The Phonetic Structure of Somali.

by Lilias E. Armstrong.

Department of Phonetics, University College, London.

This material is obviously incomplete but is published now in the hope that students of Somali, and all those interested in establishing an orthography for Somali, may find that it throws some light on their special difficulties.

The work is the result of an analysis of the pronunciation of two Somali natives, Mr. Isman Dubet of Adadleh, about 25 miles north-east of Hargeisa, and Mr. Haji Farah of Berberrah. During the course of this analysis no reference at all was made to the work of those who have written on the pronunciation of Somali. It was not until my work was finished that I consulted Dr. v. Tilling's phonetic introduction to her Somali Texts. My analysis agrees with the main with that of the sounds she describes there — the plosives and the three fricatives ʕ, ɑ and ʢ.

The vowel system of Somali is a baffling one. It is difficult in itself, because of the number and nature of its sounds, and it is complicated by the presence of vowel harmony. The influence of which should be studied by all those who aspire to speak Somali as a Somali does. This vowel harmony operates not only within words but throws its influence forward and backward into neighbouring words. In this article vowel harmony forms are shown only in the section on Vowel Harmony and in the connected texts. Another disturbing influence on the vowel system is that exerted by certain consonants, particularly those with pharyngeal and glottal elements. The strongest of these are ʕ and ʢ; others with less power are ɬ, q, ʃ, r and ʜ. These
Influenced by the task of deciding the number and nature of the vowel phonemes of Somali extremely difficult.

Somali has a rich and varied consonant system; and the fact that many of its sounds have important positional variants suggests an even greater number of essential consonants than actually occurs.

Length of both consonant and vowel sounds is important and often significant.

Is Somali a tone language? It is certain that word-tone is immensely important — much more so than stress — and in many cases significant. In the case of my two subjects it is a mistake to attribute this significance to stress; to say, for example, that the difference between 'maan' (son) and 'maan' (daughter) lies in the fact that in the former the stress is on the first syllable, and in the latter on the second. The stress is certainly on the first syllable of 'maan (son); but the important thing is that the pitch of this syllable is fairly high and that of the second syllable relatively low. In 'maan (daughter) the pitch of both syllables is practically mid-level, and the stress of the two syllables about the same.

The main difference between the pronunciation of 'gees' (side) and 'gees' (horn) is that the pitch of the latter falls while that of the former is level or slightly rising. The modifications which word-tones undergo in connected speech, through position and the interplay of one tone upon another must be subjected to a thorough investigation. It may be found on further research that these modifications are governed, as in regular tone languages, by very definite principles, or that they are too irregular to classify.

The Somali language contains 31 phonemes (exclusive of diphthongs), which may be represented by the following letters:

**Consonants.**

Plosives: $b, t, d, q, k, g, q, ' r$ 
Affricate: $j$ 
Nasals: $m, n$ 
Lateral: $\ell$ 
Rolled: $r$ 
Fricatives: $j, s, f, s, h, ' s, h$ 
Vowel glides: $w, y$

1) See also pp. 156, 157 for influence of the vowel glides y and w.
2) The marks, ' and , are tone marks. At the same time they show strong stress. For an explanation of their use in this article, see pp. 159—160; 147—8.
3) Nor in the difference in meaning between the two words to be accounted for by a difference in the length of the vowel of the second syllable. There may be a slight difference which is negligible.
4) Note. The system of transcriptions used in this article is that of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, supplemented by $q$ and $q$ and the international phonetic letters $k, m, n, g, y$. Other international phonetic signs are occasionally used to facilitate explanations.
I. Plosives.

b, h has not much voice initially). In a number of kymograph tracings made by Haji Farah, no voice at all is recorded initially. His initial b is therefore like a weak unaspirated p:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bali} & \quad \text{but} \\
\text{bigr} & \quad \text{king, scarf} \\
\text{beid} & \quad \text{feather} \\
\text{bed} & \quad \text{sea} \\
\text{bed} & \quad \text{half} \\
\text{beo} & \quad \text{onion} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The following subsidiary members of the phoneme occur and may all be represented by b:

1. A weak kind of p with no release before t, k, f, etc.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dab} & \quad \text{the fire} \\
\text{dabka} & \quad \text{the weapons} \text{(general term)} \\
\text{goba} & \quad \text{the respectable person} \\
\end{align*}
\]

2. Voiceless (or with slight voicing) and with no release; or p:

(i.e. p with glottal closure and release), finally):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gab} & \quad \text{burn} \\
\text{gab} & \quad \text{the respectable person} \\
\text{gab} & \quad \text{rain} \\
\text{gob} & \quad \text{outcast} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3. Often b when single between vowels, especially after a stressed syllable. Isman Dubet was much more inclined to use b than Haji Farah who generally used voice b:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dab} & \quad \text{two} \\
\text{di} & \quad \text{ox} \\
\text{dab} & \quad \text{cheek} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Double b also occurs between vowels. This does not sound fully voiced, but tracings made by Haji Farah show full voicing:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gab} & \quad \text{twilight} \\
\text{gab} & \quad \text{direct of cattle} \\
\text{gab} & \quad \text{the person} \\
\text{gaba} & \quad \text{swimming} \text{(in)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The phoneme does not occur finally:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t} & \quad \text{till clan} \\
\text{ti} & \quad \text{shower} \\
\text{to} & \quad \text{valley} \\
\text{to} & \quad \text{go away} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{is dental (not interdental). There is not much voice initially; often none at all:} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{e is dental (not interdental). There is not much voice initially; often none at all:} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{e is dental (not interdental). There is not much voice initially; often none at all:} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{e is dental (not interdental). There is not much voice initially; often none at all:} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The following subsidiary members of the phoneme occur and may all be represented by d:

1. A weak kind of t with no release before k:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gada} & \quad \text{the soup} \\
\text{gada} & \quad \text{the people} \\
\text{gada} & \quad \text{the tree} \\
\end{align*}
\]

2. Voiceless (or with slight voicing) and with no release; or t with glottal closure and release, finally):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dak} & \quad \text{running water} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{dig} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{after heavy rain} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{the voice} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{footmark} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{top part of} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{forehead} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{lift} \\
\text{dak} & \quad \text{sea} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3. Often d when single between vowels, especially after a stressed syllable. Isman Dubet used d fairly frequently: Haji Farah only in a few words (e.g. djan [vessel for incense-burning], kaddan [call to prayer]):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bad} & \quad \text{goose} \\
\text{bad} & \quad \text{screen} \\
\text{bad} & \quad \text{enemy} \\
\text{de} & \quad \text{gazelle} \\
\text{bab} & \quad \text{Abyssinian} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Double d also occurs between vowels. This does not sound fully voiced, but there is probably often weak voicing throughout:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dadd} & \quad \text{three} \\
\text{sadd} & \quad \text{eight} \\
\text{ad} & \quad \text{the action of} \\
\text{adda} & \quad \text{white} \\
\text{bad} & \quad \text{the sea} \\
\text{jadder} & \quad \text{the top part of} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dadd} & \quad \text{the forehead} \\
\text{dadd} & \quad \text{mother-in-law} \\
\text{dadd} & \quad \text{father-in-law} \\
\text{dadd} & \quad \text{mother-in-law} \\
\end{align*}
\]

q. The symbol q represents in Somali a sound which is very different from ordinary retroflex d. In the first place it is not really retroflex at all, but generally post-alveolar. And in place of articulation thus resembles the “supralateral” sound of rd of Swedish ord (word), hard (hard), and also the “retroflex” or “cerebral” d of northern Indian languages which, in reality, is made just behind the alveolar ridge. (The symbol q is, by the way, a symbol of the Swedish Dialect Alphabet, and is there used to represent the sound of rd.)} The Somali sound is not so easy as this. The occlusion is voiced initially. The sound is produced with the same pharyngeal contraction and the same raising of the larynx as is necessary in the articulation of t and h.

1) Haji Farah generally pronounced the sound with no release. Isman Dubet generally used ejective t.

2) Haji Farah generally pronounced the sound with no release. Isman Dubet generally used ejective t.

