

THE PARTICLE *bāa* IN NORTHERN SOMALI

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1. THE PARTICLE *bāa*. In Northern Somali,¹ there is a particle which can occur normally only once in a sentence, and whose function is to emphasize, to draw attention to the preceding tagmeme. This particle is composed of the element *b-* followed by either *-āa*, or by subject pronouns (called hereafter the 'conjugated form'): Sg. 1: *-āan*, 2: *-āad*, 3m: *-āu*, 3f: *-āy*, pl. 1. exclusive *-āannu*, 1. inclusive: *-āyuu*, 2: *-āyūn*, 3: *-āy*, in agreement with either the explicit or implicit subject. The primary difference between these two combinations is that the first one: *bāa* is normally put after a subject, and the second one follows anything else.² Examples: *āqīgōdii bāa hāggāu dāaqayā* (1956, 114) '(!)their sheep and goats(!) are grazing over there', *ninka aan imān bāa mēesha yggāan* (HS N1, 15B) '(!)the man who did not come(!) knows the place' (subject in a verbal sentence), *ilāahāe adūu wēyo* (1961, 92) 'Oh God, (!)you(!) are great', *aadāhāy bāa fī'ān* (HS 12/4) '(!)my father(!) is clever' (subject in a nominal sentence), and on the other hand: *naa, inanka yari gōb bāu kū dashay* (DSN 91) 'probably, this boy was born from (!)a noble clan(!)', *ninka ina sanweyne' La odān jirāy bāu bēri nin ū yimi* (HS 3/2) 'once a man came to (!)the man who was called Ina Sanweyne(!)', *ninka ina sanweyne' La yidāahdaa bān kū hidtay* (HS 2, 12-3) 'I put my trust in (!)the man who is called Ina Sanweyne(!)' (complement), *ninkuusu nin wāuagsān bāu ahaa* (HS 18/16-7) 'that man was (!)a good man(!)', *abbāhāy bāu ahāan jirāy* (DSN 77) 'my father used to be (!)a chieftain(!)' (attribute), *ninka na ad bāu fāalka ū yiqiin* (HS 23, 2-3) 'and the man knew divination (!)very well(!)' (adverb), *ma damēer bāu sōo jibsaday* (DSN 21) 'did he buy a (!)he-donkey(!)?' (interrogative sentence).

The emphasized element which precedes either *bāa* or the conjugated form is always in the same invariable non-subjectal case (see DSN 46-7). Its function in the sentence is expressed by the opposition of the two types of particle, the subjectal *bāa* and the non-subjectal conjugated form.

However, this differentiation is not absolute. We can state with certainty that a subject cannot be followed by a conjugated particle, whereas *bāa* can occur after elements

other than the subject.³ Such a case is the interrogative verbless sentence⁴ where the predicate (in DSN 'essential part') is preceded by an interrogative particle *ma* and followed by *bāa*: *ninkuusu ma wqdaad bāa* (DSN 139) 'is that man a mullah?', *wiilku ma qariib bāa* (DSN 17) 'is the boy a stranger?'.⁵

In verbal sentences also, we can find cases where *bāa* occurs after elements other than the subject, and their interpretation constitutes the core of this study.

Before continuing, two remarks must be made in connection with *bāa*. When it emphasizes a subject, the agreeing verb has a special type of conjugation called a 'Restrictive paradigm'⁶ opposed to the 'Extensive paradigm' used in sentences where the subject has no emphatic particle (irrespective of whether another element does have it or not). The Restrictive paradigms are characterized by a special tone-pattern, by the fact that the final vowels of the verbal forms are short wherever the corresponding Extensive form has a long vowel, and by the remarkable fact that the third person masculine singular has exactly the same shape as the corresponding third person plural.⁷ Examples: *ninkii libāah wuu dīlay* 'the man killed a lion' (verb in final position, Extensive), *ninkii bāa libāah dīlay* '(!)the man(!) killed a lion'. The verb forms are here in the Past General. In the Present Continuous, the first sentence (Ext.) would have *dīlayaa* and the second one (Restr.) *dīlayā*.

The other remark to be made is that when a word in isolation ends in a short vowel, a contraction⁸ between it and the eventual following particle (either *bāa* or the conjugated form) takes place: the *b-* is elided and the remainder agglutinates to the preceding word which, in turn, loses its final short vowel. Examples: *dūdka na 'glamōoyinka dūnidāa hukāmāyā* (HS 23/453-4) 'and (!)the vicissitudes of the world(!) are ruling the people' (*dūnidāa* = *dūnida* + *bāa*) and *gaylku fāraska suldaankūn ū 'gyahay* (DSN 89) 'the colt resembles (!)the horse of the sultan(!)' (*suldaankūn* = *suldaanka* + *bāu*). With regard to the contraction with *bāa*, a warning should be given: in a text with no tone-marks, the contracted form can be confused with the demonstrative suffix *-āa*. The difference between them is (in addition to the syntax) expressed by the tone, so *ninkāa* means '(!)the man(!)' (from *ninka* + *bāa*) and *ninkāa* is 'that man'. Examples: *bēriqūn na moodqikāar iyo rēlcwcy iyo dāguuradi tōona mā jirin* (HS 22/9-10) 'and at that time there were no motorcars, no railways and no airplanes', *ninku hālkāa faqdiyāa wuu bukaa* (DSN 10) 'the man who is sitting there is ill'.

