

Two little-known poems by Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»^{*}

GIORGIO BANTI & CIISE MAXAMED SIYAAD

(Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli; former Jaamacadda Ummadda Soomaaliyeed, Mogadishu)

ABSTRACT *Two of the poems composed by Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow», a famous Somali poet from the northern Benaadir coast, who lived between the second half of the XIX and the first decades of the XX century, are published here. A short introduction with a few historical data about this poet as well as observations about his scansion and his language precedes the texts of the two poems and their translations. Extensive linguistic notes follow, and a glossary of all the words that occur in the two texts is added at the end, with indications of the more likely Arabic loanwords.*

The two poems that are published here for the first time have been composed by Sheekh Axmad Sheekh Eybakar «Gabyow», i.e., sheikh Ahmed the Poet son of sheikh Eybakar, one of the major poets of the Benaadir area of Somalia. He is said to have been born in 1844 in Cadale, a coastal settlement at ca. 130 km. north-east of Mogadishu. During the last part of the 19.th and the first decades of this century he was one of the major religious leaders of the Abgaal clan, and founded several *jameeco*'s, i.e., religious communities of the kind described by Cerulli (1957, pp. 187 ff.; 1964, pp. 168 ff.)¹. Some of his poems bear

^{*} The authors are grateful to Cabdalla Cumar Mansuur, Riccardo Contini, Xasan Maxamed Sabriye and Xuseen Sheekh Axmad Kaddare for their invaluable help in preparing this paper. Research in former Somalia was done within the framework of the Somali language project financed by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the Somali National University and the Somali Academy of Science, Art and Literature in Mogadishu. G. Banti prepared most of the linguistic comments and the glossary; Ciise Maxamed Siyaad collected the poems and took care of their translation.

¹ Cerulli uses the Arabic term *ġemā'ah* for these religious communities, rather than its Somali adaptation *jameeco* [ġamē'o]. Similar communities are called *zāwiyah* (pl. *zawāyā*) in north-African countries.

witness of his activity as a religious preacher. A good example is poem I below, *Shaharkii soon* "The month of fasting", where he rebukes those who neglect the basic duties of Islam and indulge in sinful deeds. Another example of this kind is *Webiga* "The river", published by Xuseen Sh. Axmad Kaddare (1983, p. 23).

Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow» actively opposed Italian encroachment, and led his people in 1892 in a battle they fought at Cadale against Italian troops. Some of his most famous poems are about his struggle against the European infidel intruders, e.g., *Soomaaliyaan u dagaallamaynaa* "We are fighting for Somalia" published in *Soomaali - Fasalka 5.aad* (1983, p.79), *Qasqas carmaa* "The bitter soup of wild vines" and *Waa rafaadaa* "It is really suffering" published by Xuseen Sh. Axmad Kaddare (1983, p. 7 and, respectively, p. 24). He died in 1933 in Cadale, and his tomb still is a revered place of pilgrimage in that town.

However, not all of his known poems are religious admonitions or exhortations to oppose the Italian occupation. For instance *Waa meel* "It is one kind of man", i.e., poem II below, contrasts different kinds of activities in which people engage, e.g., teaching the Koran vs. roaming around, tilling the land vs. robbing other people, trading vs. begging, etc. It is thus nearer to the thematic genre that Sheekh Jaamac C. C. (1974, p. V) calls *xigmadda* "wisdom, philosophical reflections".

Most of Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»'s poems are composed in a special metre, that is called *masafo* even though it is quite different from the *masafo* used by Sheekh Cali Majeerteen and by Maxamed Cabdille Xasan. The latter is a non-isosyllabic metre described in Banti and Giannattasio (1996, pp. 89 ff.) and in Banti (1996, pp. 189 ff.). Its basic pattern is the sequence | ≡ ≡ ∪ ≡ ≡ (∪) | that is generally repeated in two successive half-lines separated by a caesura. Instead, Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»'s *masafo* is mostly isosyllabic and consist in ten positions of which only the last one allows a long vowel to be replaced by two short syllables. Of the other nine positions, the first two ones are each realised as either a long or a short vowel, while

the other seven positions have unchangeable vowel quantities. The general pattern is shown in (a.) below. A significant part of this metre is not much different from a line of *geeraar*, one of the major genres in Somali poetry. *Geeraar* lines may count from 6 to 9 syllables, even though major poets of the first decades of this century, such as Maxamed Cabdille Xasan, appear to prefer lines of 7-8 syllables. Never the less, 9-syllable *geeraar* lines have the pattern shown in (b.) below (cf. Banti and Giannattasio 1996, p. 100),

- a. | ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘˘ | *masafo* line
b. | ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ | 9-syll. *geerar* line

It is apparent that positions 1-2 and 4-8 are exactly alike in Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»’s *masafo* lines and in 9-syllable *geeraar* lines. It is thus possible that he developed his *masafo* metre out of one of the possible variants of the *geeraar* metre, by establishing fixed quantities in positions 3 and 9, and by adding a tenth position characterised by a long syllable that could alternate with two short ones.

It should be pointed out, however, that the above scansion pattern can be recognised in the poems below only if one takes into account the specific phonological rules of Somali poetry. The most important of these are (i.) that CVC syllables scan like CV syllables, i.e., as | ˘ |, while CVVC and CVV syllables scan as | – |. In addition to this, (ii.) diphthongs are anceps in open syllables, but always long in closed syllables, and (iii.) also a few morphemes such as *aan* “I, we” and “not”, *aad* “you”, the focus particles *baa* and *waa*, the enclitic conjunctions *-ee* and *-oo* and the definitive *-kii* (both article and 3 sg. m. possessive) are anceps.

The lines of Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»’s *masafo*’s are alliterated as most genres of Somali poetry. This means that words beginning with a designated sound must occur through all the lines of a poem. This sound is *sh* in poem I below, and *m* in poem II. The

minimal pattern in these *masafo*’s is for one alliterated word to occur in a line as in I8 *Iminkii shuushkii idiin yimaadoo*, even though the most frequent case is with two alliterated words as in I1 *Shaharkii soon iyo shaatadii dago*. Exceptionally even three alliterated words are found, as in I3 *Shahaadateynkina sheybya shaabkiin*. The frequency rates in the two poems are the following ones:

	Poem I	Poem II
1 alliterated word	1 line (5 %)	3 lines (9.3 %)
2 alliterated words	16 lines (80 %)	27 lines (84.3 %)
3 alliterated words	3 lines (15 %)	2 lines (6.2 %)

From a strictly linguistic point of view Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»’s poems are also of some interest because they are in a northern Benaadiri literary variety from Cadale, whereas most published examples of Somali poetry are in the literary language that developed in northern Somali speaking areas.² The distinctive features that occur in these two poems are pointed out below in the comments to the single lines. A few data on the variety of Benaadir Somali spoken in Cadale have been published by Moreno (1955, pp. 178 ff.) and Lamberti (1986, pp. 34 ff. and 58 ff.). Yet there are in the two poems published here a few features that had not been noticed by either of the two above authors. One of them is the 3 pl. possessive suffix m. *-koor*, f. *-toor*, whose 3 sg. f. counterpart is *-keer* / *-teer*, as in *dar-teer* “because of it (f.)” in l. 5 of the poem by Cabdulle Geedannaar published by Banti (1996, p. 199) *Ee badarki yaa maqan darteer, xoolo loo beecshay* “and because there has been no harvest, livestock has been sold”. The final *-r* of these possessives is from retroflex **-dh*, and has a clear parallel in western Boni (Bireeri) 3 sg. f. *-eed* and 3 pl.

² The term “northern Somali” is used here after Lamberti (1986, pp. 30 ff.) as a general term for the rather homogeneous varieties of Somali spoken in Jibuti, Somaliland, north-eastern Somalia, the Somali region of Ethiopia, Kenya and south-western Somalia (the former Oltregiuba). In previous publications G. Banti has often referred to this group of varieties with the longer name “north-central Somali”.

-ood, cf. *mín-eed* "her house" and *mín-ood* "their house" (Heine, 1977, p. 259).