3) Haji Farah generally pronounced the sound with no release. Isman Dubet generally used ejective t.
If this contraction is relaxed and the larynx moved down again at the same time as the tip of the tongue is removed from the back of the teeth ridge, there is a momentary rushing in of air giving the sound an implosive quality. This quality was often very noticeable in Haji Farah's pronunciation when the sound occurred initially, and in a number of kymograph tracings he made it is clearly indicated. As it was not always evident, it is perhaps unessential; though it was interesting to note that Haji Farah always accepted from me an initial ḍ made with this implosive quality.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏab</td>
<td>truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏiş</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḏīd</td>
<td>sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏiḥa</td>
<td>direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏal</td>
<td>big cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏel</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏer</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏiqq</td>
<td>dip fingers in butter or milk and suck or lick them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏuḥ</td>
<td>oath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏiḥiy</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏuḥb</td>
<td>point, make sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏa'</td>
<td>rob, fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏuḥb'ān</td>
<td>miser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏa'mu</td>
<td>fell tree for barking entrance to enclosure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following subsidiary members occur and may all be represented by ḏ:

1) A weak kind of ḏ with no release before ḏ:

- ḏa'da the half
- ḏi'da the caruncular wound
- ḏi'da'la the leather bucket (for watering cattle)
- ḏa'da'la the happiness, the joy

2) Voiceless (or with slight voicing) and with no release; or ḏ' with glottal closure and release, finally:

- ḏa'ad thin stick
- ḏa'da'ad comb, blow with clenched fist
- ḏa'da half
- ḏa'da'ad blows with clenched fist
- ḏa'da fasten
- ḏa'ad fruit (one)
- ḏa'da reach
- ḏa'ad call
- ḏa'da he reached (short form)
- ḏa'ad dry, open out (to dry)
- ḏa'ad hollow out
- ḏa'ad daughter
- ḏa'ad rib
- ḏa'ad lean (meat)

3) Fully voiced ṣ (flapped ṣ) when single between vowels. For this the tip of the tongue is raised to a point just behind the teeth ridge, and, without touching at this point, is immediately lowered, the under part of the tip striking the teeth ridge in its descent:

- ḏa'ad rib
- ḏa'ad daughter
- ḏa'ad lean (meat)

Double ḏ, fully voiced, also occurs between vowels and may be represented by ḏq:

- ḏaq(q) she reached
- ḏaq(q) the woman remaining
- ḏaq(q) the quarter remaining
- ḏaq(q) the man remaining
- ḏaq(q) the part remaining

k. Aspirated rather strongly. The phoneme does not occur finally:

- ḏa'ad time, one
- ḏa'ad one who gives marriage present
- ḏa'ad bring, fetch
- ḏa'ad the marriage
- ḏa'ad the weapons
- ḏa'ad the house

珞. ḏ has no much voice initially. In a number of kymograph tracings made by Haji Farah no voice at all is recorded initially:

- ḏa'ad reach
- ḏa'ad pool
- ḏa'ad one side of camel skin
- ḏa'ad enter
- ḏa'ad marriage

The following subsidiary members of the phoneme occur and may all be represented by ḏ:

1) A weak kind of ḏ with no release before ḏ:

- ḏa'ad the woman
- ḏa'ad the beacon
- ḏa'ad the pain
- ḏa'ad the ear

2) Voiceless (or with slight voicing) and with no release; or ḏ with glottal closure and release, finally:

- ḏa'ad raise
- ḏa'ad go
- ḏa'ad robber
- ḏa'ad woman
- ḏa'ad green grass

3) Sometimes ḏ when single between vowels, especially after a stressed syllable. Isman Dubet used ḏ much more frequently than Haji Farah:

- ḏa'ad sleep
- ḏa'ad happiness, joy
- ḏa'ad wooden arrows
- ḏa'ad Somali wooden dish
- ḏa'ad wide
- ḏa'ad dinner
- ḏa'ad laggard (camel)
- ḏa'ad the man remaining
- ḏa'ad the woman remaining

- ḏa'ad big stone
- ḏa'ad taste, flavour

1) Haji Farah pronounced the sound with no release; Isman Dubet generally used ejective ḏ.

2) Pain which recurs after wound from blow.

3) Haji Farah generally pronounced the sound with no release; Isman Dubet used ḏ.
being weak. Finally it was voiceless: $g'$ or $q'$, medially s after a stressed syllable, generally $q$ in other intervocalic positions.

> Ordinary glottal stop

It appears to be nearly always possible to use ' before a vowel in an initial syllable and it need not therefore be represented in this position. In cases where it should not be inserted, e.g. in 'ordon oo' (and run) the two words could be written as one: 'tordoo', or with a linking mark: 'ordon_oo'.

Medially:

\[\text{dæ'dæ} \text{the age} \quad \text{bəs or bə'yəul herds of cattle} \]

\[\text{bəi erase, blot out} \]

Finally:

\[\text{də'it} \text{rained} \quad \text{də' age} \]

\[\text{de'a} \text{not to find} \quad \text{go'o loin cloth (five yards)} \]

\[\text{lo'} \text{herd of cattle (cows)} \]

II. Affricate

\[\text{j} \text{. j} \text{is made with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth; a closure is formed between the blade of the tongue and the back of the teeth-ridge, and the rest of the tongue is raised towards the palate. During the closure there is little or no voice when the sound is initial, and very little when medial. When the stop is released the corresponding fricative is heard. Haji Farah's} \text{j} \text{sounds rather like English} \text{f} \text{(of cheap); Isman Dubet's} \text{is more voiced and is thus more like English} \text{dz} \text{(of joke).} \text{Somali} \text{j} \text{does not occur finally.} \]

Initial:

\[\text{jiir rat} \quad \text{jiis very small village (two} \text{ or three houses)} \]

\[\text{jiirr heavy rain} \quad \text{jiir stop, remain} \]

\[\text{jiir protect} \quad \text{jiir is lead (meat)} \]

\[\text{jiir flesh, body} \quad \text{jaq face} \]

Medial:

\[\text{'ajin dough} \quad \text{ganjijo pinch} \]

\[\text{'anjiid scar on cheek} \quad \text{haqjisi make straight, right} \]

\[\text{'anjiisi give a mouthful} \quad \text{hajisi itching} \]

III. Nasals

\[\text{n. Normal. Does not occur finally in Somali words. Vowels preceding and following are very noticeably nasalised. This nasalisation is not significant, and it is therefore not necessary to mark it.} \]

\[\text{n. Finally in many words, generally after a long vowel, a very weak variety of} \text{n} \text{is used and the preceding vowel is nasalised. One has the impression that this final} \text{n} \text{will soon disappear and that there will be nothing but the nasalised vowel to tell of its previous existence:} \]

\[\text{'an 'ägo let me look} \quad \text{sagool nine} \]

\[\text{'an 'ägo let me go} \quad \text{nin rīda brave man} \]

Double $q$ also occurs between vowels and may be represented by $qq$. This, in Haji Farah's pronunciation, was either partially voiced or voiceless. The tracing he made of the word ḏīppa (the consultation) shows no voice in the $q$'s:

\[\text{ḥāqqa the truth} \quad \text{mīqqa the thread} \]

\[\text{ḥāqqa the old person} \]

Isman Dubet pronounced $q$ as an affricate in initial and final positions. Initially it was partially voiced $k$ or the fricative element...
Finally in many words, generally after a short vowel in a stressed syllable, the n is long and strong:

qi' in veer round, shift (of a vessel)
ka'n orphan (m.)
man leather strap
soan skin, hide (of camel, cow)

There also occurs finally voiced n followed by voiceless n (ŋ) which appears to be significant. This group may be written ng or nh or nn. The latter is used in this article with the convention that when double letters are used finally the second one represents a voiceless sound; thus sann is to be read as sang.

Examples:
sann nose
gann horse's mane, wry hair
gan leather
qan side
qan drink (milk or water)

When a termination is added to the words ending in nn, a single voiced n only is used:
san man
san aim with bow and arrow
san leather
qan side
san drink (milk or water)

Both Isman Dubet and Haji Farah use voiceless n in a certain number of words; but since it occurs only in final positions it may prove to have little importance.

Double n (fully voiced) may occur medially:
vegnu qa:mmnnay we went
vegnu s'donnay we walked
dinnu cat

n is pronounced m before b, g before g, k, n (uvular nasal) before y.

