

AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES

XV

1974



SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL
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UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES XV

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A. N. TUCKER: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

10th March, 1974, was the 70th birthday of our former colleague Professor A. N. Tucker—‘ Archie ’, as he is known to so many—and we are happy to mark this occasion by devoting the first few pages of this number of *African Language Studies* to a list of his many publications on a wide variety of topics in the field of African languages.

When Archie Tucker retired in 1971, he had been on the staff of the School for 39 years—longer than anyone else then on the staff—and Professor of East African Languages for 20 years. But his concern with African languages went back further still. Born and brought up in Cape Town, and with an M.A. in Phonetics from Cape Town University, he had already done linguistic research for that University in Basutoland and Transvaal before coming to London, where he gained his Ph.D. in Phonetics at University College, London, under Daniel Jones and Alice Werner, as well as a subsequent D.Lit. (also at U.C.L.); and in 1929–31 he had paid his first visit to the Sudan as Linguistic Expert for the non-Arabic languages there.

His first appointment at the School, in 1932, was as a Lecturer in the African Languages section of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, under Mr. (soon Professor) Lloyd-James. He was early associated with the Department of the Languages and Cultures of Africa, formed in 1933 and subsequently headed by Dr. Ida Ward. He has also been very closely associated with the International African Institute, being a member of its Executive Council from 1950.

His many visits to Africa over a period of 40 years, mainly to the Sudan, Uganda and Kenya, but latterly much more widely, have won him many friends there. Sometimes he went on study leave supported by the School, sometimes under the auspices of the International African Institute, sometimes on behalf of governments in Africa.

In the field, no opportunity for recording data was to be missed, even if the location and occasion were as accidental as an overnight stop or a social call. Elicitation was systematic, aided by prepared questionnaires; his notes were concise, and might sometimes appear cryptic, when for instance responses to a familiar sequence of questions were recorded without any key, but to him the interpretation has never been ambiguous. Away from the field, he has always preserved an alert interest in whatever was new, and been ready to comment with understanding.

No scholar could have succeeded in publishing in digested form all the data that Archie Tucker amassed, and it is fortunate indeed that he was a very ready collaborator. Above all his partnership with Margaret Bryan produced the very substantial works on the non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa, including the series on noun-classification in Kalenjin, which awaits completion with a paper

on Datog. But this teamwork was the manifestation of a more far-reaching aspect of his character, an extraordinary generosity of time and knowledge towards anyone whose work could flower however humbly with his dedicated nurturing. At a distance, his generosity has shown itself in a vast circulation of offprints, a ready communication of unpublished material, and contacts frequently renewed through travel, while on the personal level it has led to innumerable helpful acts of kindness to his friends and even to many who were bare acquaintances.

In his maturer years he retains a certain boyish humour, which harmonizes readily with his open friendliness, and emerges from time to time in print, as in the inclusion in 'Philology and Africa' (1957) of a 'demonstration' of the cognate relationship of Hausa and German.

The bibliography which follows¹ reflects not only his continuing interest in the phonetics of African languages and the part he played in developing the study of tone, his concern for the establishment of sound and adequate orthographies, and his interest in the study of place-names, but also his detailed investigation of the main features of scores of the languages—particularly the non-Bantu languages—of the Sudan, Uganda and Kenya, and their classification both on typological and on lexical criteria. It is not a final list. Even in retirement Archie Tucker's activity continues, and two monographs and several papers are currently in preparation. The editors wish him long-continued vitality, and trust that he will be able to contribute yet further to the studies he has already so enriched.

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¹ The editors record their indebtedness for assistance in the preparation of this bibliography to Dr. B. W. Andrzejewski, Miss Magdalena Slaviková, Miss Margaret Bryan and to Professor Tucker himself.

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D. W. ARNOTT

W. M. MANN

CONTEXTUAL SPECIALIZATION AND IDIOMATICITY : A CASE STUDY FROM SWAHILI*

By W. H. WHITELEY and Y. OMAR

In an illuminating article on the analysis of idioms, Weinreich (1969)¹ discusses in some detail the features which characterize idiomatic as opposed to non-idiomatic expressions and makes a number of proposals for incorporating idioms, within an overall transformational-generative framework, into the dictionary. In contrasting the semantic structure of an idiomatic as opposed to a non-idiomatic expression Weinreich makes the assumption that the ultimate constituents of constructions are morphemes, many of which are polysemous (p. 40). Sub-senses of such polysemous morphemes may be compared to establish whether they share semantic components, and the extent to which there is overlap and the degree to which contextual specialization occurs is an important factor in establishing the idiomaticity of an expression. Yet, polysemous morphemes commonly occur in constructions which are themselves not polysemous, a given sub-sense having been selected, as it were, by the context. Indeed, there appears to be some agreement among scholars working in this field that the highest degree of idiomaticity is achieved '... when the sub-senses of a morpheme are suppletive, when the selection is determined by a unique contextual morpheme, and when the contextual selection works both ways' (p. 41). In Weinreich's analysis 'phraseological units' are an important stage between 'free expressions' and 'idioms'. Phraseological units are expressions in which at least one constituent is polysemous, '... and in which a selection of a sub-sense is determined by the verbal context' (p. 42). Units that involve at least two polysemous constituents, and in which there is a reciprocal contextual selection of sub-senses is termed an 'idiom'. Expressions other than phraseological units are termed 'free expressions'.

In Swahili there has, for many years, been recognition of the fact that many verbs, for example, are polysemous, but there has been no attempt to relate polysemy to idiomaticity, nor any attempt to account systematically for the various sub-senses of a given polysemous item. For example, the Standard dictionary makes the following comment on the verb *-pat-*, '... the general meaning is "get" with a wide range of application to persons and things. Thus (1) get, obtain, find, catch, get hold of, seize, secure, attain; (2) get to be, get at, get to, reach, find means to effect a purpose, succeed in doing; (3) happen to, come upon; (4) be

* The late Professor Whiteley was working on this article at the time of his death, and this version was his second draft on which he had already made manuscript amendments. It appeared to be in so near a final form as to be well worth publishing as it stood. Some references and minor corrections have been added by Joan Maw.

¹ U. Weinreich, 'Problems in the analysis of idioms', in J. Puhvel (ed.), *Substance and Structure of Language*, University of California Press, 1969, pp. 23-81.

the victim of, suffer, experience . . .' and this is followed by a selection of phrases.² In the following examination of the verb we attempt to delineate its sub-senses in terms of contextual specialization with a view to establishing criteria for the recognition of phraseological units and idioms in Swahili. We do not, at this stage, set up an idiom list, of the type envisaged by Weinreich, though we are persuaded by his argument for setting up both a Simplex and a Complex dictionary. At this stage in Swahili lexicography it is perhaps most important to establish a technique for delineating sub-senses of polysemous items in some explicit way.

To this end a synopsis is presented, in Table I, of the main senses and sub-senses of *-pat-*, which have been established by reference to varying degrees of contextual specialization. From this it will be noted that while three major senses can be clearly delimited, the relationship between B and C is closer than that between A and B. Furthermore it is by no means easy to draw a line between

TABLE I: MAIN SENSES AND SUB-SENSES OF *-pat-*

Sense A (RECEIVE)

- (i) 'be recipient of' (without effort)
- (ii) 'receive' (against expectation or wish)
- (iii) 'acquire from' (inherited characteristics)
- (iv) 'acquire' (by accident)

Sense B (REACH)

- (i) 'reach vicinity of, approximate to' (place, value, time, weight)
- (ii) 'hit, hit off'
- (iii) 'master' (*inan*)
- (iiia) 'master' (*anim*)
- (iiib) 'be eclipsed'
- (iv) 'affect' (esp. of mental rather than physical pain)
- (iva) 'be in trouble'
- (v) 'reach in time'
- (va) 'get to do'
- (vb) 'manage to, get to'
- (vi) 'come across, happen on'

Sense C (ACQUIRE)

- (i) 'acquire' (through one's own efforts)
- (ii) 'agree to'

Sense D

- (i) 'be sharp'

² F. Johnson, *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, O.U.P., 1939.

some of the sub-senses. While one of us has the benefit of a native speaker's intuition, this is by no means an infallible guide, and the contextual specialization does not always point unequivocally in one direction.

In the earlier study of verbal classification (Whiteley, 1972), **-pat-** would have been listed as a D-verb, but the following examination undermines this to a considerable extent: not only is the occurrence of the object-prefix a contextual feature determining sub-sense, but the possibility for entailment in the passive is also drastically reduced, this again being a contextual feature determining sub-sense. While **-pat-** may be a somewhat extreme case in these respects, detailed examination of other verbs may well make necessary substantial modifications in the earlier classification.

DETAILED EXAMINATION OF SENSES AND SUB-SENSES

A (i) It is important to notice here that **-pat-** only occurs where what is being received (NP₂) is not a natural concomitant of life itself, thus ***mzee yule amepata mvi** 'that old man has got white hair' is unacceptable, **mzee yule ana mvi** being the appropriate form.

Two major patterns of this sub-sense occur :

A (ia) requires that NP₁ have the feature (+animate), and NP₂ those of (–animate, +abstract).

1. **sasa amepata usingizi**
Now he's got some sleep (of a sick man who had previously been restless)
2. **amepata habari/fununu**
He's got some news/'wind' of something
3. **hajapata fahamu bado**
He's not recovered consciousness yet
4. **amepata homa**
He's got fever. (This might also be included under *C (i)*, in the sense that he had put himself in danger of catching it by exposing himself unnecessarily.)
5. **amepata choo**
He's got a motion/defecated
6. **leo sipati nina kazi, kesho nikipata nitakuja**
Today I have no (time), I'm busy; tomorrow if I've time I'll come.
(There is some evidence that there are tense-restrictions operating here: in other tenses the pattern would be assumed to be that of *C (i)*, q.v.)
7. **haya maneno sikupata mwanzo wake**
These words I didn't get their beginning, i.e. I wasn't present

An exception to these examples appears to be :

8. **leo amepata barua**

Today he's got a letter

where NP₂ has the feature (-abstract), though it can be argued that it is not the letter so much as the contents (+abstract) that are being referred to. This, also, might be listed under *C (i)*.

Within the limits of the feature specification there appears to be no restraint on the nominals that may occur at NP₁ and NP₂ and the pattern may therefore be regarded as 'free'.

We think, however, that the term 'free' must be given a rather different gloss from that given to it by Weinreich, who accords the label 'free expression' to those constructions neither of whose constituents is polysemous. Yet this would mean that, in the case of an admittedly polysemous item like **-pat-**, all occurrences would have to be labelled as 'phraseological units' thus obscuring the interesting contrasts between free expressions and phraseological units. It would, therefore, seem preferable to recognize the sub-sense as the area within which such labels are to be applied. Some sub-senses may turn out to be wholly or largely characterized by free patterns, while others may provide exemplification for free patterns, phraseological units and idioms.

A quite different situation obtains in the following examples :

9. **amepata mwili**

He's put on weight (*lit.* 'he has got body')

10. **amepata kimo**

He's gained some height (*lit.* 'he has got height')

11. **amepata tafu na miundi**

He's fully grown (*lit.* 'he has got calves and shins'). This is commonly used as a rebuke by a parent, esp. mother against a neglectful son or daughter

In the case of the first two, a particular sub-sense of the nominal is a concomitant of co-occurrence with **-pat-** and seems to justify labelling as phraseological units: the third, on the other hand, appears to be closer to an idiom. The sub-senses of the constituents are suppletive, the selection of each is determined by the co-occurrence of the other, and the contextual selection works both ways. Yet, the reading of this example is not ambiguous in the way that 'red herring' is, and if ambiguity is accepted as characteristic of idioms, then this must be designated a 'pseudo-idiom'.

A (ib) Requires that NP₁ have the feature (-animate), and NP₂ those of (-abstract, +concrete). No object-prefix occurs :

12. **upande huu haukupata rangi**

This side didn't get any paint (of a wall that had been painted)

13. **kipande hiki hakikupata misumari**
This side didn't get any nails (of a recently made box)
14. **kikombe hiki hakikupata mwenziwe**
This cup didn't get one to go with it (*lit.* a companion)
15. **maji yamepata moto**
The water has got hot (source of heat outside the water)
16. **nyumba imepata mlango**
The house has got a door

The two final examples yield entailments :

- 15a. **moto umepata maji**
The fire has got water, i.e. the right kind of water to put it out
- 16a. **mlango umepata nyumba**
The door has a house, i.e. one fit for the door, or at long last

If one regards the kind of markedness that characterizes the above two NP₂'s as constituting a sub-sense, then these two may be regarded as phraseological units.

In general, however, within the limits of the feature specification there appear to be no restraints on the nominals that may appear at NP₁ and NP₂ and the pattern may be regarded as free.

There are, nevertheless, some units which might be regarded as idioms, thus :

17. **kweli, kisu kimepata mfupa !**
Really, that is the 'last straw' (*lit.* knife has got bone)

The criteria for idiomaticity are fulfilled, and, furthermore, not only can neither of the NP's be qualified, but there are restrictions on the tense/aspect markers. On the other hand it is certainly not ambiguous, and for the moment we will simply label it as a pseudo-idiom. It is worth noting, however, that like examples (15) and (16) this may be entailed :

- 17a. **mfupa umepata kisu**
The bone has got a knife (i.e. at long last a knife has been found that will cut it)

The marking of NP₂ is generally of the same type as that for examples (15a) and (16a) and it can be accorded the same status.

Two similar examples should be noted :

18. **pumu zimepata mkohozi**
Literally : lungs have got a cougher (used to designate the appropriateness or matching of stimulus and response, e.g. a fire excites the activities of those who like being busy ; a library attracts those who like using books, etc.)
19. **taruma limepata misumari**
Literally : the thwart has got nails (used of happiness in love, i.e. a Darby and Joan)

though in neither case do entailments occur.

Finally, two rather different examples :

20. **uzi umepata maji**

Literally : thread has got wet (used of trouble, especially of one in authority who loses support, or is intrigued against, etc.)

21. **ugonjwa umepata dawa**

Literally : illness has got medicine (used of someone getting what he wants)

In both of these cases a non-idiomatic reading is possible and they thus qualify as idioms, though it is noteworthy that the first is more usually read idiomatically while the second is more usually read non-idiomatically. The question of the ambiguity of idioms can usefully be raised here. It seems to be true from the evidence presented by Weinreich that the scale along which free expression/phraseological unit/idiom are located is marked by increasing contextual specialization. If this is accepted then the ambiguity, in principle, of idioms, reflects the possibility of a reading associated with less specialization, and thus the pseudo-idioms, without this possibility, seem to represent a point on the scale marked by specialization greater than that of idioms, since they have lost all flexibility. This, we suggest, should be marked by a term such as 'fixed formula' rather than by 'pseudo-idiom' which seems to imply that they have somewhere deviated from the true course of idioms.

Finally, there is one awkward example in which both NP₁ and NP₂ have the feature (+animate) yet which on semantic grounds clearly belongs here rather than in, say, *B (iii)*, which is also marked by similar features :

22. **sasa amepata mke**

Now he's got a real wife ! (or equally in ridicule)

This should be compared with 15a, 16a, 17a with which it may be grouped.

A (ii) A usage somewhat similar to that listed above, with both NP₁ and NP₂ having the feature (–animate). What is received here seems to be contrary to expectation or wish. While the examples recorded all occur in units comprising at least two verbs, and to this extent differ from those recorded for *A (i)*, I doubt whether this will turn out to be a necessary distinction :

23. **kikapu hakipati jua hapa kipeleke nje**

The basket doesn't get the sun here, take it outside

24. **sogeza kiti, chapata mvua**

Move the chair, it's getting wet

Within the limits of the feature specification there appear to be no restraints on the choice of nominals that may occur at NP₁ and NP₂, and the pattern may be regarded as free.

A (iii) Requires that both NP₁ and NP₂ have the feature (+animate) and an obligatory object-prefix occurs. There also occurs an obligatory NP₃ with the

feature (–animate), which is located either to the right of NP₂ or, in the event of the non-occurrence of NP₁, to the left of the verb :

25. **mtoto huyu amempata babake pua/mwendo/tabia**
This child gets his nose/disposition/habits from his father
26. **midomo amempata mamake**
His lips he gets from his mother

The series from which NP₃ is selected includes parts of the body, physical traits, and mental and temperamental characteristics. It seems sufficiently long to warrant regarding the pattern as free. To the extent that the object-prefix is obligatory and an NP₃ occurs, the pattern may be regarded as complementary to *A (i)*.

A (iv) Requires that NP₁ has the feature (–animate) while NP₂ has the feature (+animate). An object-prefix does not occur. In this respect, therefore, the pattern is complementary with *A (iii)*, and, to the extent that NP₂ has the feature (+animate), also with *A (i)* and *A (ii)* :

27. **hiki kisu changu kishapata mwenyewe ?**
Has this knife of mine by any chance found an owner? (i.e. has anyone picked it up?)
28. **je, kalamu yangu imekwisha pata mtu ?**
Well, has my pen found someone? (i.e. has anyone found my pen?)

Within the limits of the feature specification there appear to be no restraints on the choice of nominals that may occur at NP₁ and NP₂, and the pattern may be regarded as free.

B (i) NP₁ has the feature (±animate), while NP₂ has the feature (–animate) plus one of a number of other features, e.g. place, time, value, weight, height, etc. :

29. **nikipata Kisauni huyu ndiye**
If I get to Kisauni there he is. (The point is that I am not only going to K., it is simply on my way to somewhere else.)
30. **nyumba hii yapata pauni elfu kumi**
This house is worth approximately £10,000
31. **mtoto wako mkubwa ? ee, apata hivi**
Is your child tall? Yes, about so high
32. **kitambaa hiki chapata mikono miwili**
This cloth is about two feet long
33. **sukari hii yapata ratili mbili**
This sugar is roughly two pounds in weight
34. **ikipata saa mbili ashakuja**
By 8 p.m. he'll have arrived
35. **hujikuna ajipatapo**
He scratches himself where he can reach

36. **kulekeza si kufuma, kufuma sharti upate**
Aiming is not hitting, to hit you have to reach (*proverb*)
37. **hapati senti moja**

She's not worth a cent! (*lit.* 'she doesn't reach a cent in value')

Within the limits of the feature specification there appear to be no restraints on the choice of nominals that occur at NP₁ or NP₂, and the pattern may be regarded as free.

B (ii) Here NP₁ again has the feature (\pm animate) but NP₂ has the feature (+animate) and an obligatory object-prefix occurs. The sub-sense is one not merely of reaching the neighbourhood of, so much as reaching a particular spot and hence hitting, but there appears to be no connotation of causing harm, pain, etc., in contrast to *B (iv)*. Indeed, I think it could be shown that the NP₁'s in these two sub-senses are complementary, the one series being associated with impact which causes harm, while the other series is simply associated with impact, though it may be that in many contexts it is rather a figurative/non-figurative dimension which more accurately represents the difference:

38. **je, maji yalikutata? a'a, hayakunipata**
Well, did the water get you? No, it didn't (of someone who had carelessly thrown a bucket of water into the street)
39. **jiwe lilimpata**
The stone hit him
40. **akimwigiza humpata sawasawa**
If he imitates him he 'hits him off' perfectly
41. **fulani alimpata Aliy kwa kusoma**
So-and-so caught up with Aliy in reading
- 41a. **ni hodari lakini hampati Aliy**
He's clever but he's not up to Aliy

Within the limits of the feature specification there appear to be no restrictions on the choice of nominals that occur at NP₁ or NP₂, and the pattern may be regarded as free.

B (iii) NP₁ has the feature (+animate) and NP₂ the feature ($-$ animate), but this pattern is unique in that the obligatory object-prefix is associated with an inanimate noun:

42. **mtoto huyu haipati sura yake**
This child is not certain of his chapter (used of a child in Koran school who has not fully memorized the appropriate chapter)
43. **amezipata hesabu zote**
He's got all his sums right
44. **silipati neno hili**
I don't understand this word

Again, within the limits of the feature specification there appear to be no restrictions on the choice of nominals that occur at NP₁ or NP₂, and the pattern may be regarded as free.

B (iiia) While in semantic terms there appears to be little difference between this pattern and the foregoing, there is an important contextual difference, in that the animate referent nominal (NP₂) of the object-prefix does *not* occur, the only item occurring post-verbally being an adverbial, usually an intensifier :

45. **leo nimempata haswa**

Today I've really caught him (of someone who has long escaped retribution)

46. **mkewe mwerevu lakini sasa amempata**

His wife is cunning but now he's got her

Like the foregoing this appears to be a free pattern.

B (iiib) NP₁ has the feature (-animate), and the series is restricted to **jua** 'sun' and **mwezi** 'moon'. The extension **-w-** *passive* must occur in the verb :

47. **mwezi utapatwa kesho**

The moon will be eclipsed tomorrow

This pattern can thus be regarded as a phraseological unit.

B (iv) Here NP₁ has the feature (-animate) and NP₂ the feature (+animate) with an obligatory object-prefix :

48. **nilimpiga bakora tano lakini hazikumpata**

I gave him five strokes but they had no effect on him

49. **jua limempata haswa**

The sun has really knocked him out (the condition must be such as to incapacitate him)

50. **nilimwambia maneno yakampata kwelikweli**

I told him the message (*lit.* words) and the words really sank in

51. **jambo hili limenipata**

This matter is upsetting me (i.e. making me worry, lose sleep, etc.)

52. **homa imenipata kwelikweli**

The fever has really laid me low.—Cf. ex. 4 under *Sense A (i)*.

Within the limits of the feature specification there appears to be no restriction on the nominals that may occur at NP₁ and NP₂, and the pattern may therefore be regarded as free.

B (iva) NP₁ has the feature (+animate), an NP₂ does not occur, and the **-w-** extension must occur in the verb (cf. *B (iiib)* above). Additionally there appear to be restrictions on the range of tense/aspect markers which occur :

53. **mtu huyu amepatwa**

This chap is in real trouble! (The inference always appears to be that the trouble is of a kind that cannot easily be overcome, e.g. bankruptcy, some offence in law, personal trouble, etc.)

While there are no restrictions on the series of nominals which can occur at NP₁, it seems justifiable to regard the pattern as a phraseological unit in respect of the restrictions on NP₂ and of the tense/aspect markers of the verb, and of the *-w*-extension.

B (v) Both NP₁ and NP₂ have the feature (+animate), while NP₃ has the feature (–animate). In contrast to *A (iii)*, NP₃ occurs immediately to the right of the verb:

54. **mtoto alimpata macho maiti**

The child managed to close his (father's) eyes (of the practice whereby the eyes of a dead person must be closed as soon after death as possible before *rigor mortis* sets in)

There appears to be no restriction on the nominals which can occur at NP₁ but NP₃ must be **macho** 'eyes' and NP₂ must be **maiti** 'corpse'.

B (va) Since the form of the verb is here restricted to the imperative, no NP₁ occurs, nor, in this case, has an NP₂ been recorded other than the nomino-verbal:

55. **pata upesi nyumba yateketea**

Look out, the house is burning

56. **pata kuiwacha upesi**

Just leave it (a pen) alone!

If one takes the imperative as the significant surface feature then the above examples merit separate listing as here: if, on the other hand, the following nomino-verbal is regarded as the more significant feature, then they should perhaps be listed under *B (vb)* below.

B (vb) NP₁ has the feature (±animate) while NP₂ is restricted to nomino-verbals:

57. **sogeza kiti kipate kukaa vizuri**

Move the chair so that it stands properly

58. **fungua mlango kiti kipate kuingia**

Open the door so that the chair can get in

59. **je, umepata kuona kitu kama hicho?**

Well, have you ever seen anything like this?

60. **sipati kusema**

I don't get a chance to speak (i.e. someone else keeps talking).—Cf. ex. 6.

Within the limits of the feature specification there appear to be no restrictions on the nominals that can occur at NP₁ or NP₂ and the pattern can be regarded as free.

C (i) Here NP₁ has the feature (+animate) and NP₂ (–animate). No object-prefix occurs.

- 61. **Watu wengi hawajapata kazi**
Many people haven't yet got work
- 62. **Aliy amepata faida kubwa**
Aliy has made a big profit
- 63. **mtoto wangu amepata cheo kikubwa**
My child has gained high status
- 64. **pato liko lakini wewe hupati**
There's profit to be had but you're not getting any
- 65. **waliambiwa waachane kwa sababu wakati wa kuoana hawakupata saa**
They were told to separate because when they got married they didn't get a propitious time (i.e. the local astrologer didn't pick a ' lucky ' time for them and things went wrong for them)
- 66. **hakupata jambo**
He didn't get anything

Under certain circumstances an object-prefix occurs, in which case object preposing occurs :

- 61a. **kazi nimeipata mimi**
The job (some particular one) *I* got
- 63a. **cheo cha President amekipata**
The post of President, *X* got

Within the limits of the feature specification there appears to be no restriction on the choice of nominal at NP₁ or NP₂ and the pattern may be regarded as free.

C (ii) Both NP₁ and NP₂ have the feature (+animate) :

- 67. **usipate mtu mwingine akakudanganya**
Don't agree to anyone else, he'll deceive you

There is insufficient evidence at the moment to determine the status of this pattern.

D (i) Here, NP₁ has the feature (–animate, +sharpness—in both a literal or figurative sense). NP₂ does not occur :

- 68. **kisi hiki chapata**
This knife is sharp
- 69. **ulimi wake wapata**
She has a sharp tongue

This pattern meets the requirements for a phraseological unit.

CONCLUSIONS

By utilizing a rather restricted number of contextual features (see Table II) it is possible to provide a generally unambiguous account of the various sub-senses of this quite complex verb. There are, of course, some unresolved problems :

TABLE II: FEATURES OF CONTEXTUAL SPECIALIZATION

<i>Sub-sense</i>	<i>NP₁</i>	<i>NP₂</i>	<i>NP₃</i>	<i>op</i>	<i>Other features</i>	<i>Type of pattern</i>
<i>A (ia)</i>	+	-	x	±	NP ₂ : (+abstract)	Free, PU, FF
<i>(ib)</i>	-	-	x	-	NP ₂ : (+concrete)	Free, I, FF
	(+)	(+)	x	-		Free)
<i>(ii)</i>	-	-	x	-	di-verbal context	Free
<i>(iii)</i>	+	+	+	+		Free
<i>(iv)</i>	-	+	x	-		Free
<i>B (i)</i>	±	-	x	-	NP ₂ : (+length/value/place, etc.)	Free
<i>(ii)</i>	±	+	x	+		Free
<i>(iii)</i>	+	-	x	+		Free
<i>(iiia)</i>	+	∅	x	+		Free
<i>(iiib)</i>	-	∅	x	-	V: (-w- extension)	PU
<i>(iv)</i>	-	∅	x	+		Free
<i>(iva)</i>	+	∅	x	-	V: (-w- extension)	PU
<i>(v)</i>	+	+	+	+		PU (?)
<i>(va)</i>	∅	-	x	-	NP ₂ : (Cl. 15)	Free
<i>(vb)</i>	-	-	x	-	NP ₂ : (Cl. 15)	Free
<i>C (i)</i>	+	-	x	±		Free
<i>D (i)</i>	-	∅	∅	-	NP ₁ : (+sharpness)	PU

The first three columns are marked for animacy/inanimacy. x indicates not recorded; ∅ indicates not acceptable. *op* (object-prefix) is marked for occurrence/non-occurrence. A bracketed item () indicates doubtful status in that sub-sense. PU: Phraseological Unit; FF: Fixed Formula; I: Idiom.

if the selected features were strictly used as the criteria for delimiting sub-senses, the first pattern of *A (i)* and *C (i)* would need to be conflated. For example, the distinction between:

2. **Ampata habari**

He got news

62. **(Aliy) ampata faida kubwa**

Aliy made a big profit

lies primarily not in any contextual features as at present delimited, but rather in the native speaker's intuition that 'news' is something that one usually receives, while 'profit' is something one usually goes out and acquires. While this intuition is undoubtedly sustained by implicit contextual features these have not so far been made explicit, though it is evident that the boundaries between these two sub-senses may sometimes be blurred, e.g. exx. 4 and 6. The feature (+abstract) as listed for *A (ia)* moves some way towards specifying the contextual features, and this is reinforced by the fact that those nominals which can occur as NP₂ in *C (i)* may be qualified by *gani* 'what kind of?', thus: *kazi gani* 'what kind of work?', *cheo gani* 'what kind of status?', in contrast to those which occur in *A (ia)* which will not accept such qualification.

The two exceptions to this are precisely those nominals of exx. 4 and 6, e.g. **habari** and **homa** whose status is ambiguous.

A similar problem is raised by example 22, which is allocated separate status on semantic grounds, cf. exx. 15a–17a. It seems likely that further work will resolve this anomaly.

This apart, contextual specialization brings a much needed measure of order into the delimitation of sub-senses of this polysemous item. It remains to extend the analysis to other verbs, as a preliminary to setting up an idiom and fixed formula list.

THE VENERATION OF SUFI SAINTS AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ORAL LITERATURE OF THE SOMALI PEOPLE AND ON THEIR LITERATURE IN ARABIC

By B. W. ANDRZEJEWSKI

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate how the veneration of saints has contributed to the enrichment of Somali oral literature¹ and Somali literature written in Arabic.² In order to present my main theme in its proper perspective, I shall first give a brief account of the cult itself; it can be brief since the subject has been given considerable attention in the literature on Somali culture, and a reader who requires detailed information will find it in Cerulli 1923 and 1936, Lewis 1955, 1955-56, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1966 and 1969, and Trimmingham 1952. These works not only describe the cult but place it in its historical setting; moreover, some of them provide extensive bibliographical references, especially Lewis 1955.

The veneration of saints forms part of Somali life to such an extent that it could not escape the notice of even a casual observer. Tombs of men reputed for their sanctity and thaumaturgic powers are scattered throughout the Somali-speaking territories³ and at annual commemoration feasts they draw huge crowds of pilgrims who come to sing hymns and pray and to meet other devotees in a spirit of friendship and conviviality. Some shrines attract pilgrims only from the immediate neighbourhood, but others enjoy a nationwide reputation which transcends regional divisions, and they become scenes of communal festivities on such a scale that they sometimes create problems with food and water supplies as well as with public health.

Apart from annual pilgrimages, individuals make private visits to shrines to present their petitions or to express their gratitude for favours received. In some shrines it is customary for those who seek the intercession of the saints to attach a small piece of cloth, sometimes torn from their own garments, to the railing round the tomb, as a pledge that if their prayers are granted they will perform some pious deed, which usually consists of some offering to the guardians of the shrine

¹ For a bibliography see Johnson 1969 and 1971, to be further supplemented in Johnson 1974 and 1973, where the location of the main unpublished collections is also given. For an extensive and penetrating account of what 'oral literature' is, see Finnegan 1970, and for its relation to written literature, Finnegan 1973.

² For an account of this literature see Cerulli 1923, 1936 and 1938; a supplementary bibliography can be found in Johnson 1969. Note that only a small part of this literature has been published, but the number of MSS in private collections appears to be very large indeed. The largest collection outside Somalia is that of Professor I. M. Lewis, University of London.

³ For a map showing the area inhabited by Somalis see Lewis 1955.

or to the poor, in cash or kind. The size of the gift depends on the means of the person who makes the vow and the urgency of his need: it may vary from a pot of ghee in the case of a very poor person to an equivalent of fifty pounds in cash on occasion among the well-to-do.

The petitions, both during private visits and the annual pilgrimage, are normally made silently, but some people disclose to their friends and relatives the nature of their petitions and their offerings, especially when there is a positive outcome. The requests made to the saints are concerned with a vast range of human misfortunes, hopes and ambitions. Some pray for recovery from illness, for cure of sterility or impotence, relief in poverty or financial ruin, success in livestock rearing, agriculture or business. Before the Revolution of 1969, it was by no means rare for candidates for seats in the National Assembly to visit the shrines during pre-election periods.

It is an important aspect of the veneration of saints in Somali society that, although it functions within the framework of the worldwide Sufi movement,⁴ it shows a high degree of local patriotism. Some of the great Arab Sufi saints are very much venerated by Somalis, but these are outnumbered by local saints who attract even more popular affection. The following Somali legend illustrates the intensity of this local patriotism. It concerns Sheikh Cabdulqaadir Jiilaani of Baghdad, one of the most highly venerated foreign saints among Somalis,⁵ and Sheikh Xuseen of Bale, whose cult is very widespread not only among Somalis but also among Gallas and their Muslim neighbours in Ethiopia.⁶

'While they were travelling to Arussi the sun became hot. It became very hot and the two sheikhs suffered great hardship; then God helped them by sending a cloud which shaded them from the sun.

"Xuseen, this miracle-working gift, through which we were given the cloud, to which of us does it belong?" said Cabdulqaadir.

"Do you think it belongs to you?" said Xuseen of Bale.

"I think it belongs to me."

⁴ See Trimmingham 1952 and 1971.

⁵ 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (A.D. 1077–1166), the founder of the Qaadiiriya (*Qādiriyya*) Sufi Order. Note that all personal names in translations both from Somali and from Arabic are given in their Somali form, in order to avoid divergences in the spelling of identical names. In accordance with Somali usage the word *ibn* or *bin* 'son [of]' is omitted in the translation of names from the Arabic original. The symbols of transcription are the same as in the National Orthography introduced in Somalia in 1972. The salient features of this orthography are that the length of vowels is shown by the doubling of letters and that the letters *c* and *x* represent the pharyngeal voiced and voiceless fricatives respectively (which correspond to the Arabic *ع* and *ح*).

⁶ Sheikh Xuseen probably lived between the 12th and the 14th centuries. For further information see Andrzejewski 1972 and 1974, and Cerulli 1931, 1933, 1938 and 1971. Legends concerning him and texts of sermons attributed to him are recorded in Arabic in *AN*. Some genealogical information is found in *AA* on p. 287. For letter codes, such as *AA*, *AN*, *OP*., etc., see *References*.

“Do you want to make sure? Or shall we leave it?”

“Let’s make sure.”

“All right! Let’s part: the cloud will then remain with that one of us whose proof [of sanctity] and miracle-working gifts are greater.”

They parted. Then the cloud continued with Sheikh Xuseen of Bale. Cabdulqaadir, after he got scorched by the sun, went back to Xuseen and the cloud.’ (*OP.I*)

The popularity of the local saints is also connected with the fact that they are regarded as protectors against foreign invasion. For example, at the shrine of Sheikh Garweyne of Gendershe,⁷ a settlement on the coast in the Lower Shabeelle Region of Somalia, there are rocks which are, according to a legend, petrified Portuguese soldiers. At the time of the landing the sheikh is said to have risen from his grave and to have wrought this transformation on the enemy. Similarly, an Arabic hagiography (*AU.I*, I, p. 15) of Sheikh Uweys⁸ reports that when Amharas came to Balcad,⁹ they were routed when he, together with the Prophet Muhammad, Cabdulqaadir Jiilaani and Sheikh Suufi¹⁰ appeared there.

The shrines of the local saints fulfil an important role as a consoling substitute for the universal Muslim pilgrimage, for those who cannot afford to travel so far. Some local shrines have such a high reputation that those who visit them twice, or even once, believe themselves to have received spiritual benefits equivalent to those of the prescribed pilgrimage.

In spite of all that has been said, the veneration of saints is sometimes a target for disguised or open attacks by sceptics who regard it as a cover used by men of religion, and especially by the guardians of the tombs, for obtaining gifts from the pilgrims and for creating an aura of supernatural power around themselves. Among these critics of the cult one finds most frequently, but not exclusively, people who have been engaged in some urban occupation or who have travelled abroad, and in recent decades, members of the new *élite* produced by modern

⁷ Also known as Aw Garween. See Cerulli 1957, pp. 58, 96 and 163, where the spellings used are Au Garwēn, Gondārša, Gonderša and Gonderscia. It is uncertain when this sheikh lived.

⁸ Sheikh Uweys (or Awees) was born in 1846/7 and died in 1909. He founded the local branch of the Qaadiriya Order in Somalia. For information about this great religious leader and poet see Cerulli 1923 and 1936 and Martin 1969. Two collections of hagiographical legends about him have been published in Arabic in *AU.I*, vol. I, and *AU.2*, and one Somali legend about him has been translated into English in Andrzejewski 1964b. His Arabic poems are found in *AU.I*, *AU.2* and *UM* and his Somali poems in Cerulli 1964, pp. 117–39 and Moreno 1955, pp. 365–6.

⁹ A town in the Middle Shabeelle Region of Somalia; the name is spelt as Balad on Italian maps.

¹⁰ Sheikh Cabdurraaxmaan Sheikh Cabdalla Shaashi, popularly known as Sheikh Suufi, died in 1904 and is regarded as the protector saint of Mogadishu. For further information about him see Cerulli 1923 and 1936. He composed religious poems in Arabic, some of which have been published in *AY* and *UM*.

education at home and abroad. Another source of attacks are men of religion, and some laymen, who are convinced on doctrinal grounds that the veneration of saints is not compatible with Islamic monotheism.¹¹

Furthermore, in the Somali Democratic Republic, where the majority of Somalis live, the cult of saints has been regarded with growing disfavour since the Revolution of 21st October 1969, on the grounds that it is, in its present form, incompatible with progress and wasteful from the economic point of view. As a result the number of pilgrims has substantially fallen at some of the shrines.

ORAL LEGENDS

For a student of Somali culture one of the most interesting aspects of the veneration of saints is its verbal expression in oral literature. Here we see that the cult has acted as an intellectual and emotional stimulus to creativity, and in fact among Somali prose narratives legends of the saints occupy a major position, perhaps even exceeding, in their number and variety, accounts of the lives and deeds of secular prominent men.

Somali oral legends about saints have a wide circulation among the public and are sometimes brought into ordinary conversation, especially when people discuss some difficult or unusual situation or reminisce about similar things in the past. It is often clear from such contexts that the belief in the intercession of the saints brings an element of hope and optimism to some otherwise grim realities of life. A particularly favoured time for the narration of these legends is the pilgrimage to the shrine of a saint: during the journey and at the time of the actual festivities people disseminate the legends, and the guardians of the shrine, the kinsmen of the saint and those devotees who claim that their petitions have been granted are among the most zealous narrators. Since the pilgrims often come from quite distant places they carry the legends in their minds and spread them on the way back and at home on their return.

There are no formal recitals of these narratives in the sense that no special meetings are convened for that purpose. They are narrated in *ad hoc* situations, round the evening fires in the interior, at parties in private houses in towns, during the social, informal parts of religious meetings and at the traditional theological schools consisting of groups of students who surround an itinerant or settled teacher of Muslim theology and law.¹²

¹¹ In his forthcoming book, *Muslim brotherhoods in 19th century Africa* (Cambridge University Press), Professor B. G. Martin of the University of Indiana throws new light on the controversy about the intercession of saints during the Somali jihad of 1899–1920, using primary sources not examined previously by historians. I limit myself here to drawing the attention of readers to this important work.

¹² For information about the life of students in such schools see Andrzejewski and Galaal 1966.

The informality of their performance is paralleled by the looseness of their structure and the absence of any formulaic features. Their style may differ slightly from speaker to speaker but they all seem to share the same main characteristics: conciseness and lack of stylistic ornamentation. In this respect they resemble the vast majority of Somali prose narratives and stand in sharp contrast with the flamboyant imagery and involved and highly allusive diction of Somali alliterative poetry.

Like the prose narratives about secular men of prominence, legends about the saints are episodic in the sense that they form self-contained, transposable units which can be strung into a sequence, and they never attempt to cover the whole span of life of a particular saint in chronological order.

The simplicity of their style is richly compensated by a very wide range of themes; in the remaining part of this section I shall endeavour to illustrate the most typical themes by concrete examples taken from the corpus of legends which I have collected.¹³

Among the most popular hagiographic themes is a saint's intercession during a drought, which is not surprising in view of the aridity of much of the territory inhabited by Somalis. The following oral legend concerns Sheikh Nuur Maxammed, popularly known as Sheikh Nuur Aw Tableh, who died some time before the middle of this century and is buried in Hargeisa. While he was staying in Wardheer with his entourage of theological students, a severe drought occurred and caused great suffering to the pastoralists of the whole region. The narrator of the legend states:

'Then it happened—and I was told about this by those who were present and witnessed it, and are still alive—that people came to him and said, "The country is laid waste and most of the people have moved out of it. Unless rain comes to the area round Wardheer Town either tomorrow or the day after, we shall move out, all the rest of us. People will disperse and abandon you and your students in this place and the land will become desolate. God accepts your prayers so pray to God to give us rain!"

He prayed to God and said, "Oh God-Who-Lack-Nothing, since you lack nothing, give us something that is yours!" And in the same hour as these words were spoken tiny little clouds appeared above, here and there. Immediately raindrops fell and when raindrops fell lightning flashed and thunder resounded. And upon the environs of Wardheer and the whole region where the people with whom he was staying were encamped, God milked moderate rain which did no harm either to the people or the animals.' (*OP.2a*)

In the above legend Sheikh Nuur and his students were themselves threatened

¹³ For the sources, which are referred to by code letters *OP* (Oral Performance), see *References: 2. Unpublished materials.*

with starvation if the pastoralists on whom they depended for their support abandoned them. Completely disinterested compassion is prized even more in a Sufi saint and provides a frequent theme. In the following legend Sheikh Cali Maye, who died in 1917¹⁴ and is buried in Merca, does not hesitate to come to the aid of people in distress, even during prayers :

‘ It happened that while he was acting as an imam to a large congregation assembled for prayers, in the midst of the service he stretched out his leg and lifted it like that [*Narrator makes gesture*]. When people came out of the service, when they were dispersing, a question was put to him ; it was put to him by the ulema or sheikhs, in front of the congregation.

“ Sheikh Cali Maye, why did you stretch and lift your leg ? ”

“ A pot in which some very poor people were cooking millet for themselves tipped over, with the millet in it. They cried out, ‘ Sheikh Cali Maye ! ’. So I caught the pot with my leg and set it right again.”

Then he tucked up his clothes and bared his leg. The leg had been scalded and had blisters on it.’ (*OP.3a*)

Similar in its benevolence, and thaumaturgically no less spectacular, but not involving personal suffering to the saint, is this story about Sheikh Uweys.

‘ Sheikh Uweys was a man full of wonders. Once, about seven hundred men who were his students became very hungry. When they became hungry they came to the sheikh. “ We are hungry, what shall we eat ? ” they said.

“ If God says so, tonight you will eat to satiety.” Thus spoke the sheikh. When the sun set, he came upon numerous flies which had settled there for the night. He prayed to God, “ My people are very hungry. I want these flies to be turned into sheep and goats for me ! ”

And God turned the flies into sheep and goats. Half of them were slaughtered that night, and the many people who had no animals before then, ate to satiety on that night.’ (*OP.4a*)

In addition to the legends where the main theme is miraculous help in a situation of thirst and hunger, there is a large number of legends concerned with rescue from grave danger, or even resuscitation of people who have been killed. In a nation with a long tradition of seafaring it is not surprising that shipwrecks loom large among the specific themes. The following legend is about Sheikh Cali-Guure who lived in Jigjiga region and died some hundred and eighty years ago. When he was old and weaksighted three attendants used to take him on his travels on a mare.

‘ During the journey to a certain locality the sheikh said, “ Put me down on the ground.” They put him down. Then he said, “ Rest in the shade under that tree over there. I shall call you.” They rested under the tree. Afterwards they

¹⁴ For information about this sheikh see Cerulli 1923 and 1938.

could not find him in the place where he had been, or in any other place whatsoever where he might have gone. They waited for him some time, anxious, but soon they saw the sheikh appearing again in the same place. They went to him and he called them [to come].

Then someone said, "Grandfather, Sheikh Cali, where have you been?"

"A sailing dhow with some unfortunate Muslims on board got into difficulties at sea. One of them prayed to God and said, 'Mend for us the part of the ship which is broken through the blessing of your saints!' And this reached my ears. By the power of God I was transported there and I stuck a board in the place where the ship had a hole. In this way I repaired it and prevented it from breaking up and sinking with the people on board." (OP.2b)

Saints are also believed to come speedily to the rescue of devotees in danger on the roads. Here is an account taken from a sequence of legends concerning Sheikh Nuur Maxammed mentioned earlier in this article.

'There was yet another thing I was told about. It was told to me by the man who actually saw the event and who had his petition granted :

"I was one of the Sheikh's disciples," he said, "and used to be a lorry-driver. We were in two different places, far away from one another, at that time. While I was driving the lorry, another lorry, which was huge, came straight towards me, and neither of us moved off the road. I was terrified that the other big lorry would crash into the small lorry I was driving and it would be smashed to pieces."

"The brakes have become loose in that big lorry! Oh God," I said, "protect us against that lorry through the miraculous powers of Sheikh Nuur!" Suddenly the approaching lorry was stopped by a long hand, which was the hand of the Sheikh. The lorry in which the brakes had loosened did not pass that point. I could just recognize that it was the hand of the Sheikh, which I knew." (OP.2c)

The intercession of saints is frequently invoked against dangers from wild animals, and in this story Sheikh Xuseen of Bale deals with a situation all too common in the nomadic interior: a child devoured by a hyena.

'It is said that a hyena ate a boy who was the only son of a woman. "Sheikh Xuseen," she said, "a hyena has eaten my small boy, the only child I had. What shall I do?"

"Wait, I shall pray to God for you!"

Then the Sheikh, as he went into spiritual ecstasy, prayed to God and said: "Oh God, I pray to you that you may take the boy out of the hyena's belly—this is not difficult for you—and that the boy may be alive and walk and go to his bed tonight!"

After God had taken him out of the hyena's belly, the woman saw the boy just sleeping by her side in the morning, created the same as he was before, but even more handsome, [alive] and walking.

This was something that did happen.' (*OP.2d*)

So far, all the legends used here as illustrations of commonly occurring themes deal with the benevolence of the saints. Frequently the legends have a darker side and describe how punishment is meted out to those who show meanness or disrespect to a saint. In this story a saint from Upper Juba, Sheikh Abdirrahmaan binu Haashin,¹⁶ a disciple of Sheikh Uweys, encounters first a rich miser and then a generous pauper. It begins with general praises of the sheikh.

'He was a man full of wonders: when he was angry he used to turn domestic animals into beasts of prey; during drought he used to turn river water into milk for people; he used to turn trees into a camel for the man who had none; the man who drank his spittle used to learn sacred knowledge very well. His mother was not a human being, she was a beast of prey and he himself used to ride on lions. All these wonders were his.

Once, while he was travelling he came to a man who had a lot of money: "Give me some of this money, man, as a gift to a man of religion!" The man refused and the sheikh went away.

When the man who had a lot of money opened the box to check the money, it had turned into scorpions. He wept then, and ran after the sheikh, and when he reached him he caught him by the beard: "Forgive me, the money which I refused you has turned into wild creatures! I want you to come back with me and go to my household and say a prayer for me. I want you to turn the money which has become wild creatures into what it was before!" The sheikh became angry and the man turned into a devil.

The sheikh departed and went to the household of a man who of all livestock had only two cows: "Give me one of these two cows!" the sheikh said. The man gave the sheikh a cow. He blessed him, "You have only one cow now but after ten nights it will be seen that it will turn into fifty!" The sheikh departed and took his cow with him. After he had left the household he turned the cow into a horse, and mounting it he rode on it.

After ten nights the man's only cow turned into fifty, because the sheikh had blessed it. The man also had no children and the sheikh blessed him, so that later his wife bore him four boys.' (*OP.4b*)

In some legends the evildoer responds to the reproof of the saint and not only is forgiven but is rewarded for his change of heart. The following story is about Xaaji Sigad, who was a poet and lived in the Jigjiga region; he died at an advanced age some thirty years ago. He had, like other prominent men of religion, an entourage of students of Islamic theology and law who accompanied him on his travels.

¹⁶ For another legend concerning the miraculous powers of this sheikh see Andrzejewski 1964b.

‘ Once a man gathered them together and said : “ I shall make coffee for you. I shall make for you a big pan of coffee.” But he did not put any sugar into it, and offered them a small hut, not big at all, to rest in. When he called them—and they were very hungry—they thought he was going to give them something substantial. The hot coffee was served to them and most of it was the water in which it was cooked, with just a little milk. The sheikh tasted it and said :

“ Even if you did bring a pot full of water, confound you,
 And put ulema more formidable than gunpowder into a tiny hovel
 As if they were beasts of prey—men as effective as blacksmith’s tongs—
 If you want a blessing, sweeten the coffee for us
 Or else we shall depart from you—swill down this soup of yours yourself!
 This I declare—and one tells no lies—you are a nincompoop ! ”

The man recollected himself at once and sweetened the coffee. “ I can see that you are hungry,” he said. “ I have only a small ox, and all the other animals have been sent to an outer grazing camp. The small ox won’t be sufficient for you. It hasn’t much fat or much meat, since it is a lean beast. Shall I slaughter it for you ? ”

[The sheikh] then said, “ Just slaughter it and you will see something different ! ” The man slaughtered the ox. He cut it up. Then the ox was transformed into something so huge that not enough people could be found to finish its meat or eat its fat or come to the end of it.’ (*OP.2e*)

The power of effective cursing and blessing which is attributed to the saints is often said to be put to a socially beneficial use, particularly in preventing or stopping internecine warfare. This belief in fact gives particular support to the peace-making role of men of religion in general. In this extract from a sequence of legends, Sheikh Cali-Guure is praised as a peacemaker :

‘ Whenever he was afraid that two clans would fight one another or when people told him that two Somali clans were actually fighting, he used to send either his ablution vessel or his rosary to them ; he would hand it to his students and say : “ Stand in front of each clan with it and say : ‘ Here is the rosary of Sheikh Cali-Guure ! If you go and attack those other Muslim people, may God confound you ! If you refrain, may God keep you safe ! ’ ” They used to take it to the other clan. Once his ablution vessel or his rosary was seen there was no clan that would make preparations for war. They used to stop at that point.’ (*OP.2f*)

All the themes mentioned so far have been concerned with practical goals, but themes devoted to the sphere of religion are no less common. Consider, for example, the aid from Sheikh Nuur Maxammed said to have been received by inhabitants of a certain village while they were building a mosque :

‘ Another thing that happened was that the sheikh gathered many people

together in a certain place. "We are building a mosque," he said, "let people bring a lot of wealth."

"The villages have now moved away," people said, "but start building the mosque, and we shall soon pay for it, whatever the expense may be. Start building it first!"

It was reported that somewhere there were long beams piled up in a place, which no one was able to take away; they were long and could not be transported by camels or carried [even] by ten men for each beam.

"I shall have a look at the beams," the sheikh said. He saw the beams piled up in the place, and turning in the direction of Mecca, he recited a prayer: "Oh God," he said, "give me workmen who would pick up these beams in a lorry!"

Then suddenly a lorry of the old type which used to be called "Trentaquattro"¹⁶ with its engine humming, and with a crew of workmen, arrived and stopped there. No one knew where they came from.

"Did you call us, sheikh?"

"Yes."

They picked up the beams and loaded them on to the lorry. When they had brought them near the mosque he then told them to go. After the lorry moved away, no engine noise was heard, nor did anyone discover afterwards what places it might have passed.

From this the people realized that it was by a miraculous power that something like that had occurred.' (*OP.2g*)

Within the religious sphere falls the miraculous acquisition of the Arabic language, an essential requisite for a man of religion. This theme occurs quite frequently and is illustrated here by the story describing how Sheikh Cali Maye bestowed upon a young disciple the gift of the Arabic language. The boy was to become later the celebrated Xaaji Yuusuf whose shrine is situated at Wardhügley in Mogadishu.

'Sheikh Cali Maye said: "Let a small boy whose name is Yuusuf and who belongs to . . . clan¹⁷ and who is an orphan be brought to me!"

"Sheikh Cali Maye, what have you seen concerning him?" he was asked.

"I have seen his spiritual radiance¹⁸ in a dream," he said.

¹⁶ A popular name for a type of heavy Italian lorry.

¹⁷ The use of clan names is regarded as contrary to the interests of national unity in the Somali Democratic Republic and in deference to this I have omitted the name of the clan to which Xaaji Yuusuf belonged.

¹⁸ I translated the Somali word *nuur*, a borrowing from Arabic, as 'spiritual radiance'. This word, in religious contexts, refers to the light believed to emanate from the living or dead body of a saint. This is a Sufi concept (see Trimmingham 1971) and there are several examples of it in Somali hagiographical legends.

An orphan boy of . . . clan, called Yuusuf, was brought to him. "It is not this one," he said.

"How do you know?"

"When you bring the right one you will know! Bring me the right boy! Let him be found quickly!"

People looked for him, found him and brought him [to the sheikh] when he was still small. The sheikh rushed towards him, kissed him on one side then on the other, and lifted him up.

"This is the man I wanted!" he said. "Leave him, you have no further responsibility for him, he will be in my care!"

He took him and led him to the school. Then he was taught the Koran. After Xaaji Yuusuf had been learning the Koran for only one day, the next morning Sheikh Cali Maye called him: "Read these books aloud to the pupils!" he said to him.

"Father, I don't know anything!"

"God willing, you will know." Then he spat on him and slapped him on the top of his head, and he began reading the books.' (OP.3b)

Signs of sanctity shown already in childhood or even before birth are a frequent theme in the legends. This story concerns Xaaji Maxammed Nuur, a learned sheikh who lived in the Harar province and died some fifty years ago. To understand it the reader has to bear in mind two facts: firstly, in the old days, most books were handwritten in a type of charcoal ink which would easily smudge, so that it was a constant preoccupation of men of religion and their students to preserve the books against rain or dirt; and secondly, in nomadic households various objects are greased to protect them against the dryness of the air. When the events described in the story took place the boy was away at the time and the miracle had the double purpose of protecting a holy book and saving distress to the boy's pious but simple mother.

'When the sheikh was a young boy learning the Koran, he had a copy of it [of his own] and his mother took the book and opened it. She saw that the book contained white, desiccated pages. "Oh God," she said, "this book is like an orphan, it has no one to grease it and to relieve its dryness!" She made some ghee and put the book into it. And then by the miraculous powers [of the boy] nothing happened to it; the paper of the book just became greasy, the book got saturated with ghee but the grease did not spoil its meaning, since the letters were not defaced.' (OP.2h)

Among miraculous gifts attributed to the saints is power over the jinns, and it enters into many themes of the legends. The following account concerns the son of the same saint, Sheikh Muxummed Amiin:

'He was a man who had knowledge of jurisprudence, the interpretation of the

Koran, the Traditions, Sufi studies and the science by means of which one can communicate with the jinns—in fact all that! He was taught it by God. From every side [people came and] whatever book they came to him with he used to expound it to them ¹⁹ and as for his students, many and many are now sheikhs and are still alive.

When books were being read ²⁰ and the students were sitting arranged in a circle, he used to say, “Make a part of the circle empty, since there is a group of jinns who will be joining us in the reading.” As for the jinns they were visible to him and he used to see them. He was a complete jinn-seer. He used to cure people if they were possessed or assaulted by jinns. He used to provide remedies against them and God taught him that.

Among his actions which were reliably reported was this: When he prayed, or gave a party or entertained people or read to them books on religion, he used to say, “Put here the share of food for that group of my students who are jinns.” Then after he had slaughtered one or two sheep or goats he used to spread them on the grass and asked people to leave the place. After a short while they would examine the place: there was nothing whatsoever to be seen there, no blood, no skin. And I have seen the men who saw the people [who witnessed] such things. Or he used to put a dish of ghee there and then whatever was in it could no longer be found in it. Or he used to take there small or large vessels of milk and used to say, “Put them there and come out!” Then people would go and find everything empty and dry and he used to say, “The Group have drunk it.”’ (*OP.2i*)

The legends given in this paper, typical though they are, give only a glimpse of the huge repertoire of Somali oral hagiography. Sometimes the same legend has several variants, and an extensive comparative study of them would require a considerable amount of time and labour, but would no doubt be a highly rewarding pursuit.

ORAL ANTI-LEGENDS

It is difficult to assess what proportion of the Somali public believe in the thaumaturgic powers of the saints, and even harder to gauge the intensity of their belief. In my opinion a very large number of people hold firm beliefs in this respect and this is confirmed not only by what they say but by their actions,

¹⁹ Since theological reference works were not readily accessible, it was customary for advanced students to travel even for long distances to visit sheikhs who could give them guidance in their reading.

²⁰ Books have always been scarce in rural areas and even in towns, especially before the appearance of cheap editions printed in Cairo or Singapore. For this reason reading books aloud to a circle of students has been a common practice in religious schools.

since they are often ready to undertake onerous commitments such as journeys to distant shrines or substantial offerings in honour of the saints.

Even among those who adhere to a belief in the powers of the saints there are individual variations: a person may believe in the intercession of a saint in the case of a miraculous rescue at sea or in a motorcar accident, but may be reluctant to accept as true the legends about a saint who rides on lions. To search for an exact correlation between the acceptance and rejection of different types of legends and the social and territorial groupings of individuals exposed to them would be a fascinating though formidable task. It is certain, however, that there is a sizeable number of sceptics in Somali society even among people who have not been influenced by modern education, but they are usually discreet and unwilling to antagonize the devout majority. One of the verbal manifestations of such scepticism towards the cult of the saints is a verbal narrative which might be called 'anti-legend'. It attacks the credulity of the devotees by describing an event which suggests that some or all men considered to be saints may be impostors and that the legends are simply inventions to exploit the naive.

It is a characteristic feature of these 'anti-legends' that, as far as I have been able to ascertain, they never mention any names of saints and concentrate merely on the events described. This may be accidental, but on the other hand it may reflect a residue of belief and the consequent fear that something terrible might happen to the narrator if he offends the particular saint.

For a foreign collector these narratives are difficult to transcribe or record since they are usually told in an intimate circle of friends where a notebook or tape recorder would bring a discordant note. They are characterized by general humour and irreverence and sometimes contain a sexual element. Among such stories are accounts of allegedly miraculous cures of sterility: a barren woman goes on a pilgrimage to a distant shrine without her husband, who is too busy to go. There at the secular fiesta after the pilgrimage, at a dance, she meets a young man. On her return she discovers that she is pregnant.

There are also stories about 'prophetic' dreams of self-styled saints which do not come true and mislead people, causing them embarrassment and annoyance.

In the anti-legend which follows, the alleged saint is a straightforward impostor, whom some people in the nomadic interior regarded as a saint. To understand the story fully one has to bear in mind that fragrant smells and mystic lights are attributed to major saints.²¹ They are said 'to set themselves alight' with radiance during a state of religious ecstasy.

'Once upon a time a man of religion lived in Berbera. The people of that

²¹ See n. 18. An anonymous hagiographer of Sheikh Uweys even asserts that at the time of the annual feast of the sheikh there are sweet smells in the streets and in the place of pilgrimage (*MS.1*, 12, *recto*).

town were sophisticated folk, you see, and were not the sort he could cheat or get something out of by a trick. These people were sharp-sighted and always on the alert. So he said to himself: "By God, the best thing for you is to get out of here and go into the bush, out to the country people, the bush folk, you see, and use a trick to get something out of them." He rushed from where he was to a shop and bought himself a bottle of perfume; then he bought an electric torch, and it was just at the time when torches first came to this country.

He went to the first hamlet. "He is a man of religion," the people said and spread sleeping-mats for him under a tree. Then he took out a huge book. When he took out the book he asked the people of the hamlet for water for ablutions. He was given the water and they killed a ram for him in the evening.

"I shall bless the hamlet," he said, "with the water in which the letters of Holy Writ are dissolved,²² you see, and I shall bless you in this way to protect you against disease and other things, if God be willing."

He was wearing a shirt with pockets and he used to touch the mouth of the bottle of perfume. Whenever men shook hands with him he used to touch the perfume. Whoever touched his hand, you see, smelled it and said, "By God, what a sweet smell it has! It is the hand of a learned man!" But the man who would say this did not know that he had bought some perfume in town. All the people talked about him and the hamlets collected wealth for him, until the bottle was about to finish.

So the bottle of perfume brought him two hundred rams which he just obtained by fraud.' (*OP.5*)

The story goes into other details at this point. When he comes back to Berbera with his loot the townsmen become suspicious and the other men of religion accuse him of unprofessional conduct and report him to the British administrator, who refuses, however, to interfere with religious matters. Moreover, the people of the village ask him to stay among them and refuse to believe in the accusations. So the bogus 'saint' continues his deception:

'At night, you see, he sits in the guest enclosure, and as he wraps himself in two sheets of cloth he lights the torch. Then the people say: "Indeed, he shines with holy radiance. He sets himself alight with radiance!"'

In daytime he ties the torch in the hem of his robe and does not show it to anyone. So they say to each other: "He flashes like lightning—apart from other things!"' (*OP.5*)

The above story comes from the urban environment and was narrated by a sailor from Berbera. Yet the anti-legend can also be found even in the nomadic interior, where devotion to saints is particularly strong. I have come across a

²² This is a common practice and is expressed by the noun *cashar* and the verb *cashri*. Usually it is administered in the form of drink. See Hassan Sheikh Mumin 1974, pp. 25 and 103.

highly ribald story, for example, about a man who was born without genitals and was then miraculously provided with them by three holy men in the bush, who either in their zeal or as a practical joke were over-generous in the size of their gift.

ORAL DRAMA

A sceptical attitude towards the veneration of saints sometimes finds its verbal expression on the Somali stage also.²³ The attacks are not direct and limit themselves to the exposure of alleged frauds committed by imposters who exploit the belief in the miraculous powers of the saints.

For example, in a very popular play produced in 1969 by the National Army Theatrical Ensemble and called *Waxaan jirin bay jaclaysteen* [They loved what did not exist], there are two characters, smart men living on their wits, who cheat a credulous old woman of her money. One of them pretends to be a guardian of the shrine of a saint, the other the saint himself, on a visit from the Other World. The 'guardian' threatens the old woman that if she refuses to give him the money the saint will come and punish her for her meanness. When she hesitates, the 'saint' appears in a long robe, making frightening noises and gestures, and the woman obeys him and parts with all her savings. The satire goes deeper, since the woman herself obtained her hoard of cash from organizing spirit-possession dances which most men of religion consider as sinful superstition. The way the subject is treated on the stage puts an invisible sign of equation between the veneration of saints and the superstitious practices of the old woman.