Another feature are causative (C2) and middle (C3) contracted 2 sg. and 2 pl. progressive forms such as C3 2 sg. I14 *shinséysay* and C2 2 pl. I18 *shakéysiin* instead of better known Benaadiri forms such as *shinsaheysay* and, respectively, *shakiheysiin*. This contracted type of C2 and C3 progressive is known to occur in the border area between Benaadiri and northern Somali varieties; its 1 sg. and 3 sg. m. forms are, e.g., C2 *jabáayaa* from *jebi* "break" and C3 *garáayaa* from *garo* "understand" that are tonally distinct from C1 progressive forms such as *kéenaayaa* ~ *kéenayaa* from *keen* "bring". Also the C3 relative 3 sg. m. progressive form I27 *dabahaaya* with its long -aa- is slightly different from Moreno's (1955, p. 95) *absáhaya* with a distinctly short -a- in the first syllable of the old auxiliary -haya. It has however a parallel in May progressive forms such as C1 *sheenā háayā* "he is bringing it" or C3 *gorodā háayā* "he is understanding it" (Saeed 1982, p. 100). Also Boni and Karre progressive forms such as Boni (Jara) C1 *korów heeya* "he is climbing" (Heine 1982, p. 33), and Karre C3 *qaadašā heeyaa* "he is taking it" (Tosco 1989, p.92) belong here, because 3 sg. m. Boni (Jara) *heeya*, Karre *heeyaa*, and 3 sg. f. Boni (Jara) *heessa*, Karre *heesaa* are best explained as due to paradigm leveling of **haaya(a)*, **haysa(a)* > *heesa(a)*.

No variants are given below for the text of the two poems, because only one version for each of them was available to the present authors. They can be found on pp. 2 and 6-7 of a xeroxed copy of a short typewritten manuscript obtained by Ciise Maxamed Siyaad in 1985 or 1986. The manuscript contains a very short biographical note in English on Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow», and the Somali texts of eight of his poems. Even though there is no indication of its author, it probably came from Xuseen Sh. Axmad «Kaddare», one of the major authorities on Benaadiri poetry.

I.

SHAHARKII SOON

- Shaharkii soon iyo shaatadii dago*
Haddii la sheelay shantii salaadood
Shahaadateynkina sheybya shaabkiin
Shafawi looga ekeystay sheegmada
5. *Shubhana aan laga dhawrsan shay galay*
Shiribkiyoon sharcigeynu sheegeyn
Shabashaboo shabyo huuhda haysiin
Iminkii shuushkii idiin yimaadoo
Sheeggu dhumoo shuqo laysku soo tolo
10. *Labada shuulana laysku soo shiro*
Shanshoodhinkiinnana laysku shiil jiro
Sharqi xaggii shacrigeyn la aaddiyo
Shillal ka hoos shacshac laysku shaaqalo
Kuwaad shinseysayna kaa shareermaan
15. *Shaydaankinow qabrigiin ku soo shiro*
Shiddo dhacdaa la shallaayi doonaa
Shirmadii diintase waa sharaaxdeen
Wacdigaan sheegayna waa shakeysiin
Shaq uma siin dhegihiinna shaaqalan
20. *Aw Sheekhda beenana waa shubeysiin.*

- If the month of fasting, the sheep of alms
And the five prayers are not observed,
And the two creeds by your old and young
Have been reduced to hollow words,
- 5 And religiously wrong actions are not abstained from,
Such as the *shirib* dance that is not prescribed by our Law
And the *shabashabo* dance, during which you clap your
hands and utter *huuh*,
When disease strikes you,
You loose your voice, your shroud is sewn together,

10. Your ankles are laid down close to each other,
Your shins are stretched out
Pointing towards east as our Law prescribes, and
Are covered with branches under the wooden planks,
And the people you trusted part from you
15. While devils gather in your grave,
You shall grieve about the misfortune that shall be
happening to you.
But you didn't heed what our religion forbids,
You doubt the warnings I gave you,
Your closed ears didn't listen to them
- 20 While you repeated your false expressions of devotion.

Lines 1-2. **A)** The two phrases *shaharkii soon* “the month of fasting” and *shaatadii dago* “the sheep of the *zakāh*” have the dependent elements in the genitive case and without their articles. This type is very restricted in northern Somali (cf. Banti 1988, p. 219) that usually requires the article to appear also on the dependent noun as in the genitive phrases I17 *shirma-dii diin-ta* “the prohibition(s) of religion” and II9 *Minhaaj-ka diin-ta* “the *Minhaaj* (book) of religion”, but it is the dominant one in related languages such as Rendille and Bayso cf., e.g., Rendille *barbárre-tí cimbirót* “the wings of the birds” (Oomen 1981, p. 52), Bayso *íltiti ta goljaatí* “the eye of the wart-hog (citation form *goljáati*)” (Hayward 1979, p. 107). **B)** *Shaharkii soon*, *shaatadii dago* and *shantii salaadood* are three of the five pillars (*'arkān*) of Islam, the other two being the doctrinal formula (*šahādah*, mentioned in I3) and the pilgrimage (*ḥaǧǧ*). Notice that the conjunction *iyo* occurs only between the first two, but not before the third phrase. **C)** *Haddii* “if” is linked to the dependent verbs I2 *la sheelay*, I4 *looga ekeystay*, and I5 *aan laga dhawrsan*. It is the partly grammaticalised definite form of the f. noun *had* “time”, and is thus syntactically the head noun of the three above relative verbs, even though it is preceded by two direct complements of the first relative verb, i.e., *shaharkii*

soon and *shaatadii dago*. A similar construction with the complement of the dependent verb preceding the head noun of the relative clause occurs in I5, as well as in II1, II3, II16, II22, and II28 below.

Lines 3-4. **A)** *Shahaadateyn-ki-na* is the Arabic dual of *shahaado*, masculine because of gender polarity like the plurals of this class of nouns. The remote definite article is here metrically short, and followed by the enclitic conjunction *-na*. The two *shahaado*’s are the two parts of the Islamic doctrinal formula also known in Arabic as *aš-šahādatān*, i.e., (a.) *lā ’ilā ha ’illā llāh* “there is no god beyond God” and (b.) *Muḥammadun rasūlu llāh* “Mohammed is God’s Prophet”. **B)** *Sheyb-ya shaab-kiin* “your old and (-ya allomorph of *iyo*) young men” is an alliterative couplet of a kind much used in Somali poetry and formal discourse. The two words agree also in their final *-b* and are metrically equivalent because a diphthong in a closed syllable scans as a long vowel: *shVVb*. Other alliterative couplets in these two poems are *Mako iyo Maddiina* II3, *muraad-yo maseyr* II12, whereas non-alliterative couplets are *shab-yo huuh-da* I7, *maad-ya dheel* II14, *masaar-ya yaamba* II16, *mood-yo nool* II20, and *may iyo haa* II23. Notice that the possessive determiner *-kiin* is in its shorter form and is added only to the second word, as if the couplet were a single compound word. **C)** *Looga* is the generic subject clitic *la + u* “to, as” + *ka* “from, by”; *u* governs *shafawi ... sheegmada*, *ka* instead *sheybya shaabkiin*. Notice that the grammatically generic subject construction is treated here as a sort of passive, whose agent is expressed by a complement phrase governed by *ka*. **D)** *Shafawi ... sheegmada* has this order because of the meter, but in normal speech it would be *sheegmada shafawi* with the Arabic *nisbah*-adjective treated as a genitive noun in the same sort of phrase as *shaharkii soon* and *shaatadii dago* in I1.