It is unnecessary to show this in the orthography:
'tan bing'o Let me search
soan la'n I shall fall
wina han yi'di A man said, 'tan gido Let me go in
binka the coffee
soan gqof'i I shall mix

Finally in many words, generally after a short vowel in a stressed syllable, the l is long and strong:

sdlq nostril
su'h hot
 MediaTek
sdlq peal
sdlq peal

There also occurs finally voiced l followed by voiceless l (l), this l being significant. Final voiceless l may be written l or l. The latter symbol is used in this article with the convention that when l is written finally, the second l-sound is voiceless; thus fall is to be read as fall:

fall hypnotise (cf. fal act, do)
hall small pieces of anything
(c.f. hal she-camel)
gal pool (cf. gal enter)
toil clan (cf. tol sew)

When a termination is added to the words ending in ll, a single voiced l only is used:
qal'sa the pool
bika the clan
gal'sa pools
tola clans

1) Both Isman Dubet and Haji Farah use the pronunciation 3 as 3 in all the words given in this paragraph. Haji Farah and one other native I heard pronounced 3.
2) Both Isman Dubet and Haji Farah make these differences. But since the unvoicing occurs only in final positions it may not be very important.
Double 1 (fully voiced) may occur medially:

dilbean young ones
dilbun appointment
dilba Somali reservoir
dilbaq one eighth
dilbaq arrow
dilbaq ladder
dilbii kidney

dilbii Somali reservoir

dilbaq one eighth

dilbaq arrow

dilbaq ladder

dilbii kidney

V. Rolled.

r. Rolled lingual.
Initially in a word r appears to be always strong and practically voiceless. It may be represented simply by r:

rins' accompany
rirb rain

Medially there exist r and rr.

a) r. Kymograph tracings show this to be a voiced one-tap r:

marcan path
marcan (generally in a
waran spear [wood]
geri giraffe
geeri death

b) rr. These sound partially voiceless, but kymographic tracings show voicing throughout. The voice is probably obscured by the breathness which accompanies the sound. A series of clean-cut taps with strong voicing throughout does not produce at all the right effect and is not accepted as correct:

arrin matter, subject
arrak sun
berris land (cf. beri a year ago)
weran tell the news

Finally there occur

a) Practically fully voiced r (with four or five taps) after short vowels:

mar pass
war pool of water

b) A shorter r (about three taps) practically unvoiced, after long vowels:

par case (law)

Both these r's, (a) and (b), may be represented by r.

c) Very long r (nine or ten taps) after both long and short vowels. After short vowels the sound is voiceless during the latter half of its length. After long vowels it gives the impression of being entirely without voice.

This long r could be written rr, rh or rr. The latter is used in this article with the convention that when two r's are used finally the second one represents a voiceless sound; thus nurr is to be read as narr.

This length of r is significant in all the words I have collected:

marr one time (cf. mar pass)
sharrit (cf. shiar put high)
garr plait (cf. gar case [law])
garr some (cf. garr heavy stick)
berr liver (cf. beer field, garden)
bercork (cf. jir open)
bar steep cliff (cf. bar cut)
gijrer marriage (cf. giyeer shift)
ber sky (cf. ber food in stomach)
bar pool of water
bar pass
bar heavy rain (cf. jir protect)
'shuvar one-eyed person (cf. 'shuvar wound)

When a termination is added to the words ending in rr, a single voiced r only is used:

garaks the plait
garita the case
garar plait

Although final rr is significant in the case of some uninflected words, its occurrence may be found to have very little importance in the language.

VI. Fricatives.

f, s and j are often pronounced long and with very strong breathforce. I have not yet found words in which this length and strength is significant. For s and j the tip of the tongue is against the lower teeth and the sounds are articulated with the blade.

x. Occurs in Arabic words only:

zal vinegar
zayyl young ass
zamarr gambling
zamis Thursday
h. Initial (normal, as in English):

- house: beneath, below
- hub: weapons (general term)
- hor: beginning
- habbas: dust
- hay: hole

Medial (voiced):

- däkər: just after noon
- räkə: frogs
- gäkə: coffee

Final:

- dek: say
- räk: frog
- sodək: mother-in-law

Words often 'lose' their final h in the course of connected speech.

h. Voiceless pharyngeal fricative, h is pronounced with the vocal cords wide apart as for ordinary h, but the air-current does not pass freely through the pharynx as it does for h. Two essential elements of the articulation of h appear to be:

1) a raising of the larynx,
2) contraction of the pharyngeal muscles[1].

These conditions lead to a narrowing of the pharyngeal passage and the setting up of a very special kind of friction there, as the air-current passes through.

An X-ray photograph of Haji Farah's throat during the pronunciation of h[3] shows the larynx-raising to be appreciably more than for the Somali vowel a[4]. Pharyngeal contraction is also indicated in the photograph by the position of the epiglottis which is squeezed back, narrowing the pharyngeal passage.

Examples.

Initial:

- kāw: thin stick
- hād: steal
- hāl: shame
- hāq: fastest
- hān: bad

Medial:

- wāh: baby goat (m.)

- mäh: today? What did she say?

- aħad: Sunday

Final:

- rīb: push
- tīb: show
- dīk: dry bed of river
- niːk: six

- hūb: life, soul

- qu:n: stone

Voiced pharyngeal fricative.

An X-ray photograph of [h] shows that this sound has, in a greater degree, the pharyngeal contraction characteristic of h; there is shown a greater raising of the larynx than for h, and a greater narrowing behind the epiglottis[1]. The voicing is intermittent.

Examples.

Initial:

- abād: grunting noise of camel
- ṣil: anger
- ṣir:r: stagger
- ṣir:r: buttermilk
- ṣir:r: sky
- ṣel: well (water)
- ṣed: voice
- ṣen: eat
- ṣəddān: white

Medial:

- gān: elephant's trunk
- ḍab: oiler
- na:do: (also da:do) fox
- mōːːn: sweet
- naːːs: silly

Final:

- gūr:ə: wrong (noun)
- dāːːr: belch
- ḍuːː: male fox
- raːː: accompany

- 'uː kə: he got up

VII. Vowel Glides

- wəː: wild boy
- wəːː: not to find

- wəːː: something
- wəːː: drive (camel, vehicle, etc.)

- wə: shed, hovel
- wəː: ram

1) Both experienced in the act of retching.

9) Taken in the Department of Anatomy at University College, London. Photographs showing the articulation of h and a were also taken. These photographs are reproduced in Le Maitre Phonétique, January, 1934.
The symbol y is also used to represent the second element of certain diphthongs. (See pages 130-7).

\[ y \quad y-\text{aft} \quad y-\text{aft} \quad y-\text{aft} \]

The symbol y is also used to represent the second element of certain diphthongs. (See page 130).

**VOWELS**

All vowels are nasalized in the neighbourhood of nasal consonants.

For the help of those who know the Cardinal vowel system the approximate tongue positions of the long vowel phonemes of Somali are shown in relation to the positions of the Cardinal vowels. The Somali vowel positions are shown by large dots, the Cardinal by small ones:

![Vowel Chart]

It may be pointed out here in defence of the inclusion of e and æ (and also of æ and y) among the essential vowels of Somali that neither vowel harmony nor the influence of neighbouring consonant sounds can account for the occurrence of these vowels in monosyllabic words pronounced in isolation; the fact that e can occur under exactly the same conditions as æ, æ as o and æ as u, must be regarded as proof that these pairs of vowels belong to different phonemes. They should, therefore, even in the broadest transcription, be represented by separate symbols. The fact also that suffixes, verbal inflexions, etc., are pronounced with front or central vowels after e, æ, æ and y and

with retracting vowels after e, a, o and u (see Section on Vowel Harmony) adds further support to the opinion that each of these vowels should be regarded as a separate phoneme.

1. Pure Vowels

   1. Front.

   i Occurs long and short. Never very close. Vitamin considerably according to nature of neighbouring consonants. E.g. in 'ili (anger), the vowel is more open than in 'isiig (antelope); in 'igiq (smoke) and in 'iqiq (buttermilk), where an influencing consonant occurs on either side, the vowel is more open still: it is, in fact, like a retracted e.