In another popular play, which had a long run at the National Theatre in Mogadishu and was serialized on the radio in 1969, similar veiled attacks are made. In this play, which bears the title *Shabeelnaagood* [Leopard among the women] and was composed by Hassan Sheikh Mumin, there is a trio of tricksters who arrange bogus marriage ceremonies, thus defrauding naive girls and ruining their chances for the future. The tricksters pose as men of religion and exploit the connection in the minds of the people between that social group and the saints. Though no direct attack is made on genuine saints, the effect is to introduce an atmosphere of scepticism and irreverence.

In the following passage from the play, the amiable villain Shabeel ('Leopard')

²³ Somali drama is a highly popular form of entertainment and plays are performed in the National Theatre in Mogadishu and provincial centres. The plots are almost always concerned with topical matters of immediate interest to the audiences and Somali playwrights are known for their reformist and patriotic zeal, often expressed in satirical form. The main parts of plays are in alliterative verse conforming to the canons of Somali poetic art. Before 1972 written scripts were very seldom used and the actors learned their parts from the mouth of the playwright or from a tape recording. For an account of this art see the introduction to Hassan Sheikh Mumin 1974.

talks to his prospective victim, a girl called Shallaayo ('She-who-regrets'), and to his two partners in crime, Sheekh ('Sheikh') and his friend.

SHALLAAYO: Shall I keep it secret from my family?

SHABEEL: The family! Don't tell it even to the birds, until we have the big wedding. And now the marriage ceremony is to take place, and the sheikh called Sheikh—Our Sheikh²⁴—and the saints of God are coming. Don't move from that place. [*He points to the side of the stage.*]

SHALLAAYO: All right. [*After a pause, SHEEKH, dressed as a man of religion, enters with his FRIEND and a WITNESS.*]

SHEEKH: Peace be on you, Sheikh Shabeel!

SHABEEL: And on you be peace! Well, Sheikh?

SHEEKH: Are you well?

SHABEEL: Yes, thanks be to God.

SHEEKH: While we were sojourning in Calyaale, at the bar called 'Jungle Night Club Hotel Abey', which is a place of meat, rice and milk, if God is good to you, I received your summons.

SHABEEL: That's right, that's right.

SHEEKH: Are things all right with you?

SHABEEL: Yes, I sent the message through the saints who were going in your direction.

Later, similarly irreverent allusions are made, this time to the belief that sanctity can be inherited from one's ancestors. Here the tricksters discuss with Shallaayo the bogus marriage contract.

SHEEKH [*to SHALLAAYO*]: Now the Assistant will talk to you.

FRIEND [*to SHEEKH*]: Sheikh, she has the eyes of a pious person.

SHABEEL: She is a descendant of saints.

FRIEND: By God I do think she's the offspring of saints.

SHABEEL: And yours is the mouth of a learned man.

FRIEND [*to SHALLAAYO*]: People have become emancipated nowadays, you know, and you two are young people. As that is so, you trust us, don't you, to decide the amount of dower due to you? You do trust us?

SHALLAAYO: I have confidence in whatever you decide.

FRIEND: One can tell that she's the offspring of saints!

(Hassan Sheikh Mumin, 1974, pp. 75 and 83)

SOMALI HAGIOGRAPHIES IN ARABIC

Until October 1972 the Somali language had no official orthography, even though several systems of writing were used on a limited scale.²⁵ Although oral

²⁴ 'Our Sheikh', a jocular epithet.

²⁵ For an account of this see Adam 1968, Andrzejewski 1964a, Lewis 1968 and Pirone 1967.

communication among Somalis themselves was always conducted in Somali, both in private and in public life, almost all written communication was carried out in foreign languages, mainly Arabic, Italian and English. Of these three languages, Arabic not only has the longest tradition among Somalis but is known by the largest number of people. For many centuries it has been the language of religion, law and learning and has been used extensively in contacts with other Muslims in Africa and with Arabs. Some Somali men of religion reach such a level of competence in the language that they are able to use it to write poetry and prose. Attracted by the enormous prestige of Arabic as the sacred and universal language of Islam many Somalis turned their talents to the production of religious literature in Arabic.²⁶ Most of it exists in MS form, but some has been published locally, though in most cases printed in Cairo by printing-houses specializing in traditional religious books. These works of Somali literature of Arabic expression are in most cases compilations which contain both new works and materials from older MSS, so that the actual dates of publication can be very misleading.

In this literature the veneration of saints plays a dominant role and one of its most favoured prose genres is the hagiographical piece called *manqaba*²⁷ which closely resembles the oral legend described in the preceding section. A *manqaba* consists of a short, transposable account of an event in the life of a saint or of his particular virtue or gift, and it often contains a miraculous element.

These hagiographical narratives derive mainly, though not exclusively, from oral traditions. A number of them give at the beginning the names of the persons involved in the chain of oral transmission, and in *AU.I* the compiler explicitly states :

‘ I have written down these forty-eight accounts of the gifts and virtues of the Sheikh of our Sheikhs, Cabdurraxmaan Seylici²⁸ al-Qadiri, may God be pleased with him, from the mouths of men, by oral communication, or by correspondence, but in most cases by oral communication . . . ’ (II, p. 45).

In spite of the difference in the language and the medium there are striking similarities between the *manqaba* and the oral legends about the saints. Take for example the following *manqaba* relating to Sheikh Cabdurraxmaan Seylici :

‘ Among his charismatic gifts is what I was told by the teacher, Maxamuud Cilmi, the [branch] leader of the Qadiriya.²⁹ When Sheikh Cabdurraxmaan Seylici and his students were assembled in a place the time came for one of the five prayers. The sheikh asked one of his students to lead the prayers as the imam

²⁶ See n. 2.

²⁷ Pl. *manāqib*. See Trimmingham 1971.

²⁸ For information about this religious leader and poet see Cerulli 1923 and 1936. Legends about him are found in *AU.I*, vol. II, and some of his Arabic poems are published in *AU.I*, vol. II, *AY* and *UM*.

²⁹ ‘ [branch] leader ’, i.e. *khalifa*. See Trimmingham 1971.

for the whole congregation. The sheikh himself left the place of prayer and they prayed in the sheikh's absence. When he returned his clothes were drenched with water. He prayed with the congregation and they were astonished first at his departure, then at his quick return and his drenched clothes. One of the students touched the sheikh's clothes, after the prayer had finished, tasted the water on the sheikh's clothes and found it to be salty like the salty water of the sea. Yet the sea was far away from the place where they were. They asked him about his leaving and the wetness of his clothes. He said to them, "A ship belonging to some unfortunate people was wrecked at sea off Berbera and I went out to their rescue and helped them until they were safe out of the sea and this is the reason for my going out." This happened because the sheikh was a man of excellence.' (*AU.I*, II, p. 25)

The following extract from a *manqaba* which concerns the intercession of Sheikh Uweys during drought also bears the characteristics of an oral legend.

'I was informed by my companion and brother in God Sheikh Maxammed Cabdulmalik, that he was with him on one of his journeys in a distant place in the land of the Kablalax³⁰ and that it became glorious through him. They said to the sheikh, "We shall not show you honour and generosity unless you pray to God to give us rain." [Sheikh Maxammed] said, "The sheikh called me to a place which was like a *wadi*. Then he prayed to God in the form of a poem. I was writing it down and he was dictating it to me. And a drop of rain fell from the sky on the writing. The sheikh said, 'This is joyous news!' And the sky became clouded and rain fell upon their land in good measure and not in excess and they rejoiced and came to the sheikh and brought him two oxen and gave him five hundred riyals and other things besides that.'" (*AU.I*, I, 15)

However, there are differences between the *manqaba* and the oral legend, and one of the most important is that the former, being a product of the traditional literary *élite*, frequently refers to matters which assume some theological knowledge in the reader. For example, in the list of the numerous prayer tasks undertaken by Sheikh Uweys during one of his solitary retreats, in *AU.I*, I, p. 43, the prayers are given their names, some of which may not be intelligible to an ordinary layman. Another distinguishing feature of the *manqaba* is its preoccupation with visions and ecstatic states totally unrelated to any pragmatic goals.

Consider, for example, the following *manqaba* concerning the visions of Sheikh Cabdurrahmaan Seylici:

'And among his charismatic gifts was what our sheikh, Sheikh Abubakar Sheikh Axmed Xaaji told me on the testimony of his father. During his stay in Mogadishu, Sheikh Cabdurrahmaan Seylici, Sheikh Suufi and Sheikh Axmed Xaaji Mahdi and a whole group of brethren were talking in the porch of the house

³⁰ See Lewis 1955, pp. 19–22, where the spelling Kablalla is used.

of Sheikh Suufi. Seylici lay down on a bed and said, "I have seen the Prophet, may God bless him and bestow peace upon him, forty-four times and yesterday I saw him again, which made it forty-five times." And Seylici went into an ecstatic trance, leapt up to the height of his stature, then fell down on the ground and remained unconscious for a while. After that Sheikh Axmed Xaaji took him by the hand and led him to his lodgings, gave him hospitality and offered to him whatever suited him. May God make us profit by them, Amen.' (A.U.I, II, p. 5)

There is also another feature which is prominent in the *manqaba* but rare in the oral legend: the narrative of a *manqaba* is often interspersed with items of detailed information which are not directly relevant to the main theme. These items are sometimes of considerable interest for the political and social history of the region and of the various Arab countries, as well as Zanzibar, to which Somali sheikhs travelled.

The *manqaba* given below will serve as an example of how such incidental information is interwoven with the main theme. In this case the theme is Sheikh Uweys's journey to Baghdad; he goes to the shrine of Cabdulqaadir Jiilaani, referred to as the Mighty Helper, to receive there his initiating licence, his spiritual lineage and the vicarship of the Somali branch of the Qaadiiriya Order from Sayid Mustafa Sayid Sulimaan.³¹ This *manqaba* contains some interesting information about travel at this time and about the degree of animosity which existed between the Kharajites and the orthodox Sunnis.

'And among his charismatic gifts were also these. He saw Cabdulqaadir Jiilaani, may God be pleased with him, in a dream, and with him was Sayid Mustafa. They said to him, "Come out and visit us!" His longing grew even stronger and he set out for Mogadishu, and when he reached Jilib [near] Merca³² he consumed a quantity of food sufficient to satisfy ten persons, on account of the intensity of his longing. He reached Mogadishu and stopped at the house of Shariif Xaramayn³³ or the house of an imam. Then he travelled in a ship and he did not know Arabic. So he prayed to God and he could then speak Arabic and forgot everything else. And he praised God, who is exalted above all, and said, "Glory be to God! In the evening I was a non-Arab and in the morning I became an Arabian." The ship belonged to some people of Sur and he travelled [with them] to Muscat, where people thronged to him, seeking his blessing, while he cried loudly, distracted, in an ecstasy of love for God and His Prophet. One

³¹ For the terms 'initiating licence' (*ijāza*), 'spiritual lineage' (*khirqā*) and 'vicarship' (i.e. the office of the *khalifa*), see Trimmingham 1971. Sayid Mustafa (*Muṣṭafā*) was the Qaadiiriya sheikh resident in Baghdad who initiated Sheikh Uweys as the local *khalifa* for Somalia. He is also mentioned in AA, p. 225.

³² Not to be confused with Jilib in Lower Jubba; see Cerulli 1957, p. 96.

³³ Note that Xaramayn is a conjectural reading. I have not been able to ascertain what vowels are used in this name.

day when he was in ecstasy in Muscat a pregnant woman who was in his neighbourhood had a miscarriage because of his shouting. Then he set out for Baghdad and when he reached it he stayed at the place of the Mighty Helper and sought the company of his sheikh, Sayid Mustafa Sayid Sulimaan, may God be pleased with them. The sheikh put him into a spiritual retreat of forty [days] and then another forty. Afterwards the aforementioned sheikh ordered him to go to Medina the Illumined to visit the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, and to seek permission from him to receive the spiritual lineage, the licence and the vicarship. So he set out from Baghdad, may God be pleased with him, travelling in ragged clothes, and he passed through the midst of Kharajites. They kept making gestures at him with [their] fingers, saying, "You are [a bringer of] dissension and a source of dissension!" And they represented themselves by one finger and the people of the Sunna and of the Community [of the Faithful] by four fingers. Also when Sheikh Uweys was in Baghdad the Kharajites made gestures at him and said, "You are [a bringer of] dissension and a source of dissension!", bending their spread fingers and [then] raising them; by raising [their fingers] they represented themselves and by bending them they represented the people of the Sunna and of the Community [of the Faithful]. And he made gestures at them and by raising [his fingers] he showed them a sign [representing] the true faith. By God's generosity and grace, our sheikh, Xaaji Uweys, reached Medina safely, may God be pleased with him.'³⁴

(MS. 1, 7, recto, lines 10-15, and 7, verso, lines 1-12)

THEOLOGICAL POLEMICS

The veneration of saints has also given rise, though on a much more limited scale, to learned polemics.

In *AY*, which is a collection of theological treatises on a variety of subjects, including the defence of traditional Sufism against reformists, there is a whole chapter bearing the title 'The answer to him who says that the saints do not exist in our times'. The following passage, which occurs after a bitter attack on those who hold Kharajite views, gives some idea of the method of presentation and reasoning.

'Yet the saints of God exist in all times and in all places according to the [sacred] texts. Were it not for them rain would not come from the sky and plants would not come forth and dhows and ships would not reach [their destinations]

³⁴ The passage involving the exchange of gestures is somewhat obscure but can best be understood in terms of the following symbolic values: one finger = monotheism; four fingers = polytheism, heresy; being bent = evil; being raised = uprightness. In the last sentence of the account the MS reads 'reached Baghdad', but I have amended it to 'reached Medina' since this not only makes better sense but is supported by another version of the story in *AU.I*, vol. I, pp. 5-6.

in safety. They have marks [of sanctity] by which they are recognized, and miraculous powers for which people honour them and signs which are sought from them. And this is not hidden except from those whose light of vision is obscured and whose intelligence, hearing and sight are benumbed. Oh God, do not make us belong to them or be with them! And the proof of this is the text of the Koran and the Tradition of the Prophet. And in the text of the Koran there are the following words [of God], who is exalted above all: “*Surely the friends of God—no fear shall be upon them, neither shall they grieve, for them there is good tidings in this life and in the world to come.*”³⁵ (AY, I, pp. 79–80)

In the Arabic hagiographies of Somali saints polemics do not feature very often, because their authors write with fervour and conviction, giving the impression that their society is completely free from sceptics and critics of the cult. It is only occasionally that we find passages in which the apologetics of the veneration of saints are touched upon, such as the one below.

‘It is obviously erroneous and patently misleading for Muslims to think and to assert concerning the visiting of the [shrines of the] saints that such visiting is outside [and conflicts with] the unique worship of God. On the contrary, it completely belongs to the love of God and concerning this the Prophet of God said, may God bless him and grant him peace, “Is it not so that a man who has no love has no faith?” And the means which he has [to achieve this love] is what God spoke of [when He said]: “*Seek the means to come to Him.*”’ (AH, pp. 6–7)

The ‘means’ of communication between God and ordinary men, the intermediaries, are thus the saints, and the author further develops the theme by comparing the scripturally established position of prophets and martyrs with that of saints.³⁶

The self-assurance of the hagiographers, however, does not stem from the lack of critics and sceptics. Among Somali men of religion and laymen, and in particular those who have had modern education at home or abroad, there is a sizeable number of people who are opposed to the veneration of saints on doctrinal grounds.

It is difficult to assess their number or to give with certainty the sources of their inspiration. Probably they are influenced both by Islamic fundamentalism which regards the cult as contrary to the belief in the unity of God, and by modernism which regards it as a quaint, even if at times charming, relic of the past which reinforces the conservatism of the masses.

³⁵ The Arabic phrase ‘friends of God’ creates a semantic feedback in Somali operating in favour of the cult, since the word *awlyā*, which in Arabic means ‘friends’, ‘protectors’ or ‘saints’, became a loanword in Somali with the exclusive meaning of ‘saints’. For a discussion of this Sufi term and the Koranic references to it see Trimmingham 1971, under *wali*, p. 313.

³⁶ This kind of reasoning is also applied specifically to Sheikh Xuseen of Bale in AN.

The greatest contemporary Somali critic of the cult is Sheikh Nuruddin Ali, a prominent theologian and a man of wide learning. He is the author of *NA*, which is a book mainly devoted to the doctrines of Islamic monotheism, and in it he launches a closely reasoned attack on the belief in the thaumaturgic powers or superhuman qualities of the saints. Throughout his book he backs his statements with a formidable number of citations from the Koran and the Tradition and imputes to those who venerate saints the crime of heresy. Among his statements which are particularly relevant to the veneration of saints is his interpretation of the phrase in the Koran ‘*seek the means to come to Him*’ (V, 39), which according to the traditional Sufis refers to saints. According to Sheikh Nuruddin, however, ‘the means’ consists of ‘coming to God through submission to Him and doing what accords with His words’ (*NA*, p. 2). The book is divided into 228 paragraphs, each of which begins with the formula ‘If it is said to you . . . then say . . .’ and a number of these are devoted entirely to the veneration of saints. Paragraphs 117–8, for example, deal with some of the beliefs which are reflected in the legends given in this paper, and give five Koranic citations as proof of the author’s position.

‘If it is said to you, “Do saints possess the power to provide for human beings such bounty as wealth, rain or health?”, then say: “Saints have no power to provide such bounty either for themselves or for others, [they have no power] to grant, to bestow, to withhold or to restore it.”’

‘If it is said to you, “What is the proof for this?”, then say: “God said, and He is exalted above all (XVI, 73), ‘*And do they worship, apart from God, that which has no power to provide anything for them from the sky or from the earth and cannot have such power?*’ God also said, and He is exalted above all (XXIX, 17), ‘*Those whom you worship, apart from God, have no power to provide sustenance for you. So seek your sustenance from God, and worship Him, and show gratitude to Him; to Him you will return.*’ God also said, and He is exalted above all (XXVII, 64), ‘*Or who gives origin to creation, then brings it back again and provides sustenance for you from the sky and from the earth? Is there a god besides God? Produce your evidence if you are telling the truth!*’ God also said, and He is exalted above all (XXXIV, 24), ‘*Say: who provides you with sustenance from the sky and the earth? Say: God.*’ God also said, and He is exalted above all (XXXV, 2), ‘*What God out of His mercy grants to people no one can withhold, and what He withholds no one can bestow, apart from Him, and He is the Mighty, the Wise.*’”’ (*NA*, p. 32)

There are many other similar paragraphs, which contain such questions as ‘Can a saint bestow a child on him who seeks it from him, if that person, male or female, is barren?’ (123–4); ‘Can any saint prevent the death of a person who entreats him, or take away souls from the Angel of Death so that they may return to their bodies?’ (127–8); and ‘Can dead saints, or living but absent ones, hear the prayers of those who entreat them, when they seek help through them in

distress, and can they hear them favourably?' (129–30). All such questions are given strongly worded negative answers, supported by arrays of scriptural citations.

HYMNS AND POEMS IN ARABIC

The veneration of saints has also acted as a stimulus to creativity in the field of Somali poetry in Arabic. Somali men of religion have composed numerous poems in praise of both local and foreign Muslim saints, most of which still remain in MS form, though a certain number have been published in *AU.1*, *AU.2*, *AY* and *UM*, and two have been translated into English in Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964.

It is a strange phenomenon that the Somalis, who have a flourishing poetry in their own language, should compose the poetic praises of their saints in Arabic rather than in Somali. In fact, generally speaking any religious poetry in Somali is very limited indeed in comparison with the vast volume of secular poetry.³⁷

In my view the main reason for this is the way in which the Somali public look on Arabic. They tend to regard it as a sacred language which not only adds dignity to prayer but in some way makes it more effective both as a form of praise and of petition. Moreover, the dichotomy in Somali traditional thought between the idea of the *wadaad* ('man of religion') and *waranle* ('spear-bearer', 'layman'), described in Lewis 1961, also reveals itself in the fact that the *wadaad* usually composes his poems in Arabic, the language of spiritual power, while the *waranle* (and his modern successor) does it in Somali, the language of secular power. Most of the Arabic poems composed by Somalis are sung as hymns. They are usually learnt by heart by the members of the congregation, including those who do not fully understand the words but have an intuitive grasp of what the author intended to express. Helped by Arabic borrowings in Somali they can guess a great deal, and if they want to know the exact meaning they can always get information from someone who knows the language.

In their form the hymns imitate, with varying degrees of accuracy, Arabic models of classical or popular scansion, and are characterized by flamboyant imagery and hyperbole. My translation of the hymn given below gives some indication of the type of diction which is used in the original. The poem was composed by an anonymous author in praise of Sheikh Murjaan Axmed, who died in 1928. His shrine is situated in the Lower Jubba Region and attracts many pilgrims. The poem is used as a hymn at religious meetings at the shrine.

The poem contains various allusions which require explanation. First of all it refers to three other saints as well: Cabdulqaadir Jiilaani (lines 15, 25 and 37), Cabdurraaxmaan Seylici (line 9), and Uweys, the man of Brava (lines 7 and 38).

³⁷ See n. 1. Only a few religious poems in Somali have been published; see Andrzejewski 1970, Cerulli 1964, Lewis 1958 and Moreno 1955.

All three belong to the Qaadirya Order, Cabdulqaadir being its founder. Sheikh Murjaan, also called Marjaan, was a member of the Axmediya Order and the fact that three Qaadiris are mentioned reflects the spiritual links between the two orders. Sheikh Uweys is given the epithet 'The Second', which could be interpreted as a panegyric allusion, connecting the sheikh with a man of the same name who lived in Arabia in the first century of Islam and is highly venerated among Sufis.³⁸

Lines 32–4 give the date of death of Sheikh Murjaan in poetic form and in line 17 reference is made to two jets of burning light appearing on the sheikh's shoulders. Similar legends concerning Sheikh Xuseen of Balé and Cabdurraamaan Seylici are recorded in Text 1, Andrzejewski 1972 and *AU.2*, p. 4, respectively.

Lines 36 and 37 contain the customary blessings on the Prophet, his family and his companions.

In the poem every line is sung by a solo cantor and the congregation repeat the refrain, which is :

'The peace of God be on Sheikh Marjaan, my rescuer and my shelter !'

The words of the cantor sometimes consist of direct address to the Sheikh and sometimes they speak about him but this can be inferred from the context.

1. In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.
The peace of God be on Sheikh Marjaan, my rescuer and my shelter,
The imam of the saints, the sun among the mighty, the pillar of [our] times.
Radiant you are, endowed with knowledge ; protect us against the scorching
fires of Hell !
5. May your renown spread among us and likewise throughout all lands !
Your praises are like grains of sand ; they cannot be counted by any calcula-
tion !
Glorious in your destiny with God, like our Sheikh Uweys the Second,
You are a defender of the disciples against harm such [as comes from]
serpents !
You have a deep knowledge of hearts, like Cabdurraamaan who sustains me !
10. A friend of God, a man of high rank, wise he was and significant.
You who are mindful of my Lord God, hasten to me with your favours !
In you rests my hope in this world and the world to come for victory on the
Day of Sorrows !
A visit to his tomb is like the Pilgrimage ! Arise and obtain blessing in this
world and the world to come !
He is generous and noble, the stay of the people who know.
15. The intercessor of the seekers like Sheikh Jiilaani, who sustains me,
He is forbearing, truthful in speech—he is a full moon—a sultan.

³⁸ See Trimmingham 1971, pp. 12–13. This Arab saint is also mentioned in *AU.2*, p. 97.

The brilliance of Axmediya—two lights shining over the horizons.
Tenderhearted, he resides inside his tomb—the sun of our times.
Refined, he whom I love loved his Lord above transient things.

20. You who are mighty before God, hasten to me with your protection!
He who is the gazelle of this era has bestowed on me the knowledge of God,
the Judge.

You were learned in the Holy Law and were a leader of the people who know!
He is near to those who call him—he comes to them in haste.
His miraculous deeds are many—I cannot count them with exactitude!

25. Among all saints we seek refuge, above all with Sheikh Jiilaani,
He assists mankind, he is truly the intercessor for half our people.
Through him we ask God to deliver us from the dread of hellfire
[And to give us] a long life spent in submission to the Merciful One, the
Benefactor.

Your gifts are numerous; obtain for us the grace of Divine forgiveness!

30. To obtain my desire I have praised you as the light of created beings.
Surely, he who praises a saint is granted contentment.
His death was in the month of Rabiic al-Awal, like that of our Uweys who is
close [to us].³⁹

It happened on the twenty-fifth of the month; visit his tomb and favours will
be granted.

One thousand three hundred and forty-seven, [counting] by the Flight of the
Prophet, came as a figure in reckoning.

35. When I have not visited his tomb I direct my measured verses towards it.
The blessing of God and the peace of God be on him who brought the
revelation,
And on his family, then on his companions and also Jiilaani who sustains
mankind.

When the man of Brava sounds his warning call arise in haste!

As long as the people of error refuse, they will taste the heat of hellfire,

40. While he whose hope is set on victory will say: Oh Sheikh Marjaan!

(MS.2)

Not all Arabic religious poems written by Somalis are in praise of the saints. There is a large number of poems in praise of God, and ones especially favoured are those which enumerate and interpret the names of God. There is also a number of poems composed in praise of the Prophet, and others which contain a variety of themes and praises.

It may be of interest to note that if any religious poem is known to have been

³⁹ The sheikh died on the 25th Rabiic (*Rabi'*) al-Awal A.H. 1347, and Sheikh Uweys died on the 23rd of the same month in A.H. 1327. The fact that Sheikh Murjaan died in the same month as the great saint Sheikh Uweys is regarded as propitious.

composed by a well-known saint it is often believed to have special rogatory powers, if recited in full or even in part. In a *manqaba* about Sheikh Cabdurraxmaan Seylici (*AU.I*, II, p. 19), for example, there is an account of how the sheikh restored to life one of his students in Jigjiga who had been decapitated with a sword by an Ethiopian. He recited over the severed head a line from his poem in praise of the Prophet called 'The camel-driver of souls' (published in *UM*, pp. 8-14) which ran, 'Oh Prophet of God, save you I have no defender to protect me against the anguish of violence!' (*UM*, p. 13)

Not all religious poetry is sung as hymns. An example of a purely literary composition is a poem given in *AH*, which reflects on the nature of sanctity. The authorship of the poem is not stated, but by implication it is attributed to Sheikh Cabdurraxmaan Ismaaciil ⁴⁰ whose date of death is given in the book as A.H. 897, i.e. A.D. 1491/2.

'A house does not shelter a saint of God :
 He finds it detestable to possess buildings or land.
 He flees from the desert to the mountains
 And the desert weeps when it is deprived of his presence.
 He is most patient in keeping night vigils
 And in fasting at the break of day.
 He says to himself : " This is my zeal and my labour,
 And there is no shame in serving the Merciful One."
 He communes with his Lord, his tears flowing :
 " My God, my heart is shattered and dispersed ;
 My God, what I ask from you is not a house
 Made of rubies, where concubines dwell.
 And not the gardens of Paradise, Oh my God,
 And not the trees adorned with fruit,
 But it is your Eternal Presence, my hope :
 Grant It, for in It is glory." '

(*AH*, p. 7)

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For reasons of typographical economy Arabic works and items of unpublished material are given letter codes, by which they are identified throughout this article. *OP* stands for 'oral performance', i.e. the original oral source from which the transcript was made in the case of items of oral literature. The abbreviation *auth./cpl.* (author/compiler) indicates that the compiler included some of his own work among the material he collected. All the translations from Somali and Arabic used in this article are my own.

⁴⁰ For information about this important figure in Somali history see Lewis 1955, pp. 18-19.

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2. Unpublished materials

- MS.1: A MS in the Library of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, Fondo Conti Rossini Collection. Position 122c, as catalogued in Strelcyn 1974. Undated. 12 sheets. I acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. Enrico Cerulli, President of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, for allowing me to use the MS and providing me with a photocopy.
- MS.2: A MS in my possession; a handwritten copy of the original kept at the shrine of Sheikh Murjaan. The copy was made by one of the guardians of the shrine in 1969. 3 sheets.
- OP.1: A text written down under dictation by Mr. Musa Galaal (Muuse Galaal) in Mogadishu, 1969. For the list of publications of this outstanding Somali scholar, poet and broadcaster see Johnson 1969, 1971, 1973 and 1974.
- OP.2a-i: These texts are my transcripts from tape recordings which were made in Mogadishu in 1968 and 1969. The narrator was Sheikh Aqib Abdullahi Jama (Caaqib Cabdullaahi Jaamac), who came to Mogadishu from Jigjiga in 1962. For information about this well-known preacher and poet see Andrzejewski 1970. The texts transcribed here form only a small proportion of the total recordings. The tapes are deposited in SOAS Tape Library (Catalogue Ref. SOM.VII/13 and 15).
- OP.3a-b: These texts were written under dictation from Mr. Abdi Naleyeh (Cabdi Naaleeye) in Mogadishu in 1968. He spent a large part of his life in the rural area south of Obbia (Hobyo) and has an extensive knowledge of Somali oral literature. The two narratives about the saints are taken from a collection of prose narratives which are predominantly secular.
- OP.4a-b: These texts were written down under dictation in 1958 in Mandera in the North-Eastern Province of Kenya. The narrator was Mr. Mahamud Ma'allin Yusuf (Maḥamūd Ma'allin Yūsuf), a young man of religion from a family in which, traditionally, there was a large number of men of religion. He is the same narrator as in the narratives about Sheikh Uweys and Sheikh Abdirrahmaan in Andrzejewski 1964b, pp. 142 and 145 respectively. Note that in that work an alternative form of the second sheikh's name is used ('Abdi Raḥmaan).
- OP.5: This text is a transcript of a tape recording taken in 1959 from a sailor from Berbera, who preferred to remain anonymous, should the translation be published.

APPENDIX

The texts of the unpublished materials translated in this article are given below. The Arabic texts are photocopies and the Somali texts are transcripts of dictations or tape recordings. For Somali two types of transcription are used: for texts *OP.4a* and *OP.4b* the system which is explained in Moreno 1955, pp. 327–30, and to which the I.P.A. symbol ə is added to represent a central half-close vowel; for all the remaining texts the system referred to in n. 5. Texts *OP.4a* and *OP.4b* are in the Central dialect while the other ones are in the Common dialect type. For an account of these dialect divisions see Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964, pp. 38–41.

Note that in the extract from *MS.1* the first three and the last six words belong to different narratives and are left untranslated in the article. In the transcripts of the Somali oral texts given in this Appendix passages placed between square brackets have been omitted in the translations.

The MSS have been reduced in size by 42% in reproduction.

MS.1

7, recto, lines 10-16

رضي الله عنه وايضا من كراماته رضي الشيخ عبدالقادر الجيلاني رضي الله عنه
 فيمنامه مع سيك المصطفى فقال له اخرج النيا ونرنا وادشوقه فتوجه الي بقدر شو
 ولما وصل حلت مركه ركاطها ما بسبع عشرة نقر لشدة الشوق فوصل وقد شول
 ونزل في بيت شريف حرمين روييف امام نرسا وفي بسفيه وكان لا يعرف العربية
 فلما دعا الله فتكلم بالعربية ونسبه ما سورها فحمد الله تعالى وقال الحمد لله رب
 عجايا واصحت عريا وكان تلك السفينة لا تزال السور وما رضي مسقط

7, verso, lines 1-12

فطفا الناس يتباركون به وهو هائم صايح حكا ودية رحمة الله وسوره فمناح يوما
 في مسقط في حال جلبة وكان بجوراه امرأة جيلي فوضعت بسياحه ثم عزم الي بغداد
 فلما وصل نرسا مقام الفوت الا عظم وصحب شيخه السيد مكي مصطفى ابن السيد السامان
 رضي الله عنهم فادخله الخوزن ربهين بقدر ربهين ثم امره شيخه المداكور
 بالمسير الي المدينة المنورة ليزور ربهين صلى الله عليه وسلم وليستاذن منه اذ دخل الخرفة
 والجازة والخالفة في حرضي الله عنه سايجا متجردا من بقدره وصرفي وبسط
 الخوزن و كانوا يبشرون له بالاصابع ويعولون له رنت هيج ام هيج ويعيونون
 بانفسهم بالواحد وناهل السنة والجماعة بالاربعة الاصابع وايضا انه لما كان الشيخ
 رويس في بغداد اشار وراله الخوزن فقالوا له رنت هيج ام هيج بانظور الاصابع
 المسحة ومانتصابها فيعينون بانفسهم بالانصاب وناهل السنة والجماعة بلا هوج
 وكان يبشرونهم بالانصاب اشاره الي الذين المستقيم فيكرم الله وفضله وصل
 شيخنا حاج رويس الي بغداد سالما رضي الله عنه وايضا في ذكر ما حصل له من

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 سَلَامٌ عَلَى عَائِشَةَ وَآلِهَا
 أَكْبَرِ قَبْرًا قَابِ
 بِهِيَ أَنْتَ وَالْعَالِي
 أَجْرًا حَسْبًا
 تَوَاتُرِ هَيْسِكُمْ فِينَا
 كَلَامِي كُلِّ بَلَدِ أَنْ
 تَنَادَى كَمِثْلِ مَنْ قَالِي
 قَوْلًا يَحْصِي بِحُسْبَانِ
 حَيْثُ الْقَدْرِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ
 كَشَيْخٍ أَوْ يَسِينَا الثَّانِي
 حَفِيفًا لِلتَّلَامِيهِ
 فِي الضَّرِكِ كُنُفَانِ
 حَيْثُ لِلسَّرِ تَرْمِيلِ
 غَوْثِي عِنْدَ الرَّحْمَانِ
 دَنَا مِ اللَّهِ دَوَّالِجَاهِ
 عَلَيْهِمَا كَانَ ذَا الشَّابِ
 ذُكُورًا أَنْتَ الْهَوَا
 قَبَادِرِي بِهَرِيَانِ
 رَجَائِي فِيكَ فِي الدَّارِ
 نَصْرًا يَوْمَ الْحَرْبِ
 زِيَارَتُهُ كَمِثْلِهِمْ
 نِيْلُ خَيْرِيكَ أَسْأَلِ
 بِسَخِيَّتِكَ كَانَ دَأْشَرًا
 وَرَعْمَةً أَعْلَى عُرْفَانِ

شَفِيحٌ لِمَهْدِيَّتِكَ كَفَوَيْتَ سَيْخِ حَيْلَانٍ
 مَبْرُورٌ مَادِقَ الْعَوْلِ وَبَكَرٌ ذَاكَ سُلْطَانِ
 ضِيَاءُ الْأَقْمَدِيَّةِ هُنَا عَنِ الْإِقَافِ نُورَانِ
 طَرِيْقٌ حَافِرٌ فِي قَبْرِهِ ذَا الشَّمْسِ رُقَابِ
 طَرِيْقٌ ذَا حَبِيْبِي حُبْرٌ مَوْلَاهُ عَنِ الْفَانِ
 عَزِيْزٌ أَنْتَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَبَأَدْرٍ لِيْ أَيْدَانِ
 عَزَالَ الْوَقْتِ أَجْعَلِيْ بِفِعْلِ اللَّهِ دِيَانِ
 فِيهَا كُنْتُ فِي الْعِلْمِ وَرُسُلِكَ أَهْلُ عِرْفَانِ
 وَرِيْرُهُ لَمْ نَادَا هُيَا يَأْتِيهِ سُرْعَابِ
 كَرَامَتُهُ كَثِيْرَةٌ فَلَا أَحْصِيْ بَسِيَّاتِ
 لِكُلِّ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ نَا خُصُوصًا سَيْخِ حَيْلَانِ
 مَفِيْقُ الْخَلْقِ شَاوِرٌ يَصِفُ أُمَّتَنَا بِأَنْفَانِ
 نَجَاةٌ نَسَأَلُ اللَّهَ بِهِ مِنْ هَوْلِ لَيْلَانِ
 وَطَوْلِ حُمُرٍ فِي ظَا عَةِ الرَّحْمَنِ مَنَابِ

هَيَاتِ وَافْرَاتِ جِدْ لِنَامِعِ نَيْلِ غَفْرَاتِ
 لِأَنَّ احْطَى بِمَطْلُوبِ فَدَحْضَكَ نَوَى أَكْوَافِ
 يَعْنِيَانِ مَنِ مَلَحَ وَلَيْتَا احْطَى بِضَوَائِفِ
 وَفَوْتَهُ فِي رَيْبِ الْإِ وَرِكَأَوْ سِنَا الْإِنِ
 بِعَشْرِينَ وَفَوْقَهَا فَرَّهْ دَحْضَكَ فَيْرَانِ
 وَهَجْرَهُ طَهَّ فِي خَشْمِ أَنْتَ عَدَدِ بَحْبَانِ
 إِذَا مَا لَمْ أَرَهُ قَبْلُ سَأَمَدِي بِهِ بِأَوْثَانِ
 صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ جَابِرِهَا نِ
 وَالِمْ أَمْحَابِ وَعَوْتِ الْخُلْفِ جِيَالَانِ
 مَعِي نَاحِ الْبِرَاوِي مَبِيدِكُمْ فِي سُرْعَابِ
 وَمَا أَهْلَ الضَّلَالَةِ أَبِي تَدُوقُ بِحَرْبِ بَرَانِ
 وَمَا مِنْ بَرِيحِي نَصْرًا يَغْلِي يَا شَيْخِ مَرْجَانِ
 فَهَتْ

OP.1

'Iyagoo maalin Caruusa ku socda, ayaa qorraxdii kululaatay. Markaasay aad u kululaatay. Markaasaa labadii sheekh aad u dhibtoodeen. Markaasaa Ilaahay daruur ku caawimay qorraxda ka hadhaysa. Markaasaa Cabdulqaadir yidhi, "Xuseenow, karaamada daruurta Laynagu siiyay keennee leh?" Wuxuu yidhi Xuseen Baaliyaal, "Adiga yey Kula tahay?" Markaasaa Cabdulqaadir yidhi, Waxay ila tahay inaan anigu leeyahay. Markaasaa Xuseen yidhi, "Ma rabtaa inaynu hubsanno? Mise waa is ka deynaa?" Wuxuu yidhi, "Aan hubsanno!" "Waa yahay e. Ina kala kexee. Dabadeedna, daruurta keennii burhaan iyo karaamo badan ayey ku hadhi doontaa." Markaasay kala tageen. Markaasaa daruurtii Sheekh Xuseen Baaliyaal ku hadhdhay. Markaasaa Cabdulqaadir, intuu qorraxdii ku gubtay, Xuseen iyo daruurtii ku soo noqday.'

OP.2a

'Markaa waxa dhacday oo dadkii joogay e u joogay aniga iiga sheekeeyay eegga ba xaadir uu yahay, in maalin Loo yimid oo La yidhi, "waddankii waa Laga jabay oo dadkii intiisii badnayd way guurtay. Magaalada Wardheer ageheeda, intayadan kale na, haddii berri iyo saa dambe midkood roob di' waayo, waan guuraynaa. Adiga iyo xertaada meeshanaa Lagaga kala tegayaa, waddankii na waa xumaanayaa, bal adaa Ilaahay Kaa aqbalaa ye, roob Ilaahay inoo bari". Inuu intuu Ilaahay baryay uu yidhi, "Allow Waxmawaaye, adaan wax ba waayin e waxaaga na sii!" Is la saacaddii hadalka La hayay ayaa daruur yar yar yari korkooda ka dhalatay. Markii ba dhibic baa ka soo daatay. Haddii dibicii ka soo daatay ba, hillaac iyo onkod bay ku dhufatay. Intii Wardheer ageheeda ahayd iyo intii dadkii kolkii la joogay uu degganaa yaa roob miisaan leh dadka na wax ba yeelin yaa xoolihii na aan wax ba yeelin yaa Ilaahay ku lisay.'

OP.2b

['Markaa maalin kaloo maalmaha ka mid ah, waxa Lagu wadi jiray aakhircamrigiisii dambe, faras baa Lagu wadi jiray, geenyo. Isagoo geenyadii Lagu wado oo inuu yar indho daranyahay na La moodo ayey laba nin, nin na ku gadh waday, nin na xagga dambuu ka socday.] Sheekhii baa wuxuu yidhi tii oo meel La socdo, "Bal dhulka i dhiga!" Waa La dhigay. Markaasuu yidhi, "Idinku geedkaa is ka yar hadhsada, anaa idiin yeedhi ye." Geed bay hadhsadeen. Sheekhii yey meeshii ka waayeen, meel alla meel uu maray. Way u kaadiyeen oo iyagoo yaabsan yey mar dhaw haddana sheekhii oo meeshii ka muuqda ayaa arkeen, waa u tageen, isagaa u yeedhay. Kolkaasaa La yidhi, "Awow, Sheekh Cali, xaggeed tagtay?" Markaasuu yidhi, "Qoon Muslim ah oo masaakiin ah ayaa badda dooniyi kula jabtay. Mid baa Ilaahay baryay oo, 'Ilaahayow, awlyadaada barakadeeda doonidaas meeshaas ka jabtay noogu hagaaji!' buu yidhi. Dhegtuu igaga dhacay. Anna, qudradda Ilaahay baa Laygu qaadoo doonidii meeshii ka dalooshay ayaan loox ku soo nabay, oo aan qarqoonkii ay qarqoomi lahayd ee dadka la jabi lahayd ayaan ka soo hagaajiyay," buu yidhi.'

OP.2c

'Wax kaloo La iiga sheekeeyay, oo ninkii xaaladda arkay ee isaga qasadkiisii uu yeelay iiga sheekeeyay, "Sheekha muriidiintisaan ka mid ahaa," buu yidhi. "Baabuur na waan waday," buu yidhi. "Markaa anigoo meel dheer oo fog oo laba meelood oon is ku dhowayn baannu kala joognaa," buu yidhi. "Anigoo baabuurkii wada ayaa baabuur kale oo weyni ku soo hagaagay," buu yidhi, "oo jidkii na waan ka kala leexan weynay. Markaasaan ka yaabay," buu yidhi, "inuu baabuurkii kale, intuu i jiidho, baabuurkaan waday baa yaraa yoo La burburiyo. Kolkaasaan waxaan idhi," buu yidhi, "Baabuurkii weynaa na fariinadaa u soo fakatay," buu yidhi. "Markaasaan," wuxuu yidhi, "Ilaahayow, Sheekh Nuur karaamadiisa baabuurka nagaga nabad geli!' baan idhi," buu yidhi. Wuxuu yidhi, "Gacan dheer oo

gacantii Sheekhii yah uun baa baabuurkii soo socday Lagu qabtay," buu yidhi. "Baabuurkii fariinaddu u soo fakatay ayaa halkii soo dhaafi waayay," buu yidhi. Gacantii Sheekha inay tahay een iqiin na waan is ka gartay," buu yidhi. ["Taasi na wax dhacay oon arkay oon u soo joogay ayey ahayd," buu sheekhii yidhi.']

OP.2d

'Markaa waxa La sheegay, islaan wiil keli yah leh, inuu waraabe ka cunay wiilki, inay tidhi, "Sheekh Xuseenow, madigii keli yah e yaraa een lahaa waxa iga cunay, waraabaa iga cunay. Sideen yeelaa?" "Ilaahay baan Kuu baryaynaa ye, is ka joog!" buu yidhi. Kolkaasaa yuu sheekhii muraaqooday, Ilaahii buu baryay, oo "Ilaahow waxaan Ku weydiistay," buu yidhi, "habartaa wiilkeedii waraabihii cunay calooshiisa intaad ka soo bixiso adiga dhib Kugu ma laha e isagoo nool oo socda caawa inuu gogosha ugu tago." Waraabii calooshiisii inta Ilaahay soo bixiyay oo wiilki oo abuuran oo sidiisii yah oo sidii ka quruxsan oo socda haweenaydii, inuu aroortii, isagoo garab hurda uun inay aragtay. Taasi na wax dhacay ayey noqotay.'

OP.2e

['Wuxuu soo maray,] nin baa waa isugu keenay. "Waxaan idiin karin," buu yidhi, "bun. Gaawe weyn oo bun ah ayaan idiin karinayaa," buu yidhi. Sonkor na ku mu'uu darin. Aqal yar oon weynayn na wuu soo geliyay. Markuu u yeedhay, waanay gaajaysnaayeen e, inuu wax weyn siinayo ayey mooden. Kolkaa uun buu qaxwahaas bunka ah oo kulul oo waxoogaa caano ah na leh iyo biyo isku kariyay uun u badan yaa Loo shubay. Markaasuu wuxuu yidhi, kolkuu dhandhamiyay,

"Dheri buuxa oo wada biyo ah, ba' e haddaad keentay
Ood culimo baaruud ka daran, buul is ugu keentay
Oo wada birqaabbo leh sidii, bahal dugaageedka
Bunka naga macaanee haddaad, barako doonayso
Haddii kale se Kaaga ba baxnay e, balaqso fuudkaaga
Waxaan baanay been La ma hadlee, baylah baad tahay e!"

buu yidhi. Markii buu ninkii intuu is ka gaadhay ayuu deed na bunkii macaaneeyay. Ninkii baa wuxuu yidhi, "Inaad gaajaysantihiin na waan idin arkaa ye, waxa ii jooga dibi yar, oo xoolihii kale bilshay ku maqanyihiin oo meel baa Loo raray. Dibiga yari na dibi idin gaadhaya ma aha. Baruur badan iyo hilib badan na ma leh. Maxaa yeelay waa weyd e ma idiin qalaa?" Markaasuu yidhi, "Waar, is ka qal, wax kalaad ku arki doontaa ye." Ninkii baa dibigii gawracay. Wuu qalay. Dibigii yaraa baa wuxuu is ka noqday wax aan yaani hilibkiisii wax dhammeeyoo baruurtiisii kala cunoo kala idleeyaa yaa La waayay.'

OP.2f

'Haddii ay laba qabiilo inay is dirirto uu ka yaabo oo La yidhaa laba qabiilo oo Soomaali yaa is diriraysa, wuxuu diri jiray weysadiisa ama tusbixiisa ayuu diri jiray oo xerta u dhiibi jiray. Wuxuu odhan jiray, "Qolo ba mar is la hor taagoo waa kaa tusbixii Sheekh Cali-Guure. Haddaad dirirtaa tagtaan ood ku duushaan dadkaa muslinka ah Alla ha idin rogo! Haddaad ka joogtaan na Alla ha idin nabad geliyo!" Qolada kale na waa Loo geyn jiray. Kol haddii La arko asalka ba ama weysada Sheekh Cali-Guure ama tusbixiisa, qolo dirir qabanqaabin jirtay ma ba jirin. Halkaa uun bay ku joogsan jireen.'

OP.2g

'Waxa dhacday, oo kaleeto, in sheekhu, dad badan intuu meel ku soo ururiyay uu yidhi, "Masaajid baan dhisaynaa ye, maal badan ha La keeno!"' 'In La yidhi,' buu yidhi,

“ Reerii way durkeen eegga e, masaajidka na bilow, annagu na wax Alla wixii had dhow kharashkiisu yahay yaan bixin doonnaa ye horta, bal sii bilow ! ” La yidhi. Geedo La soo qaadi kari waayay oon awr oo qaadi kara ama dad, toban, geed walba toban nin wax ka yari aanay wax qaadi karin oo dhaadheer ayaa meel Lagu sheegay meel ku tuulan. Markaasuu sheekhu, “ Geedihii bal waan soo deyi, ” uu yidhi. Geedihii oo meel ku tuulan ayuu arkay. Kolkaasuu intuu werdi akhriyay oo xagga Qiblada u jeedsaday, “ Ilaahow, ciidan ku gura baabuurka noo keen ! ” buu yidhi. Markaasaa baabuuradii waaweynaa ee trentokwatro La odhan jiray weyn oo xiimaya iyo qolo kuuli yah oo fuushan oo meel kaloo ay ka yimaadeen na aan La garanayn uun baa halkii isa fero taagtay.’ baa La yidhi. “ Sheekh, ma adaa noo yeedhay ? ” “ Haa.” Qoryihii bay gureen oo baabuurkii bay ku gureen,’ buu yidhi. ‘ Kolkii masaajidkii La ag keenay uu, “ Is ka taga haddaba ! ” yidhi, baabuurkii kolkuu ka dhaqaaqay xiin dambe iyo meel Alla meel uu maray baabuurkii in La waayay. Oo saa Lagu gartay karaamaad sidaas oo kale ay ku timid uun inuu ahaa.’

OP.2h

‘ Markaa waa sheekha hooyadiisa isagoo yar oo Quraanka soo dhigta oo kitaab sita ayay kitaabkii ka qaadday. Isagoo aqalka dhigtay ayay kitaabkii aragtay. Way kala bannaysay. Kitaabkii oo xaasha cadde ah ayay aragtay. “ Alla, waa agoon oo wax u subka ayuu waayay oo basaas tira ! ” bay tidhi. Subag bay intay shiishay kitaabkii gelisay. Markaa bal qisay na karaamadiisa kitaabkii xaashiduun baa ku quwowday, wax ba maanu noqon e wuxuu noqday kitaab La subkay oo macnihii na ka subkan, haddana xaraftiisii aanay baabbi’in buu is ka noqday.’

OP.2i

‘ Waxuu ahaa sheekh Axkaam iyo Aallo iyo Tafsiiir Quraan iyo Axadiith iyo Cilmi Tasawuf iyo cilmiga jinka Lagula hadlo inta ba yiqiin buu ahaa, Ilaahay baray. Markaa dhan walba wuu kitaabkii Loola yimaad ba wuu macnayn jiray. Eegga xertiisii waxyaalo fero badan, xer fero badan, oo shuyuukh ah ayaa ka nool. Waxuu odhan jiray kolkuu kutubta akhriyayo, kolkay dhan fadhiistaan ee saa xertu u soo xalqayso ayuu waxuu odhan jiray, “ Dhan banneeya, qolo jin ah yaa kutubta innala akhrisanaysa e ! ” Markaa jinka, sheekhu wuu u muuqdo jinka wuu arki jiray, oo jin arag buu ahaa gebigiisa ba. Ama dadka jinku galo ee uu derdero ayuu ka dabiibi jiray, oo ka dawayn jiray, oo Ilaahay baray.

Waxa ka mid ahayd oo La caddeeyay, haddii uu ducaynayo, oo casuumad iyo uu dhigayo oo diin akhriyayo oo La ducaysanayo waxuu odhan jiray, “ Qaybtii xertayda kale ee jinka ah halkan soo dhiga ! ” Markaa intuu neef adhi yah iyo laba gowraco oo uu geedaha dul ⁴¹ mariyo yuu, “ Ka kaalaya ! ” odhan jiray. Wax yar haddii La moogyahay yaa meeshii La soo deyaayay, tii oo dhiig iyo harag iyo wax Alla meeshii ka yaalla ba aanay jirin, yaa La arki jiray oo raggii dadkii arkay ayaan anigu arkay saas oo kale. Ama xeedhyo subag leh yuu meel dhigi jiray markaasaa Laga waayi jiray wax Alla wixii ku jiray. Ama dhiilo caano ah oo haamo ah ayuu meel intuu geeyo, “ Halkaa dhiga oo ka kaalaya ! ” odhan jiray. Wixii yoo madhan oo wada engegan baa Loo tegi jiray oo, “ Duulkii baa dhamay ! ” buu odhan jiray.’

OP.3a

‘ Usagoo jameeca weyn oo salaad u joogsatay, asna oo u yahay imaam, waxa dhacay, salaaddii dhexdeedii iyadoo Lagu jiro, inuu lug fidiyay oo sidaa u taagay. Markii salaaddii Laga baxay ama La faaruqay yaa su’aal La weydiiyay oo culumadii ama mashaa’ikhdiidii weydiisay jameecadii horteeda. Markaasaa La yiri, “ Maxaad lugta u fidisay ama u taagtay, Sheekh Cali Mayow ? ” Markaasuu yiri, “ Maskiintoo badar karsanaysay baa dhereggi

⁴¹ Textual emendation. *Tape* : daw.

badarkii kala dhacay. Markaa bay igu qaylisay oo tiri, 'Sheekh Cali Mayow!'. Markaasaan lugta ku celiyay dheregii!" Markaasuu lugtii feyday ama marada ka rogay, mase lugtii way gubatay oo waa bucbucday.'

OP.3b

'Sheekh Cali Maye wuxuu yiri, "Ha La ii keeno, wiil yar oo magaciisa La yiraa Yuusuf oo qabiilkiisu yahay [. . .] oo agoon ah." Markaasaa La weydiiyay, "Maxaad, Sheekh Cali Mayow, ku aragtay?" Markaasuu wuxuu yiri, "Waxaan ku arkay, filmanaam, amase riyo, nuurkiisa." Markaasaa Loo keenay wiil agoon ah oo [. . .] ah oo Yuusuf La yiraa. Markaasuu yiri, "Ma aha kan." Markaasaa La yiri, "Seed ku taqaan?" Markaasuu yiri, "Markaad ii keentaan yaad ogaanaysaan e, ii keena wiilkii, oo ha La ii soo helo, dhaqsiinyo!" Markaasaa La doonay oo La soo helay. Waa Loo keenay, usagoo yar. Markaasuu ku soo booday sheekhii oo dhunkaday oo dhinac kale ka dhunkaday oo kor u qaaday. Markaasuu yiri, "Waa kan ninkaan rabay." Markaasuu yiri, "Is ka daaya oo ku eedla'aada, anigaa haysanayee." Markaasuu waday oo dugsigii geeyay amase mawlicii. Markaasaa Quraan Loo dhigay. Markii ayaan Quraankii Loo dhigayay Chaaji Yuusuf, subixii dambe Sheekh Cali Maye wuu u yeeray. Markaasuu yiri, "Kitaabbadan u gal xerta!" Markaasuu yiri, "Aabbo, wax ma aqaan!" Markaasuu yiri, "In shaa' Allaahu, waad oqoonaysaa ye akhri!" Markaasuu yiri, "Bfhu!" oo dusha ka dhirbaaxay. Markaasuu billaabay kitaabbo akhrintii.'

OP.4a

'Šeg u'ëys lañ aġā'ib le yá hāye. əntə ku hóre, dád todoba boġol dán o hirtis e ya wal yáb le yá bāhədeñ. Meddí yo bāhədeñ, yá šəkə ən kōyen. Unnə bāhaney, máy āmána, yá arheñ. Ho İlahay arhó bə owkə dēregāsañ. Šeki sasá arheý. Irid meddí dīdeý yá tēsə wal yáb le bādañ bári gale, yá ən kōye šehi. İlahay yá tügeý. Dadkēy hanúngə bāheninə, tēsugun erín le inke wēlə, yá fadé. İlahay erínga ka wēlə tesíga. Erínki hamínga beršéy lagə gōrhiyeý. Dadki fára badanáye meddi horéne holá ən qábnə hamiñ dēregeñ.'

OP.4b

'Lañ aġā'ib le yá hayey, máy wēléy, hó usə dērefe, holá wa dugāg kə wēlə ġarey. Meddí abār dīde, webigá wañ dad ənkə wēlə ġarey. Ġedónnə, lañki gurbá ən qabnə, gurbí ənkə wēlə ġarey. Hungüftis lañki wórabə, hanúngə dínke baradá ġarey. Ādis na dad má hayná, dugága háyti. Libéhénne korə ġarey. Aġā'ibtas bādañ yá lahāye. Məddowá usə o dareté'e yá lañko lá'ag bādañ, yá ən sēdeý. Lányaw, bēsádun, wal o si, o siyāre'e. Lañki dīdeý. Šegi isku tábey. Lañki bēsáda badanáye, hōbə usə santúqe fúri bēsádi hubiye, bēsádi rhanrhar yá nagateý. Lañki bōre. Šegi yá ku dába galeý. Dəri ġirinše yá qobsodeý. Rälle háw! Bēsádi ada kiñ dīdeý bahála nagateý. Wáy fadēy illə nágato, idd́ illə sēta, in dó'ayte, bēsádi bahálka nágateý sidi tíye hóre, inke wēlla, yá fadé. Šeg innə dírifey, dīdeý. Lañkinne šeydán yá nagadeý. Šeg isku bahi. Lañko kále, holə lamə sáha ku qabə, yá iddis sēdeý. Lamádun sáhád, tó isi yá šegi arrey lankine sádo yá šegi siye. ən dó'ayey. Sádo léy qabta, tumun hamiñ, ba'adiše, ən kontón kiñ nágate, i bá la áraga. Šegi báhi, sādine wádađey. Meddí usə, idd́ ku báhi, yá sádi feris ya kə wēley, kóreý. Lañki sadi lé qabi, tumun hamiñ bə hó le rhōgə sadi kontón yá ən nágateý, máy wēléy, šegi yá ən dó'aye. Lañké owladné ma qabná, šeka yá ənkə dó'aye. Islantís afar kúri yáən dalley.'

OP.5

'Beri baa nin wadaad ihi, magaaladan Berbera ayuu joogi jiray oo, kolkaasuu magaaladii, dee waa dad ilbax ah, dad uun, ma aragtay, khiyaamayn karayo amma qaroomo wax uga qaadi karayo ma aha. Dadkii waa wada indho, waa is u soo jeeda. Kolkaasuu is yidhi, "Alaylee, waxa Kuu fiican, adigoo miyiga uga baxo dadka, ma aragtay, ahal baadiyaha ee,

ma aragtay, reer miyiga u baxo oo dadka, ma aragtay, tab aad wax kaga qaadato aad qabsato." Halkuu ka durduriyoo daas buu qaruurad cadar ah ka iibsaday. Kolkaasuu bitijoor na ka iibsaday, waa beri bitijooru na arliga yimid ahayd.

Reerkii ugu horreeyuu u tegay oo, reerkii ugu horreeyay wuu . . . Markaasaa La yidhi, "Waa wadaad," oo geed baa Loo goglay. Kolkaasuu kitaab weyn na la soo kala baxay. Kolkuu la soo kala baxay kitaabkii ayuu . . . , markaasuu weyso reerkii weydiistay. Weysaa La siiyay oo wan ba habeenkii Loo qalay oo, kolkaasuu yidhi, "Reerkii baan casharinayaa, ma aragtay, cudur iyo wax baan idinka casharinayaa, haddii Alla yadhi."

Kolkaasuu qaruuraddii cadarka ahayd, shaadh jeeb leh buu gashanyahay oo, halkaasuu, kolkaasuu furta sida intuu u taabto, ayuu markuu raggu gacanqaadka u dhiibo, ayuu ku taabtaa cadarkii. Kolkaasaa ninkii gacantiisii, ma aragtay, ursadaa, markaasuu yidhaahdaa, "Alla, udgoonaa! Illeen gacan caalin bay ahayd!" Ninkii na garan maayo, ma aragtay, ninkanu cadar buu magaalo ka soo iibsaday. Kolkaasaa dadkii is u wada sheegay reerkii ugu horreeyay oo, kolkaasaa reerihii adduun u gureen, ilaa qaruuraddii cadar ahayd ka madhanaysay ninkii.

Qaruuraddii cadar ahayd waxay u keentay laba boqol oo wan, ayuu qaroomihii ku soo qaatay.

[Markuu magaalada yimi ayaa nin garanayay yidhi, "Waar wadaadkii hebel reerahan uu soo dhacay waa maxay? Ninkanu adduunkan mu uu lahayn, adduunkan yuu ka soo qaaday?" Dabadeed arrintii baa Lays weydiyay oo arrintii ba dadkii . . . Markaasaa dadkii ahal baadiyaa Loo boxoo La yidhi, "Waar, ninkanu — maxaa adduunka ku siiseen?" Waxa La yidhi, "Kee? Hadduu sidaa Kuu eego, waa Kugu afgembiyayaa, karaamo aawadeed. Ma ninka . . . gacantiisii aannu salaannay ee markaannu gacanqaadka u dhiibnay, gacanti udeyg! Waad yaabaysay! Biley ka go'i weydo, udgoonkii gacantiisa wadaadka naga soo daatay! Wadaadka annagu waa baannu haysanaynaa!" baa La yidhi, "Oo xer baannu u samaynaynaa suu Quraankii noogu dhigo." Ma se oga dadku inuu daallin yahay uu doonayo uun, ma aragtay, dadka inuu xoolo ka urursado. Ninkii waa wadaaddadii isu sheegeen, waxa La yidhi, "Ninkanu wadaaddada magacooduu xumaynayaa, waa daallin, aan naga qabanno oo dawladda u sheegno!" Dawladdii baa La yidhi, "Ninkakan adduunka wuu soo dhacay ee La ma siinnin." Dabadeed dawladdii waxay tidhi, "Ninkanu waa wadaad oo annagu wadaad shuqul ku yeelan mayno, Wixii diintu shuqul ku leedahay faro ku ma lihin e idinku faro geliya!" Dabadeed dadkii, saasuu kaga hadhay ninkii wadaadka ahaa oo dulinka ku soo qaatay adduunkii.]

Habeenkii, marka, ma aragtay, uu ardaaga fadhdiyo na, labada go' intuu hagoogto, ayuu bitijooru ka ifiyaa. Kolkaasay yidhaahdaan, "Waa kaas oo wuu is nuurayaa, waa buu isa shidayaa!"

[Habeenkii . . .] maalintii na guntiguu geliyaa bitijooru oo dadka tusi maayo, kolkaasay habeenkii is u sheegaan, "Waa buu hillaacaa, wax kale is ka daa yoo!"

ZULU *IZIBONGO*: A SURVEY OF DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

By DAVID RYCROFT

Izibongo (praise poetry) is regarded by the Zulu and related southern African peoples as their highest form of traditional literary expression. Documented *izibongo* texts have attracted considerable interest among scholars of many countries, but the sources for such study and the published commentaries are so widely scattered that it may be useful to bring all the available information together in one place. In this article all transcriptions known to the author are mentioned, in roughly chronological order of appearance, and major items are briefly discussed. Concluding remarks refer to the inadequacy of written texts as a reflection of this oral art form, and to the matter of present-day composition and recitation of *izibongo*.

Three main Appendices are provided, listing all major documentary sources. Appendix I lists the main published sources for (a) Zulu royal *izibongo*; (b) Swazi royal *izibongo*; (c) prominent chiefs of other clans; and (d) additional *izibongo*.¹

Appendix II comprises a list of titles to 258 *izibongo* texts transcribed by James Stuart, between 1888 and 1912. The manuscripts of these are housed in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban. Most of them still remain unpublished.

Appendix III contains a list of sound recordings, on disc, of Zulu *izibongo*. Most of these were made in the late 1920's.

