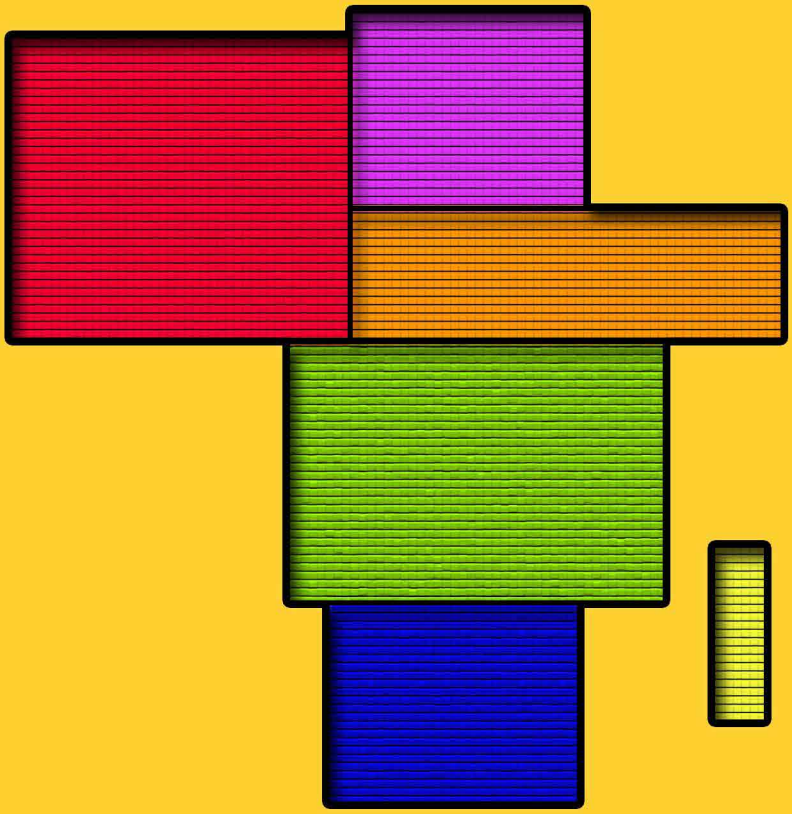
1/2020



JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

1/2020

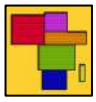
JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Department of Asian, African, and Mediterranean Studies
University of Naples "L'Orientale"
jalalit@unior.it

UniorPress

Table of Contents

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1/2020, 1-25



Synchronic and diachronic strategies of mora preservation in Gújjolaay Eegimaa

ABBIE HANTGAN-SONKO

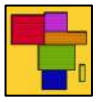
LLACAN, CNRS
abbie.hantgan-sonko@cnrs.fr

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide an overview of the synchronic and diachronic strategies that have led to the preservation of moraicity in noun and verb roots' syllable structure among Gújjolaay Eegimaa (Bak, Atlantic, Niger-Congo) varieties spoken in southwestern Senegal. Two dialects, or varieties, of Eegimaa are geographically delineated along a peninsula of the Casamance River, locally known as The Kingdom. Cognate noun and verb roots between the two varieties differ phonemically on the basis of geminate consonants versus long vowels. Speakers of the more geographically isolated and conservative variety of Eegimaa use geminate consonants to the exclusion of long vowels, which are witnessed among speakers closer to the river's borders. An otherwise productive process of lenition fails to apply in both instances: singleton consonants followed by long vowels that correspond with cognates with geminate consonants unexpectedly fail to weaken intervocalically. The under-application of lenition in the variety with long vowels leads to a postulation that geminates were the predecessor to long vowels in the Proto-language, yet no other attested Jóola variety contains contrastive geminates. A comparison between the Eegimaa dialects and more-widely spoken Jóola languages shows that nasal-voiceless plosive clusters are banned only in Eegimaa. Instead, cognates between Eegimaa and other Jóola languages consistently display a geminate or a long vowel in place of an impermissible nasal-consonant cluster. The study appeals to mora preservation through both language contact and historical development as an explanation for the otherwise unusual appearance of geminates in the single Eegimaa variety as well as provides avenues for further research into multilingualism in Casamance, Senegal.