   The sound q also has a slightly lowering effect. When the vowel is followed by q or h there is a very noticeable central glide on to the consonant:

   **Examples of i:**

   - qiiiq blood
   - qiiib hand, pass over
   - qiiin torture
   - qiiig smoke
   - qiiig thread
   - qiiir buttermilk
   - qiiiq anger

   **Examples of î:**

   - qiiis sharpen (razor, knife, etc.)
   - qiiib month
   - qiiisend
   - qiiig put down, put on
   - qiiill kill
   - qiiilig peel
   - qiiil shame
   - qiiig acknowledge

   e Occurs long and short. The vowel is closer than the Southern English vowel of egg.

   **Examples of ce:**

   - qiiig tree
   - qiiigas side, direction
   - qiiigas horn
   - qiiigiel group of camels
   - qiiibeen night

   **Examples of e:**

   - qiiigas where
   - qiiigas he sang (short form)
   - qiiigas he missed (short form)
   - qiiigas sidded eight
   - qiiigas gypo pasture

   ![Diagram of Vowel Positions]
Examples of e:

ded cover person with blanket
deg ear
deg alight

e. Occurs long and short. Has about the same value as the vowel of French bêté.

Examples of es:

fūd nib
fūd blow with clenched fist, comb
hees song (cf. hees, he sang)
hies sing
kien bring
jīsh pocket
stig miss (cf. sogh, he missed)
yiel obey, do
jīsh very small village (two or three houses)

Examples of e:

gēṭi giraffe
dhit centre
dhit say
saddim three
berri tomorrow

Examples of aw:
‘reak well, loud, strong
dēn one side of jaw
dēn bottom
dēn eye disease
tīsh raise, put upright
tiš he raised (short form)
rieš footmark
dīsh shop
gīsh reach
gīshēy! I reached (cf. gauqi,

Examples of a:

dar age, it rains
‘ōb drink
‘ōd piece of meat

2. Back.

a. a is really intermediate between front and back. It is a much more common vowel than e. Long a has a more advanced tongue position than the vowel of English calm; short a generally resembles the a of English gun.

Examples of aa:

bāq search
gaaq carriage
nāag woman
nāag get fat
sāq basket work
sāq hide of cows, camels
sāg attack unexpectedly
isān old man
tōg strength
wāb shed, hovel
diyag graze

Examples of a:

qāb truth
bat but
qāb fire, snare (for animals)
nāg green grass
sab outcast
sann nose
qag go away
qann side, direction
qab vain, bang
qal enter
qull pool
fay consultation
dad people
‘ad white

a). Rather closer than the normal vowel of English a. Occurs long and short.

1) There are exceptions to this. For example in the following words I have noted that the sound is short but has the quality of long a. The use of the more open sound is probably due to the influence of a neighbouring glottal or pharyngeal consonant (‘, h, h): ‘dēq (sheep and goats). The (q) is probably not the influencing sound, since in bāq (half), gūq (daughter), tāq (dry), qaraq (direction), etc., the a is a-like, the second a r-like. The r is probably not the influencing sound, since in mār (pass), qar (law-case), tav (pool of water), wār (spear), etc., the a is a-like. ‘ōd (white), ‘āqar (afternoon), ‘āq (spear), loq (place), loq (stole), lāq (truth), bāq (plough), wāq (thing), loq (word), hāq (remainder), haddāq (it).

2) e is the symbol for the final vowel of banamw.

3) The familiar symbol a is used, though a would be a more accurate representation. (See diagram, page 151.)
Examples of oo:
- bod writing board
- oon thirst
- oor mouth
- god lateral incisor tooth
- goid very big cloud
- goid get up from a low place, wake up (cf. taxed he got up)

Examples of o:
- gōi loinloaf (five yards)
- hōr beginning, front
- lo herd of cattle
- tol sew
- tott clan

u. Long u resembles a very close back o, except after y and w when it is more u-like. Care must be taken to make short u more retracted than the vowel of English put.

Examples of uu:
- dōul fly (cf. dōul, attack)
- gōur travel by night
- gōus dive
- gōsh jest, pith, narrow
- gōsh soul, life
- fōsh mist

Examples of u:
- bu coffee
- dūl top, above (cf. dūl, nostril)
- euy clear (cf. eyg, wait, he cleared)
- tu/ split (cf. tū, he spat)

3. Central Rounded Vowels.

a. Occurs long and short. Resembles the Swedish vowel of tung, but is more open and a little more central than this. Some Southern English people use a very similar vowel as the first element of their diphthong of load, mode, etc.

Examples of aː:
- bōard jump
- hōay evil wish
- dōay green grass
- gōay wait

Examples of ōː:
- dōb youth (unmarried)
- 'gōoh orphan (m.)
- gōōf mix
- bōōk grab
- nōōd useful property (such as money, furniture)
- rōōn good

Examples of oː:
- oːl enemy
- gōd dig (cf. gōd, he dug)
- gōoāl laughter
- bōōd hundred

Examples of uuː:
- būuq glamour
- sūu leather strap, belt
- kūu necklace
- wūu he
- aamūu he

Examples of uː:
- du earth, ground
- tūs show
- ruh shake
- kūf fall (cf. kite, he fell)
- 'uūs heavy
- su poison

Examples of uːː:
- bu coffee
- dūl top, above (cf. dūl, nostril)
- euy clear (cf. eyg, wait, he cleared)
- tu/ split (cf. tū, he spat)

Examples of uːːː:
- buu coffee
- dūu top, above (cf. dūu, nostril)
- euyu clear (cf. eyg, wait, he cleared)
- tu/ split (cf. tū, he spat)

II. Diphthongs.

cy. wēyn big
dēyn debt (1)
weyl call
vēyn debt (w) was
weyl thin, weak
vēyn debt (v) looking

ay. nōy lamb (m.)
uday I saw
mōy lamb (m.)
uday I heard

aw. nōu aer camel (m.)
'noow aer several
'noow aer plait of basket work
'anu aer gazelle
made from palm leaves
'anu aer grass

hōa aer hard work
quā aer sharp noise made by
hōa aer take care of, leave
some, Look!

aw. This is a very different sound from aw. The first element is a-like and the glide from this position is made in the direction of y and not of u. In a narrow transcription the sound might be written ay.

1) The diphthong is similar to that heard in the Devonshire dialect in house, sound, etc.
In the above examples the tone is the same for each pair of words.
In the following, tone differs as well as length:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Sambian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhai feather</td>
<td>təŋg dip fingers in butter or milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai but</td>
<td>səŋg and suck or lick them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhaq search</td>
<td>təŋg aiming (in shooting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəq half</td>
<td>təŋg evil wish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gual unbeliever</td>
<td>həŋg hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gil enter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipq attack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvi nostril</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of significant Consonant Length.

Examples have already been given of significant length in the case of final n, l and r.

Examples of significant consonant length medially:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Sambian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keli single</td>
<td>təŋg woqo let him reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keli kidney</td>
<td>təŋg woqo let her reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'do springs of water</td>
<td>təŋg woqo let him jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ilə put your shoes on</td>
<td>təŋg woqo let her jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uroran spear</td>
<td>təŋg woqo let me in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waroran tell the news</td>
<td>təŋg woqo (or gəlo) let us go in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saqasa Peace! (greeting)</td>
<td>mə həŋqan do (can) they remain?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saqasa ladder</td>
<td>mə həŋqan do (can) you remain?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səŋqəqy/t I reached</td>
<td>mə bəŋqəq do (can) they search?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səŋqəqy/t she reached</td>
<td>mə bəŋqəq do (can) you search?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaqay I searched</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaqay she searched</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a convenient place to draw attention to the frequency of double consonants, particularly, of voiced plosives, initially in words in connected speech. This doubling is not significant. It appears to take place after a stressed syllable ending in a short vowel and pronounced usually with the high level tone. It is commonly heard, for example, after the particles ka, na, ma, ha. The doubling is recorded in the following examples, but need not be recorded either in a phonetic transcription or in ordinary orthography.