2. THE IMPERSONAL PRONOUN. An important case of non-subjectal use of *bāa* is to be found in the presence of the impersonal pronoun *La*⁹ '(someone, people)' (French

¹ By Northern Somali we mean the variety described by B. W. Andrzejewski (mainly Isaaq). Most of the examples are taken from his writings. The sources are: M. H. I. Galaal, *Hikmad Soomaali*, edited with grammatical introduction and notes by B. W. Andrzejewski, Oxford University Press, London, 1956 (abbreviated hereafter HS); B. W. Andrzejewski, 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq dialect of Somali', *BSOAS*, xviii, 1, 1956, pp. 103-129, *id.*, 'Pronominal and prepositional particles in Northern Somali', *African Language Studies*, 1, 1960, pp. 96-108; *id.*, 'Notes on the substantive pronouns in Somali', *ibid.*, 11, 1961, pp. 80-99; *id.*, *The declensions of Somali nouns*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1964 (abbreviated hereafter as DSN—references to the articles will be made according to the year of publication). Whenever available, Dr. Andrzejewski's translations of the Somali sentences are used. Tone-marks have been added to examples where the original text does not have them. For the transcription and tones, see the above-mentioned works. The material has been completed and further data were supplied by three Somali students living at present in Long Beach, Los Angeles, California: Messrs. Abdi Halib Elmi, Abdirrahman Timir Ali and Ahmed Sheikh Adam. I am greatly indebted to them for helping me to solve many delicate problems.

² See C. R. V. Bell, *The Somali language*, London, 1953, § 24, 25 and 36. In the following examples the words which in the English translation correspond to an item or items which immediately precede the particle *bāa* are placed between two exclamation marks.

³ See Bell, § 28. For another dialect (Daarood), see M. M. Moreno, *Il somalo della Somalia*, Rome, 1955, pp. 240 and 260.

⁴ See DSN 138-40, and R. C. Abraham, *Somali-English dictionary*, London, 1964, p. 20.

⁵ *qariib* from the Arabic *qariib* and not *qariib* which is homonymous with the Somali word.

⁶ See DSN 128-31, Andrzejewski 1956 and 1961, and Abraham, p. 311, n-111.

⁷ The Restrictive paradigms share this curious feature with the 'Construct paradigms' which are used in relative verbs agreeing with the headword (= antecedent) of the relative clause (type 'the man who is coming'). The Restrictive paradigms are in fact homonymous with Set A of the Construct paradigms. This means that the whole complex: headword — relative clause, is an element other than unemphasized subject in the main sentence. See references in note 4 above and further details in Section 8.

⁸ See Bell § 36, HS pp. 20-3, DSN pp. 114-6 and 1961 pp. 83-4.

⁹ See Bell § 111-3, HS pp. 16-17 and 1960 p. 103. It is written conventionally with a capital 'L' to distinguish it from the particle *la* '(together) with'.

'on', German 'man'), which functions as an invariable subject. When *La* is the subject, the eventual emphasized element can only have the particle *bāa*. Examples: *béertíisii díbi bāa Lagú qódi jiray* (DSN 21) 'his field used to be ploughed by (!)an ox(!)'; *'éel daddig áh úl qéer bāa Lays kagá dayaa* (DSN 60) 'one examines with (!)a long stick(!)a well which swallows people'; *méel boqor jógó gu 'ántáadaa La ilaashadaa* (DSN 63) 'in a place where a chieftain is present, one watches (!)one's [lit.: "thy "] hands (!)' (*gu'ántáada + bāa*); *su'áashaan Ku weydiin jiraa máanta na Lay weydiigay* (HS 23, 382-3) '(!)the question which I used to ask you(!), today people ask it from me' (*jiray = bāa*); *óo aniga réer La qisayaa bāa Laygá taló qeliyaa íc ma réer La baabli'nayaa bāa Laygá taló qeliyaa* (HS 3, 12-3) 'people seek advice from me about (!)a family which is being built(!)—do people seek advice from me about (!)a family which is being destroyed(!)?'; *márkii nínkii labí goor gartii Lagú hebiy bāa La yidi* (HS 2, 11) '(!)when they judged the case a second time unfavourably to the man(!), they said'; *áayir bāa Loo yimi* (DSN 89) '(!)slowly(!) people came to her'; *wáy sokereqé iyo wii sakuaró iyo wararó damál sáddéha ba 'awdayibkòda qaysaa Loo akua* (DSN 68) 'lament of kinsmen and a death-cry of a dikdik and a cracking sound of a tall tree, one (!)soon(!) sees the vengeance of these three' (*qaysa + bāa*).

It is understood that the presence of any emphasized element in a sentence is a matter of option. It can naturally be absent from a sentence containing *La*: *inankii yaraa na waa Lu gabtay* (HS 1, 19) 'and one captured the young boy'. The rule requires that when an element of any type must be emphasized in such a sentence (for merely semantic reasons), it always has *bāa*, and never a conjugated form. In this kind of sentence, the subject, of course, cannot be emphasized.

3. COMPLEMENTS. There are sentences where *bāa* is put after a complement, or even after a whole subordinate clause the antecedent of which is a complement. Such sentences were indicated by Bell (§28) as a sort of curiosity, and it is Dr. Andrzejewski who pointed out the tonal features of such sentences (see also Abraham, *o.c.* p. 310, I-II). Thus, *wgdaaddadii bāa nínkii ú yimi* (HS 14, 11) means '(!)the preachers(!) came to the man' with the expected Restrictive conjugation and with *-kii* after the complement as it ought to be (*cf.* DSN p. 73), whereas *wgdaaddadii bāa nínkii ú yimi* (HS N14/11) with Extensive conjugation and the subjectal *-kii*, is to be translated 'the man came to (!)the preachers(!)'. Other examples of this use: *dáartán bāa ferúnjigii samceeyay* 'the Europeans built (!)this house(!)'; *magaaladii bāa maallu daari duntay* 'one day a house fell down in (!)the town(!)'; *nínkii faaliyaa ahia bāa dádkii yoo qamoni je'laaday óo méel wálle Looqá yimi* (HS 23, 8-9) 'everybody liked (!)the soothsayer(!) and people came to him from everywhere'; *garaadyó Layskú keenáy bāa qarasho ká qalataa* (DSN 57) 'understanding is born out of (!)minds which have been brought together(!)'; *nin annága áh bāa béri 'údurkka Ku heláy óo kale kii qa'áy óo Lagú daveeyay* (DSN 75) 'that illness which afflicts you once came upon (!)one of our men(!) and he was treated effectively against it'.

The reason why *bāa* is used in these cases instead of the conjugated form, is obscure.