Line 5. **A)** *Shubha(-na) ... shay galay* is a discontinuous phrase because of scansion. Its head noun is *shay*, itself the complement of *haddii ... aan laga dhawrsan* “if ... people don’t abstain from”, whereas *shubho* is the direct complement of the relative verb *galay*,

i.e., the complement embedded in the relative clause precedes the clause’s head noun, as in I1-2 above, as well as in II1, II3, II16, II22, and II28 below. **B)** Notice that the verb *gal* “enter” in the construction *shubho ... galay* “incurred religious suspicion” has much the same value it has in *khalad buu galay* “he made a mistake”. **C)** The negative particle *aan* co-occurs with the negative dependent verb form *laga dhawrsan*. Notice that Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow» never omits this negative particle with dependent negative verbal forms, even though this frequently occurs in other Benaadir varieties, e.g., *tuug intow ku qaadin aa la qaada* “a thief has to be caught before he catches you”³. Cf. I6 -*n* ... *sheegeyn*, II12 -*aan* ... *lahayn*-, II14-15 -*n* ... *ahayn*-, and II31 -*aan* ... *ahayn*-

Lines 6-7. **A)** *Shiribkiyoon* is best construed as *shirib-kii* + *oo* + the allomorph -*n* of the negative particle *aan*, where the conjunction *oo* introduces an appositive negative relative clause. The same conjunction *oo* introduces an appositive relative clause also in line 7. **B)** *Sharciageynu* has the nominative form in -*u* of the long 1 pl. possessive -*geyn-a*, a Benaadiri form whose more northern counterparts are exclusive -*gaya-ga* and inclusive -*geenn-a*. Within the wider Somali area (Heine’s Sam languages) distinctive 1 pl. exclusive vs. inclusive forms only occur in some northern varieties and in Rendille. **C)** Notice that definitives have segmentally marked nominative forms in the language of these two poems. One instance is the above *sharci-geyn-u*, another one is I9 *sheeg-gu*. *Muqni* at II8 is a m. noun that occurs as the subject of a non-subjectal relative clause, i.e., a relative clauses whose antecedent is not the subject of the relative verb, and should accordingly be in the nominative case, but its segmental form does not differ from its absolutive form. As for nominative case marking in dependent verbal forms see point (C.) of the comments to II1-2. **D)** The manuscript has short -*o* in *shabashaboo*, but scansion clearly requires a long vowel here. **E)** *Shab-yo huuh-da* is a couplet with the allomorph -*yo* of *iyo*, cf. -*ya* in line 3 above. As in *sheyb-ya shaab-kiin* the

³ Cf. Moreno (1955, p. 171) *Tûk intów ku qâdin ā la qâda*.

determiner is added only at the end of the phrase. **F)** *Haysiin* is a typical Benaadiri form for northern *haysaan*, cf. Moreno (1955, p. 82) and Lamberti (1986, p. 59).

Line 8. **A)** The temporal noun *imin-kii* “the time that”, i.e., “when” heads the subsequent nine temporal relative clauses, that are linked to each other either by means of the enclitic conjunction *-oo ~ -o* or by means of *-na*: (i.) ... *yimaad-oo*, (ii.) ... *dhum-oo*, (iii.) ... *laysku soo tolo*, (iv.) ... *-na laysku soo shiro*, (v.) ... *-na laysku shiil jir-o*, (vi.) ... *la aaddiy-o*, (vii.) ... *laysku shaqaalo*, (viii.) ... *-na kaa shareermaan*, and (ix.) ... *-na- ... ku soo shiro*. **B)** *Idiin* is the well-known clitic form resulting from *idin* “you” + *u* “to”.

Lines 9-10. **A)** *Sheeg-gu* nominative form of *sheeg-ga* “the speech, the ability to speak”, cf. what has been said above about I6 *sharcigeynu*. **B)** *Dhum-oo* = *dhumo* 3 sg. m. of the subordinate present of *dhun* + the enclitic conjunction *-oo*. **C)** *Shuqo* is actually a kind of white cloth worn on important occasions, here it is used metaphorically for the white shroud. **D)** Notice the enclitic conjunction *-na* added at the end of the phrase *labada shuulo* as in I14 *kuw-aad shinsaysay-na* below, I18 *wacdig-aan sheegay-na*, I20 *aw Sheekh-da been-a-na*, I16 *maqaaam Ibraahim-na*, I17 *maqfuur sidaa ku naqdaa-na*, etc., as well as *-se* in I17 *shirma-dii diin-ta-se*.

Lines 11-13. **A)** *Shanshoodhin-kiinna-na* has the northern Benaadiri plural ending *-oodhin* that corresponds to *-ooyin* in northern Somali varieties, but to *-ooshin* in central Benaadiri varieties. Moreno (1955, p. 27, 181) misspells it as *-ôdin ~ -ôdini* with dental < *d* > rather than retroflex < *ɖ* >, and says it to be typical of Itala, i.e., Cadale. *Shanshoodhinkiinna-* is the object of the three subsequent dependent verbs, i.e., *laysku shiil jir-o*, *la aaddiy-o* and *laysku shaaqalo*. **B)** *Jir-o* and *aaddiy-o* have the short allomorph of the enclitic conjunction *-oo ~ -o* that introduces the subsequent relative clauses. **C)** *Sharqi xag-gii* is an inverted possessor construction indicating spatial location, with the 3 sg. m. possessive determiner *-kii*, a common Benaadiri allomorph of *-kiis*, corresponding to northern Somali *-ki* with front, i.e., [+ATR] *-i*.

Literally it is “east its direction”, i. e., “towards east”. **D)** *Shacrigeyn* has the determiner-less form of the 1 pl. Benaadiri possessive already seen in line 6. Notice that no element indicates the relationship of this complement with the sentence nucleus. A more explicit form would have been too long for this line. **E)** *Ka hoos* in I13 works as a sort of postposition to *shillal*. The alternative form *shillal hoos-tii* with an inverted possessor construction like *sharqi xag-gii* in the preceding line could not be used here because of its long *oo* in the third metrical position of the line, and because the same kind of spatial location NP used in two successive lines would have been stylistically ugly. **F)** *Shaaqal* means basically “cover a pitfall as a trap for animals”, and is often used together with *god* “pit, hole” as a metaphor for “deceive, take somebody in”, as in *adiga god aa ii shaaqashay* “you deceived me”. Since pitfalls are usually concealed by means of branches, here *shaaqal* is used with *shacshac ... ku* “by means of branches” in a way that is rather near to its basic meaning. Instead, its C4 derivative *shaaqalan* is used in I19 as an attribute of *dhegihiin*- “your ears” with the somewhat more extended meaning “(that were) closed, deaf”.

Lines 14-15. **A)** *Kuwaad* = *kuwii* pl. free definite determiner “those” + *aad* 2 sg. subject clitic pronoun. **B)** *Shinseysay* is a 2 sg. Benaadiri C3 past progressive form corresponding to northern *shinsanaysay*. It is actually [šinséysay] contracted out of *shinsáheysey*, cf. the C3 present progressive forms < *‘absáhaya*, *‘absáhaysa* > in Moreno (1955, p. 95). Notice also the shift from 2 sg. -*aad*, *shinseysay* and *kaa* in I14 to 2 pl. -*giin* in I15, and to generic impersonal *la* in I16, followed by four clauses with 2 pl. in I17-20. **C)** *Kaa* = *ku* 2 sg. clitic object pronoun + *ka* “from”. **D)** *Shaydaankinow* = *shaydaan* + -*ki* allomorph of -*kii* + -*na* “and” + -*ow* northern Benaadiri 3 sg. m. clitic subject pronoun, cf. Lamberti (1986, p. 59) who spells -*oow*. The clitic subject pronoun is required here by the fact that this is a non-subjectal relative clause whose antecedent is *iminkii* at I8. **E)** *Qabri-giin* has the article-less form of the 2 pl. possessive, that in Benaadiri Somali is much more widely used than in northern Somali.

Line 16. **A)** *Dhacd-aa* has the focus particle *-aa* added to the relative verb (present *dhacda* or past *dhacday*). This is a subjectal relative clause because *shiddo* “misfortune”, i.e., its antecedent, is also the subject of its verb *dhacd-*. **B)** *La shallaayi doonaa* is the verb of the main clause the preceding *haddii-* and *iminkii-*clauses depend on. It is the compound future that consists of the infinitive followed by the auxiliary *doon* “want, look for”. The subsequent four lines are also all main clauses, giving the whole *masafo* its peculiar syntactic structure: 15 lines of dependent clauses followed by 5 lines of main clauses.