1) See footnote 1, page 154.
Examples:
ka dhoy say to him (to her)
ka gaalo let him go in
ka gaqdaam let them go in
maa gafaan? Do you (pl.) go in?
mad ganaa you do not go in
mad gaaraan I don't understand
ka gaad take from

It often happens in Somali that certain sounds are long when the words in which they occur are pronounced in isolation, but short in quick speech. In such cases it is perhaps advisable always to record those sounds with double letters.1

TONES

The Tones of Isolated Words

There appear to be four main tones:
1. High level, often with a non-essential rise (‘). The interval between the high level and the mid level is about one musical tone ( VI )
2. Mid level. This often rises slightly, but the rise is not essential. The interval between the high level and the mid level is about one musical tone ( VI )
3. Low level, generally falling in quite final positions. This tone occurs in final syllables after the high level and the falling tones. The interval between the high level and low level tones is about a fourth ( ).
4. Falling. This falls from high level to low level ( ).

1) Compare the use of length marks in the broad transcription of English.

System of marking word-tone used in this article.

One Syllabled Words

One syllabled words are pronounced either with the mid-level or with the falling tone.

a) Mid-level. No mark is used to indicate this tone: baq (hard), sun (poison), baam (branch), 'ir (buttermilk), 'ib (six), edd (candy), kal (she-camel). When the suffix denoting the definite article is added, the root syllable has the high level tone (marked with an acute accent over the first vowel letter of the syllable), the suffix the low level tone (unmarked), ( ) : bákaa (the half), sinta (the poison), baans (the branch), 'iraa (the buttermilk), koob (the she-camel).

b) Falling. This is marked by a grave accent over the first vowel letter: baaal (feather), baam (small tree), dkoog (green

2) Iman Dubet often pronounced the second syllable on a slightly lower pitch than the first.

Two Syllabled Words

a) Both mid-level. No mark: sapaal (time), inaan (daughter).
xaamis (Thursday), nirik (baby camel (f.)), garab (sun), doob (wind). When the suffix for the definite article is added, the first syllable is pronounced with the low level tone, the second with the mid-level (unmarked), the suffix with the high level which is unmarked, ( ) : inanta (the daughter), nirikka (the baby camel (f.)), qorrada (the sun), doobiga (the wind), dersida (the gazelle).

b) Both level, the first level ( ). An acute accent is placed over the vowel of the first syllable: baaq (king), inan (son), nirik (baby camel (m.)), koob (house).

If the suffix for the definite article is added, the first syllable retains the high level, the second and third syllables are low ( ) : baaqka, niriga, inan, koobka.

c) First mid-level, second falling ( ). A grave accent is placed over the first vowel letter of the second syllable: faab (leopard), fasqaal (spoon), sidaad (eight), soodaar (traveller). If the termination for the definite article is added it is pronounced with the low level or slightly falling tone, which is unmarked ( ) : faabka, fasqaalka, soodaalka.

Tone and Gender

There is a connection in Somali between tone and gender.

Monosyllabic nouns which have long vowels or diphthongs are pronounced with the falling tone are masculine:

With definite article

miig thread
miiga
diig cook
diiga
tiib shower
tiiba
giiis horn
giiska
siis oar
siiska
dadi shop
dadiiska
jekh face
jekha
lahan small tree
lahanka
riibd rain
riibka
Monosyllabic nouns which have long vowels or diphthongs and are pronounced with the mid-level tone are feminine:

With definite article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buttermilk</td>
<td>birta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side, direction</td>
<td>giesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>fēqīla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>mejja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarter</td>
<td>watadda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch</td>
<td>lianka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chest</td>
<td>lanba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral incisor tooth</td>
<td>ḍoqafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beacon</td>
<td>ḍoqgta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>necklace</td>
<td>kuwul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamb (f.)</td>
<td>nagl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are exceptions to this. For example, reer, rīrka (village), fud, fiñka (soup), are masculine.

Monosyllabic words which have short vowels are pronounced with the mid-level tone. There are no exceptions to this among the words I have collected. Of those words which are nouns some are masculine and some feminine. Thus tone is here no guide to gender.

Masculine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piece</td>
<td>ṣedīka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>dābka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side, direction</td>
<td>dānka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pool</td>
<td>gall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>dadka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>half</td>
<td>baqja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth, language</td>
<td>ḍifka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men, masculine sex</td>
<td>ṣaggga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enemy</td>
<td>ḍilka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valley</td>
<td>ṭeqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>ḍiqla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostril</td>
<td>ḍiqla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loincloth</td>
<td>gō’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>sa’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>outcast</td>
<td>sābba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea</td>
<td>badda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>läffa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpse</td>
<td>raqqa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two-syllabled nouns pronounced with mid-level tones are feminine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>ḍaddiqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slave (f.)</td>
<td>ḍaddīnta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwarf (f.)</td>
<td>ḍiña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leopard (f.)</td>
<td>ḍafrica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>gorraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind</td>
<td>dabak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark of tree</td>
<td>ḍaqqoonaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
<td>ṣoddoq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two-syllabled nouns pronounced with a high followed by a low level tone are mostly masculine. Some are feminine.

Masculine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>ḍananka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwarf (m.)</td>
<td>ḍiñka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>ḍiqla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laughter</td>
<td>ḍaqqool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td>ḍuarqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flame</td>
<td>bīlīka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>ḍaqaq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine. These end in o or, after a fronting vowel, ae in the singular, which is plural in form. Their tones are (’ ) like those of the masculine words given above. When the termination for the definite article is added the tones are (’ ) and not (’ ) as for the masculine words given above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>road, path</td>
<td>waddida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali dish</td>
<td>ḍeerdīqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gazelle</td>
<td>deerdī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ḍeyeeda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enclosure</td>
<td>ḍerīda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loincloth (ten yards)</td>
<td>ḍarīda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spider</td>
<td>ḍarīda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two syllabled nouns pronounced with a mid-level followed by a falling tone\(^1\) are masculine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>habīnta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>ḍibekka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>ḍabekka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young goat (m.)</td>
<td>ḍesseqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dust</td>
<td>habīnta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) I think that the vowel in the syllable with the falling tone is (or may be) always long.
It will be seen from the above examples under Tone and Gender that the masculine ending for the definite article begins with the sound k unless the root ends in:
1) ɣ, when the termination begins with ɣ: ḥoqqa (the hole)
2) ɣ, when the termination begins with q: ḥoqqa (the consultation)
3) ɣ, ɣ, h, k, when the termination has no initial consonant: ḡaʼa (the koincloth), ḡiirraʼa (the wrong), ḡiqaţa (the stone), ḡiθa (the face).

The feminine ending for the definite article begins with the sound f unless the root ends in:
1) d, q, ɣ, h, o, when the termination begins with d: bišida (the sea), ṭađqa (the corpse), ḍođa (the herd of cattle), ṣoṛiţida (the sun), ṣoḍiţida (the mother-in-law), ṣoritu (the enclosure)
2) d, when the termination begins with q: ḡaḍbiida (the daughter)
3) ḍ, when 1 is replaced by f before the vowel termination: ḡaʃfa (the place).

Plurals of both masculine and feminine nouns are pronounced with the mid-level tone in all syllables:

- nafjial (m.)
- nayjo lambs (f.)
- sanan noses
- nima men
- nafjo women

Exceptions are the feminine words already referred to, ending in o in the singular. These have (- - -) in the plural:

- ḍeexīgja (also ḍeriyo, with level tones)
- ḍeexīgja
- ḍeexīgja (also ḍeriyo, with level tones)

Significant Word-Tone.