KEY WORDS: language contact, language change, language identity, mora preservation, historical linguistic

DOI 10.6092/jalalit.v1i1.6732



1. Introduction[1, 2]

Gújjolaay Eegimaa (hereafter Eegimaa) is a Gújjolaay, or simply Jóola, language spoken along a peninsula that terminates in the Casamance River. Jóola,[3] the dominant ethnicity and associated language group of the Casamance area of southwestern Senegal, comprises over 10 separate languages and numerous dialects currently classified by POZDNIAKOV and SEGERER (in press) as belonging to the Bak branch of their proposed Bak-North split of the Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo language phylum.

Naturally, Jóola languages are differentiated by linguists on the basis of both vocabulary and grammatical distinctions, but Jóola speakers also recognize their languages as well as regional and village varieties, including accents. Just as most regional accents can be detected only by those intimately familiar with the language being spoken, Jóola speakers have the ability to recognize one another's speech attributes at a fine-grained level. One salient feature that differentiates both languages and dialects in the Jóola group in the minds of linguists and speakers alike is that of pronunciation. Whereas different words delineate Jóola languages, the pronunciation of the same word by different speakers, or the same speakers in different contexts, can denote, or index (cf. SILVERSTEIN 2003) a regional identity. The initial greeting sequence that starts every encounter provides such an example.

IRVINE (1974) has shown that the complexity of greetings in northern Senegal is performed based on pre-defined social hierarchies. In Casamance, the same boundaries do not exist; social stratification is associated with age-group. Greetings, as HANTGAN (2017a) argues, are linked to identity. Expressing the

[1] I am indebted to my patient primary consultants, David Sagna and Rémy Sagna, who provided much of the data for this research. I am also grateful to the SOAS-Crossroads and the Discourse Reporting in African Story Telling team members, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions on this work. I also acknowledge the suggestions from the audience members at CALL 47 at Leiden University. All remaining errors and shortcomings are solely my own responsibility.

[2] This project has received funding from a Leverhulme Trust Research Project Grant, Crossroads - Investigating the unexplored side of multilingualism, which was led by Professor Friederike Lüpke and the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 758232) of which Tatiana Nikitina is the Principal investigator.

[3] The Jóola languages categorize most noun stems into a nominal class as morphologically marked by a prefix. Derivational and inflectional suffixes also contribute to the meaning of lexical stems. In the text, this paper follows the morphological and orthographic conventions for the Jóola languages by marking the first tense vowel of a word with an acute accent, examples in tables are provided in phonetic representation using the IPA.

concept of 'peace' within the obligatory greeting sequence that begins every new encounter can convey either solidarity or distance. Further, there exists a range within the greeting from being easily observed to being distinctly subtle.

The word **kásuumay** generally means 'peace' across Jóola languages and is heard throughout Casamance, not only as a greeting, but also as a marker of the Jóola identity. The response to the salutation is "peace only". The latter term, 'only', can be expressed in numerous ways, corresponding with that of the identified Jóola-speaking regional level. That is, the words for 'only' are quite contrastive, ranging from **keb** to **bare**, and even **lamba**, thus, a regional identity can be projected easily. Often, responses that are associated with the more prominent Jóola languages such as Kaasa spoken south and Fogny north of the Casamance River are used in contexts where the speaker simply wants to let the listener know that s/he is of the Jóola-speaking community.

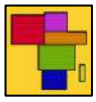
At the other end of the continuum, the word for 'peace' can be pronounced in such a way as to signal to a listener that a speaker is from a certain area, or even a specific village. A comparison between Jóola Fogny, a majority Jóola language spoken by an estimated half a million people and Jóola Kaasa, spoken by at least 50,000 people, with the Eegimaa varieties (spoken by around 13,000 people)[4] of the word 'peace' is given in Table 1.