Line 18. **A)** *Wacdigaan* is *wacdi-gii* + the 1 sg. clitic subject pronoun *aan*. **B)** *Shakeysiin* has the typically Benaadiri 2 pl. present ending *-siin*, cf. lines I7 and I20. Since *shaki* has either *shakiyayaa* (C1) or *shakinayaa* (C2) as its present progressive in northern Somali, the form *shakeysiin* is probably best seen as a contracted form of *shakiheysiin*, i.e., as having the short final vowel of the infinitive and the initial *h-* of the old auxiliary elided as in the C3 past progressive form *shinseysey* in I14. Moreno (1955, p. 88) and Lamberti (1986, p. 59 f.) report the following forms for the Benaadiri C2 present progressive tense:

1 sg., 3 sg. m.	M <i>biḥîhaya</i> ~ M <i>biḥîhā</i> ~ L <i>jebihaa</i> ~ L <i>jebinaa</i>
2 sg., 3 sg. f.	M <i>biḥîheysa</i> ~ M <i>biḥîhey</i> ~ M <i>biḥîhē</i> ~ L <i>jebihee</i> ~ M <i>bihinay</i> (sic!)
1 pl.	M <i>biḥîheyina</i>
2 pl.	M <i>biḥîheysîn</i>
3 pl.	M <i>biḥîhayān</i>

Lines 19-20. **A)** *Shaq u sii* “listen, pay heed to” is an expression involving the ideophone *shaq*. For other examples of Somali ideophones and their use see Andrzejewski’s notes to Muuse H. I. G. (1956, p. 94), where they are called “imitative words”, as well as Cabdulqaadir S. Dh. and Tosco (1998). **B)** Notice that *shaaqalan* has no segmental nominative marking, whereas in more northern varieties it would have been either *shaaqalanu* or *shaaqalani*, because this dependent verbal form is the last constituent of the phrase *dhegihiinna*

shaaqalan, the non-focused subject of *shaq uma siin*. C) *Aw Sheekh-da* has the f. article probably because it agrees with an intended *sheegma-da*, *oraah-da*, or *weer-ta* “utterance”. D) *Beenana* is *been* “a lie” + *ah* “that is” + the enclitic conjunction *-na*. Notice that in northern Somali the complement of a relative *ah* has to agree in definiteness with the head noun of the phrase, while here the definite *aw Sheekh-da* governs the indefinite *been-a-*, i.e., *been ah*. E) The literal meaning of the last line is “and you pour (upon me) insincere ‘aw Sheekh’”, i.e., “false expressions of devotion”.

II.

WAA MEEL

Miinka Quraan nin kutaab u meershoo
Macallimow la yiraaho waa meel.

Mako iyo nin Maddiina aadee
Mino iyo dhagaxii madoobaa

5. *Makaanu khayrkii dhammaaba soo maray*
Maqaam Ibraahimna saaray mooyaha
Maqfuur sidaa ku naqdaana waa meel.

- Muqni ninkow minankiisa yaalloo*
Minhaajka diinta dadkuu macneeyoo
10. *Masaajid buuxa muskuu fadhiistee*
Mas’alo loogu tagaana waa meel.

Nimaan muraadyo maseyr lahaynoo
Maalin intow cuno doonta waa meel.

- Nin maadya dheel hadba meel u joogoon*
15. *Mashquul ahayne socdaala waa meel.*

Masaarya yaamba ninkii isku qaatee

Malab dhulkaan ka daydaana waa meel.

*Nin miraaya habeen madooboo
Muslin hurdaaya dhacaana waa meel.*

20. *Nin moodyo nool midba meel ku iibshoo
Mushtarkiyow la yiraana waa meel.*

*Megen Allaay ninkii maal ku doontee
May iyo haa mid sugaana waa meel.*

- Macyuub af gaabane loo maciinoo*
25. *Miskiinkiyow la yiraana waa meel.*

*Nin maanyadaan ku mushaaxay doomoo
Mallaay ka soo dabahaaya waa meel.*

- Masallihiisa nin soo megdaystee
Maryoodhinkiisana soo caddeystee*
30. *Gogol ka maarmi karaana waa meel.*

*Ninkaan intaasba middoor ahaynoo
Mubadarow la yiraahna waa meel.*

Who teaches the letters of the Koran to the students, and
Is called a teacher is one kind of man.

- Who has gone to Mecca and Medina, and
Has been to the valley of Mina, the Black Stone
5. And every holy place,
And has stopped at the site of Abraham,
And has thus been pardoned for his sins is one kind of
man.

- Who has religious books in his house and
Expounds the Law to people, and
10. Sits at the back of a full mosque
While people come to ask him questions is one kind of
man.
- Who has no ambition nor jealousy but
Looks just for what he needs to eat every day is one kind
of man.
- Who remains in a place only for joking and jesting
15. And wanders without a job is one kind of man.
- Who takes his axe and his hoe and
Looks for the fruits of this earth is one kind of man.
- Who attacks during a dark night, and
Robs people while they are asleep is one kind of man.
20. Who deals in all sorts of goods, and
Is called a trader is one kind of man.
- Who scraps a living by begging, and
Depends upon other people's stinginess or generosity is
one kind of man.
- A pitiful man who cannot speak well and needs to be
helped, and
25. Is called a miserable is one kind of man.
- Who roams this sea with a boat, and
Catches fish from it is one kind of man.

Who has properly tanned his leather praying-mat and,
Having cleaned by himself also his garments,
30 Doesn't need to ask for his host's mat is one kind of man.

Who is not any of the above and
Is called a fool is one kind of man.

Lines 1-2. **A)** *Miin-ka Quraan* lit. "the letter *m* of the Koran", here representing by metonymy all the letters of the Holy Book. The [N-Art N]_{NP} genitive construction has already been discussed for line I1 above. **B)** *Nin* is the antecedent of the two relative clauses *Miinka Quraan ... kutaab u meersh-oo macallimow la yiraaho*, but it follows the direct object of the first dependent verb, cf. I1-2, I5, II3, II16, II22, and II28. **C)** *U meersh-oo* has the verbal adposition *u* "to, for" governing *kutaab* "Koranic school", here used by extension for the students who learn how to read and write Arabic. The verbal form has the conjunction *-oo* appended to the 3 sg. m. subjectal dependent present *meersha* with the *-sh-* variant of the causative (C2) verbal extension *-iy-*. It corresponds to northern *meersha* or *meeriya*. Notice that in Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»'s poems subjectal relative clauses have the restrictive paradigm as shown by, e.g., *kuwa dulmaaya la dood geleynaa* "we fight against those who do evil deeds" (l. 3 of the poem *Soomaaliyaa*) and by *kuwii rogaayey-na reebi waayaan* "and those who were keeping it fail to stop it" (l. 3 of the poem *Rugtii qayaamo* published by Xuseen 1983:24 f.), where the pl. determiners *kuwa* "those" and *kuwii* "id." govern respectively the 3 pl. subjectal relative present progressive *dulmaaya*, and the 3 pl. subjectal relative past *rogaayey* (= 3 sg. m.) vs. the 3 pl. main-clause present *waayaan*. Other instances of subjectal relative present 3 sg. m. forms have *-a* in II13 (nominative case position), II15 (nominative case position), II18 (absolutive case position), II19 (absolutive case position) and II27 (nominative case position). These contrast with the non-subjectal

relative present 3 sg. m. forms with final *-o* both at the end of the line in absolutive case position in I9, I10, I11, I15, and line-internally in II2 (nominative case position), II13 (absolutive case position), and with final \emptyset before *-na* in II32 *yiraah-na* (nominative case position; cf. its variant form *yiraa-na* with final long *-aa-* in II21 and II25). It appears however that both subjectal and non-subjectal relative present forms in nominative case positions have final long *-aa-* when they are followed by the conjunction *-na*: subjectal II7, II17, II19, II23, II30, and non-subjectal II11, II21, II25. There are no instances of corresponding forms in absolutive case positions for one to understand whether the long *-aa-* of, e.g., subjectal *naqdaa-na* II7 or non-subjectal *loogu tagaa-na* II11 is a nominative case marking (as in the northern Somali subjectal relative form *keenayaa* in *nimanka keenayaa waa tuugo* “the men who are bringing it are thieves”) or just an allomorph of final *-a* and *-o* before the enclitic conjunction *-na*. **D)** *Macallim-ow* preserves the Arabic final *-m* before the m. vocative suffix *-ow*. Notice that here *la yiraaho* “he is said, people address him as” governs the vocative NP *macallimow* as a quotative complement, i.e., as a complement consisting of a self-standing direct-speech utterance. The same construction occurs in *mushtarkiyow la yiraa-na* II21, in *miskiinkiyow la yiraa-na* II25 and in *mubadarow la yiraah-na* II32. For a different kind of quotative argument see the discussion of *megen Allaay* II22.