Finally there is a Bibliography listing all the main works which contain *izibongo* texts, whether in Zulu or in translation.

THE EARLIEST DOCUMENTED *IZIBONGO* TEXTS

Sporadic documentation of Zulu *izibongo* dates back to the early 19th century, if one is to include brief mention of royal praises in the writings of Henry Francis Fynn, Nathaniel Isaacs, Captain A. F. Gardiner, and Dr. Andrew Smith, in the 1830's. Smith's diary contains a roughly attempted English translation of eighteen lines from Dingane's *izibongo*.² The earliest transcription worthy of note, however, is a much longer version of the *izibongo* of Dingane, published in Arbousset and Dumas' book, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance* (1842: 311-24). The French version of the text amounts

¹ The arrangement is such that, against the name of each person praised, the location of all published versions of the *izibongo* of that person is given, and the number of lines contained in each version is stated.

² Cf. Kirby 1955.

to some 240 lines. Regrettably, only the first 27 lines of the original vernacular text are provided, and these are just barely identifiable as Zulu. It would appear that these French explorers were to some extent conversant with the Sotho language but not with Zulu, and that their linguistic adviser (or even perhaps their source) was possibly a Sotho speaker with an imperfect command of Zulu. From a knowledge of French spelling rules it is easy to recognize that 'egnone' represents the Zulu noun *inyoni* ('bird'), but a number of other words, especially names, are far more obscure.

Arbousset and Daumas' version of the text and of their French translation are given in Table I, together with a tentative rendering in the current Zulu orthography by my colleague Mr. A. B. Ngcobo.

It is most unfortunate that Arbousset and Daumas published only 27 lines of the vernacular text, however odd the transcription, because it now seems impossible to reconstruct with any certainty the original Zulu text from the additional 213 lines given only in French, a great many of which do not appear to have recognizable parallels in any later version.

An English translation of Arbousset and Daumas' book appeared in 1846, but for serious study of the 'ode to Dingane' it is advisable to keep to the French version of the book owing to inaccuracies of translation and spelling in the English edition.

Several books published later in the 19th century contain borrowed extracts from the English translation of Arbousset and Daumas' French version of the *izibongo* of Dingane, with or without acknowledgement. For example, J. Shooter reproduces 159 lines of this text (1857: 310–15).

In the first Grammar of Zulu, Schreuder's *Grammatik* (Christiania, 1840) there is no mention of *izibongo*. The American missionary, J. L. Döhne, in the introduction to his *Zulu-Kafir Dictionary* (Cape Town, 1857, p. ix) acknowledged the existence of *izibongo* but was most disparaging about the genre: 'poetical language is extremely rare: . . . the Zulu nation is more fond of . . . singing the praises of the chiefs than any other Kafir tribe, but their capabilities in this respect are very limited.'

Another American missionary, Lewis Grout, did not share Döhne's views, however. Grout, in an appendix to his *Grammar* (1859) published significant extracts from the *izibongo* of Senzangakhona (8 lines), Shaka (11 lines), Dingane (14 lines), and Mpande (23 lines) together with English translations and notes.³ His sources were not stated, however. These texts were reproduced in the periodical, *Ikwezi*, of March, 1862 (p. 4), and the English translations were included in Grout's book, *Zululand* (1861: 197–9). Grout's transcripts are

³ The appendix containing these *izibongo* was omitted from the revised, 1893 edition.

TABLE I : THE IZIBONGO OF DINGANE

Arbousset and Daumas' version with a modern interpretation

<i>Emponko Za Orengane</i>	Les Louanges de Dingan ¹	Izibongo zikaDingane ²
<i>Egnoné éa suléla, Ea suléla qua Bolaoako. Egnoné éa thla zégné zégnoné ; Ea thla O'khèlè la qua Bolaoako. Makhoubalo a thléoa ca pacate ; A thléoa ko Mama no Makhabaï. Egnoné é thlézé qu'o sanguéné, qu'o Nobampa. Ea thla Opoucaché, oa Botélézé. Ea thla Omocoquané, o'Poko. Ea thla Séthlépouna, sa Babananko. Ea thla go ba qua Massoumpa. Ea thla go Matouané. Makhoubalo a thléoa ko Nomapéla.</i>	Un oiseau se trémousse, Il se trémousse au-dessus de Bolaoako. Cet oiseau mange les autres oiseaux ; Il a mangé le rusé Bolaoako. Les eaux lustrales ⁴ ont été bues dans le silence ; Elles ont été bues par Mama et Makhabaï. L'oiseau s'est posé à Nobampa sur la bergerie. Il s'est repu d'Opoucaché, fils de Botélézé. Il s'est repu d'Omocoquané, fils de Poko. Il a mangé Sethlépouna, de Babananko. Il a déchiré les Massoumpas. Il a dévoré Matouané. Les eaux de purification ont été bues par Nomapéla.	Inyoni yazulela, Yazulela kwaBulawayo. Inyoni eyadla ezinye izinyoni ; Yadla [Puhèle ³] lakwaBulawayo. Amakhubalo adlelwa ngaphakathi ; Adliwa nguMmama noMnkabayi. Inyoni ehlezi esangweni kwaNobamba. Yadla uPhungashe wakwaButhelezi. Yadla [P uMkhukhwane noPhoko] Yadla [P uSihlephula] waseBabanango. Yadla kwaba kwaMasumpa. Yadla uMatiwane. Amakhubalo adliwa nguNomaphela.
<i>Ou Fézé! oua zéféza bantou éné ; Ou lamouléla éntoumpé, Na manéna, na matota, na macacassana. Ou Mocabateri ! ou cabatela makhosé agagné. Ou nomaquélo, ka ou quéla énthaba.</i>	Libérateur ! tu t'es montré à ce peuple-ci. Tu as délivré de l'oppression les vierges, Les femmes, les hommes, les enfants. Tu es un roi qui écrase la tête des autres rois. Tu franchis des monts inaccessibles à tes prédécesseurs.	Uvezi owaziveza ebantwini ; Ulamulela [iz]intombi, Namanina, namadoda, namakhosana. UMgabadelu owagabadela amakhosi amanye. UNomakhwela ngokukhwela [iz]intaba.
<i>Ou fégnané léyé lé sé na énthléla. Oua lé banta, oua lé éza énthléla thléla. Oua thla énkhome za qua Ontoungéla ;</i>	Tu recontres un défilé sans issue ; Tu y tailles des chemins, oui, des chemins. Ainsi ravis-tu les troupeaux des rives de la Létouéle ;	[P Ufuyunawwe] leyi la kungenandlela. ⁵ Walibanda, walenza [iz]indlela-ndlela. Wadla [iz]inkomo zakwaNtungela ;
<i>Oua thla énkhome za malala a Babananko.</i>	Et les troupeaux des Babanankos, gens habiles à forger le fer. ⁶	Wadla izinkomo zamaLala eBabanango.
<i>Ou m'oézé omotala ! Ou Nguézé oa léoanthlé, Oa Motéto, qua Ntéméntoa ; Ou Nténquézé zé machoumé.</i>	Tu es un vert entrepreneur ! Tu es victorieux des peuples de la mer, De Motéto, roi de Ntéméntoa. Tu es un vainqueur choisi entre dix dizaines d'autres.	UMwezi [P UMenzi] omdala ! ⁷ [P UNkwenkwezi] wolwandle, Womthethwa [P kwaNdiminwane] ; UNdengezi-mashumi.
<i>Ou foulatéla Moghoma lé Quathlampéné.</i>	Tu as franchi Mont-Moghoma et les Quathlampénés.	Ofulathele uMngoma oKhahlamba.

1. In the original there are eight footnotes to the French text, which are not reproduced here.
 2. There are a number of obscurities in the original text, for which speculative renderings are in some cases given here. Further research may eventually throw more light on these.
 3. The French translation gives *le rusé* 'sagacious one', but the closest known Zulu word seems to be this one, meaning 'hawk'. Another possibility might be *iqili* 'cunning person'.
 4. A footnote here explains 'eaux lustrales' as a drink containing bitter herbs, drunk in seclusion by relatives of the deceased, for ritual purification.
 5. The original transcript here seems to be more in Sotho than Zulu.
 6. The last six words are not in the vernacular text, but appear to give additional information.
 7. *omdala*, meaning 'old' seems closest here. The French translation gives 'green', but this would be *oluhlaza* in Zulu.

probably the earliest documentary versions of *izibongo* texts, in the original Zulu, that were recorded with reasonable accuracy.⁴ His original version of Senzangakhona's praises is shown below, followed by a transliteration in the current Zulu orthography.⁵

XII. ISIBONGO SA 'SENZANGAKONA.

Igodi elimnyama la kwa Nobamba !
Eli hambe li ba xila amaJakala naba seziteni naba
 sekaya ;
Inakazi emnyama ya kwa Zwa Ngendaba ;
Imamba ka 'MaJanda noNsele ;
Unotšwabadela izinlumbu namakasi ;
Upezipelile ka 'Menzi ;
Umtombo wa kwa Nobamba, e ng' u puze,
Nga gangaleka, nga tšona elozini la sEpungeni.

THAT IS—

Thou dark grave of Nobamba !
 Ever noosing the ankles of foes at home and abroad ;
 Black spotted beast of Zwa Ngendaba ;
 Thou deadly destroyer of Makanda and Unsele ;
 Voracious consumer of the root and the branch ;
 Descendant of Menzi ! plundering till plunder is gone ;
 Thou fount of Nobamba ! drinking of which,
 I dropped down dead, and sunk into the shade of Punga.

Modern transliteration :

Izibongo zikaSenzangakhona
IGodi elimnyama lakwaNobamba !
Elihambe libahila amaqakala nabasezitheni nabasekhaya ;
INakazi emnyama yakwaZwangendaba ;
IMamba kaMaqanda noNsele ;
UNoshwabadela izindlumbu namakhasi ;
UPheziphelile kaMenzi ;
UMthombo wakwaNobamba, eng'wuphuze,
Ngagangaleka, ngashona edlozini lasePhungeni.

Bishop J. W. Colenso's *Elementary Grammar* (1859) contains two short

⁴ Of these versions, James Stuart expressed the opinion that Grout's notes on them were 'useful' but the English translations 'almost worthless', which seems an unduly harsh judgement (unpublished MS, Stuart Papers, vol. 75, p. 67, fn.).

⁵ It should be noted that Grout employed the symbol '!' for the palatal click consonant now written as *q*. Aspiration of *p*, *t* and *k* was not indicated. The velar fricative 'χ' is nowadays most commonly pronounced as a glottal fricative and written as *h*. The aspirated palato-alveolar affricate [tʃh] which Grout writes as 'tš' is nowadays usually replaced by the fricative [ʃ], written as *sh* (though *tsh* still occurs in Rhodesian Ndebele and in some dialects of Zulu).

izibongo extracts, with translations. The same texts are also reproduced in his *First Steps in Zulu-Kafir* (1871 : 82–3). The examples comprise ‘ part of a song of praise in honour of Dingane ’ (13 lines), and ‘ another specimen of *izibongo* (names of praise) . . . applied to a young man, uJojo, by a companion, a refugee blind man, who appears to possess the proper faculty for inventing such language ’ (7 lines). The same extract from Dingane’s *izibongo*, but without English translation, was published together with five short song texts, in *Izindatyana Zabantu* (1859a : clx) and in *Incwadi yezifundo* (Maritzburg, 1870). I have not seen the latter but it is listed in notes among James Stuart’s manuscripts.

Canon Callaway’s scholarly volume, *Nursery tales, traditions, and histories of the Zulus* (London, 1868) surprisingly contains no *izibongo* texts and no references to *izibongo* whatsoever.

The first Zulu author to publish a book in Zulu, on Zulu history and customs, was Magama M. Fuze. His book, *Abantu abamnyama, lapa bavela ngakona* [Black people, where they come from] (1922) contains a few extracts from *izibongo*, including those of Senzangakhona and Shaka (pp. 73, 88 and 90) and there is a wealth of historical material relating to incidents cited in the Zulu royal praises. This book has long been out of print and it is high time that a reprint appeared. In his youth, Fuze had been closely associated with Bishop Colenso, and had accompanied him on a visit to King Mpande in 1859.⁶

R. C. Samuelson, who was born in Natal and was intimately connected with King Cetshwayo and his court officials, serving as his interpreter for a number of years, collected versions of the *izibongo* of the whole Zulu royal line, from Senzangakhona to Solomon. These he published, together with English translations, in *Long, long ago* (1929). The *izibongo* of Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu and Solomon had, in fact, appeared earlier, in the introduction to his *King Cetywayo Zulu Dictionary* (1923). While Samuelson’s versions afford interesting comparison with other versions, they are not as scholarly as those of James Stuart. Annotation is scanty and his English translations are often rather sketchy.

The same criticisms can be made of E. W. Grant’s versions (‘ *Izibongo* of the Zulu chiefs ’, 1929). Although Grant’s material was evidently obtained from two acknowledged court praisers, they were of advanced age. Grant furthermore had them perform into an early form of phonograph, which may have been inhibiting. Whatever the cause, these versions are disappointing both in content and style and the annotation and English translation is not always accurate.

A valuable small collection of the praises of past chiefs of the Bhaca and Hlubi clans, written entirely in Zulu, by H. M. Ndawo, and entitled *Izibongo*

⁶ Fuze’s written account of the visit was published in J. W. Colenso (ed. and transl.): *Three Native accounts of the visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October 1859, to Mpande, King of the Zulus, Pietermaritzburg, 1860.*

zenkosi zamaHlubi nezamaBaca, was published in 1928. There may possibly be more books of this kind still awaiting rediscovery by future literary scholars.

A. T. Bryant in *Olden Times* (1929) provided texts of *izibongo* of two 18th-century ancestors of the Zulu royal line, Ndaba (7 lines) and Jama (17 lines); also of Senzangakhona and Shaka (39 stanzas each); and of two early chiefs of the Mthethwa clan, Jobe (8 lines) and Dingiswayo (15 lines). Surprisingly, no English translation or annotation of any kind is supplied. These versions are interesting, since they differ somewhat from others; but no sources are cited. The Senzangakhona and Shaka texts here have the distinction of being set out in longer stanzas, or paragraphs. Visually, this is perhaps a good thing, since it reflects more clearly the overall unity of the stanza when actually recited. The more common practice of setting out the material in shorter lines often has the effect of suggesting a pause at the end of each line, whether or not this is natural during recitation.

James Stuart

Head and shoulders above all other collectors was James Stuart, whose outstanding work has still not received the recognition it deserves. James Stuart (1868–1942) was born in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, of British parentage, and acquired an extremely fluent command of the Zulu language. While working in the Civil Service, and serving as a magistrate, in various districts of Zululand and Natal (from 1888 to 1912)⁷ he made an intensive study of Zulu history, tradition, and oral literature, obtaining verbatim transcripts from a great number of old Zulu men, some of whom were able to provide eye-witness accounts from as far back as Dingane's reign (1828–40). Stuart also spent a great deal of time in the company of leading Zulu praise-poets of the late 19th and early 20th century. He obtained from each of them their own individual versions of traditional *izibongo*, which he transcribed with scrupulous care, adding detailed footnotes and also stating his source, and the date and place.⁸ The original handwritten transcripts of over 360 texts are housed among the Stuart Papers in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban.⁹ Most of these *izibongo* texts have never been published, though a small selection were included in books published by

⁷ Stuart served as Acting British Consul in Swaziland in 1894–5 and 1898–9. He was stationed at Ingwavuma from 1895 to 1898; in the Lower Tugela district from 1899 to 1901; and in Natal from 1902 onwards. He retired from the Civil Service in 1912 at the age of 44. He lived in England from 1922 until his death in 1942 while serving in Civil Defence in London.

⁸ Mr. Harry Lugg, who knew Stuart personally, recalls that 'Stuart used to invite all the old men and bards to his house and sit up late into the night struggling to transcribe the praises. The trouble was that they could only recite the praises in traditional style—they could not stop, they could not go slowly, so the only way was by constant repetition'. (This information was given to me by Professor A. T. Cope in a personal communication, dated 3.12.1968.)

⁹ Mostly in Volumes 75, 76 and 77: 'Large Notebooks' 7, 8 and 9, entitled 'Book of Eulogies', vols. 1, 2 and 3.

Stuart in the 1920's, and a further number more recently in *Izibongo: Zulu praise poems* (A. T. Cope, 1968).

After settling in England in 1922, Stuart published a wealth of Zulu material, including *izibongo*, without English translation, in the form of five books for use in Zulu schools: *uTulasizwe*; *uHlangakula*; *uBaxoxele*; *uKulumetule*; and *uVusezakiti* (1923-6). These books reflect a high standard of scholarship in the presentation of Zulu historical and cultural material, and of annotated transcripts of oral literature and *izibongo*. Their use in schools was discontinued in the 1930's, however, after radical changes in the official Zulu orthography had been adopted.¹⁰ Though copies are nowadays difficult to locate, these books are still a most valuable documentary source particularly in the case of the non-royal *izibongo* texts they contain, many of which have never been published elsewhere, or else differ slightly from other published versions.¹¹

In addition to these texts, further extracts from the *izibongo* of other personalities occur here and there in the school books, in different chapters dealing with historical incidents. There are also three chapters devoted to the subject of *izibongo* (*uKulumetule*, pp. 93-114) containing valuable anecdotes about prominent *izimbongi* (praise-poets; singular: *imbongi*) of the 19th century. On p. 103 it is stated that: 'the greatest Zulu praise-poet, surpassing all others, was Magolwana, son of Mkhathini, of the Jiyana clan. He was the official *imbongi* of Mpande, and had also served Dingane as an *imbongi*. Magolwana was far superior to Mshongweni (Shaka's *imbongi*);¹² to Maqayingana kaLutholudala; to Klwana kaNgqengelele; to Mahlangeni of the Khumalo clan (chief *imbongi* to Cetshwayo); to Manxele of the Buthelezi clan (another *imbongi* of Cetshwayo); to Mnyamana, son of Ngqengelele; to Ndevana of the Khanyile clan; to Vumandaba kaNtethi; to Mhlakuva kaSodondo; to Hlantele kaQukaqa; to Hemulana kaMbagezeli;

¹⁰ Stuart used the so-called 'disjunct' method of spelling, as against the 'conjunct' system employed since that time. Also, aspirated consonants now written as *ph*, *th* and *kh*, were not distinguished from unaspirated *p*, *t* and *k*; modern *sh* was written mainly as *tsh*; *dl* as *dhl*; and *bh* as *b*.

Some of Stuart's material was reproduced in later Zulu school books, as for example: Doke and Sikakana 1949, 1950 (short simplified versions occur in Doke and Sikakana 1947).

¹¹ Stuart's school books contain the following *izibongo* of non-royal persons (besides those of the complete Zulu royal line):

Chiefs of other clans: Zwide kaLanga (Ndwandwe); Dingiswayo kaJobe (Mthethwa); Mzilikazi kaMashobana (Khumalo); Langelibalele kaMthimkhulu (Hlubi); Ngqengelele kaMvuyana (Buthelezi).

Princes and royal women: Mnkabayi kaJama (sister to Senzangakhona); Nzibe kaSenzangakhona; Hamu kaMpande.

Military commanders and officials: Mdlaka kaNcidi; Ndlela kaSompisi; Masiphula kaMamba; Nozishada kaMaqoboza; Mnyamana kaNgqengelele.

Zulu heroes: Zulu kaNogandaya; Sothobe kaMpangalala.

Non-humans: Mangenduna (a dog); Sicocosendoda (a bull).

¹² Other *izimbongi* of Shaka are mentioned by A. T. Bryant (1929: 667): 'Nomxamama kaSoshaya (of the eziBisini clan) . . . had been a special favourite with Shaka, official understudy of Mbopha, and court praise-cryer (*imbongi*), formerly of Bulawayo, now of Dukuza.'

to Sobedase of the Qwabe clan ; to Shingane kaMpande ; to Ndabuko kaMpande ; to Sehla kaNdengezi kaManzini (*imbongi* to Dinuzulu) ; and to Hoye kaSoxalase, of the Ndlela clan (*imbongi* to Solomon)'. Elsewhere (*uHlangakula*, pp. 132-42) a chapter is devoted entirely to Magolwana, and how he met his death. Of living Zulu praise-poets, Stuart speaks the most highly of Shingana kaMpande, from whom he obtained a great deal of material: 'He was of the Ludloko regiment ; a great authority on Zulu ancestral history and a great *imbongi* of the kings. Many of the *izibongo* appearing in *uTulasizwe*, etc., were obtained from him in the months of May to July, 1907' (*uBaxoxele*, p. 82 ; there is also a photograph of Shingana kaMpande).

Of the *izibongo* of the Zulu kings, published in Stuart's school books, the versions presented are of considerable length. Each one is divided into two or more parts, published separately in different volumes of the school books. Stuart did not specifically state their sources, and over the past half-century since they were first published, nobody seems to have made serious enquiries in this direction. If one examines Stuart's hand-written transcripts housed in the Campbell Library, however, it becomes evident that these long versions of the royal eulogies represent, in each case, not just one single performance by one pre-eminent Zulu praise-poet. The published versions, it appears, were collated by James Stuart himself, each from a great number of different versions obtained from many different sources. It is possible to identify the various contributors explicitly, through examining Stuart's manuscripts. It seems rather surprising that nobody has previously taken the trouble to do so, in the interests of placing the treatment of sources on a more scholarly footing.¹³ In some cases as many as nineteen different *izimbongi* are cited as contributors.

In collating the texts, Stuart appears to have been meticulous in reproducing exactly, in the form in which he heard it, one or another variant of each line. He exercised judgement only in the matter of selecting variants and in the arrangement and ordering of lines, apparently after close consultation with leading experts of the time (such as Shingana kaMpande in particular, whom he acknowledges frequently in his notes).

Besides documenting so much Zulu material, Stuart reproduced a small amount through the medium of sound-recording, in the 1920's, making a number of gramophone records of *izibongo* and of folk tales.¹⁴

PUBLICATIONS SINCE 1930

While the bulk of Stuart's *izibongo* transcripts still remain unpublished, his

¹³ A Zulu colleague and I are at present preparing a joint paper, based on Stuart's material on the *izibongo* of Dingane, which includes some consideration of the matter of sources.

¹⁴ See Appendix III. These were recited and spoken by Stuart himself, in what appears to be accepted as a very close approximation to traditional style.

long versions of the royal *izibongo*, as published in the school books, have subsequently been reproduced in a number of later vernacular works, either intact or with slight modification, notably in the historical novels of R. R. R. Dhlomo,¹⁵ and in C. L. S. Nyembezi's excellent volume, *Izibongo zamakhosi* (1958).¹⁶ The latter is devoted to the Zulu royal praises, from Senzangakhona to Dinuzulu, but includes those of the Mthethwa chief, Dingiswayo, and also the Swazi royal line.¹⁷ An earlier series of articles in English (Nyembezi, 1948), provided a valuable study of selected praise poems, considered in relation to their social context.

The late Dr. B. W. Vilakazi, who was himself an outstanding novelist and poet, contributed to the study of *izibongo* in several articles, notably 'The conception and development of poetry in Zulu' (1938); and in a substantial thesis entitled *Oral and written literature in Nguni* (1945) in which a number of *izibongo* which have not been published elsewhere are quoted and discussed.¹⁸

A major analytical work was provided by Raymond Mazisi Kunene, in his thesis: *An analytical survey of Zulu poetry, both traditional and modern* (1962). Quotations from his work appear in A. T. Cope (1968: 50–63). Brief notes on *izibongo* also occur in the introduction to Kunene's *Zulu poems* (1970).

Dr. Daniel Malcolm collaborated with Stuart for many years in making English translations of 258 *izibongo* collected by Stuart; but regrettably, both Stuart and Malcolm died before the manuscripts had reached a stage suitable for final publication.¹⁹ Nevertheless, 26 of the poems, with parallel English texts by Malcolm, and useful annotation, were prepared for publication under the editorship of Dr. A. T. Cope and issued in 1968 in a volume entitled *Izibongo: Zulu*

¹⁵ See Bibliography.

¹⁶ In the foreword to this book, Nyembezi pays tribute to Stuart, A. T. Bryant and Samuelson, for collecting Zulu treasures from the past and 'preserving them in books, from which they are now taken'. Professor Cyril Lincoln Sibusiso Nyembezi was formerly Head of the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of Fort Hare. He has subsequently devoted his time to authorship (in Zulu) and the editing of Zulu literary works.

¹⁷ For Swazi royal praises, see also Cook, 1930.

¹⁸ Vilakazi's thesis contains extracts or complete texts of *izibongo* relating to the following persons (with number of lines in square brackets): Mnkabayi kaJama [32]; Ntombukuphela kaMdlalose [20]; Ndindane, iqhawe lakwaMandlakazi [54]; Mhlaba, inkosi yamaNkuna eOfcolaco [15]; Shiluvane, inkosi yamaNkuna eOfcolaco [32]; Mbandeni Dlamini, inkosi yamaSwazi [32]; Monase kaMntungwa wakwaNxumalo [5]; Mbuyazi kaMpande [5]; Macingwane wasemaChunwini [156]; Phakade kaMacingwane wasemaChunwini [10]; Mamchoboza, inkosikazi kaPhakade [12]; Mcazi kaVuma [20]; Mthanda, umuzi wakwaQwabe (kraal of Qwabe) [60]; Masiphula kaMamba [5]; Nomfunda wasebaQulusini [22]; Zulu kaNogandaya [5]; Mkhuzo kaMbuyana, iqhawe likaZibhebhu [17]; Mnguni, induna kaZibhebhu [9]; Mzochithwayo kaSilwane kaGabangaye [241]; Fakekile, intombi yakwaMdlalose, eDumbe [20]; Ellina kaLokothwayo kaManyosi, eNgotshe [39]; Fakuzile kaMandiza, eNgenetsheni [23]; Mnyamana kaNgqengelele [6]; Bantubensumo [7]; Sarili kaHintsa, inkosi yamaXhosa [24]; Ndlambe, inkosi yamaXhosa [5].

¹⁹ Dr. Daniel Malcolm (1884–1962) was born in Durban, grew up in the Bulwer district, and served for thirty years as Chief Inspector of Bantu Education before holding a post for twenty years as the first Lecturer in Zulu at the University of Natal.

praise poems.²⁰ This work represents a real landmark, presenting to the world for the first time a scholarly and authentic collection of traditional Zulu praise poetry, together with excellent English translations,²¹ and with valuable historical and explanatory material supplied by the editor. Besides a representative selection of Zulu royal praises (though regrettably those of Dingane and Mpande were omitted) a sampling of *izibongo* of prominent chiefs of related clans, of Zulu heroes, generals, royal women, and of two white men is also included.

The royal *izibongo* in this volume again appear to be collations, by Stuart, from numerous sources (though this fact is not mentioned). Nevertheless, these versions differ to quite an extent from those published previously in Stuart's five school books, though the divergence is mainly in the arrangement and ordering of lines.

An interesting theory (quoted from R. M. Kunene, 1962) is expounded and exemplified in the second introductory chapter of this book. This concerns the evolution of the stanza, from simple couplets and triplets, in the time before Shaka, through the important Shakan period (1880–1850) up to its 'mature post-Shakan form' with parallel developments and conclusions. Dr. Cope, in analysing the version of the Cetshwayo poem included in this anthology, calls it 'perhaps the most perfect' of all Zulu praise poems, illustrating the 'fully developed Shakan praise-stanza elaborated by the incorporation of parallel couplets and triplets comprising developments and conclusions'. This certainly applies fittingly to the version in question. For more detailed research in this direction in the future it might prove rewarding also to look into the many shorter, direct transcripts of the royal *izibongo*, as recited by individual *izimbongi*, which are to be found among Stuart's unpublished papers.²²

²⁰ Professor A. T. Cope is Head of the Department of African Studies, University of Natal, Durban.

²¹ Dr. Malcolm has maintained a good balance between the demands of an acceptable English style and faithfulness to the original text. Deferring at times to the former, however, he often conceals the Zulu feature of word-repetition. For example, where a succession of conquests are covered by numerous adjacent lines, all beginning with *wadla*... (literally 'he ate') Malcolm frequently varies the translation, giving 'he captured...', 'he devoured...', 'he killed...', 'he destroyed...'. I think this is a good compromise provided one is aware of the deviation from the original.

²² From a brief look at Stuart's hand-written manuscripts it seems that some, at least, of the 'great stanzas' in Stuart's long collated versions attained their final form to some extent through selective editing, by Stuart. The notable 7-line stanza in Stuart's 'school books' version of Dingane's *izibongo*, commencing with '*ISizib' esiseMavivane*...' ('Deep River-pool...'), for example (*uTulasizwe*, p. 65, lines 20–26), was built up from at least five separate individual versions. Stuart attributes the first line to versions he obtained from Shingana, Mgidlana and Mgidi; the third and fourth lines to Shingana's version alone; and the remainder to versions from Mayinga and Sivivi. None of their individual versions contained all the seven lines. Nevertheless, the way in which Stuart arranged the material appears to have been based on very sound advice and deep understanding. The collated versions are certainly not an artificial pastiche. Perhaps one might venture to say that James Stuart served as a well-trained midwife to the Zulu muse.

Dr. Cope's second introductory chapter also contains some valuable analytical material. Content, imagery and style are discussed and the important feature of 'parallelism by linking' is well exemplified. In this connection traditional Sotho poetry has some comparable stylistic features. It is worthwhile consulting Chapter 6 of Dr. D. P. Kunene's recent work, *Heroic poetry of the Basotho* (1971) where a system of linear representation has been introduced: sloping lines are drawn to depict different varieties of stylistic repetition.

Consideration of Xhosa *izibongo* has not been attempted in this article. The fullest collection known to me is that in D. L. P. Yali-Manisi's book, *Izibongo zeenkosi zamaXhosa* (1952). Finally, if one wishes to gain perspective in viewing Zulu *izibongo* within the wider field of oral poetry throughout the African continent, a very useful survey is to be found in Chapters 4 and 5 of Ruth Finnegan's book, *Oral literature in Africa* (1970). In her chapter headed 'Panegyric' she expresses the opinion that 'the praise-poems of the Bantu peoples of South Africa are one of the most specialized and complex forms of poetry to be found in Africa'.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this article, attention has been confined to written texts. The documentation of oral material (as also of folk music) is generally championed as a vital rescue operation for saving past treasures from extinction; but it frequently also has its dark side: solidifying what was previously fluid, and neglecting important stylistic features that are essentially oral or dramatic.²³ Literary scholars often seem intent on embalming the material and supplying the respectable world archives of silent literature with further corpses for dissection. Students acquire the notion that the silent contemplation of tidy lines of print is nowadays the only 'civilized' approach. But where is the once-living, magical art-form, subtly variable in nuance and style with each re-telling, sensitive to context and occasion, a true vehicle for the creative genius of the reciter? The use of sound-recording or even sound-filming gives fairer treatment to the material, though here the danger of normative standardization is still present.

Stuart's versions of the royal *izibongo* have become very widely known among Zulu speakers over the past half-century. To some extent there has been a tendency to regard them as immutable, representing the only 'correct' or standard forms of the royal *izibongo*. A vague notion that they became crystallized into this 'ideal' form through some sort of anonymous communal process of evolution seems to have been seldom seriously questioned, even by literary scholars. The position might have been happier if a great many more, differing versions of the royal eulogies had been published in addition to Stuart's 'ideal' collated versions.

²³ Regarding oral features of *izibongo* recitation, see Rycroft 1960.

Perhaps there is still time to improve matters by doing this. Transcripts of numerous individual versions obtained from different praise poets still remain among the unpublished Stuart Papers in the Campbell Library, and English translations by Malcolm are also available.²⁴

It appears, from the documented texts that we have referred to in this article, that it is mainly individuals with some claim to eminence whose praises have come to find their way into print. Let us not forget, however, that in traditional Zulu life almost everyone had their own personal *izibongo*, even if these comprised no more than a few short praise epithets; and praises were on occasion also composed for domestic animals or other non-human subjects. This point has frequently been covered in previous descriptive studies. Some scholars have advocated that a distinction should be made between the more polished, professional product, and the simple praise-name or short string of epithets. While it may be desirable to draw such a distinction for analytical purposes, the fact remains that, in Zulu, the term '*izibongo*' covers all forms, whatever their complexity, and has always done so.

Happily, the creation and recitation of Zulu *izibongo* is still being practised as a living oral art form, despite the fact that so little evidence of this can be found nowadays through consulting literary publications.²⁵ Perhaps inevitably formal education among Zulu speakers, as well as academic scholarship, has heretofore tended to channel creativity in new directions, and continuity of the *izibongo* tradition has been largely left to the 'peasantry'.²⁶ Nowadays, personal *izibongo* are sometimes encountered in unexpected places: young men from country areas who take up manual work in towns have the habit of interspersing long strings of their own self-praises between the verses of their improvised guitar-songs.

At another level, prominent chiefs continue to draw forth praises from those among their followers who feel inspired in that direction. Over the past two decades Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's body of personal praises has grown to very impressive proportions, new stanzas having been added from time to time by

²⁴ Over forty years ago, in a survey of vernacular literature, Dr. C. M. Doke urged that 'the *izibongo* of the Zulu chiefs and others should be collected into one publication, and annotated as fully as possible. An immense amount of historical matter, as well as valuable idiom would thus be preserved' (C. M. Doke: 'A preliminary investigation into the state of the Native languages of South Africa with suggestions as to research and the development of literature', *Bantu Studies*, VII, 1933, p. 10). It is indeed tragic that Stuart and Malcolm died before fulfilling their life-long ambition of publishing all their material. Dr. A. T. Cope made a valuable contribution in editing 28 important items for publication in his *Izibongo: Zulu praise poems*, and it is greatly to be hoped that the rest of Stuart's collection will eventually be published.

²⁵ Turning to the neighbouring Xhosa, however, notice should be taken of Dr. Archie Mafeje's outstanding paper: 'The role of the bard in a contemporary African community' (1967).

²⁶ There is evidence lately, however, of growing interest among some modern Zulu 'literate' poets, in the adoption of traditional features: cf. Mazisi Kunene: *Zulu Poems* (1970).

numerous contributors (representing a broad cross-section of social and educational standing).

Besides paying due attention to treasures from the past, and to current Zulu written literature, scholars in this field should not neglect their obligation to give serious attention to modern *izibongo*.

In so doing, we must at all times remember that we are dealing with an essentially oral art form, which has a wealth of stylistic features that cannot be adequately represented through lines of print, but must not on that account be overlooked.

APPENDIX I

The Main Published Sources of Zulu Izibongo

This appendix affords a comparative tabulation of documented *izibongo* texts, treated under four headings: (a) Zulu royal *izibongo*; (b) Swazi royal *izibongo*; (c) prominent chiefs of other clans; and (d) additional *izibongo*. The number of lines in each version is noted in square brackets. It should be noted, however, that where there are a number of versions for a single individual, these are not necessarily cumulative. There is a great deal of overlapping between different versions, and, in some cases, the same text has been reproduced in several publications. The language of the text is sometimes noted by the abbreviations Z (Zulu), E (English), F (French) and G (German).

(a) Zulu royal *izibongo*

Principal sources

In Zulu, with English translation:

Cope, *Izibongo*, 1968; Samuelson, *Long, long ago*, 1929; Grant, 'Izibongo', 1929; (based on Stuart's school books) Vilakazi, 'Conception and development', 1938, and Nyembezi, 'Historical background', 1948.

In Zulu only:

School books by Stuart: (1) *uTulasizwe*; (2) *uHlangakula*; (3) *uBaxoxele*; (4) *uKulumetule*. The versions are collations by Stuart from numerous sources. Each volume contains separate instalments of each *izibongo*; the number of lines indicated is the cumulative total.

Sources largely based on Stuart: Dhloho, *uDingane* (1936), *uShaka* (1937), *uMpande* (1938), *uCetshwayo* (1952), *uDinizulu* (1968); Nyembezi, *Izibongo zamakhosi*, 1958.

Source independent of Stuart: Bryant, *Olden times*, 1929.

Sound recordings (see Appendix III):

Zonophone records 4175-9, 4193-5 (recited by Stuart); Gallotone records GE 967-8, 1001 (recited by Mgadi).

The Zulu royal line

Phunga b. 1657, d. 1727: Zonophone 95 [2]

Mageba b. 1667, d. 1745: Zonophone 95 [2]

Ndaba b. 1697, d. 1763: Cope 72 [14]; Samuelson 254 [3]; Bryant 39 [7]; Zonophone 95 [14]; also Wanger 1917: 651 [5, with German trs.]

Jama b. 1727, d. 1781: Cope [22]; Bryant 45 [17]; Zonophone 95 [15]

Senzangakhona b. 1757, d. 1816: Cope 74 [93]; Samuelson 256 [78]; Grant 208 [28]; Stuart 3: 55, 4: 48 [103]; Nyembezi 1958: 10 [108]; Bryant 69 [90]; Zonophone 95 [103]; also Wanger 1917: 651 [28, Z/G]; Grout 1859: 421, 1861: 197 [8, E]

- Shaka b. 1787, r. 1816, d. 1828: Cope 88 [450]; Samuelson 260 [141]; Grant 208 [80]; Vilakazi 105, 118 [21]; Nyembezi 1948: 112 [77]; Stuart 1: 17, 2: 30, 3: 81, 4: 78 [188]; Dhlomo 1937: 68 [200]; Nyembezi 1958: 19 [238]; Bryant 663 [100]; Zonophone 4175, 4193-5 [400]; Gallotone 67 [80?]; also Grout 1959: 421, 1861: 197 [11, E]; Lestrade 1935: 9 [37, E]; Cope and Krige 1968: 288 [70, E, from Samuelson]; Bowra 1952: 11 [E, extracts from Grant]
- Dingane r. 1828, d. 1840: Samuelson 269 [126]; Grant 214 [63]; Vilakazi 107 [6]; Nyembezi 1948: 121 [91]; Stuart 1: 63, 2: 63, 3: 122, 4: 114 [181]; Dhlomo 1936: iv [128]; Nyembezi 1958: 45 [210]; Zonophone 76 [100?]; Gallotone 67 [80?]; also Kirby 1955: 45 [18, E]; Arbousset and Daumas 1842: 311 [Z: 27, F: 240], 1846: 155 [English version]; Grout 1859: 422 [14], 1861: 198 [14, E]; Colenso 1871: 82 [13], 1859a: clx [13]; Shooter 1857: 310 [159, from Arbousset, E]; Becker 1962: 267 [21]; Cope and Krige 1968: 291 [70, E, from Samuelson]
- Mpande r. 1840, d. 1872: Samuelson 275 [60]; Grant 216 [39]; Nyembezi 1948: 161 [54]; Stuart 1: 68, 2: 68, 3: 181, 4: 137 [177]; Dhlomo 1938: ? [?]; Nyembezi 1958: 63 [191]; Zonophone 77 [80?]; Gallotone 68 [80?]; also Grout 1859: 424 [39], 1861: 198 [23, E]
- Cetshwayo r. 1872, d. 1884: Cope 214 [231]; Samuelson 1929: 279 (and 1923: x) [58]; Grant 218 [62]; Nyembezi 1948: 167 [99]; Stuart 1: 111, 2: 90, 3: 204, 4: 182 [170]; Dhlomo 1952: 1 [170]; Nyembezi 1958: 83 [233]; Zonophone 77 [80?]; Gallotone 68 [80?]
- Dinuzulu r. 1884, d. 1913: Samuelson 1929: 288 (and 1923: xix) [134]; Grant 222 [88]; Vilakazi 117 [2]; Stuart 1: 118, 2: 121, 3: 210, 4: 226 [169]; Dhlomo 1968: 10 [153]; Nyembezi 1958: 105 [205]; Zonophone 78 [80?]; Gallotone 01 [80?]
- Solomoni r. 1913, d. 1933: Samuelson 1923: xxvii [16]; Stuart 2: 142, 3: 217 [81]; Zonophone 78 [80?]; Gallotone 01 [80?]

(b) Swazi royal *izibongo*

Documentation and sources

In Zulu and English:

Cook, 'History and *izibongo*', 1930 (source: David Dlamini, at Zombodze School)

In Zulu only:

Kubone, *Umlondoloz*, 1940; Matsebula, *Izakihiwo zamaSwazi*, 1952; Nyembezi, *Izibongo zamakhosi*, 1958 (source: J. S. Matsebula)

In English only:

Kuper, *An African aristocracy*, 1947 (source: Lohoko Mndzebele)

In addition to the material listed below, a number of versions of Swazi royal *izibongo*, and also *izibongo* of chiefs of the main Swazi clans, have recently been collected (but not yet published) by Mr. P. L. Bonner, of the Department of History, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. J. S. Zalo's book *Akusenjalo* contains *izibongo* of Sobhuza II (p. 45, 81 lines), and of Mbiko Dlamini, sikhulu saseSipiki (p. 103, 28 lines).

The Swazi royal line

Ndungunye (Zigodze) d. 1815: Cook 190 [35]

Somhlolo (Sobhuza I) d. 1839: Cook 194 [26]; Nyembezi 129 [33]

Mswati (Mavuso) d. 1868: Cook 192 [35]; Matsebula 79 [39]; Nyembezi 133 [58]

Ludvonga d. 1874: Cook 196 [27]

Mbandzeni r. 1875, d. 1889: Cook 198 [55]; Kubone 23 [32]; Matsebula 80 [29]; Nyembezi 139 [32]

Bhunu (Ngwane II) d. 1899: 186 [67]; Kubone 57 [30]; Matsebula 81 [54]; Nyembezi 143 [63]
Labotsibeni (Princess Regent) r. 1890, d. 1925: Nyembezi 156 [16]

Sobhuza II b. 1899, r. 1925-: Matsebula 83 [56]; Nyembezi 149 [88]; Kuper xi [45]; also Zalo 1946: 45 [81]

(c) Prominent chiefs of other clans

Principal sources

In Zulu and English:

Cope, *Izibongo*, 1968; van Warmelo, *History of Matiwane and the amaNgwane*, 1938, and *Transvaal Ndebele texts*, 1930

In Zulu only:

Stuart: (3) *uBaxoxele*; (4) *uKulumetule*; Bryant, *Olden times*, 1929

Ngoni and English text:

Read, *Songs of the Ngoni*, 1937

Ndebele text:

Rhodesia Literature Bureau, *Kusile Mbongi wohlanga*, 1969; also referred to are a number of unpublished versions in the possession of Mr. E. L. Bulle, Department of African Languages, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury.

Clans and chiefs

Mthethwa

Jobe d. 1807: Bryant 89 [7]

Dingiswayo kaJobe d. 1818: Stuart 3: 42 [31]; also Nyembezi 1958: 5 [43]

Ngwane

Masumpa kaTshani d. 1811: van Warmelo 1938: 14 [26]

Matiwane kaMasumpa d. 1829: van Warmelo 1938: 62 [128]

Ndwandwe

Zwide kaLanga d. 1822: Cope 128 [20]

Chunu

Macingwane kaLubhoko d. 1822: Cope 130 [24]

Qwabe

Khondlo b. 1753, d. 1813: Cope 140 [20]

Phakathwayo kaKhondlo b. 1783, d. 1818: Cope 142 [131]; also unpublished Zonophone recording (see Appendix III)

Buthelezi

Ngqengelele kaMvuyana b. 1790: Stuart 3: 108 [30]

Mnyamana kaNgqengelele: Stuart 3: 195 [35]; also unpublished Zonophone recording (see Appendix III)

Mkhize

Gcwabe kaKhabazele d. 1814: Cope 154 [25]

Zihlandlo kaGcwabe d. 1832: Cope 156 [96]; also Zonophone unpublished (see Appendix III)

Siyingele kaZihlandlo: Cope 152 [5]

Biyela

Menziwa: Stuart 4: 86 [6]

Mvundlana kaMenziwa: Stuart 4: 88 [21]

Ngcolosi

Ngwane kaLamula d. 1815: Cope 166 [15]

Mepho kaNgwane d. 1845: Cope 166 [24]

Khumalo (Rhodesian Ndebele)

Mzilikazi kaMashobana b. 1795, d. 1868: Cope 132 [18]; also Doke and Sikakana 1950: 81 [15, Z]; Mahlangu 1957: 5 [14, Ndebele]; Rhodesia Literature Bureau 1969: 24 [55], 78 [98, Ndebele]; Bulle unpublished [28, recited by Ginyilitshe kaSigojwana Hlabangana]

- Lobhengula kaMzilikazi : Sithole, 1956 : 16 [48, Ndebele]; also Bulle unpublished, two versions recited by Ginyilitshe [32, 28]
 Bheje kaMagawuzi : Bulle unpublished [14]
 Masuku (Rhodesian Ndebele)
 Mbiko kaMadlenya : Bulle unpublished
 Mzimuni : Bulle unpublished
 Bhaca : see Ndawo 1928
 Hlubi : see Ndawo 1928
 Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu d. 1889 : Cope 134 [15]; also Doke and Sikakana 1950 : 127 [16, Z]
 Mandlakazi
 Maphitha kaSojiyisa : Cope 202 [12]
 Zibhebhu kaMaphitha : Cope 202 [70]; also Grant 1929, 226 [85, Z/E]
 Manala (Transvaal ' Ndebele ')
 Mabhena family (24 chiefs) : van Warmelo 1930 : 6 [328]
 Msiza family (6 chiefs) : van Warmelo 1930 : 90 [68]
 Ngoni (of Malawi)
 Ngwana kaGoqweni : Read 23 [28]
 Gomani kaTshikusi : Read 25 [5]
 Zwangendaba kaHlatshwayo : Read 26 [27]
 Hlatshwayo kaMagangatha : Read 28 [13]

(d) Additional *izibongo**Principal sources*

Zulu and English :

Cope, *Izibongo*, 1968 ; Vilakazi, ' Conception and development ' , 1938

Zulu only :

Stuart : (1) *uTulasizwe* ; (2) *uHlangakula* ; (3) *uBaxoxele* ; (4) *uKulumetule* ; (5) *uVusezakiti*

Military commanders and heroes of Shaka's time

- Nzibe kaSenzangakhona (Zulu) d. 1828 : Stuart 4 : 238 [21]; also Zonophone unpublished
 Zulu kaNogandaya (Zungu clan) : Cope 178 [38]; Vilakazi 117 [2]; Stuart 3 : 101 [40]; also Zonophone unpublished
 Sothobe kaMpangalala (Sibiya clan) : Cope 180 [24]; Stuart 3 : 154 [25]; also Zonophone unpublished
 Mdlaka kaNcidi (Zulu) : Stuart 3 : 191 [12]

Military commanders and heroes of Dingane's time

- Ndlela kaSompisi (Ntuli clan) : Cope 186 [27]; Vilakazi 117 [2]; Stuart 3 : 192 [30]
 Nozishada kaMaqoboza (Nzuza clan) : Cope 188 [26]; Stuart 2 : 41 [28]; also Zonophone unpublished

Military commanders and heroes of Mpande's time

- Masiphula kaMamba (Ntshangase/abaseMgazini clan) : Stuart 3 : 194 [15]
 Diyikana kaHlakanyana (Mbatha clan) : Stuart 4 : 233 [9]
 Hoho kaMandaka : Stuart 4 : 95 [6]
 Manyosi kaDlekezele : Stuart 4 : 93 [7]

Various

- Hamu kaMpande (Zulu) : Cope 36 [21]; Stuart 4 : 239 [18]
 Magolwana kaMkhathini (Jiyana clan—the famous *imbongi* of Dingane and Mpande) : Stuart 1 : 73 [7]

Gubudele kaNomantshali (folk-tale hero): Vilakazi 118 [3]
 Mshiyeni kaDinuzulu (Zulu): Doke and Sikakana 1950: 183 [82]
 Chakijana kaGezindaka: Nyembezi 1948: 111 [6]
 Jojo: Colenso 1871: 83 [7]

Women (see also Vilakazi, 1945, chapter 2)

Mntaniya kaZingelwayo (Sibiya clan—grandmother of Shaka): d. 1825; Samuelson 1929: 255 [9]
 Mnkabayi kaJama (Zulu): Cope 172 [25]; Stuart 3: 165 [30]; also Nyembezi 1948: 110 [5]; Doke and Sikakana 1950: 159 [30, from Stuart]; Zonophone unpublished
 Nandi kaBhebhe (Langeni clan) d. 1827: Cope 174 [19]
 Mcayi kaVuma (Myeni clan): Vilakazi 113 [19]

Europeans

Mbuyazi (H. F. Fynn): Cope 192 [31]; also Stuart and Malcolm 1950: v [19, Z/E]
 Somtsewu (Sir T. Shepstone): Cope 194 [84]; Stuart 4: 9 [6]; also Zonophone unpublished
 Sombiko (James Stuart): Stuart 4: 102 [13]
 Mandiza (Harriet Colenso): Dhlobo 1946-7: 49 [28, E]

Non-human praises

Train: Vilakazi 119 [4]; Stuart 5: 97 [24]
 Bull (**uSicocosendoda**): Vilakazi 119 [3]; Stuart 5: 74 [7]; also Nyembezi 1948: 110 [7, from Stuart]; (**Qebuluka-qebu**): Dhlobo 1946-7: 6 [9]
 Hunting dog (**uMangenduna**): Vilakazi 119 [3]; Stuart 5: 74 [6]; also Nyembezi 1948: 111 [6, from Stuart]
 Spear: Vilakazi 119 [3]
 Birds (**inhlava**; **unhloyile**; **ungqwashi**; **ujojo**): Stuart 5: 16 [17]; also Dhlobo 1946-7: 6 [4]
 Stick: Dhlobo 1946-7: 6 [2]
 Homestead (**Mthanda**, **umuzi wakwaQwabe**): Vilakazi 1945: 14-8 [60]

APPENDIX II

*List of a collection of 258 Zulu izibongo texts transcribed by James Stuart*²⁷

These texts are contained in an unpublished typescript volume among the Stuart Papers in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban: Volume 28 (MS STU 1.09 21068).²⁸ This typescript volume was prepared (probably about 1948, at the direction of Dr. Killie Campbell) from various hand-written manuscripts left by Stuart. The Zulu orthography used is relatively modern, being that which was current in 1948. The texts are in Zulu only. English translations, made by Dr. Daniel Malcolm, are in the possession of the Department of African Languages of the University of Natal, Durban.

Regarding the Zulu royal praises in this collection (Nos. 3, 15, 16, 169, 256, 257, and 258 in the list shown below) it must be noted that these versions are collations, by Stuart, each built up from a number of separate sources. They nevertheless differ, in the arrangement and

²⁷ I wish to express my sincere thanks to Miss Duggan, Miss Sauer, Miss Langner, and other members of staff of the Killie Campbell African Museum, for their help and co-operation in making material from the Stuart papers available to me during my visit in December, 1972; also to Professor A. T. Cope for much help and good advice. My visit was under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

²⁸ While the bulk of this material remains unpublished, twenty-six of the items were in fact selected and published, together with Dr. Malcolm's translations, and additional annotation, under the editorship of A. T. Cope in *Izibongo, Zulu praise poems*.

ordering of stanzas, from the collated versions published in the 1920's in Stuart's Zulu school books; and they differ again, to some extent, from the versions recited by Stuart when making his Zonophone sound-recordings.

It should be noted that Stuart's original annotation, marginal notes, and details of sources (with names, places and dates) which are to be found in the original hand-written documents, have not been included in the present typescript collection. Much of this annotation is extremely valuable for purposes of detailed study, and scholars working on this material are strongly advised to consult the hand-written manuscripts. The bulk of the latter are to be found in Volumes 75, 76, and 77 of the Stuart Papers (entitled 'Large Notebooks 7, 8, and 9: Books of Eulogies, Volumes 1, 2, and 3'). On p. 91 in the last of these volumes there is a useful index to all Stuart's original transcripts of versions of royal *izibongo* obtained from individual praise-poets, all of which are included in these three hand-written volumes. It is these individual versions, amounting to over a hundred in all, that served as the sources for Stuart's final collated versions of the royal *izibongo*. The number of individual versions for each of the kings is as follows: Senzangakhona 9; Shaka 31; Dingane 15; Mpande 15; Cetshwayo 19; Dinuzulu 16. If we take these individual versions into account, as separate texts, the total number of *izibongo* collected by James Stuart must amount, not just to 258, but to over 360.

1. Ndaba. (... Ozingel' amahlath' az' avungama ...)
2. Jama. (... uMabopha wakithi kwaZwangendaba ...)
3. Senzangakhona. (... iNyath'ehamb'isengam' amazibuko ...)
4. Matshekana kaMaqhoboza wakwaNzuza
5. Nzibe kaSenzangakhona
6. Sothobe kaMpangalala wakwaSibiya
7. Mbuyazi kaMpande
8. Zulu kaNogandaya
9. Simamane wakwaQwabe
10. Lufutha wakwaQwabe
11. Khondlo wakwaQwabe
12. Phakathwayo wakwaQwabe
13. Mbuyazi (H. F. Fynn)
14. Somtsewu kaSonzica
15. Cetshwayo. (... uHlathi limnyama nemizi yalo ...)
16. Dinuzulu (uSinakanaka siyincwadi yabaMhlophe ...)
17. Shingana kaMpande
18. Mantantashiya kaMpande
19. Shonkweni kaMpande
20. Dabulamanzi kaMpande
21. Mthonga kaMpande
22. Ndabuko kaMpande
23. Mtshaphi kaNohadu (*imbongi*)
24. Mbengi Mhlongo
25. Nandi kaMbengi waseLangeni
26. John Cane
27. Mavovo waseMbo
28. Gwabe waseMbo
29. Zihlandlo waseMbo
30. Sambela kaGwabe waseMbo
31. Siyingele kaZihlandlo waseMbo
32. Zwide kaLanga wakwaNxumalo

33. Mzilikazi kaMashobana wakwaKhumalo
34. Maphitha kaSojiyisa wakwaZulu
35. Hubu wakwaMpanza
36. Jojo kaSondatha waseMbo
37. Thwayisa kaCabazana waseMbo
38. Masichazana unina kaMaqhoboza wakwaNzuza
39. Maqhoboza kaMbekelo wakwaNzuza
40. Mbekelo kaNdlovu wakwaNzuza
41. Ndlovu kaMtila wakwaNdlovu
42. Nozishada kaMaqhoboza wakwaNzuza
43. Macingwane kaLuboko wasemaChunwini
44. Phakade kaMacingwane wasemaChunwini
45. Dingiswayo kaJobe wakwaMthethwa
46. Mngoye kaDingiswayo wakwaMthethwa
47. Jobe kaKayi wakwaMthethwa
48. Mapholoba kaMbele wakwaNgcobo
49. Sihayo kaMapholoba wakwaNgcobo
50. Mudli kaNkwelo kaJama
51. Mbele kaMaguya wakwaNgcobo
52. Mnini kaManti wasemaThulini
53. Mlotha kaMangcengeza
54. Langanlibalele Mthimkhulu
55. Mangoba kaMjoli kaNgwana wakwaMthimkhulu
56. Mthimkhulu kaBhungane wakwaMthimkhulu
57. Mpangazitha kaBhungane wakwaMthimkhulu
58. Bhungane kaNsele wakwaMthimkhulu
59. Nsele kaMashiya wakwaMthimkhulu
60. Ngoza kaMkhubukeli wakwaMthembu
61. Mpukane kaZikode wakwaMthembu
62. Jobe kaMaphitha kaMnyanda wakwaSithole
63. Magaye kaDibandlela wakwaCele
64. Dibandlela kaMkhokheli wakwaCele
65. Mkhokheli kaLanga wakwaCele
66. Manti wasemaThulini
67. Mnini kaManti wasemaThulini
68. Dole kaSivuba wasemaThulini
69. Mzoywane wasemaThulini
70. Magidigidi kaMagaye wakwaCele
71. Mvundlana kaMenziwa wakwaBiyela
72. Menziwa kaXhoko wakwaBiyela
73. Nxaba kaMbekwana wakwaVundla
74. (absent from original list)
75. Nomzinhlanga kaSenzangakhona
76. (absent from original list)
77. Nomantshali kaSigulana
78. Zibhebhu kaMaphitha
79. Gwadi kaGendeyana wasemaMbedwini
80. Mzimba kaDibinyika wakwaZondi
81. Ndlela kaSompisi
82. Sompisi kaKuguqa wakwaNtuli

83. Nduvana kaSompisi
84. Nintinti kaSompisi wakwaNtuli
85. Sonsukwana kaGqwashaza wakwaNtuli
86. Godide kaNdlela wakwaNtuli
87. Baleka kaMphithikezi wakwaQwabe
88. Malimade (Sir Melmoth Osborn)
89. Sibhamu kaManyosi
90. Luhungu kaSomungco wasemaChunwini
91. Dlaba kaShukulase wasemaChubeni
92. Bhambatha kaMancinza
93. Sobhuza kaMyoli wasemaBomvini
94. Mdingi kaNogwiwela
95. Lamula kaNyanga wakwaNgcolosi
96. Ngciyizana kaBhengu wakwaNgcolosi
97. Ngwane kaLamula wakwaNgcolosi
98. Mepho kaNgwane wakwaNgcolosi
99. Nkungu kaMepho wakwaNgcolosi
100. Jali kaMduma wakwaNgcolosi
101. Faku kaNgwane wakwaNgcolosi
102. Bheje kaJali wakwaNgcolosi
103. Sikhewu kaJali
104. Magidi kaMenziwa wakwaBiyela
105. Duze kaMnengwa wakwaQwabe
106. Mashisa kaNdaba wakwaNgcobo
107. Mavela kaMashisa wakwaNgcobo
108. Bovungana kaMavela wakwaNgcobo
109. Mafongosi kaBovungana wakwaNgcobo
110. Mnikezelwa kaNdlovu wasemaBomvini
111. Myoli kaMatomela wasemaBomvini
112. Nkungwini kaMatomela
113. Mkhamula kaMyoli wasemaBomvini
114. Sobhuza wasemaBomvini
115. Homoyi kaNzombane wasemaBomvini
116. Ntwalambana kaNzombane
117. Mzonywane wasemaThulini
118. Malitshe wakwaCele
119. Juda kaMalitshe
120. Somhashi kaNzombane wasemaBomvini
121. Qethuka kaManqondo
122. Ngangezwe kaSambela wakwaMkhize
123. Mpumuza kaMakhwetha wakwaZondi
124. Ngwane kaMpumuza wakwaZondi
125. Xesibe kaNgwane wakwaZondi
126. Nobanda kaNgwane wakwaZondi
127. Tetelegu kaNobanda wakwaZondi
128. Nontshiza kaMpumuza wakwaZondi
129. Yenge kaNontshiza wakwaZondi
130. Luthuli kaNobanda wakwaZondi
131. Mqayikana kaYenge wakwaZondi
132. Laduma kaTetelegu wakwaZondi

133. Nzamane kaNondwaba wakwaLuthuli
134. Masingane kaManqondo wakwaMagwaza
135. Thunda kaManqondo wakwaMagwaza
136. Mkhungo kaManqondo wakwaMagwaza
137. Soshangana kaNduvana wakwaNtuli
138. Dikida kaNkonyane wakwaMpungose
139. Jantoni (John Dunn)
140. Mavumengwana kaNdelela wakwaNtuli
141. Ntshontshwana kaManqondo wakwaMagwaza
142. Sondoda kaMyoloza wakwaButhelezi
143. Hayi kaNdikili wakwaNtombela
144. Funisa kaManqondo wakwaMagwaza
145. Magwebu kaMlalaziko waseLangeni
146. Mpukane kaMbundukazana wakwaLuthuli
147. Zimema kaZikhulukuthwana
148. Nondaba kaLuqa wakwaZondi
149. Thethane kaNondaba wakwaZondi
150. Gasa kaThethane wakwaZondi
151. Nsele kaGasa wakwaZondi
152. Nomagaga kaNsele wakwaZondi
153. Dlaba kaNomagaga wakwaZondi
154. Dibinyika kaDlaba wakwaZondi
155. Mzimba kaDibinyika wakwaZondi
156. Mhlola kaMzimba wakwaZondi
- 157a. Ndube kaManqondo wakwaMagwaza
- 157b. Mganu kaNodada wasebaThenjini
158. Sibhamu kaManyosi wasemaMbatheni
- 159a. Luhungqu kaSomungcu wasemaChubeni
- 159b. Nombanga kaNgidli
160. Makhobosi kaXube
161. Hlangabeza kaNkungu wakwaBhengu
162. Bhakajana kaNoyobe wakwaDladla
163. Mahleka kaBhakajana wakwaDladla
164. Mfuleni kaLugalo wakwaDladla
165. INyoni uNhloyile
166. Dube kaSilwana wasemaQadini
167. Fungile kaMachamu wasemaNtshalini
168. Monase kaMntungwa wakwaNxumalo
169. Solomon kaDinuzulu (. . . uMqwalajuba . . .)
170. Ngqengelele kaMvuyana wakwaButhelezi
171. Tshanibezwe kaMnyamana wakwaButhelezi
172. Mkhandumba kaMnyamana wakwaButhelezi
173. Maphovela kaMnyamana wakwaButhelezi
174. Ndulungu kaMnyamana wakwaButhelezi
175. Umuzi kaShaka waseMbelebeleni
176. Umuzi kaShaka wakwaDukuza
177. Umuzi kaCetshwayo wasoNdini
178. Umuzi kaDinuzulu waseMahashini
179. INyoni iNhlava
180. UMangenduna iNja kaTshanibezwe wakwaButhelezi

181. USicocosendoda iNkunzi kaMnyamana wakwaButhelezi
182. Silwana kaMpande
183. OkaNtuzwa unina kaMosi uMaphumuzana
184. Mnyayiza kaNdabuko
185. Matomela kaShisa wakwaZuma
186. Msholozhi kaMatomela wakwaZuma
187. Mnyakanya kaMsholozhi wakwaZuma
188. Msengi kaMagodloza wakwaJiyane.
189. Mphumela kaNdlela kaSompisi
190. Mlokothwa kaMphumela wakwaNtuli
191. Mswazi kaSobhuza wakwaNgwane
192. Mpeyana kaManqondo wakwaMagwaza
193. Zokufa kaMsholozhi kaDlaba wakwaShezi
194. Sigananda kaZokufa wakwaShezi
195. Duluzana kaMsholozhi wakwaShezi
196. Lugaju kaMatomela wakwaZuma
197. Sondaba kaMatomela wakwaZuma
198. Gayeni kaMatomela wakwaZuma
199. Mathanda kaMzombi wakwaMdlalose
200. Muzijana kaSonzica (John Shepstone)
201. Mhlamunye kaMatomela wakwaZuma
202. Ndukuyakhe kaMnyakanya wakwaZuma
203. Sochwasha kaPhaphu
204. Sitheku kaMpande
205. Mmemezi (James Stuart)
206. Mkhonjwa kaNhlaba wakwaQwabe
207. Sithunga kaMkhonjwa wakwaQwabe
208. Mazwana kaYengwayo waseLangeni
209. Gagaga kaYengwayo wakwaMagwaza
210. Mdlanga kaMazwana wakwaMagwaza
211. Mangena kaMazwana wakwaMagwaza
212. Zwide kaLanga wakwaNxumalo
213. Yengwayo kaSibhude wasemaKhabeleni
214. Dlozi kaLanga wakwaMajola
215. Mawele kaSomhashi wasemaBomvini
216. Fodo kaNombewu wakwaDlamini
217. Sidoyi kaBaleni wakwaDlamini
218. Khukhulela kaMmiso kaNomagaga
219. Ngini kaMkhonjwa
220. Hlathi kaNcidi kaNtopho waseMgazini
221. Mbongaphansi kaMdlaka
222. Klwana kaNgqengelele wakwaButhelezi
223. Hoye kaSoxhalase wakwaNdlela
224. Mnkabayi kaJama
225. Msengi kaMagodla wakwaJiyana
226. Ndlovu kaThimuni wakwaZulu
227. Thimuni kaMudli kaNkwelo
228. Ibutho loKandempemvu
229. Isitimela sabeLungu (Railway train)
230. INyoni uZangqwashi

- 231. INyoni iNkanku
- 232. Ntobolongwana kaMashwayibana
- 233. Febana kaMjoji
- 234. Machwaneka kaTemane, wakwaNdlela
- 235. Soshangana kaNduvana wakwaNtuli
- 236. Mxhakaza kaMzombi
- 237. Ngwadi kaGendeyana
- 238. Mnikazelwa kaNdllovu wasemaBomvini
- 239. Ngwadla wakwaCele
- 240. Mathunjana kaSibasa wakwaNkwanyana
- 241. Mbele kaMaguya wakwaNgcobo
- 242. Mdlaka kaNcidi wakwaNdwandwe
- 243. Mthwana kaNsetha wakwaCele
- 244. Mdakuda kaZibi wakwaMdunge
- 245. Bhoyiya kaMdakuda wakwaMdunge
- 246. Donsela kaBhoyiya wakwaMdunge
- 247. Khosini kaFaku wakwaMdunge
- 248. Machibi kaMbicini wakwaNtuli
- 249. Hamu kaMpande kaSenzangakhona
- 250. Langazana kaGubeshe
- 251. Mkhungo kaMpande
- 252. Diyikana kaHlakanyana
- 253. Mbuzi woHlanga
- 254. Mageba. (... uLanda nkomo namadoda ...)
- 255. Phunga. (... uMphungwa nkonyen' aphungw' ebantwini ...)
- 256. Shaka. (... uMasukwana kus' onjengengonyama ...)
- 257. Dingane. (... Owagabadel' inkundla yakwaBulawayo ...)
- 258. Mpande. (... iHwanq' eladl' amany' amahwanqa ...)