Kaasa	Fogny	Essil	Banjal	GLOSS
kə-suum-aj	**kə-suum-aj**	**gə-suum-aj**	**gə-ssum-aj**	peace, wellness

Table 1 – Jóola pronunciation at the levels of language and dialect: word-initial [k] vs [g] correspondences between Kaasa, Fogny, and Eegimaa Jóola languages and word-internal [uu] vs [ss] between all the Jóola languages except the Essil dialect of Eegimaa.

A striking feature of Jóola Eegimaa in particular is its lack of an overt sound [k] at the beginnings of words. The Jóola languages Fogny and Kaasa are opposed to Eegimaa in their pronunciation of the initial sound [k] versus [g] in the word 'peace'. Both the phoneme's location at the beginning of the word and the difference between the features [± voice] make the distinction prominent. As discussed by Hantgan (2017a) the seemingly simple utterance **gásuumay** with [g] rather than [k], signifies one's association with the 21-kilometer peninsular grove known as **Mof-Ávvi**. Literally 'the king's land', also referred to as the Kingdom, in former times, the area was home to the seat of the King of area's ten villages. All inhabitants of the Kingdom share the Eegimaa language.

[4] Population estimates are from *Ethnologue* (EBERHARD et al. 2019).



In addition to the dichotomy between Eegimaa word-initial [g] and other Jóola languages' [k], another divergence is between geminate consonants on the one hand and long vowels on the other. Whereas Jóola Fogny, Kaasa, and Eegimaa of Banjal share the feature contrastive vowel length, represented by the double [uu] in the form for 'peace' in Table 1, in the Eegimaa dialect of those from Essil there is a double (geminate, phonetically long) consonant [ss] followed by a single [u]. The presence of word-initial voiced velars to the exclusion of their voiceless counterparts plus geminate consonants in a Jóola language is relatively rare, thereby rendering a unique Jóola Essil Eegimaa accent.

The small distinctions among **ká-ssum-ay**, **gá-suum-ay**, and **gá-ssum-ay** speak beyond the words' significance as a salutation to that of a cline from ethnic to village-specific, identity (HANTGAN 2015, 2017b). The most fine-grained level is that between **gá-suum-ay** and **gá-ssum-ay**, where the attuned listener will discern the difference and associate the speaker with a particular village, along with that village's collective cultural practices. Though the differences may seem subtle, these pronunciations are planned parts of a complex interactive sequence, designed to promote certain characteristics of an encompassing identity.

The divergences between this one word may not seem substantial to an outsider, but to the community of the Kingdom, these pronunciations of 'peace' carry a (albeit often subconscious) weight. NEWMAN (1972) first introduced the now frequently referred to concept 'syllable weight' to the linguistic community. Metrical structure of words is not only integral to the creation of literary texts but also plays a significant role in the phonology of spoken languages without a long tradition of writing such as those in Sub-Sahelian Africa (SCHUH 2017). In terms of syllable structure, the key component that these pronunciations of 'peace' have in common is that of weight.

Both speakers and researchers of Eegimaa are aware that consonant and vowel length play a role in distinguishing regional dialects and accents. In fact, two dialects have been delineated based on geographic grounds; TENDENG (2007) discusses how the more secluded Eegimaa speakers of Essil and surrounding villages use geminates where those that border the Casamance River, and thus are in more frequent contact with speakers of Jóola languages Kaasa and Fogny, use long vowels. Yet today, variation can be witnessed throughout the Eegimaa-speaking area. Furthermore, the reason for the disparity in the Essil variety of Eegimaa as having geminates rather than long vowels has remained an enigma.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to contextualize the Eegimaa-speaking community within Casamance's larger Jóola-speaking language group by

providing an overview of the language from a historical, geographical, and ethnological point of view. From this angle, I hope to offer another perspective of Casamance diversity. Additionally, I propose a phonological trajectory for the evolution of geminate consonants in the Eegimaa Essil variety. I attempt to uncover the extent and motivation of speakers' variation while maintaining the balance between syllable weight and phonotactic restrictions.