Lines 3-5. **A)** II3 and II4 scan properly only if the conjunction *iyo* counts as $|\sim -|$, a feature that has been observed till now only in poetry from the northern Benaadir, cf. Banti and Giannattasio (1996, p. 87.). Notice however that in the language of this poet *iyo* also scans as $|\sim \sim|$ like in I1 or just as $|\sim|$ (i.e., *-yo* ~ *-ya*) like I3 and I7. **B)** The phrase *Mako iyo Maddiina* is divided into *Mako iyo* and *Maddiina* by *nin* “person”, the head noun of the subsequent four relative clauses: (i.) ... *aad-ee*, (ii.) ... *soo maray*, (iii.) ... *-na* ... *saaray*, and (iv.) ... *ku naqdaa-na*. **C)** *Aad-ee* is the 3 sg. m. dependent past *aaday* + *-ee*, an enclitic conjunction indicating that the following sentence or clause is a consequence of what precedes. **D)** The two C4 verbs *madoobaa* and

dhammaa- are in the past tense because they depend from two head-nouns defined by the remote article *-kii*. **E)** The enclitic particle *-ba* here intensifies the meaning of *dhammaa* “every, all”.

Lines 6-7. **A)** *Maqaam Ibraahim* “Abraham’s site” is a stone within the great mosque in Mecca. It is said to have traces of the footprints of Abraham, who stood on it when the Kaaba was being built. According to several traditions it is a particularly holy place for praying, cf. Koran II, 125 *wa-ttaḥidū min maqāmi ’Ibrāhīma muṣallā* “and make a prayer place out of the site of Abraham”. Supplications made by its side are believed to be fulfilled, and sins are forgiven (cf. *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, vol. VI, p. 102b ff.) **B)** *Mooyaha* “the mortar” is here used as a metaphor of the believer’s body. **C)** *Ku* can be construed here as governing either *sidaa* “thus” or the pious acts depicted in the preceding lines. **D)** The enclitic conjunction *-na* is placed here at the end of the relative clause, i.e., at the end of the subject NP of the main clause of this stanza [... *nin ... naqdaa*]_{NP-na} *waa meel*]_S, rather than after the first constituent of this relative clause in order to link it to the preceding one, just as *-na* after *maqaam Ibraahim* in II6 links the relative clause *maqaam Ibraahim .. saaray mooyaha* to the preceding relative clause. Indeed, *-na* in line II7 performs a double function: (i.) it links the fourth to the third relative clause, and (ii.) it links this entire stanza to the preceding one. The subsequent occurrences of *-na* in II11, II17, II19, II21, II23, II25, II30, and II32 perform only the second of these functions, i.e., they link the stanzas they occur in to the preceding ones.

Lines 8-9. **A)** *Muqni*, i.e., Arabic (*al-*)*Muġnī* is the title of several books about religion and jurisprudence, such as Qudāmah’s († 1233 CE) comment to *al-Muḥtaṣar fī l-fiqh* by al-Ḥiraqī († 945 CE), one of the first hanbalite jurists (cf. Sezgin 1967, p. 513), ad-Ḍahabī’s (1274-1348 CE) *al-Muġnī* (cf. Brockelmann 1898, p. 48; 1938, p. 47), etc. It is used here as an onomastic synecdoche for “important religious books” in general. **B)** *Ninkow* = *nin-ka* + *ow* 3 sg. m. clitic subject pronoun. *Ow* occurs here because the subject of the first relative clause

is not its antecedent *nin-ka* but *Muqni* “the *Muʿinī*”. **C)** Notice that what precedes the head noun of this relative clause is its subject, i.e., *Muqni*, rather than a complement of its verb as in I1-2, I5, II1, II3, II16, II22, and II28. **D)** *Yaall-oo* = 3 sg. m. non-subjectal dependent present *yaallo* + the enclitic conjunction *-oo*. *Macneey-oo* = 3 sg. m. subjectal dependent present *macneeya* + the enclitic conjunction *-oo*. **E)** *Minhaaj-ka diin-ta* is either “the way of religion”, or a reference to the *Minhāǧu s-sunnati n-nabawiyyah* by Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328 CE), an important hanbalite theologian and jurist whose thought still has considerable importance especially among the Wahhabi’s (cf. *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, vol. III, pp. 976a-979b.) **F)** *Dadkuu* is a spelling that shows the sandhi coalescence of *dad-ka* + the verbal adposition *u* “for”, that governs it. **G)** The ms. has *macneeyo*, but scansion clearly requires either a long *-oo* or two short syllables here in the tenth position of Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»’s *masafo*. The form is thus the 3 sg. m. subjectal relative *macneeya* + the longer allomorph of the enclitic conjunction *-oo* ~ *-o*.

Lines 10-11. **A)** *Masaajid buuxa mus-k-* is an inverted possessive determiner construction, with *mus-kii* “its back” (for 3 sg. m. *-kii* cf. above I12) governing the preceding *masaajid buuxa* lit. “a mosque that is full”. **B)** *Muskuu* is a spelling that shows the sandhi coalescences of *mus-kii* “its back” + the verbal adposition *u*, like *dadkuu* in II9 above. Here *u* refers to *dad-ka* in II9 or, more precisely, governs a Ø anaphora of it, while the NP indicating the place where the man is seated is a direct complement of the verb *u fadhiista*, i.e., “he sits for them in the middle of a full mosque”. **C)** *Fadhiist-ee* = 3 sg. m. subjectal dependent present *fadhiista* + the enclitic conjunction *-ee*. **D)** *Loogu* = generic subject *la* + the verbal adposition *u* “to” referring to the learned man who sits in the mosque + the verbal adposition *ku* “for” governing *mas’alo*, i.e., the purpose for seeking him. **E)** For the long *-aa-* in *tagaa-na* see the comments to lines II1-2 above.

Lines 12-13. **A)** *Nim-aan* = *nin* + negative particle *aan*. **B)** *Muraad-yo maseyr* “ambition and jealousy” is an alliterative couplet

like I3 *sheyb-ya shaab-* and II3 *Mako iyo ... Madiina*. Its two terms *muraad* and *maseyr* are metrically equivalent, i.e., CVCVVC | ~ - |, just as *sheyb* and *shaab* are both | - |. Instead, *Mako* and *Maddiina* are metrically different, i.e., respectively | ~ ~ | and | ~ - ~ |, but have the typical order that is found in such cases, with the heaviest word following the lighter one as in the non-alliterative couplet I7 *shab-yo huuh-* where | ~ | precedes | - |. **C)** *Int-ow* is *in-tii* “the amount” + the clitic subject pronoun *-ow*.

Lines 14-15. **A)** *Maad-ya dheel* is a non-alliterative couplet made up of two nouns that have a CVVC syllable structure and are both feminine. Enclitic *-ya* is the allomorph of *-iyo* that has already been seen in I3 and I7. **B)** *Had-ba* has the particle *-ba* with an intensifying and distributive value here. Cf. II5, II20, and II31. **C)** The verbal adposition *u* in *u jooga* governs *maad-ya dheel*, i.e., it refers to the purpose for remaining somewhere. **D)** *Joogoon* is the 3 sg. m. subjectal dependent present *jooga* + the conjunction *-oo-* + the allomorph *-n* of the negative particle *aan*. **E)** The conjunction *-e* in *-n ... ahayn-e* indicates also here that the clause it is enclitically attached to expresses somehow the cause of the action or state of things that is depicted in the following clause, i.e., “(a man who) ... having no job to do, wanders from place to place” More rarely it is the clause preceding the one with enclitic *-e* ~ *-ee* that depicts the consequence.