APPENDIX III

Sound recordings of Zulu izibongo

1. Recited by James Stuart; issued on 10-inch double-sided 78 r.p.m. discs by Zonophone.

(a) Issued in 1927

- 4175 *Izibongo zikaShaka*
Izibongo zikaZulu kaNogandaya (with introduction)
- 4176 *Izibongo zikaDingane*
Izibongo zikaNozishada kaMaqoboza (with introduction)
- 4177 *Izibongo zikaMpande*
Izibongo zikaCetshwayo
- 4178 *Izibongo zika Dinuzulu*
Izibongo zikaSolomoni kaDinuzulu
- 4179 *Izibongo zikaSomsewu* (Sir Theophilus Shepstone)
Izibongo zikaMbuyazi (Henry Francis Fynn)

(b) Issued in 1930:

- 4193 *Izibongo zikaShaka* (Parts 2 and 3)
- 4194 *Izibongo zikaShaka* (Parts 4 and 5)
- 4195 *Izibongo zikaMageba, noPhunga, noNdaba, noJama, preceded by those of Nzibe* (with introduction)
Izibongo zikaSenzangakhona

- (c) Master copies, never commercially issued (now in the possession of the Department of Africa, S.O.A.S., University of London)

Izibongo zikaDingane (Parts 2 to 6)
Izibongo zikaSolomoni kaDinuzulu (Part 2)
Izibongo zikaPhakathwayo kaKhondlo (Parts 1 and 2)
Izibongo zikaNdlela kaSompisi
Izibongo zikaMnkabayi kaJama
Izibongo zikaMagaye kaDibandlela
Izibongo zikaZihlandlo waseMbo
Izibongo zikaNgoza kaMkhubukeli wakwaMthembu
Izibongo zikaMvundlana kaMenziwa
Izibongo zikaMnyamana kaNgqengelele
Izibongo zikaSothobe kaMpangalala

2. Recited by John Mgadi; issued on 10-inch double-sided 78 r.p.m. discs by Gallotone, Johannesburg, in 1948 (?):

GE 967 *Izibongo zikaShaka*
Izibongo zikaDingane
 GE 998 *Izibongo zikaMpande*
Izibongo zikaCetshwayo
 GE 1001 *Izibongo zikaDinuzulu*
Izibongo zikaSolomoni kaDinuzulu

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KARIN MAGANA AND AZANCI AS FEATURES OF HAUSA SAYINGS

By C. G. B. GIDLEY

Karin magana is a phrase well known to students of Hausa, and often translated 'proverb'; but research with knowledgeable informants over the last few years has shown that although it usually refers to a saying of some sort, the phrase has special implications in view of which the informants were not prepared to use the term as freely as has often been done.

The two main dictionaries of Hausa give support to what has become common usage, Bargery glossing **karin magana** as 'aphorism, proverb; by play with words, apothegm; turning and twisting the meaning of a word', while Abraham gives 'idiom' and 'proverb'; and several collections of Hausa sayings have **karin magana** in their title.¹ But when my informants and I worked through these collections, they would not, at least in that situation, treat them as **karin magana**. They normally used the neutral terms **kalma** (pl. **kalmomi**) and **magana** (pl. **magan-ganu**) as general words to refer to any of the sayings, although neither of the dictionaries gives 'saying' as a gloss of these (Bargery gives 'word, speech, affair' for **magana** and Abraham 'word, speech, thing said, affair', while Bargery gives **kalma** as 'word' and 'speech' and 'the statement of the Islamic faith' as does Abraham). The informants insisted that the term **karin magana** should be reserved for a saying with hidden meaning, as explained in detail in Part III of this article. It ought not, they said, to be applied to sayings in isolation, as when read out from a list, without reference to a context, but should strictly be applied only to a saying when used in a situational context from which the hidden meaning can be inferred.

A number of the sayings in the published lists and in my own collection were described in terms referring to their potential functions (as described on p. 86), for instance, **wa'azi** 'religious admonition', **habaici** 'subtle critical innuendo', **kirari** 'extravagant public praise', **zambo** 'public ridicule'. But the one term, more specialized than **kalma** and **magana**, which they were prepared to apply to the great majority of the sayings was **azanci**, which Bargery gives as 'sense' and 'meaning', while Abraham gives these and a third meaning 'topic'. In the sense in which my informants used the term, it is difficult to translate concisely, but it may be said to mean 'good sense well expressed' or perhaps better 'a clever

¹ G. P. Bargery, *A Hausa-English dictionary and English-Hausa vocabulary*, London, 1934; R. C. Abraham, *Dictionary of the Hausa language*, 2nd edn., London, 1962. Collections with **karin magana** in the title were published by Gaskiya Corporation Zaria in 1950 and 1958. See also the collection included in F. Edgar, *Litafi na tatsuniyoyi na Hausa*, Belfast: Erskine May, 1913; *Labarun na da*, published by Translation Bureau Zaria in 1934, also contains a collection with **karin maganganu** in the title.

thought well expressed'. They also used *azanci* to refer to a saying with these characteristics. Furthermore the possession of *azanci* seemed to be the criterion by which they judged whether a saying measured up to the standard required of an acceptable Hausa saying, while they rejected others on the grounds that *azanci bai kai ba* 'the thought and mode of expression is not up to expected standard'.

This regard for the standard of *azanci*, the ready recognition of potential functions and the confident setting aside of *karin magana* as a special term only to be used in certain circumstances, all indicated that it should be possible, with the help of reliable informants, to check the acceptability of Hausa sayings and to arrive at a classification of them, based on the informants' own criteria. A detailed investigation was therefore undertaken with the help of six principal informants² chosen for their experience of the way in which sayings are used, mostly in Kano and Zaria. Six further informants were chosen to clear up any doubts in cases where the principal informants failed to agree, and a senior and experienced mallam,³ Alhaji Ishiyaku Dami, kindly agreed to be the final arbiter in the case of unresolved disagreement between the twelve informants.⁴

The first part of the present article gives a brief account of the initial process of authentication; the second part describes the way in which the sayings which were not fully authenticated as standard Hausa sayings were further divided into a number of different strata, while the third part reverts to the meaning of the term *karin magana* and discusses its significance in greater detail.

I. THE PROCESS OF AUTHENTICATION

Experience had shown that where a saying was fully accepted as a standard Hausa saying, it could be acceptably combined with one or other of two 'consensus formulae' implying the support of the general consensus of Hausa opinion for the truth of the saying: (a) the long-standing consensus formula *da ma Hausawa sun ce* 'for long the Hausa have said', and (b) the current consensus formula *Hausawa sun ce* 'the Hausa say'.⁵ And in time it proved feasible to use the possibility of adding one or other of these formulae as a test of authenticity.

The majority of the accepted sayings had certain other characteristics. They were gnomic—stating something that in the Hausa view is a general truth—or

² Alhaji Sanda Damagaram, Tanko Dan Kasa, Saleh Hadejia, Muhammadu Jaji were chosen for their knowledge of everyday usage; praise-criers Na Garin Danga and Kashin Zana for their knowledge of public praise and ridicule.

³ The word *mallam* is generally used to refer to an educated person, but it can refer to someone who is respected for general learning and wisdom.

⁴ In the course of my research I also received valuable contributions from a large number of other individuals whose help I gratefully acknowledge.

⁵ The same past tense form *sun ce* can mean both 'they (have) said' and 'they say'.

witty or both, generally in the form of either advice or an observation, usually concisely expressed, and always in widespread current use. But none of these characteristics were in themselves adequate as criteria for authentication, for which the consensus formulae were the touchstone.

The long-standing consensus formula obviously emphasizes the fact that the saying is of some considerable antiquity, as well as being in general use. The current consensus formula stamps a saying as current and widely accepted without necessarily implying long standing. Such a saying may in fact be of some vintage but its age is not stressed.

The consensus formulae are often found in print reinforcing the use of a Hausa saying. An example of the use of the long-standing consensus formula appeared in the newspaper *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* in 1941 at the time of the first German attack on Russia. The formula then occupied the headline with a standard Hausa saying:

DA MA HAUSAWA SUN CE ATURE BA YA RABA KARE DA KURA

For long the Hausa have said 'flinging sand does not stop a fight between a dog and hyena'.—In other words, a feeble attempt to stop the inevitable conflict will fail—the hyena and the dog being enemies in folklore. (In the context to which the headline referred, Russia and Germany had pretended to be at peace for a while, but they had come to blows as was only to be expected.)

The current consensus formula is frequently found in the newspapers; for example in 1972 it stood at the start of an editorial in the newspaper *Sabuwar Duniya* [New World]:

Hausawa sun ce kowa ya yi abin yabo, a yabe shi. A kan wannan karin magana ne Sabuwar Duniya ta ke son bayyana ra'ayinta game da sayen takisi guda 37 . . .

The Hausa say that anyone who does something praiseworthy should be praised. In using this saying, New World wishes to express its opinion about the purchase of 37 taxis . . .

Here the use of the saying at the beginning of the paragraph without context stimulates curiosity and conjecture about a possible reference. The unlikely context of 37 taxis is soon indicated and the reader is left to guess the connection until eventually the reason is explained.

In conversation, the use of the consensus formula in full is apparently felt to be cumbersome, and when a saying is used to reinforce a statement, a shorter equivalent is often substituted. Thus **Hausawa sun ce** might be replaced by the simpler **an ce** 'one says' or 'it is said'. Such a substitution—omitting reference to the Hausa—was said to be quite normal in Kano city, whereas the longer formula was thought to be more common in remote rural areas, especially those where Hausa influence is not so long established. Similarly **da ma an ce** 'it has long been said' can substitute for **da ma Hausawa sun ce**.

The 'axiomatic' particle *ai* 'of course, as everyone knows, etc.' can precede these substitutions giving *ai an ce* 'of course it is said' and *ai da ma an ce* 'of course it has long been said'. It is even possible to insert one of the substitution formulae in the middle of some sayings. In this position it is usual to prefix the axiomatic particle *ai*, and *ai da ma an ce* can even be abbreviated to *ai da ma* 'of course all along', while *da ma an ce* can be inverted to give *an ce da ma* 'it has been said all along'. In the event of a medial substitution, when lists of sayings were being tested during research, an informant would then be asked whether as an alternative a consensus formula could be acceptably inserted in the initial position.

As a result of this process of checking lists of sayings for authenticity, two sets were obtained, one consisting of those authenticated sayings which my informants felt could be used with one or other of the consensus formulae, and a second set of a lower order, consisting of sayings which they did not accept as standard Hausa sayings, which are further discussed in Part II.

II. DIVISION OF SAYINGS INTO STRATA

The sayings not accepted as standard—that is to say, those to which one or other of the two consensus formulae could not be applied—were further differentiated in various ways, and can be described as constituting several strata according to the level of their currency and acceptability. This stratification and the features applicable to the sayings at the various levels are set out in Table I, in which the standard Hausa sayings to which the consensus formulae *are* applicable are also shown, constituting the highest level.

The first of the lower strata consisted of a number of sayings to which a specialist formula could be applied such as (a) *malamai sun ce* 'the teachers (also preachers) say' or (b) *'yan magana sun ce* 'the word-specialists say'. In the first case (the sayings are ones which are used especially by certain *malamai* who are Koranic teachers and also preachers exhorting the public to live more strictly in accordance with what they teach. In the second case, the sayings are the stock in trade of *'yan magana*, word-specialists whose number includes a wide variety of individuals who are skilled in the use of sayings and cries. They range from *'yan ma'abba* (sing. *ɗan ma'abba*)—praise criers in public, crying extravagant praise and scurrilous ridicule at the top of the voice without musical accompaniment—to *'yan tumasanci*, scandal mongers who turn up during the evening conversation time and relay gossip, and also invent good news to win their patrons' favour. All sayings in this stratum may be termed *specialist Hausa sayings*.

For the remaining strata there does not seem to be any appropriate identifying formulae, but classification was possible on the basis of certain 'usage indicators'—phrases which my informants used to indicate the status of the saying in question.

There are some sayings, not taking the consensus or specialist formulae, which

TABLE I

<i>Identifying formulae</i>	<i>Usage indicators</i>	<i>Descriptive tags</i>
1. <i>Standard Hausa sayings</i>		
da ma Hausawa sun ce Hausawa sun ce		azanci ne wa'azi ne gargadi ne hadisi ne aya ce nassi ne habaici ne kirari ne zambo ne
2. <i>Specialist Hausa sayings</i>		
malamai sun ce 'yan magana sun ce		as in 1
3. <i>Casual Hausa sayings</i>		
without formulae	zance ne na Hausawa	azanci ne habaici ne
4. <i>Restricted Hausa sayings</i>		
without formulae	irin na X	as in 3
5. <i>Old-fashioned sayings</i>		
without formulae	tsofon yayi ne	azanci ne habaici ne kirari ne
6. <i>Extinct sayings</i>		
without formulae	an daina yanzu	as in 5
7. <i>Unacceptable sayings</i>		
with all	azanci bai kai ba	

are nevertheless accepted as a type of Hausa saying amounting to a kind of pleasantry uttered with malicious or humorous intent, e.g. **Mhm me zan ce; zanan aro ya fone** 'Oh dear! What shall I say? the borrowed body-cloth is burnt'. These are identifiable by the application of the usage indicator **zance ne na Hausawa** 'it is a manner of speaking among the Hausa', with the further description **irin na jin dadi** 'of the pleasantry type'. Such sayings are not usually gnomic because they do not represent a fact considered by the Hausa to be true for all time, but are instead *casual ad hoc comments* to amuse and annoy. Some of the Hausa pleasantries described as **irin na jin dadi** are however gnomic, since the first half states a general truth, e.g. **kowa da kiwon da ya karfe shi; makwabein mai akwiya ya sayi kura** 'everybody has his own way of going about things; the

neighbour of a goat-owner has bought a hyena'. Such sayings can be used with consensus formulae and are treated as standard Hausa sayings.

The phrase *irin na X* (literally 'of the kind of X') was used with reference to a saying which is current only in a particular locality or social or occupational sphere.⁶ Thus *habaiei irin na mutanen Kumbotso* was used to identify a saying as being *habaiei* 'subtle innuendo' used particularly by the people of Kumbotso; and *habaiei irin na mata* 'a subtle innuendo of the kind used by women' was used with reference to a saying in particular use among women. *Irin na* could also be followed by *yara/shakiyai/mahauta/majema/marina/maharba/etc.* 'young people/rude people/butchers/tanners/dyers/hunters/etc.'. Sayings to which *irin na X* applied may be called *restricted sayings*.

A further group of sayings, here termed *old-fashioned sayings*, were identified by the usage indicator *tsofon yayi ne* 'it's old-fashioned', while *an daina yanzu* 'it has been discontinued now' identified the next stratum of *extinct sayings*.

All the above, although assigned to different levels, were said to be marked by *azanci*, but below them came the lowest level consisting of *unacceptable sayings*—those where *azanci bai kai ba* 'the thought and mode of expression is not up to expected standard'. In some cases an informant would add *shakiyanci ne* 'it is rude' implying that it is not the kind of thing that a decent person would say.

Cutting across this stratification was a further classification on the basis of the nature of a saying, its origin and its potential function. These were indicated by the descriptive tags listed in the third column of Table I. *Azanci ne* 'it is a clever thought well expressed' was naturally applicable to all except the lowest stratum of *unacceptable sayings*. *Wa'azi ne* 'it is religious admonition' was applied to some sayings taking the consensus formulae and to those which take the specialist formula *malamai sun ce*. These were subdivided into *aya ce* or *nassi ne* 'it is based on a religious text' and *hadisi ne* 'it is a saying having religious authority' and *gargadi ne* 'it is a warning'. *Habaiei ne* 'it is a subtle critical innuendo' was applied to some sayings taking the consensus formulae and to some sayings taking the specialist formula *'yan magana sun ce*, as well as to some sayings in the *old-fashioned* and *extinct* categories. *Habaiei* is the practice of indicating criticism by making an indirect reference which a person can guess applies to him or her personally, the practice being said to be particularly prevalent among women. *Kirari ne* 'it is extravagant public praise' was applied to some sayings in all except the *casual* and *restricted* strata, and of course the lowest stratum of *unacceptable sayings*. *Kirari* is the practice whereby skilled performers extol the merits of patrons for reward, comparing them with animals, trees, valued objects, etc., and the phrases and sentences which contain such praise are

⁶ This usage indicator *irin na X* was not used with reference to a saying cited in dialect form for which *Hausar X ce* 'it is in X dialect' would be used, e.g. *Hausar Kano ce* 'it is in the Kano dialect', cf. p. 94.

declaimable in public as an advertisement of a patron's reputation along with details of his identity and lineage. Similarly *zambo* is scurrilous ridicule also declaimable in public places without the identity of the person intended being specifically indicated.

Sayings are said to be 'declaimable' when they are accepted as appropriate for a *dan ma'abba* (cf. p. 84) to declaim in a string of praise (*kirari*) consisting of phrases and sentences followed by the identity and lineage of a patron. Traditionally, occasions such as wedding feasts and certain public ceremonies are attended by these criers; but nowadays some do not confine their activity to special occasions. These sometimes visit their patrons with no particular occasion in mind and mix *kirari* 'extravagant public praise' with *zambo* 'public ridicule' if a suitable reward is not eventually forthcoming from the patron whom they have chosen to 'honour'. The effect of the praise, declaimed at the top of the voice, is highly emotive, so much so that some people say the hair on the patron's forearm may bristle, his body may tingle, and his gaze become fixed. *Zambo*, on the other hand, causes embarrassment so that eventually a gift must be given to stop it. As soon as he is suitably rewarded the crier reverts to *kirari* again. It is possible for a crier to make or mar a merchant's reputation in this fashion. Some patrons, especially in the old days when warriors and craftsmen were in constant demand, retained the services of a crier to encourage them to keep up their standard of skill. Now the practice is infrequent, most criers are freelance, but some are retained at court. Generally criers can be divided into two groups—those who cry for *sarakuna* 'title-holders' and those who cry for *attajirai* 'wealthy merchants'. There are a few who are accepted wherever they go because their exceptional skill is well recognized, for instance, Gizo in Kano.

The foregoing indicates the terms which were used in identifying and finally classifying the sayings investigated. But, in the course of discussing the sayings, my informants would normally use the neutral terms *kalma* and *magana*. Thus informants referred to sayings as follows: *kalma ta azanci* 'a saying with a clever thought which is well expressed'; *kalma ce watau Hausawa duk sun san abin* 'it is a saying, I mean to say every Hausa knows it'; *tsofuwar kalma ce* 'it is an old saying'; *sahihiyar kalma ce* 'it is a (truly) genuine saying'; *kalma ce ta Hausawa amma sabuwa* 'it is a saying of the Hausa—a new one'; *kalma ce wadda kowane Bahaushe ya san ta* 'it is a saying which every Hausa knows'. Some informants used *magana* in alternation with *kalma*; for instance, *tsofuwar magana ce* 'it is an old saying'. The way in which the neutral terms *magana* and *kalma* alternated is also shown by this remark of an informant: *kalma se amma ta shakiyai; mutumin kirki ba zai fada haka ba, amma kuma magana ce ta Hausawa* 'it is a saying—but one used by rude people. A decent individual would not use it, but nevertheless it is a saying among the Hausa'.

A total of over 2,000 individual sayings was tested by four of the six principal

informants⁷ and classified on the basis of the frame given in Table I, and in nearly all cases a satisfactory conclusion was reached. A sample of the results is given below where a selection of 40 sayings is arranged in the appropriate categories. The capital letters after a saying indicate how it was encountered during research—A in actual usage, B in book or newspaper, C in a collection, and D during discussion.

1. *Standard Hausa sayings*

The consensus formulae are applicable

AZANCI

1. **hannu ɗaya ba ya ɗaukar jinka** B
One hand does not raise a thatched roof.—A united effort is needed.
2. **da gani kan yi saye** C
One only buys on sight.
3. **da sabon gini gara yafe** C
Rather than build again, better patch (with plaster).—It is better to improve existing conditions than to start again.

AZANCI/WA'AZI

4. **ɗan hakin da ka raina shi kan tsone maka ido** ABC
The little bit of grass which you think nothing of is apt to poke you in the eye.—*Hadisi ne* 'it is a saying having religious authority'.
5. **duk mai wulakanta jama'a sai ya ga iyakarsa** BC
Whoever slights other people will come to a bad end.—*Gargafi ne* 'it is a warning'.
6. **bayan wuya sai dadi** ABC
After trouble is over, pleasure must come.—*Nassi ne or aya ce* 'it is based on a religious text'.

AZANCI/HABAICI

7. **ba kyau ga ɗakin gona sai dai a fake ruwa** D
The hut on the farm is no good except for sheltering from rain.—One can put up with a stop-gap—but not for ever.
8. **kowa da kiwon da ya karɓe shi; makwabcin mai akwiya ya sayi kura** ABC
Everybody has his own way of going about things (*lit.* 'has the animal-tending which suits him'); the neighbour of a goat-owner has bought a hyena.—Somebody is acting unexpectedly against someone else's interests, the comment being one of disapproval.
9. **sai bango ya tsage kadangare ke shiga** BC
Only when the wall is cracked, does the lizard enter.—There should be solidarity in excluding an outsider who may do mischief.

⁷ Alhaji Sanda Damagaram, Tanko Dan Kasa, Saleh Hadejia, Muhammadu Jaji.

AZANCI/KIRARI

10. *alkama bisa dutse, Allah ke ba ki ruwa* C
Wheat on the rock face, God waters you.—Someone destined for prosperity, no matter how adverse the circumstances may be.
11. *yaro da gari abokin tafiyar manya* C
Boy with coarsely ground millet flour (for mixing with water or milk as a snack for travellers), travelling companion of your seniors.—A young man who is rich and accepted everywhere.
12. *lifidi, ka fi kafadar dillali* C
Quilt protection for a horse in battle, you are too grand for the market salesman's shoulder.—Someone recognized as possessing lineage and natural authority beyond the ordinary.

AZANCI/ZAMBO/HABAICI

13. *inuwar giginya, na nesa ka sha sanyinki* C
Shade of the deleb palm, it's those far away who will enjoy your coolness.—This tree's bare trunk is so tall that the shade of the fronds falls far away from the base. For the person indicated, charity does not begin at home.

*2. Specialist Hausa sayings***AZANCI/WA'AZI**

The specialist formula *malamai sun ce* is applicable

14. *mai aiki da wai zunubinsa ke faruwa* C
The sins of a person who acts on hearsay are always on the increase.
15. *sanin hali ya fi sanin kama* C
Knowing inner worth is better than knowing outward appearance.

AZANCI/KIRARI

The specialist formula *'yan magana sun ce* is applicable

16. *audugar rimi fasu, kowa ya samu* C
Silk-cotton, break out and let everybody have you (referring to the bursting open of ripe pods of the kapok tree and the ensuing shower of downy 'cotton').—An explosion of generosity where none has been seen before.
17. *shingen dundu, akuya ba ta huda shi* D
A thorny fence, a she-goat⁸ does not pass through it.—Someone unswayed by intrigue.

AZANCI/ZAMBO/HABAICI

The specialist formula *'yan magana sun ce* is applicable

18. *tilashin wuya mafofo* C
Goitre, unavoidable companion of the neck.—An unavoidable companion who is known to be miserly and churlish.

⁸ A she-goat can be a symbol for a woman who lets out family secrets.

19. *miskili, ka fi mahaukaci ban haushi* D

Contrary one, you are worse than a madman for causing annoyance.—

This could be ostensibly addressed to an animal playfully and be intended for a stubborn person nearby.

3. *Casual Hausa sayings*

The descriptive tag *zance ne na Hausawa* is applicable

AZANCI

20. *duk ɗaya; makafi sun yi dare* C

It's all the same; the blind men are benighted.—This is a humorous quip.

The picture of the blind men not knowing when it is dark is jokingly added to the casual remark 'it's all the same'. *Irin na jin dadi* 'of the pleasantry type'.

21. *ashe rai kan ga rai; ɗan koli ya ga fura* C

Much to my surprise (twin) souls generally meet; the petty trader sees the balls of cooked flour.—This can be said whenever old friends meet by chance. *Fura* is the main food of a petty trader on a trading journey.

Other versions such as *Bakano ya ga koko* 'the Kano man sees the gruel' and *Banupe ya ga koko* 'the Nupe man sees the gruel' are also heard. *Irin na jin dadi* 'of the pleasantry type'.

AZANCI/HABAICI

22. *mhm! me zan ce; zanen aro ya fone* A

Oh dear! What shall I say? The borrowed body cloth is burnt (*or rigar aro ta fone* 'the borrowed gown is burnt').—Someone has not heeded a warning; the worst has happened. *Irin na jin dadi* 'of the pleasantry type', *amma habaici ne* 'but it is a subtle insinuation'.

23. *shiga uku; gwauro da yaye* C

In a dilemma; a bachelor with the problem of weaning a baby.—*Irin na jin dadi* 'of the pleasantry type', *amma habaici ne* 'but it is a subtle insinuation'. This saying is applied to a situation without a solution.

4. *Restricted sayings*

The descriptive tag *irin na X* is applicable

AZANCI/HABAICI

24. *gaba ta yi; gobarar Titi a Zaria* D

It's made progress; the fire at Titi's in Zaria.—A new and better start after an apparent disaster. (Titi was a lady in Kano about thirty years ago, who left Kano to live in Zaria where she rented accommodation. There her room caught fire and she lost all her belongings; but her admirers soon gave her gifts which made her richer than before.) *Habaici irin na mata* 'subtle innuendo of the kind used by women'.

25. **ɗauki da nishi ; damin mutan Waraltawa** D
Lift (it) with a grunt (of exertion)—the bundle of corn of the Waraltawa people.—In other words, it ought to be more but it is nothing much really. The story is told that the Waraltawa people gave a stranger and his family from Kumbotso a scrap of food in a bowl when they asked for a bundle of corn. **Habaici irin na mutanen Kumbotso** ‘subtle innuendo of the kind used by the people of Kumbotso’.
26. **bagaruwa tamani ce tun ba ga majema ba** C
The acacia is of great value especially to tanners.—**Habaici irin na majema** ‘subtle innuendo of the kind used by tanners’. It is used in reply to the butchers’ standard joke about tanners—**da gabaruwa abar gari ce, da ba a bar wa majema ba** ‘if the acacia was any good, it would not have been left to the tanners to deal with’.

5. *Old-fashioned sayings*

The descriptive tag **tsofon yayi** is applicable

AZANCI

27. **anfanin kwaraka tayi** C
The advantage of begging is getting the offer of a meal.—A saying which is not often heard now except perhaps in some villages.
28. **abokin gamin madi garin tamba** C
The concomitant for the *madi*⁹ drink is powder from the *tamba* grass.—Two things are essential to each other or two people suit each other. But now that bottled soft drinks are popular, the saying about **madi** is out-dated.

AZANCI/HABAICI

29. **ka tafo na tafo ya zama zumunta?** C
‘You arrive’ and ‘I arrive’, is that a bond?—Casual meetings are not family ties. Now the saying is said not to have all its old force—possibly trade unions are a factor.
30. **bukin wata kundumi, bukin wata doka** C
One woman’s delight is a shaven head, another likes the out-dated style consisting mainly of a head pad and a band holding back a thick plait of hair.¹⁰ This style was once popular everywhere and particularly prevalent south of Sokoto. The saying is not so often heard now.

⁹ **Madi** is a kind of molasses made from the fruit of the **dinya** tree which has a black plum-like fruit, or else it is made from sugar-cane.

¹⁰ The hair-style is called **doka** because of **ganyen doka**, the leaves of the **doka** tree which ladies collect to make it. They have a wide variety of styles to choose from, but if this is chosen, the leaves are made into a pad with cotton wool and bound up to make a wedge laid along the centre parting; then the hair on either side is swept up over it. They plait the hair on top to make a ridge and can tie the front in place with a band.

AZANCI/KIRARI/HABAICI

31. **munduwar wuya, ana son zarewa, ana tsoron jin ciwo** C

Metal band around the neck, one wants to remove you but is afraid of causing hurt.—Someone is in a position to do harm if dismissed, as well as feared for his power.

6. *Extinct sayings*

The descriptive tag **an daina yanzu** is applicable

AZANCI/HABAICI

32. **kuyanga, yi magana, ce ba ki fara kai taki bakin marmaro** C

Slave girl, speak up! Say you will no more carry manure to the stones (bordering the farm).—A saying before 1903 when slavery was abolished.

33. **mai rigima ; jokin Kaduna ya ce da jirgi ya tsaya ya sha ti** D

An awkward person—the Local Authority Kaduna told the train to stop for tea.—This is alleged to have been the practice of a certain ‘Local Authority Kaduna’, a Mr Cherry-Green, whenever he travelled by train.

AZANCI/KIRARI

34. **angon kura, kana daka a kan daure aure ; in ka fito, aure ya mutu** C

Bridegroom of the hyena, when you are at home, a marriage ceremony is performed ; when you come out, the marriage is dissolved.—The slogan of Danwaire, a mercenary leader who maintained a large army in the last century. The main allusion is to his uneasy alliances with various Emirs, many of whom sought his favour, but there is also an allusion to his camp life in the dangerous area of bush where he set up his headquarters.

35. **gandazaki mai assubahi, in ka fito gari ya waye** C

Morning-star, dawn-bringer, when you come out, the day has begun.—The slogan for Abdulkarim, Emir of Zaria 1834–1846. The form **gandazaki**—a play on **gamzaki** ‘Venus as morning-star’—was invented by minstrels in 1834. At that time it was understood to contain multiple allusions to the Emir’s fearless pursuit of the truth, a special circumstance in his early childhood,¹¹ and his unexpected selection as Emir. Now, as then, it brings to mind his resolution in spreading religious enlightenment in Zaria Emirate.

¹¹ It is said that when this Emir was a baby he would only sleep at night after his mother brought him out to see the stars. This she had to do continually. As soon as she put him back in her room he cried. Even as a baby he hated being surrounded by darkness—an omen of his future pursuit of the truth. **Gamzaki** is widely used in this slogan for celebrities today.

7. *Unacceptable sayings*

The informants commented *azanci bai kai ba*

36. *da zaman banza gara aikin wofi* C
 Rather than sit idle, better do some useless work.—*azanci bai kai ba* ‘the thought and mode of expression is not up to standard’. *Hausa ce amma ba mai kyau ba* ‘it is Hausa but not good Hausa’. Said to be used by women.
37. *kyakkyawar bazara daga fofa ta kan fara* C
 A good *bazara* starts at the door.—Said to be used by beggars; *bazara*, the dry hot spell before the rains, being a time of discomfort. The meaning is obscure, but some informants thought the allusion was to a ‘difficult’ patron. *Hausa ce amma ba gindi* ‘it is Hausa but it has no status’.
38. *babban kai ba kaya ba ne* C
 A big head is not a load.—*Hausa ce amma bai kamata a sa ta ba* ‘it is Hausa but it should not be included (in a collection)’. *Shakiyanci ne* ‘it is rude’.
39. *saba da kwana rami ko mutuwa ta ka same ka* C
 Get used to sleeping in a hole in the ground, in case death comes upon you.—Said to be used by beggars. *Wannan kalma ba mai kyau ba ce* ‘this saying is not a good one’.

Doubtful

40. *abin da ya kewaya bayan gida, gida zai shiga* C
 What goes round behind the house will enter the house.—A comment by one of the informants was *Hausa ce amma ban tafa jin wani Bahaushe ya fada ba* ‘it is Hausa but I have never heard a Hausa say it’. Several informants said that the saying was used by the late Commander Carrow, later Senior Resident Kano, but at that time a district officer, when liquor licences were being considered in areas outside the walled town of Kano. No firm decision could be reached about how to classify this saying. The verdict of the majority of the informants was *wannan kalma sai a fyale ta* ‘this saying should be ignored’! But there was some feeling that it should be accepted as an extinct saying.

It cannot be claimed that the stratification in this sample would be universally accepted: but it does show the readiness of the informants—both literate and illiterate—to single out sayings which were acceptable as standard sayings and to assign sayings to the various strata in a systematic way.

Various versions were accepted for some; for instance, in the case of (9) in the sample, two other versions were accepted:

9a. **sai katanga ta tsage fadangare kan sami wurin shiga**

Only when the wall of the compound is cracked, does the lizard enter.

9b. **sai kago ya tsage fadangare kan sami wurin shiga**

Only when the round house is cracked does the lizard enter.

Both versions were applied in the context of a visit by a politician coming from some distance away.

Usually all informants were keen to give as many alternative versions as possible and, in this case, it would be said **akwai kalma uku** 'there are three versions' of equal status—all identified by consensus formulae.

A version peculiar to one dialect, if suggested, was described as **Hausar Kano/Katsina/Sakkwato/Zazzau/Zindir**, etc.; for instance, **da yayyafi kogi kan cika** 'it's drizzle that fills the river' was queried by some informants, who were more familiar with a different form **yayyafa** and commented **Hausar Kano ce** 'it is in the Kano dialect'. Generally differences in dialect were not important when the thought was the same.

Where there was the same thought but a different way of expressing it, informants used the phrase **abokin hadi** 'linkage-partner'. Taking the declaimable praise saying **lifidi, ka fi kafadar dillali** which is (12) in the sample, an **abokin hadi** is **hanyar sama sai tsuntsu** 'flying (*literally* path in the air) is only for birds'. The idea in the surface meaning of the two sayings is different—one idea is a horse's quilt protection in battle and the other a bird in the upper air—but the sentiment is the same, viz. people of rank, not upstarts, are required in affairs of state.

III. KARIN MAGANA

It remains to examine in more detail what is the real meaning of the term **karin magana** which is used as the title of some published collections of Hausa sayings, but which my informants would not accept as applicable to the sayings when they were read out of context.

While **karin magana**¹² seems often to be applied loosely to any Hausa saying, my informants, as already stated, would only use it—in addition to other descriptive terms—to refer to a saying when used in a situation where a hidden meaning had to be guessed.

When analysed, the phrase **karin magana** is seen to consist of the noun **magana** 'speech' preceded by the verbal noun **kari** + a genitive link **-n**. **Kari** is a noun derived from the verb **karya** which has many meanings. Some informants suggested that it is a metaphor from the meaning 'fold' or 'fold over' as in **karya takarda** 'to fold over a piece of paper', **karya kundi** 'to fold over a wallet', **karya zane**

¹² In Kano a plural form for **karin magana** is not used. Those who insist on a plural form should use **karin maganganu** as in the title of one collection mentioned in note 1.

'to fold over a cloth', *karya fata* 'to fold over a head cloth'. *Kari* being the verbal noun from *karya* can be either (a) a dynamic noun meaning 'the process of folding', e.g. *karin kundi* '(the process of) folding a wallet' or (b) a concrete noun referring to a fold—the result of the process of folding, e.g. *kari uku* 'three folds' with reference to three directions of the body when a person lies down curled up on one side with knees tucked up towards the chin. Thus *ya kwanta kari uku* 'he lay down in three folds'. A woman's body cloth can also be folded up *kari uku* 'in three folds', the surface of a folded six-foot cloth then being two feet wide. (*Kari*, in this connection, can refer to (i) the cloth itself as a whole (especially the body cloth *dungu*); (ii) when a cloth is folded in three or more, the internal fold or folds excluding the outer ends; (iii) a crease—the place where the cloth changes direction sharply.)¹³

As regards *karin magana* the *kari* can again refer to either (a) the process or (b) the result. The process, according to my informants, is a process of 'folding' speech so that the lower layer is concealed beneath the surface layer. The folds correspond to the two levels of meaning—the two frames of reference in Koestler's terms.¹⁴ The outside layer is the surface meaning of the saying and the inner layer is the hidden meaning to which indirect reference is made, the exact implications of which are opened up when the saying is interpreted or unfolded. The hidden meaning also corresponds to the inside (or the contents) of a wallet which has to be unfolded and opened out so that it is only clear when one has looked beneath the surface.

A somewhat different and looser use of *karin magana* appears in the introduction to the collection of *karin magana* published by Gaskiya Corporation in 1950 under the name of Nuhu Zaria, now better known as Alhaji Nuhu Bamalle.

Karin magana shi ne maganar da ma'anarta ta ke bayyana wani abu a tafaice ('a saying called *karin magana* is one with a meaning which explains something succinctly') . . . *shi karin magana ba ya zuwa sai an yi wani abu wanda aka tafa yin irinsa a da* ('the *karin magana* does not exist except when there is some action which is similar to some action long ago') . . . *shi karin magana iri iri ne* ('there are various kinds of *karin magana*') . . . *a littafin nan mun shirya har guda dari uku da talatin* ('in this collection we have included up to 330').

Recently the author stated that he chose the title *Karin Magana* for his collection because he associated the term with 'splitting speech'. According to him, *karin* means 'broken from', the verb *karya* here meaning 'to break' or 'split'. He

¹³ Cf. *kudundune* which can refer to the crumpling of cloth, while *ya kudundune magana* means he crumpled up what he had to say (i.e. he hid the truth of the matter, *also* he condensed it).

¹⁴ Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation*, London: Pan Books, 1959. See *Frames of Reference* in index. A similar interpretation, referring to the folding of cloth, is given in Clifford A. Hill's Ph.D. thesis (Wisconsin, 1972, unpublished) entitled 'A study of ellipsis in *karin magana*', which came to my attention when this article was already in proof.

explained 'karin magana is the use of words to illustrate a certain action but completely unrelated to the literal meaning of the words'. In his view, 'just as metaphor is the use of words to indicate something different from the literal meaning, so is karin magana the use of a phrase to indicate something literally different from the phrase itself'.

Although different from my own informants' explanation, these comments tend to support the view that in karin magana there is the necessity for perception of meaning on two distinct levels simultaneously—one on the surface and one hidden in the context of situation. And it is not impossible to reconcile them with my informants' view of karin magana as a metaphor from the folding of cloth, etc. This idea of karin magana as a folding process finds a remarkable echo in Koestler's *The Act of Creation*¹⁵ where he says:

Economy in humour as in art does not mean mechanical brevity but implicitness. 'Implicit' is derived from the Latin word for 'folded in'. To make a joke 'unfold', the listener must fill in the gaps, complete the hints, trace the hidden analogies . . .

One of my informants also added *ta hau a kan kome* 'it climbs on to everything', meaning it can have manifold further applications.

The term karin magana is also applied to puns such as the following exchange supposedly heard in a Kano street:

Karfe nawa? 'What's the time?'

Karfe nawa ka ke so? 'How many irons do you want?'

Here the question means literally 'How many irons?' from the practice of striking the hour on a length of metal hung outside a police station or some other public place in the past. The pun is thus based on the double meaning of *karfe*—its meaning at two different levels, in two different frames of reference. Many similar examples could be cited and this is presumably the by-play with words indicated in Bargery's gloss of karin magana. But it could also be interpreted in a way similar to that suggested by my informants.¹⁶

To revert to the collections of so-called 'karin magana' which formed the basis of my research, one can now understand why my informants declined to describe the sayings as karin magana when they were cited in isolation, divorced from any context. Yet the great majority of the same sayings, when uttered in an appropriate context *could* be described as karin magana just because in that situation there could be a double meaning (a) the apparent literal meaning and (b) the hidden meaning with reference to the context in which they were used.

¹⁵ Koestler, *Act of Creation*, p. 87. See also *Bisociation of Ideas* in index.

¹⁶ For karin magana in word play see Edgar, vol. 3, p. 30.

PHONOLOGY AND AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

By JOHN KELLY

The following remarks on the conduct of phonological analysis are prompted by my growing awareness of the lack of sophistication that still characterizes some work in this area of African linguistics. There are, it seems to me, three degrees of sophistication in phonological analysis.¹ To take an example first of all from English there is that degree which recognizes the phonological status of the four fricatives θ f s $ʃ$ as in *thin*, *fin*, *sin*, *shin*, and having given appropriate symbols for these, says no more. The second degree makes more interesting statements about the distributional patterns entered into by these items and shows that there is not a permanent single four-term system, but that this set of oppositions will have to be regarded as now two versus two, as when the formation of English plurals is under discussion, and as now three versus one, as when occurrence after non-centering diphthongs is being stated: whilst *oaf*, *knife*, *ice*, *house*, *oath*, *lithe*, *ace*, *gross*, *wraith*, *mouth* and so on are available, no forms in *-eɪʃ*, *-oʊʃ*, *-aɪʃ*, *-aʊʃ*, are to be found.² The third degree of sophistication will wish to account for these patternings and to show them as motivated by or related to other patternings or groups of patternings in the language. For this to be done the data has often to be reinterpreted. In the present case, for instance, if $ʃ$ is reinterpreted as $ʂ$, its non-occurrence will fall under a general rule which limits consonant clusters after the relevant diphthongs to those which are alveolar and have a final plosive, so *most* and *moult*.³ We will not of course cease to recognize the unitary nature of $ʃ$ as a *phonetic* item.

Now, a good deal of African language phonology seems barely to have progressed beyond the first stage of sophistication, whilst the third has been only rarely attained. All too often a 'phonological statement' is little more than a list of 'phonemes' with no information on the way in which these items take on different patternings as one moves about the language and little in the way of elucidation of the structure which 'stands behind' the overt phenomena. One's reaction all too often is 'Can these bones live?'. I do not claim myself to be able to 'solve' or 'account for' any parcel of language data put before me, and offer these remarks simply in an attempt to foster a 'suspicious' attitude on the part of phonologists in the African field. Things are rarely what they seem, and an over-readiness to produce a phonological statement by simply elevating

¹ Corresponding to, in my own case, three chronological stages in my own approach to African language phonology. Readers will note the parallelism to Chomsky's now well known three 'adequacies'.

² Discounting such loans as *gauche*, *creche*.

³ I am not putting this forward as a definitive 'solution', rather as a type of possible solution that one might consider.

a broad transcription to that status can only lead to the impoverishment of the whole grammar.

Certain features of Fang, a Bantu language spoken in parts of Gabon and Cameroun, illustrate this. The following forms are among those elicited from a Fang speaker from Ndjolé in the Haut-Ogoué region of Gabon : ⁴

n-z _v əl	beard	tʃəŋ	neck	e-bəŋ	bedroom
e-tʃəŋ	shoulder	bi-lək	back teeth	n-zə	blade
or e-tʃr		təm	branch	a-lək	button
a-lv	night	e-lən	tortoise	n-təmə	sardine
n-dv	dam	m-bək	mortar	fəfəŋ	bee
or n-dvə		o-sən	squirrel	o-vən	axe
kʃəl	tortoise	ŋ-fək	bag	a-səm	cost
or kʃl				səŋ	grave
ŋ-gvbi	hippo			fap	wing
ŋ-g _v əbi				o-sy	river
aY _v	death			o-kam	pepper
s _v əʒa	rope			a-se	feather
d ₃ vələ	voyage			a-vəŋ	hole

An examination of the phonetic structure of the above forms, and of the total body of data from which they are drawn, reveals several things :

- (i) Whilst sequences of consonant sounds are found at the beginning of stems in this language, there are limitations on what these sequences are. A listing of the possibilities shows that the second of the consonant sounds in such sequences is always *f* or *v* and that, moreover, *f*, a voiceless fricative, always follows a voiceless first consonant, while *v*, a voiced fricative, always follows a voiced first consonant. The converse, with mixed voice conditions, does not occur.
- (ii) Whilst *f* and *v* do not appear after stem-beginning fricatives and affricates, these latter can occur with simultaneous labio-dentalization.
- (iii) In words with stem-beginning plosives, alternative pronunciations are possible, one without a vowel, the other with.
- (iv) If a vowel is present in such cases, it is always *ə*. No other vowel occurs.
- (v) Elsewhere in the lists where there is only a single consonant sound at the beginning of the stem any consonant sound can be followed by any vowel sound.⁵

⁴ The transcription is as in my original notes with the omission of various details deemed irrelevant to the present discussion : *v* means simultaneous labio-dentalization and a hyphen is used to divide the characteristic Bantu 'class-prefix' from the 'stem'. The data from the Mbam-Nkam languages is taken from Dunstan (1971) : all other language data is from my own collections.

⁵ This statement is not quite true but will serve for present purposes. See Kelly (1974) for a more detailed statement of this and other problems in the analysis of Fang.

The sequences of consonant sounds **kf**, etc., and the sounds with simultaneous labio-dentalizations **s_v**, etc., seem then to have a special status in Fang with regard to the way in which they are distributed, their internal structure, and their implications of pronunciation, and will thus merit our further attention.

Turning first to the vowel sounds present in the complete corpus of Fang forms, we find the following: **i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ə, ɔ, ɒ, y**. Notice that there is no **u** in this list. Now this is a very unusual situation for a Bantu language. In the great majority of these languages sets of vowels show 'symmetry' such that if, say, **e** is present then **o** will be, and so on.⁶ The absence of **u** and the presence of sequences of consonant sounds are both 'non-Bantu' features occurring in a Bantu language. By establishing them we have reached our second stage of sophistication and must now move on to attempt some explanation. We might start by looking outside the language, saying, for instance, that these features are loans into the language from some other, non-Bantu, language with which Fang has been in intimate contact. The only language which falls into this category is French. Now, whilst French has sequences of consonant sounds in its stems, **tf**, **gv**, and so on, common in Fang, are not amongst them. Moreover, French has **u** together with **i** and **y**. Borrowing from French seems, then, an unlikely source of the Fang non-Bantu features, and the linguist, if inclined to carry on his search for an outside explanation, will have to look elsewhere.

The explanation may also, though, be sought inside the language, either by seeking to demonstrate that the features are after all not atypical, or that, indeed, they are not present at all. In the *phonetic* structure they are of course present. But the phonological structure represents an interpretation of all the phonetic data, and the units of the phonological level do not necessarily stand in any kind of one-to-one relationship with the units of the phonetic analysis. Hence what is a sequence in the phonetic transcription may be interpreted non-sequentially at the phonological level and, conversely, discrete entities on the phonological level may on occasion have joint manifestation in one phonetic unit. The elaboration of a phonological analysis is then by no means a mechanical proceeding. In the case of the Fang data at present under examination our task is to interpret these in such a way that the troublesome features are 'analysed out'. The possibility of doing this is suggested by the fact that the two phenomena that concern us affect one the beginning of stems, the other the middle of stems, as it were, that the first has to do with the presence of something, the second with the absence of something, and that both have to do with lip-activity. Let us go into the analysis in detail.

(i) Both **f** and **v** are labio-dental fricatives, formed by a stricture which is

⁶ Guthrie (1948) includes amongst his 'criteria to be used for identifying languages as Bantu' as one of his Subsidiary Criteria the following: 'A balanced vowel system in the radicals, consisting of one open vowel 'a' with an equal number of back and front vowels'.

relatively close. Labio-dentalization is produced by a rather more open, but still relatively close, stricture at the same place of articulation.

As **f** follows only voiceless sounds, and **v** voiced, the presence or absence of voicing in these fricatives can be regarded as automatic. The labio-dentalization component of **z_v**, **s_v**, etc., is of course also voiced or voiceless automatically.

- (ii) The vowel sound **ə** has a tongue position which is maximally neutral on all dimensions except that of backness, it is simple vocalicness plus an element of backness, an element shared by **f** **v**.

In the sequence **fə** then, as appearing in the item **e-tfər**, the phonetic categories found are (excluding the voicelessness of the **f** since this is a function of its standing after **t**):

- (a) labio-dentality (i)
(b) closeness

followed by

- (c) velarization (ii)
(d) vocalicness

These four categories (a)–(d) are, be it noted, the same as those present in the vowel sound **u**. We can interpret them, that is, as equivalent to **u**, and differing from it in that, whilst in **u** all these categories are manifested simultaneously, in **fə** they are manifested sequentially.⁷ If we adopt this interpretation we can say that sequences of two consonants are absent from the structure of Fang and that a unit **U** is present in the set of vowels. The sequences of consonant sounds are not thereby removed from the *phonetic* structure, of course, nor is a vowel sound **u** added to the set of vowel *sounds*. The statement above refers not to the phonetic structure of the language, but to a more abstract level in the statement of the language structure. At this phonological level an item with the phonetic structure **etfər** would be represented as, say, **ETUR**, where upper case letters are used to indicate that these units are not identifiable with those of the phonetic structure.

This analysis of the phonetic sequence (consonant sound plus **f/v** plus **ə**) as being phonologically (consonant plus **U**) is without prejudice to the analysis of any one or pair of these three phonetic items occurring anywhere outside this configuration, either individually or in sequence. So, for instance, in the items **fap**, **o-vən**, **a-vən**, **f**, **v** are analysed as stem-initial consonants at the phonological level just as **t**, **s** are in **təm**, **o-sən**. Likewise **fə** in **fəton** is analysed, not as **U**, but as phonological consonant plus phonological vowel. There are several reasons for this. One is that the phonetics does not bear out such an interpretation, the vowel

⁷ The relationship between labio-dentality and vowels of the *u*-type appears in many languages. Thus in Polish in the *-ować/uję* verbs, or in English in pairs like *Shaw/Shavian*, *Monroe/Monrovia*, or the Scots dialectal *f* for *u*. This observation in itself lends a *prima facie* plausibility to the proposed analysis.

sound in these items being ə, not ǝ. Another is that if stem-beginning vǝ, fǝ were analysed as U, Fang would have a large number of stems with an initial vowel, namely U. This would run counter to the remainder of the language, in which stems are initiated by consonants, and in fact to the generality of Bantu languages. The dual referability of the consonant sound ɸ, sometimes to F, sometimes to U, well illustrates the tenet stated above concerning the lack of a simple one-to-one relationship between the units on the phonological level and those of the phonetic analysis.

An additional example of this can be drawn from the Banda language of the Central African Republic. Whereas in Fang the interpretation of the 'two' *f*'s was suggested by their phonetic differences (one somewhat velarized, the other not) and by the restrictions on their respective occurrences, the interpretation of the 'two' glottal stops in Banda is based only on the latter criterion. The position is that many words may begin with either a glottal stop followed by a vowel, or, alternatively, with the vowel alone without a preceding glottal stop. Other words occur only with glottal stop preceding the vowel, and do not have the alternative possibility. So, the Banda word for 'hair' may be either *usu* or *ʔusu*; the word for 'groundnut', on the other hand, may be only *ʔǝvɪ* (*v* represents a labio-dental flap). The glottal stops in these words belong, then, to two quite different systems: that of 'hair' to a two-term system of presence vs. absence of glottalization which relates to a system of, perhaps, emphasis, that of 'groundnut' to an *n*-term system of C- items. This second glottal stop may possibly be identifiable with that standing as -C- in *uʔu* 'maternal uncle'. This case well illustrates the importance of having available to the analysis the whole range of variation regarded by the informant as tokens of the same utterance, an amenity not enjoyed by those who tape data for later examination.

To return to the Fang data, it is important to note in the above discussion that the phonetic consonant sound sequences examined stand at stem-beginning. The analysis presented applies to such sequences only in this position. If such a sequence occurs across the boundary between the prefix and the stem, as in *ɲ-vǝ* 'dog', then the above analysis does not apply. If it did, it would produce again the problem of vowel initial stems. Further, this prefix is 'tone-bearing', as indicated by the tone-mark in the transcription, and this suggests strongly that *ɲ-vǝ* should be treated as a disyllabic, with a syllabic boundary as well as a grammatical one between the *ɲ* and the *v*. The analysis of *ɸ/v+ǝ* as U obtains then only after a preceding consonant at the beginning of the stem: only, that is, in a particular set of circumstances, one of which is a grammatical circumstance, the other a phonetic one. Under other circumstances our analysis is different, as we have seen above.

The notion of 'stem' appears necessary again when the distribution of the phonetic stems *r* and *d* is considered. In a sequence of the type CVCV *r* never

occurs as the first consonant sound and *d* never as the second. The phonetic categories of (tongue) apicality plus voice are manifested at the first place by *d* and at the second by *r*. In the phonological statement only one symbol will be required for the (apicality plus voice) item, and we might use **D** for this. The manifestation of **D** cannot be stated in terms of syllable-initial position, as both *d* and *r* appear in this position. Nor is the notion of 'word' useful here, since *d* can occur at the second place in what might be termed a 'word', as in e.g. *bi-diga* 'biscuits'. 'A sequence of the type . . .' has to be refined as 'stem sequence . . .' in order to state correctly the distribution of *r* and *d*.

It may be seen therefore that the phonological statement has to have reference to other levels of the analysis and that it is stated in terms of units which are not in themselves phonetic but represent abstractions or sets of abstractions made on the basis of the phonetic structure. Such units are not always punctual, that is they do not always stand in linear sequence, each unit in the sequence having function at its own position. Phonological units are sometimes posited which have function throughout all or part of a structure stated otherwise in terms of punctual units such as **U**, **F**, **D** above in the examination of Fang. These may, for example, represent an abstraction from a phonetic category or set of categories appearing contiguously or non-contiguously throughout a phonetic structure. For a discussion of this kind of phonological unit we turn to the system of vowel harmony operating in Urhobo.

Urhobo is spoken in Southern Nigeria, in the area immediately north-west of the delta of the Niger, and belongs to a group of related languages sometimes called the Edo group. In Urhobo both the vowel sequences and the consonant sequences appearing in the phonetic structure of lexical items are, each in turn, cemented together, as it were, by the regular presence throughout each type of sequence of certain sets of phonetic categories, the sets being in opposition one to the other. The vowel sounds of the noun in Urhobo, for instance, are selected either from the set *a*, *ɛ*, *ɔ*, *e*, *o* or from the set *ɛ*, *ɔ*, *e*, *o*, *i*, *u* the vowels of the set appearing in any sequence, and non-contiguously since noun structure is $V(CV)_n$.

It is evident from this that *a* cannot co-occur with *i* or *u* in the Urhobo noun. Whilst then the overall set of phonetic vowel sounds in the language contrasts in terms of four heights of tongue position, the word structure operates in terms of only three, either open/half-open/half-close or half-open/half-close/close. The first set as a whole extends over the lower part of the total range of phonetic vowel possibilities, the second set over the higher. This range restriction, a significant part of the patterning to be found in Urhobo phonetic structure, has to be reflected in the phonological statement, and this the linguist does by attaching to each noun a symbol, which is an essential part of its phonological shape, having as its manifestation that noun's range selection. We shall use **H** (higher) and **L** (lower) as these symbols. Together with this we shall use for the phonological statement

of the vowel units the symbols **A** for the most open of the set of three within the range, **I** for the most close, and **E** for the mid value.⁸ The nouns given below are presented on the left in a regularized phonetic transcription, and on the right the corresponding phonological statement is given. The vowel followed by a dash given after the noun in the phonetic transcription is the initial vowel of the plural form, that is, the plural of *oɸaro* is *eɸaro*. **C** represents any consonant, and is inserted simply to round out the phonological form. Our interest centres on the vowels :

<i>oɸaro</i> , e-	face	ICACI , I-	} L
<i>ogoro</i> , e-	raffia-palm	ECECE , I-	
<i>exara</i> , e-	umbrella	ICACA , I-	
<i>ogaga</i> , e-	fish-spear	ICICI , I-	
<i>oxori</i> , i-	worm	ECECI , I-	} H
<i>igede</i> , i-	drum	ICECE , I-	
<i>obobo</i> , i-	albino	ECECE , I-	
<i>ubibe</i> , i-	nail	ICICA , I-	

There are then two phonetic vowel qualities to be observed in the initial syllables of nouns in the plural, *e* and *i*. As *i* is found only with **H**-type nouns and *e* with **L**-type nouns, the phonological expression of the plural is **I-** for all nouns. The phonological level here presents a simpler picture of the structure than the phonetic transcription, once **H** and **L** have been posited as units of the phonology. **H** and **L** do a good deal of work in Urhobo, as vowel patterning of the sort described above is almost universal in this language, appearing in all nominal and verbal affixes and serving to link derivational sets.

A similar kind of analysis has to be applied to the consonant patterns of Urhobo. The principle is the same, and we shall not go further into the consonant case here.

Once again we see in this Urhobo data that a phonetic item may have manifold reference: *e* in Urhobo is the manifestation of both **I** in **L**-type nouns and **E** in **H**-type nouns. It should be noted too that the phonetic category extending throughout, say, the vowels of the noun *oɸaro* 'face' is not openness, as some of these vowels are phonetically half-close. What is abstracted in **H** and **L** are the overall sets of phonetic values. It is for this reason that the terms 'Higher' and 'Lower' are chosen for the phonological statement, as being less specific phonetically than 'close' and 'open', and hence more suited to the statement of an abstraction from the phonetics. It is in fact quite often the case that 'vague' labels, such as 'tense' and 'lax' or 'hard' and 'soft', are better candidates for inclusion in the terminology of the phonological level.

⁸ **I** stands for both the back and front vowels, that is, for *i* and *u* or *e* and *o* as the case may be, the back/front dimension being immaterial to the discussion. The same convention applies to **E**.

Another point that emerges from a consideration of the Urhobo noun concerns loan words. It is commonly found in languages that these do not exhibit the same phonetic patternings as items native to the language,⁹ nor, in many cases, do they draw from the same inventory of phonetic items as native words, nor, again, do they necessarily behave in the same way grammatically. Consider the following Urhobo nouns, for instance :

iroba, i-	catapult
igambari, i-	Hausa
ukuta, i-	rock
itifa, i-	teacher
agogo, i-	bell
isabatu, i-	shoe

Two things strike one here. The phonetic forms depart from native Urhobo forms in the co-occurrence of a with i/u, and the grammar differs in that in cases like *agogo* where the phonetic form would be acceptable as a native L-word, the plural does not have e as would be expected in a native word, but i.

Not only does one have to separate out words of native origin from those of foreign origin and treat of their structure separately, but perhaps more important, the linguist often has to separate out for individual treatment various lexical and grammatical categories, and he always has to bear in mind that it may prove necessary to do this.

A simple example of this is presented by the class-prefixes of Swahili, like Fang a Bantu language, spoken as a first or second language over a large area of East Africa. Like Fang it has the class-prefix system characteristic of the Bantu group of languages. In one of the Swahili noun-classes nouns having stems beginning with voiced plosives have as their prefix voiced nasals homorganic with the plosive, as in the following list :

mbegu	seed
ndizi	banana
ngoma	drum
ndoo	bucket
mbuzi	goat
ndege	bird

In another class **m** is found as prefix to all nouns as follows :

mkono	hand
mtago	trap
mguu	leg
mjale	arrow

⁹ As we have already seen in the discussion of English at the beginning of this article. Cf. note 2.

The *m*'s occurring in the first list have nothing in common with those in the second, apart from the fact that both are voiced bilabial nasals. In the first list, *m* is in system, phonetically, with *n* and *ɲ*, and is simply the phonetic token of a phonological *N* (for 'Nasal'): in the second list the *m* is referable to a phonological *M*, and bilabiality is phonologically relevant here. Further, nouns in the second list have *mi-* as their plural prefix, that is, a CV structure, and, in view of this and of the fact that the *m*'s of the second list are syllabic, one might wish to analyse them too as phonologically CV structures.