The methodology used for the study is presented in section 2. As presented in the subsequent section 3, there are discrepancies as to the depiction of the most fundamental facts about the Eegimaa phonological system, that is, the phonemic inventory of consonants in the language and their phonetic realizations. Yet, HANTGAN (2017a, 2016) maintains that those who are familiar with these so-called dialectal differences are also capable of manipulating them in order to accommodate to other speakers. Therefore, the depicted dialectal differences are either less delineated than they were once thought to be, or there is variation that occurs at the level of the speaker and the conversational context. The theoretical frameworks employed for this study are presented in section 4. Newly analyzed data are provided in section 5. Section 6 offers a discussion about the study's findings with a conclusion in section 7 advocating for avenues of future research.

2. Materials and methods

Data come from fieldwork gathered by the author in Casamance from the Kingdom villages Essil, Enampore, and Banjal over the past four years. The author's Jóola Eegimaa data were obtained through elicitation with speakers as well as the collection of narratives and conversations for the ERC-funded Discourse Reporting project hosted by CNRS' LLACAN speech lab. Complementary data from the Leverhulme-funded SOAS Crossroads project on the study of multilingualism in Casamance are from the languages of villages immediately adjacent to the Kingdom: Baïnounk Gubëeher from Djibonker and Jóola Kujireray from Brin. Additional Jóola lexical items were found in the RefLex database (SEGERER and FLAVIER 2011-2019) housed at CNRS' LLACAN laboratory.

The Jóola Eegimaa corpus consists of audio-visual recordings, transcribed and translated in ELAN-CorpA (CHANARD 2015), glossed and annotated in FLEx (BLACK and SIMONS 2008), and stored in ELAN-CorpA using a harmonized tier structure that permits ease of searching. Words which had been previously provided in the Jóola Eegimaa literature with opposing long vowels or geminates were elicited from both varieties of the Eegimaa language in the villages of Essil and Banjal primarily. Subsequently, among those target words with relatively frequent

occurrence such as 'to do' pronounced as either [ɛ-kaan] ~ [ɛ-kkan] were searched for among narratives and conversational contexts. Vowel and consonant length were selected from words in the ELAN-CorpA corpus and then measured in Praat (BOERSMA and WEENINK 2017). Sample spectrograms are provided in the Appendix. No statistical tendencies of speaker variation are yet given as the purpose of this primary study is to contextualize the issue at hand rather than provide a survey of its current consequences.

3. Cultural context

Casamance, a region situated in Southwestern Senegal below the border with The Gambia, can be compared with other areas of the world in its residents' practice of *egalitarian multilingualism* (FRANÇOIS 2012). In Casamance, thus named because the Casamance River isolates the area apart from the north of Senegal, inhabitants barter and trade alliances based on shared culture and language, thus procuring goods and services through exchange networks (LÜPKE 2018).

In some parts of Casamance, children, even in small villages, grow up speaking upwards of six or seven languages with their playmates who come from various geographic areas throughout Senegal and beyond (SAGNA and HANTGAN 2019) The reasons for the complex patterns of language use in Casamance are varied, see COBBINAH et al. (2017: 81–83) for some explanations, but in many cases have to do with migration and movement. West Africans come to Casamance from neighboring countries to take part in the seasonal fishing activities on the river or the Atlantic coast: men journey out to sea or along the river catching fish and crabs with nets and traps, while women explore the mangroves in search of oysters, and children help to scale, shell, and dry the daily catch. These activities, plus those of selling and trading their gains with other villages, enable speakers to learn and engage with many languages on a daily basis.

Jóola people, despite being the dominant ethnicity in Casamance, make up an area with a long-standing history of multilingualism and multiculturalism (HAWTHORNE and NAFAFÉ 2016). BARRY describes the term Jóola as one which denotes a group of people who speak different languages yet, "...live together because of the need to defend themselves" (1987: 13). Rather than employing an outsider language such as Wolof, the majority language of the north of Senegal and parts of neighboring The Gambia, or the Portuguese creole of Guinea Bissau, Barry states that the inherent linguistic unintelligibility among the Jóola is solved by two local linguae francae: Jóola Fogny to the north and Jóola Kaasa to the south of the Casamance River. Even though DREYFUS and JUILLARD (2001)

noted the growing influence of Wolof on Jóola, BARRY (1987: 9) reminds us that Wolof is a relatively recent contender in Casamance's language competition; Wolof people were first introduced into the islands surrounding the mouth of the Casamance River as colonial administrators.