Lines 16-17. **A)** *Masaar-ya yaamba* is a non-alliterative couplet that indicates two typical tools used for farming. Notice the mirror-image metrical structure of the two words, both of them feminine and with *a*-vowels throughout: *masaar* | ~ - | vs. *yaamba* | - ~ |. **B)** The ms. had *ninkiiis ku*, an attempt at representing in the spelling the coalesced form *ninkiisku* that is required here by the scansion. The present authors preferred here to write *ninkii isku*, i.e., the more usual and transparent spelling, even though it misrepresents scansion. **C)** *Isku* is the reflexive object clitic pronoun *is* joined to the verbal adposition *ku*, that governs it. The group means here approximately “upon himself” and intensifies the autobenefactive value of the middle verbal

form *qaata*. **D)** *Qaatee* = 3 sg. m. subjectal relative present *qaata* + the conjunction *-ee*. **E)** *Malab* “honey”, the direct object of *daydaa-* is better construed metaphorically here, i.e., as a metaphor for the fruits of the earth, and the person intended is a farmer. **F)** The m. demonstrative *-kaan* in *dhul-kaan* “this earth” has long *-aa-* here as its f. counterpart in II26 *manya-daan*. It is a southern form, while northern varieties have *-kan* m. and *-tan* f. with short *-a-*. **G)** *Ka* governs *dhul-kaan*, which is thus a complement of the verb *daydaa-* “looks for”, not of the noun *malab*.

Lines 18-19. **A)** This line does not scan properly because it lacks a syllable between *nin* and *mi-*. One may restore *nin-kii* after II16 and II22. **B)** The present progressive form *miraaya* means by itself “attacks during the night”. *Habeen madoob-* “a dark night” is thus a circumstantial time argument, whose link with the verb in the sentence nucleus is not marked explicitly by any morpheme. **C)** *Muslin*, lit. “a Moslem”, is used here metaphorically as a synonym of “people”. **D)** As already noticed above in discussing line II7, the conjunction *-na* only links this stanza to the preceding one here, because the relative clause *muslin hurdaaya dhacaa-* “(who) robs people while they are asleep” in II19 is linked to the preceding one by the conjunction *-oo* at the end of *madoob-*.

Lines 20-21. **A)** *Mood-yo nool* is a frequently used couplet indicating both inanimate (*mood*, lit. “dead”) and animate (*nool*) property or goods, i.e., objects such as cloth, food, etc., and livestock, slaves, etc. Both its constituent nouns are masculine, have the same CVVC structure and have the same vowel colour *o*. **B)** *Mid-ba* is the numeral *mid* “one” plus the particle *-ba* giving it a sort of distributive meaning, i.e., “each time one, both of them”. It is the head of the inverted partitive phrase *mood-yo nool mid-ba* lit. “inanimate and animate goods, both of them”. Similar inverted partitive phrases are II23 *may iyo haa mid* and II31 *in-taas-ba mid-door*. **C)** *Meel* “place” is governed by the verbal adposition *ku* “in”, meaning that the trader deals in his goods somewhere. It has been omitted in the English

translation above. **D)** *libsh-oo* is the 3 sg. m. C2 subjectal relative present *iibsha* plus the enclitic conjunction *-oo*. Notice that the C2 prevocalic extension *-sh-* and not *-iy-* is used also here, i.e., *iibsha* rather than *iibiya*. **E)** *Mushtarkiyow* = *mushtar* + the remote article *-kii* + the m. vocative particle *-ow*, i.e., lit. “oh trader”. The verb *dheh* “say” governs also here a quotative complement consisting of the actual phrase that is uttered when addressing this man; cf. what has been said above about II2 *macallimow la yiraaho*.

Lines 22-23. **A)** *Megen Allaay* is said by beggars when they ask people to help them. It consists in the genitive phrase *megen Alle* “protection of God” plus the vocative suffix *-aay*, which is f. because it is addressed to a generic plurality of people. Here it is a quotation, i.e., a self-standing direct-speech utterance, used as a non-nuclear argument governed by the verbal adposition *ku* “by means of”, the direct object of *doonta* being *maal*. For a different kind of quotative complement see above what has been said about II2 *macallimow la yiraaho*. **B)** Notice that also here an argument NP from the relative clause precedes its antecedent, as already seen for I1-2, I5, II1, II3, II8, II16, II22, and II28. **C)** *Maal* “wealth, income” is used here for “a living, what he needs for living” because it begins with *m*, the alliterative sound of this *masafo*. **D)** *Doontee* = 3 sg. m. subjectal relative C3 present *doonta* + the enclitic conjunction *-ee*. **E)** *May iyo haa mid sugaa-* lit. “(the man) who waits for either no or yes”. For the verbal form *sugaa-* cf. what has been said above about II1 *meersh-oo*. **F)** *May iyo haa mid* is another inverted partitive phrase with *mid* as its head, i.e., lit. “no and yes, one”, cf. what has been said about II20 *mood-yo nool mid-ba*. *May iyo haa* “no and yes” is another couplet whose two constituent nouns can be regarded as metrically parallel because of the anceps nature of Somali diphthongs, that count either as VC or as VV in open syllables (cf. Banti and Giannattasio, 1996, p. 86); see what has been said above about I3 *sheyb-ya shaab-*.

Lines 24-25. **A)** *Macyuub* is an indefinite antecedent of three subsequent relative clauses: (i.) *af gaaban-e*, (ii.) *loo maciin-oo*, and

(iii.) ... *la yiraa-*. This *masafo* consists in thirteen parallel stanzas, each of them made up of the same nominal predicate *waa meel* and a complex subject NP with a definite or indefinite head noun that has several relative clauses depending from it. The definite head nouns are *nin-kii* II16 and II22, and *nin-k-* (possibly *nin-kii*) in II8 and II31; it has been pointed out above that *nin-kii* may have to be restored in II18. The indefinite head nouns are *nin* in II1 II3 II12 II14 II18 II20 II26 II28 and *macyuub* here in II24. **B)** *Af gaaban*, “who is short-mouthed”, i.e., “who cannot speak fluently” is the 3 sg. subjectal relative present of the C4 verb *gaaban* “be short” preceded by the noun *af* “mouth” that specifies what is short in the subject of *gaaban*. The final *-e* is the well-known enclitic conjunction *-e ~ -ee*. **C)** *Loo* = generic subject clitic *la + u* “to” referring to *macyuub*. **D)** *Maciin-oo* is the 3 sg. m. non-subjectal relative present *maciino* plus the enclitic conjunction *-oo*. **E)** *Miskiinkiyow* = *miskiin* + *-kii* + the vocative particle *-ow*. It is a quotative complement of *la yiraa-* “he is said, people address him as” like II2 *macallimow*, etc. Cf. what has been said above about the latter.

Lines 26-27. **A)** For the long *-aa-* of the f. demonstrative in *maanya-daan* see the comments to II17. **B)** *Maanya-daan* is the direct complement of *mushaaxay*, whereas *doom-* “boat” is governed by the verbal adposition *ku* “with, on”. **C)** *Doom-oo* has *-m-* rather than *-n-* because the nasal is not word-final. **D)** *Ka* refers to *maanya-daan*, i.e., it indicates the place where fish are caught. **E)** *Dabahaaya* is a 3 sg. m. subjectal relative C3 present progressive, corresponding to the more northern form *dabanaya*. Cf. Moreno (1955, p. 95) *qabáhaya*, and what has been said in the introductory section about the long *-aa-* in this form.

Lines 28-30. **A)** *Masalli-hiisa* is the direct object of the relative verb *soo megdaystay*, but it precedes the relative clause’s antecedent *nin*. Similar cases have already been pointed out in discussing lines II1-2 for complements of relative verbs and II8 for the subject of a relative verb. **B)** *Megdayst-ee* and *caddeyst-ee* are *megdaystay* and, respectively, *caddeystay* with the enclitic conjunction *-ee*. **C)** The pl.

noun *maryoodhin-kiisa-* has the northern Benaadiri pl. ending *-oodhin* added to the already pl. base *maryo-*. The sg. is *maro* f., that in more northern varieties has both *maryo* f. and *marooyin* m. as its plurals. *Maroodhin* < *marôdin* > (for < *d* > vs. *dh* cf. above the comments to II1 *shanshoodhin-kiinna-*) is recorded by Moreno (1955, p. 181) for the “Abgaal dialect” of Cadale. However, the same author (1955, p. 29) notes that *-ooshin* – another Benaadiri variant of the pl. ending *-oodhin* ~ *-ooyin* – can be added to the already plural base *dhego* yielding *dhegooshin* < *degôšin* > as a pl. of *dheg* “ear”. **D)** The conjunction *-na* in *maryoodhinkiisa-na* does not link l. 29 to the previous relative clause, since this is done already by *-ee* at the end of l. 28. Rather it means “also”, in the sense that this religious man can take care by himself – as indicated by the venitive particle *soo* in association with the middle forms *megdaystay* and *caddeystay* – not only of his praying mat, but also of his garments. **E)** *Gogol* “mat” in II30 is to be construed as “a mat belonging to whom he is staying with”. **F)** *Ka maarmi karaa-* lit. “(who ...) can manage without”, with *kar* used as a modal auxiliary governing the C1 infinitive *maarmi*.