There is evidence to suggest that the prefixes of the first list, the nouns of which have identical singular and plural forms, should be analysed as CV as well. However, whilst this might seem rather extreme, I would in fact venture a suggestion for analysis that goes beyond CV. The prefix is syllabic when preceding monosyllabic stems, as in *nsɔ* 'kidney'. This *n* has clear articulation. The prefix appears as *n* before vowels, as in *nundɔ* 'hammer'. These facts suggest that a phonological formula for this prefix must include implications of syllabicity and lamino-palatal nasality. For this I suggest \tilde{v}^i ; a corresponding formula for the prefixes of the second list would be \tilde{v}^w . These formulae are preferable to any of the CV type, such as, for instance, *NI-* for the first list, in that they transcend these and represent a greater, more general degree of abstraction. *NI-* has implications of phonetic sequence which we wish to be free of to relate to the phonetic data. Of these two *m*'s, then, one relates ultimately to \tilde{v}^w , the other to \tilde{v}^i , and any analysis which seeks to identify them, phonologically, is simply an inadequate analysis. Once again, the analysis, made for noun prefixes, is without prejudice to the analysis of nasals elsewhere: there is no suggestion that \tilde{v}^i should now be carried over without more ado and imposed on, say, the final syllable of *pwani* 'coast'. The phonology is to be constantly elaborated and set out against the background of the grammar and lexis.

According to this principle the linguist would be likely to treat the initial consonant parts of the following Yulu verbs:

<i>tɛɛf</i>	hide (<i>tr.</i>)	<i>tɔl</i>	wet (<i>tr.</i>)
<i>ndɛɛf</i>	hide (<i>intr.</i>)	<i>ndɔl</i>	be wet
<i>tal</i>	teach	<i>toor</i>	wake
<i>ndal</i>	learn	<i>ndoor</i>	awaken

differently from those in such verbs as:

<i>ndoog</i>	buy/sell	(no <i>*toog</i>)
<i>trɔ</i>	begin	(no <i>*ndrɔ</i>)

in the same language. Yulu is a tone-language spoken in Bahr-el-Ghazal province of the Sudan and in an adjacent area of the Central African Republic. It has been classified as belonging to the Central Sudanic sub-group of Chari-Nile, and ultimately to Nilo-Saharan. In the first group of verbs the relationship between

the members of each pair is consistently reflected in the phonology by the *t/nd* alternation. In the verbs of the second group no such alternation is to be found. The relationship is carried in different ways over various sub-parts of the verb-class and, whilst the *t* of *tɛɛf* manifests partly the grammar of that item and partly the lexis, the *t* of *tɪd* manifests only the lexis of that item.

Yulu provides us too with another example of the non-sequential phonological unit of the type that we have already seen operating in Urhobo. This time, however, there is a difference. Phonetic categories include not only articulation types, such as fricatives, laterals, close vowels, and so on, but also 'phonation' types, which are the result of various types of glottal activity. Phonation types are a somewhat neglected area of phonetic study, but in the case of some African languages the attention of the linguist is forcibly drawn to them by virtue of the fact that they play an important part in the relationships between phonology and lexis and/or phonology and grammar. Two voice qualities are to be distinguished in Yulu, for which I here adopt the 'vague' labels 'hollow' and 'plain'.¹⁰ The following are examples of this opposition drawn from the noun class:

<i>Plain</i>		<i>Hollow</i>	
<i>tfaa</i>	name	<i>taa</i>	mouth
<i>sadɜ</i>	urine	<i>sadɜ</i>	python
<i>maadɜ</i>	honey	<i>kaadɜ</i>	sun
<i>mbaal</i>	horn	<i>daal</i>	spear
<i>woog</i>	thief	<i>taag</i>	evening

The Yulu noun has two forms, one of which I label 'short', the other 'long'. The first of these is the one normally used in isolation and in certain syntactic positions or grammatical functions, and is that presented in the above lists. The second, not normally used in isolation, appears in other syntactic positions and grammatical functions. The two are related phonetically in that, whilst the short form has the structure *CVC*, the long form has the structure *CVCV*. The first three segments of the long form are of course identical with those of the short form and the second vowel is identical with the first one, but can only be short. The voice quality heard in the short form, most noticeably in the vowel, recurs throughout the long form, and is best regarded in a phonological analysis as a feature appertaining to the whole form rather than to any part of it. It is worthwhile pointing out here that the 'hollow' voice quality does not appear in words of Arabic origin, of which there are a large number in Yulu. In this section of the lexis only the 'plain' quality is found. This is another parallel with the Urhobo loanword situation above.

It has been amply demonstrated in the foregoing that a phonological analysis

¹⁰ 'Hollow' voice seemed to me to contain components of both 'creaky' and 'breathy' voice, but this is a purely subjective judgement.

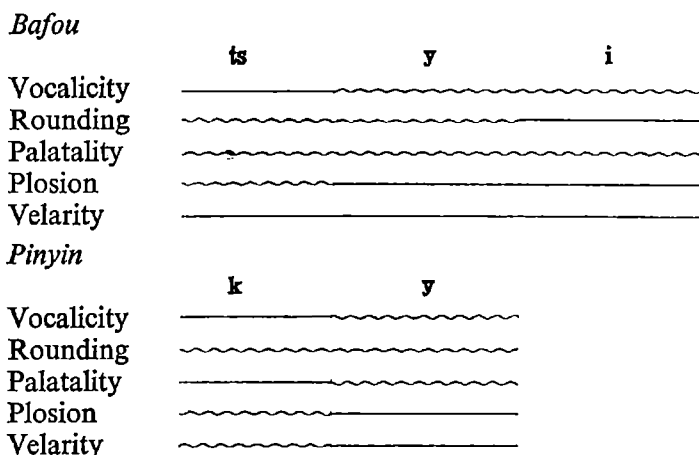
cannot be properly carried out without there being reference at all stages to other levels in the analysis of the synchronic data. More than this is called for, however. It is, for example, desirable—ideally—that the phonological statement arrived at for a particular language should be relatable in the simplest possible way to those made for languages known to be of the same family or group, and, if possible, to the statement posited for the earlier stages of the history of that language or, indeed, of the group as a whole. For a simple example, we can return to Fang.

In Bulu, a Bantu language closely related to Fang, the phonetic form *ɲkuk* is found for ‘chest’, corresponding to Fang *ɲkɛk*. Let us assume that the Bulu item is phonologized as **NKUK**. It is clearly more difficult to relate **NKFɛK**, if this were to be proposed as a phonological analysis of the Fang, to the Bulu, than to relate a Fang **NKUK**, the version worked out at the beginning of this discussion, to it.

The Mbam-Nkam languages of Cameroun provide a larger-scale example. These too belong to one branch of the Bantu group. In six of these languages, Bafou, Pinyin, Bafut, Nkwen, Mandankwe and Ngwe, the following phonetic forms are found as the stems of the items glossed as ‘firewood’ and ‘water’ :

	<i>Bafou</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Bafut</i>	<i>Nkwen</i>	<i>M'kwe</i>	<i>Ngwe</i>
firewood	tsɔɲ	kyɲ	kwee	kwei	kwi	tʃɔɲ
water	tsi	tʃiə	ki	ki	kjɛ	tsə

It is striking here that, moving from language to language, we have in a given lexical item the reappearance in each language of the same set of phonetic categories arranged in different phase, as it were, in each. So, in the case of the item ‘firewood’, we might represent the ‘phasing’ graphically as follows for the first three languages :



Bafut

	k	w	e
Vocalicity	_____		
Rounding	_____		
Palatality	_____		
Plosion	_____		
Velarity	_____		

In reaching a phonological statement of the above data, the linguist has recourse both to an examination of patterns in the data themselves and to his knowledge of the structural facts of other languages. He will, for example, take the following facts into consideration, amongst others :

- (i) that, whilst **ts** occurs only before **y**, a front articulation, **k** occurs before both front and back articulations; **ts** could then be regarded as a palatalization in Bafou of **k**, but **k** could not be regarded as a velarization of **ts** because of the Pinyin;
- (ii) that **ts** and **tʃ** are very common in the world's languages as the equivalent of **k** under conditions of palatalization;
- (iii) that affricates are generally found to be developments of, and best derivable, both synchronically and diachronically, from, plosives.

Given the support of facts such as these, the inference can be made that the initial consonant of a phonological statement of these Mbam-Nkam data is **K-**: similar considerations lead us to posit **-WI-** at the vocalic place, giving **KWI-**¹¹ as the cumulative phonological formula, cumulative in that this formula is derived from data taken from three related languages. If one were to make an analysis of, say, Pinyin alone, one might not come up with **KWI**.

One area of African language study that has been rather neglected is the phonetic. This may seem an extraordinary remark to make in the course of a paper in which a fair amount of phonetic data has been used. But in fact what is called the phonetic level of a language is often presented in terms of a set of regularized units which draw on a minimal essential set of categories. A great deal of interesting phonology can be built up from such a foundation: it is by studying the distribution of units of this kind that, for instance, Swahili **malu**

¹¹ An alternative, and preferable, formula might be similar to those suggested for this data by Dunstan, say, **K^wV^y**, where **w** indicates that the initial consonant must be rounded, **y** that the vowel must be front. The interactions of **w** and **y** vary from language to language and specific rules would have to ordain that, for instance, **y** in Bafou appertained to the whole syllable, thus producing a palatalized version of the initial consonant followed by a palatalized rounding followed by a front vowel. It will be noted that the elaboration of this formula has not necessitated the prior setting-up of formulae for the individual languages. A Bafou formula might be **ʸK^wV** where the fore-positioning of **ʸ** indicates that it applies to the whole syllable. Further, a formula of the type **K^wV^y** might be better suited to discussions of 'Proto-X' than formulae of the more naive type **KWI-** in which most current presentations are couched.

'kind of antelope' can be identified as a loan.¹² Most of the 'phonetics' in this paper is of this kind, and we can call it Phonetics₁. In many phonologies of English the Phonetics₁ would take no account of features such as aspiration, glottalization, segment duration, relative clearness or darkness of articulations, unreleased plosion, rhythm or a host of others, all of which play an important role in the encoding and interpretation of English by speaker and hearer.¹³ It is this level, which we call here the Phonetics₂, that has been neglected in the African field. Ironically, it has been the emphasis on the comparative/historical side that has led to this neglect, since it seems to be felt that this level can have little to contribute to such studies. That this is not necessarily the case is demonstrated in a small way by the Fang data above, where the darkness of an *f* and the retraction of a *ə* were pointers towards the final analysis.

As in any field under constant and rapid development, several theoretical approaches to phonology co-exist at the present time, differing in the primes made use of in the analysis, in the ways in which the phonology-phonetics relationship should be expressed and in many other things. Linguists not unnaturally often concentrate their interest on what is different in various theoretical approaches. It is worth more, for our purpose, to point to what is held in common, and it is on these areas that I have centred—on the inter-relationship of comparative, synchronic and diachronic studies and on the necessity for a phonology to be both highly complex and a phonology of the grammar as much as of the phonetics. It is not too long ago that none of these views was admitted in the study and practice of phonology, and it is even now not too late to put them before Africanists for their consideration. It is time the days of making a phonological statement by the short cut—or blind alley—of 'listening phonemically' were over.

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¹² Sacleux (1939) gives it as from 'Nyika'. Swahiliists might care for amplification: *l* is found before back vowels in $-C_2V_2$ structures in only some five words out of a total of around thirty with *l* as $-C_2$ -. In all other cases $-V_2$ is front.

¹³ Helping the speaker and hearer to distinguish (pace Gimson (1960)) between, for example, *He ran quickly* and *He rang quickly* even when there is velarity in the final segment of the verb in both cases.

A STRUCTURAL SKETCH OF BEJA

By R. A. HUDSON *

Beja is the generally accepted Arabic name for the language spoken by a large tribe, or group of tribes, living in the Sudan (between the Nile and the Red Sea) and in northern Ethiopia. The speakers themselves call their language *ti-bidaawye* (where *ti* means 'the'), and the adjective designating speakers of the language is *bidaawye-t-i*. The language has been classified as North Cushitic—the only language in this sub-group of Cushitic, in fact (Palmer, 1970). It is nearly a century since the first systematic study of the language (Almkvist, 1881), and the three main published works all fall within the first half century of this period (Almkvist, 1881; Reinisch, 1893 and 1895; Roper, 1928). More recent work, particularly that of the present writer,¹ has owed a lot to these earlier writers, and has confirmed most of their conclusions. Moreover, each writer has worked with informants from a different tribe, so we can start to build up a rough picture of the extent and nature of dialect differences by comparing their accounts. The dialects for which we have information are as follows:

- (a) Bishari (Almkvist, 1881);
- (b) Hadendowa (Roper, 1928);
- (c) Halanga (Roper, 1928);
- (d) Beni Amer (= *amarʔar*) (Reinisch, 1893, 1895);
- (e) Arteiga (Hudson, 1964, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c).

The forms given in the text below are those noted by the present writer, except where a reference to one of the earlier writers is given. Where there appear to be differences among dialects, these will be indicated in the footnotes, the form in the text being the one that seems to be most widespread.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 *Syllable structure and morpheme structure*

All syllables fit the formula:

(C)(h)V(V)(C)(t)

where C stands for 'consonant' (as listed in 1.2);

V stands for 'vowel' (as listed in 1.3, the second of two V's in the same syllable always being a copy of the first);

h stands for either /h/ or /ʔ/;

t stands for the feminine suffix /t/, which may be added either to vowels (/k^waa-t/ 'a sister') or to consonants (/y^waa-t/ 'a bitch').

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¹ The writer's researches are based on materials collected in Port Sudan in 1962-3, with the partial support of a grant from the Central Research Council of the University of London.

Although syllables may or may not start with a consonant, words must start with either C or h, as defined above.

The restrictions on the underlying phonological structure of morphemes are slightly different. In this structure the following occur, none of which are permitted in the surface phonology:

- (i) an initial preconsonantal nasal (present in the surface too in earlier stages of the language, according to Reinisch, 1893 : 10), which is pronounced only after a prefix vowel (e.g. -ngàal-,² 'one', underlying both /ʔuu-ngàal/ 'the one' and /gàal/ 'one');
- (ii) a postvocalic /h/ or /ʔ/, which prevents the vowel-lengthening otherwise caused by the addition of the suffixes (as described in 1.3), but which then appears in the superficial structure *before* the vowel which it followed in the underlying structure (e.g. -rih- 'see', in rhi-t-à/ 'she saw', and -baʔ- 'lie', in /bʔa-t-à/ 'she lay');³
- (iii) two adjacent initial consonants without a vowel to associate the first with as part of a different syllable from the second (e.g. -ktàab- 'book'). Where no vowel is provided by a prefix (e.g. /ʔuu-ktàab/ 'the book'), an epenthetic /i/ is added (e.g. /kitàab/ 'a book').⁴

If two vowels are adjacent, the first is made long (if it is not already long), and a palatal glide [j] is added (e.g. /daa-aa-k/ 'your men', pronounced [da:já:k]). The palatal glide will not be shown in the transcription, but the lengthening of the first vowel will.

1.2 Consonants

The following are contrastive and occur as C in the structure of syllables:

b	d	ḍ	j	g	g ^w
	t	ṭ		k	k ^w
f	s	ʃ			
m	n				
w	r, l		y		ʔ, h

The following points may be noted:

- (i) /ḍ, t, s, n/ are dental, while /ḍ, ṭ/ are retroflex,⁵ and /ʃ/ is palato-alveolar; structurally the 'dotted' letters form a single group, since they all cause the /s/ of a causal suffix to change to /ʃ/;
- (ii) /j/ is a palato-alveolar affricate; /y, w/ are semi-vowels;

² In the transcription, underlying 'morphophonemic' representations of morphemes will be enclosed between hyphens, while surface phonological representations will be between slants. Hyphens will also be used to show morpheme-boundaries.

³ This obligatory metathesis may be restricted to Arteiga dialect, as none of the other writers mentions it. It seems to be implied, however, by some of the Hadendowa forms in Roper, 1928, and Almqvist (1881 : 51) mentions *optional* metathesis in these and other cases in Bishari.

⁴ An epenthetic /i/ also occurs in Hadendowa before any word-initial /r/ (Roper, 1928 : 6).

⁵ In Bishari, /ṭ/ (but not /ḍ/ ?) is velarised, as in Arabic (Reinisch, 1893 : 10).

- (iii) loan-words from Arabic also contain /z, x, ʕ/;
- (iv) in some words /l/ and /r/ alternate morphophonemically, /l/ being a sign of 'diminutive' (e.g. -rba- 'hill', but -lba- 'hillock');
- (v) /ʔ/ and /h/ can function either as the C element in the formula for syllable structure (1.1), or as the h element (e.g. -d-ʔ-r- 'marry, build' can be treated morphologically either as a two-consonantal radical, like -d-r- 'kill', giving for instance /ʔi-ndʔir/ 'he marries', or as a three-consonantal radical, like -d-b-l- 'collect', giving /danʔir/ 'he marries');
- (vi) assimilation of adjacent consonants is normal, but will not be reflected in the transcription, in order to reduce the variation in morpheme shapes.

1.3 Vowels

There are five vowel qualities and two contrastive lengths, giving ten vowels altogether :

i, ii	u, uu
e, ee	o, oo
a, aa	

There appears to be more dialect variation⁶ in the short vowels, and also more allophonic variation.

Before suffixes, all vowels are long (except where the suffix begins with /ʔ/ or /h/, or is the comparative or distributive suffix -ka-, as in /dabalo-'kà/ 'smaller', and /riba-'ka/ 'every mountain'), even if they would otherwise be short. The lengthening effect of suffixes will be shown in the transcription of complete words, but will not be mentioned again in the discussion of the shapes of individual morphemes.

Before /ʔ/ or /h/, short vowels are elided,⁷ but they will be shown in the transcription below (e.g. /ʔa-s-daʔir/ 'I caused to marry' has no overt vowel between the /d/ and /ʔ/, whereas /ʔa-s-dabil/ 'I caused to collect' has /a/ between the corresponding consonants).

Word-final short vowels are often either elided altogether or pronounced without voice, elision being more common in some dialects than in others.⁸

1.4 Accent

The accent system basically involves simply a distinction between accented

⁶ In Arteiga, and possibly also in Hadendowa, only two short vowels are distinguished, corresponding morphophonemically to /aa/ and all the other long vowels respectively; the close short vowel (corresponding to all long vowels but /aa/) is pronounced either [ɪ] or [ʊ] (according to sub-dialect and linguistic environment), and the open one is pronounced [ʌ] before /y/, otherwise [a].

⁷ Elision of short vowels before /ʔ/ and /h/ may be restricted to Arteiga, since it is not mentioned by other writers.

⁸ Complete elision of final unstressed short vowels seems more common in Beni Amer and Hadendowa than in Arteiga.

and unaccented syllables, where 'accent' is realized phonetically as a relatively high pitch. However, contrary to the claims of Reinisch (1893: 55) (cf. also Almkvist, 1881: 57), a single word may contain more than one accented syllable (e.g. /ká-tam-a-'n/ 'I don't eat'), since the unit of distribution for accents is the *accent-unit*, not the word (Hudson, 1973b). An accent-unit is a sequence of one or more complete morphemes, comprising at least one syllable, within which only one accented syllable is permitted; that is, if more than one of the morphemes has an inherent accent (indicated in the dictionary of morphemes), only one of these inherent accents can be realized (e.g. in /tam-a-n-ee-'k/ 'if I ate', both -'n- 'I' and -'k- 'if' have inherent accents, but since both are in the same accent-unit only one accent can be realized, in this case that of -'k-; cf. /tam-a-'n/ 'I ate'). In general, the principle underlying the choice of accent to be realized is that the later of two inherent accents in the same accent-unit is realized.

The position and nature of the realized accent is determined by the word's morphological structure, and is not predictable (*pace* Reinisch, 1893: 55 and Almkvist, 1881: 57) from its purely phonological structure (e.g. /ti-rib-'a/ 'you refused', but /ti-dif-a/ 'you went', whose roots belong to different accentual classes but are otherwise morphologically the same). A morpheme may or may not have an inherent accent, but if it does, there are two further variables to be specified: the position of the accentual *reference-point* (usually on a vowel in the last syllable of the morpheme) and the position of the accented vowel relative to this reference-point, allowing us to speak of *final* accent (on the reference-point itself) and *penultimate* accent (on the syllable—or mora—before the reference-point). For simplicity we can show these two variables together in the transcription, by using ' for final accent and ` for penultimate accent, and locating these accent-marks on the reference-point itself. Thus, /kitáab/ 'a book' has phonetic high pitch on the first syllable, although this pitch is indicated by the penultimate accent-mark on the second syllable. By convention, the accentual reference-point can be taken as the vowel over which the accent-mark is written, if there is such a vowel, and as the first vowel to the left of the accent-mark if there is not; this allows the accentual influence of a morpheme to extend back over several other morphemes (e.g. in /ti-rib-'a/ 'you refused', the accent is determined by the third morpheme, its reference-point is on the vowel of the second morpheme, and its realization, as high pitch, is on the first morpheme).

A *penultimate* accent is always realized on the syllable before the one containing the reference-point, provided there is such a syllable in the same accent-unit; but if there is none, but there is a vowel before the reference-point in the same syllable, then it is on this vowel that the high pitch is located; finally, if there is no such vowel, then the high pitch is located on the vowel acting as reference-point, and extends forward over any later vowel in the same syllable. In the first case, the phonetic result is a sequence of syllables with a high pitch

on the first and a low on the second (as in /kitàab/ 'a book'); in the second it is a *falling* pitch on the one syllable (e.g. /k^waa-'t/ 'sisters', /kaàm/ 'a camel'); and in the third it is just a level high pitch on the one syllable (e.g. /yàas/ 'a dog'). The third result is phonetically the same as the result which is always produced by a *final* accent (e.g. /k^waa-'t/ 'a sister'), and the difference is seen only when a prefix is added to which the realization of the penultimate accent can be transferred (e.g. /ʔuu-yàas/ 'the dog', with high pitch on the prefix).

2. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

2.1 Basic sentence structures

Nouns and noun-phrases are either nominative or accusative in form (3.4), and on the basis of this case distinction in morphology we can distinguish between the subject (S) of a sentence and its various complements (C). There is only one S per sentence, but there may be several C's, including direct objects, objects of causation, indirect objects, and predicative complements. The normal order of elements is :

S Cⁿ V

i.e. any C's come between the S and the verb (V). The following are typical examples :

/bar-uu-'k ʔaraaw-oo-'n ti-kteen-'a/ 'You (bar-uu-'k) know (ti-kteen-'a) a friend of ours (ʔaraaw-oo-'n)'.

/bar-uu-'k ʔaraaw-oo-'n ki-t-t-'a/ 'You aren't (ki-t-t-'a) a friend of ours'

/bar-uu-'k ʔaraaw-oo-'n mhalag-aa-'b ti-nfiw-a/ 'You give (ti-nfiw-a) a friend of ours money (mhalag-aa-'b)'.

/bar-uu-'k ʔaraaw-oo-'n mhalag-aa-'b ti-s-dabiil-'a/ 'You cause-to-collect (ti-s-dabiil-'a) a friend of ours money'.

Similarly, postpositional constructions (4.2), adverbial clauses (10) and other adverbial constructions occur before the verb, though they may not be as restricted positionally as are S and C. According to Reinisch (1893 : 73) the agent in a passive construction (2.4, 7.7) occurs with the postposition which normally means 'from', and is put between S and V (e.g. /wi-haḏa-' ʔi-yaas-ii-' ʔi-too-dáar/ 'the lion (wi-haḏa-) was killed (ʔi-too-dáar) by the dog (ʔi-yaas-ii-)').

The verb shows concord with the subject in person, number and gender (7.2), and no subject is in fact necessary—for instance, all the sentences listed in the previous paragraph with /bar-uu-'k/ 'you' as subject could have had no subject at all with no change in either grammaticality or meaning, beyond a change of emphasis. The complement—or rather one of the complements—may be represented by a suffix attached to the verb (5.3), and again if such a suffix is present no separate C is needed even if one is understood semantically (e.g. /ti-kteen-'a-heèb/ 'You know (ti-kteen-'a-) me (-heèb)'). The 3rd-person complement suffixes

have no realization, except under rather special grammatical circumstances, so there may be no overt reflex at all of a complement that is understood (e.g. /*ti-kteen-'a*/ 'You know him/her/it/them').

The order S-C-V given above is only the normal order, from which deviations are possible and quite common, apparently for reasons of emphasis and the like. However, this is more true of main clauses than of subordinate clauses, since in the latter the verb is almost always the last element, due to the rule that any subordinating markers, corresponding to subordinating conjunctions in English, take the form of suffixes added directly to the verb (9, 10); since this suffix really 'belongs' to the whole clause, it is natural for it to be kept on the edge of the clause by keeping the verb itself at the end.

2.2 *Predicative constructions*

In predicative constructions, the element referred to as 'the verb', and represented in the formula above by V, may be either a proper verb (*viz.* a form of the irregular verb *-k-y-* 'be') or a 'copular clitic' (6), based on the morpheme *-u-*, which also means 'be', but having a completely different kind of paradigm from verbs. These two sets of forms are in complementary distribution: the clitics are used in sentences that are positive, present tense and not embedded in another sentence (*i.e.* in the most straightforward kinds of sentence), and the verbs are used in all other kinds of sentence. Compare the following for instance:

- /*dabaloo-'-b-u*/ 'He is small (*dabaloo-'-b=*)'
- /*dabaloo-'-b ?ii-kti*/ 'He used to be (*?ii-kti*) small'
- /*dabaloo-'-b k'-ii-kè*/ 'He isn't small'
- /*dabaloo-'-b ?i-katii-ee-'k*/ 'If he is small'

In some respects the copular clitic is like a suffix: for instance, it causes preceding short vowels to lengthen, and can even impose its own accent on the complement, showing that it is in the same accent-unit. On the other hand, it is *less* closely attached to the complement than a suffix would be: for instance, it does not count as a syllable of the complement noun as far as the rule that determines the length of the article is concerned (3.3c). Moreover, it has its own internal structure, consisting of from one to three morphemes (e.g. /*t-oo-ndee='t-uu-y*/ 'You (fem.) are (= 't-uu-y) the mother (*t-oo-ndee=*)'), rather more like an independent verb. The grammatical status of a copular clitic is thus ambiguous between that of an affix and that of a word, and this ambiguity is meant to be reflected both by the term 'clitic' and by the sign '=' separating it from the complement (in contrast with the morpheme-boundary '-' and the word-space).

The complement in a predicative construction may be of two types:

- (i) a normal accusative form of an adjective, a noun-phrase, a relative clause (e.g. /*šaa-'-t tam-ii-nii-'b*/ 'who (-'b) eats (*tam-ii-nii-*) meat (*šaa-'-t*)'), or a possessive (e.g. /*beén ?i-tak-ii-'b*/ 'that man (*beén ?i-tak-*)'s (*-ii-'b*)');

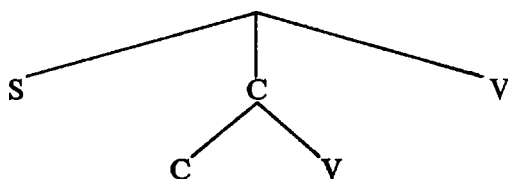
- (ii) an adverbial word, phrase or clause (e.g. /*ʃaa-'t tam-i-ny-e-'hoob*/ 'when (-e-'hoob) he eats meat').

Different forms of the copular clitic are found with these two types of complement (6).

One frequent use of the predicative construction, with either a copular clitic or a verb, according to the usual rules, is to form the equivalent of an English 'pseudo-cleft' sentence, like 'What men drink is coffee' or 'Why he did it was because he needed the money': /*wi-ʔaa-nda- g^waʔ-ee-n-e- búun=u*/ 'Which (wi...e-) men drink (ʔaa-nda- g^waʔ-ee-n-) is (=u) coffee (búun=)'.

2.3 Auxiliary verbs

An 'auxiliary verb' may follow the 'main verb', in which case the main verb may be severely restricted in its grammatical form, and may assume a form that is not possible in the absence of an auxiliary verb. Consequently such constructions may be assumed to have an embedded sentence (containing the main verb and any complements it may have) as complement of the auxiliary verb. For instance, in the sentence /*ʔuu-ták ʃaa-'t tam-i ʔi-ndi*/ 'the man (ʔuu-ták) will (ʔi-ndi, which elsewhere means "says") eat (tam-i, which can mean "let me eat") meat (ʃaa-'t)', the structure can be analysed as follows:



ʔuu-ták ʃaa-'t tam-i ʔi-ndi

There are four classes of auxiliary verb:

- (i) the irregular verb *-y-d-y-*, which elsewhere means 'say'; this takes main verbs in the 'permissive', 'imperative' and 'bound negative' forms, distinguished in 7.2 and 7.3 (e.g. respectively /*ʃaa-'t tam-i ʔi-ndi*/ 'He is going to eat meat'; /*ʃaa-'t tam-aà- ʔi-ndi*/ 'He is going to eat meat'; /*ʃaa-'t b-aa-tam-áy ʔi-ndi*/ 'He isn't going to eat meat');
- (ii) the verbs *-r-b-* 'refuse', *-r-* 'like', *-yiʔe-* 'come', which take a main verb in the 'future' form (7.2) (e.g. /*ʃaa-'t tam-át ʔi-rib (ká-r-y-à, yiʔ-if-ni)*/ 'He failed to (doesn't like to, may) eat meat'); in these constructions there are special restrictions on the forms in which the auxiliary verb itself may appear, differing from one auxiliary to another;
- (iii) the irregular verbs *-h-y-* 'be' and *-ʔ-f-y-* 'be', which take either a 'preterite' form (7.2) or a 'present participle' form (7.4) of the main verb (e.g. /*tam-a-n ʔii-fi*/ 'I was eating', /*tam-ée ʔee-fè*/ 'I shall be eating');

these forms are known only from Reinisch, 1893: 147–8, and Roper, 1928: 80;

- (iv) an open-ended list of verbs, including *-baʔ-* ‘lie’, *-d-ʔ-y-* ‘do’, *-h-y-w-* ‘give’, *-yiʔe-* ‘come’, whose grammatical form determines that of the main verb through a rather complex set of concord rules, restricting it to one of four sets of forms: preterite (7.2), imperative (7.2), bound participle (7.4), past participle (7.4) (e.g. /*ʃaa-ʔ-t tam-a-n baʔ-a-n*/ ‘I kept on eating meat’ but /*ʃaa-ʔ-t tam-ee-tl baʔ-á-ní*/ ‘I keep on eating meat’). In such constructions there are also lexical restrictions on the combinability of particular main verbs and auxiliary verbs (except for *-baʔ-*, here meaning ‘keep on’, which seems to combine freely with all main verbs), and also on the meaning of the resultant combinations.

2.4 *Causatives, passives, etc.*

Verbs have up to five distinct derived forms (7.7, 8.2), which help to distinguish a number of sentence-types (at least seventeen, according to Hudson (1973a: 539–48)). These may contain more than one complement, in a variety of semantic relations to the verb. Distinguishable types include the following:

causative: /*ʔoo-ták ʔa-soo-mín-hook*/ ‘I made you (-hook) shave the man’;

reflexive: /*ʔa-mán*/ ‘I shaved myself’;

passive: /*ʔa-too-maán*/ ‘I was shaved’;

collaborative: /*ʔoo-ták ʔa-moo-maán-hook*/ ‘I shaved the man with you’;

reciprocal: /*ni-moo-maán*/ ‘we shaved each other’;

causative reflexive: /*ʔa-soo-mín-hook*/ ‘I made you shave yourself’

causative reciprocal: /*ʔee-nda-ʔa-soo-ma-mín*/ ‘I made the men (*ʔee-nda-*) shave each other’;

collaborative reflexive: /*ʔa-moo-maán-hook*/ ‘I shaved myself with you’;

reciprocally collaborative: /*ʔoo-ták ni-moo-maán*/ ‘We shaved the man together’;

reciprocally collaborative reflexive: /*ni-moo-maán*/ ‘We shaved ourselves together’.

3. THE NOUN-PHRASE

3.1 *The structure of the noun-phrase*

Noun-phrases consist of a noun with or without modifiers, and the modifiers may either precede or follow the noun, whichever of the types listed below they belong to. The modifiers show concord of number, gender and case with the noun in either position, and if they follow the noun they also show concord of definiteness, as in Arabic: /*ták win*/ ‘a big (*win*) man (*ták*)’ but /*ʔuu-ták ʔuu-win*/ ‘the big man’. However, there are two other differences between preceding and following modifiers: if the modifier precedes, the noun must not contain the

definite article (unless the modifier is one of the demonstratives, *-n-* 'this' or *-beén-* 'that'): hence /*wín ták*/ 'a small man' but not */*wín ?uu-ták*/ or */*?uu-wín ?uu-ták*/; and the modifiers have different concordial suffixes according to whether they precede or follow (3.2, 3.3).

The following are all found as modifiers (the examples are all in the accusative case):

- (i) demonstratives (e.g. /*?oo-n ?oo-yàas*/ or /*?oo-yàas ?oo-n*/ 'this dog');
- (ii) numerals (e.g. /*mhalo- yás*/ or /*yás mhaloo-b*/ 'two dogs');
- (iii) adjectives (e.g. /*dabalo- yàas*/ or /*yàas dabaloo-b*/ 'a small dog');
- (iv) possessives (4.1), consisting of a noun-phrase followed by a 'genitive' suffix and then the appropriate gender/number/case concord markers, as required by the 'possessed' noun (e.g. /*?oo-n ?i-tak-i- yàas*/ or /*?oo-yàas wí-?oo-n ?i-tak-ii-b*/ 'this man's dog', with *-i-* or *-ii-* as genitive suffix);
- (v) relative clauses (9), consisting of a clause to which (or rather to whose verb) are suffixed the gender/number/case markers required by the head-noun (the 'antecedent'), with or without the suffix *-e-* before such markers (e.g. /*?ane- rih-a-n-e- yàas*/ or /*yàas ?ane- rih-a-n-ee-b*/ 'a dog that I saw'); if the head noun contains the definite article, the relative clause must follow and itself have the article prefixed to the whole clause, according to the normal rules for modifiers given above (e.g. /*?oo-yàas wí-?ane- rih-a-n-ee-b*/ 'the dog that I saw').

3.2 Gender

There are two genders, masculine and feminine, which are determined arbitrarily for inanimate nouns and according to sex for animates. The formal distinction between the two may be made at one or none of several different places in the noun-phrase. Feminine noun-phrases always contain at least one instance of the feminine marker *-t-* (which is also found in nearly all feminine verbs), and masculine noun-phrases may or may not contain an instance of the masculine-and-accusative marker *-b-*. The rules for using these markers are as follows:

- (i) feminine *-t-*:
 - always prefixed to definite articles and demonstratives containing *-n-* 'this';
 - always suffixed to any other modifier;
 - suffixed to the noun-stem before a possessive pronoun suffix (5.1);
 - otherwise suffixed to noun-stems provided there is no definite article or preceding modifier.
- (ii) masculine *-b-*:
 - found only in *accusative* masculine noun-phrases;
 - added to nouns and modifiers only if they otherwise end in a vowel and have no kind of pronoun suffix (5.1, 5.2);

—not added to nouns, or to some adjectives, when these have a definite article or a preceding modifier.

3.3 *Number*

The distinction between singular and plural noun-phrases is shown (a) in the stems of nouns and adjectives, (b) in the accents of nouns and modifiers of various kinds, (c) in the inflections of articles and possessive suffixes, and (d) in the inflections of verbs in modifying relative clauses.

(a) Noun and adjective stems: the main marker of plurality is the suffix *-a-* (e.g. /ragád/ 'a leg', /ragad-aa-'b/ 'legs'). Not all nouns and adjectives take this plural marker, however; another common one is the shortening of the final vowel in a consonant-final root (e.g. /ginuúf/ 'a nose', /ginúf/ 'noses'). Roots ending in a vowel generally make no distinction between singular and plural other than the accent change described below.

(b) Accents: if a noun or adjective ends, in the plural, in a vowel (irrespective of whether this vowel is the plural marker *-a-* or part of the root), it always has a *penultimate* accent (1.4) (which is also characteristic of plural verbs—see 8). Otherwise, accents are either the same in singular and plural (e.g. /ginuúf/, /ginúf/ 'nose(s)'), or contrast in either direction (e.g. /barráad/, /barrád/ 'teapot(s)'; /bikkáar/, /bikkár/ 'hut(s)').

(c) Inflections of articles and possessive suffixes: the following pattern of vowels is found both in articles (which are prefixed to the noun) and in possessive suffixes (which are suffixed to it)—and also in the demonstrative *-'n-* 'this':

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Nominative</i>	uu	aa
<i>Accusative</i>	oo	ee

These distinctions are made whenever the vowel concerned is long: in articles when the rest of the noun or adjective is monosyllabic (e.g. /?uu-yáas/ 'the dog'), and in suffixes where the following person-marker (5.1) has a final accent (e.g. /?i-yaas-uu-'k/ 'your dog'); otherwise the vowel is *-i-* for all cases and numbers.⁹ Singular and plural are also distinguished in the definite article if the following word starts with /?/ or /h/, in that the article is then introduced by /w/ in the singular and /y/ in the plural (e.g. /wi-hada-'/ 'the lion', /yi-hada-'/ 'the lions').¹⁰

(d) Inflections of verbs in relative clauses: if the noun is antecedent to a relative clause, and is the underlying subject of the latter, the verb in the relative

⁹ The shortening of the vowel in the article and before the possessive suffixes is obligatory in Arteiga, and may also be obligatory in Hadendowa (Roper, 1928: 9, 30), but seems to be at best optional in Beni Amer (Reinisch, 1893: 60-1, 103) and Bishari (Almkvist, 1881: 64, 87).

¹⁰ In Arteiga, and apparently sometimes in Hadendowa (Roper, 1928: 9), vowel shortening is obligatory before /?/, /h/ and vowels, giving /wi/ (masc. sing.), /yi/ (masc. plur.) and /ti/ (fem., sing. or plur.).

clause will show whether its subject, and therefore also the antecedent, is singular or plural.

3.4 Case

Two cases are distinguished in the noun-phrase: nominative and accusative, corresponding respectively to the categories 'subject' and 'complement' distinguished in 2.1. In addition to these functions, the nominative is also used as the basis for *vocatives* (e.g. /yaá ʔuu-yaas-eé/ 'you dog!'—Almkvist, 1881: 68, Reinisch, 1893: 80, Roper, 1928: 14), and the accusative is also used as the basis for genitival constructions (4). They are distinguished formally from one another by the vowel contrasts described in 3.3 and by the presence or absence, in the masculine, of *-b-*, as described in 3.2b.

4. POSSESSIVES AND POSTPOSITIONS

4.1 Possessive noun-phrases

In a possessor-possessed construction, corresponding to English examples like 'the boy's father', the possessed is represented by a noun, and the possessor by a modifier which, according to the normal rules for modifiers, shows concord of number, gender and case with the noun, and may either precede or follow the noun:

/wi-ʔoor-i-' baaba-'/ 'the boy's father'
 /wi-ʔoor-ii-'-t de-'/ 'the boy's mother'
 /ʔi-baaba-' wi-wi-ʔoor-ii-'-b/ 'the boy's father (*acc.*)'
 /tuu-nde-' ti-wi-ʔoor-ii-'-t/ 'the boy's mother'.

The modifier in such constructions consists of a noun-phrase (identifying the possessor), to which is attached first a 'genitive' suffix (*-i-* in the above examples), and then whatever suffixes are needed to show concord with the head noun (i.e. the possessed). The possessor noun-phrase is itself in the accusative case.

The genitive suffix itself differs according to the number of the noun-phrase to which it is suffixed: in simple cases, it is *-i-* after a singular, and *-e-* after a plural (e.g. /yi-ʔar-ee-'-t de-'/ 'the boys' mother'). Moreover, it is preceded by an instance of the feminine marker *-t-* if the noun-phrase to which it is added is feminine (e.g. /ti-ʔoor-t-i-' baaba-'/ 'the girl's father', /ti-ʔar-t-ee-'-t de-'/ 'the girls' mother'). That is, up to and including the genitive morpheme (*-i-* or *-e-*) concord is with the possessor, and after this morpheme it is with the possessed.

Just as in English, the position of the genitive suffix (and the preceding feminine *-t-*) is immediately after the very last word in the possessor noun-phrase, whether this word is the latter's head-noun or not (cf. 'the man over there's name'). The rules given above apply straightforwardly if the last word is the head-noun, but there is an added complication if there is a modifier after the head-noun:

first an extra 'pseudo-noun' is added, and then the genitive (and if necessary the feminine *-t-*) is added to this. The pseudo-noun itself has a number of forms,¹¹ ranging round *-na-* (cf. the genuine noun *-na-* 'thing' and the modifier *-naa-* 'what, which'):

- /wi-ʔóór ʔoo-win-'naa-i-' baaba-'/ 'the big boy's father'
 /ti-ʔóór too-win-'naa-t-i-' baaba-'/ 'the big girl's father'
 /ti-ʔár tí-wawin-'naa-t-ee-'t de-'/ 'the big girls' mother'.

It follows from what has just been said that a possessive with the 'pseudo-noun' *-na-* attached to it may itself follow its head-noun, and that the whole noun-phrase that they make up between them may itself be treated as a possessor—which may itself have *-na-* added. This allows up to two occurrences of the *-na-* suffix next to each other, though each belongs to a different layer of structure (e.g. /ʔi-baaba- ʔi-wi-ʔóór ʔoo-win-'naa-ii-'naa-i-' gáw/ 'the big boy's father's house'). However, two seems to be the upper limit to the number of *-na-*'s that can occur together in this way.

4.2 Postpositions

Instead of the suffixes showing concord with a possessed head-noun, there may be after the genitive suffix one of a number of 'postpositions', which give the noun-phrase an adverbial function (e.g. /wi-ʔoor-ii-'t/ 'like the boy'). The rules for the form of the genitive morpheme itself, the feminine *-t-* before it, and the pseudo-noun *-na-* before that, apply exactly in the way described in 4.1.

There are two classes of postposition, according to their position relative to a possessive pronoun suffix (5.1) belonging to the head-noun of the noun-phrase to which the postposition is attached. Those postpositions that would precede such a pronoun we shall call *inseparable*, and those that would follow it *separable*. The inseparable ones are the following¹²:

- (i) *-b-* (zero before a pronoun suffix): 'in, about';
 (ii) *-t-* (/t/ before a pronoun suffix): 'like';
 (iii) *-'* (/s/ before a pronoun suffix): 'from, by'.

This last postposition may be followed by the morpheme *-ka-* (which follows the pronoun suffix), and the meaning is then either 'than' or 'since'.

As for the separable postpositions, they include a number of nouns, and they all occur in the position which a noun can occupy; their distinguishing charac-

¹¹ The following forms for the combination of pseudo-noun plus genitive suffix were found in Arteiga (but are not noted by any of the other writers): (i) /náa-y/ instead of /naa-i/; (ii) /ne/ instead of /naa-e/; (iii) forms with an extra /-náay/ (for either singular or plural possessors) or /-ne/ (for plural possessors) added after the regular combination of pseudo-noun and genitive suffix, with or without feminine marker (e.g. /ti-ʔóór tí-dawrii-'naa-t-ii-náay-t de-'/ 'the beautiful girl's mother').

¹² Reinisch, 1893: 76-80, adds two more postpositions that are, presumably, inseparable: *-na-* 'with' and *-nee-* 'since'. Before them, it seems that the genitive morpheme is optional.

teristic is that they belong to the same accent-unit (1.4) as the end of the noun-phrase to which they are added. The following are some of the clearer examples of separable postpositions :

-geeb-	'with'	-dha- or -da-	'to, for'
-suur-	'in front of'	-harʔi-	'behind'
-nuun-	'without'		

For a longer list and discussion, see Reinisch (1893 : 76-80).

5. PRONOUNS

5.1 Possessive pronoun suffixes

Possessive pronoun suffixes are added to the noun that refers to what is possessed (e.g. /ʔi-gaw-uu-'k/ 'your ('k) house'). The noun to which a possessive suffix is added may or may not have a definite article as well (cf. /gaw-uu-'k/ 'a house of yours'). Before the possessive suffix there is a marker of case and number, namely one of the vowels which also occur in the definite article (see 3.3c) :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Nominative</i>	/ʔi-gaw-uu-'k/	/ʔi-gaw-aa-aa-'k/
<i>Accusative</i>	/ʔi-gaw-oo-'k/	/ʔi-gaw-aa-ee-'k/

Before the case/number marker there is the feminine marker *-t-* if the noun is feminine (e.g. /ti-huus-aa-t-aa-'k/ 'your knives').

The possessive pronoun suffixes are as follows :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>1st person</i>	/'/	/n/
<i>2nd person</i>	/'k/ ¹³	/'k-na/
<i>3rd person</i> ¹⁴	/'/	/'hi-na/

If a genitive marker (see 4.1) is added to a noun containing a possessive pronoun suffix, it must precede both the pronoun suffix and also the case/number marker (/uu/, /oo/, /aa/, /ee/ or /i/)—but not the feminine *-t-* belonging to the noun-root or the plural marker *-a-* (e.g. /ti-ʔoor-t-ii-uu-'k/ 'your daughter's'). However,

¹³ A gender distinction can be made in the second person by adding the regular verbal *-a-* (*masc.*) or *-i-* (*fem.*) after the possessive suffix in Beni Amer (Reinisch, 1893 : 103) and perhaps also in Bishari (Almkvist, 1881 : 87, 89).

¹⁴ The forms shown for 3rd person are only Arteiga. The forms for Hadendowa (Roper, 1928 : 30), Halanga (ibid.), Beni-Amer (Reinisch, 1893 : 103) and Bishari (Almkvist, 1881 : 87) are as follows: Hadendowa /' / sg., /' / or /h-na/ pl.; Beni Amer and Halanga /'s/ sg., /'s-na/ pl.; Bishari /'h/ sg., /'h-na/ pl. Moreover, even in Arteiga the alternative forms are found as conditioned variants of those given: /'hi/ and /'hi-na/ are found before *-ka-* 'each' (e.g. /ʔoor-i-'hi-ka/ 'each child of his') or before the copular clitic (e.g. /ʔoor-i-'hi-naa-u/ 'he is a child of theirs'), and /'s/ is found, as both singular and plural, after a numeral or an independent pronominal root (see 5.3 below) and before the copular clitic (e.g. /bar-uu-'k bar-oo-'s-w-a/ 'You (bar-uu-'k) are (=w-a) him (bar-oo-'s)').

a case-number marker and (where relevant) a feminine *-t-* must also be added to the genitive (according to the normal rules for concord in modifiers given in 3), to show concord with the second possessed noun (e.g. 'sons' in 'your daughter's sons'). This concord is shown by the vowels before the pronoun suffix (/uu/ etc.) and the feminine *-t-* after the genitive marker *-i-* or *-e-* (e.g. /ti-ʔoor-t-ii-t-aa-'k ʔár/ 'your daughter (ti-ʔoor-t-... 'k)'s daughters (ʔar)', where *-t-aa-* shows feminine plural nominative concord with ʔar). In other words, the pronoun suffix is separated from the noun to which it is suffixed not only by the genitive morpheme but also by the feminine *-t-* and case-number marker which show concord with the noun possessed by this noun.

Similarly, if an inseparable postposition (see 4.2) is attached to a noun that has a possessive pronoun suffix the postposition comes first (e.g. /ti-ʔoor-t-ii-s-oo-'k/ 'from (*-s-*) your daughter'). In this case, however, the case-number marker shows concord with the noun to which the possessive suffix is attached. (If the postposition is *-t-* 'like', the possessive pronoun suffix has the form given in 5.3 below for object pronoun suffixes, as in /wi-ʔoor-ii-'t-hook/ 'like your son'.)

'Possessive' pronoun suffixes are also used to translate 'than me' and so on: they are suffixed to *-ka-* 'more', which is itself suffixed to adjective roots (and relative clauses), and the possessive suffix again is preceded by the appropriate case-number marker (and feminine *-t-*) required by the adjective or relative clause (e.g. /dabalo-'kaa-t-oo-'k ʔoor/ 'a girl smaller (dabalo-'kaa-t-oo-) than you ('k); /ti-ktéen-heéb-kaa-t-oo-'k ʔoor/ 'a girl who knows (ti-ktéen-) me (-heéb-) more (-kaa-) than you ('k)').

5.2 Independent personal pronouns

The following are the independent personal pronouns, which are optional as subjects and alternatives to object pronoun suffixes (see 5.3 below) as objects:

(a) First person¹⁵

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Nominative</i>	/ʔane-'/	/hinin/
<i>Accusative</i>	/ʔanee-'b/	/hinin/

With the genitive morpheme attached, the forms are /ʔan-i-/ and /hin-e-/ (e.g. /ʔuu-gáw ʔan-ii-'b-u/ 'the house is mine').¹⁶

(b) *Second and third persons*: These are formed by adding the ordinary second and third person possessive pronoun suffixes to the root *-bar-*, with the usual case-number markers and feminine *-t-* in between (e.g. /bar-uu-'k/ 'you' (masc. sing. nominative), /bar-t-oo-'k/ 'you' (fem. sing. accusative)). However, instead of the usual plural possessive suffixes /k-na/ and /'hi-na/ etc.), the singular

¹⁵ In Beni Amer the forms are: /ʔanii-'/, /hinin/, /ʔanee-'b/ and /hinnee-'b/ (Reinisch, 1893: 96-7).

¹⁶ In Hadendowa, /ʔan-i-/ alternates with /ʔuun-i-/ if the concord is singular, and is replaced by /ʔaan-i-/ if it is plural (Roper, 1928: 26).

suffixes are used, since the case-number marker distinguishes singular from plural (e.g. /bar-uu-/ 'he', /bar-aa-/ 'they'). The genitive morpheme is added in the usual way, after -bar- and the feminine -t- (e.g. /bar-t-ii-oo-'k-geeb/ 'with (-geeb) you (fem.)').

5.3 Object pronoun suffixes

Object pronoun suffixes are added to verbs, immediately after any tense and person/number affixes (e.g. /ʔaree-á-ní-hook/ 'I like (ʔaree-á-ní-) you (-hook)').¹⁷ Their forms are as follows:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>1st person</i>	/heèb/	/hoon/
<i>2nd person</i>	/hook/	/hook-na/
<i>3rd person</i> ¹⁸	—	—

Although there is no obligatory gender distinction for object pronoun suffixes, there is a rather odd optional gender distinction according to the addressee's sex which can be made by adding -a- (*masc.*) or -i- (*fem.*) to a 1st person (sing./plur.) or 2nd person singular object suffix (e.g. /ʔuu-yâas tam-yâ-heèb-a/ (said to a man), /ʔuu-yâas tam-yâ-heèb-i/ (said to a woman) 'the dog bit me'). (Almkvist, 1881 : 242-3, Reinisch, 1893 : 109, Roper, 1928 : 29.)

There are three special cases where the forms listed above are not used but are replaced by others:

- (i) After the future suffix -t- (see 7.2, 8.1g) they are the same as the possessive suffixes with the accusative singular marker -oo- before them (e.g. /dir-t-oo-'k/ 'I'll kill you').
- (ii) If the clause is used adverbially, with a 'genitive' morpheme -e- suffixed to its verb (see 10.2), again the object pronoun suffixes are the same as the possessive suffixes, and are preceded either by the nominative singular -uu- (meaning, in this environment, 'if') (e.g. /ʔane-' rih-a-ny-ee-uu-'k/ 'if I see (ʔane-' rih-a-ny) you')¹⁹ or by the accusative singular -oo- (e.g. /ʔane-' rih-a-ny-ee-oo-'k-hoob/ 'when I see you').
- (iii) If the clause is relative, the form of an object pronoun suffix in the verb is again that of the possessive suffix, with a case-number marker to suit

¹⁷ In Halanga (Roper, 1928 : 41) the object suffix may be added to an auxiliary rather than to the main verb (e.g. /bar-uu-'k tam-aa-'b ki-t-t-'a-heèb/ 'You haven't bitten me', literally 'You aren't-me having-bitten').

¹⁸ In Arteiga and Hadendowa (Roper, 1928 : 29) the 3rd person object suffix is zero, so that a verb with no overt object suffix can be taken to have a 3rd-person object (e.g. /ʔaree-á-ní/ 'I like him/her/it/them'); however, in Halanga (Roper, 1928 : 29) and Beni Amer (Reinisch, 1893 : 109) the 3rd person object pronoun suffixes are /hoos/ (sing.) and /hoos-na/ (plur.), and in Bishari (Almkvist, 1881 : 110) they are /hooh/ or /ooh/ and /hooh-na/ or /ooh-na/—cf. the possessive forms given in 5.1 above.

¹⁹ In Bishari it seems that the ordinary object suffixes (-heèb- etc.) are added after the suffix -'k- meaning 'if' (e.g. /ti-ndiir-ee-'k-heèb/ 'if you kill me' (Almkvist, 1881 : 245).

the concord imposed on the relative clause by its antecedent (e.g. /ʔi-kteen-uu-*k* ták-ka/ 'everyone (ták-ka) (*nom.*) who knows (ʔi-kteen-) you', but /ʔi-kteen-oo-*k* ták-ka/ (*acc.*)). In this environment even Arteiga and Hadendowa allow an overt 3rd person object suffix.

6. COPULAR CLITICS

6.1 *Variable copular clitics*

In 1.2 we distinguished two kinds of complement that copular clitics can have: adjectives, noun-phrases and relative clauses, after which the copular clitic distinguishes gender and number for all persons; and adverbial words, phrases and clauses, after which the clitic makes no gender or number distinctions for the 1st and 3rd persons. We shall call the former type of clitic 'variable' and the latter 'invariable'.

Variable clitics are centred on a morpheme which is /u/ (or /w/ before a vowel) in the singular and /a/ in the plural (for these vowels compare those in the case-number markers given in 3.2). Before this morpheme may be added the feminine marker *-t-* (if the subject is feminine, and the complement doesn't already end in the feminine *-t-*: /ti-k^waa-t-oo-*k*=t-u/ 'she is your sister', but /k^waa-*t*=u/ 'she is a sister'), and after it may be added one of the three 2nd person morphemes *-a-* (masc. sing.), *-i-* (fem. sing.), *-na-* (plural), which are also found in verbs. The forms are thus as follows: ²⁰

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>1st/3rd person masc.</i>	/u/	/a/
<i>fem.</i>	/t-u/ or /u/	/t-a/ or /a/
<i>2nd person masc.</i>	/w-a/	/aa-na/
<i>fem.</i>	/t-uu-i/ or /uu-i/	/t-aa-na/ or /aa-na/

6.2 *Invariable copular clitics*

Invariable copular clitics are built round the morpheme /u/ (/w/ before a vowel), irrespective of the number of the subject. No feminine *-t-* can be added before it, but after it the 2nd person morphemes listed above can be added. The forms are thus: /u/ (1st/3rd person), /w-a/ (2nd person masc. sing.), /uu-i/ (2nd person fem. sing.), /uu-na/ (2nd person plural). It is also possible to add an empty /-yt-u/ to the basic /u/, presumably based on sequences of copular—adverbial meaning 'since'—copular which otherwise are found in 'pseudo-cleft' sentences (see 2.2).

²⁰ In Beni Amer the ending *-na-* can be added in all plural forms, not just in 2nd person forms, although it is uncommon in 1st person and 3rd person forms (Reinisch, 1893: 83). In Hadendowa the ending /u/ is replaced by /i/ (Roper, 1928: 88).

7. SURVEY OF VERB FORMS

7.1 *Extended verbs, verbs, bases, stems, roots and radicals*

To avoid confusion in the following sections, we shall distinguish the following concepts :

Extended verb : a verb plus any suffixes that are added to it on behalf of the whole clause (such as relative and adverbial suffixes described in 9, 10) ;

Verb : a complete verb word excluding the suffixes just mentioned ;

Base : a verb minus any object pronoun suffixes, and including all markers of specifically verbal categories such as mood, tense and subject-concord ;

Stem : a base minus its inflectional markers, leaving only markers of derivational type ;

Root : a single morpheme in a stem minus any separable morphemes which indicate derivational type ;

Radical : those aspects of the root's phonological structure which are determined lexically rather than by general morphological rules.

For example, take : /*ti-takát ?i-rabé-` ti-s-dabil-heéb-aayt ta? ?i-gaw-ii-`b ?ee-fe-`*/ 'Since (-aayt) the woman (ti-takát) caused-to-collect (ti-s-dabil-) me (-heéb-) the luggage (?i-rabé-'), it is (?ee-fe-') now (ta?) in the house (?i-gaw-ii-`b)'. In this sentence, /*ti-s-dabil-heéb-aayt*/ is an *extended verb* containing the clausal adverbial suffix -aayt- 'since' (10.4), /*ti-s-dabil-heéb-*/ is a *verb*, containing the object suffix -heéb- 'me' (5.3); /*ti-s-dabil-*/ is a *base*, with the 3rd person singular prefix -ti- (7.2); /-s-dabil-/ is a *stem*, with the causative prefix -s- (7.7); /-dabil-/ is a *root*; and -d-b-l- is a *radical*, meaning 'collect'.

In this section and the following we shall be concerned only with *bases* and their components. Object pronoun suffixes, which make bases into verbs, have already been discussed (5.3), and the various suffixes which convert verbs into extended verbs will be discussed in 9-12. However, for simplicity the examples below will all be given the status of complete verbs without object suffixes.

One of the most striking characteristics of Beja verb morphology is that stems are of two types, which (following Reinisch, 1893, and Roper, 1928) we can call *strong* and *weak*. One difference between the two is that for certain tenses and moods the strong stems take prefixes whereas the weak ones take suffixes :

strong : /*ti-s-dabil*/ 'she (ti-) cause (-s-) to collect, past (-dabil)'

weak : /*tam-is-t-à* 'she (-t-) cause (-is-) to eat (tam-), past (-à)'

Another difference is that in weak stems, the root is constant in form, whereas in strong stems the interdigitated vowels vary with derivational type and tense or mood :

strong : /*ti-s-dabiil*/ 'she causes to collect'

weak : /*tam-is-ti-ní*/ 'she causes to eat'

Whether a stem is strong or weak depends to a large extent, but not exclusively,

on the radical: here we distinguish between *consonantal* radicals (like **-d-b-l-** 'collect') and *syllabic* radicals (like **-tam-** 'eat'), the connection being that only consonantal radicals can occur in strong stems, whereas in weak stems either kind of radical can occur. Consonantal radicals consist of either two or three consonants (including /ʔ/ and /h/), and syllabic radicals consist of one or more complete syllables.

There are also suffixes which form 'voluntatives' out of other forms: **-ay-** is added to optatives (and perhaps also to permissives and bound negatives—cf. Reinisch, 1893: 156–7), **-aán-** is added to pasts, and **-n-** to imperatives and negative imperatives. These suffixes will be ignored in the following, but they deserve further study.

7.2 *Positive concordial forms*

The following classes of base show concord with the subject:

- (i) *Present* (e.g. /ʔa-danbiil/ 'I collect', /tam-á-ni/ 'I eat');
- (ii) *Preterite* (e.g. /ʔa-dbil/, /tam-a-'n/ 'I collected/ate');
- (iii) *Past* (e.g. /ʔ-ii-dbil/, /tam-l/ 'I used to collect/eat' or 'I had collected/eaten' or 'I might collect/eat');
- (iv) *Optative* (e.g. /bá-ʔ-ii-dbil/, /bá-tam-l/ 'May I collect/eat');
- (v) *Permissive* (found only depending on an auxiliary—see 2.3—e.g. /ʔ-ii-dbil ʔa-ndi-'/ 'I intend (ʔa-ndi-') to collect', /tam-l ʔa-ndi-'/ 'I intend to eat');
- (vi) *Future* (e.g. /di-bl-át/, /tam-át/ 'I shall collect/eat');
- (vii) *Imperative* (e.g. /di-bil-'a/, /tam-áa/ 'collect/eat!');

One of the main outstanding problems in the study of Beja is to identify more precisely the meanings of these and other inflectional categories of the verb, so the translations given should be taken only as rough guides to meaning (as should the names given to the categories).

To the extent that these forms show concord with the subject, they make the following distinctions, generally with the markers shown:

- (i) 1st person singular (prefix **-ʔa-** in strong bases);
- (ii) 1st person plural (prefix or suffix **-n-**);
- (iii) 2nd person (prefix or suffix **-t-**)
 - (a) masculine singular (suffix **-a-**)
 - (b) feminine singular (suffix **-i-**)
 - (c) plural (suffix **-na-**);
- (iv) 3rd person masculine singular (prefix or suffix **-(ʔ)i-** or **-y-**);
- (v) 3rd person feminine singular (prefix or suffix **-t-**);
- (vi) 3rd person plural (prefix or suffix **-(ʔ)i-** or **-y-**; suffix **-n(a)-**).

However, not all the base-classes allow subjects of all persons and numbers: the Permissive allows only 1st person (singular or plural), the Imperative only 2nd person (singular or plural) and the Future only 1st person singular and 2nd person,

singular or plural. The Future incidentally is odd in that the 1st person singular is always a statement (e.g. /*dibl-át*/ 'I'll collect'), but the 2nd persons are always questions (e.g. /*dibl-át-a*/ 'will you collect?').

7.3 Negative concordial forms

The following classes of negative verb also show concord with the subject :

- (i) *Free negative* (only used in non-embedded declarative clauses, e.g. /*k-aà-dbil*/ 'I don't collect', /*ká-tam-a-n*/ 'I don't eat');
- (ii) *Bound negative* (used in embedded or imperative clauses, or depending on an auxiliary: /*b-aa-dabiil-ee-k*/ 'if I don't collect', /*bi-n-dabiil*/ 'let's not collect', /*b-aa-dabiil ?a-ndi*/ 'I intend not to collect');
- (iii) *Negative imperative* (e.g. /*b-aá-dabiil-a*/ 'don't collect', /*b-aá-tam-àa*/ 'don't eat').

Free and bound negatives allow overall the full range of subjects, but negative imperatives allow only 2nd person subjects. Notice that the free and bound negatives correspond in meaning to the present tense only (in spite of the fact that the free negative consists of a negative prefix added to the *preterite* form of base); to negate other tenses it is necessary to use auxiliaries (e.g. /*tam-aa-b k-il-ké*/ serves as negative for (a) /*tam-aa-b-u*/ 'he has eaten', (b) /*tam-y-à*/ 'he ate', (c) /*tam-l*/ 'he used to eat').

