he-camel by its front legs, let
it not run away!

The same meaning as in 28 (a) above.

" " " "

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

¹ talá _ha.

² talá _ha.

³ Karán 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.

¹ ním _aan.

² Or maad or maydin.

³ qará _lihi.

Háqigjisa qabó, Áadmi
kalé
Ku má hurmeeyéen é !

Take its bridle, I would not have
honoured another man by it!
(From a gábay by Maḥammad
'Ábdiḥ Hasán which the poet recited
on giving his favourite horse Hiin
Finin to Islaan Fáarah, the chieftain
of the 'Umar Maḥamúud tribe of
the Maḥjeertéen.)

§ 9. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN VERBAL FORMS OF THE 4TH CONJUGATION
TABLE IV

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

¹ See n. 4, p. 109.

Examples Illustrating Table IV

- 1 (a) Aabbahaa miyūu nòolyahay? Is your father alive?
Way qaaqèeryihiin daaráhaasu. Those houses are high.
- 1 (β) Béentàada hore rúntàada dambây Your earlier lie is bad for your later truth. (A proverb.)
- ú hùntahay.
'Idlūun bāan hayūugnahay In a deserted place I sit mournful like the vulture of the Scorched Plains (Gūban). (From a gábay by Salāan 'Árrabey.)
Sídii hunshádii Gūbān é.
- 2 (a) Kanāa¹ ugú wēyn. This one is the biggest.
Bēlāayo Ku má aragtó Ku má Trouble which does not (even) hear of you is better than trouble which (only) does not see you. (A proverb which warns people against talking too much and thus attracting trouble.)
maqashāa² ká rōon.
- 2 (β) Kanāa³ ugú wānaagsán. This one is the best.
Iyādāa⁴ óg é wēydii. She knows it (him, her, them), ask her.
- 3 (a) Anígu Kāa la'ág yári. I have less money than you.
Adígu 'Ábdi ká hoolo bādnid⁵ é, You have more wealth than 'Ábdi, māhāad ú 'aawin wēyday? why didn't you help him?
- 3 (b) Idínku nagá la'ág yāridín. You have less money than we.
Igá 'áqli wēynidín. You are wiser than I.
- 3 (c) (a) Fāraskanu kās ká rōon. This horse is better than that one.
Hasan Kāa 'áqli wēyn é lá Hasan is wiser than you, consult him!
tashó !
- 3 (c) (β) Nim dūlay dántí Kāa óg. A man who has set out to loot knows his reasons (i.e. the necessity which forced him to do so) better than you. (A proverb.)
Sán barāar ká táag darán More helpless than the nose of a lamb nínkuu sáhaluku fuulaa é.⁶ is a man upon whom fate descends (whom fate mounts). (From an anonymous gábay.)
- 4 Shaarubó ljbāah⁷ On a lion's whiskers there was rich fat. (From an anonymous gábay.)
bāy barúur
Shilisi saarrayd é.

¹ kanāa = kan + bāa; see n. 1, p. 113.

² maqashāa = maqashó + bāa; see n. 1, p. 113.

³ See n. 1, p. 119. ⁴ iyādāa = iyāda + bāa; see n. 1, p. 113.

⁶ fuulaa - ye.

⁷ shaarubá ljbāah.

⁵ hoolo bādnid.

- Waad ogaydeen. You knew about it.
 5 Dádkii baa je'láa kpháankii. The people loved the soothsayer.
 Hlin Finiin baa fardihli ugu Hlin Finiin was the best of the horses.
 wanaagsanaa.
 6 (a) 'Abdi nagá la'ág badnáa. 'Abdi had more money than we.
 6 (b) Igá 'áqli roonaayé. They were wiser than I.
 7 'Eel biyó lihi¹ má foga. A well which has water is never far.
 (i.e. 'It is worth travelling even a long distance to get to a good well'.
 A proverb attributed to Guléed Hqaji.²)
 Áwr kala guurtay má humá é³ Camels which have parted are not
 uur kala guuráa hún. evil, heart which has parted is evil.
 (i.e. 'There is no evil when people part, with their camels loaded for the journey, and still remain friends, but there is evil in the parting of estranged hearts'. A proverb.)
 8 Má aannu ogáyn. We didn't know.
 Rággii i raa'ay má badnáyn. The people who followed me were not many.