In every case, a conjugated form in agreement with the subject can be substituted for *bāa*. However, one thing must be noticed: these complements, when followed by *bāa*, are always placed in initial position in relation to the whole sentence.

4. TEMPORAL EXPRESSION. The most important occurrence of the non-subjectal *bāa* is after a temporal expression: *béri bāa nin hali ká huntay* (HS 2, 2) '(!)once(!) a camel was lost by a man'; *súbiitii bāa nínkii máskii ú yimi yoo ká yidi* (HS 8, 13) '(!)in the morning(!), the man came to the snake and said to him'; *maallintii dambe ayoo suddaanka qúddiisii sá'uu leeyghay béer daagay* (HS 9, 8-9) '(!)the next day(!), the cow which he, the sultan himself, owned grazed the garden'; *'ashadii dambe ayaa réerkii áqiga lahaa yidi* (HS 6, 2-3) '(!)some time later(!), the tribe which owned the sheep and goats said'; *már uun bāa 'igaal dameerihii iyo baqalkii sidaa ú eegay* (HS 22, 28-9) '(!)at one moment(!), Igaal looked like that [shown by the narrator] at the donkeys and the mule'; *góor qóo bāa náagtii áwrkii kccntay* (DSN 76) '(!)soon afterwards(!), the wife brought the he-camel'; *márkaasaa lhaatii nínkii dilay* (DSN 77) '(!)then(!) the lion killed the man' (*márkaas + bāa*, this construction is extremely frequent in the language. This form is used for modal expressions too: *hálkaasaa nínkii saboolka ahaa ká hoolaystay 'éeb na kagá bahaday* (HS 20, 37-8) '(!)in that way(!), the poor man acquired more flocks and escaped from shame'.

As in the preceding cases, the emphasized temporal expression can be a whole phrase: *márkii dádkii kala wada sechsechday bāa afadii inanka galabnimadii waraabisay qebadii soo bahday óo is tiqi* (DSN 82) '(!)when the men all went to sleep(!), the woman who gave water to the boy in the evening came out into the open and said to herself'; *iyáloo ninanku 'abdi sugayaan bāa suddaankii wqdaadkii lá hadlay* (HS NS 7A) '(!)while the men were waiting for Abdi(!), the sultan spoke to the preacher'; *hadduu is yidi ká qafó bāa máskii wáhuu dareemay nógayane miliq yidi yoo káptii galay* (HS 23, 225-7) '(!)when he said to himself "Beat it!"(!), the snake, I don't know what he noticed, rushed away and entered the thick bush'; *muddó hadduu nínkii kyhaanka ahaa guriqisii jooqay é nastay é istarechay bāa ninan suddaankii soo diray ú yimandeen* (HS 23, 235, 7) 'once, (!)when the diviner was staying in his house and resting and enjoying himself(!), men whom the sultan sent came to him and said'; *síduu hálkii ú fqqdiigay e ú tashanayay bāa shirkii Lagú kala darceeray* (HS 23/258-9), '(!)as he was sitting in the place and pondering(!), people sneaked away from the assembly' (sentence with *La*); *aróortii márkii wéaggii beryay bāa suddaankii ráq kahaystay óo ambabbahay* (DSN 55) 'in the morning (!)when the dawn broke(!), the sultan took with him some men and set out on the journey'.

In all these sentences, except those with *La*, *bāa* can be supplanted by the conjugated forms. Some examples: *béri biuu inan dam'ay innu guursadó* (HS 15, 3) '(!)once(!) a boy decided to marry'; *márkii muddó'igii iyo mudda'álaygii ba hadleen e markhatiyadii wqteen biuu ina sanweyne ka'ay óo haaraanyéhankii kú yidi* (HS 2/16-8) '(!)when both the plaintiff and the defendant had spoken and called the witnesses(!), Ina Sanweyne stood up and said to the lawbreakers'; *hqbcynkii márkii La sechsechday biuu máskii soo bahay óo inankiisii 'urád qaminay* (HS 8/112) 'in the night, (!)when everybody went

¹ This example, as well as the following one, are taken from unpublished exercises prepared by Dr. Andrzejewski (reference: S.8, B.2).

¹ 'ayaa has the same function as *bāa*, but is used either in a slower or more emphatic style or after a long pause' (HS p. 74, N6/2n). The same is true of the equivalence of the conjugated forms, *ayuu = bāu*, etc.

to sleep(!), the snake came out and bit the first-born son of the man'. In all these cases, *bāa* can be used *vice-versa*.¹

Here again, the distribution of the two forms cannot be predicted. Both may occur in exactly the same context: *mārkaasāa ina sanweyne yiḍi* (HS 3/10) and *mārkaasūu ina sanweyne yiḍi* (HS 3/12) both meaning '(!)then(!). Ina Sanweyne said', *mārkaasāa nimānkii yiḍaahdeen* (HS 15/20) and *mārkaasūu nimānkii yiḍaahdeen* (HS 15/36-7) '(!)then(!) the men said', or with a modal expression: *hālkaasūu inankii yaraa kii nabād galay* (HS N1/22A) '(!)in that way(!), the small boy saved himself' and *hālkaasāa 'ólkii yōo qān inankii yaraa kagā bahsaday* (HS 1/22) '(!)in that way(!), from the whole expedition, the small boy [only] escaped'.

5. PRONOMINAL SUBJECT. This leads us to another case. Let us compare the following examples: *mārkaasāa nīnkii hāsha lahaa shirkii tegay oo dūgyidii u sheegay* (HS 2/5-6) '(!)then(!) the man who owned the she-camel went to the assembly and said to the elders' and *mārkaasūu nīnkii hāsha lahaa kii yiḍi* (HS 2/4) '(!)then(!) he said to the man who owned the she-camel'. If, in this last sentence, we had the following tone-pattern: *nīnkii hāsha lahaa* (as in the example above, see HS N2/4c), the sentence would mean '(!)then(!) the man who owned the she-camel said to him'. In this latter case, we could choose between *mārkaasāa* and *mārkaasūu*. However, in the quoted example HS 2/4, the mentioned complex is a complement and the subject is pronominal. Thus, only *mārkaasūu* is possible, and *-ūu* is not any more an expletive element in agreement with a coexisting subject, but it is the only and undeletable subject of the sentence. Thus, the alternation between *bāa* and *būu* after a non-subjectal element is possible only when an explicit nominal subject is present—in its absence, only the conjugated form can occur.