7.4 Non-concordial forms

The following forms of base do not show concord with the subject :

- (i) *Past participle* (e.g. /*dibl-aa-*/, /*tam-aa-*/ 'having collected/eaten');
- (ii) *Present participle* (e.g. /*dibl-ée*/, /*tam-ée*/ 'eating');
- (iii) *Negative adjectival participle* (e.g. /*b-aa-dabiil*/, /*b-aa-tam-áy*/ 'not collecting/eating');
- (iv) *Negative adverbial participle* (e.g. /*b-aá-dabiil*/, /*b-aá-tam-áy*/ 'without collecting/eating');
- (v) *Bound participle* (used only before continuative '-t-' 'and' or before auxiliaries—see 2.3—e.g. /*dibil-tii- tam-y-à*/ 'having collected it he ate it', /*tam-ee-ti ba?-á-ni*/ 'I keep on eating').

However, although the base itself does not show subject concord, some of these forms (Past participle and Negative adjectival participle) can be used with adjectival gender and case-number markers affixed to them, and before copular clitics which distinguish person as well, so that concord is shown with the subject, though not in the verb base (e.g. /*dibl-aa-b-u*/ 'he has collected' (lit. 'he is having collected'), /*b-aa-tam-áy-t-u*/ 'she can't eat' (lit. 'she is not eating')).

As well as the above forms, which are all true verb bases in the sense that they allow objects in the accusative case, etc., there are a large number of *derived nouns* based on verbal radicals (see Almkvist, 1881 : 275-9, Reinisch, 1893 : 163-75, 192-4, Roper, 1928 : 38, 56, 63).

7.5 *Relations between bases and stems*

In 7.2–7.4 above we distinguished 15 classes of stem, not counting the distinctions according to subject concord and those according to the ‘strength’ of the stem. These base classes are distinguished from one another partly by the form of their stems, and partly by the prefixes and suffixes attached to the stem, as can be seen clearly from the paradigms in the following section. Considering only the distinguishing role of the stems, we find only *seven* relevant classes of stem. These classes are distributed among the 15 base classes as follows :

<i>Stem class 1</i>	Base classes :	Preterite (e.g. /ʔa-dbil/) Imperative (e.g. /dibil-’a/) Free negative (e.g. /k-aà-dbil/)
<i>Stem class 2</i>	Base classes :	Future (e.g. /dibl-át/) Past participle (e.g. /dibl-aa-’/) Present participle (e.g. /dibl-ée/) Bound participle (e.g. /dibil-ti/ or /dibl-l/)
<i>Stem class 3</i>	Base class :	Past (e.g. /ʔ-ii-dbil/, /ʔa-dlig/ from -d-g-y- ‘bring back’)
<i>Stem class 4</i>	Base classes :	Optative (e.g. /bá-ʔa-dàag/) Permissive (e.g. /ʔa-dàag/)
<i>Stem class 5</i>	Base class :	Present, Plural subject (e.g. /ni-dòeg/)
<i>Stem class 6</i>	Base classes :	Bound negative (e.g. /b-aa-dabiil/) Negative imperative (e.g. /b-aá-dabiil-’a/) Negative adjectival participle (e.g. /b-aa-dabiil/) Negative adverbial participle (e.g. /b-aà-dabiil/)
<i>Stem class 7</i>	Base class :	Present, Singular subject (e.g. /ʔa-danbiil/)

The extent to which Stem classes 1–7 are formally distinct varies according to the derivational class of the stem (7.6, 7.7) and the type of radical.

7.6 *Intensification*

Independently of the seven Stem classes that reflect the class of the base, two other sets of distinctions apply to the stem : according to its *intensification* and according to its *derivational type* (7.7). The meaning of a verbal radical can be ‘intensified’ in one of the following ways :

- (i) by repetition of the whole root ; irrespective of the type of radical (syllabic or consonantal), all such stems are weak :
/tam-tam-a-’n/ ‘I gobbled’ (radical : -tam- ‘eat’)
/kitim-kitim-ee-’n/ ‘they (e.g. runners in a potato and bucket race) are arriving speedily at one destination after another’ (radical : -k-t-m- ‘arrive’) (quoted in Roper, 1928 : 70)
- (ii) by repetition of one consonant in the radical :
/tatam-a-’n/ ‘I ate slowly’
/ʔ-ee-ddabiil-’na/ or /ʔ-ee-dbabiil-’na/ ‘(?) they collect carefully’

- (iii) by addition of a long vowel to the root ; such stems never contain syllabic radicals, but if the radical only has two consonants the stem is weak :
 /ʔa-daabil/ ' I collected several times ' (radical : -d-b-l-)
 /roob-a-n/ ' I kept on refusing ' (radical : -r-b-)
- (iv) by addition of a long vowel and also repetition of a consonant—i.e. a combination of (ii) and (iii).

It appears that all four types of intensification can make the meaning ' frequentative '—to do the action concerned several times—though the two types of repetition may mean ' carefully ' or ' carelessly ' instead. Moreover, there are some radicals which appear only in intensified bases of one kind or another—especially in bases with long vowels added—and in such cases the meaning of verbs containing the radical concerned generally shows no sign of any type of ' intensification '. The semantic effects of these changes in the form of the stem are thus to a large extent unknown and deserve study—as do the relations between the intensification of the stem and the derivational processes described below. At least in principle all the latter are available for all the former, but there are a number of complications.

7.7 Derivation

The main formal indication of a sentence's derivation type (2.4) is the form of the verb's stem. There is no simple 1 : 1 relationship between the sentence-types and the stem-classes—for instance, reflexive sentences do not always have verbs with the same kind of stem, and some kinds of stem that can appear in reflexive sentences can also appear in passive sentences. To avoid confusion, terms like ' reflexive ' will therefore not be used to refer to types of stem ; instead, we shall use morphologically-based terms like ' S-form '. An added advantage of this approach is that it does not commit us in advance to using the same set of distinctions for strong and weak stems : there is a lot of similarity, but there are also important differences.

In *weak* stems, there are just two suffixes that mark derivation : -s- (/iis/ after /s/ or /ʃ/) and -am- (/m/ after vowels). These occur singly or together, giving the following derivational types :

- (i) *Underived* : used in *underived* sentence types ;
- (ii) *S-forms* : used in *causative* sentence types (e.g. /raat-s-ee-n/ ' they cause to ask ') or in *underived* types, when the verb radical is adjectival (e.g. /hamasee-ʃ-ee-n/ ' they blind ', radical : -hamase- ' blind ');
- (iii) *AM-forms* : used in non-causative *reflexive* sentence types (e.g. /raat-am-ee-n/ ' they ask themselves ') or in *passive* types (e.g. /raat-am-ee-n/ ' they are asked '), but also in *underived* sentence types, if the radical is adjectival (e.g. /ʔeegrin-am-ee-n/ ' they become grey ');

- (iv) *S-AM-forms*: used in non-causative *reciprocal* (e.g. /*raat-s-am-ee-n*/ 'they ask each other') or *collaborative* (e.g. /*raat-s-am-ee-n*/ 'they ask . . . with . . .') or *reciprocal collaborative* (e.g. /*raat-s-am-ee-n*/ 'they ask . . . together'); perhaps also (but rarely) in *passive causative* sentence types (e.g. /*gaş-iis-am-ee-n*/ 'they are cooked' (lit. 'they are caused to boil')—Reinisch, 1893 : 181);
- (v) *S-S-forms*: used in *causative* sentence-types where the verb has an adjectival radical (e.g. /*hamaşee-ş-iis-ee-n*/ 'they cause . . . to blind . . .');
- (vi) *AM-S-forms*: similarly used in *causative* sentence types with de-adjectival verbs (e.g. /*?eegrım-am-s-ee-n*/ 'they cause . . . to become grey').

The most important of these forms are the first four. In addition to the six listed above, we may note the following forms recorded by Reinisch, 1893 : 180–2: AM-AM-forms, AM-S-S-forms, S-S-AM-forms and even AM-S-S-AM-forms.

Strong stems involve a larger number of affixes, but these appear to be more restricted in their mutual combinability :

- (i) *Undersived*: used in underived sentence-types ;
- (ii) (*T*)-*forms*: these have a prefix *-t-* in some of the stem-classes but not in all of them ; used in *reflexive* sentence types (e.g. /*?-ii-t-mın*/ 'he used to shave himself') but also in *underived* sentence types, when the radical appears only in this type of stem (e.g. /*?-ii-t-rım*/ 'he used to follow');
- (iii) *T-forms*: used in non-causative *passive* sentences (e.g. /*?i-t-uu-mın*/ 'he used to be shaved');
- (iv) *S-forms*: used in *causative* sentences (e.g. /*?i-s-uu-mın*/ 'he used to cause . . . to shave');
- (v) *M-forms*: used in non-causative *collaborative* (e.g. /*?i-m-uu-min-na*/ 'they used to shave . . . with . . .'), *reciprocal* (e.g. /*?i-m-uu-min-na*/ 'they used to shave each other') or *reciprocal collaborative* sentences (e.g. /*?i-m-uu-min-na*/ 'they used to shave together'). Where the radical is one that occurs only in stems intensified by lengthening, such as *-b-d-n* 'forget', the M-form may be used in *passive* sentences (Roper, 1928 : 73–4). The passive use of M-forms may be restricted to Bishari and Halanga (Reinisch, 1893 : 131).

The above are the most important forms for strong stems, but Reinisch, 1893 : 127, 130, notes the possibility of S-S-forms and S-(T)-forms.

8. VERB PARADIGMS

In the following paradigms, the forms for four radicals will be given :

- I syllabic (*-tam-* 'eat')
- II consonantal with two consonants (*-l-w-* 'burn')
- III consonantal with three consonants (*-d-b-l-* 'collect')

IV consonantal with three consonants, the last of which is /y/ (-d-g-y- 'bring back').

The numbers 1, 2, 3 refer to the person of the subject, and m, f, p stand for masculine, feminine and plural (where no gender distinction is made; m and f are always singular). The 'stem classes' are those defined in 7.5.

8.1 Underived forms

(a) *Present* (Stem classes : 5 (in plural), 7 (in singular)) ²¹

	I	II	III	IV
1	tam-á-ni	?a-nliiw	?a-danbíil	?a-dangl
2m	tam-ti-nii-'a	ti-nliiw-'a	danbíil-'a	dangii-'a
2f	tam-ti-nii-'	ti-nliiw-'i	danbíil-'i	dangii-'
3m	tam-li-ni	?i-nliiw	danbíil	dangl
3f	tam-ti-ni	ti-nliiw	danbíil	dangl
1p	tam-n-áy	n-eelíw	n-eebíil	ni-deeg
2p	tam-t-ee-'na	t-eeliw-'na	t-eebíil-'na	ti-deeg-'na
3p	tam-ee-'n	?-eeliw-'na	?-eebíil-'na	?i-deeg-'na

(b) *Preterite* (Stem class 1) ²²

1	tam-a-'n	?a-liw	?a-dbíil	?a-dgl
2m	tam-t-aa-'	ti-liw-'a	ti-dbíil-'a	ti-dgii-'a
2f	tam-t-aa-'y	ti-liw-'i	ti-dbíil-'i	ti-dgii-'
3m	tam-y-à	?i-liw	?i-dbíil	?i-dgl
3f	tam-t-à	ti-liw	ti-dbíil	ti-dgl
1p	tam-n-à	ni-liw	ni-dbíil	ni-dgl
2p	tam-t-aa-'na	ti-liw-'na	ti-dbíil-'na	ti-dgii-'na
3p	tam-y-aa-'n	?i-liw-'na	?i-dbíil-'na	?i-dgii-'n

(c) *Past* (Stem class 3)

1	tam-l	?-iilíw	?-iibíil	?a-dlig (or ?i-dlig)
2m	tam-t-ii-'a	t-iiliw-'a	t-iibíil-'a	ti-diiig-'a
2f	tam-t-ii-'	t-iiliw-'i	t-iibíil-'i	ti-diiig-'i
3m	tam-l	?-iilíw	?-iibíil	?i-dlig
3f	tam-t-l	t-iilíw	t-iibíil	ti-dlig
1p	tam-n-l	n-iilíw	n-iibíil	ni-diiig
2p	tam-t-ii-'na	t-iiliw-'na	t-iibíil-'na	ti-diiig-'na
3p	tam-ii-'n	?-iiliw-'na	?-iibíil-'na	?i-diiig-'na

²¹ In III, the plural forms are /ni-dábil/ etc. in Bishari (Almkvist, 1881 : 132, 194) and Beni Amer (Reinisch, 1893 : 142), and /n-ee dábil/ etc. in Hadendowa (Roper, 1928 : 65). Similarly, in IV the plural is /ni-dangl/ etc. in Hadendowa (Reinisch, 1893 : 143).

In IV the plural forms are /n-ee díg/ etc. for Beni Amer (Reinisch, 1893 : 142) and /n-ee deeg/ etc. in Bishari (Almkvist, 1881 : 132, 188).

In I, a final /a/ is optional in the 3rd person, according to Almkvist, 1881 : 165.

²² In Bishari an optional -a- is possible after /tam-y-aa-'n/ (Almkvist, 1881 : 128, 165).

(d) *Optative* (Stem class 4)

/bá/ or /baà/ prefixed to the Permissive form (see (f) below), e.g. /bá-tam-l/ or /baà-taml/. There is an optional suffix -áy- which can be suffixed to Optatives (as also to Volitionals and Negative volitionals).

(e) *Volitional* (Stem class 4)

-áy- suffixed to the Permissive form (see (f) below), e.g. /tam-ii-áy/, /?ii-liw-áy/.

(According to Reinisch, 1893 : 156, the second-person singular gender suffixes follow the -áy- suffix; if this is the case, the relation between the Volitional and the Permissive is not quite as simple as suggested here.)

(f) *Permissive* (Stem class 4)

As for the Past (see (c) above) except that in IV (i.e. where the radical is triconsonantal, with /y/ as the last consonant) the root vowel is /aa/ instead of /ii/: /?a-dàag/, etc.

(g) *Future* (Stem class 2) ²³

1	tam-át	liw-át	dibl-át	digy-át
2m	tam-át-a	liw-át-a	dibl-át-a	digy-át-a
2f	tam-át-i	liw-át-i	dibl-át-i	digy-át-i
2p	tam-át-na	liw-át-na	dibl-át-na	digy-át-na

Before an object pronoun suffix (5.3) /át/ is replaced by /eet/ in I and by /t/ in II-IV.

(h) *Imperative* (Stem class 1) ²⁴

2m	tam-àa	liw-à	dibil-'a	digii-'a
2f	tam-li	liw-l	dibil-'i	digii-'
2p	tam-aa-'na	liw-'na	dibil-'na	digii-'na

(i) *Free negative* (Stem class 1)

1	ká-tam-a-'n	k-aà-liw	k-aà-dbil	k-aà-dgi
2m	ká-tam-t-aa-'	kí-t-liw-'a	etc.	etc.
2f	ká-tam-t-aa-'y	kí-t-liw-'i	(cf. forms for Preterite)	
3m	ká-tam-y-à	k-il-líw		
3f	ká-tam-t-à	kí-t-líw		
1p	ká-tam-n-à	kí-n-líw		
2p	ká-tam-t-aa-'na	kí-t-liw-'na		
3p	ká-tam-y-aa-'n	k-il-liw-'na		

²³ Apparently the 1st person singular use of the future is not found in Beni Amer (Reinisch, 1893 : 155).

²⁴ In Beni Amer /dibil-'a/ is found as well as /dibil-'a/ (Reinisch, 1893 : 153), and /tam-'na/ as well as /tam-aa-'na/ (op. cit. 187).

(j) Bound negative (Stem class 6)

1	b-aa-tam-áy	b-aa-liiw	b-aa-dabiil	b-aa-dagi
2m	bi-t-tam-ay-	<i>etc.</i>	<i>etc.</i>	<i>etc.</i>
2f	bi-t-tam-ay-		(cf. forms for I)	
3m	b-ii-tam-áy			
3f	bi-t-tam-áy			
1p	bi-n-tam-áy			
2p	bi-t-tam-ay-n-			
3p	b-ii-tam-ay-'na			

(k) Negative volitional (Stem class 6)

-áy- suffixed to the Bound negative forms.

(l) Negative imperative (Stem class 6)

2m	b-áa-tam-aa-'	b-áa-liiw-'a	b-áa-dabiil-'a	b-áa-dagii-'a
2f	b-fi-tam-a-'y	b-fi-liiw-'i	b-fi-dabiil-'i	b-fi-dagii-'
2p	b-áa-tam-aa-'na	b-áa-liiw-'na	b-áa-dabiil-'na	b-áa-dagii-'na

(m) Past participle (Stem class 2) ²⁵

tam-a-	liw-a-	dibl-a-	digy-a-
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(n) Present participle (Stem class 2)

tam-ée	liw-ée	dibl-ée	digy-ée
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(o) Negative adjectival participle (Stem class 6)

b-aa-tam-áy	b-aa-liiw	b-aa-dabiil	b-aa-dagi
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(p) Negative adverbial participle (Stem class 6)

b-aá-tam-áy	b-aá-liiw	b-aá-dabiil	b-aá-dagi
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(q) Bound participle (Stem class 2)

tam-eet-l	liw-t-l	dibil-t-l	digii-t-l
<i>or tam-l</i>	<i>or liw-l</i>	<i>or dibl-l</i>	<i>or digl (?)</i>

8.2 *Derived forms*

All that we need to give for the derived forms is the seven (or less) forms of the stem, as defined in 7.5. In order to construct a derived form, find the relevant underived form in the paradigms above and replace the root by the appropriate stem given below. The only adjustments that need to be made will be in the subject-concord prefixes: before a vowel, all vowels in these prefixes are deleted (as in the Past forms for II and III). Since weak and strong stems allow different ranges of stem-forming affixes (7.7), they will be treated separately. Accents will be omitted, since they are as in the paradigms above.

²⁵ According to Reinisch (1893: 164) if the second and third consonants of a consonantal radical are the same, the past participle -a- suffix is inserted (lengthened to /aa/) between them.

(a) *Weak stems*

For all Stem classes, suffix to the root *-s-*, *-am-*, *-sam-*, *-siis-*, *-ams-*, etc., as appropriate.

(b) *Strong stems (unintensified)*(i) *(T)-forms* ²⁶

	II	III	IV
Stem class 1	-law-	-dbal-	-dge-
2	law-	dibal-	dige-
3	-iit-liw-	-t-dibil-	-t-dig-
4	-iit-liw-	-t-dibil-	-t-diga-
5/7	-eet-liiw-	-t-dabiil-	-t-dagi-
6	-laaw-	-dbaar-	-dgaay-

(ii) *T-forms*

Stem class 1	-too-laaw-	-t-dabaal-	-t-dagaay-
2	?atoo-laaw-	?at-dabaal-	?at-dagaay-
		or ?at-dabl-	or ?at-dagi-
3	-tuu-liw-	-t-dibil-	-t-dig-
4	-tuu-liw-	-t-dibil-	-t-diga-
5/6/7	-too-liiw-	-t-dabiil-	-t-dagi-

(iii) *S-forms*

Stem class 1	-soo-liw-	-s-dabil-	-s-dag-
2	soo-lw-	si-dabl-	si-dag-
3	-suu-liw-	-s-dibil-	-s-dig-
4	-suu-liw-	-s-dibil-	-s-diga-
5/6/7	-soo-liiw-	-s-dabiil-	-s-dagi-

(iv) *M-forms*

Stem class 1	-moo-laaw-	-m-dabaal-	-m-dagaay-
2	?amoo-laaw-	?am-dabaal-	?am-dagaay-
		or ?am-dabl-	or ?am-dagi-
3	-muu-liw-	-m-dibil-	-m-dig-
4	-muu-liw-	-m-dibil-	-m-diga-
5/6/7	-moo-liiw-	-m-dabiil-	-m-dagi-

(c) *Strong stems (intensified by long vowel)*

As mentioned in 7.6, if the radical is consonantal but only has two consonants, the intensified stem is weak, not strong; moreover, intensification by lengthening does not apply at all if the radical is syllabic, so the only kinds of radical to be considered here are those with three consonants.

²⁶ In Beni Amer, the short /a/ is replaced obligatorily by long /aa/ if the sentence is reflexive, and optionally if the sentence is underived (Reinisch, 1893 : 129, 133).

(i) *Undersived forms*

	III	IV
Stem class 1	-daabil-	-daag-
2	daabl-	daag-
3	-ii-dbal-	-ii-dgi-
4	-ii-dbal-	-ii-dga-
5/7	-ee-dbil-	-ee-dgi-
6	daabiil-	-daagi-

(ii) *T-forms*

Stem class 1	—	—
2	?at-daabaal- or ?at-daabl-	?at-daagaay- or ?at-daagi-
3	-t-diiibil-	-t-daagi-
4	-t-diiibil-	-t-daaga-
5/6/7	-t-daabiil-	-t-daagi-

(iii) *S-forms*

Stem class 1	-s-daabil-	-s-daag-
2	si-daabl-	si-daag-
3	-s-diiibal-	-s-diig-
4	-s-diiibal-	-s-diiga-
5/6/7	-s-daabiil-	-s-daagi-

(iv) *M-forms*

Stem class 1	-mee-dbaal-	-mee-dgaay-
2	?amee-dbaal- or ?amee-dbil-	?amee-dgaay- or ?amee-dgi-
3	-mii-dbil-	-mii-dgi-
4	-mii-dbil-	-mii-dga-
5/6/7	-mee-dbiil-	-mee-dgi-

9. ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES

Adjectival clauses are clauses to whose verb the gender and case-number suffixes described in 3.2–3.4 are suffixed, just as though the whole clause was an adjectival root. There are two ways in which adjectival clauses can be used: *predicatively* or *attributively* (unlike relative clauses in English, for instance, which can only be used attributively). Compare, for example, /bar-uu-’ buún b-aa-g^wa?-ày=u/ ‘He (bar-uu-’) doesn’t (or can’t) drink (g^wa?) coffee (buún)’, literally ‘He is not-drinking coffee’, and /ták buún b-aa-g^wa?-ày k-aà-kán/ ‘I don’t know (k-aà-kán) a man (ták) who doesn’t/can’t drink coffee’, literally ‘I don’t know a man not-drinking coffee’. In either case, the clause has ‘lost’ a noun-phrase, in the sense that there is a function in its structure—subject or complement—which cannot be filled, and which ‘should’ be filled either by the head

noun that the adjectival clause modifies or by the subject of the clause in which the adjectival clause is used predicatively. The 'lost' noun-phrase is not replaced by a relative pronoun or by any other kind of pronoun (in contrast with both English and Arabic).

If the function of the lost noun-phrase is complement, the 'genitive' morpheme *-e-* is added directly to the *base* of the adjectival clause's verb—i.e. before its object pronoun suffixes (e.g. /ʔi-rabe- wi-ʔane- ʔa-s-dabil-ee-uu-ʔ k kee-y-à/ 'Where is (kee-y-à) the luggage (ʔi-rabe-) which I (ʔane-) caused (-s-) you (-ʔ) to collect (-dabil-)?' ; cf. /ʔuu-ták wi-ʔi-s-dabil-uu-ʔ k kee-y-à/ 'Where is the man who caused you to collect it?'). There are also a number of morphological peculiarities in the verbs of adjectival clauses, such as the presence of a suffix *-n-* in the Preterite of weak stems (i.e. *-y-a-n-* instead of *-y-a-*, etc.).

The following classes of verb can be used in adjectival clauses: Present, Preterite, Past, Bound negative, Past participle and Negative adjectival participle. Of these only those that show concord with the subject—i.e. Present, Preterite, Past and Bound negative—allow the 'lost' function to be complement, and Bound negative does not allow it to be subject, but otherwise there are no restrictions, except on the use of some forms in predicate position; some can be used only if followed immediately by the comparative *-ka-* 'more' (e.g. /buún gʷaʔ-án-kaa-ʔb=ʔ/ 'I drank coffee more').

It is worth noting that the usual way of negating a Preterite or Past verb is to use the Past participle in a predicative adjectival clause, with the negative of *-k-y-* 'be' (e.g. /ʔi-rabe- dibl-aa-ʔ k-aà-kè/ 'I didn't collect the luggage', literally 'I'm not having-collected the luggage'). This form is thus the negative corresponding not only to a clause where the only difference is that the negative of *-k-y-* is replaced by its positive equivalent (a copular clitic) (e.g. /ʔi-rabe- dibl-aa-ʔb=ʔ/ 'I have collected the luggage'), but also to simple clauses containing Preterite verbs (e.g. /ʔi-rabe- ʔa-dbil/ 'I collected the luggage') or Past verbs (e.g. /ʔi-rabe- ʔii-dbil/ 'I used to collect the luggage').

10. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

All the following types of adverbial clause may occur in a variety of places in the structure of the main clause, but not all can be focussed upon in a 'pseudo-cleft sentence' construction (2.2).

10.1 *With adverbial participles*

If the verb is a Present participle (e.g. /tam-èe/ 'eating') or a Negative adverbial participle (e.g. (b-aà-tam-ày/ 'without eating') then the clause must be adverbial. If it is a Past participle, then the clause is adverbial if the verb base has a final accent on its participle suffix *-a-* (e.g. /tam-aa-/ 'having eaten'). Similarly, some

adjectives can be used adverbially if this final accent is added to the adjective's final vowel (e.g. /*dabaloo-*/ 'being small').

10.2 *With postpositions*

Postpositions rather similar to the postpositions that can be added to noun-phrases (4.2) can also be added to clauses; and just as the 'genitive' morpheme *-i-* or *-e-* has to be added to a noun-phrase before the postpositions are added, so a morpheme *-e-* has to be added to clauses before postpositions can be added to these. There are a number of other distributional similarities between this morpheme and the 'genitive' morpheme, so we shall refer to it as the 'genitive' morpheme below (cf. for example /*wi-ʔoor-ii-oo-'k-geeb*/ 'with (*-geeb*) your son (*wi-ʔoor- . . . oo-'k*)', /*ʔane-'rih-an-y-ee-oo-'k-hoob*/ 'when (*-hoob*) I see you (*ʔane-'rih-an-y- . . . oo-'k*)'). However, with some clausal postpositions the genitive morpheme is suppressed when there is an Object pronoun suffix such as *-oo-'k-* 'you' (for whose form, see 5.3), and there are even differences in the form of the Object pronoun suffix itself from one postposition to another (cf. /*ʔane-'rih-an-y-ee-u u-'k-han*/ 'although I can see you').

The following are the postpositions that can be added to clauses in this way:
-'k- 'if', *-'k-ka-* 'since', *-'b-* 'since', *-'b-ka-* 'whenever', *-'han-* 'although',
-'door- 'when', *-'hoob-* 'when', *-'hoob-ee-ka-* 'as from when', *-naáy-* 'when',
-táy- or *-táy-naan-* 'because' (also: *-kik-* 'whenever', *-'dhay-* in order to',
 Reinisch, 1893 : 161, 162, 191).

10.3 *With temporal suffixes*

The following suffixes can all be translated either as 'then' or as 'when' or 'after' (e.g. /*rih-a-n-àayt-hook yak-a-'n*/ 'I saw you then (*-àayt-*) I got up (*yak-a-'n*)' or /*yak-a-'n rih-a-n-àayt-hook*/ 'I got up when I saw you'). Unlike the otherwise similar suffixes discussed in 4 below, these *precede* the Object pronoun suffix (*-hook-* 'you' in the above examples) and they lead to the loss of a short /i/ in the final syllable of the verb base (e.g. /*ʔa-s-dabl-àayt*/ 'after I made him collect it', but /*ʔa-s-dabil-àayt*/ 'because I made him collect it'). Moreover, an optional *-aayt-* may be added, without change of meaning, after an Object pronoun suffix (e.g. /*tam-is-ti-ny-aat-heèb-a ayt*/ or /*tam-is-ti-ny-aat-heèb*/ 'after she feeds me').

The temporal suffixes are :

- (i) *-'t-* (*-iit-* after a plural suffix *-n-*): unrestricted in distribution, but particularly common after the Bound participle (e.g. /*tam-eet-ii-'t diw-a-'n*/ 'Having eaten I went to sleep');
- (ii) *-iit-* : only after Past verbs ;
- (iii) *-àayt-* : only after Preterite verbs ;
- (iv) *-àat-* : only after Present or Past verbs.

10.4 *With causal suffixes*

These suffixes follow Object pronoun suffixes (e.g. /rih-a-'n-hook-a-ayt yak-a-'n/ 'Because I saw you I got up'). There are two suffixes:

- (i) **-ay-** (or **-y-** or **-áy-**): used when the main clause has a verb that is Imperative or Negative imperative, or (sometimes) if its verb is Future, Optative, Permissive or Bound negative (e.g. /?araaw-oo-'n=w-aa-ay tam-s-am-aa-hoon/ 'Since (-y) you're our friend (?araaw-oo-'n=w-aa-) eat with us (tam-s-am-aa-hoon)').
- (ii) **-aayt-** (or **-yt-** or **-áayt-**): never used if the main clause's verb is Imperative or Negative imperative, but otherwise unrestricted (e.g. /?araaw-oo-'n=w-aa-aayt ?i-gaw-uu-'n bar-ii-oo-'k-u/ 'Since (-aayt-) you're our friend our house (?i-gaw-uu-'n) is yours (bar-ii-oo-'k-u)').

11. CO-ORDINATION

There are often no markers of co-ordination, whether the relation is conjunction ('and') or disjunction ('or'), and whether the co-ordinates are words, phrases or clauses (e.g. /bayho-' ?anoo-t-i-' ?oór ?i-m-oo-ra-ram-'na/ 'A jackal (bayho-') and a lamb (?anoo-t-i-' ?oór) played together (?i-m-oo-ra-ram-'na)' (Reinisch, 1893 : 196), /?a-şambifb-hook ?a-s-naakitr-hook/ 'I am looking at you (?a-şambifb-hook) and I am listening to you (?a-s-naakitr-hook)' (Roper, 1928 : 87), /biláal ?ee-y-aa-' yi?-aa-'b k-il-kee-'/ 'Has Bilaal come (biláal ?ee-y-aa-) or hasn't he come (yi?-aa-'b k-il-kee-)'?' (Reinisch, 1893 : 196)). However, when a marker of co-ordination is used at all, it is one of the following:

- (i) **-wa-** 'and': suffixed to the first co-ordinate and, sometimes, to the second too (e.g. /?anee-'wa bar-uu-'k-wa/ or /?anee-'wa bar-uu-'k/ 'I and you'). Used when the co-ordinates are words or phrases, or embedded clauses with postpositions attached (e.g. /ti-m?ari-' tam-a-ny-ee-'k-wa ?oo-bùun g^wa?-a-ny-ee-'k-wa/ 'if I eat (tam-a-ny-ee-'k-) the food (ti-m?ari-') and if I drink (g^wa?-a-ny-ee-'k-) the coffee (?oo-bùun)'). Also used optionally, with no apparent meaning, suffixed to verbs before certain auxiliaries (e.g. /m?arii-'t mirii-tii-'wa ba?-á-ni/ or /m?arii-'t mirii-ti ba?-á-ni/ 'I keep on (ba?-á-ni) finding food (m?arii-'t mirii-ti(i)-)').
- (ii) **-han-** 'or': suffixed to the first of two co-ordinates (e.g. /haáb-han ?adâr-haáb hanriiw-'a/ 'Do you want (hanriiw-'a) beer (haáb-) or honeywine (?adâr-haáb)?'). Apparently used as a co-ordination marker only in alternative questions (see 12). Also used to mean 'also' or 'even' (e.g. /şangii-ee-'k-han ?ee-bl/ 'Even (-han) if it's far (şangii-ee-'k-) I'm going (?ee-bl)' (Reinisch, 1893 : 197)), or as a marker of interrogation (see 12) or of uncertainty (in embedded clauses, e.g. /m?arii-'t manri-han-ay b-aá-tam-s-aa/ 'Since (-ay) he may (-han-) find (manri-) some food (m?arii-'t) don't feed him (b-aá-tam-s-aa)').

- (iii) lengthening of final vowel ('and' or 'or?'): the last vowel in a verb or copular clitic is lengthened if the clause is one in a series of co-ordinated clauses, and is not the last in the series (e.g. /mʔarii-t tam-ti-nii-aa naa-t ká-faay-s-t-àa/ 'You eat (tam-ti-nii-aa) food and you don't do (ká-faay-s-t-àa) anything (naa-t)'). If the lengthened vowel is not one of the 2nd-person suffixes—as it is in the last example—it also receives a final accent (e.g. /mʔarii-t tam-a-nii-'/ 'I eat food and . . .').

12. QUESTIONS

12.1 *General questions*

General questions, requiring the answer 'yes' or 'no', are marked as such either by the suffix **-han-** added to the verb or copular clitic, or by changes in the accentual pattern of the verb (e.g. /tam-y-à-han/ or /tam-y-aa'/ 'Did he eat it?'; cf. /tam-y-à/ 'He ate it'). In the absence of **-han-**, an accent is added to the last vowel in the verb base, whether one would otherwise be there or not (cf. the above examples and /ʔi-krif-naa-'-hook/ 'Did they meet you?' compared with /ʔi-krif-na-hook/ 'They met you'). This accent is usually a final one ('), but is penultimate if the base ends in a 2nd-person marker (e.g. /tam-ti-nii-a-'/ 'Do you eat it?', cf. /tam-ti-nii-a'/ 'You eat it'). The last accent in a verb base, and also the last one before a copular clitic, involves a wider pitch-movement than would normally be the case, if the clause is a general question (e.g. /baabaa-'b=u/ 'He's a father' (normal pitch range), 'Is he a father?' (extended pitch range)).

12.2 *Alternative questions*

Alternative questions (corresponding to questions like 'Was it a boy or a girl?') are marked by **-han-** suffixed to the first of the co-ordinates (see 11), or by **-han-** suffixed to the verb (as in a general question) and /hana/ added before the second alternative (e.g. /bar-oo-'k hanriw-han hana ʔanee-'b/ 'Does he want (hanriw-han) you (bar-oo-'k) or me (ʔanee-'b)?' (Roper, 1928: 88)).

12.3 *Special questions*

Special questions contain a word corresponding to an English interrogative pronoun or adjective, but this need not be initial in the clause (e.g. /yi-ʔár naakaa-'b=a/ 'How many (naakaa-'b=) are (=a) the boys (yi-ʔar)?' (i.e. 'How many boys are there?')). The interrogative words are: **-ʔaw-** (*acc.*: **-ʔaab-**) 'who', **-naa-** 'which, what' (modifier), **-naa-n-** 'what' (pronoun), **-naa-door-** 'when', **-naa-mhiin-** 'where', **-naaka-** 'how many', **-naa-g"adi-** 'what kind of'. There is also a defective verb **-ke-** 'to be where', which only exists in the Preterite (e.g. /ʔi-gaw-uu-'k kee-y-à/ 'Where is (kee-y-à) your house (ʔi-gaw-uu-'k)?').

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THREE KOREKORE DIALECTS *

By N. C. DEMBETEMBE

1.0 In Rhodesia there are two main vernacular languages, namely Shona, which is spoken in Mashonaland by some 3,433,960 people, and Ndebele in Matebeleland spoken by some 706,750.¹ The common language referred to as Shona is not actually identical with the language of any of the local speech-communities, and it is not spoken as a first language by any member of the community. The term 'Shona' has two meanings. As a collective term it refers to a group of dialects in Mashonaland which are mutually intelligible. It also stands for their common written language.

When Professor Doke was charged in 1929 with the onerous task of discovering whether it was possible to devise a written form common to all the dialects of Mashonaland, he first of all carried out his investigations into the four well-known dialect clusters of Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika and Ndau. But it was not long before he found that the dialects of Korekore, grouped with several other cognate dialects in a cluster also called Korekore, deserved a distinct place along with the other four clusters. This study is meant to carry further the work which Doke did on Korekore.² His work is still of great value in regard to the phonology of Korekore, but less so in regard to its morphology and syntax.

1.1 The bulk of the Korekore tribesmen are to be found in North Mashonaland which, as an administrative province, comprises eight districts, namely Bindura, Kariba, Lomagundi, Mazoe, Shamva, Urungwe, Sipolilo and Darwin, with a total area of 69,378 square kilometres and a total African population of 726,780 of which 91,660 are listed as Korekore by birth.³ Doke's Korekore cluster includes the following dialects: Tavara, Shangwe, Gova, Budya, and Korekore. He further subdivided the dialect of Korekore into the following: Korekore of Urungwe, Korekore of Sipolilo, Tande, Nyombwe of Darwin and Pfungwe of Mrewa.⁴ For the purpose of this study the dialects will be limited to Urungwe, Chipuriro and Nyombwe, the nuclei of which coincide geographically with the Urungwe, Sipolilo-Bakasa, and Kandeya (Darwin) Tribal Trust Lands respectively. The number of people who speak these three local dialects is therefore less than 91,660. A number of factors have conspired to reduce the numbers of the people

* I am grateful for the comments of Professor G. Fortune on an earlier draft of this article.

¹ *1969 Population Census (Interim report)*, Vol. II, *The African Population* (compiled and issued by Central Statistical Office, Salisbury), p. 27.

² C. M. Doke, *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects*, Stephen Austin and Sons, 1931, p. 7; see also C. M. Doke, *A Comparative Study of Shona Phonetics*, Witwatersrand University Press, 1931.

³ *1969 Population Census*, p. 27.

⁴ *Unification of the Shona Dialects*, p. 30.

who actually speak Korekore. Firstly, missionary work was delayed in Northern Mashonaland, and, when it began, usually Zezuru or Manyika books were employed, a practice which by no means facilitated the acquisition by the young people of these local dialects or their promotion. If anything it led to a serious drawback. There does not seem to have been any literary work done in Korekore as such. Secondly, it is not uncommon for young Korekore tribesmen to despise their own dialect and to adopt Zezuru or Manyika or Karanga as these are regarded as prestigious dialects. The writer has had the unfortunate experience of actually witnessing some tribesmen denounce their local dialect when he was in the field doing research into the Chipuriro dialect in 1967. Thirdly, today, owing to improved means of travel and the development of industry in its various sectors, a large number of young Korekore men spend most of their young manhood working away from their homes and tribal areas and only return to them occasionally. Much of their Korekore speech habits are lost in this way and it is no wonder that Korekore language informants are hard to come by. The dialects themselves appear to be two or three generations away from extinction.

1.2 This paper attempts to analyse and compare, from a linguistic standpoint, these three pockets of Korekore, and to determine whether they can be said to constitute one distinct dialect group. Comparison among these three local dialects will be based on the phonology and grammar of the Zezuru dialect cluster. The choice of Zezuru for this purpose is arbitrary.⁵ Nonetheless this choice was prompted by two considerations. Firstly, recent studies in Shona linguistic structure, particularly research in the Department of African Languages, University of Rhodesia, have been carried out with Zezuru as the basis. Secondly, geographical contiguity permits much contact between the speakers of these local dialects and those of Zezuru, with the result that Zezuru and these forms of Korekore share many linguistic features. In order to facilitate comparison and appreciation of this paper, a brief outline of the phonological, morphological and syntactic features of Zezuru which are relevant to this study is given below. The orthography used here is the current orthography employed for Standard Shona except in the sections dealing with the phonology where phonemic, and sometimes phonetic, script is used.

1.3 Zezuru operates on a phonemic system of thirty-two consonants and five vowels. The consonants, which may be voiceless, voiced and murmured, or voiced but not accompanied by murmur,⁶ are divided broadly into nasal consonants and oral consonants, with the latter being sub-divided into stops, spirants

⁵ The other main dialect clusters of Central Shona are Karanga and Manyika. The present written standard Shona is based on these three forms.

⁶ Peter Ladefoged, *Linguistic Phonetics* (Working papers in Phonetics, 6), UCLA, June 1967, p. 10. In the charts murmured consonants are underlined.

and approximants. Although most of the consonants occur both as single syllabic onsets and in consonant clusters, a few, e.g. /g, ŋ/, have been attested mainly in consonant clusters. Two charts, one for single consonants and the other for consonant clusters, appear as Tables I and II.⁷

1.3.1 The consonant /w/ can form a consonant cluster both with each of the single consonants (except with itself) and with each of the consonant clusters that have already been mentioned. Doke called these /w/-clusters velarization.⁸ The five vowels are /i, e, a, o, u/.

1.3.2 There are two phonemes of tone, namely relative high tone and relative low tone. Where it is necessary to show them, the high toneme will be indicated by an acute accent /' / and the low toneme will be distinguished by the absence of any accent, e.g. *Garáí pasí!* ('Sit down!').

1.4.0 The grammatical scheme which is presently being applied to Zezuru is modelled basically on the immediate constituent structure method.⁹ Zezuru is structured on three main types of root morphemes, namely, the substantive, the verb and the ideophone, which give rise to three distinct types of hierarchical constructions.

1.4.1 *The Substantive*

1.4.1.1 There are seven types of substantive, viz. noun, adjective, enumerative, quantitative, selector, demonstrative, pronoun.¹⁰ The constructional pattern of the first five of these is +prefix +stem¹¹:

<i>noun:</i>	mu-nhu	1	a person ¹²
<i>adjective:</i>	mu-kuru	1	elderly; big
<i>selector:</i>	u-ye	1	that one being referred to
<i>enumerative:</i>	mu-mwe	1	one, same
<i>quantitative:</i>	w-ose	1	everyone, all

That of the last two is ±stabilizing vowel +class affix:

<i>demonstrative:</i>	u-yu	1	this one
<i>pronoun:</i>	i-ye	1	he, she

⁷ The charts are adapted from Professor Fortune's charts of single consonants and consonant clusters in *Shona Grammatical Constructions*, Part I (forthcoming).

⁸ For a comprehensive account see C. M. Doke in *The Unification of the Shona Dialects*, pp. 54-7, and *A Comparative Study of Shona Phonetics*, pp. 109-24; also G. Fortune in *Shona Grammatical Constructions*.

⁹ G. Fortune, *Shona Grammatical Constructions*.

¹⁰ These constructions are also treated in G. Fortune, *An Analytical Grammar of Shona*, Longmans, 1955 (henceforth simply referred to as *Analytical Grammar*), pp. 50-196.

¹¹ The sign (+) = a compulsory constituent, and (±) = an optional constituent in a construction.

¹² The number written after a substantive or a substantive phrase here, and in the rest of the study, indicates the class to which it belongs.

TABLE I: *Single Consonants*¹³

				L	A	P	V	G
STOPS	voiceless	non-murmured		p	t		k	
				b	d		g	
	voiced	murmured		<u>b</u>(bh)	<u>d</u>(dh)		<u>g</u>(g)	
SPIRANTS	voiceless	labial			g(sv)			
		non-labial	f	s	f(sh)			
	voiced	labial		<u>z</u>(zv)				
		non-labial	<u>y</u>(vh)	<u>z</u>(z)	<u>ʒ</u>(zh)		h(h)	
APPROXIMANTS:	voiced	non-murmured	β(v)	r	y	w		
		murmured		<u>r</u>(r)	<u>y</u>(yh)			
NASALS:	voiced	non-murmured	m	n	<u>n</u>(ny)	ŋ(n')		
		murmured	<u>m</u>(mh)	<u>n</u>(nh)	<u>n</u>(ny)	<u>ŋ</u>(n')		

TABLE II: *Consonant Clusters*

				L	A	P	V
STOP + SPIRANT	voiceless	labial			ts(tsv)		
		non-labial	pf	ts	tʃ(oh)		
	voiced	labial		<u>dz</u>(dzv)			
		non-labial	<u>bv</u>(bv)	<u>dz</u>(dz)	dʒ(j)		
NASAL + STOP:	voiced	non-murmured	mb	nd		ŋg(ng)	
		murmured	<u>mb</u>(mb)	nd(nd)	<u>ndʒ</u>(nj)	<u>ŋg</u>(ng)	
NASAL + SPIRANT:	voiced	labial		<u>nz</u>(nzv)			
		non-labial	<u>mv</u>(mv)	<u>nz</u>(nz)			
PREPALATAL + VELAR	voiceless					tʃk(ty)	
	voiced	murmured				<u>dʒg</u>(dy) <u>ŋŋ</u>(ny'n')	

¹³ L = Labial; A = Alveolar; P = Prepalatal; V = Velar; G = Glottal. The brackets indicate the form in which these consonant phonemes appear in the current orthography.

The spectrum of nouns in Zezuru is divided into twenty-three noun classes.

Cl. 1. mu-	Cl. 2. va-
1a. Ø-	2a. va-
	2b. a-
3. mu-	4. mi-
5. (ri-)	6. ma-
7. chi-	8. zvi-
9. (n-)	10. dzi- ~ Ø-
11. ru-	
12. ka-	13. tu-
	14. hu-
	15. ku-
	16. pa-
	17. ku-
	17a. Ø
	18. mu-
	21. zi-

The prefixes or affixes of the other six types of substantive are divided similarly into classes which correspond to the noun classes since they generally depend on the noun for their choice and reference.

1.4.1.2 Above the level of the substantive is the substantive phrase (SP), the structural definition of which is: +nuclear substantive ±substantive(s) in agreement. Any one of the substantives can enter into either constituent class of the SP. E.g.:

chipunu chikuru	7	a big spoon
chingwa chimwe chete	7	one loaf of bread

1.4.1.3 The SP enters as an immediate constituent into the level of the inflected¹⁴ SP whose structure is: +inflection +SP. There are four types of inflection here, viz. the copulative,¹⁵ the possessive,¹⁶ the adverbial,¹⁷ and the ownership.¹⁸

1.4.1.4 Above this level are the substantival clause and substantival sentence whose constructional patterns are as follows:

substantival clause = ±subject +predicate (predicate = inflected SP which in this case is limited to the copulative phrase only).

substantival sentence = main clause ±subordinate clause(s).

¹⁴ By 'inflection' here is meant a formation which determines and restricts the grammatical functioning of the phrase which results therefrom. An inflection is much more regular and general in its formation and occurrence than a derivation. (Cf. R. H. Robins, *General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey*; and Robert A. Hall (Jr.), *Introductory Linguistics*.)

¹⁵ *Analytical Grammar*, pp. 370-88.

¹⁶ *Analytical Grammar*, pp. 146 ff.

¹⁷ *Analytical Grammar*, pp. 397 ff.

¹⁸ *Analytical Grammar*, p. 118.

1.4.2 *The Verb*

1.4.2.1 The verb is similarly built upon a hierarchy of levels of construction. At the lowest level is the verb radical or root (R) which may be simplex,¹⁹ extended²⁰ or reduplicated. E.g.

-famb-	walk
-famb-is-	walk faster
-famb-famb-	walk about

1.4.2.2 The next level is the verb phrase (VP) with the following structural pattern: \pm object prefix +R \pm complement(s)²¹ \pm adjunct(s).²² E.g.

-i-rov- musoro neshamhu it-hit head with a stick

1.4.2.3 Above this level is the inflected VP in which the pattern is: +inflection +VP. E.g.

ndi-cha-i-rov-a musoro neshamhu

I-shall-it-hit head with a stick (i.e. I shall hit it on the head with a stick)

A verb phrase may be inflected for:

- (a) positiveness or negation;
- (b) mood (principal, participle, relative, subjunctive, hortative, consecutive, imperative or infinitive);
- (c) tense (past, present, future, potential); and
- (d) implication (frequentative, exclusive, progressive or none of these).²³

1.4.2.4 Beyond this level are, as in the substantival hierarchy, the verbal clause and the verbal sentence. Their structure is:

verbal clause: \pm subject +predicate (which is identical with the inflected VP).

verbal sentence: +main clause \pm subordinate clause(s).

1.4.3 The ideophone hierarchy will not be outlined as it has virtually no rôle in this study.

1.4.4 In the treatment which follows only the features in virtue of which these local dialects differ from Zezuru will be discussed. These features will be dealt with under the following aspects: phonology, the substantive, the inflected substantive phrase, the extended verb radical, the inflected verb phrase, tone conjugation and miscellaneous features.

¹⁹ Simplex Verb radicals may be subdivided into primitive, derived, and adoptive Rs.

²⁰ *Analytical Grammar*, pp. 200 ff., in which they are treated as derivative verb stems or verb species.

²¹ By 'complement' is meant any uninflected SP which is not in a subject-relationship in a clause.

²² An adjunct is here defined as either an adverbial phrase (see footnote 17 above) or a particle in a VP.

²³ For some explanation of these notions see *Analytical Grammar*, pp. 238 ff.

2.0

PHONOLOGY

2.1 In addition to the phonemes mentioned in 1.3 above, Urungwe and Chipuriro dialects include phoneme /x/, a voiceless velar spirant, in the cluster /xw/. The Chipuriro dialect also employs /x/ as a single syllabic onset. E.g.

<i>Urungwe</i> :	xwanda	9	a basket	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>	tswanda
	goxwe	1a	last born		gotwe
	xwere	10	children		pwere
<i>Chipuriro</i> :	muxwire	1	a child		
	kuxwera		to spend the day		kuswera
	kuxwa		to dry up		kupwa
	xumbudzi	13	kids		tumbudzi

2.2 There is a marked tendency in Urungwe to replace the labial oral stop +spirant clusters /pf, bv/ simply by /f, v/ respectively. But the position in regard to the other two dialects is as it is in *Zezuru*

<i>Urungwe</i>	<i>Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>		
futa	pfuta	9	fruit of castor-oil plant
mafeni	mapfeni	6	baboons
futi	pfuti	2	a gun
mbavyu	mbabvu	10	ribs
veni	bveni	5	a baboon
Kuvumbi	Kubvumbi	1a	April
chikovu	chikobvu	7	thick, fat

2.3 Urungwe and Chipuriro have each two sets of the voiced nasal + stop clusters, that is, the murmured and the non-murmured clusters. But Nyombwe seems to employ one of these sets only, viz. the non-murmured clusters, in all cases. E.g.

<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>		
tamba	tamba	9	play!
tambo	tambo	9	a string
pamba	pamba	16	at the house
ndiro	ndiro	9	a plate
ndiwe	ndiwe		it is you
bannga	bannga	5	a knife
nganunu	nganunu	9	cannon
mbongoro	mbongoro	9	a donkey

2.4 With respect to the voiced nasal + spirant clusters the position is as follows: the Urungwe and Chipuriro dialects employ the voiced murmured nasal + spirant clusters only, while Nyombwe seems to use the voiced non-murmured nasal + spirant clusters only. The chief Nyombwe informant at first claimed that they used the murmured type in their dialect but the examples he gave subsequently

and unconsciously during the course of the investigation turned out to be of the non-murmured type consistently. Whether this is due to the influence of the neighbouring Tavara dialect or not is not clear. E.g.

<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>		
<u>mvura</u>	<u>mvura</u>	9	water
<u>nzira</u>	<u>nzira</u>	9	a path
<u>nzeve</u>	<u>nzeve</u>	9	an ear
<u>nzou</u>	<u>nzou</u>	9	an elephant
<u>kunza</u>	<u>kunza</u>	15	to hear
<u>hanzadzi</u>	<u>hanzadzi</u>	9	brother/sister

It is also interesting to note that there are a few words in which Zezuru has the cluster /nz or /nzw/ but Urungwe and Chipuriro have /nz/ and Nyombwe /nz/. E.g.

<i>Zezuru</i>	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	
<u>zanzi</u>	<u>zanzi</u>	<u>zanzi</u>	it was said
<u>kunzwa</u>	<u>kunza</u>	<u>kunza</u>	to hear
<u>kunzarwo</u>	<u>kunzahwo</u>	<u>kunzahwo</u>	to be treated like that
<u>zanzai</u>	<u>zanzai</u>	<u>zanzai</u>	it was done like this

2.5 The Zezuru consonant clusters [tʃk, dʒg, nŋ] are always realized simply as /tʃ, dʒ, n/ respectively in these dialects. The way the speakers of these dialects say these three sounds constitutes one of the main characteristic features by which they can easily be recognized or identified from the other dialect groups. E.g.

<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>		cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
<u>kutfora</u>	to break	[<u>kutʃkora</u>]
<u>kutfa</u>	to fear	[<u>kutʃka</u>]
<u>tfaira !</u>	drive, e.g. oxen	[<u>tʃkaira !</u>]
<u>kudzara</u>	to sow, plant	[<u>kudʒgara</u>]
<u>mudzunge !</u>	pierce him !	[<u>mudʒgunge</u>]
<u>fodzga</u>	tobacco	[<u>fodʒga</u>]
<u>nana</u>	a fledgling	[<u>nŋana</u>]
<u>dehepa</u>	a skull	[<u>deheŋpa</u>]
<u>kupa</u>	to defecate	[<u>kupŋa</u>]

2.6 Consonant +/w/ clusters

2.6.1 The consonant phonemes which combine with /w/ to form clusters are generally of the velar type, and labials to a lesser extent. The velar +/w/ clusters which have been attested are /kw, gw, xw, ŋgw/, and the labial +/w/ clusters are: /bw,²⁴ mbw, mw/. The glottal /h/ also regularly forms a cluster with /w/. E.g.

²⁴ This cluster appears to be found only in Nyombwe. Nyombwe does not appear to include the cluster /xw/.

	<i>Velar + /w/</i>	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>
/kw/		kwete! no!
/gw/		kugwina to be strong
/xw/ (Urungwe and Chipuriro only)		xwanda 10 baskets
		kuxwera to spend the day
/ɲgw/		ɲgwanda 10 trunks
	<i>Labial + /w/</i>	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>
/bw/ (Nyombwe only)		ibwe 5 a stone
/mbw/		imbwa 9 a dog
/mw/		mwana 1 a child
	<i>Glottal + /w/</i>	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>
/hw/		hwodzi 14 fibre

2.6.2 The Zezuru cluster /rw/ is usually realized as /hw/ in each of these dialects, sometimes as /-riw-/ ~ /-rew-/, particularly in passive constructions. E.g.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
hwodzi 14	fibre	rwodzi
kunzahwo ²⁵	to be done like that	kunzarwo
ruoko hwako 14	your hand	ruoko rwako
hupfu ²⁶ hwangu 14	my mealie meal	upfu hwangu
kupuhwa } kupuriwa }	to be beaten up	kupurwa
kugehwa } kugerewa }	to have one's hair cut	kugerwa
kurerewa	to be reared	kurerwa

2.6.3 There exists a slight tendency in the Chipuriro dialect to use /ɲgw/ in place of /mbw/ in some cases. Paucity of examples does not allow any definite conclusion. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that the use of /ɲgw/ rather than /mbw/ is in keeping with the propensity in these dialects to employ velar + /w/ clusters rather than the other types of /w/ clusters. So they use ɲgwa (9) 'a dog'; mɛɲgwe (9) 'a buck'. However, the forms imbwa and membwe are also heard.

2.6.4 The nasal alveolar + /w/ cluster /nw/ found in Zezuru is always realized in these three dialects as /mw ~ niw ~ new/. Otherwise the Zezuru word is replaced by a completely different word. E.g.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
kumwa	to drink	kunwa
chigumwe 7	a finger ²⁷	chigunwe
mukamwa 18	mouth	mukanwa

²⁵ In Nyombwe the cluster /ɲz/ is not murmured. (Cf. 2.4 above.)

²⁶ This word is /hufu/ in Urungwe. (Cf. 2.2 above.)

²⁷ Also *chikumo* (7) in Nyombwe.

<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>		cf. <i>ZeZuru</i>
kukanganwa	to forget ²⁸	kukanganwa
padekakatamwa	there was a tug-of-war	pakakakatanwa
kasiyamwa 12	little finger	kasiyanwa
kutiniwa	to be driven off	kutinwa

In Chipuriro /mw/ tends to alternate with the nasal velar +/w/ cluster /ɲw/ as a free variant in some cases. E.g.

mwana/ɲwana 1	a child
mweya/ɲweya 3	air, soul
timwe/tiɲwe 13	some, certain (<i>enumerative</i>)

2.6.5 The ZeZuru consonant clusters /pw, sw, tw, tsw/ appear to be realized each as /xw/ in Urungwe and Chipuriro. The last three clusters, i.e. /sw, tw, tsw/ have /siw ~ sew, tiw ~ tew, tsiw ~ tsew/ respectively as alternants (cf. /ɾw/ in 2.6.2 above). But in Nyombwe these four clusters tend to be realized as /pw, s ~ s, tiw ~ tew ~ tw, tɕ ~ ts ~ tsiw/ respectively. In Nyombwe the pattern is not as clear as it is in the other two dialects. Exx.

<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>		<i>Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>ZeZuru</i>
kuxwa	to dry up	kupwa	kupwa
xwaj̄a	crush	pwaj̄a	pwaj̄a
muxwe 3	a tail	muge	muswe
kuxwera	to spend the day	kugera	kuswera
kuixwa } kuisiwa }	to be put	kuisiwa	kuiswa
goxwe 1a, 5	last born	gotwe	gotwe
abaxwa } abatiwa }	he was arrested	abatiwa	abatwa
xwanda 9	a basket	tɕanda	tswanda
muxwe 3	a crack	mutse	mutsw
kumutsiwa	to be awakened	kumutsiwa	kumutswa

3.0

THE SUBSTANTIVE

3.1 *Nouns and adjectives*

There are as many noun classes in each of these three dialects as there are in ZeZuru. The morphophonemic alternations of the noun prefixes are generally the same as for ZeZuru. However, the Chipuriro dialect offers alternative forms of prefixes in respect of some nouns and adjectives. Such alternative forms have been noted in the noun classes detailed below.

²⁸ Also **kukoshiwa** in these dialects.

3.1.1 *Class 1: mu- ~ mw-/ɲw-*

munhukadzi	a female person
mwana/ɲwana	a child

3.1.2 In classes 2 and 2a, and also class 6 when it is used as a plural of class 1a, there is a tendency to shorten the noun or adjective prefix to /a-/ in place of /va-/ or /ma-/. E.g.

<i>Class 2:</i>	arume vedu	our husbands
	achembere	an old man or lady
	adiki	the young ones
	akuru	the elders
<i>Class 2a:</i>	ababa vako	your father and his brothers
	atezvara	father-in-law
	amezvara	mother-in-law
<i>Class 6:</i>	adzimai vangu	my wife
	adzimbuya	grandmothers

3.1.3 *Class 3: mu- ~ mw- / ɲw- ~ m-*

musasa	a musasa tree
mwedzi/ɲwedzi	moon
moto	fire

3.1.4 *Class 4: mi- ~ mw- / nw- ~ m-*

misasa	misasa trees
mweya/ɲweya	souls
moto	fires

3.1.5 *Class 13: ti- ~ t- / tu- ~ t- / xu- ~ xw-*

tiwaya	small pieces of wire
tiziso	little eyes
tana	little children
tumbudzi/xumbudzi	kids
xukomana	small boys
xwana	little children

Although the noun prefix for class 11 is /ru-/, the adjective prefix is /hu-/ in all the three dialects. E.g.

ruoko hutete	a thin, lean hand
rugo hukuru	a big dishing-out spoon

3.2 *Enumeratives*

3.2.1 The enumerative stems which are used in these dialects are :

-bódzi	one, same
-mwe	some, certain
-yí ?	what sort of ?

In Chipuriro /-mwe/ is also realized as /n'we/.

3.2.2 The enumerative prefixes for classes 11 and 13 are /hu-/ and /tu-/ respectively in all the three dialects. But the Nyombwe dialect differs from Zezuru further by employing /ya-/ in class 6. The Chipuriro dialect also uses the prefixes /xu-/ and /ti-/ in free variation with /tu-/ in class 13. Examples :

	<i>Urungwe</i>	<i>Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
<i>Class 6</i>	mabódzi	mabódzi	yabódzi	mamwé
	mamwe	mamwe	yamwe	mamwe
<i>Class 11</i>	hubódzi	hubódzi	hubódzi	rwumwé
<i>Class 13</i>	tubódzi	tubódzi	} tubódzi	twumwé
		xubódzi		
		tibódzi		

3.3 Quantitatives

3.3.1 The stems which are in use here are /-ese ~ -ose/ 'all, whole' and /-egani ~ -ogani/ 'alone, by oneself'. The forms /-ese ~ -ose/ and /-egani ~ -ogani/ were used so interchangeably in each of these dialects that it was difficult to tell which form was proper.

3.3.2 The quantitative prefixes for classes 11 and 13 are /hw-/ and /t-/ respectively. As for the enumerative, Nyombwe has in addition /y-/ in class 6, while Chipuriro has /xw-/ as a variant form of /t-/ in class 13. E.g.

	<i>Urungwe</i>	<i>Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
<i>Class 6</i>	ese	ese	yese	ese
	ose	ose	yose	ose
<i>Class 11</i>	hwegani	hwegani	hwogani	rwega
<i>Class 13</i>	tegani	tegani	} togani	twega
		xwegani		

3.4 Selectors

3.4.1 These dialects share the same selector stems with Zezuru. These are :

- no this/these close by, near the speaker
- ye that/those being referred to and usually out of sight
- pi ? which one, which way ?

3.4.2 The position with regard to the selector prefixes is similar to that of the enumerative prefixes (see 3.2.2 above).

3.5 Demonstratives

The demonstratives are the same as in Zezuru except in classes 11 and 13 where they are as follows :

	'near' position	'far' position
<i>Class 11</i>	uhwu	uhwo
<i>Class 13</i>	utu	uto
	itu	ito

Notice that in the Chipuriro dialect (a) there is a third possible form in class 13 for the 'near' position, namely /iti/; and (b) the locative demonstrative enclitic /-po/ showing the 'far' position in class 16 is not uncommonly replaced by /-bo/ in certain negative constructions. Exx.:

Havabo	They are not there	cf. <i>Zezeru</i> Havapo
Zvisibo zviyi ?	What is not there ?	Zvisipo zviyi ?
Haasisibo	He is no longer there	Haasisipo

3.6 Pronouns

3.6.1 The only peculiar forms among the pronouns are those for classes 11 and 13 which are respectively /ihwo/ and /ito/. Chipuriro has, of course, the alternative form /ixwo/ in class 13. E.g.

ihwo hwodzi	the fibre itself	cf. <i>Zezeru</i> irwo rwodzi
ito tana tuye	those little children themselves	itwo twana twuye
ixwo xumbudzi	the little goats themselves	itwo tumbudzi

3.6.2 In the construction which consists of a pronoun and a demonstrative of 'far' position, and in which the pronoun class affix has the characteristic vowel /a/, these dialects tend to prefer /o/. E.g.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezeru</i>
<i>Class 2</i>	ivovo	ivavo
<i>Class 6</i>	iwowo	iwayo
<i>Class 12</i>	ikoko	ikako
<i>Class 16</i>	ipopo	ipapo

4.0 THE INFLECTED SUBSTANTIVE PHRASE

4.1 Copulative inflection

The tonal perturbations which accompany the copulative inflection are generally the same as those for *Zezeru*.