The following are examples to illustrate the semantic value of tones in Somali:

- gaex, side, direction
- gaex horn
- ḍex song
- ḍex sing
- maaj scrofula
- maaj milk
- qaan debt
- qaan foals of camels
- toon garlic
- toq fruit of gab (special tree)
- ḏoex, pain recurring after wound from blow
- ḏoex green grass
- ḍool lateral incisor tooth
- ḍool very big cloud
- ḍiir gift
- ḍiir museus
- ḍiir buttermilk
- ḍiir fall down slowly (as if ill)
- ḍiir chest (body)
- ḍiir fold, bend
- ḍiirre mountain
- ḍiirre make round (with hand), mound
- ḍiirre necklace
- ḍiirre favourable conversation about person
- ḍiirre plural of ḍaexer
- ḍaexer camel (m.)
- ḍaexer noise of the blacksmith’s hammer and other similar tapping sounds
- ḍaexer big mountain
- ḍiirro road
- ḍiirro leather strap
- ḍiirro common ground in front of village
- ḍiir or ḍaal lentil
- ḍiir rib
- ḍiir cobt, blow with clenched fist
- ḍiirraal swimming
- ḍiirraal direct (of cattle)
Verbal Forms

\[ \text{\textit{má fash\d{a}an}} \quad \text{can not tell (pl.)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má fash\d{a}an?}} \quad \text{do you tell? (pl.)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ga\d{a}an}} \quad \text{can not go in} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ga\d{a}an?}} \quad \text{do you go in?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má tag\d{a}an}} \quad \text{can not go} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má tag\d{a}an?}} \quad \text{do you go?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má \textquoteleft eg\d{a}an}} \quad \text{You do not look} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má \textquoteleft eg\d{a}an?}} \quad \text{Do you look?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má bax\d{a}an}} \quad \text{You do not search} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má bax\d{a}an?}} \quad \text{Do you search?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ra\d{a}\d{a}n}} \quad \text{You do not accompany} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ra\d{a}\d{a}n?}} \quad \text{Do you accompany?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ha\d{a}\d{a}n}} \quad \text{You do not remain} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ha\d{a}\d{a}n?}} \quad \text{Do you remain?} \]

\[ \text{\textit{má fe\d{s}\d{a}an}} \quad \text{They do not tell} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má fe\d{s}\d{a}an?}} \quad \text{Do they tell?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má g\d{a}\d{a}an}} \quad \text{They do not go in} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má g\d{a}\d{a}an?}} \quad \text{Do they go in?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má t\d{a}\d{a}n}} \quad \text{They do not look} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má t\d{a}\d{a}n?}} \quad \text{Do they look?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má \textquoteleft eg\d{a}\d{a}n}} \quad \text{They do not search} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má \textquoteleft eg\d{a}\d{a}n?}} \quad \text{Do they search?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má rax\d{a}\d{a}n}} \quad \text{They do not accompany} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má rax\d{a}\d{a}n?}} \quad \text{Do they accompany?} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ha\d{a}\d{a}n}} \quad \text{They do not remain} \]
\[ \text{\textit{má ha\d{a}\d{a}n?}} \quad \text{Do they remain?} \]

Phrases and Short Sentences

\[ \text{\textit{waa \textquoteleft in\d{a}n q\d{e}r}} \quad \text{the daughter is tall} \]
\[ \text{\textit{waa \textquoteleft in\d{a}n q\d{e}r}} \quad \text{the son is tall} \]
\[ \text{\textit{waa \textquoteleft \textquoteleft w\d{a}n q\d{e}r}} \quad \text{the road is long} \]
\[ \text{\textit{waa \textquoteleft \textquoteleft w\d{a}n q\d{e}r}} \quad \text{the leather belt is long} \]
\[ \text{\textit{la\d{a}n \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{a}n \k\d{e}l\d{a}\d{y}a}} \quad \text{one branch} \]
\[ \text{\textit{la\d{a}n \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{a}n \k\d{e}l\d{a}\d{y}a}} \quad \text{one small tree} \]
\[ \text{\textit{la\d{a}n \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{y}o \la\d{a}n}} \quad \text{small tree and branch} \]
\[ \text{\textit{la\d{a}n \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{y}o \la\d{a}n}} \quad \text{branch and small tree} \]
\[ \text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft \textit{in\d{a}n \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{a}n \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \d{a}n \q\d{e}r}} \quad \text{son and daughter} \]
\[ \text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft \textit{in\d{a}n \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{a}n \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \d{a}n \q\d{e}r}} \quad \text{daughter and son} \]
\[ \text{\textit{g\d{e}\d{e} \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{y}o \g\d{e}\d{e}}} \quad \text{sheep and goats} \]
\[ \text{\textit{g\d{e}\d{e} \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \d{a}\d{y}o \g\d{e}\d{e}}} \quad \text{sheep and goats and camels} \]
\[ \text{\textit{lab\d{a} \q\d{a}d}} \quad \text{Carry two!} \]
\[ \text{\textit{lab\d{a} \q\d{a}d}} \quad \text{carrying two} \]
\[ \text{\textit{sid\d{e}d\d{e} \q\d{a}d}} \quad \text{Carry eight!} \]
\[ \text{\textit{sid\d{e}d\d{e} \q\d{a}d}} \quad \text{carrying eight} \]
Tones in Connected Speech

In tone languages syllables may not, and often do not, have in connected speech the tones which they bear in isolation. Tone changes are brought about mainly by the influence of neighbouring tones and by position in a sense-group. They are not made arbitrarily but are governed by rules which can be formulated after the careful study of many examples.

In Somali tone changes are common in connected speech; and there is evidence in many of these of method and consistency; others appear to follow no law, but may prove to do so on further investigation.

Certain words in Somali which are indistinguishable in their simple form except by tone are often not used in connected speech in their simple form, but have some inflexion which distinguishes them even if they are pronounced with the wrong tones. Thus a native, while realising that something was wrong, would understand a speaker who pronounced ḡiṣeṣka (the horn) with the same tones as ḡiṣeṣa (the direction), since a distinguishing suffix makes the meaning clear. In the same way he would understand ṣanaska (the son) if pronounced with the same tones as ṣanassu (the daughter), ṭahalka (the wild beast) if pronounced with the same tone as ṭahofsu (the thing), etc.

STRESS

Stress and pitch are closely connected.

In words of more than one syllable strong stress is given to the syllable pronounced with high level or falling pitch. (The tone-marks in the following examples thus mark strong stress as well as tone.)

Examples:

1. Strong stress and high level pitch on the first syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣaなもの</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaもの</td>
<td>afternoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡiṣeṣka</td>
<td>wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡiṣeṣka</td>
<td>laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡeṣeṣe</td>
<td>flame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡiṣeṣka</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣanaska</td>
<td>the son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaもの</td>
<td>the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡiṣeṣka</td>
<td>the wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡiṣeṣka</td>
<td>the laughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Strong stress and falling pitch on the first syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡiṣeṣka</td>
<td>the bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the small tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the footmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡiṣeṣka</td>
<td>the horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡeṣeṣe</td>
<td>the green grass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Strong stress and high level pitch on the second syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡaもの</td>
<td>smartness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the gazelle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Strong stress and falling pitch on the second syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the miser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the traveller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the spoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>the strength</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is fairly even distribution of speech energy over syllables pronounced with the same level pitch:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>noses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>spoons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaもの</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOWEL HARMONY

It will have to be decided whether vowel harmony is to be indicated in Somali orthography or not. It may be considered advisable that an inflexional termination which has a fixed grammatical function
should have the same orthographical form though it may not have a fixed pronunciation. A Somali speaker would naturally pronounce such terminations correctly whether they were spelt with front or back vowel letters. For example, to him the plural endings are -o, -al, -ar, etc.; and it is perhaps unnecessary, in an orthography for his use, to spell them in more than one way. Similarly with the endings for the definite article, verbal inflections, etc. Many words also have two phonetic forms. There may be no need for the native to show these in his orthography, since he uses the correct forms naturally in their different settings in connected speech. On the other hand the fact that there are exceptions may make it advisable to represent vowel-harmony forms in orthography.

Neither Isman Dubet nor Haji Farah was aware of his use of vowel harmony forms until his attention was drawn to it; but my disregard of the more obvious of these forms was at once noticed and condemned. The foreign learner of Somali should therefore try to understand the way in which vowel harmony works; and it would perhaps be helpful in the early stages of his difficulties if he could study phonetic transcriptions in which vowel harmony — at any rate that occurring within words — were shown.

Below are many examples of a simple nature in which vowel harmony is recorded. It will be seen that a suffix is pronounced with a retracting vowel when the root syllable contains the vowels t (short)\(^1\), e (long and short), a (long and short), o (long and short), u (long and short). These vowels may be called 'retracting' vowels. A suffix is pronounced with a front or central vowel when the root syllable contains the vowels \(\ddot{u}\), e (long and short), a (long and short), o (long and short), u (long and short). These vowels may be called 'fronting' vowels.