Examples: *mārkaasāa nīnkii rēerka lahaa jī sabōolka ahaa martidii farāa badnāyd arkāy būu nahay hā qeshō e wuu kii hishooday inuu 'arawshō* (HS 20/6-8) '(!)when the man, who was the head of the family and who was poor, saw the numerous guests(!), he was appalled, yet he was ashamed to send them away on an afternoon journey', *intōo mārkaasūu yiḍi būu harrīgīdii kii bahay* (HS 23/117) '(!)after he had said those things(!), he came out of the circle' (lit.: 'line'), *māantii dambē ayūu² isigōo toddobādii giif haystii jōonshabay lāg kagā bahay* (HS 22/12-3) '(!)the next day(!), with seven guineas, he left Johannesburg by foot', *māhribkii bāy dēqmādii degmō kalōo u qōw u timi* (HS 13/8) '(!)at the time of the evening prayer(!), she [= the group] came to the settlement which was near the other settlement', *mārkaasūu dīiday oo yiḍi* (HS 1/5) '(!)then(!) he refused and said'.

6. SEMANTIC ASPECTS. An attempt has been made to find out the semantic differences which underlie the alternation between *bāa* and the conjugated form in the beginning of a sentence, after a temporal element. The obtained partial results must be regarded with a great deal of reservation. From the sometimes vague indications of the informants, the following tentative conclusions can be drawn: when *būu* is used, the connection of the emphasized element with both the preceding and the following sentences is closer, it

serves as a link between them. On the other hand, the use of *bāa* implies an anticipated element, which, in the case of temporal and modal expressions, serves as a general 'back-ground' for the following sentence by disconnecting it from the preceding one. It marks a change of scene, a shift of the time-axis, a discontinuity.

An example of this distinction can be given: *nūn būu bēri qiddin kii bōqoobay. mārkaasūu bōqīdii āad u hūmaatay* (HS 16/2-3) '(!)a man(!), once, became ulcerous in the leg, (!)then(!) [as to] the ulcer [it] became very bad'. The use of the (contracted) *būu* concentrates the attention on 'ulcer' by linking it to 'then'. There is a logical connection between the two sentences, the first one announces the illness, and the second one communicates details on the same subject. On the other hand, we have *habār būu inon qūd ah lahāyd. Mārkaasāa inankii dam'ay inuu 'ól dūulayī raa'ō* (HS 1/2-3) '(!)An old woman(!) had an only boy. (!)Then(!) the boy planned to accompany an attacking expedition'. Here, the second sentence introduces a completely new element about which there was no hint in the first one. 'Then' as a 'back-ground element', instead of linking, separates the two sentences. In HS, the beginnings² of stories No. 3, 16, 19 (the personified Deceit has already been mentioned) are of the first type, where an element forecast in the first sentence is developed in the second one introduced by *mārkaasūu*. The beginnings of Nos. 1, 6, 9, 10, 11 (the lion has not yet been mentioned) are of the second type, where the second sentence with *mārkaasāa* brings up a new element unforeseen in the first sentence. In the beginnings of Nos. 2, 4, 5 (third sentence), 7, 8, 15 and 18, we have no choice between two forms because of the pronominal subject in the second sentence, which requires the conjugated form.

These results are based on the examination of the first two sentences of every story in HS, but the validity of the distinction has been checked in the body of the text too. Naturally, there is no clear-cut limit between the two constructions. We have already mentioned a free alternation of both in the same context in HS 3/10 vs. 12 and HS 15/20 vs. 36/7. This context is that of a conversation with the pattern 'then X said'. Since we can consider an exchange of questions and answers either as an introduction of new elements each time or as a natural chain of utterances, the use of both *mārkaasāa* and *mārkaasūu* seems to be allowed. The first form would represent a kind of pause, and the second one a shift from one sentence to another.

This distinction is generally valid. Thus *hālkaasūu* can be translated 'this is how' (linking element) and *hālkaasāa* is rather 'thus, in that way'. Let us quote again two examples by re-translating them according to this principle: *hālkaasūu inankii yaraa kii nabād galay* (HS N1/22) 'this is how the small boy saved himself' and *hālkaasāa 'ólkii yōo qān inankii yaraa kagā bahsaday* (HS 1/22) 'thus, from the whole expedition the small boy [only] escaped'.

A clear distinction was made by the informants between *maalin bāa* . . . 'in day-time' (as a back-ground element) and *maalin būu* . . . 'one day' (shifting element). Another distinction: *bēri bāa* . . . 'once, some time' (indeterminate moment which is not supposed to be specified) and *bēri būu* 'once upon a time, at a certain moment' (still indeterminate, but to be considered as determined from now on).

¹ It seems that local expressions may exhibit similar features but I have found no examples of this type in the texts.

² We do not take into account the stories where the second sentence does not begin with an emphasized temporal element.

¹ Incidentally, in such temporal expressions the use of any emphatic particle is not compulsory: *libdāh mārkaasūu hābīnkii sōo galay qalla'ō kii dūftay* (HS 19/12-3) 'the lion, when the night came, gave a sudden bite'. Here, after *galay*, as we shall see later, only *būu* can be added. In the following example, however, both *bāa* and *būu* can occur after *magnāyd* (the reasons will be given later): *bēriḡii āad bādda kii magnāyd awiḡii iyo aabbāhaa wāannu kulannay* (1961, 93) 'at the time when you were at sea, I and your father met'.

² *ayūu* = *būu*, see note 1, p. 121.