4.1.1 With class 1a nouns and pronouns as nuclear substantives the copulative affix in *Urungwe* and *Chipuriro* is /ndí-/ , as in *Zezeru*. But *Urungwe* also uses /ngú-/ as an alternative form with nouns. *Nyombwe* uses non-murmured /ndí-/. E.g.

ndítsáno	}	it is father	cf. tsano	father
ngútsáno				
ndíni		it is me	iní	I

4.1.2 With nouns and adjectives of classes 2, 2a, 2b as nuclear substantives the copulative inflection in each of these dialects consists of a replacement of the prefix by /mba-/. E.g.

<i>Class 2</i>		
mbárowora	it is the daughters-in-law	cf. varówóra

mbána vání ava ?	whose children are these ?	vaná vání ava ?
mbákomaná	they are boys	vakómaná
<i>Class 2a</i>		
mbátsáno	it is father	vátsáno
mbátezvara	it is father-in-law	vátezvara
mbámezvara	it is mother-in-law	vámezvara
mbáMáshiri	it is Mr. Mashiri	váMáshiri
<i>Class 2b</i>		
mbámai vāngu	it is my mother	amái
mbámbuya	it is grandmother	ambúya
mbákuru	they are old	vakúru
mbáshóma	they are few	vashoma

But in Urungwe /mbá-/ may also occur as /mba- ~ nga- ~ ngá-/. These allomorphs are distributed as follows : /mbá- ~ ngá-/ will be used when the copulative affix replaces the prefix ; /mba- ~ nga-/ will be used when the copulative affix is prefixed to the prefixes of classes 2a and 2b.

<i>Class 2a</i>		
mbaváSádza	it is Mr. Sadza	cf. váSádza
ngaváMáshiri	it is Mr. Mashiri	váMáshiri
ngáMáshiri		
<i>Class 2b</i>		
ngaamáí	it is mother	amáí
mbaambúya	it is grandmother	ambúya

4.1.3 With nouns and adjectives of the other classes as nuclear substantives, the position in Zezuru applies.

4.1.4 With enumeratives as nuclear substantives, the copulative inflection of the enumerative in Urungwe and Chipuriro dialects is as it is for the corresponding noun. E.g.

<i>Class 1</i>	múbodzi	he is alone	cf. mubódzi
<i>Class 2</i>	mbábodzi	they are the same	vabódzi
<i>Class 7</i>	chíyi ?	what is it ?	chiyí ?

In Nyombwe the position looks complicated. Nevertheless there is a patterned behaviour in the realization of the copulative inflection. Not only is the low tone on the enumerative prefix altered to a high tone, but the consonantal onset of the prefix itself also undergoes a morphophonemic change which resembles the morphophonemic change which is occasioned by the noun prefix /N-/ of class 9. The segmental realization of the copulative inflection is conditioned here by the phonemic shape of the enumerative prefix. Hereunder are the forms of the copulative affix of the enumerative :

<i>Classes 1 and 3</i>	ngú-	e.g. ngúbodzi	ngúmwe
<i>Class 2</i>	mbá-	mbábodzi	mbámwe
<i>Classes 4 and 9</i>	nji-	njibodzi	njímwe
<i>Classes 5 and 21</i>	ndi-	ndibodzi	ndímwe
<i>Class 6</i>	ngá- ~ njá-	ngábodzi	ngámwe
<i>Class 7</i>	nyhí- ~ chí-	nyhibodzi	chímwe
<i>Class 8</i>	nzvi-	nzvibodzi	nzvimwe
<i>Class 10</i>	nzi-	nzibodzi	nzimwe
<i>Classes 11 and 14</i>	mbú- ~ ngú-	mbúbodzi	ngúmwe
<i>Class 12</i>	n'há- ~ ngá-	n'hábodzi	ngámwe
<i>Class 13</i>	nhú- ~ tú-	nhúbodzi	nhúmwe
<i>Classes 15 and 17</i>	n'hú- ~ ngú-	n'húbodzi	ngúmwe
<i>Class 16</i>	mhá- ~ mbá-	mhábodzi	mhámwe
<i>Class 18</i>	mhú- ~ ngú- ~ mbu-	mhúbodzi	mbúmwe ²⁹

4.1.5 *With selectors as nuclear substantives*

In Urungwe and Chipuriro when the selector is the nuclear substantive the copulative seems to consist of an affix which is prefixed to the selector prefix. This copulative affix carries a high tone and it causes the high tone on the selector prefix to change to a low tone. The phonemic shape of the copulative affix is to a large measure determined by the form of the selector prefix in a way similar to that described for Nyombwe in 4.1.4 above. But the morphophonemic changes in these dialects do not form as clear a pattern as in Nyombwe. In the latter dialect the copulative inflection consists of a morphophonemic change which is the same as that outlined for the enumerative in 4.1.4.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>
<i>Class 1</i>	ngú-, e.g. ngúuyé	ng-, e.g. ngúyé
<i>Class 2</i>	mbá-, e.g. mbávayé	mb-, e.g. mbáyé
<i>Class 3</i>	ngú-, e.g. ngúuyé	ng-, e.g. ngúyé
<i>Class 4</i>	nji-, e.g. njiiyé	nj-, e.g. njiyé
<i>Class 5</i>	ndí-, e.g. ndíriyé	nd-, e.g. ndíyé
<i>Class 6</i>	ngá-, e.g. ngáayé	ng-, e.g. ngáyé
<i>Class 7</i>	ndé-, e.g. ndéchiyé	nj- ~ ch-, e.g. njiyé
<i>Class 8</i>	ndé-, e.g. ndézviyé	nzv-, e.g. nzviyé
<i>Class 9</i>	nji-, e.g. njiiyé	nj-, e.g. njiyé
<i>Class 10</i>	ndé-, e.g. ndédziyé	nz-, e.g. nziyé
<i>Class 11</i>	mbú- ~ mbó-, e.g. mbúhuyé	ng- ~ mb-, e.g. ngúyé
<i>Class 12</i>	ndé-, e.g. ndékayé	n'h-, e.g. n'háyé
<i>Class 13</i>	ndé-, e.g. ndétuyé	nh-, e.g. nhúyé

²⁹ It is possible that these morphophonemic changes also occur in the copulative enumerative of the other two dialects. But since my language informants consistently rejected these morphophonemic changes I am only stating the position as it has been given to me.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>
<i>Class 14</i>	mbú- ~ mbó-, e.g. mbúhuyé	ng- ~ mb-, e.g. ngúyé
<i>Class 15</i>	ngú-, e.g. ngúkuyé	n'h- ~ ng-, e.g. n'húyé
<i>Class 16</i>	mbá-, e.g. mbápayé	mh-, e.g. mháyé
<i>Class 17</i>	ngú-, e.g. ngúkuyé	n'h- ~ ng-, e.g. n'húyé
<i>Class 18</i>	ndé-, e.g. ndémuyé	mh-, e.g. mhúyé
<i>Class 21</i>	ndí-, e.g. ndíriyé	nd-, e.g. ndíyé

As an alternative Urungwe and Chipuriro may prefix /nde-/ to all the selectors, while Nyombwe will use /ndo-/ prefixed to the selectors.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>
<i>Class 2</i>	ndeváyé	ndováyé
<i>Class 3</i>	ndeúyé	ndoúyé
<i>Class 5</i>	nderiyé	ndoriyé

The former copulative form is heard less frequently than the latter and even then it seems to be restricted to the old generation by whom true, unadulterated Urungwe, Chipuriro or Nyombwe is spoken. It is a pity that these copulative forms, as interesting as they are, are fast dying out.

4.1.6 *With demonstratives as nuclear substantives*

The copulative affix in this case consists of a consonantal onset to the stabilizing vowel. The consonantal onset assumes more or less the same phonemic form as the copulative affix in Nyombwe for the selectors. As was the case with selectors, the range of morphophonemic changes in Urungwe and Chipuriro do not seem to be as extensive and well patterned as in Nyombwe. The tonomorph on the demonstrative alters from LL to become HH, and this change applies equally to all the three dialects. Examples:

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>
<i>Class 1</i>	ng-, e.g. ngúyú	ng-, e.g. ngúyú
<i>Class 2</i>	mb-, e.g. mbává	mb-, e.g. mbává
<i>Class 3</i>	ng-, e.g. ngúyú	ngu-, e.g. ngúyú
<i>Class 4</i>	nj-, e.g. njíyí	nj-, e.g. njíyí
<i>Class 5</i>	nd-, e.g. ndírí/ndérí	nd-, e.g. ndírí
<i>Class 6</i>	ng-, e.g. ngáyá	ng- ~ nj-, e.g. ngáyá
<i>Class 7</i>	nd-, e.g. ndíchi	n'h- ~ nj-, e.g. n'híchi
<i>Class 8</i>	nd-, e.g. ndízví/ndézví	nzv-, e.g. nzvízví
<i>Class 9</i>	nj- ~ nd-, e.g. njíyí	nj-, e.g. njíyí
<i>Class 10</i>	nd-, e.g. ndídzi	nz- ~ nj-, e.g. nzídzi
<i>Class 11</i>	mb- ~ nd-, e.g. mbúhwú	mb- ~ ng-, e.g. mbúhwú
<i>Class 12</i>	ng-, e.g. ngáká	n'h- ~ ng-, e.g. n'háká
<i>Class 13</i>	nd-, e.g. ndítú	nh-, e.g. nhútú
<i>Class 14</i>	mb- ~ nd-, e.g. ndúhwú	mb- ~ ng-, e.g. ngúhwú

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>
<i>Class 15</i>	nd- ~ ng-, e.g. ndúkú	n'h- ~ ng-, e.g. n'húkú
<i>Class 16</i>	mb-, e.g. mbápá	mh- ~ mb-, e.g. mhápá
<i>Class 17</i>	nd- ~ ng-, e.g. ngúkú	n'h- ~ ng-, e.g. ngúkú
<i>Class 18</i>	mb- ~ ng-, e.g. mbúmú	mb- ~ ng-, e.g. mbúmú
<i>Class 21</i>	nd-, e.g. ndíri	nd-, e.g. ndíri

As with the selectors, Urungwe and Chipuriro may use /nde-/ while Nyombwe uses /ndo-/ throughout as alternatives. With this alternative the tonal behaviour is the same as in Zezuru.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>
<i>Class 1</i>	ndeúyu ndeíri	ndoúyu ndoíri

4.1.7 No examples were cited during the course of investigation in which the quantitative appeared as a nuclear substantive in an inflected substantive phrase.

4.2 Presentative Phrases

4.2.1 With demonstratives as nuclear substantives

In these dialects the presentative phrase with demonstrative as nuclear substantive consists of two parts which are both obligatory. These two parts are (a) the basic form of the demonstrative, either of 'near' or 'far' position, and (b) what seems to be the presentative formative and which has as its base /-eyi/. This morpheme /-eyi/ is always found bound up with another morpheme, namely, a class affix. The morphophonemic changes which attend the class affixes when they combine with /-eyi/ are determined in much the same way as were the class affixes in the copulative phrases in which selectors or demonstratives were nuclear substantives in 4.1.5 and 4.1.6 above.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
<i>Classes 1 and 3</i>	uyu ngwéyi	uyu ngwéyi	hóyu
<i>Class 2</i>	avo mbéyi	avo mbéyi	hávo
<i>Classes 4 and 9</i>	iyi njéyi	iyi njéyi	héyi
<i>Classes 5 and 21</i>	iro ndéyi	iro ndéyi	héro
<i>Class 6</i>	aya ngéyi	aya ngéyi	háya
<i>Class 7</i>	ichi chéyi	ichi njéyi/ichi chéyi	héchi
<i>Class 8</i>	izvo zvéyi	izvo nzvéyi	hézvo
<i>Class 10</i>	idzi dzéyi	idzi dzéyi	hédzi
<i>Classes 11 and 14</i>	uhwu hwéyi	uhwu ngwéyi	hóhwu
<i>Class 12</i>	aka kéyi	aka n'héyi/aka ngéyi	haka
<i>Class 13a</i>	utu téyi	utu nhéyi	hwótwu
<i>Classes 15 and 17</i>	uko kwéyi	uko ngwéyi	hóko
<i>Class 16</i>	apo péyi	apo mbéyi	hápo
<i>Class 18</i>	umo méyi	umo mbéyi/umo mhéyi	hómo

4.2.2 *With selectors as nuclear substantives*

Presentative phrases with selectors as nuclear substantives are rarely, if ever, used according to the evidence collected hitherto. Where a presentative phrase occurs it is the same as in Zezuru.

4.3 *Possessive Phrases*

4.3.1 The situation here, including the tonal changes which accompany the possessive inflection, is the same as in Zezuru except that when the nuclear substantive is a noun (other than one of class 1a, 2a or 2b), an adjective, a selector, a demonstrative, an enumerative or a quantitative, the possessive affix is always /-o-/. Here are some examples using the class 7 affix /chi-/.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>		cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
<i>Class 1a</i>	tsano	> chátsáno	chábabá
	Chimánikiré	> cháChimánikiré	cháChimánikiré
<i>Class 2a</i>	vámezvara	> chavámezvara	chaámbuya
<i>Class 2b</i>	ambúya	> chaambúya	chaambúya
<i>Class 3</i>	mutí	> chómutí	chémutí
<i>Class 9</i>	mbúdzí	> chómbudzi	chémbudzi
<i>Class 16</i>	pambá	> chópambá	chépambá
<i>Selector</i>	riyé	> choriyé	cheriyé
<i>Demonstrative</i>	ichi	> choíchi	cheíchi
<i>Enumerative</i>	vamwe	> chovámwe	chevámwe
<i>Quantitative</i>	zvósé	> chozvósé	chazvósé

4.3.2 Note, however, that the possessive concords for classes 11 and 13 are /hw-/ and /t-/ respectively in all the three dialects. Chipuriro may use /xw-/ interchangeably with /t-/. In Nyombwe the possessive affix for class 6 is /y-/.

4.3.3 In the case of possessive phrases which are based on primitive pronominal possessive stems, the pronominal stems from classes 3 to 21 consist each of the class affix plus the formative /-ene/ which replaces the /-o/ in Central Shona. Here are some examples using again the affix /ch-/ of class 7.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>
<i>1st person singular</i>	chángu	chángu
<i>1st person plural</i>	chédú	chédú
<i>2nd person singular</i>	chákó	chákó
<i>2nd person plural</i>	chényú	chényú
<i>3rd person:</i>		
<i>Class 1</i>	cháké	cháké
<i>Class 2</i>	chávó	chávó
<i>Class 3</i>	cháwené	cháwo
<i>Classes 4 and 9</i>	cháyené	cháyo
<i>Classes 5 and 21</i>	chárené	cháro

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>ZeZuru</i>
Class 7	cháchené	chácho
Class 8	cháZvené	cháZvo
Class 10	cháDzené	cháDzo
Class 11	cháHwené	cháRwo
Class 12	chákené	cháko
Class 13	chátené (or cháXwené in <i>Chipuriro</i>)	chátwo
Class 14	cháHwené	cháHwo
Classes 15 and 17	cháKwené	cháKwo
Class 16	chápené	chápo
Class 18	chámené	chámo

4.3.4 *The copulative inflection of possessive phrases*

When a possessive construction forms the nuclear substantive in a copulative phrase the copulative inflection consists of a morphophonemic change which affects the possessive concord only. These changes are very similar to, though not identical in every respect with, those which are outlined in 4.1.6 where the demonstrative is the nuclear substantive in a copulative phrase. The tonomorphs of the possessive phrases remain the same when these phrases are copulatively inflected.

<i>Possessive concord</i>	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>ZeZuru</i>
Classes 1 and 3	wángu > ngwángu	ngwángu	ndéwangú
Class 2	vángu > mbángu	mbángu	ndévangú
Classes 4 and 9	yángu > njángu	njángu	ndéyangú
Classes 5 and 21	rángu > ndángu	ndángu	ndérangú
Class 6	ángu > ngángu		ndéangú
	yángu >	njángu	
Class 7	chángu > chángu	nyhángu/njángu	ndéchangú
Class 8	zvángu > zvángu	nzvángu	ndézvangú
Class 10	dzángu > dzángu	nzángu	ndédzangú
Classes 11 and 14	hwángu > hwángu	hwángu	ndéhwangú
Class 12	kángu > kángu	n'hángu/ngángu	ndékangú
Class 13	tángu > tángu	tángu/nhwángu	ndétwangú
Classes 15 and 17	kwángu > kwángu	n'hwángu	ndékwangú
Class 16	pángu > pángu	mhángu/mbángu	ndépangú
Class 18	mángu > mángu	mángu/mhángu	ndémangú

4.4 *Adverbial Phrases*

These phrases are formed in the same way as in ZeZuru both segmentally and at the superstrate level, save that when the nuclear substantive is a noun (other than one of class 1a, 2a or 2b), an adjective, a selector, a demonstrative, an enumerator or a quantitative, the adverbial inflecting morphemes /na-/ and /sa-/

tend to assume the forms /no-/ and /so-/ respectively rather than /ne-/ and /se-/ as in Zezuru. Even where /na-/ is used as a verb it assumes the form /-no-/. Examples :

Tasangana nomhondoro	We met a lion
Ndafa nonzara	I am hungry
Ita basa somunhu mupenyu	Do your work actively
Nozuro taive kumunda	We were at the field yesterday
Ndino nzara	I am hungry
Ano musana	He has a backache

5.0

THE VERB

5.1 *The extended verb radical*5.1.1 *Passive*

(a) With most verb radicals the extensions are /-iw-/ and /-ew-/ distributed in accordance with the rules of vowel harmony. That is, /-iw-/ occurs with radicals whose final vowel is /a ~ i ~ u/, and /-ew-/ with radicals with final vowel /e ~ o/. E.g.

/-iw-/	-gwatiw-	cf. -gwat-	cut
	-pasiw-	-pas-	offer, give
	-dzimbiw-	-dzimb-	feel pain
	-wudziw-	-wudz-	tell, advise
/-ew-/	-temew-	-tem-	cut
	-hochew-	-hoch-	roast
	-konzew-	-konz-	court

(b) When a radical ends with the consonant /r/, the passive is formed by substituting /hw/ for /r/ with the exception of the radicals discussed in (c) below. With CVC radicals of this type one may optionally use /hw/ or /-iw- ~ -ew-/, the last two only in complementary distribution. Exx. :

-takuhw-	cf. -takur-	carry
-zuruhw-	-zurur-	open
-paruhw-	-parur-	tear ; open
-nangahw-	-nangar-	see, look at
-sundidzihw-	-sundidzir-	push
-puhw-/ -puriw-	-pur-	thrash
-tohw-/ -torew-	-tor-	take

(c) But if the penultimate consonant of a radical is /r/, /h/ or /hw/, and the final consonant is /r/, the passive is realized as /-iw-/ or /-ew-/ according as the last vowel of the radical is primary or secondary. E.g.

-ruriw-	cf. -rur-	be fond of
-rerew-	-rer-	rear

-ririw-	-rir-	sound, ring
-huriw-	-hur-	live as a prostitute
-hwariw-	-hwar-	be ill

The realization of the passive extension in these three dialects may be summarized as follows :

- (a) -CVC- + passive > -CVCiw- ~ -CVCew-
 -C- + passive > -Ciw-
- (b) -CVr- + passive > -CVChw-/-CVriw- ~ CVrew-
- (c) -rVr- + passive > -rVriw- ~ -rVrew-
 -hVr- + passive > -hVriw- ~ -hVrew-
 -hwVr- + passive > -hwVriw- ~ -hwVrew-³⁰

5.1.2 *Applied*

In addition to the meanings which the applied extension conveys in Zezuru, it also frequently expresses in these dialects the idea that an action is final or that it is carried out there and then. This is done by adding the word *futi* (an adverb) to the extended verb phrase. E.g.

Urungwe/Chipuriro

Nonguva iyo tisavhunzana kudaro, chakasvikira futi apa

While we were still enquiring from each other in that manner it suddenly appeared

Ukadaro, vaye vakuru vanebva vaziyira futi

If you do that, the elders quickly realize what it is

Kuzeti pana Murihove ndiye mbu, zvakurira, wafira futi

When he got to the river Murihove, he fell down overwhelmed and died

Nyombwe

Akawanikiwa achiba, mukuru akabva anyarira futi

When the old man was caught stealing, he thereupon felt ashamed

Ukangomutuka chete, anobva aendera futi kumba

If you scold him, he will go home straight away

5.1.3 *Intensive*

In Urungwe and Chipuriro the intensive extension is as it is in Zezuru. In Nyombwe, however, the intensive extension is /-its- ~ -ets-/ but it is distributed in the same way as /-is- ~ -es-/ in Zezuru. E.g.

<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>		<i>Nyombwe</i>	
-fambis-	walk fast	-fambits-	cf. -famb-
-garis-	stay too long	-garits-	-gar-
-vhunzis-	be too inquisitive	-bvunzits-	-bvunz-
-endes-	walk faster	-endets-	-end-
-temes-	cut with great force	-temets-	-tem-
-mwis-	drink excessively	-mwits-	-mw-

³⁰ C = a single consonant ~ a consonant cluster; V = a single vowel.

5.2 *The inflection of the verb phrase*

As in Central Shona verbal inflections may have a subject prefix, a negative formative, a tense sign, an aspect formative and a terminal vowel.

5.2.1 The subject prefixes for classes 11 and 13 are /hu-/ and /tu-/ in all the three dialects. For the first person singular Chipuriro has /ni-/ in free variation with /ndi-/, while in class 13 /xu-/ may be used as a free variant of /tu-/. In Nyombwe the subject prefix for class 6 is /ya-/.

	<i>Urungwe</i>	<i>Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	
<i>1st sg.</i>	Ndineja sadza	Ndineja sadza Nineja sadza	Ndinoja sadza	I eat <i>sadza</i>
<i>Cl. 6</i>	Mapadza abiwa	Mapadza abiwa	Mapadza yabiwa	The hoes were stolen
<i>Cl. 11</i>	Rugo uhwu hwakanaka	Rugo uhwu hwakanaka	Rugo uhwu hwakanaka	The spoon is good
<i>Cl. 13</i>	Tumbudzi tatiza	Tumbudzi tatiza Xumbudzi xwatiza	Tumbudzi tatiza	The kids ran away

5.2.2 In Urungwe and Chipuriro the negative formatives which are used are :
/-ha-/ (which always comes before the subject prefix and which occurs only with the principal mood) ;

<table border="0"> <tr> <td> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>/-cha-/</td> <td rowspan="3">} (which must come after the subject prefix (if there is one) and which are used with the other moods).</td> </tr> <tr> <td>/-si-/</td> </tr> <tr> <td>/-sa-/</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>/-cha-/</td> <td rowspan="3">} (which must come after the subject prefix (if there is one) and which are used with the other moods).</td> </tr> <tr> <td>/-si-/</td> </tr> <tr> <td>/-sa-/</td> </tr> </table>	/-cha-/	} (which must come after the subject prefix (if there is one) and which are used with the other moods).	/-si-/	/-sa-/
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>/-cha-/</td> <td rowspan="3">} (which must come after the subject prefix (if there is one) and which are used with the other moods).</td> </tr> <tr> <td>/-si-/</td> </tr> <tr> <td>/-sa-/</td> </tr> </table>	/-cha-/	} (which must come after the subject prefix (if there is one) and which are used with the other moods).		/-si-/	/-sa-/
/-cha-/	} (which must come after the subject prefix (if there is one) and which are used with the other moods).				
/-si-/					
/-sa-/					

Exx. Handifarire zvokunzvahwo

I do not feel amused to be treated like that

Ava havachati vasvika kuHwedza

These ones have not yet travelled to Wedza

Uyu ndiye asineziva zvaari kuita

This one is the one who does not know what he is doing

Kusakanzira vamwe zvideipa

It is bad not to pay others a visit

But in Nyombwe the negative forms appear to be the same as those for Zezuru. Note that sometimes /-na/ is substituted for the negative formative /-sa-/ in constructions which involve the verb radical /-ti/. E.g.

Kubvira musi uye haanati adzoka

Since that day he hasn't come back

KuDande handinati ndakusvika

I have not yet gone as far as the Dande Valley

5.2.3 The tense indicators in Urungwe and Chipuriro differ from those of Zezuru in the following manner :

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|
| (a) | -de- ~ -do- | remote past |
| (b) | -e- | near future |

- (c) *-ne-* ~ *-aka-* *present habitual*
 (d) *-sa-* *future*
 (e) *-si-* *present participle*

Nyombwe seems to share its tense indicators with Zezuru. Exx. :

Urungwe/Chipuriro

Ngoro idebvira vhiri pachikomo apo

The wagon had its wheel off on that hill

Vana imi mudepusa

You children are foolish

Vaenzi veyenzera pasi here?

Are the visitors to sleep on the floor?

Chinekura chinekotama; musoro wogudo chava chinokoro

Things which grow wax old

Tisayenda kumusha kana mwedzi wapera

We shall go home at the end of the month

Pamutambo uyu ndidewana vanhu vasifara kwazvo, sadza risijiwa, nyama isimwabvauhwa, iro doro risimwiwa

At this celebration I found people enjoying themselves a lot, some eating *sadza*, others enjoying meat and others drinking beer

It is worth noting that */-si-/* in combination with */-de-/* denotes a progressive perfect aspect. The use of this combination, however, is restricted to inchoative verb radicals. Exx. :

Simbemurega, asideneta

Leave him alone for a while, he is tired

Vana imi muno nungo kwazvo; tingaende kuhuni, tidzoke, tikuwaneyi musideyenzera

You children are very lazy; we went to fetch firewood and came back only to find you still in bed

In Nyombwe this combination is realized as */-chika-/*. Exx. :

Wachikayenzera

They are still asleep

Dziregerei dzichikaneta

Leave them alone because they are still feeling tired

5.2.4 The aspect formative in Urungwe and Chipuriro is */-si-/* which is distributed in verbal inflections as follows :

(a) When it is in combination with the tense indicators */-ne-/* and */-ayi-/* it conveys the aspect of frequency, e.g.

Tinesiyendako kunevaona

We usually go there to see them

Vababa vedu vaisirima mapfunde kare

Our fathers used to grow sorghum long ago

(b) When it is in combination with the other tense indicators it denotes exclusiveness, e.g.

Mufundisi zvaadesvika vana vakasimira mumitsetse

When the teacher arrived the pupils stood up in lines

Wesiyenda zvake here mwana uyu ?

Is this child now free to go ?

As with the negative formatives and the tense indicators, the aspect formative in Nyombwe assumes the same phonemic shape as in Zezuru but its distribution is the same in all the four dialects.

5.2.5 The terminal vowels are as in Zezuru, that is /a/ or /e/. It may also be noted here in passing that the consonant auxiliary radicals /-d-/, /-mb-/, /-n-/, /-t-/ and /-z-/ are usually found in Chipuriro with the vowel /e/ instead of /o/ in constructions in which they occur. Nyombwe and Urungwe have the vowel /o/ in such constructions. Exx. :

Chipuriro

Dewuya kuno tione zvawaitiwa

Will you come here so that I may see what happened to you

Akanehwa novanhu ndomusaka aderoyiwa

He was bewitched because he was very aggressive

Ndakatezebatsihwa naShereni dai ndisina kuzekwanisa kusvika kuno

Were it not for Shereni who helped me I would not have managed to come here

Simbeyedza kuzviita uwone zvako zvandinekuita

Just try to do it and you will see what I will do to you

Nyombwe

Mutero tichimbomuwona kuno

We sometimes see Mutero here

Nokunaya kwaita mvura uku ndichatombonowona kuti kumunda kwakaita seyi

After such heavy rain I would like to go and inspect our field

5.3 In the verb phrase the object prefixes for classes 11 and 13 in the three dialects are /-hu-/ and /-tu-/ respectively. In Nyombwe the object prefix for class 6 is /-ya-/ while in Chipuriro it is /-ya- ~ -a-/.³¹ Furthermore in Chipuriro the forms /-xu-/ and /-ti-/ are also used in class 13.

5.4 *The auxiliary verb /-nd- ~ -n-/ 'go and ...'*

5.4.1 Where this auxiliary verb is infinitively inflected in Zezuru, Urungwe will

³¹ It may well be that the prefix /ya-/ of class 6, which, as we have seen above, occurs frequently in Nyombwe, is found as a common feature in all three dialects. But since my language informants differed here, particularly in Urungwe, more investigation is required before a positive statement can be made in this connection.

more often than not replace the /kundo-/ or /kuno-/ by /kwa-/, but the contracted infinitive remains unaltered.

Endayi kwarima nen'ombe ina

Go and plough the field with two teams of oxen

Vatumiwa kwagayisa chibahwe

They were sent to the grinding mill with some maize

Tisambonangara mafeni kumunda

We are going to watch out for baboons at the field

5.4.2 In Chipuriro the infinitive inflection of the auxiliary /-n-/ is commonly replaced by either of the following two constructions :

(i) /ka-/ + contracted infinitive of the complementary verb.

(ii) /ka-ya-/ + contracted infinitive of the complementary verb.

In other moods the formative /-ya- ~ -a-/ may be used either to replace the auxiliary /-n-/ or in combination with it. Exx. :

Ko iri dare ndineyenda karidii ?

What am I going to do with this piece of metal (coin) ?

VanaSija vayenda kahocha nyama

Sija and his companions have gone to roast meat

Tiri kufunga zvokuyenda kayavhima nhasi

We are thinking of going to hunt for game today

Muri kuda kuziya kwatakambeagara ?

Do you want to know where we once lived ?

Vaxwire vadetumiwa kunzvi endayi moatanda mapfeni

Children were sent to go and chase away baboons from the fields

Asekuru, ndanga ndisida kuti ndinaarowora kwaMurengwa

Uncle, I wanted to go and marry in Murengwa's family

5.4.3 The infinitive construction involving the auxiliary /-n-/ is in Nyombwe frequently replaced by /ko-/ + contracted infinitive of the complementary verb. In constructions other than infinitive phrases the position is as it is for Zezuru. E.g.

Vamanyira kogayisa

They have dashed to the grinding mill

Paakarova mubiyangu, ndakaenda komuhwisa

After he had beaten my friend, I went to challenge him

Munonoyenzera kupi nhasi ?

Where are you going to put up for the night today ?

5.5 Further notes on the inflection of the verb phrase

The overall position with respect to the tonomorphs carried by the various inflections of verb phrases in the different moods resembles Zezuru rather than either of the other two main dialect clusters of Central Shona. Nonetheless there

are some areas in the inflections, either segmental or suprasegmental, or both, where these three northern dialects differ markedly from Zezuru. Since a detailed account of the inflections would tend to make the present study unwieldy and too long, only a few examples will suffice.

5.5.1 For the habitual present affirmative principal inflection, 1st and 2nd persons, the tense indicator /-no-/ carries a low tone with high verb radicals and a high tone with low radicals.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>	
H-R ³²	ndinemwá	ndinomwá	ndinónwá	I drink
	ndinekánzá	ndinokánzá	ndinófámbá	I walk
	ndinepúmúra	ndinopúmúra	ndinózóróra	I rest
L-R	ndinéhwa	ndinóhwa	ndinórwa	I fight
	ndinégara	ndinógara	ndinógara	I stay
	ndinéngara	ndinóngara	ndinótárisa	I look

5.5.2 In the present affirmative participle, all persons, the tense indicator /-si- ~ -chi-/ carries a low tone with both high and low verbs. Exx.:

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro</i>	<i>Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>	
H-R	musijá . . .	muchijá . . .	muchidyá . . .	you eating
	musikánzá . . .	muchikánzá . . .	muchifámbá . . .	
	musipúmúra . . .	muchipúmúra . . .	muchízóróra . . .	
L-R	musihwá . . .	muchihwá . . .	muchírwá . . .	
	musigará . . .	muchigará . . .	muchigará . . .	
	musinángára . . .	muchinángára . . .	muchítárisa . . .	

5.5.3 The subject prefix in the affirmative subjunctive in these dialects seems to carry a low tone in all the three persons. E.g.

	<i>Urungwe/Chipuriro/Nyombwe</i>	cf. <i>Zezuru</i>	
H-R	. . . vaché	. . . vátyé	they fear
	. . . vakánzé	. . . váfámbé	
	. . . vapúmúré	. . . vázóróré	
L-R	. . . vahwé	. . . várwé	
	. . . vagáré	. . . vágáré	
	. . . vanángáre	. . . vátárise	

5.5.4 The hortative formatives /nga-/ and /ha-/ sometimes shed their consonantal onsets and merely appear as /a-/, particularly in Urungwe. Furthermore, the hortative may frequently be dropped altogether and the high tone on it transferred to the subject prefix. E.g.

átijei	cf. hátijei
átipumurei	hátipumurei
átinangarei	hátinangarei

³² H-R = High radicals; L-R = Low radicals.

tíjei	tíhweí
tíkanzeí	tígareí
típumureí	tínangareí

5.5.5 High verb stems consisting of three or more syllables seem to fall into two complementary groups with regard to their tonomorphs in certain inflections. No rule has been detected hitherto which would assign automatically a given verb into one or the other of these two groups. With further investigation a much clearer pattern will probably emerge. The inflections which have been noted so far in which these tonal discrepancies occur are :

(a) The affirmative recent past principal for all three persons, e.g.

1st, 2nd persons :

ndajá	cf. <i>Zezuru</i> ndadyá	I ate
ndakánza	ndafámba	I walked
ndaténgesa	ndaténgesa	I sold
ndafámbisa	ndafámbisa	I walked fast
<i>but</i> ndazórorá	ndazórorá	I rested
ndamóresá	ndamhóresa	I greeted
ndapúmurá		I rested
ndatónongora	ndatónongora	I shelled
<i>but</i> ndadándaurá	ndadándaura	I beat

3rd person (e.g. class 2):

vája	vádyá
vákanza	váfamba
vátengesa	vátengesa
váfambisa	váfambisa
<i>but</i> vázororá	vázorora
vámoresá	vámhoresa
vápumuré	
vátonongora	vátonongora
<i>but</i> vádandaurá	vádandaura

(b) The positive exclusive imperative, e.g.

chíja	cf. <i>Zezuru</i> chídya	eat now!
chíkanza	chífamba	
chítengesa	chítengesa	
chífambisa	chífambisa	
<i>but</i> chízororá	chízorora	
chímoresá	chímhoresa	
chípumuré		
chítionongora	chítionongora	
<i>but</i> chidandaurá	chidandaura	

6.0

CONCLUSION

6.1 This study reveals that each of these three speech communities has certain linguistic features which are peculiar to it and by which it can be identified. While some of these features are strong and well marked, others are not so distinctive and only show a tendency in a certain direction. Thus, for example, Chipuriro is distinguished from the other two by the features such as the following :

- (a) the use of /xu-/ as a free variant of the noun prefix /tu-/ of class 13 (see 3.1.5);
- (b) the use of the terminal vowel /-e-/ with such auxiliary verb radicals as /-d-/, /-mb-/, /-n-/, /-t-/, /-z-/ (see 5.2.5).

The following are some of the features which distinguish Nyombwe :

- (a) the use of non-murmured nasal + stop clusters and non-murmured nasal + spirant clusters;
- (b) the use of the prefix /ya-/ in class 6 for enumeratives, quantitatives, selectors and as subject as well as object prefix;
- (c) the use of /-its- ~ -ets-/ for the intensive extension.

6.2 In spite of these linguistic features by which each is recognized, it is also quite clear from the foregoing account that Urungwe and Chipuriro have much more in common between them than either of them has with Nyombwe. For example :

- (a) they employ the consonant cluster /xw/ which Nyombwe does not;
- (b) they each have both the murmured and the non-murmured nasal + stop clusters;
- (c) they have their own set of (i) negative formatives, and (ii) tense indicators.

6.3 When these three local speech communities are compared with the dialects of Central Shona it becomes quite evident that they share a number of linguistic features in common which would raise them above the dialect level noted either in 6.1 or in 6.2, and which would, as a group, constitute them as a dialect cluster on a par with, say, Zezuru or Karanga. The term which suits this group aptly is Korekore, for the speakers of these dialects refer each to their own dialect as Korekore. Admittedly there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between these local dialects and those of Central Shona, but there are certain features by which the speakers of these three dialects as a group can be easily identified. Among such features are the following :

6.3.1 Phonology

(a) Consonant-/w/ clusters tend to be restricted mainly to velar consonants. Labials, particularly /m/, and the glottal consonant /h/ also occur in such clusters (see 2.6). What is easily noticeable in these three dialects is that the wide range

of consonant-/w/ clusters which is seen in Zezuru and Karanga is very much restricted here.

(b) The consonant clusters /tʃk/, /dʒg/, /ɲɲ/ which obtain in Zezuru are invariably realized as /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ɲ/ (see 2.5).

6.3.2 *Substantives*

(a) Except for the noun prefix, the concordial agreements for class 11 are those of class 14.

(b) The noun prefix for class 13 is /tu-/ which is realized as /tu- ~ t-/ but not /tu- ~ tw-/ as in Zezuru.

(c) The enumerative stem which corresponds to the Zezuru /-mwe/ (one, same) is /-bodzi/ in all the three dialects.

(d) The quantitative stem /-egani ~ -ogani/ replaces the Zezuru form /-oga ~ -ega/ (alone).

6.3.3 *Inflected substantive phrase*

(a) The copulative and presentative inflections described in sections 4.1 and 4.2 are no doubt phenomena which are peculiar to these Korekore dialects. It is a pity that standard Shona does not incorporate these types of inflection into its system and that these inflections are fast dying out.

(b) In these Korekore dialects the possessive affix is /-a- ~ -o-/ while the adverbial inflecting morphemes are /na- ~ no-/ and /sa- ~ so-/ (see 4.3 and 4.4).

6.3.4 *Verbs*

(a) Korekore realizes the passive extension in a way which is peculiar to itself (see 5.1.1).

(b) These dialects employ the word *futi* with the applied extension (see 5.1.2). This is not a feature of Central Shona.

(c) The infinitive inflection of the auxiliary verb /-nd- ~ -n-/ is often replaced by /kwa-/ in Urungwe, /ka-/ in Chipuriro and /ko-/ in Nyombwe (see 5.4).

6.3.5 *Lexicon*

Here are some words which are typical of Korekore vocabulary :

<i>Nouns:</i> rugo 11	a ladle	cf. Zezuru rugwaku 11
amezvara 2a	mother-in-law	ambuya 2a
tsano 1a	father	baba 1a
nhunhuhwa 9	bitter apple	nhundurwa 9
karukumbura 12	a hawk	rukodzi 11
chibahwe 7	maize	chibage 7
yahwe 1a	a friend	shamwari 9
hutenho 14	relish made from ground roasted cow-peas	rupiza 11

<i>Verbs:</i>	kunangara	to look at	kutarisa
	kuhocha	to roast	kugocha
	kukora	to intoxicate	kudhaka
	kukonza	to court	kunyenga/kuvhevha
	kukanza	to go on a visit	kubvakacha
	kupasa	to give	kupa
	kutenama	to squat	kuchonjomara
	kupokana	to refute	kuramba

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FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN IGBO

By M. M. GREEN

Every language expresses its experience in its own way, through the temperament of its speakers, and often in an environment greatly different from that of another language. The misunderstandings possible even with ostensive definition are well known, and two apparently equivalent words may have widely divergent possibilities of usage. In figures, or metaphor, however, the language is not so much naming an experience as describing it. There is an attempt, so to speak, on the part of the language, to explain itself. Faced with a new situation it grasps at the 'similar in dissimilars'.

In William Golding's novel *The Inheritors* the last survivor of a prehistoric race of food gatherers, fleeing before the incoming race of hunters with their 'curved sticks' and lethal 'twigs', grapples with his bewilderment and, making a mental leap, says suddenly to himself, 'It is like . . .'. The figurative speech of a language suggests what some particular experience, perhaps a thunderstorm, 'was like' for the speakers, and provides a basis for comparison with what such an experience was like for speakers of another language.

It is not suggested that the Igbo figures discussed here are live metaphors: they may or may not be. But they show the paths the language has travelled and make possible comparison with the paths of another language. The nature of the material means that it is not susceptible of analytical precision, but it can none the less be approached systematically.¹

The first necessity is to limit severely the field of exploration, and this short, tentative study deals only with figurative language in prose, and only with that which is based on certain parts of the body. The body has the advantage of being common to all human beings, though languages do not recognize or delimit its parts in the same way. Nor do peoples regard the body culturally along the same lines.²

¹ 'First of all we have dealt only with problems of cognitive content or denotative meaning. We have ignored, in other words, all problems of stylistic variation or connotative values. Although it is a fairly obvious fact that two sentences may say the same thing though in a different way (i.e. with different stylistic connotations) little is known about how this can be systematically explored.' Manfred Bierwisch, 'Semantics' in John Lyons (ed.), *New horizons in linguistics*, Penguin, 1971, p. 183.

² For the possible wider significance of the parts of the body see Cassirer, *The philosophy of symbolic forms* (O.U.P., 1953), vol. I, p. 206: '... it is eminently the differentiation of the parts of his own body that serves man as a basis for all other spatial specifications. Once he has formed a distinct representation of his own body, once he has apprehended it as a self-enclosed and intrinsically articulated organism, it becomes, as it were, a model according to which he constructs the world as a whole.' See also R. G. Willis, 'Pollution and paradigms', *Man*, VII, 3, 1972, p. 169, for the symbolic, cosmic significance of the body and its parts in the thought of the Fipa of Tanzania. No such study has, so far as I know, been made for Igbo.

However this may be, it is clear that Igbo makes considerable use of the parts of the body in figurative language. This emerges even in the limited material presented here which is based on two short texts and, for the purpose of this brief survey, is further restricted to the eye and the hand. Examples from other sources are for the present purpose excluded. The material presented consists of all the occurrences of *anya* 'eye' and *aka* 'hand'—both non-figurative and those which seem to be figurative—in the two texts.

These two texts, and a third to serve as a check but not included here, were each of approximately 10,000 words, and among references to a large number of body parts 'eye' and 'hand' were found in all of them to have a high number of figurative occurrences. It is not possible here to set out detailed statistical tables of these texts, but it will be seen from the examples recorded that 'eye' was used figuratively 46 times in Text I and 28 times in Text II. In Text I there were 22 figurative occurrences of 'hand' and in Text II there were 43.³

Clearly an attempt to draw a line between what is literal, or non-figurative, and what is metaphorical, or figurative, needs great caution. Lienhardt long ago stressed the fact that what appears figurative to an English mind may well be literal for a speaker of the language concerned. In Text I.220⁴ the leader of a gang of murderous thieves is described as having *anya ag'ū* 'leopard's eyes', implying 'fiery eyes'. But what lies behind this? There is a belief among the Igbo that people can change into leopards, and one remembers a village which had a war chant, *Gbàlaga, gbàlaga, ònùmà àbà ag'ū!* 'Run away, run away, the leopards are roused!' The extent to which *anya ag'ū* is taken literally will depend on the speaker and the hearer.

C. S. Lewis has a further point when he insists on the absence of a clear distinction between material and immaterial in language such as that of the Old Testament,⁵ and though this is something rather different from the comparison of literal with figurative it is a further problem. For the purpose of this tentative exploration of figurative language in Igbo, the dividing line will run between

³ One or two points may be worth noting from a provisional analysis of the occurrence of other parts of the body in the three texts examined. Whereas the sense of sight had in all three a high score with *anya*, the figurative use of *nthì* 'ear' was low down on the list. *onụ* 'mouth' together with *isi* 'head' was in the top four with *anya* and *aka*, and *àhụ* 'body', *ihụ* 'face' and *òbì* 'chest, heart' were tolerably well represented.

It remains to examine, among other things, in a further study, the field of imagery covered by the different organs or body parts. How far, for instance, do *òbì* or *ihụ* rival *anya* in expressing emotion? All such questions can be raised only within the small scope of the texts considered, but they may suggest pointers for further exploration.

⁴ References to the citations following this introduction show in Roman numerals the text from which the citation is drawn, followed by a serial number, the first digit of which indicates the section in which the citation appears. (Sections 1-4 concern *anya*, 5-8 *aka*; figurative uses occur in evenly numbered sections.) No notice need be taken of the Roman numeral in looking up the citation.

⁵ C. S. Lewis, *Miracles*, Godfrey Bles, 1947, p. 93.

what is a part of the body and what, metaphorically, it is used to express, whether material or not. There is often what might be called a transferred usage, as when *onụ* 'mouth' is used in *onụm̄kpu* 'gate of the compound', both words referring to material objects. Such 'transferred' examples are treated here as figurative.

The Five Senses

*Any*a 'eye, eyes' is not only a part of the body but also a sense organ. The verb *ihū* 'to see' is not normally followed by *anya*, and only two examples have been found here, in Text I.106 and 213b. But the more actively motivated *ilē* 'to look' is constantly followed by *anya*, and many examples are recorded here. This linkage is one factor in the numerous occurrences of *anya*.

In the same way, with the sense of hearing it is not *inū* 'to hear' which is followed by *nthi* 'ear', but the more purposeful *ig'è* 'to listen', and *ihā* 'to listen for'. It may be noted here that *inū* might be more adequately translated 'to respond to sound, smell, taste', since it is used for the whole 'ear, nose, throat' complex. But whereas it is used for hearing without a qualifier—*ī nūla?* 'Do you hear, understand?'—this is not the case with the other two senses, where we find *inū uto* 'to taste a flavour', and *inū isi* 'to smell a smell'. In contrast with *inū*, *ihū* 'to see' and *ilē* 'to look' are limited to the sense of sight.

In *ibi aka* 'to touch with the hand', *aka* 'hand' is concerned with the far more generalized sense of touch as well as with many activities.

*Any*a 'eye, eyes'

In order to discuss the figurative use of a word it is clearly necessary to try to establish its literal use, since here, as in metaphor, a language will have its own way of analysing experience. In Igbo, for instance, *ukwhū* stands for an area of the body that English does not apparently recognize as a unit. It is often translated 'waist', and one meets the expression 'waist pains', apparently meaning some kind of back ache. *Ukwhū* is often referred to in dancing (as in Text II.416b, which might be translated, 'When they bend down and move slowly with twisting hips (*ukwhū*) and shaking buttocks . . .') and is also used for the base, or trunk, of a tree. As a part of the body it seems to indicate that part of the trunk which includes hips and pelvis, and is one of the most expressive areas in dancing, thus demanding a name.

Used literally, *anya* seems to correspond fairly closely with English 'eyes', though here as always, with the singular/plural combination of Igbo, and with the difference that English uses the word much less often in looking than does Igbo in *ilē anya* 'to look'. In the figurative usage of *anya* there seems to be a fairly wide divergence between Igbo and English. For instance, *itū n'anya*, literally 'to affect, throw at/into the eyes', is metaphorically 'to confuse', as in Text I.219.

The comment of the author of the text was that he supposed there was a suggestion of blinking and hence of being baffled. In English, on the contrary, 'it hits you in the eye' implies that the matter is as clear as daylight and one may recall the French, *Ça saute aux yeux*, 'it leaps to the eyes', with the same metaphorical implication as the English.

The tendency for *anya* to occur in connection with feelings or emotions comes out in *ijū anya* 'to fill the eyes, surprise' (Text I.201a-e and II.406), and again in *ihū n'anya* 'to like, love' and in its accompanying noun *ihūnanya* 'love', as in Text I.218a-b. *Ihū n'anya*, incidentally, should be seen in relation to other possibilities in Igbo of expressing love or liking. Further examples of *anya* used with compounds of *ihū* 'to see' in expressions of feeling or emotion will be found in Text II.413. To these may be added *ihū aḥūḥū* 'to suffer'; *ihū ariri* 'to despise'; *ihū ifo* 'to hate'.

Systematization of the figurative uses of *anya* and *aka* needs to be part of the wider study of the figurative references to other parts of the body, but a provisional attempt is perhaps worthwhile; I am much indebted to Mr. F. D. D. Winston and Professor D. W. Arnott for the suggestions made below and under *aka*.

Several different possibilities suggest themselves as a basis for such systematization, but on the whole it seems best to adopt a system which adheres as closely as may be to the pattern of the Igbo original. For instance, in some cases *anya* is qualified in some way, the phrase expressing some interior attitude (I.203 'bad eye', I.202d 'eye . . . not good', I.220 'leopard's eyes', I.221 'eyes of pain', II.414 'eyes of peace'). In a second group the reference is to using one's eyes:

- (a) *looking*, involving the phrase *le anya*; I.201, 206a-b and II.412; I.204, 205a-b (and II.404a-c?), I.202a-c;
- (b) *other types of looking*: I.215a-d; I.207, II.402a-d, II.403, II.408 (with meanings such as 'keep eyes on ground', 'be observant', 'peer into' = 'examine carefully');
- (c) *other gestures with the eyes*: I.209 'look at with dominating eye' = 'prevail against' and I.208 'screw up and shut eyes' = 'ignore'.

In a third group the reference is to one's eyes being affected in some way:

- (a) 'be clear to' (I.214a-c);
- (b) 'fill eyes, i.e. confuse, surprise' (I.213a-c, II.406);
- (c) other types of interference with the eyes (I.210, 211, 216, 219a-b).

In a fourth group the eyes are seen as open or shut, as seeing or not seeing, with associations of light or dark, and a variety of figurative meanings: I.212a, 222, 223, 227; II.409-11. This would leave a few smaller miscellaneous groups, one involving certain objects connected with or resembling the eye (tears, the sun, and a clock) (I.225a-b, 224, and II.405c), one having reference to distance (II.405a-d, 405e, and I.212b), figurative sentences containing the word *anya*

(I.201, 202d, 227; II.415, 416a–b), and a few examples where the interpretation is partially obscure (I.218a–b, 217).

Aka ‘*hand, hands, arm, arms, forelegs of some animals*’

The English translation required for **aka** shows it to be less specific than **anya** and thus more dependent on the context in which it is used. It differs also from **anya**, the organ of sight, in being only in part the organ of touch, the sense of which is generalized throughout the surface of the body. In addition, the hands have many activities over and above their touch function. These will be particularly numerous and vital in an unmechanized society such as that from which these texts emanated, where every individual will engage in some kind of manual work at one time or another. There is also the cultural distinction between the two hands in which the right hand, **aka nrī** ‘the food hand’ is the ‘honourable’ hand, whereas the left hand, **aka ìkpà** is the ‘toilet’ hand. One of the more obvious manifestations of this distinction is that it is an insult to offer food or a gift with the left hand, and there are further implications which cannot be discussed here.

In the figurative usage of **aka**, the examples show that among many idioms unfamiliar to English there are several in which the two languages come close to each other.

Systematization is less easy in the case of **aka**, and here reference to various types of figurative meaning is perhaps more profitable. A group of phrases in which **aka** symbolizes *giving, possessing, or taking* can be subdivided as follows:

- (a) *qualified*, expressing a person’s *characteristic quality in respect of money or possessions* (II.806a ‘hard, strong’ and II.806b ‘profitable’, symbolizing stinginess and the reverse);
- (b) referring to *possession in general* (I.612 (?), II.807b, 808a, 812), or *non-possession* (II.804a–c, 805a ‘with hands empty’);
- (c) referring to one’s *means or resources* (II.805a–c, 816);
- (d) referring to the *activity of giving or taking* (II.803a–b contributing, II.811 giving, or gifts (?), II.817 begging, I.603a pilfering, II.815 getting all a person’s money).

In a second group the reference is apparently even more general, to one’s *place, position, part, situation* (I.608c, 614, 613; II.807a, 808b–c). Two examples have **aka** associated with the concept of *responsibility* (I.605–6); in a somewhat larger group it symbolizes *work or activity* (I.607, 608a–e; II.810b), *idleness* (II.810a ?, b, c), or *being prevented from doing something* (II.814); and in yet another the association is with *help, co-operation* (I.601a–b, 602; II.801a–d, 802a–b) or *interference* (I.603a–c). With **aka**, just as with **anya**, there is a small group involving things connected with or resembling the arm or hand (I.615 ‘hand-made’ illicit gin, II.809a–c ‘tendrils, (palm-) leaf’), a number of figurative sentences containing the

word **aka** (I.604, 609, 610; II.803b, 804a–b, 809b–c, 813), and two or three where the precise meaning is obscure (I.611, 612; II.818). In addition **qbà aka** ‘palm of hand’ is used figuratively to refer to early morning (when one’s palm is visible, II.819a–b) or close proximity (‘within the palm’, II.819c).

The texts

The two texts from which the following examples of **anya** and **aka** are taken were written twenty or so years ago, the authors being respectively two young Igbo men, both educated and with a good knowledge of English and coming from two different villages near Umuahia in eastern Nigeria. Text I is the story, almost a short novel, of a gang of thieves which suddenly sprang into being and became notorious. The plot is set in Igbo country and is largely concerned with the efforts of a private individual to defeat the gang.⁶

Text II is a lively description of the way in which, traditionally, an Igbo village, both Christian and otherwise, celebrates Christmas. The fact that the festival falls in the dry season leads to an account of the seasonal activities of intense farm work in the wet season and comparative rest in the dry season, which is thus time for dancing and festivity.⁷

For each text the literal occurrences are given first, followed by the figurative examples. In each case the pertinent phrase is spaced out in the Igbo, while the corresponding phrase in the translation is italicized; and in the translations of the figurative examples, a more or less literal rendering is given in brackets. A few notes on the Igbo of the examples are given, but it is not possible in the limited space of an article to deal with the many suffixes that modify the meaning of the verbs.⁸

1. **anya** ‘eye(s)’. *Non-figurative usage in Text I*

101a. **Ọ wūkwani e lee mād̄hū anya à mara ụkpa mād̄hū ifyē ọ wū.**

It is *when you look at* someone that you know what kind of person he is.

Context. Author describing the gang leader.

Note. **ilē** ‘to look’; **ilē anya** ‘to look (with eyes)’.

⁶ J. O. Iroaganachi, **Àbàli ò m̄ Egwhù** [I’m afraid of the night], unpublished. Abbreviated English translation in W. H. Whiteley (ed.), *A selection of African prose. II. Written prose* (Oxford Library of African Literature), Oxford, 1964, pp. 49–64. Abbreviated Danish translation in *Ny Afrikask Prosa*, Stig Vendelkaers Forlag, 1969, pp. 23 ff.

⁷ G. E. Igwe, ‘Ekeresimesi’ in J. A. Dureke, K. Achinuvu and G. E. Igwe, *Ememme Ndị Igbo*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964, pp. 46 ff.

⁸ Reference may be made to the vocabularies in G. E. Igwe and M. M. Green, *Igbo language course*, Book 3, O.U.P., 1970, and in M. M. Green and G. E. Igwe, *A descriptive grammar of Igbo*, O.U.P., 1963; also to M. M. Green, ‘Suffixes in Igbo’, *African Language Studies*, V, 1964, p. 92, and to K. Williamson (ed.), *Igbo-English dictionary based on the Onitsha dialect*, Benin, 1972. See also F. D. D. Winston, ‘Polarity, mood and aspect in Ohuhu Igbo verbs’, *ALS*, XIV, 1973, p. 119.

- 101b. **Ya ēlee hā anya n'ihu imāta ihye onye ọ wùlā n'ime hā nà-ecè.**
He looked at their faces to know what each of them was thinking.
Context. The gang leader testing the reactions of his accomplices to a new plan.
- 101c. **I lee hā anya n'ihu ị gá-áhu nà hā si na mbā ọ wùlā dī n'Ụmụlā bya.**
If you had looked at their faces you would have seen that they came from all the villages of Umuala.
Context. The gang increases its membership.
Note. ịhū 'to see'; ịhū anya 'to see (with eyes)' also occurs, as in example 106 below, but it is less usual than ịhū alone.
- 101d. **Nwaanyi ị nà-ère māi, a nà-àkpọ U., ēlee yā anya n'ihu sili.**
This woman who sold wine, whose name was U., looked him straight in the face.
Context. The thief-catcher is seeking the co-operation of this woman.
- 101e. **Otū anyaashū o si na-àlota, ya àbhata n'ulọ ya lee anyā, ọ dighi ihye ọ hūrù.**
One evening when he came back he went into his room and looked about but saw nothing.
Context. The thief-catcher keeping a wary eye open for the plots of his enemies, the thieves.
- 101f. **Ụ. ēlee U. anya sil . . .**
U. looked steadily at U. . . .
Context. The thief-catcher realizes that this woman has saved him from being poisoned.
- 101g. **Ụ. ēlee yā anya n'ihu si yā, 'Agāla m ilā'.**
U. looked at her face and said, 'I am going away'.
Context. The thief-catcher has finished his work.
102. **Onye lēre hā anya n'ihu gá-àmata nà ihye nà-àga imē.**
Anyone who looked at their faces would know that something was going to happen.
Context. A meeting of the gang.
103. **Ĥa ēleritaa ọnwe hā anya n'ihu, ọja ọci.**
They looked into each other's face and laughed.
Context. The thief-catcher and the woman who has saved him from poisoning laughing together in mutual affection.—See also I.218b.
Note. In I.202c ilērita anya, in a different context, has the sense of 'suspecting'.
- 104a. **Ya legidhe mādhu anya n'ihu fàà, èbùbè àbaya onye ahụ.**
Anyone he stared at with a piercing glance would nearly die of fright.
Context. Description of one of the thieves.
Note. The -gidhe suffix adds intensity to the looking. This sentence follows immediately on I.220.
- 104b. **Ya āga legidhe yā anya sili, nọọ ngà ahụ hụ nnà nnà ya hā n'ụfù mkpā, kwee n'isi.**
He went and had a good look at it and stayed plunged in thought (saw his ancestors who had died very long ago), and nodded.
Context. The thief-catcher looks at the gun which has just gone off, and which the thieves had tied behind his door.
Note. This sentence follows immediately example 108a below.
105. **Onye leroo yā anya nké ọma, ọ gá-àmata nà ọ mààrà ihye ọ nà-ème.**
Anyone who observed him carefully would know that he knew what he was doing.
Context. The thief-catcher feigns drunkenness.
Note. ilēru anya 'to look carefully'; ilē 'to look'; irū 'to reach, arrive'. Lēruo anyā! 'Look carefully!' is a parting greeting.

106. ... ò dighī ndī nà-àhū ūphurū ūkwū ha anya.
... there was no one *who saw* their footprints.
Context. The gang had moved to a new area but had left no trace.
107. Ya nà nwunyè dī ya àgbabiritee anyā mgbè ha hūrū nà iwe ābyala dī hā.
She and her co-wife *blinked both eyes* and screwed up their faces at their husband when they saw that he was angry.
Context. The gang leader's wives baiting him about his preparations for visitors, which they say are for his lover. They are pleased to have annoyed him.
Note. Note I.208, where ighābi anya is used to convey contempt. ighā 'to move' (?—homonyms often difficult to identify); ibi 'to cut, end'.
- 108a. Mgbè ọ tughāriri anya n'āzū ibhō ya, ya āhū egbè e jiri eriri khegidhe n'uthū egbè.
When *he looked* (turned his eyes) behind his door, he saw the gun with a string tied to the trigger.
Context. Attempt by the gang on the thief-catcher's life.—See 104b above.
Note. itū 'to turn, roll'; ighā 'to turn'.
- 108b. Ya ātugharia anya hū U. kà ọ nọ n'isi bed ya na-èbe akwhā.
He turned his eyes and saw U. where she was sitting by his bedside crying.
Context. The thief-catcher in hospital.
Note. See on 108a above.
109. Ya ātufū anyā hū Ū., nūọ fee.
He looked round (turned his eyes outward) and saw U., and was highly delighted (rejoiced flew).
Context. The gang leader discovers the traitor.
Note. itūfū 'to turn outward'; itū 'to turn, roll'; ifū 'to go out'.
110. U. asāghī yà ihye ọ wùlà. Khamà anyamiri nà-àgba yā.
U. did not answer him. Instead *she was crying* (tears—eyes of water—were flowing from her).
Context. U. is distressed at the news of the thief-catcher's departure.
Note. ighā 'to move'; miri 'water'.

2. anya 'eye(s)'. *Figurative usage in Text I*

201. Kà a na-ègbunī nkwū èle ètè anya.
Let the palm tree continue to be cut down while the climbing rope *is being tested* (looked at).
Context. The thief-catcher pursuing his plans.
Note. The whole sentence is figurative, with the sense of 'let us see what the future will bring'. ilē anya 'to look at'.
- 202a. Mgbè madhū nwèrè eg'ọ nwekwee àkhū, ọ dighī onye nà-èlere yā anya imāigha ihye ōnye ọzọ aka.
When a person has money and also goods no one *suspects* him (looks at him) of stealing (putting his hand into) other people's property.
Context. Referring to the gang-leader.
Note. In this and the next two examples, ilē, with one or more suffixes and combined with anya, has in these contexts the sense of 'suspecting'. In 202d below there is also a suggestion of hostility.
- 202b. N'ògbọ ọ wùlà ndī mādihū zùkòtára na-èkwu ihye bhānyere ndī ohī à, onye nōnī nà-èlere ihè ya anya nà ọ wū onye ohī.