Lines 31-32. **A)** *Nink-aan* = *nin-kii* + the negative particle *aan*. **B)** *In-taas-ba mid-door* is an inverted partitive construction, lit. “all those things, one of them”; cf. II20 *mood-yo nool mid-ba* and II23 *may iyo haa mid*. The particle *-ba* here intensifies the negative polarity expressed by *-aan ... ahayn-*. **C)** *Mid-door* is the same as northern *mid-dood* “one of them”, but has the Benaadiri 3 pl. possessive *-toor* (m. - *koor*). See above the introductory section for the parallels these suffixes have in western Boni. **D)** *Mubadar-ow* has the vocative particle *-ow* attached to *mubadar* “fool”. It is another instance of a quotative complement of *dheh* “say”; cf. what has been said about II2 *macallimow la yiraaho*.

GIORGIO BANTI can be contacted at the Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi, Istituto Universitario Orientale,

P.zza San Domenico Maggiore, 12, I-80134 Napoli (Italy); fax +39-81-55 15 386; e-mail: g.banti@agora.it.

REFERENCES

- Andrzejewski, B.W., 1975. The rôle of indicator particles in Somali. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 1 (6): 123-191.
- , 1979. *The case system in Somali*, SOAS, London.
- Banti, G., 1988. 'Adjectives' in East Cushitic. In *Cushitic-Omoti*, ed. by M. Bechhaus-Gerst and F. Serzisko, pp. 205-259. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- , 1996. Tradizione e innovazione nella letteratura orale dei Somali. *Africa* (Rome) 51: 174-202.
- Banti, G., and F. Giannattasio, 1996. Music and metre in Somali poetry. In *Voice and power: Essays in honour of B. W. Andrzejewski* (African Languages and Cultures, supplement 3), ed. by R.J. Hayward and I.M. Lewis, pp. 83-127. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Brockelmann, C., 1898. *Geschichte des arabischen Litteratur, Bd. I*. Weimar and Berlin: Felber.
- , 1938. *Geschichte des arabischen Litteratur, 2.es Supplementband*. Leiden: Brill.
- Cabdulqaadir Salaad Dhoorre and M. Tosco, 1998. 111 Somali ideophones. *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11: 125-156.
- Cerulli, E., 1957. *Somalia: scritti vari editi e inediti, vol. I*. Rome: AFIS.
- , 1964. *Somalia: scritti vari editi e inediti, vol. III*. Rome: Ministero degli Affari Esteri.
- Encyclopédie de l'Islam, vol. VI* (1991). Leiden: Brill.
- Sheekh Jaamac Cumar Ciise, 1974. *Diiwaanka gabayadii Sayid Maxamad Cabdulle Xasan*. Mogadishu: Wasaaradda Xiddaha iyo Tacliinta Sare.

- Hayward, D., 1979. Bayso revisited: some preliminary linguistic observations—II. *BSOAS* 42: 101-132.
- Heine, B., 1977. Bemerkungen zur Boni-Sprache (Kenia). *Afrika und Übersee* 60: 242-295.
- , 1982. *Boni dialects*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Lamberti, M., 1986. *Die Somali-Dialekte*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Moreno, M.M., 1955. *Il somalo della Somalia*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
- Muuse Haaji Ismaa'iil Galaal, 1956. *Hikmad Soomaali*, with grammatical introduction and notes by B. W. Andrzejewski. London and Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Oomen, A., 1981. Gender and plurality in Rendille. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 8 (1): 35-75.
- Piamenta, M., 1990-91. *Dictionary of postclassical Yemeni Arabic*, vols. I-II. Leiden and New York: Brill.
- Rossi, E., 1939. *L'arabo parlato a Ṣan'ā'*. Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Saeed, J. I., 1982. Central Somali: a grammatical outline. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 8 (2): 77-119.
- Sezgin, F., 1967. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Bd. I*. Leiden: Brill.
- Soomaali - Fasalka 5.aad, Dugsiga dhexe* ["Somali - 5.th grade, middle school"] (1983). Mogadishu: Wasaaradda Waxbarashada iyo Barbaarinta.
- Wagner, E., 1994. Ein früher Beleg für ein Harari-Wort. In *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer*, ed. by M. Forstner, pp. 299-304. Frankfurt - Bern - New York - Paris: Peter Lang.
- Xuseen Sheekh Axmad Kaddare, 1983. *Waasuge iyo Warsame (socdaalkii 30ka maalmood)*. Mogadishu: Akadeemiyada Cilmiga & Fanka.

Glossary⁴

aad v. C1. tr. to go, to travel to II3.

aaddi v. C2 tr. to point, to orientate II2.

aal v. C1 tr. (3 sg. m. dependent present *yaallo* II8) to be (in a place), to lie.

af n. m. mouth II24.

ah v. C4 tr. to be I20 II15 II31.

Alle n. m. “God” II22 (< Arabic *’Allāh* id.)

aw n. m. honorific title used for Islamic sheikhs I20 (cf. Harari *āw* “father” also attested as a religious title, e.g., *āw Sa’īd*, since the XIV century, cf. Wagner 1994.)

been n. f. lie I20.

buux v. C1 it. to be full II10.

caddeyso v. C3 tr. to clean II29.

cun v. C1 tr. to eat II13.

dabo v. C3 tr. *soo d.* to catch, to fish II27.

dad n. m. people II9.

dago n. f. Islamic alms tax I1 (< Arabic *zakāh* id.)

dayo v. C3 tr. to look for II17.

dhac v. C1 **A)** tr. to steal, to loot II19. **B)** it. to fall, to befall, to happen II6.

dhagax n. m. stone II4

dhan v. C4 it. to be all, to be complete II5.

dhawrso v. C3 it. *ka dh.* to abstain from, to be ashamed of I5.

⁴ Strictly grammatical morphemes such as clitic pronouns, verbal adpositions (*u*, *ku*, *ka*, *la*), determiners, focus words, and most conjunctions are not listed here for lack of space. C1, C2, C3 and C4 refer respectively to the basic, causative, middle and hybrid or adjectival conjugations of verbs. Ditr. means ditransitive, i.e., a three-place verb that governs two direct objects, e.g., *dheh* “say” that has both the person addressed and what is said to him as direct objects. The source has been indicated for the most obvious Arabic loanwords.

dheel n. f. jest, joke II14.

dheg n. f. (pl. *dhego* f. II19) ear.

dheh v. C1/C3 ditr. (3 sg. m. subordinate present *yiraaho* II2 ~ *yiraa-* II21 II25 ~ *yiraah-* II32) to say, to address as.

dhul n. m. earth II17.

dhun v. C1 it. to be lost I9.

diin n. f. religion II17 II9 (< Arabic *dīn* id.)

doon n. f. vessel, boat II26.

doono v. C3 tr. to look for II13 II22.

ekeyso v. C3 tr. *u e.* to regard as, to consider as I4.

fadhiiso v. C3 tr. to be seated, to sit II10.

gaaban v. C4 it. to be short II24.

gal v. C1 tr. to enter, to incur I5.

gogol n. f. mat II30.

haa excl. yes II23.

habeen n. m. night II18.

had n. f. *hadba* each time II14, *haddii* if I2.

hay v. C2 tr. to have; to produce (a sound) I7.

hoos n. f. *ka hoos* under II13.

hurud v. C1 it. to sleep, to be asleep II19.

huuh n. f. peculiar sound made with the mouth to indicate the end of a dance I7.