Figure 1 – Casamance language diversity: the map shows the impact of Wolof from the north of the country as well as Jóola languages spoken in overlapping spaces. Jóola Eegimaa varieties are represented as Gubanjalay and Gussilay for the villages of Banjal and Essil respectively. I created the map using GPS coordinates from RefLex (SEGERER and FLAVIER 2011-2019) with the Lingtypology Package (MOROZ 2017) for R (R CORE TEAM 2017).

Casamance's capital, Ziguinchor, is a meeting point of migrants speaking the many different Jóola varieties alongside languages from across the region. Inevitably, DREYFUS and JUILLARD (2005: 25) observed that a 'compromised' Jóola variety, a mix of the two majority Jóola languages, Kaasa and Fogny, was emerging in districts in Ziguinchor, particularly in markets. This mixed or pidgin Jóola variety was also mentioned by SAPIR (1971a: 59), but no researcher has investigated the presence or emergence of a Jóola pidgin or creole in Casamance nor what exactly previous studies identified as 'compromised' in the Jóola varieties spoken in Ziguinchor. One step towards understanding the variability that exists among Jóola varieties is to explore speakers' trajectories and historical pathways.

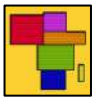
The journey begins by following the main road to the Atlantic coast, around 12 kilometers to the west of Ziguinchor, where one encounters a crossroads, the locus of the Leverhulme-funded "Crossroads – Investigating the unexplored side of multilingualism in Casamance" project (LÜPKE 2014-2018). The Crossroads

consists of the village of Brin which borders the main road that runs between the Atlantic Ocean coast and Ziguinchor, and is where another Jóola variety, Kujireray, is spoken. Immediately adjacent are the Baïnounk-speaking Djibonker residents and to the northwest lies the Kingdom. Jóola Kujireray has been documented by WATSON (2015) who shows that the language is heavily influenced by its Baïnounk Gubëeher-speaking neighbors. Baïnounk Gubëeher, described by COBBINAH (2013), is classified as another, albeit distantly related, language grouping in the Atlantic branch of Niger-Congo.

An unpaved path runs northwest from the Crossroads through the peninsula upon which sits the Kingdom. The Kingdom spans both land and water; the final northwestern village, Banjal, ends at the edge of the Casamance River's southern side. Consequently, speakers, including linguists who have studied the language in depth such as SAGNA (2008) and TENDENG (2007), divide the Kingdom into two regions based on a village's position relative to the river: **fásuga**, those who inhabit the 'earth' or mainland, and those of the **gállux**, literally meaning 'mud', referring to the islands.

Results from a comparative corpus study in the area (SAGNA and HANTGAN 2019) imply that the Kingdom is relatively linguistically homogeneous; the majority of speech in the Kingdom takes place in Eegimaa. BERNDT (2003) describes the Kingdom's linguistic homogeneity being due to its geographic seclusion. Within the Kingdom, however, variation exists. Certainly, as BARRY (1987: 197-200) notes, those who inhabit the islands have had much more frequent and long-standing contact with other Jóola (and non-Jóola) communities through their fishing voyages to surrounding islands and the adjacent mainland, and accordingly, their speech spans that of both Eegimaa features and those from other Jóola languages.

As with the terms for 'peace' among Jóola languages that appear in the greeting sequence shown above in Table 1, the borders of Eegimaa do not end at the beginning of the word. The two geographic regions are associated with two ways of speaking: the village Essil is the most central of the land villages and Banjal among the islands. The Essil variety of Eegimaa is associated with four, out of ten, of the Eegimaa-speaking villages. This variety displays patterns of pronunciation not found among any of the other Jóola languages, nor even the other six Eegimaa-speaking villages' variety known as Banjal. Representative examples are given in root form (the phonemic representation before phonological processes have applied and without noun class prefixes) in Table 2.