In principle, an initial temporal element with no emphasis can also occur in a sentence which has no further emphasis, but this is rare. No such example has been found in HS; however, their existence was confirmed by the informants who also added that in such a case a special stress is laid on the verb, e.g. *sābīkīi nīnkīi wuu yīmī* would mean 'the man *did* come in the morning'. In this sentence, there is no emphatic particle. This example shows that the semantic emphasis, which I call here 'stress', does not always coincide with the syntactic emphasis.¹ The semantically neutral construction, with no special stress on any element, would contain a conjugated emphatic particle after the temporal element: *sābīkīi būu nīnkīi yīmī* 'in the morning, the man came'.

To understand this, we must take into account that the temporal elements usually refer to the whole sentence and not to a part of it. Unlike the complements which are added to verbs, unlike adjectives and certain adverbs which qualify specific elements in the sentence, the temporal elements qualify the sentence in its entirety. This gives them a special status, so that they are normally in an emphatic position. This position, as we have found, conveys no semantic stress on them. It is for this reason that they can occur together with another emphasis in the same sentence, as indicated in the next section. However, if there is another emphasis, in most of the cases the temporal elements give theirs up readily.

Thus, in a sentence beginning with a temporal element, the most neutral construction is to put the conjugated particle after the Temporal. When one puts *bāa*, it means that, the time-axis broken, the communication resumes on a new level. The absence of an emphatic particle implies a semantic stress on the verb.

7. LIMITS OF OCCURRENCE. The non-subjectal use of *bāa* is distinguished from the subjectal one by the fact that the verb has the Extensive conjugation in the presence of the former, and the Restrictive conjugation in the presence of the latter. Moreover, there are other differences. One of them is the following: in a sentence there can be only one emphatic element—either the *būu* type or the subjectal *bāa*. However, a non-subjectal *bāa*, with certain limitations, is compatible with either another of the same kind or with one of the former types. Here is an example of two non-subjectal *bāa*'s in the same sentence: *mārkīi mūdādīi maalīni ká haqqāy bāa isāgōo nafi ná haysō ōo kú talō galāy in hālkāa nāftu kagā bahdō ayūun bāa gēdēkīi uu hōos jīfāy jīriddīisīi qbris qaboobay kagā sōo bahay* (HS 23/95-8) '(!)when only one day remained out of the appointed time(!) and (!)when he was in great fear and resolved that there his soul should depart(!), suddenly an old serpent came out of the trunk of the tree under which he lay'. Note 23/95-96B in HS says that in this sentence *bāa* is repeated 'probably because of its length'. However, the translation, which is Andrzejewski's own (see his 1961, p. 99) shows clearly that here we have two temporal expressions, two 'when's', one introduced by *mārkīi* and the other by *-ōo* (in *isāgōo*), and each one has its *bāa*. In fact, the first *bāa* can be omitted with no change of meaning, but its presence is allowed not because of length, but because of the double expression.

¹ In English, and even more in French, for instance, emphasis is an extraordinary procedure used on special occasions, when one wants to attract attention to something in particular. Nevertheless, in many other languages, emphasis is a very ordinary and frequent phenomenon. For example in Hungarian (see my 'Les syntagmes à totalisateur du hongrois', *Word*, 20, 1, April 1964, 55-71, esp. p. 70), emphasis is in reality 'un chaînon qui relie au contexte' and its presence in most of the sentences in an average text is by no means surprising. Somali is similar in this respect. In almost every sentence one chooses the most important element as the centre of communication, and it is followed by an emphasizing particle.

Another example of two emphasized temporal elements is *mārkaasāa mārkaabkīi nā galābtīi bāa daqaagay* (HS 22/76) '(!)then(!), the boat also started to move (!)in the evening(!)'. This sentence was not confirmed by my informants, they interpreted the element after *galābtīi* as *ba* 'at the same moment', cf. HS N1/14A(d).

This repetition of emphasizing particles even for parallel elements is permitted only for a non-subjectal *bāa*—the subjectal *bāa* can occur only once even after many subjects: *wāha La yīqī līlāah iyo mās iyo mās iyo dāb iyo dāad iyo heelād iyo dū'ād bāa bēri hāl wada lahāa* (HS 19/3-4) 'it is said, (!)a lion, a snake, a thorny fence, fire, floodwater, deceit and honesty(!) together kept a she-camel'.

In the following examples, sentences from HS and other sources were selected and presented to the informants. They were asked to tell whether an emphasizing particle can be added to the place which is marked here with a \checkmark , and if so, which particle it is. The results were very instructive. On their basis we were able to establish the following rules (the illustrative examples are followed by the particle which may be added in the place marked \checkmark):

(a) If a subjectal *bāa* occurs in a sentence, no additional emphasizing element can be added later. This emphasized subject cannot be preceded by a complement. Example: *'ālkīi bāa mārkaū mēel qēhē joogāy ilaūlō sōo dīrtāy* (HS 13/2/3) '(!)the expedition(!), when it was at half-way, sent out a patrol'.

(b) After an initial non-emphasized subject, a later temporal element, as well as any other complement, can only have the conjugated form: *nīnkīi habēyukīi būu yīmī* 'the man came in (!)the night(!)' and *nīnkīi āgalkīi būu galay* 'the man entered (!)the house(!)'.
(c) After any (including temporal) element emphasized by a conjugated particle, no additional emphasized element can occur: *mārkaasūu nīnkīi yīmī* '(!)then(!) the man came'. In the following rules, we shall consider initial temporal elements emphasized by *būu* only.

(d) An initial emphasized temporal element can be followed by another one emphasized either by *bāa* or the conjugated form (the subject comes later): *mārkaasāa sūbīkīi mārkkīi wqagūi bēyāy \checkmark mēeshīi nūn oday ihī sōa maray* (HS 21/8-9) '(!)then(!) in the morning when it dawned \checkmark , an old man passed by the place' (here either *bāa* or the conjugated form may be used).

(e) (i) After an emphasized temporal element, a subject can also be emphasized (by *būu*, of course): *mārkaasāa kuhāankīi \checkmark mēeshīi nahdīn kalā kī'i kārī wāuyay* (HS 23/69-70) '(!)then(!) the soothsayer \checkmark , by fear, could not get up from the place' (here *bāa* can be inserted; this would involve a change in the tone-pattern of the preceding word and of the final verb).