§ 10. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN THE FORMS OF THE IRREGULAR VERBS *yimi*
 AND *yidi*⁴

TABLE V

1. All forms except 3rd Pers. Sing. Masc. Past General, Independent Paradigm and the Imperative Singular.	The same Accentual Patterns as in corresponding forms of the 3rd Conjugation.
2. 3rd Pers. Sing. Masc. Past General, Independent Paradigm	Accentual Pattern 2
3. Imperative Sing.	Accentual Pattern 1

¹ *biya* *lihi*.

² A well-known Somali sage, contemporary with Maḥammad 'Abdillé Hasán. Many proverbs and wise sayings are attributed to him. He belonged to the Habár Yqonis tribe (Réer 'Aynanshé).

³ *humé* 'é.

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', *yidi* 'he said', *yiqiin* 'he knew', *yil* 'he stayed'. Note that the verb *yimi* has no Positive Imperative; *káalay* (plur. *kaalāya*) 'come' belongs to a different root.

Examples Illustrating Table V

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

- Faq fagaaruu yjmaaddaa. 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.)
 Maḥaad oqán? What will you say?
 Yjmi. He came.
 Rág ninkii dādaalaa se waa dōgi But tell (him that) amongst men the man who tries hard will be able to survive (till the rainy season)! (From a gābay¹ by M. H. I. Galaal.)
 kārāyaa qēh!

§ 11. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN THE FORMS OF THE IRREGULAR VERBS *yiqiin*
 AND *yil*²
 TABLE VI

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

Examples Illustrating Table VI

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

- Gari ḥāah bāy taqaan. Justice knows only God. (i.e. 'Justice knows no other bonds or loyalties than her duty to God'. A proverb attributed to Ḥna Sanweyné.³)
 Haddaad gēed magool kú When you see a plant in bloom (remember that) decay awaits it ('is present for it').
 aragtāan, (From an anonymous gābay.)
 Muqūh ná wāw yaal é.

§ 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 ⁴	Accentual Pattern 7

¹ This poem is included in M. H. I. Galaal's *Hikmad Soomaali*.

² See n. 4, p. 120.

³ Also known as Fāarah Sanweyné, a Somali sage and lawyer who lived in the nineteenth century and belonged to the Habár Ja'lo tribe.

⁴ The forms of the Present, Extensive Paradigm of this verb are: Sing.: 1st Pers. *lēyāhay*, 2nd Pers. *lēdāhay*, 3rd Pers. Masc. *lēyāhay*, 3rd Pers. Fem. *lēdahay*; Plur.: 1st Pers. *leenahay*, 2nd Pers. *lēdhiin*, 3rd Pers. *lēyhiin*.

Examples Illustrating Table VII

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

Dawó má lahá náag humi hadday There is no remedy for a bad wife ('a bad wife has no remedy') when she refuses good advice. (From a *gabay* by 'Abdilláahi Muusé.¹)

djiddó wānāda é.

Nín La lēeyāhay wah má lēeyāhay? 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 diacritical markings.

TABLE VIII

	Singular				Plural		
	1st	2nd	3rd Masc.	3rd Fem.	1st	2nd	3rd
1. Present Extensive Paradigm	ahay	tahay	yāhay	tahay	nahay	ṭhiin	ỵhiin
2. Present Restrictive Paradigm	áh		áh	áh	áh		
3. Past Extensive Paradigm	ahaa	ahayd	ahaa	ahayd	ahayn	ahaydeen	ahaaýeen
4. Past Restrictive Paradigm	aháa		aháa	aháy	aháyn		
5. Negative Present	ihí	ihíd	ahá	ahá	ihín	ihidín	ahá
6. Negative Past	aháyn	aháyn	aháyn	aháyn	aháyn	aháyn	aháyn

Examples Illustrating Table VIII

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

Magáalaa ² *hēebta* áh.

There is a town on the coast.

Doqoni sokeeyé má ahá.

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 *Gulēed Hāji*.)

¹ A well-known Somali poet, contemporary with *Salāan 'Arrabey*. He belonged to the

² *magáalaa* = *magáalo* + *bāa*; see n. 1, p. 113.

§ 14. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS IN VERBAL FORMS IN COMPOUND TENSES¹

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 imán káraysaa?

Will you be able to come?

Barbáar q̣isāan ú horráyn j̣iray.

I used to go in front of singing young men. (From a children's poem² about the black ant called *jina*'. 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 *maayo*, *meysid*, ETC.

Instead of enumerating the Accentual Patterns of these constructions it is more convenient to list them. The Accentual Patterns, shown in the diacritical 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.	màayó	(* má hayó)
2nd " "	mēysíd	(* má haysíd)
3rd " " Masc.	màayó	(* má hayó)
3rd " " Fem.	màysó	(* má haysó)
1st " Plur.	màynó	(* má haynó)
2nd " "	màysāan	(* má haysāan)
3rd " "	màayāan	(* má hayāan)

¹ i.e. the Tenses composed of an Infinitive followed by an Auxiliary Verb, e.g. *wuu imán doonaa* 'he will come', *garán màayó* 'I don't know'.