**EXAMPLES**

**a) Terminations for the plural.**

1. Retracting vowel in root; termination pronounced with retracting vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i: tin</td>
<td>timo, tinan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f: fin</td>
<td>finan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b: bilo</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;d: people</td>
<td>&quot;do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;t: spring</td>
<td>&quot;to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;d: wooden pestle</td>
<td>tibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;r: sky</td>
<td>&quot;rar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f: meeting</td>
<td>f:irar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Short i in the root is generally followed by a retracting vowel in the termination; but there are a good many exceptions.

\(^2\) If the root containing this vowel is closed by a retracting consonant like q, r, the vowel of the suffix is affected. E.g. r:q:iwqa, not m:iq:wa (the thread), m:i'va, not m:i'w (the three—long-lived Somali tree).
2. Fronting vowel in root; termination pronounced with front or central vowel:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ii: } & \text{ diiq } & \text{ cock} & \text{ pl. } \text{ diiq} \\
\text{ wiil } & \text{ boy} & \text{ pl. } \text{ wiil} \\
\text{ jiirr } & \text{ rat} & \text{ pl. } \text{ jiirr, jiiryx} \\
\text{ diin } & \text{ tortoise} & \text{ pl. } \text{ diinen} \\
\text{ Exception: } & \\
\text{ miiq } & \text{ thread} & \text{ pl. } \text{ miiq} \\
\text{ ee: } & \text{ habeen } & \text{ night} & \text{ pl. } \text{ habeen} \\
\text{ ged } & \text{ group of camels} & \text{ pl. } \text{ gedel} \\
\text{ gee } & \text{ single tree} & \text{ pl. } \text{ gee} \\
\text{ e: } & \text{ dge } & \text{ ear} & \text{ pl. } \text{ dge} \\
\text{ leg } & \text{ under part of sheep} & \text{ pl. } \text{ leg} \\
\text{ aax: } & \text{ raxed } & \text{ footmark} & \text{ pl. } \text{ raxed} \\
\text{ daax } & \text{ shop} & \text{ pl. } \text{ daax} \\
\text{ foax } & \text{ axe} & \text{ pl. } \text{ foax} \\
\text{ waax } & \text{ quarter} & \text{ pl. } \text{ waax} \\
\text{ e: } & \text{ xed } & \text{ piece of meat} & \text{ pl. } \text{ xed} \\
\text{ aax: } & \text{ aoog } & \text{ beacon} & \text{ pl. } \text{ aoog} \\
\text{ foood } & \text{ top part of forehead} & \text{ pl. } \text{ foood} \\
\text{ dooog } & \text{ pain} & \text{ pl. } \text{ dooog} \\
\text{ ae: } & \text{ gobs } & \text{ respectable person} & \text{ pl. } \text{ gobs} \\
\text{ hox } & \text{ hole} & \text{ pl. } \text{ hox} \\
\text{ toog } & \text{ valley} & \text{ pl. } \text{ toog} \\
\text{ ay: } & \text{ lypyl } & \text{ pearl} & \text{ pl. } \text{ lypyl} \\
\text{ riyq } & \text{ knee-cap} & \text{ pl. } \text{ riyq} \\
\text{ leyf } & \text{ slice} & \text{ pl. } \text{ leyf} \\
\text{ ayqyl } & \text{ horse's mane} & \text{ pl. } \text{ ayqyl} \\
\text{ y: } & \text{ dyl } & \text{ nostril} & \text{ pl. } \text{ dyl} \\
\text{ gyn } & \text{ part of tree just above ground} & \text{ pl. } \text{ gynce} \\
\end{align*}\]

Exceptions:

- miigaa the thread
- jii'a the tree (long-lived Somali tree)
- tiiha the shower

2. Fronting vowel in root; fronting vowel in termination:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ kiifka } & \text{ the bag} & \text{ daxa } & \text{ the pain} \\
\text{ kiifka' } & \text{ that bag} & \text{ hox } & \text{ the hole} \\
\text{ gaxax } & \text{ the small tree} & \text{ gob } & \text{ the respectable person} \\
\text{ gaxax } & \text{ that small tree} & \text{ giifka } & \text{ the marriage} \\
\text{ gaxax } & \text{ the horn} & \text{ tiiwa } & \text{ the robber} \\
\text{ deq } & \text{ the ear} & \text{ 'edka } & \text{ the piece of meat} \\
\text{ raxed } & \text{ the footmark} & \text{ de 'da } & \text{ the age} \\
\text{ 'aax } & \text{ the beacon} & \\
\end{align*}\]

Exceptions:

- miigaa the thread

Verbal Inflections.

1st Person Singular, Imperative.

1. Retracting vowel in root; retracting vowel in inflexion:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ an } & \text{ diro let me send} & \text{ an } & \text{ qido let me dig} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ digo let me put on} & \text{ an } & \text{ badoq let me search} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ qido let me pe} & \text{ an } & \text{ qido let me go in} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ diso let me build} & \text{ an } & \text{ diso let me show} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ hido let me fasten} & \text{ an } & \text{ hido let me clear} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ hilo let me cover jar} & \text{ an } & \text{ hilo let me accompany} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ hilo let me find} & \text{ an } & \text{ hilo let me tell} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ qido let me look} & \text{ an } & \text{ qido let me call, signal} \\
\text{ an } & \text{ tido let me go} & \text{ an } & \text{ tido let me eat} \\
\end{align*}\]

1) See footnote 2, page 149.
2) Notice an under 1, en under 2. The intonation of these imperatives is ("...").
Exceptions:

1st Person Singular, Past Tense.
1. Retracting vowel in root; retraction in inflexion:
   
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{sidēde} \text{you carried} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{ridēde} \text{you threw} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{díjēn} \text{you killed} \]

2. Retracting vowel in root; retraction in inflexion:
   
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{dídēde} \text{you refused} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{díjēn} \text{you alighted} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{bādēde} \text{you jumped} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{sijēn} \text{you waited} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājēn} \text{you raised} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{tājēn} \text{you drank} \]

Exceptions:

2nd Person Plural, Past Tense.
1. Retracting vowel in root; retraction in inflexion:
   
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{dírītēn} \text{you sent} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{díjētēn} \text{you put on} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{díjētēn} \text{you peeled} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{díjētēn} \text{you built} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{hījētēn} \text{you fastened} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{hījētēn} \text{you covered jar} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{hījētēn} \text{you found} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you looked} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you dug} \]

Exceptions:

\[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you carried} \]
\[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you threw} \]
\[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you killed} \]

2. Retracting vowel in root; retraction in inflexion:
   
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you refused} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you alighted} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you jumped} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you waited} \]
   \[ \text{wēydin} \text{xājētēn} \text{you raised} \]

\[ \text{wēydin} \text{tājētēn} \text{you drank} \]

Reflexive forms.

Compare the final sound in:

\[ \text{bādō} \text{look for yourself} \]
\[ \text{xājō} \text{look for yourself} \]
\[ \text{bādē} \text{build for yourself} \]
\[ \text{xājē} \text{comb yourself} \]

with that in:

\[ \text{bīōsē} \text{buy for yourself} \]
\[ \text{bīōsē} \text{ roast for yourself} \]
\[ \text{gīvōs} \text{get married} \]

d) Examples showing that some words are pronounced differently in different groups. In these examples the root vowel of the verb seems to be the determining factor. In isolation the first word of each group under 1. is pronounced \text{wōān}, the last \text{dōōnā}. The first word of each group under 2. is \text{wēydīn}, the last \text{dōōnā}.