(e) (ii) A. After an emphasized temporal element, a complement can also be emphasized either by *būu* or by *ūu*. This latter form is the personal pronoun with a falling tone (it is, of course, conjugated: *āan, āad, ūu, āy*, etc.), which normally replaces *būu* in subordinate clauses. In this context, they are free variants involving no difference of meaning, both stress the preceding element. *ūu* seems to be more normal in this case. I have noticed a certain hesitation about the use of *būu* in some cases. Example: *sūbīkīi būu nīnkīi māskīi \checkmark ū yīmī* (HS 8/13) '(!)in the morning(!), the man came to the snake \checkmark ' (*būu* or *ūu*).

(e) (ii) B. After an emphasized temporal element directly followed by an unemphasized subject or complement, another subsequent temporal element can also be emphasized either by *bāa* or by *ūu*. Like a complement. Here, however, there is a semantic difference: *bāa* implies that no semantic stress is conferred upon the preceding temporal element (cf. end of section, while *ūu* does stress it: *mārkaasāa ninkii hqbēynkii* ✓ *yimi* '(!)then(!) the man came in the night ✓' (either *bāa* or, preferably and with a special stress, *ūu*).

There seem to be no recursive rules in the use of emphatic particles; very often only one of them occurs in a sentence, but never more than two. *bāa* cannot occur in a subordinate clause, while *bāa* is represented by *ūu*.

To illustrate the possible structures of declarative sentences containing emphasized elements, the following graphic representations can be drawn showing the successive possible choices in the chain¹:

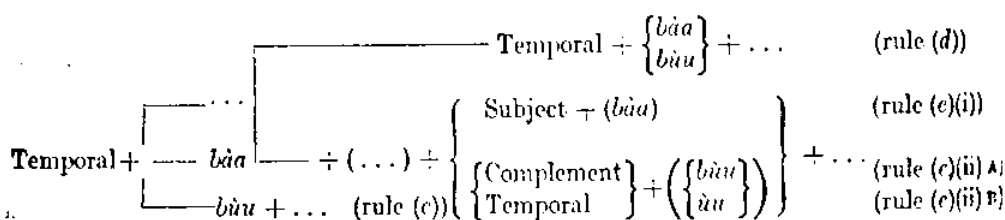
PRELIMINARY *ad hoc* RESTRICTIONS

1. Sentence = (. . .) ÷ Subject ÷ . . .
Subject = Noun
2. if (. . .) ÷ Subject ÷ *bāa* + . . .
then (. . .) = $\begin{cases} (!) \\ \text{Temporal} ÷ (bāa) ÷ (\text{Temporal}) \end{cases}$

DIAGRAMS

$$(\dots) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Subject} ÷ bāa \\ \text{Complement} \\ \text{Temporal} \end{array} \right\} + bāa \left\{ \dots \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{(rule (a))} \\ \text{(rule (b))} \end{array}$$

1. Sentence with one emphasis.



2. Sentence with one or two emphases.

The first preliminary restriction says that in the diagrams there is always a nominal subject present, and not a pronominal one nor *La*. The second one says that (. . .) before an emphasized subject can only be either zero or a temporal element (either emphasized by *bāa* or not). Example with no emphasis: *māanta sā'āagii bāa bēer daagii* (HS 9/10) 'today (!)your cow(!) grazed the garden'.

In the diagrams, as in the rules, *bāa* stands as a representative of any conjugated emphasizing particle. The symbol ' . . . ' (unlike in the restrictions) marks any string where emphasizing is absent, composed according to the general rules of Somali syntax.

A non-initial ' . . . ' can also be zero (this is also an absence of emphasis), but not the final one (which marks the impossibility of emphasis), since the grammar requires a further predicate at least. The cases included in rules (a) and (c) (i) also require the Restrictive paradigms. The final ' . . . ' is a positive element—it marks that in the indicated place no more emphasizing is possible.

' (. . .) ' after *bāa*, in conformity with restriction 2, indicates that Temporal + *bāa* can be followed by a Temporal without emphasis, if later Subject + *bāa* is chosen. If not, anything without emphasis can occur there. Example: *mārkaasāa gōor dāw nāagii* ✓ *ninkēdii ū timi gōo tiqi* (HS 14/28-9) '(!)then(!), soon the woman ✓ came to her husband and said'.

According to rule c, Temporal + *bāa* can be followed by anything, thus by another, but unemphasized Temporal too: *māantii dambē ayūn' isāgōo toddobādii gini haystā jōomisbaag lig kaqā bahay* (HS 22/12-3) '(!)the next day(!), when he [still] had seven guineas on him, he left Johannesburg on foot'.

In the following example, we have the succession of two temporal elements, the second being followed by *bāa*. Here, the first Temporal is followed by *ba* which 'together with a word denoting time, can often be translated by "instantly", "immediately"'.² This is equivalent to a *bāa*-construction, no additional *bāa* can be added to it, but it can be followed by other emphasized elements: *inay sidāa ahaatō ba mārkaay baryidii ahāyū bāa . . .* (DSN 85) 'as it continued to be so, (!)when it was the mid-morning(!) . . .', *hqbēynkii iyo sūbihii ba hilib bāu kā qerqiyay* (HS 20/10-1) 'both in the night and in the morning, he made them satiated with (!)meat(!)'.³

We have cases, where two temporal elements, one of them a noun and the other one a clause, are followed by one particle only, valid for the whole complex. Then the clause can be interpreted as an expansion of the noun: *sūbihii mārkiū wāgii beryūy bāa ninkii martida akāa ka'ay ōo ninkii rēerka lahāa ū yerqay* (HS 10/3-4) '(!)in the morning when the dawn broke(!), the guest got up and called the head of the family'; *arōortii mārkiū wāgii beryūy bāa sūldāankii rāq kahaystay ōo ambabbahay* (DSN 55) '(!)in the morning when the dawn broke(!), the sultan took with him some men and set out on the journey'; *hqbēynkii mārkiū La sechsehdāy biu māsikii sōo bahay* (HS 8/11-2) '(!)in the night when people were sleeping(!), the snake came out'.