- In whatever group people came together talking about the robber gang, each one *suspected* (looked at) his neighbour of being a thief.
Context. The thieves seemed to have contacts everywhere.
- 202c. **Madhū niile na-èlerita ònwe hā anya n'ifu.**
 All the people *were suspicious* of each other (were looking at each others' faces).
Context. As the activities of the gang increased people did not know who might not be helping them.
Note. Note I.103, where in a different context there is literal looking. The -*rita* suffix has the sense of 'mutually towards'.
- 202d. **Otù obi gwàrà ya nà anya ijhi nà-èlere sī adjighi mma.**
 Something (one heart) told him that the *eye with which a fly looks at excrement* is not propitious.
Context. The thief-catcher realizes that he is being looked at by unfriendly eyes.
Note. 203 below reveals the unfriendly eye. *ijhi* 'fly'.
203. . . . **ya àmálite lewe Ū. anya ojiqō.**
 . . . he began *to look on* U. with disfavour (with a malevolent eye).
Context. Suspicion of the thief-catcher has been aroused in the mind of the gang-leader.
Note. Cf. 210 below.
204. **Lèmakwaa ònwe gī anya.**
Look out for yourself (look well to yourself).
Context. The woman wine-seller, U., who is helping the thief-catcher, tells him to be wary.
Note. *ilēma anya* 'to be careful'; *ilē* 'to look', *imā* 'to be good'.
- 205a. **Ebe Ū. mààrà nà ndhū ya dì n'òbà akā ya àbūqō, ya èleziere ònwe yā anya.**
 Since U. knew that his life was now in danger (in the palms of his two hands), *he was on his guard* (looked after himself well).
Context. The thief-catcher is pursued by the enmity of the gang.
Note. *ilēzi* 'to look carefully, well'; *ilē* 'to look', *izi* 'to be straight, right'. *izi*, like *imā* in 204, is frequently compounded with another verb to give a sense of doing well. In 205b below, the context modifies the meaning somewhat.
- 205b. **Ō gā wùkwàni mgbè ì byàrà n'ulò m, mụ àmara othu m si èlezi gī anya.**
 Henceforward, when you come to my house I shall know how *to entertain you* (look at you well).
Context. A guest thanking for the hospitality he has received.
- 206a. **Ndị A. nà-èle anyā hā àbhàjuo òbu ya. I lee hā anya n'ifu ì gā-àbū nà hā si na mbā ò wùla ò n'Ūmūlā bya.**
 The people *A. was expecting* came in and filled his guest room. If you had looked at their faces you would have seen that they came from all the villages of Umuala.
Context. The gang increasing in number.
Note. Note the difference of construction between *ilē anya hā* 'to expect them' and *ilē hā anya* 'to look at them'. See I.101a-g.
- 206b. **Lèwe anya ānyị.**
 Expect us.
Context. Extract from a threatening letter from the gang.
207. **Ya na-àga n'uzò, o nà-àgbariwa anyā n'àlà.**
 As he went about his business *he was observant* (kept his eyes on the ground).

Context. Description of one of the thieves.

Note. The paths may contain not only natural obstacles but the magical devices of one's enemy, and in parting greetings there are frequent exhortations to treat the ground with caution. *ìgbā* 'to move' (?).

208. **Ee rì nwunyè ò m, gbabiri onye ùwà ọjọọ à anya.**

Yes indeed my co-wife, *ignore* (screw up and shut eyes) this man with the worrying life.

Context. Jealous wife of gang-leader annoyed by his grumbles.

Note. *ìgbābi anya* is used figuratively here to express contempt, but literally in I.107, q.v.

209. **Ụ. khàgìdhèrè ya anya gaa.**

U. *prevailed* against her (looked at her with a dominating eye) and went.

Context. The woman wine-seller tries in vain to keep U. out of danger.

Note. *ìkhā anya* 'to look with intention to frighten'. The *-gidhe* suffix adds emphasis.

210. **Site ụbòcì ọ nùrù nà otù n'ime ndị ọrụ yā nùrù mai, ya ābha yā n'anya nà ọ wụkwa ya nà Ụ. sò èhì ahụ, ya àmàlìte lewe Ụ. anya ọjọọ.**

Since the day he heard that one of his workers had drunk palm wine *and been intoxicated* (it had got into his eyes), and that it was he and U. who were together on that occasion, he began *to look with hostile* (bad) *eyes at U.*

Context. The thief-catcher arousing suspicion in the mind of the gang leader.

Note. Cf. 203. *ìbhà* 'to enter'; *ọjọọ* 'bad'.

211. **Nke à gá-èzì gị ká ì ghàra ìgbābhà m n'anya.**

This will teach you to stop *thwarting* me (getting into my eyes).

Context. The gang-leader thrashing U.

Note. *ìgbābhà n'anya* 'to get into the eyes, frustrate'; *ìgbā* 'to move, run', *ìbhà* 'to enter'.

- 212a. **Onye e zùrù ìhye yā nwèrè ikhe ịcòta ya. Mā o nwèghi ikhe, ìhye yā èfùnyuọ anyā.**

The one whose property had been stolen was free to recover it. If he could not it *would be lost for ever* (lost-extinguished from sight).

Context. The thieves discussing robbery.

Note. *ìfùnyū* 'to be lost-extinguished'; *ìfù* 'to be lost, lose', *ìnyū* 'to be extinguished, extinguish'. See II.405a–e for this association of *anya* with distance, in time and space.

- 212b. **À naghì anọ ọhàanya èsubrite onū.**

One does not stand *far away* (out of sight (?)) in a fight (in hitting and cutting each other's mouth).

Context. The gang-leader trying to discover the traitor in their midst.

Note. Cf. II.405e.

- 213a. **Ọ nà-àwụ ìhye ijū anya nye onye ọ wùlā mǎ ọ nū nà nwa ìhye ntàkírì ghòrò ìhye ukwù.**

It is *confusing/surprising* (thing to fill the eyes) to anybody if he hears that a small affair has become an important one.

Context. Part of the author's introduction to the story.

Note. *ijū* 'to be full, fill'; *ijū anya* 'to fill the eyes, confuse, surprise'.

- 213b. **Ìhye à nà-èju ndị nīlè anya, n'ìhì nà ọ òghì ndị nà-àfù ụphurù ụkwù hā anya.**

This *amazed* everyone (filled everyone's eyes), because there was no one who saw their footprints.

Context. The gang of robbers had moved to a new area but had left no traces.

- 213c. **Nwannē m, o jūrū m anya òthù ndị ùgbu ă nà-ési ăkpa ăgwă.**
My brother, *it surprises* me (fills my eyes) how people behave nowadays.
Context. The woman wine-seller telling the thief-catcher about the large sum paid her by an unknown gang member for a night's lodging.
- 214a. **Ō wū kà okwu m̄ dhòo onye ò wùlā anyā méré m jì na-abyataduwe yā ijhè ag'ū.**
It was so that my words *should be clear* to everyone (clear everyone's eyes) that I went about it slowly (with the pace of a leopard).
Context. The gang leader making clear to his associates that his plans are for robbery.
Note. *idhò* 'to clear, settle (as of sediment)'; *idhò anya* 'to soothe, clear the eyes, be clear'. In conditions where water is drawn from a stream and can only be used if the stream has not been stirred up and muddied, *idhò* is likely to have popular echoes.
- 214b. **Ūmunnāa, onye ihye ă anyị méré ùgbu ă neēdhoghị anya, ya kwuo kà m kowara yā.**
Friends, anyone who *does not understand* what we have done (what we have not done is not clear in his eyes), let him say so, that I may explain to him.
Context. The gang has just performed the solemn covenant ceremony of *igbà ndhù* 'joining lives', in which they have mixed their blood and sworn not to betray each other.
- 214c. **Mā ihye ọzọ dhōro onye ò wùlā anya n'ala ahụ wu nà ò dighị ala ò wùlā e zūrū ofi, onye ama ala aghara idị ya.**
But what *was evident* to everyone (clear to everyone's eyes) was that wherever there was a theft someone from the place must have taken part.
Context. The success of the thieves in many different areas indicated local collusion.
- 214d. **Mgbè anya dhòtùwàrà ya, ya əceta ihye méré n'anyaasū eci ya.**
When he *began to come to his senses* (when his eyes cleared a little), he remembered what had happened the night before.
Context. The thief-catcher recovering consciousness after being knocked out by the thieves.
- 215a. **Ndị police ăkpacharala anyā ùgbu ă na-ăcọ hā.**
The police were now *urgently seeking* them.
Context. Describing the search for the thieves.
Note. The analysis of *ikpacha anya* 'to look carefully' may be *ikpā* 'to collect, move', *ichā* 'to be bright, ripe, complete'.
- 215b. **N'ihì ya kà onye ò wùlā n'ime anyị kpachara anyā.**
Because of this everyone of us must *be on the look out*.
Context. One of the thieves warning the others that the police are about.
- 215c. **Onye isì ziri m ozi kà m gwa onye ò wùlā kà ọ kpachara anyā.**
The leader has sent me a message to tell everybody that *he should be on the look out*.
Context. One of the thieves reporting about police risk.
- 215d. **Ū. kpàchàrà anya n'ebe ndị ibè ya nò.**
U. *was very watchful* where his companions were concerned.
Context. The thief-catcher knows that he is suspected by the gang.
216. **A. nà ndị yā nò na-əmegharị ndị mādihù anya, na-āfū ọfū ẹjhe.**
A. and his gang were just *confusing* people (making people's eyes turn), and going on with their job.
Context. The robbers go on while everyone is searching for them.

Note. *imēgha* 'to make-turn, confuse'; *imē* 'to do', *ighā* 'to turn' (or 'to scatter'?).

217. **Mbā nōnī zìtèrè ndị nōchiri anyā hā.**

Every place sent people *who represented* them (stayed-filled/blocked their eyes).

Context. The widening circle of the gang.

Note. *inōchī* 'to remain-displace/block'; *inōchī anyā* 'to represent'; *inō* 'to stay, remain', *ichī* 'to fill, block'.

218a. **Ūfōdū ndị cēre nā hā hūrū ya n'anya nā-aju yā ihye mēre ò dighī oṛū ò nā-āfū.**

Some people who thought that *they liked him* (saw him in the eyes) asked him why he was not working.

Context. The thief-catcher was standing about day after day, waiting for some clue about the gang.

Note. *ihū anyā* 'to see'; *ihū n'anya* 'to see in (?) the eyes, like, love'. It is difficult to give a sure literal translation of the preposition *nā* in *n'anya*, since it is the only preposition in Igbo and therefore generalized in meaning. Cf. II.413.

218b. **Ĥā ēlerītaa ònwe hā anya n'ifū, cīa oçī. Ĥhūnanya dī egwhū o!**

They looked into each other's faces and laughed. *Love is strange!*

Context. The thief-catcher and the woman wine-seller find they have become fond of each other.

Note. See 218a above. *egwhū* 'fear, wonder'. In this context *ilērīta anyā* is used literally and not in the sense of 'suspecting' as in 202c. *ihūnanya* 'love': compound noun from *ihū n'anya* 'to love'.

219a. **Ō wūkwani e lee mādihū anya à mara ukpa mādihū ihyē o wū. Ñke À. dī ichè. Ukpa mādihū o wū nā-ātū n'anya.**

It is *when you look at* someone that you know what kind of person he is. A.'s case was different. The kind of man he was *baffled* (affected/hit the eyes of) people.

Context. Description of the gang leader.

Note. *itū* 'to throw, hit, affect'; *itū n'anya* 'to hit/affect the eyes, baffle, cause wonder'.

219b. **Ō wū n'ezī nā o nyèrè m eg'o hīri nnē n'ihī nri m nyèrè ya nā ūra o hīri n'ulò m, mà òthū o siri cee ivū ya hce tūrū m n'anya.**

It is true that he gave me a lot of money for the food I gave him and for his sleeping in my house, but the way he watched over his loads/luggage *astonished* me.

Context. The woman wine-seller speaking about the unknown man, one of the gang, who had asked her for lodging.

220. **Ō nwèrè anya ag'ū.**

He had *fiery eyes* (leopard's eyes).

Context. Description of one of the thieves.

Note. See p. 174 for the possible literal element.

221. **Ō wū n'ezī nā o kpū okwu n'onū, mà o nwèrè anya ūfū n'ebe ihye ònye òzò dī.**

It is true that he was rich (had words in his mouth) but *he coveted* (had painful eyes towards) other people's property.

Context. Description of the gang leader.

Note. *ifū ūfū* 'to be painful'. Here and in 225a, the eyes are associated with painful feelings of jealousy and covetousness, cf. English *the green-eyed monster*.

222. **Okhe mgbè ya nā ndị ahū nā-àgbarījī òrò mkpùchi anyā.**

For a long time he and those people had been playing *blindman's buff* (game of covering/shutting eyes).

Context. The situation between the thief-catcher and the gang.

Note. *ikpù* 'to be covered, cover'; *ichì* 'to block, shut'; *òrò* 'game'.

223. **Eyè ùgbu à wụ eyè bèkeè, wụrukwa og'è mmepo anyā, ò òdighi ihye rāra āhu imē.**
This is the era of the white man, the time of *civilization* (of opening eyes), there is nothing that is difficult to do (that pains the body to do).

Context. The gang leader revealing his plans to the gang.

224. **Ndị sī Ugwhū, ndị sī Agbaalā, ndị sī Ōwụwa Anyanwū, ndị sī Ōdihhā Anyanwū, ndị sī ebe ha sī byàchārā ǹz̀k̀ò à.**

People from the North, people from the South, from *the East* (rising of the sun's eye), from *the West* (setting of the sun's eye), people from anywhere all came to this meeting.

Context. Extension of the gang's activities.

Note. *anwū* 'sun'; *anyanwū* 'sun (eye of the sun)'.

- 225a. **Anyā nā-àgbā yā miri mà ọ hụ onye ọzo ngà o jì ihye dhāra okhe onū.**
He was miserable (his eyes shed water) if he saw anyone else with valuable things.

Context. Description of the gang leader.

Note. Cf. I.110.

- 225b. **Anwūrū nā-eme kà onye ùwà cefùò ùwà ọjọọ ya. Enyì onye ufa gbàrà! Àkhu gbāfūtara nwa ọgbuènyè anyamiri! Aka gị kwa!**

Snuff which makes an unhappy man forget his wretchedness. Friend of the sleepless! Wealth that makes the humble man (poor man/orphan) shed tears (eyes of water)! I honour you (your hand then)!

Context. The gang leader extolling the benefits of snuff.

Note. *igbāfù* 'to flow out'; *igbā* 'to move', *ifù* 'to go out'; *miri* 'water'. Cf. I.614.

226. **Mà ọ wūghì nnoo, onwụ āga yā n'anya.**

Otherwise he would lose his life (death would go into his eyes).

Context. The thief-catcher must remain hidden.

Note. Cf. the saying *Ndhù anya ghorighò* 'unprofitable life (life with eyes open)'.

Open eyes are the only indication that a person is alive. *onwụ* 'death'; *igā* 'to go'.

227. **A sị mgbè nwatá riri ihye o kwèrè mùrụ anyā, ufa aturu yā.**

It is said that when a child gets *what it wants* it is satisfied (when it has eaten the thing for which it was staying awake, it goes to sleep).

Context. Quoted as being inapplicable to the gang leader's insatiable demands.

Note. *imụ anya* 'to be awake'. Cf. II.409.

3. *anya* 'eye(s)'. *Non-figurative usage in Text II*

- 301a. **Mà ndi nā-àgbā àgbā mà ndi nā-èle anyā, obi ha wū ngē . . .**

Both the people who are dancing and those who are looking on are of one mind . . .

Context. Dancing during the traditional Christmas festivities in the village.

Note. Here, as so often, *ilē* 'to look' is followed by *anya*: *ilē anya* 'to look (with eyes)'. As in I.101a-h, *ilē anya* has here its simple literal usage, as also in the following example.

- 301b. **E le anyā n'elū, madhù! E le anyā n'ālā, madhù! Ọ dīkwāghì ihye e jì madhù ème!**

If you look up there are people! If you look down there are people! People are two a penny (there is nothing you take people to do)!

Context. The village is crowded with holiday visitors.

302a. ... i legidhe àlà anya, ya ādi tabriwe àlà !

... if you gaze at the ground it is as though you could eat little bits of it !

Context. The village has been swept and cleaned before the visitors arrive. It is the dry season, and when the sun shines the ground looks so beautiful that you could almost eat it.

Note. In this and the following four examples the verb *ilē* is modified in meaning by suffixes or, in 303, by compounding with another verb stem. See I.104a for *-gidhe*.

302b. E legidhe hā anya, è cèta ifē à, Ādha ocha . . . !

If you gaze at them you remember the folk song, ' Fair daughter . . . '.

Context. The women and girls have adorned themselves with decorative body paintings and festive clothes.

Note. *ilēgidhe*, in certain contexts, can have a sense of caring, devotion, which may be colouring the picture here. This is one of the occasions when the young men are looking out for brides.

303. Ā naghī èlegidhesifū ihye nà-ākwo murumuru anya.

One cannot look directly at the smooth, shining surfaces.

Context. The glare in the dry season.

Note. *-si* distributive suffix ; *ifū* ' to be able ' (the most likely homonym).

304a. ... mǎ e lekwàsa umū āgboghō nà ndhiòmi anya, à hū ngà mma kwàrà ùwà.

... when you look upon the girls and women you see where beauty is supreme (has monopolized the world).

Context. As 302b.

Note. *ilēkwàsa* ' to look on to '.

304b. E lekwàsa hā anya n'ifū, ya ādi riwe hā na ndhū.

When you look on their faces you feel like eating them alive.

Context. As 302b.

Note. *ifū* ' face '.

305. Ebe dum nà-àcha hweè, ihye niile na-àcì inyèghè n'anya.

Everywhere is bright as far as eye can see, everything shines (in the eyes) like the sun.

Context. Dry season conditions.

Note. *ichā hweè* ' to be bright and extensive beyond what the eye can see '. This linking of sight with distance will be found in the figurative examples, in *idj anya* ' to be far '. *icì inyèghè* ' to shine like the sun or full moon, or the light, shining complexion of a woman ', cf. *icì okhu* ' to sparkle, as of swift flowing water '.

4. anya ' eye(s) '. Figurative usage in Text II

401. Onye nà-àcò imē ngwa ngwà nà-àma àwò ga mǎ o wuru onye isi mbu a gǎ ilēbhàrà anya mgbè og'è rùrù.

Anyone who wants to do things quickly goes early so that he may be the first to be served (one will serve) when the time comes.

Context. The crowds in the post office at Christmas time.

Note. *ilēbhà anya* ' to look into, attend to ' ; *ilē* ' to look ' ; *ibhà* ' to enter '.

402a. Ihye ābuò ndj à nà-ādhabhà otū mgbè, mǎ anyi gǎ-ènyobhā hā anya n'otù n'otù.

These two things happen (fall-enter) at the same time, but we will examine them (peer-enter them) one by one.

Context. The two things which the writer will describe are the dry season and the time when farm work is slack.

Note. *inyōbhà anya* ' to peer into, examine ' ; *inyō* ' to peer ' ; *ibhà* ' to enter '.

- 402b. **N'ime ihye ābuḡ anyị sị nà-étiighe akā ká ukurukū Ekeresimesl dī ukwuū anyị ānyobhāla anyā n'otù.**
 Of the two things that we said help (put in a hand) to enhance the feeling of the approach of Christmas, we *have looked into* (peered-entered) one of them.
Context. See 402a.
- 402c. **Anyị nyobhāzie okwu à anya, anyị gá ihū nà ọ wū ihye ndị Igbo nà-ákpọ 'Ọkpọọcị okwū', mà ọ wū 'Okwu dī òmiml'.**
If we study carefully (peer-enter well) this saying we shall see that it is what Igbo people call 'Fine words', or a 'Deep saying'.
Context. The writer has started his story with a quotation and now enlarges on it.
Note. **inyōbhāzi anya** 'to peer well into, study carefully'; **izī** 'to be straight, right'.
- 402d. **Anyị nyobhāma anyā na ndhū ndị Igbo, anyị gá-ácofūta nà ha wū ndị egwu nà ibàrà nà-amasikari.**
If we scrutinize (peer-enter well) the life of the Igbo people we shall discover (find out) that they are people who delight in dancing and play.
Context. The writer continuing the introduction to his story.
Note. **inyōbhāmā** 'to peer well into, scrutinize'; **imā** 'to be good, beautiful, fine'. See I.205a.
403. **Anyị tughariā anyā lee ihye dum anyị mérélè, anyị gá ihū nà anyị méré ihye ọ wùlà mgbè og'è ya rùrù.**
If we reflect (turn our eyes) and look at all the things we have done, we shall see that we did each thing when its time came.
Context. This is an allusion to the quotation referred to in 402c, which spoke of doing things in their season.
Note. **itughari anyā** 'to turn the eyes, reflect'; **itū** 'to turn, roll', **ighā** 'to turn', **-rì suffix**: continuation, emphasis.
- 404a. **Onye Kristèn ọ wùlà ànula, mà e lēghi anya àg'uola, akukū gbāsara ọmumu Jisus.**
 Every Christian has heard, and *may be* (if you don't look) has read, the story of the birth of Jesus.
Context. Writer explaining the origin of Christmas.
Note. **e lēghi anya** 'if you don't look, may be, perhaps'. This widely used idiom will be found also in the next two examples.
- 404b. **E lēghi anya, ndị ọzọ nà-èsikwe ọthù ahū, nà-ekhòlise ukwhà orù.**
Perhaps (if you don't look) others, in the same way, are tying up maize cobs.
Context. Description of small jobs that are done after the main farming season.
- 404c. **E lēghi anya, ya àwuru otū ùkè. E lēghi anya, ya àwuru ọgbọ umū ọkorobhyà, ùkè nà ùkè ha naàwùrùlāghì, mekotara ònwe ha imū otū ukpa egwū.**
It may be (if you don't look) one age-group. *It may be* a club/group of young men, whatever age-group they are, who combine to learn one type of dance.
Context. The importance of learning new dances for the village festivities at Christmas.
- 405a. **Mgbè ahū, onye nà-áco igā ebe dī anyā, mà ọ wū ahyā mà ọ wū ubl mà ọ wū mbà, nà-ama àwò.**
 At that season anyone who wants to go to a *place far away* (which is beyond sight), whether market or farm or another town, starts early.
Context. The heat of the dry season necessitates doing things early.
Note. This and the next four examples show how the eyes are associated with

distance, cf. *itè anya* 'to be a long time, long distance'—*itè* has not been found except followed by *anya*. *mà ò wù . . . mà ò wù* 'whether . . . or'.

- 405b. **Onye nà-àga ijhè dī anyā othu mgbè ahụ nà-èji akā àryọ ọnwū.**

Anyone who goes on a *long journey* at such a time is asking (taking his hand and begging) for death.

Context. As for 405a.

Note. *ijhè dī anyā* 'long journey (journey which has length beyond reach of eye)'.

- 405c. **Ọbhià ụlọ ịa dī anya nà ndị nà-àcọ ilọ ngwa ngwà nà-amàlíte n'ihye dī kà elekereanya ịsíl lawa.**

Visitors whose homes *are far away*, and people who want to return early, begin to depart about *six o'clock*.

Context. After the festivities.

Note. *elekereanya* 'clock'. When clocks were introduced into Nigeria some had a man's face on them with eyes that opened and shut and were thus called 'blinking eyes', from *ilè* 'to look' and *ikè* 'to watch'.

- 405d. **Ukhòrò ya nà-ekhòsa madhù nīlè mà onye bī n̄sò mà onye bī anyā.**

Its atmosphere affects everyone, both those who live near and those who *live far*.

Context. The approach of Christmas.

Note. *ibī anya* 'to dwell far away'; *ibī* 'to dwell'.

- 405e. **Ọgò bī ụhàanya nà-àga leta ọgò ya mà o kweere yā.**

A relative-in-law who lives *a long way away* goes and visits his relative-in-law if the latter agrees.

Context. The customary urge to Christmas visiting.

Note. *ụhàanya* 'a long distance'. Note I.212b, *ọhàanya*, where the difference of vowel may be dialectal within Ohuhu.

406. **Ọ wù ihye ijū anya nà ọ wù tha à kà ndị nwokhò ụfọdu nà-ahọrọ ndị ịa gà ilū?**

Is it *surprising* (filling to the eyes) that it is on this day that some men chose the people they will marry?

Context. Christmas Day, when the girls in all their finery dance so beautifully.

Note. *ijū anya* 'to fill the eyes, surprise'. Cf. I.213a-c.

407. **O wèrè anya nà hā ànaghī àgajhe ahya, naghī àgajhe n'orū.**

It is obvious (pokes into the eyes) that they are not going to market nor to the farm.

Context. The parcels the people are carrying are presents, not market wares or farm produce.

Note. *iwè anya* 'to poke into the eyes, be obvious'; *iwè* 'to poke into'. Possibly as in *iwè* 'to become a habit'; *oryà owere ahụ* 'chronic disease'.

408. **Ọ dighī onye nà-àghakwa anyā n'àzū.**

No one *hangs back* (turns his eyes to the back).

Context. The beginning of the farming season, when everyone sets to work.

Note. *ighā* 'to turn'. *àzū* 'back'.

409. **Ihye nwantā kwhòrò m̄uru anyā, ya rie yā, ya āfahū.**

When a child has eaten the thing for which he *was keeping awake* he goes to sleep.

Context. Christmas night, when people are talking over the events of the day, till sleep overcomes them.

Note. *im̄ụ anya* 'to be awake'. Is *im̄ụ* 'to shine' perhaps the verb here, referring to the bright eyes of the children when they lie awake? The proverb is a well-known one and occurs in I.227, with slightly different wording, and with the dialectal variant within Ohuhu of *kwhèrè* for *kwhòrò*.

410. **Mgbè onwa September nà October nà November nà-àbyala, igwū ji āchawaa di ji n'anya.**
 When September, October and November have come, the digging of yams *is* the farmer's urgent work (shines and breaks into the farmer's eyes).
Context. Description of the successive phases of agricultural work, which is what so-called 'farm work' implies in Ibo country.
Note. **ichāwa n'anya** 'to shine and break into the eyes, be urgent'; **ichā** 'to be bright, ripe, complete'; **iwā** 'to be broken, break'.
411. **Onye sī n'èzi bhà n'ulò, anya ākwuọ yā itiri.**
 Anyone who goes into the house from outside *is as though blinded* (his eyes shut darkness on him).
Context. The bright light in the dry season.
Note. **ikwū** 'to shut'; **itiri** 'darkness'.
412. **Ndi nwèrè òlile anya nà ihye di òthu à nà òthù ahù nà-aga imèrè ha nà-asi, 'Ihye di òthu à meere m, Ekeresimesi mụ ègbuo eghū mà ò wù òkukò'.**
 People who have *hope* (have looking of eye) that this or that will happen to them say, 'If this happens for me, when Christmas comes I will kill a goat or a fowl'.
Context. Traditional customs linked with Christmas by some people.
Note. **òlile anya** 'looking with the eye, hoping'. But note, with different tone pattern, **òlile anyā** 'looking', in the literal sense.
413. **Kà anyi cétakwa nà mgbè nñuju anyā di, mgbè onù dikwà.**
 Let us remember that there are times of *suffering* (seeing-filling the eyes) and times of rejoicing.
Context. Contrast between the hard work of the farming season with the comparative relaxation and the festivities of the dry season.
Note. **nñuju anyā** 'suffering'; **ihū** 'to see'; **ijū** 'to be full, fill'. Note also **nñusi anyā** 'hardship'; **ihūsi anya** 'to suffer hardship'; **ihū** 'to see'; **isi** 'to stop, cease'. See also p. 176 above.
414. **Og'oro okwū nà-adhà akha ākha, ihye ihye, mà okwu anya ùdho mà okwu mǎi.**
 There is the sound of loud talking far and wide, both *peaceful* words (words of eyes of peace) and nonsense (words of wine).
Context. After the feasting and dancing.
Note. **ùdho** 'peace'.
415. **Ihye oma nà anyā gbàrà ndhù!**
 Beautiful things and *eyes* made a covenant (joined lives).
Context. This is a well-known Igbo saying, referring to some beautiful sight, such as the dancing of the women and girls.
Note. **igbà ndhù** 'to join lives, make a covenant'. For the ceremony of this name see I.214b.
- 416a. **E si òthu à mezichaa ebe niile, o gà wù anya byàlere!**
 When everything has been finally put in order it is a time for *admiration* (eyes come and look)!
Context. The village after clearing for the dry season.
Note. **ibyàle** 'to come and look'; **ibya** 'to come'; **ilē** 'to look'.
- 416b. **Ĥa huruo àlà, debèwe ukwhù nà-ahù nkwa, anya byàlere!**
 When they bend and twist and shake their bodies in the dance it is *a delightful sight* (eyes come and look)!

Context. As for 415 above.

Note. ukwhù—see p. 175 above.

5. aka ‘hand(s), arm(s), foreleg(s)’. *Non-figurative usage in Text I*

501. **Ya ējiri akā gweighe ošè n’òkwa yā.**

He himself (he took hand) ground pepper in his wooden platter.

Context. The gang leader preparing the platter for offering with kola to visitors in the traditional way.

Note. This type of construction with *iji* ‘to hold, take’ occurs frequently in Igbo. See also II.817.

502a. **Mgbè onye māra akā n’ākpa thùtèrè ihye ọ nà-èthu, ya āhafù ndị ọzọ gaa n’isi ahyā . . .**

When the one who *put his hand* into the bag found what he was seeking, he left the others and went to the edge of the market . . .

Context. The thieves in the market were pilfering from people’s bags and pockets and going off with their gains.

Note. *imā* aka ‘to make contact with hand’.

502b. **Àbụọ ndị ọzọ āgbaa yā gbùrùgburù, na-āma yā aka n’ākpa.**

The other two closed in on him (surrounded him) and *picked his pocket* (put hand into his bag).

Context. As for 502a.

Note. *ākpa* ‘bag’.

502c. **Mā ọ sịla kà ya maị ofē ahù aka ratu yā, U. āpafù ofe ahù . . .**

As he was thinking how he would *put his hand* into that sauce and lick it up, U. carried the sauce out . . .

Context. U. wanted to warm the sauce up for the thief-catcher, and in doing so suspected that it was poisoned.

Note. *imāi/imāigha* aka ‘to put hand into’. See also I.603a–c. *ofe* ‘soup, sauce’.

502d. **Gwèta mānu kà anyị nye hā kà hā maigha akà.**

Make some sauce so that we can give it them *to dip into* (to put their hands into).

Context. The gang leader telling his wife to get ready for his guests.

Note. See 502c.

502e. **. . . ọ mairà aka n’ùkho . . .**

. . . he *put his hand* into the shelf . . .

Context. The gang leader preparing for visitors.

503a. **Ĥa niile ākụọzọ yā aka.**

They all clapped *hands* for him.

Context. The robber gang applauding their leader for having found a suitable name for them.

Note. *ikū* ‘to knock’.

503b. **A. èsi n’ebe ọ nọ bya kụọ Ũ. aka n’anya.**

A. got up from where he was sitting and came and slapped U.’s face (hit U.’s eyes with his *hand*).

Context. The gang leader finally attacks the thief-catcher, having realized that he is a spy.

504. **. . . ndị police āgbabhàta n’ime ulọ, jidhe hā, tọọ hā mkpọzọ n’aka.**

. . . the police ran into the house, seized them and *put fetters on their wrists* (*arms*).

Context. The police swoop on the gang.

Note. *itū mkpọzọ* ‘to put in prison’; *itū mkpọzọ n’aka* ‘to put fetters on wrist’.

505. **Di nà nwaànyị òkòrò akā bhàì n'ugbò laa.**
 Husband and wife linked *hands*, got into the train and went home.
Context. The thief-catcher and the woman wine-seller get married.

6. aka 'hand(s), arm(s), foreleg(s)'. *Figurative usage in Text I*

- 601a. **Ibè m, ekèlèrè m unù èkèlè òthù unu siri nye akā anyị ènweta eg'ò.**
 My friends, I congratulate you on the way you have *helped* (given a hand) in our getting money.
Context. The leader talking to the enlarged gang.
Note. See also II.801a-d. *inyè* 'to give'; *inyè aka* 'to help'.
- 601b. **Site n'ubòcì ahụ U. gà na-ènyere Û. aka.**
 From that day U. *was helping* U.
Context. The woman wine-seller decides to help the thief-catcher.
602. **Ĥa āgwa yā nà mgbè ò wùlā madhù tìlrl aka n'ihye, ilā āzụ adikwaghịrj ya.**
 They told him that whenever someone *is helping* (puts his hand into) a thing he must not turn back.
Context. Gang members exhorting a shaky member.
Note. *itii* 'to put in'. See II.802a-b.
- 603a. **Mgbè madhù nwèrè eg'ò, nweekwe ākhù, ò dighị onye nà-èlere yā anya imāigha ihye onye òzọ aka.**
 When someone has money and property no one suspects him of *interfering with* (putting his hands into) other people's goods.
Context. The gang leader is wealthy and therefore not under suspicion.
Note. See I.202a; also I.502a and c, II.803a-b.
- 603b. **Ezèkwem āmaigha yā aka n'òñù sị yā . . .**
 E. *interrupted* him (put his hand into his mouth) and said to him. . . .
Context. The gang members discussing plans.
- 603c. **Ọ wụ yā kpàtara m jì ze āhụ na-èkwu okwu m, mgbè ì màìrà m aka n'òñù, Ezèkwem nnāa.**
 That was why I was taking it easy (relaxing my body) in speaking, when you *interrupted* me (put hand into my mouth) Ezekwem, my friend.
Context. Discussion continuing between leader and gang.
Note. *izè* 'to collapse'; *izè ahụ* 'to relax'.
604. **Òkhereēkhe nnāa, a sị ngà aka rùrù onye mkpumkpụ ya èkhòwe àkpà ya.**
 O., my kinsman, they say that *where* a short man's *hand can reach* (i.e. as a man's means are), there he hangs his bag (so will he act).
Context. The gang leader is offering hospitality to the members and gives the kola to O., who is nearest to him.
605. **Ewèèrè hā ùfọ ọrụ ndị ọzọ tii A. n'aka.**
 They *left* the rest of the jobs *to be done* by A. (put them in A.'s hands).
Context. The gang preparing to do the solemn ceremony of *igbà ndhù*. See I.214b.
606. **Onye mēvoro izù, ihye niile gà dì yà n'aka.**
 The one who lets out (uncovers) the secret *will be responsible* for everything (everything will be for him in his hands).
Context. Warning after performing *igbà ndhù*.
Note. See 605. *imēvọ izù* 'to let out/uncovers a secret'; *imē* 'to do'; *ivọ* 'to scratch, uncover'.

607. **Aka ndị ohi à eruwele àlà dum.**
The activities (hands) of the thieves were reaching everywhere.
Context. Description of the increasing boldness of the robber gang.
- 608a. **Ebe ọ màtára nà aka ọrụ ha erutewele Umūàlà nso, ya āga biri nà Kwotà Umūàlà cebiri hā.**
 As he knew that *the activities* (hands of work) of the thieves had now reached the neighbourhood of Umuala he went and lived in Umuala township and waited for them.
Context. Plans of the thief-catcher.
Note. ọrụ 'work'.
- 608b. **Ūgbu à aka ọrụ ndị ohi à erule Āba nà Port Harcourt.**
 By now *the thieving* (hands of work of the thieves) had reached Aba and Port Harcourt.
Context. Description of the progress of the gang.
Note. ndị ohi 'thieves'; ohi 'theft'.
- 608c. **Ahūla m̄ aka ọrụ unū. Unū āgbalāla. Aka unū kwà !**
 I have seen your *work* (hands of your work). You have tried hard. Well done (your hands then) !
Context. Gang leader congratulating the members.
Note. See I.225b. iḡbālī 'to strive'.
- 608d. **Ọ dighi mkpà ikōro gi ndi ha wū n'ihl nà i nūla hūkwā aka ọrụ ha.**
 There is no need to tell you who they are because you have heard of and seen their *work* (the hand of their work).
Context. A gang member giving a new member a cursory briefing.
- 608e. **Mgbè o lèchàrà egbè ahū, ya āmara nà ọ wū aka ọrū ndi neēceghiri ya mma.**
 When he had examined the gun he knew that it was *the work* (hand of work) of people who did not wish him well.
Context. The thief-catcher nearly shot by a gun in a booby trap.
609. **Mà ọ wūghị nà mụ nà nwa ọkukò nà-ākpari urī aka agāghiri isi m ākpala ākpala.**
 If I had not been associating with someone contemptible (a chick) *I should not have been insulted* (my hands would not be smelling of chick's droppings).
Context. Bickering among members of the gang.
Note. ikpā urī 'to wander, stroll, pay visits'. isī 'to smell'; ākpala 'chick's droppings'.
610. **Ị gwoghi, ị taghi, aka afūkwāghinī na ngū.**
 You are involved yet you don't want to commit yourself (you don't mix food ingredients, you don't eat, and yet your hands are never out of the sauce).
Context. Rebuke by the gang to a member who professes honesty but who wishes to share the gains of theft.
Note. ifū 'to go out'. ngū 'sauce made with pepper, salt, palm oil, powdered ash of palm fibre, mixed with water and filtered.'
611. **N'ihl ya, ndi àlà ya amātaghi nà ọ wū onye aka ābuō mgbè ọ lōtara bya bikwhute hā.**
 Because of this, people did not know that he was *a thief* (was two-handed) when he returned to live among them.
Context. The gang leader grew up far from home, and his habits were therefore unknown to his own people.
Note. ābuō 'two'.
612. **Ihye oma nà-āka naāni ya n'aka.**

He preferred to have all the best things himself (in his hands only).

Context. Further description of the gang leader.

Note. *ikā* 'to surpass'. (Literal analysis of the passage obscure.)

613. **Otù aka ahụ kwà ya wuru ihye ojō, ndị mādhubù nà-àgbalịsi ikhē ičōta òkpurù ya.**
In the same way (that one hand) also, if it were something bad, people would try to find out what was behind (underneath) it.

Context. Introduction to the story. Sudden news like that of widespread theft would lead to investigation.

Note. *otù* 'one'; *ahù* 'that'.

614. **Aka gị kwa!**

I honour you (your hand then)!

Context. The gang leader addressing praises to his snuff box and to the blessings of snuff.

Note. See 608c. *-kwa* suffix (*persuasive*).

615. **Ya àmalite wère 'aka nà-ème' gwakōta nà maj yā.**

She began to take *illicit gin* (hand makes) and mix it with his wine.

Context. The wine-seller trying to make drunk the gang member who is spying on the thief-catcher.

Note. *Illicit gin*, known as *aka nà-ème*, was distilled locally and thus escaped customs duty. *imē* 'to make'.

7. *aka* 'hand(s), arm(s), foreleg(s)'. *Non-figurative usage in Text II*

701. **Aka dīrī hā n'imē oṛū ndī à, ọṅụ àdīrī hā n'ikpā ukà . . .**

While their hands are used for these jobs their mouths are used for chattering . . .

Context. The children doing domestic chores.

Note. *idī* 'to be, have'; *-rī* suffix (*movement*).

702. **Mà aka nà-ème ihyē mà nkè naānaghì ème, ọṅụ dī hā n'ifù utòrì . . .**

Whether *their hands are employed* or not, their voices are used in talking together . . .

Context. The older men are doing jobs like making roof mats.

Note. *imē* 'to do, make'; *ihyē* 'thing'.

703. **Ndī nà-àmụ mmà akā nà mmà ekwhū n'òmụ . . .**

Some people are sharpening *matchets* (hand knives) and kitchen knives . . .

Context. Preparations for feasting at Christmas.

Note. *mmà* 'knife'.

704. **Mgbè ndī ọ kpòrò byàrà, hā ānaa ọgò ya aka. 'Ọgò mànà gị kpòkwa m̄ ihu!'**

When the people she has summoned have come *they take the suitor's hand*. 'May I meet a relative-in-law like you!'

Context. A woman has called her friends to tell them what fine things the man who is marrying her daughter has brought at Christmas, and they show their appreciation.

Note. *inā* 'to take'; *ọgò* 'relative-in-law'.

705. **Wàta na ndī e kù n'aka nà-àñurisi aṛā, gà na ndī e sè n'aka, rùo ndī isi awò, hā tūrù n'ama ebe nkwa dī.**

Beginning with unweaned *infants in arms* (carried in arms) and going on to *toddlers* (those led by hand), and including grey-haired people, they circulate in the open space where the dancing is.

Context. The spectators at the dancing during the festivities.

Note. *ikù* 'to carry in arms, as of child'; *isè* 'to hold by hand'.

8. aka 'hand(s), arm(s), foreleg(s)'. *Figurative usage in Text II*

- 801a. **Onye ya nāanị ya neénweghí ikhe íkwā ulò ya, ọ nà-àryọrọ ndị āgboghō ibè ya, fía ãnyere yā aka.**
 Anyone who cannot do her house decorating alone begs her *girl* friends and *they help her* (give her a hand).
Context. Dry season repairing and decorating/beautifying of houses, particularly with Christmas visitors in view.
Note. inyē 'to give'; inyē aka 'to help, give a hand'; inyēre aka 'to help (someone), give a hand to . . .'
- 801b. **Ih̄ye nà-ènyere umū mād̄hū aka n'ìkpū òbhiā wū òthū fía nà onye byāra ilēta fía siri òrì . . .**
 It is the degree of relationship with their guests *that shows* people (gives people a hand with) how they should be entertained . . .
Context. The importance of observing the correct rules for entertaining. These involve not only the relationship of the visitors but the amount of presents they have brought.
- 801c. **Ĥā nà-ènyere nne fīā aka vuru ih̄ye ahyā ga ahyā.**
They help (give a hand to) their mothers in carrying goods to market.
Context. Children's activities.
- 801d. **Nne na-ème otù, umū ya mà ò wū ndị ikwū yā byāra inyēre ya aka na-ème ọzọ.**
 While the mother is doing one thing her children, or her kinsfolk who have come *to help* her (to give her a hand), are doing another.
Context. Preparing the food for the festivities.
Note. ikwu 'relations by blood or marriage'
- 802a. **Ih̄ye òle nà òle nà-ètiighe akā n'imē kà Ekeresimesi wuru mgbè okhe ọnū nà obi ũtọ.**
 A number of things *help* (put in a hand) to make Christmas a time of great rejoicing and gladness.
Context. Description of Christmas in an Igbo village.
Note. itii/itiighe (with -i/-ighe suffix) 'to put in'. See I.602.
- 802b. **N'ime ih̄ye ābuọ anyị sị nà-ètiighe akā kà Ekeresimesi ò ukwu anyị ànyobhāla anyā n'otù.**
 Of the two things that we said *help* (put in a hand) to enhance the feeling of the approach of Christmas, we have looked into one of them.
Context. As for 802a.—See also II.402b.
- 803a. **Mgbè fía mēwèrè ñkà, zifūtawa ih̄ye ò fía n'ukwhù, ndị nlerè āmawa akā n'ākpa.**
 When they have finished their expert performance and shown off their hip movements, the onlookers *make their contributions* (put their hands into their bags).
Context. After the women's dancing the admiring spectators make contributions of money.
Note. imā aka 'to make contact with hand'; ākpà 'bag'
- 803b. **Aka a nà-ama n'ākpa ò n'obi . . .**
 The heart controls the *thrusting of the hand into the bag* (the hand that is put into the bag is from the heart).
Context. Some people get presents but some do not. They hope for better luck another time.

- 804a. **Èmèmmè ná òrírí kwū. Mā ebe a naānaghì àgbà akā àcū ùkpàrà òtá akhū, Ekeresi-mesi ná-àkpata mgbalí òzò dī ichè.**
 Festivals and feasting go together. But just as one does not chase a grasshopper *with empty hands*, so Christmas involves various further efforts.
Context. The festivities involve much work of preparation in the village.
Note. *ìgbā aka* 'to be empty handed'. See Williamson, *Igbo-English dictionary*, p. 142: '*ìgbā aka*, to be without (inseparable) '.
- 804b. **Ọ gbāra akā ga Ụkwhá gbà aka àyọ.**
He who goes empty handed to Ukwha comes empty handed away.
Context. Everyone must try to have something to sell, in order to be able to buy what he needs for the festival.
Note. *ìgā Ụkwhá* implies going to market.
- 804c. **Dì ká òmenálá siri dī, à naghì àgbà akā àga ọbhià mgbe èmèmmè . . .**
 In accordance with custom one does not go *empty handed* to pay visits at the time of a festival.
Context. There follows here a description of the presents the visitors bring.
- 805a. **Onye aka rùrù òthù o rùrù, ya àzuru. Ihye ká nọ wū ìgbā aka ìlā ahya.**
 A person buys *according to his means* (where his hand reaches). The worst thing is to leave the market with empty hands.
Context. In spite of the high prices at festival time everyone is anxious to buy.
Note. *irū* 'to reach, arrive '.
- 805b. **Ndị aka rùrù ìzū akisi akhū ugbò ná-àzu . . .**
 Those who *have the means* (whose hands reach there) to buy a flag, buy one . . .
Context. Preparation of the place for dancing.
- 805c. **Othu ọ wùlā aka rùrù ya.**
 Whatever *her means allow* (however her hand reaches).
Context. A woman who is visiting the family of the man who is marrying her daughter will take him what presents she can afford.
Note. See Text II.704 for the presents brought by the man to his mother-in-law.
- 806a. **Onye hī ozi Bèkeè, aka dī ikhe, lota n'og'è à, ya ná mbyàràmbya ezù.**
 If anyone with a whiteman's job, and who *is stingy*, comes back at this time, he will meet visitors.
Context. At this season all are expected to be ready to entertain visitors.
Note. *ikhe* 'strength, hardness '.
- 806b. **Tfòzà ná koèt ná tai ná-ànwu umū òkoròbhyà, aka dī urù, onwu n'ahụ.**
 Trousers and coat and tie are a perfect outfit on (die on the bodies of) the young men *ready to spend money* (whose hands are profitable).
Context. Clothes for the festival.
Note. *urū* 'profit '.
- 807a. . . ndi nọ Port Harcourt, Opobò, ebe ọ wùlā ha nọ, ozi ná-èrucha hā aka.
 . . . people at Port Harcourt, Opobo, or wherever they are, messages *reach them all* (reach for all of them their hands).
Context. Absent villagers are invited back for Christmas.
- 807b. **Ọ wughị mbà dum nwèrè egwu àlā òkè akā hā.**
 It is not every place that has a local dance *of its own* (dance of the place of its hands).
Context. The learning of dances to perform during the festival is an important affair for a village.

- 808a. **Ị nātala ihu oma n'aka Cinàekè.**
You have received favour *from* (from the hand of) God.
Context. The Annunciation message to the Virgin Mary.
- 808b. **Mà ebe ọ nà-àka ihì ụdḥụ à wụ n'aka ụmụ nwaànyị nà ụmùntàkiri.**
But it is *among* (in the hands of) the women and children that the excited anticipation is the greatest.
Context. Awaiting Christmas.
- 808c. **Ụfà wụ sém, ñke kà ñkè n'aka ụmùntàkiri.**
Sleep is fitful especially *for* (in the hands of) the children.
Context. Christmas Eve.
- 809a. **Ndikhòoml àmàa jì, kwhee yā, gbaa yā aka . . .**
The men stake the yams, string them and weave their *tendrils* (hands). . . .
Context. Work during the farming season.
- 809b. **Dì kà a nà-èkwu, igùwe nà-ebèji aka nkṵ.**
As the saying is, 'Locusts are perching on the *palm leaf* (hand) and breaking it.'
Context. The crowds in the village.
Note. aka nkṵ 'midrib, with small leaves, of oil palm'; nkṵ 'oil palm'.
- 809c. **Àtàn kụọ iri nà àbụọ, kụọ iri nà àtọ, igùwe àga bèjie aka nkṵ.**
When twelve strikes and then one, the locusts go and perch on the *palm leaf* until it breaks.
Context. The crowd of Christmas visitors.—See 809b.
- 810a. **Ọ dighị onye, mà ọ wụghị onye ibèribè, nà-àkpukpàcha akā n'òtìle gawa ahyā, n'adighị ihye ọ nà-àga izū, dighị ñkè ọ nà-àga irè . . .**
No one but a fool *brushes his buttocks with his hands* and goes to market with nothing to buy or to sell.
Context. Everyone is buying and selling in the market at this festive season.
Note. Rising from sitting on the ground, an old man would brush himself before setting out. òtìle 'buttocks'.
- 810b. **Mgbè ndị nwè ha nà-akhùjògha akā n'ala nà-akhùjògha n'elū na-èthù òthù ha gā imè kà obi dì madhù dum ùtọ n'Ekeresimesi, ụmùntàkiri anāghị àfaiḡha akā n'ụkwụ mà ọ wụ hiighe akā n'isi řaḡu ụřā.**
While their parents *are struggling* high and low (working-struggling with their hands low, working-struggling high), seeking to make sure that everyone is happy (has a heart of sweetness) at Christmas, the children *are not idle* (do not wedge their hands between their legs or *under their heads* and go to sleep).
Context. The children work with their parents at this busy time.
Note. ikhùjòghā 'to work hard'; ikhù 'to engage in a trade, craft', ijò 'to struggle', -gha *suffix* (continuative). ifā 'to wedge'; ifāiḡha (with -iḡha/-iḡhe suffix) 'to wedge into'. ụkwụ 'leg, foot'. ihī 'to wedge in, support'; isi 'head'.
- 810c. **Ụmụ òkoròbhyā kwà nì, hā fàighàrà aka n'ụkwụ?**
What about the young men then, *did they do nothing* (wedge their hands between their legs)?
Context. The writer, a man, insisting that the youths help the women in preparing food for the feast.—See 810b.
811. **Ọgò m, ahūla m aka gị. I mèkala hā.**
My relative-in-law, I see *what you have done* (your hand). You have been good to them.
Context. Appreciation of gifts brought by visiting relatives-in-law.
Note. imēka 'to do well'; imē 'to do, make'; ikā 'to surpass'.

812. **Nkě fùtara nà hā jiri yà kwàrà òkwà akā hā . . .**
 This means that *they consider it their monopoly* (of their hands). . . .
Context. Each village keeps the Christmas festivities for its own market day and thus considers them its own particular affair.
Note. *ikwhà, ikwhà òkwà* 'to monopolize'. See II.304a.
813. **Ọ dighi onye nà-aghakwa anyā n'āzu. Ọ gá wụ, di ká umụtàkiri nà-ekwu, 'Òphò ázu phòro sị nkitā. Umụ mmụọ jiri yà kwọọ akā'.**
 Nobody looks back. It is now, as the children say, 'Let the one who is last clear up the dog's excrement. The spirits took him *and washed their hands*'.
Context. Great general activity. Idle people threatened with penalties.
Note. *mmụọ* 'spirit, ghost'. *ikwọ* aka 'to wash hands'.
814. **Ihye ndi ọzo, di ká ihye umụ mādhu nà-eme n'og'è à, gá-èjidhe ānyị aka n'ukwhù isị nà ọ wụ mgbè izù ikhe.**
 Other things, such as the jobs people do at this time, *prevent* us (hold our hands on our hips) from saying that this is a time of rest.
Context. Description of the dry season, in which heavy farming is not done, but there are many other activities.
Note. *ijidhe* 'to hold'. *ukwhù*: see p. 175. *izù ikhe* 'to rest (meet strength)'.
815. **Ọnụ ahyā ọtutu ihyē nà-efe n'elū. Ndi vū ihye ọtutu mādhu nà-àçọ nà-àphụ umụ mādhu aka n'òdhù.**
 The price (mouth of the market) rises high (flies up). Those who carry to market things that many people want, *empty* people's *pockets* (pull people's tails with their hands).
Context. The demand for goods increases as the festival approaches.
Note. *ọnụ ahyā* 'price (mouth of the market)'. *ìphū* 'to pull, drag'. *òdhù* 'tail'.
816. **Ndi di òthu à, ihu nà-aghò hā ekwhè. Ihye hā nà-eme wụ mmachi obi, nke ká nkè, ya wụrụ mà ọ dighi òthù aka fùtara di hā mà hā wụrụ ndhiòmi, mà ọ wụ òthù aka fùtara ndi mụ hā, mà hā wụrụ umùntàkiri.**
 Such people are ashamed (their faces have become for them the back of their heads). What they do is to have patience, especially if the cause is *the lack of means of their husbands* (there is no way for their husbands' hands to come out), in the case of women, or *of their parents* in the case of children.
Context. The plight of women with poor husbands, and children with poor parents, who cannot afford gifts at Christmas.
Note. *ifutà* 'to come out'; *di* 'husband'; *ndi mụ hā* 'parents'; *imụ* 'to give birth'.
817. **Onye nà-aga ijhe di anyā othu mgbè ahụ nà-èji akā àryọ ọnwū.**
 Anyone who goes on a long journey at such a time *is asking* (taking a hand and begging) *for death*.
Context. Travelling is a trial in the heat of the dry season.
Note. See II.405b. *iryọ* 'to beg'; *ọnwū* 'death'.
818. **Di ká hā nà-àsi, 'Anà m àçọ iwèrè ụkwu dhoo, aka dhoo, rie Ekeresimesi nàa nà-àbyataduwe.**
 As they say, 'I want to have *peace* (take quiet foot and quiet hand) to celebrate (eat) this coming Christmas'.
Context. Parents do not like their children to go into the bush at this time, for fear of snake bites, which would disturb the enjoyment of the season.
Note. *dhoo* 'quiet'; *idhō* 'to calm, quieten'.

- 819a. **A hūlagħi ọbà akā ihu, à zàchaa ēzi nà ụlọ, ̄saisja itè nà ikwhè, eku nà ọkù.**
 As soon as one can see the *palm of one's hand*, the whole compound and house are swept, and pots, mortars, ladles and dishes are all washed.
Context. At dawn on Christmas Day works begins, in preparation for visitors.
Note. ọbà akā 'palm of hand'.
- 819b. ... **mà ha acōghī ijī ụbe okhe ọkpà nà ọkwà igā, ha hūlagħi ọbà akā ihu, ha āgawa.**
 ... if they don't want to go at the crowing of the cock or the cry of the bushfowl, they set out as soon as they can see the *palm of their hands*.
Context. In the hot weather of the dry season people start out at cock-crow or at daybreak.
- 819c. **Ụbọcì Ekeresimesi dī n'ọbà akā.**
 Christmas *is almost here* (is in the palm of the hand).
Context. The week before Christmas.

THE INTRODUCTION OF A NATIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY FOR SOMALI

By B. W. ANDRZEJEWSKI

On 21st October, 1972, the third anniversary of the Revolution,¹ the Somali Government introduced a national orthography for Somali in Latin script. Before that date several unofficial systems of transcription² were used by a small number of private citizens, but all government correspondence and records were in Italian, Arabic or English. The whole educational system was dependent on these three languages, not only as subjects of study but also as media of instruction. This was a paradoxical situation, since Somalia is one of the few African countries where, with the exception of minute minority groups, everyone speaks the same language. From a practical point of view the diversity of languages in written communication was a great hindrance to the efficiency of the administration, of education and of public service, and delayed the process of unification between the former Italian and former British parts of the country. Matters became even worse as a result of the numerous scholarships given by foreign countries where languages other than Italian, Arabic or English were spoken. People with qualifications obtained in Germany, Eastern Europe or China often had a limited knowledge of the three foreign languages already used in Somalia, even though they were highly proficient in the language of the country in which they had studied.

It would be beyond the scope of this article to probe into the political, religious and technical reasons for the delay in the introduction of an orthography: they are described in considerable detail in Adam 1958, Andrzejewski 1964 and Pirone 1967, all of which provide extensive bibliographical references. Briefly, three types of script contended as feasible candidates for an orthography: Latin, Arabic and a Somali script, introduced in the nineteen-twenties, which used entirely invented symbols. The supporters of the three scripts held wholly intransigent views and the issue was so inflammatory that on several occasions it led to demonstrations and threats of violence; if mishandled it could have resulted in bloodshed on a very wide scale, and previous governments were understandably wary in their approach to the problem, though always stating that it was their intention eventually to solve it.

¹ For a brief account of the most recent events in the history of Somalia see Lewis 1972; a more extensive description of these events can be found in an Arabic work written by a Somali scholar, see Jāma 'Umar 'Īsā 1972. For an ideological profile of the Somali Revolution see Somali Democratic Republic 1970 and 1971.

² An account of these systems is provided in Musa Galaal 1973. Note that this author himself made a monumental contribution to the cause of written Somali through his activities and publications (see Johnson 1969 and 1973).

When the Revolutionary Government came to power in 1969 they declared the introduction of written Somali as one of the main objectives of internal policy and tackled the whole question with vigour tempered by prudence. Some of the groundwork had already been done, for as long ago as 1960, when Somalia became independent, a Somali Language Committee had been established to work on a national orthography, and there was also in the Cultural Department of the Ministry of Education, a sizeable team of full-time researchers employed in writing down, in various scripts, and tape recording the vast amount of oral poetry and prose narratives of the nation. Both these groups included among their number some of the most prominent collectors and connoisseurs of Somali oral literature, who collected literally thousands of pages of transcripts and notes, and their work has been regarded by successive Somali governments as a standing and continuous commitment.³

The new government reconstituted and strengthened the Somali Language Committee and instructed it to produce schoolbooks, handbooks for adult education, a dictionary and a grammar. Furthermore, they entrusted to them the creation of modern technical terms in Somali, a task which previously was the prerogative, in the main, of the broadcasting services (Andrzejewski 1971).

The instructions to the Committee did not include the choice of a script. Each member was allowed to use the script which he favoured, and it was then accepted as a guiding principle that whatever script was subsequently chosen by the government, works in other scripts would be promptly converted into it. The problem of convertibility was not a serious one, since there was never any substantial disagreement among the supporters of different scripts as to the number and nature of the phonemes of the language.

When the decision to adopt the Latin script was announced, the government issued immediate practical directives for its introduction at all levels of public life. These were implemented with a speed and thoroughness which surprised not only foreign observers but also the Somalis themselves. The works which had been prepared by the Language Committee were published with all speed, and in the first months of 1973 Somali was adopted as the sole medium of instruction in elementary schools, and was introduced as an important subject in intermediate and secondary schools and in the National University. Public servants were told that they had to pass a proficiency test in reading and writing Somali within three months, and the vast majority of them did so in this time, but eventually three months' grace was allowed for stragglers.

Within a few months Somali totally replaced foreign languages in the daily press, and the national newspaper *Xiddigta Oktoobar*, 'The Star of October', serves the everyday needs of the reading public. There was an extensive and

³ See Johnson 1973 for details.

imaginative use of broadcasts related to the printed material in the daily paper: not only the use of symbols, but also word division rules, which present considerable problems in Somali, were announced each day in both media. Since March 1973 both media have also participated in a nationwide adult literacy campaign through specially designed programmes, articles and booklets with graded exercises illustrated by drawings. This campaign depends largely on voluntary teachers, and the current slogan displayed on posters says this of the national orthography: *Haddaad taqaan bar, haddaanad oqoon baro*, 'If you know it, teach it—if you don't know it, learn it'.

The Somali national orthography is identical with the system of transcription used by Shire Jaamac Axmed in his literary magazine, *Iftiinka-Aqoonta* (*Light of Education*). His system is explained in every issue of the magazine and also in all the early issues of *Xiddigta Oktoobar*. The explanations given there are designed for the Somali public; a foreign reader will find guidance to the system in Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964 and in Andrzejewski, Strelcyn and Tubiana 1969, but he must take into account the fact that these publications discuss the earlier version of Shire Jaamac Axmed's transcription where he uses *ch* instead of *x*.⁴

At the present moment Somali educationalists and scholars are engaged in the task of research for and production of books which will enable them eventually to introduce Somali as the medium of instruction in intermediate and secondary schools, relegating Italian, English and Arabic to the position of foreign languages taught as individual subjects.⁵ Since April 1973 this work has become the responsibility of the Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education and Training, a development which was one of several changes introduced by the Government at that time. A Ministry of Culture and Higher Education was created and within it an Academy of Culture concerned with research and documentation in the field of the Somali language, literature, history and the national heritage in general. The Somali Language Committee, having been relieved of its heavy burden of producing schoolbooks, merged with the Academy, and in fact the members of the Committee form the core of the full-time employees of the Academy; they are now free to devote themselves to such tasks as the editing of literary and historical texts and the preparation of an extensive reference grammar and a large monolingual dictionary, expansions of their previous work in this field. Some of them now give their attention to the linguistic features which the national orthography leaves out, namely the accentual patterns (consisting of tone and stress) and the 'fronting' and 'backing' which operate within the basic ten vowels, subdividing them into *shaqallo culus* 'heavy vowels' and *shaqallo fuud* 'light vowels'.

⁴ This change accounts for the divergence in the spelling of this author's name between his publications in 1965 and 1966-7.

⁵ There are also more ambitious and more distant plans for introducing Somali as the medium of instruction at university level.

The accentual features are bound up in Somali with grammatical structure: they differentiate gender in nouns, and subject and object within a case system, and are an integral part of the verbal paradigms. But they never act as the sole distinguishing lexical feature: there are no pairs of words belonging to the same grammatical category and differentiated exclusively by their accentual pattern. The 'fronting' and 'backing' of the vowels, on the other hand, sometimes distinguishes lexical terms, e.g. *ḍūul* 'fly!' and *ḍūul* 'attack!' and also plays a role in distinguishing certain verbal forms, e.g. *ḍhis* 'build!' and *ḍhjs* 'he built'.

At the time when written Somali was introduced the members of the Language Committee all agreed on the importance of the accentual patterns and the 'fronting' and 'backing' dichotomy in Somali vowels, but they decided not to represent these features in the national orthography, which has mainly practical objectives. Experience has shown them to be right, since in the everyday use of the orthography points of semantic ambiguity are readily resolved by the context. In lexicography, however, and in a detailed analysis of grammar, these features have to be taken into account,⁶ and an extensive description of them is now an obvious necessity.

It is an important characteristic of the endeavours towards national literacy, in the full sense of the words, that among the people who have been engaged in the work of the Language Committee and the Academy of Culture there are not only men with modern education but also traditional poets and bards, some of them of considerable age, who are treated with great reverence by their colleagues as the living carriers of the national heritage and as arbiters in matters concerning the aesthetic qualities of the Somali language.

The introduction of the national orthography is an historic step which is likely to have far reaching consequences. The intensive literacy campaign is making remarkable progress and extends even to remote rural areas, including nomadic villages, thus making the general public more receptive to the demands of social and economic change.⁷ One consequence is already observable throughout the country: there is a narrowing of the gap between the *élite* who were trained abroad, and those citizens who were educated at home, or had little or no formal education. Since the national orthography can be very easily learned by a speaker of Somali within a few months, if not weeks, the practical advantages of knowing a foreign language have undergone a radical devaluation. Any citizen who simply knows his mother tongue in speech and writing can now participate fully in public life, as Somali has become the sole official language of the country.

⁶ References to works in which these features are described can be found in Johnson 1969, marked with the code letters *gmr*, under Andrzejewski and Armstrong.

⁷ A detailed account of the spectacular achievements of this campaign, already reached, and the resulting social changes is given in Omar Osman Mohamed 1973.

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