	Kaasa	Fogny	Eegimaa (Banjal)	Eegimaa (Essil)	GLOSS
a.	**-suum**	**-suum**	**-suum**	**-ssum**	peace
b.	**-siin**	**-siin**	**-siin**	**-ssin**	horn
c.	**-ŋiiŋ**	**-ŋiiŋ**	**-ŋiiŋ**	**-ŋŋiŋ**	tooth
d.	**-baak**	**-baak**	**-baak**	**-bbak**	be tall
e.	**-kaan**	**-kaan**	**-kaan**	**-kkan**	do, make
f.	**-saana**	**-saana**	**-saana**	**-ssana**	dugout canoe

Table 2 – Lexical correspondences across Jóola languages: lexemes with the same form and meaning, likely cognates, but possibly intra-group borrowings, are found throughout the Jóola languages except that in the Jóola Eegimaa variety spoken in Essil and environs a geminate consonant consistently corresponds with a long vowel.

Whereas in widely spoken Jóola languages Kaasa and Fogny, as well as minor ones such as Eegimaa as spoken in area of the village Banjal, long vowels exist to the exclusion of phonetically long (phonologically geminate) consonants in Eegimaa of Essil and neighboring villages. Although at one time a dichotomized split along geminate-long vowels may have once corresponded neatly with the village and language boundaries, the division is now losing ground, so to speak. I have found fluctuation in that which a speaker pronounces; many of the forms TENDENG (2007) lists as being strictly long vowels in Banjal are pronounced among my recordings as geminate consonants.

As the characteristic name 'mud' depicts, the island villages have little farmland. The speaker with whom I primarily worked in Banjal recounted to me stories of trading fish for fruits and rice with villages across the Casamance River; that is, with people who speak Jóola Fogny or Kaasa. As argued by HANTGAN (2015), these diverging pronunciations are flexible and can be better represented as regional accents.

In addition to a long history of linguistic and cultural study, literacy instruction has been provided in the Kingdom as well as Bible translation into Jóola Banjal. Literacy classes take place throughout the Kingdom, with a large church located in Essil. The image in Figure 2 with an inscription of the geminate variant **bussana** depicts the influence of the Essil variety on the orthography of the language.

Figure 2 – Kapok (*Ceiba pentandra*) dugout canoe carving by long-time Banjal resident Rémy Sagna.

Boats are an integral part of Senegalese life and are also illustrative of Jóola accents. Even the name of the country Senegal derives from the Wolof *sunnu gall*, 'our boat'. Especially because of the Kingdom's proximity to water, canoes are an essential part of everyday life, particularly for island inhabitants who use them for fishing, harvesting oysters from the mangroves, and travel.

Rémy Sagna is one of the language consultants with whom I conducted my fieldwork on Eegimaa. He learned to read and write in Eegimaa thanks to instruction and Eegimaa literacy materials provided by BERNDT (2004). In addition to being the village's primary fisherman, Rémy also promotes a cultural museum that showcases some of his own carvings, such as the picture of the dugout canoe. Not only is his true-to-life sculpture of the Jóola canoe carved from its original source, the ancient kapok tree (*Ceiba pentandra*), the inscription indicates his manner of speaking; in most of my recordings, he uses long consonants in words claimed to be typically pronounced with long vowels in the Banjal island variety. It is important to note that Rémy, by being my primary consultant for the Banjal village and variety, may have been conscious at some level of the depiction of his speech variety through his accent and is thus representing his interpretation of ideal Eegimaa.

Nevertheless, as noted in section 3, geminate consonants are marked relative to long vowels among Jóola languages; the sole language where geminates are found phonemically is Eegimaa, primarily in the Essil variety alone. Thus, geminates are not necessarily representative nor indexical (SILVERSTEIN 2003) of the Jóola group as a whole. As with stem-initial voiced plosives to the exclusion of their voiceless counterpart, Eegimaa distinguishes itself from the Jóola language grouping.