Finally, a recapitulative example: *mārkaasāa daktarkii ✓ ninkii bukay ✓ sūbihii dambē ✓ ū yimi yōo yiqi* (HS 16/33-4) '(!)then(!) the doctor ✓ came to the sick man ✓ in the next morning ✓ and said'. Three places are here indicated, but only one of them can be filled by an emphatic particle at once. The first one can have *bāa*, the second and the third either *bāa* or *ūu*.

8. THE STATUS OF *bāa*. We have already mentioned (note 5, p. 119) that the Restrictive paradigms which occur after a subjectal *bāa* are homonymous with the Set A of the Construct paradigms, which occurs in a relative clause whose headword is its subject, but the same headword is not the subject of the main sentence (type 'I know the man who is coming there'). Both Set A and Set B of these paradigms (i.e. whatever may be the function of the relative complex in which the headword is the subject of the relative

¹ See note 1, p. 121.

² See HS p. 67, N1/14a. Here it is translated by 'as' and 'both'. For its incompatibility with *bāa*, see Abraham, p. 309. His attribution of this behaviour to euphony seems to me superfluous.

verb) present the curious fact that the second person singular and plural, and the third person masculine and plural have the same form: from *ogoon* 'to know' and *mar* 'to pass'. Set A Restrictive Present General *yqaan* and *mará*. There is another form for the third person feminine (*taqáan*, *martá*), another for the first person singular (*aqáan* and for the common conjugation with suffixes *mará* also), and, finally, one for the first person plural (*uqáan* and *mará*). Examples: *adigaa yqaan* (1956, 126) '(?)you(?) know' and *ninkán hēbal annáqaa naqáan* (HS 23 '34-5) '(?)we(?) know this man'.

This similarity between the Restrictive and Construct paradigms suggests that the *bāa* phrases should also be analysed as a kind of relative construction, as a cleft-sentence.² Thus *nin bāa yimí* would be 'it is a man who came' where the subject of the relative verb *yimí* is its headword *nin*, and *bāa* functions as a sort of copula as it does in interrogative sentences.

Obviously, interrogative sentences are, in many respects, related to sentences having an emphasized element. When the interrogation refers to the whole sentence, no emphatic particle can occur in it: *aabbahā mā yqqaan* 'does your father know him?', *aubbāhā mā yqqaan* 'does he know your father?'.³ When the interrogation refers to a part of the sentence, the rules are similar to those of the emphasizing particles--if the subject is questioned, the Restrictive paradigm is used for the verb (and eventually a *bāa* also appears); if it is another part of the sentence, the Extensive paradigm is used (again with the eventual appearance of *bāu*): *ninkēc (bāa) dīlay* '(?)which man(?) killed him?' and *ninkēc (bāu) dīlay* '(?)which man(?) did he kill?' (S.11/B.3, *bāa* and *bāu* are optional); *kūmāa yimí* (S.12/B.1, *kūmāa* = *kūma* + *bāa*) '(?)who(?) came'; *yāa ninkán lá hadlāy* '(?)who(?) spoke to this man?' (S.12/B.1) *fāraska ímanka kú jgogó yāa lēh* (S.21/B.5) '(?)who(?) owns the horse on which the boy is sitting?'.⁴

The interrogative verbless sentence puts the questioned word between *ma* and *bāa*: *ninkaasu ma wqdaad bāa* (DSN 139) 'is that man (?)a mullah(?)' or *ma wqdaad bāa* 'is he (?)a mullah(?)'. Let us compare this construction with the following examples: *ma adāa dádká kú yidí* (HS 23/27) 'is it (?)you(?) who said to the people?'; *nūanta ma adigii bāa mēsha márayá* (HS 23/380) 'are (?)you(?) coming here today?'.⁴ If we take *ma adāa* alone, we can translate it 'is it you?'. The same way, the last but one example can be most faithfully rendered by a cleft-sentence: 'is it you who . . .', not only for the convenience of English, but also to reflect the real structure. Here again, the Restrictive-Construct paradigms are used.

As well as the affirmative correspondent of *ma wqdaad bāa* is *waa wqdaad* (DSN 138) '[he] is a mullah', the regular affirmative counterpart of the quoted sentences also contains the particle *waa* (copula), and requires the Restrictive paradigm for the verb (cf. HS N23, 27B): *waa nin wah yqaan* (HS 23/18) 'he is a man who knows something';

waa anígaa 'unsurguuriyáy (HS 23/54-5) 'it was I who did the acts of propitiation'; *waa adigii kál horé ina nabád gesháy* (HS 23/246-7) 'it is you who saved us last year'; *waa wqdaadkii hálayto nōo yimí* (DSN 139) 'he is the mullah who came to us last night'; *waa adigán wīhii LaGú sīyáy bo dān ii wada keenáy* (HS 23 '460-1) 'it was you who brought me all the things which you had been given'. These sentences are to all intents and purposes expansions of the type *waa wqdaad* with a relative clause added to the noun. A longer example corresponding to the type *ninkaasu waa wqdaad* (DSN 138) 'that man is a mullah' is: *ninka hálkāa faddiyāa waa wqdaadkii hálayto nōo yimí* (DSN 139) 'the man who is sitting there is the mullah who came to us last night'.¹

Without any doubt, these two types are relative sentences. The similarities between *waa nimánkii áqalka galáy* and *ma nimánkii bāa áqalka galáy* on one hand, and *nimánkii bāa áqalka galáy* on the other, are striking, the same verbal paradigms are used for each of them. All this suggests that the last one is also a type of cleft-sentence, the first being rendered by 'they are the men who . . .' and the last one by 'it is the men who . . .' (the exponent of 'it is' occurring in the English translation is zero, but not nought). Here, the headword of the relative clause is its subject.