² cf. L. Reinisch, *Die Somali-Sprache*, Wien, I, 1900, 'Texte', 248, lines 13-14.

³ It is now also evident from the material presented by M. M. Moreno in his *Il Somalo della Somalia—grammatica e testi del Benadir, Darod e Dighil*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955, that all the Continuous Tenses (Aspetto Progressivo) could be considered as contracted 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. *hilib búu 'únahayaa* 'he is eating meat' (Majeerteen Dialect), *waa joogsadówhaaya* 'I am stopping' (Banaadir Dialect).

Examples Illustrating Table X

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

Dóoni màayàan.

'Méesha tégi màayó' La má
yíqaahtó — oo 'imri baan Ku
gaaqsiin; 'wáháa 'úni màayó'
La má yíqaahtó — oo 'álaf
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)'—fate 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, obtain also in the Somali spoken by the 'íise, the Gēdabúursi, the Northern Daaróod, 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

- wider pitch intervals,
- more intense stress contrasts,
- using crescendo strong stresses instead of even strong stresses,
- using rising pitch instead of even high pitch,
- 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 *-i* (Bell, § 40, iii); a Simple Form can be either Singular or Plural, e.g. *yár* 'small', *wanaagsán* 'good', Plural: *yaryár*, *wanwanaagsán*.) The Extensive Paradigm, on the other hand, has a full set of verbal endings: *-ahay*, *-tahay*, *-yahay*, *-tahay*, *-nahay*, *-tihiin*, *-yihiiin* (Bell, § 90).

(d) The forms of the Restrictive Paradigm occur only when the Subject of the verb is followed by the Syntactic Particle **baa** (Bell, § 25), **yaa**, **ayaa**, and **miyaa** (but not when these Particles are combined with the Subject Pronoun **aan**, **aad**, **uu**, etc.) and also when either the Particle **yaa**, an Interrogative Definitive (Bell, § 56) **kēe**, **tēe**, **kuwēe**, or a Noun accompanied by **-kēe** or **-tēe** is the Subject of the Verb. The forms of the Extensive Paradigms do not occur in these contexts.

(e) The forms of the Restrictive Paradigms cannot have as their Subject any of the following Subject Pronouns: **aan**, **aad**, **uu**, **ay** (**ey**), **aynu** (**eynu**), **aannu**, **aydin** (**eydin**), **ay** (**ey**), while the forms of the Extensive Paradigms can.

(f) When the Subject of a verbal form of a Restrictive Paradigm is the Emphatic Pronoun **adi** (**-ga**, **-gii**), **idin** (**-ka**, **-kii**), or **iya** (**-ga**, **-gii**), the Emphatic Pronoun, irrespective of its own Person, agrees with the 3rd Person Singular Masculine of the Verb, e.g. **adigāa** (**adiga** + **bāa**) **yāqāan** 'you (Sing.) know'. When any of these Emphatic Pronouns agrees with a verbal form of an Extensive Paradigm, the agreements are quite regular.

The terms 'Restrictive' and 'Extensive' were suggested to me by the fact that the forms of the Restrictive Paradigms can occur in fewer contexts than those of the Extensive Paradigms.

C. The Independent Paradigm of the Past Tense General

The setting up of a new verbal paradigm which I propose to call the 'Independent Paradigm' of the Past Tense appears to be necessary on the grounds of distinctive Accentual Patterns, as well as on account of verbal endings. The forms of this paradigm differ from the corresponding forms of the Past Tense General (Restrictive and Extensive Paradigms) by their Accentual Patterns and by the fact that in their 3rd Person Singular Masculine and the 2nd and 3rd Persons Plural they have so-called 'Short Forms' (Bell, § 121). The Independent Paradigm of the Past General of the verb **kēen** 'bring' is given here as illustration:—

kēenay	I brought
kēentay	you (Sing.) brought
kēen	he brought
kēentay	she brought
kēennay	we brought
keenté	you (Plur.) brought
keené	they brought

The forms of this paradigm, unlike the forms of the Restrictive and Extensive Paradigms of the Past General, can by themselves constitute a complete sentence.