1. Retracting vowel in root:
   
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{dirī dōōnā} I shall send \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} I shall put on \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} I shall peel \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} I shall build \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{hījī dōōnā} I shall fasten \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{hīdī dōōnā} I shall cover jar \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{(for water or milk)} \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I shall fall down} \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I shall wipe} \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I shall thread} \]
   \[ \text{wōān} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I shall search} \]

\[ \text{wēydīn} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I fastened} \]
\[ \text{wēydīn} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I covered jar (for milk or water)} \]
\[ \text{wēydīn} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I found} \]
\[ \text{wēydīn} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I looked} \]
\[ \text{wēydīn} \text{díjī dōōnā} \text{I remained} \]

1) Intonation: (\ldots),

2) Intonation: (\ldots, \ldots).
vwon giiri doomaa I shall travel by night
dwon ‘ini doomaa I shall eat
dwon giiri doomaa I shall pick up
dwon kiti doomaa I shall fall (while walking or running)
dwon riki doomaa I shall shake
dwon sigi doomaa I shall clear

2. Fronting vowel in root:
dwon dide doomaa I shall refuse
dwon hli doomaa I shall find
dwon dègi doomaa I shall get down
dwon tègi doomaa I shall go
dwon ségi doomaa I shall miss
dwon légi doomaa I shall liek
dwon wégi doomaa I shall not find
dwon tëbbi doonææ I shall drink
dwon rëbbi doonææ I shall be late
dwon gëbbi doonææ I shall reach
dwon tëbbi doonææ I shall raise
dwon rëbbi doonææ I shall run
dwon tèbbi doonææ I shall sew
dwon dèbbi doonææ I shall agree
dwon gëbbi doonææ I shall shift
dwon këbbi doonææ I shall heap up
dwon tëbbi doonææ I shall stoop
dwon tëbbi doonææ I shall wait

e) Other examples of words which have more than one pronunciation.
dwew. The particle dwew (expressing doubt) is pronounced dwew in isolation and also in groups where the root of the verb contains a fronting vowel. It is pronounced sôw in groups where the root of the verb contains a retracting vowel.

1. sôw dìide I may perhaps refuse
   sôw bòcode I may perhaps jump
   sôw sëggé I may perhaps wait
   sôw tìage I may perhaps raise

2. sôw qìíe I may perhaps peel
   sôw tìíe I may perhaps wipe
   sôw qìíe I may perhaps build
   sôw hìlìe I may perhaps cover jar
   sôw tìíe I may perhaps look

1) Intonation (\-

sôw tàqée I may perhaps go
sôw qòdèe I may perhaps dig
sôw báqée I may perhaps search
sôw sàqee I may perhaps clear

Exceptions:
sôw dìíe I may perhaps kill
sôw sìíe I may perhaps carry
sôw véed I may perhaps throw

la. The particle la denoting passive voice, is pronounced la in isolation and also before verbs containing retracting vowels. Before verbs with fronting vowels (and y) it is e-like:

1. wkah la ‘arkay the thing was seen,
wkah la naqay the thing was heard.
   bëerta la gù hapaço the field (with him) is ploughed.
   (It is also possible to say la gù in this case).
   ‘dënsa la gùi keen the grass is brought to you.
   (lu gùi is also possible).

2. wkah le yòdí it was said
   le yeed someone called.
   Berbera le yinud someone came to Berbera.

Examples showing the fronting and closing influence of y.

Compare the following:
kà timaa do le her come.
kà yimaa do (really kà yimaa do) let him come.

wëy diim taamaad do you (pl.) came.
wëy yimaa do (really yimaa do) they came.

kölkaasuu wàndabu ‘arkay then the hyena saw
   kölkaasuu yòdí then he said
   ‘nu kà ‘arkay he saw there
   ‘nu kà yòdí (really kà) he said to him

öö ñëm and all
öö yìdí (really ñëm) and he said

Berbera la yinud (really le) someone came to Berbera.
in Berbera yinud (really Berbera) a man came to Berbera.

márkaasuu ninkii laa háyu then the owner got up.
márkaasuu ninkii laa yòdí (really laa) then the owner said

‘àndé laa qìíessi the daughter is tall.
‘àndé laa qìíessi (really qìíessi) the son is tall.
(The sounds represented here by òë are also different, that preceding y being closer than that preceding t).
Many examples of the fronting and closing influence of $y$ are to be found in verbal endings. For example, the endings $ey$ and $o$ when preceded by $y$, especially when the root has a fronting vowel, are very close, and in the case of $o$ fronted.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waan} \text{t}aj\text{gy}<\text{y} & \quad \text{I was looking} \\
\text{waan} \text{tch}\text{gy}<\text{y} & \quad \text{I was waiting}
\end{align*}
\]

The sound $w$ also has a closing influence on neighbouring vowels.

**CONNECTED TEXTS.**

In the following connected texts an attempt has been made to record the most important cases of vowel harmony which occur. Where these are shown, the forms which would be adequate for a native or for a reader familiar with the working of vowel harmony are given in footnotes.

Only the most noticeable initial glottal plosives are recorded.

The pitch notation (which is only tentative) gives some idea of the intonation used by the speaker.

The translations were difficult to prepare as the speaker knew little English.

1.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qiig} & \quad \text{aan} & \quad \text{bodi} & \quad \text{lahayn} \\
\text{Smoke} & \quad \text{(Neg. particle)} & \quad \text{Name} & \quad \text{without}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Waa} \text{bawi1} & \quad \text{nun} & \quad \text{badez'hi} & \quad \text{Berbers} & \quad \text{yimid} \\
\text{Once} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{simple} & \quad \text{to Berbera} & \quad \text{came} \quad \text{Then (he)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maghaayad} \quad \text{galyay;} & \quad \text{uu} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{'arkey} \quad \text{nin} \quad \text{gahue} \quad \text{kulul} \\
\text{coffee-shop} & \quad \text{he went in; he} & \quad \text{there} & \quad \text{saw man coffee} & \quad \text{hot}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ajwatayyan}^{2} & \quad \text{Goortasuu} & \quad \text{le}^{4} \quad \text{yabay} \quad \text{oo}^{5} & \quad \text{yidi} & \quad \text{"Djyoobey,}
\end{align*}
\]

blowing on. \quad \text{Then (he)} \quad \text{was amazed} \quad \text{and said:} \quad \text{"Well}.

\]

1) Double $b$ not significant.  
2) Berbers.  
3) Final vowel not very long.  
4) $\text{la}$.
5) $\text{oo}$.
The quarter remaining two parts from it make.

Half belongs to lion. The half other you animals

"Why share amongst yourselves." Then the hyena said "This is why"

"Such things happen(ed)?" Then she (fox) said "This is why"

The lion is king our, and he is man brave; he is the one who the camel killed."

3.

Dibi (yo) Ox and donkey story their.

Man once owned ox. Day every the field with him

is ploughed. And donkey the village time (always) and time

1) scroeks.
2) Double e not significant.
3) In the text, but see these be an adequate way of writing this suffix. (See 185).
4) Single s was accepted.
5) Double f not essential.
6) Double d not significant. Should the word be written 30? (See footnote 1, page 184.)
7) Final vowel weak and indefinite.
8) jekka.
9) Also lugu.
lahaw 1) yidi: "Dameerkii maanta berta ku haqasii."
owner said: "The donkey today the field with him ploughed."

Dameerkii baa galabtii 'u yimid dibigi. Markaasuu 2)
The donkey in the evening to him came (to) the ox. Then

yidi dibigi: "Waar! maahad fesgay?" Dameerkii baa 3)
he said the ox: "Hallo! How are you?" The donkey

yidi: "Nabad baan fesgay. Wahaan ee maqlay arrin 'iga
said: "Well I feel. I but (I) heard subject me

nhisay." Dibigi baa 4) yidi: "Waa mahay?" "Waha(a)n
frightened." The ox said: "What is it?" "I

maqlay ninkii 'ina lahaa 'oo leh 'addii 'aanuu dibigu baaksen
heard our owner say 'if he not the ox cured

berritu, aynu galno intaynu xasiri lahayn diggisa 5)
tomorrow, let us kill him before we lose his value.'

Imnikana waha(a)n ku leeyahay 6) orod oo 'aawisqoagi daayay."
And now I to you (I) say Run and your grass eat."

Markaasuu dibigi degde 'uu ku'ay oo 'aanukiisii daaqay.
Then the ox at once he got up and his grass ate.

Halkaasuu dameerkii 'uu kaga bahaaday haawii.
In that way the donkey he escaped the hard work.

LILIAS E. ARMSTRONG.

1) laha. 2) Markaanuu 3) baa. 4) baa. 5) diggisa. 6) leeyahay.