The same analysis cannot be applied to the *bāu*-phrases. At the end of such sentences the Extensive paradigms are used. In the affirmative form these paradigms are homonymous with Set B of the Divergent paradigms, but not in the negative forms. Thus, through the negative representative of *bāu* (*baanu*, etc.), we can see that it is really the Extensive conjugation that is used, and this use is confined to a main sentence. The cleft-sentence construction is thus excluded. Examples of the negative verbs with the use of the Extensive paradigms: *hádalka baanaad fasiih ú oqánayn* 'you are not saying (!)the talk(!) like an eloquent man', *síidāa aawadéed baanan ú sgnéyn kárcyn* '(!)for that reason(!) I could not do it'.² The parallel forms of the Set B Divergent paradigm would be: *oqánayni* and *kárcayni*. Thus, synchronically at least, we cannot assimilate the *bāu*-phrases into any other construction.

Finally, phrases with *bāa* after complement can be interpreted as a kind of extraposition of the type 'the man, a lion killed him' for *ninkii bāa líbaah dīlay*. Similar analysis is possible for the temporal *bāa*. These two types are differentiated by the fact that the first one cannot be followed by another emphasis but the second one can. It is to be noted that the temporal *bāa* can be followed either by *bāu* which is characteristic of main sentences, or by *uu* which is characteristic of subordinate clauses. It partakes of both the relative construction and that of the *bāu*-phrases.

9. CONCLUSION. In Northern Somali, there can be normally only one emphasized

¹ See Andrzejewski 1961, 90-91, and HS N23/27B.
² For the concept of 'cleft-sentence' and for many ideas pertaining to it, I am indebted to my former teacher Professor H. J. Polotsky who dealt with this construction in many languages in his lectures.
³ This and some of the following examples are taken from the exercises indicated in note 1, p. 120. References: S.15/B.2. Here we put the questioned element between (?) . . . (?).
⁴ This cleft-sentence construction which is the expansion of the *ma wqdaad bāa* type, must not be confused with real verbless sentences where the two main components have each a relative clause: *wqdaadkii hálayto nōo yimí bāa ninka hálkāa faddiyāa* (DSN 140) 'is the man who is sitting there (?)the mullah who came to us last night(?)' which is in fact an expansion of *ma wqdaadkii bāa ninkaasu* 'is that man (?)the mullah(?)'.

¹ This type with *waa* must not be confused with verbal sentences containing a particle *waa* which emphasizes the verb: *walaallo is je'eli waa hooló bataan bo kabaaló yaraystaan, walaallo is ne'ebi waa hooló yaraystaan bo kabaaló bataan* (DSN 61) 'brothers who love one another increase in wealth and make few graves for themselves, brothers who hate one another decrease in wealth and make many graves for themselves'.
² See Abraham, p. 304, 1-11 (the transcription is adjusted to Dr. Andrzejewski's). I cannot agree with the author who labels these sentences as 'negative relative sentence'. It is certainly not a relative construction. He was probably misled by the use of the negative particle *aan* which occurs in every non-extensive form. But the Extensive ones may have it too (see DSN 129). The sentence Abraham gives as equivalent to the first example really contains a relative clause with a negative verb in Set A of the Divergent paradigm which is here homonymous with the Extensive form (see DSN 135 and 132), followed by a verb in a Restrictive form: *hádalka bāa hádal aanaad fasiih ú oqánayn ah* '(!)the talk(!) is a talk which you are not saying as an eloquent man'.

element in a sentence, and it tends to be in an initial position. The emphatic constructions may be classified as follows: (a) Subjectal *baa* which is, in reality, a cleft-sentence with a relative clause. The advantage of this interpretation is that it allows the reduction of the number of verbal paradigms, and, instead of presenting homonymous conjugations which may seem to be a merely fortuitous coincidence, it shows the internal relations of Somali syntax. This type of particle cannot be followed by any other emphasized item in the same sentence. (b) The conjugated forms *buu*, etc., after any non-subjectal element. Their conjugation agrees with the subject wherever it may be. It cannot be followed by any other emphasized item in the same sentence. (c) Non-subjectal *baa* after complements occurs relatively rarely. It can be considered as a kind of extraposition. It cannot be followed by another emphasized item. It has the same distributional features as *a*, but it requires the Extensive conjugation like *b*. (d) Temporal *baa* which admits the presence of another emphasis in the same sentence later. Its distribution and alternation with *buu* is described in Section 7.

Finally, *baa* occurring in sentences which contain the impersonal subject pronoun *La* (Section 2) can be analysed as a special type of *buu*-phrase where the agreement with the *La*-subject is expressed through a zero-morpheme which virtually does not modify the actual form of *baa*.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIA

In this issue of the *Journal* we inaugurate a feature entitled 'Bibliographia', the main purpose of which is to advance the state of knowledge of African languages and linguistics by assembling and publishing information received on works dealing with this topic from various sources. Since our resources are extremely limited as regards office personnel, the editorial staff cannot undertake to perform actual bibliographical research, but will be pleased to collate and publicize news items of this nature. It therefore follows that the success of this venture will depend on the co-operation of those who are interested. Our readers are enjoined to send us full details of any newly-published works, books in the press or collections of manuscripts which may not be known to interested scholars. We will then endeavour to include this information in our next issue.

For the first major contribution to this section, a list of African linguistic serial publications, we are indebted to Dr. Eugene de Benko, Associate Professor of Social Science, Divisional Librarian, Michigan State University Library (International Collections), East Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A. The entries include serials ranging from those which are devoted exclusively to African languages to those which in recent years have contained at least one article per issue in this field. Not all these publications are available for consultation at Michigan State University. The list was compiled from various sources including: *Bibliographie der Deutschen Zeitschriften-Literatur*, the *Africa Bibliography Series* (International African Institute), the periodical publications section of the library catalogue of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, *Ulrich's Periodicals Directory* (10th edition), *Union Lists of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada*, and *Bulletin Signalétique: Sciences Humaines*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. It is realized that there are many gaps in this list and Dr. de Benko would be pleased to receive corrections and additions from readers.

Quite apart from the informative nature of this contribution, it could prove to be of great value as a basis for an up-to-date, annotated bibliography of African language articles. Anyone interested in collaborating in such a project should contact Dr. de Benko.

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