D. The Optative

On the grounds of its Accentual Patterns and the endings in the 2nd and 3rd Persons Plural we must set up a new paradigm which I propose to call the

Optative, and distinguish it from the Subjunctive (Bell, § 96 and § 107). The Optative differs from the Subjunctive as follows:—

(a) The Optative has the Accentual Patterns as shown in Table III, while the Subjunctive has the same Accentual 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 **kēen** is given below, as illustration:—

aan kéeno	let me bring
aad kéentid	may you (Sing.) bring
há keeno	let him bring
há keento	let her bring
aynu } kéenno	let us (incl.) } bring
aannu }	let us (excl.) }
aad kéenteen	may you (Plur.) bring
há keeneen	let them bring

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 **-ay** (Bell **-ey**).

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

shōw keenee	maybe I shall bring
shōw keentee	maybe you (Sing.) will bring
shōw keenee	maybe he will bring
shōw keentee	maybe she will bring
shōw keennee	maybe we shall bring
shōw keenteen	maybe you (Plur.) will bring
shōw keeneen	maybe they will bring

The forms of the Negative Invariable Present Continuous¹ are almost identical in shape with the forms of the Negative Past Continuous, except that they end in **-ayn** or **-aynin** instead of **-eyn** or **-eynin**. Note, however, that in the case of 'Front Forms'² marked here with the cedilla **-eyn** or **-eynin** can be used as optional alternatives to **-ayn** or **-aynin**. The forms of this paradigm can occur only after the Negative Syntactic Particle **aan** (simple or combined

¹ In Note 14/27B to *Hikmad Soomaali* 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 *aan*, *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 imánayn* 'he is not coming'.

The forms of this paradigm are invariable,¹ 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 Accentual 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 *aan*, *aad*, *uu*, etc.: *maan*, *maad*, *muu*, *may*, *maynu*, *maannu*, *maydin*, *may* (instead of *má aan*, *má aad*, *mú uu*, etc.). The meaning associated with this paradigm is that of negative rhetorical questions with an implication of encouragement or excitement, e.g. *Berberá maad tágtid?* '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 *aan* and/or the Subject Pronouns *aan*, *aad*, *uu*, etc. (cf. Bell, § 107). The meaning associated with this paradigm is that of prohibition or negative wishes, e.g. *yàanu sóo noqón* '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 *-een* instead of *-ay* (Bell, *-ey*). The Negative Conditional of the verb *kéen* is given here as illustration:—

<i>má aan keenéen</i>	I should not bring, I should not have brought
<i>má aad keentéen</i>	you (Sing.) would not bring, you would not have brought
<i>mú uu keenéen</i>	he ...
<i>má ay keentéen</i>	she ...
<i>má aynu</i> } <i>keennéen</i>	we ... { (incl.) ...
<i>má aannu</i> }	{ excl.) ...
<i>má aydin keentéen</i>	you (Plur.) ...
<i>má ay keenéen</i>	they ...

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:—

	Singular				Plural		
	1st	2nd	3rd m.	3rd f.	1st	2nd	3rd
Present ¹	-i	-id	(—)	(—)	-in	-idin	(—)
Past	-aa	-ayd	-aa	-ayd	-ayn	-ayde	-aaýe

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 *aan*, *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) *badán* (to be) many, much:—

(<i>anígu</i>) <i>ká la'ág bádni</i>	I have more money than he (she, they)
(<i>adígu</i>) <i>ká la'ág bádniid</i>	you (Sing.) have more money than ...
(<i>iságu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badán</i>	he has more money than ...
(<i>iyádu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badán</i>	she has more money than ...
(<i>innágu</i>) } <i>ká la'ág bádniin</i>	we (incl.) } have more money than ...
(<i>annágu</i>) }	we (excl.) }
(<i>idínku</i>) <i>ká la'ág bádniidín</i>	you (Plur.) have more money than ...
(<i>iyágu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badán</i>	they have more money than ...

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

(<i>anígu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badnáa</i>	I had more money than he (she, they)
(<i>adígu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badnáyd</i>	you (Sing.) had more money than ...
(<i>iságu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badnáa</i>	he had more money than ...
(<i>iyádu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badnáyd</i>	she had more money than ...
(<i>innágu</i>) } <i>ká la'ág badnáyn</i>	we (incl.) } had more money than ...
(<i>annágu</i>) }	we (excl.) }
(<i>idínku</i>) <i>ká la'ág badnáydé</i>	you (Plur.) had more money than ...
(<i>iyágu</i>) <i>ká la'ág badnaayé</i>	they had more money than ...

¹In Note 11/5A to *Hikmad Soomaali* I referred to this paradigm as the 'IInd Paradigm of the Past Tense (v4)'.