Ibraahim n. m. Abraham II6 (< Arabic *ʾIbrāhīm*.)

iibi v. C2 tr. to trade II20.

imin n. m. *iminkii* the time that, when I8.

imow v. C3 it. (3 sg. m. subordinate present *yimaado* I8) *u i.* to come to, to strike.

in n. f. quantity, part, thing II13 II31.

jir v. C1 cf. *shiil jir*.

joog v. C1 tr. to stay II14.

kar v. C1 to can II30.

kutaab n. f. Koranic school II1 (< Arabic *kuttāb* id.)

labo n. f. num. two II10.

leh v. C4 tr. to have II12.

maad n. f. joke II14.

maal n. m. wealth, income II22 (< Arabic *māl* id.)

maalin n. f. day II13.

maanyo n. f. sea II26.

maaran v. C1 it. *ka m.* to do without, to avoid II30.

macallin n. m. teacher II2 (< Arabic *mu^callim* id.)

maciin v. C1 it. *u m.* to help II24 (< Arabic *mu^cīn* helper, aide.)

macnee v. C2 tr. to explain (< Arabic *ma^cnā* meaning.)

macyuub n. m. deficient, pitiful II24 (< Arabic *ma^cyūb* id.)

Maddiina n. f. Medina II3 (< Arabic *Madīnah* id.)

madow v. C4 it. to be black II4 II18.

makaanu khayr n. m. coll. holy place(s) II5 (< Arabic *makānu ḥayr* lit. place of blessing.)

Mako n. f. Mecca II3 (< Arabic *Makkah* id.)

malab n. m. honey II17.

mallay n. m. fish II27.

maqaam n. m. site II6 (< Arabic *maqām* id.)

maqfuur n. m. pardoned person, person whose sins have been forgiven (< Arabic *mağfūr* id.)

mar v. C1 tr. *soo m.* to pass by, to travel to II5.

maro n. f. (pl. *maryoodhin* m. II29) garment, clothes.

masaajid n. m. mosque II10 (< Arabic *masāğid* pl. of *masğid* id.)

- masaar* n. f. axe II16 (cf. Yemeni Arabic *missārin* hatchet, axe, in Piamenta 1990-91, vol. II, p. 465b f.)
- masalle* n. m. animal skin used for praying II28 (< Arabic *muṣallâ* place for praying.)
- mas'alo* n. f. question, problem II11 (< Arabic *mas'alah* id.)
- maseyr* n. m. jealousy II12.
- mashquul* n. m. busy with work II15 (< Arabic *mašğūl* id.)
- may* excl. no II23.
- meel* n. f. place; part, kind II2 II7 II11 II13 II14 II15 II17 II19 II20 II21 II23 II25 II27 II30 II32.
- meeri* v. C2 tr. to repeat, to teach II1.
- megdayso* v. C3 tr. to tan II28.
- megen* n. f. protection II22.
- mid* n. m. one II20 II23 II31.
- miin* n. m. the letter 'm' II1 (< Arabic *mīm* id.)
- minan* n. m. house II8 (old pl. of *min* house.)
- minhaaj* n. m. way, program, also the *Minhāğ*, a well-known exegetic text by Ibn Taymiyyah II9 (< Arabic *minhāğ* id.)
- Mino* n. small town in a valley near Mecca II4 (< Arabic *Minâ* id.)
- mir* v. C1 it. to attack during the night II18.
- miskiin* n. m. poor, miserable II25 (< Arabic *miskīn* id.)
- mood* n. m. property consisting in inanimate objects II20.
- mooye* n. m. mortar II6.
- mubadar* n. m. irresponsible, squanderer, fool II32 (< Arabic *mubaddir* id.)
- Muqni* n. m. the *Muğnī*, title of several books about Islamic religion and jurisprudence II8 (< Arabic *al-Muğnī*.)
- muraad* n. m. purpose, ambition II12 (< Ar. *murād* id.)
- mus* n. m. part of a thorn-fence; back (of a room) II10.
- mushaax* v. C1 tr. to travel, to roam II26.
- mushtar* n. m. trader, dealer, salesman II21 (< Arabic *muštarin* id.)
- muslin* n. m. Moslem, people II19 (< Arabic *muslim* Moslem.)

naqo v. C3 tr. to become II7.

nin n. m. man, person II1 II3 II8 II12 II14 II16 II18 II20 II22 II26 II28 II31.

nool n. m. property consisting in living beings (livestock, etc.) II20.

qaado v. C3 tr. to take II16.

qabri n. m. grave II15 (< Arabic *qabr* id.)

Quraan n. m. the holy Koran II1 (< Arabic *qur’ān* id.)

saar v. C1 tr. to rest, to put II6.

salaad n. f. prayer I2 (< Arabic *ṣalāh* id.)

shaab n. m. coll. young men I3 (< Arabic *šābb* young man.)

shaaqal v. C1 tr. *isku sh.* to conceal, to cover with II13.

shaaqalan v. C4 it. to be covered by something, to be closed II19.

shaato n. f. young female sheep II1 (< Arabic *šāh* id. singulative of *šā’*.)

shab n. hand-clapping I7.

shabashabo n. f. a kind of dance I7.

shacshac n. brushwood, wooden branches II13.

shacri variant of *sharci* II12.

shafawi n. oral thing, insincere thing I4 (< Arabic *šafawī* labial, oral.)

shahaado n. f. (dual *shahaadateyn* m. I3) creed, doctrinal formula (< Arabic *šahādah*, du. obl. *šahādatayn* id.)

shahar n. m. month II1 (< Arabic *šahr* id.)

shaki v. C1 or C2 tr. distrust, be sceptical II18 (< Arabic *šakk* n. doubt, or *šakka bi- ~ fī* to doubt, to distrust.)

shallaa v. C1 tr. to be sorry for, to regret, to grieve about II16.

shan n. f. num. five I2.

shansho n. f. (pl. *shanshoodhin* m. II11) shin, shinbone.

shaq n. f. ideophone indicating the movement of ears (e.g., an elephant’s) *sh. u sii* to listen to, to give heed to II19.

sharaax v. C1 tr. to challenge, to fail to observe II17 (< Arabic *šarraḥa* invalidate, challenge a testimony ?)

sharci and *shacri* n. m. canonical law I6 II12 (< Arabic *šar^c* id.)

- shareeran* v. C1 it. *ka sh.* to get away from, to part from I14.
sharqi n. m. east I12 (< Arabic *šarq* id.)
shay n. m. thing, action, deed I5 (< Arabic *šay'* thing.)
shaydaan n. m. coll. devil(s) I15 (< Arabic *šayṭān* id.)
sheeg n. m. word, speech I9.
sheeg v. C1 tr. to say, to prescribe I6 I18.
sheegmo n. f. saying, word I4.
sheekh n. m. sheikh, elder I20 (< Arabic *šayḥ* id.)
sheel v. tr. to stop, to restrain; to fail to observe I2.
sheyb n. m. coll. old men I3 (< Arabic *šayb* hoariness, old age.)
shiddo n. f. trouble, affliction, misfortune I16.
shiil jir v. C1 tr. (also *shiil jar*) *isku shiil j.* to put down one beside the other I11.
shillal n. m. plank or board of wood from the *shillal* tree I13.
shinso v. C3 tr. to be close to, to trust in I14.
shir v. C1 **A**) tr. *isku soo sh.* to put together, to close together I10. **B**) it. *soo sh.* to meet, to gather I15.
shirib n. m. the *shirib* dance I6.
shirmo n. f. prohibition, forbidding I17.
shub v. C1 tr. to pour, to repeat continuously I20.
shubho n. f. religious suspicion, error I5 (< Arabic *šubḥah* id.)
shuqo n. f. a kind of white fringed cloth people wear only during important events I9 (< Yemeni Arabic *šuqqah* large garment worn by chiefs and sheikhs, white piece of cloth dressed by a bridegroom diagonally on his chest, cf. Piamenta 1990-91, vol I, p. 260b; *šuggeh* dark shirt or skirt worn by the *gabîl*'s, cf. Rossi 1939, p. 157).
shuulo n. f. (also *shuullo*) ankle I10.
shuush n. m. disease I8.
si n. f. manner, way, *sidaa* thus II7.
sii v. C2 tr. to give cf. *shaq*.
socdaal v. C1 it. to wander, to travel around II15.
soon n. m. fasting I1 (< Arabic *ṣaum* id.)
sug v. C1 tr. to wait for II23.

tag v. C1 it. *u t.* to go to (a person) II11.

tol v. C1 tr. *isku soo t.* to sew together I9.

wacdi n. m. admonition, warning I18 (< Arabic *waʿd* id.)

xag n. m. direction I12.

yaamba (or *yaambo*) n. f. hoe II16.