4. Theoretical underpinnings

As illustrated in section 1, and discussed by TENDENG (2007) and SAGNA (2008), there is a demarcation of two dialects within the Eegimaa language. Eegimaa linguists and speakers make a division along the boundaries that divide the land from the river, with those on land using geminate consonants where speakers on the islands use long vowels. The key component that remains the same across the phonemic representation of each root, however, is that of syllable weight. The analysis provided in this paper follows DAVIS (2010) and HAYES (1989) in analyzing geminates as projecting a mora, both lexical roots with long vowels and geminates are analyzed as containing the same number of morae.

HANTGAN et al. (2019) discuss in detail the role of mora preservation in Eegimaa through an exposition of alternations found in the perfective aspect. Hitherto analyzed as a process of assimilation by BASSÈNE (2012), the authors contend that reduplicated roots in the perfective aspect trigger resolution of impermissible consonant clusters with, in cases of the loss of a mora, subsequent gemination. Examples in Table 3 illustrate that the process in Eegimaa is not assimilation; the perfective aspect stem in (3a) would emerge as ***[ni-xok-kox]** rather than the actual output.

	GLOSS	ROOT	INFINITIVE	1S PAST	1S PERFECTIVE
a.	tie	/kɔk/	[ɛ-xɔx]	[nɪ-xɔɣ-ɛ]	[nɪ-xɔ-xɔx]
b.	be close	/kɔg/	[ɛ-xɔg]	[nɪ-xɔɣ-ɛ]	[nɪ-xɔ-kkɔg]

Table 3 – Eegimaa of Essil minimal pair verbs: roots that differ on the basis of voicing illustrate that only the verb root with a final voiced plosive geminates the root-initial consonant after deletion of the root-final consonant in the reduplicated stem.

Eegimaa-speaking linguists A. C. BASSÈNE (2007) and M. BASSÈNE (2012) have posited that the difference between the behavior of consonants such as those in final position of the infinitive stems in Table 3 is an underlying opposition between /x/ and /g/. However, based on the fact that a geminate *[xx] is unattested in the language, in lieu of [kk], we attributed the distinction to voicing. HANTGAN-SONKO (2017) discusses the conditions under which voiceless plosives in Eegimaa lenite; here it can be seen that /k/ becomes [x] stem-finally and [ɣ] in root-final position, post-vocalically, the latter rendering the voicing contrast between the velar plosive phonemes neutralized.

HANTGAN-SONKO (2017) analyzes the lenition process in Eegimaa as targeting non-moraic consonants following vowels. Geminates, by projecting a mora in the

syllabification of the stem, are not subject to lenition even in cases when they follow a vowel.[5]

It is essential to note that the process of lenition witnessed in Eegimaa does not occur in Jóola Kaasa nor Jóola Fogny. That is, the cognate root /**kɔk**/ 'tie' found among all three Jóola languages surfaces as the stem **[ɛ-k̲ɔk̲]** in Jóola Fogny and **[ka-k̲ɔk̲-ɔ]** in Jóola Kaasa, but in Jóola Eegimaa **[ɛ-x̲ɔx̲]**. The same lention process does not appear to apply to consonants among other Jóola languages. The surface stems of the examples from Table (2d-e) are shown with near-minimal pairs in Table 4.

	Kaasa	Fogny	Eegimaa (Banjal)	Eegimaa (Essil)	GLOSS
a.	**bu-b̲ak**	**bu-b̲ak**	**bʊ-β̲ʊx**	**bʊ-β̲ʊx**	baobab
b.	**ka-b̲aak**	**ɛ-b̲aak**	**ɛ-b̲aak**	**ɛ-bb̲ak**	be tall
c.	**ka-k̲ol**	**ɛ-k̲ol**	**ɛ-x̲ɔl**	**ɛ-x̲ɔl**	fear
d.	**ka-k̲aan**	**ɛ-k̲aan**	**ɛ-k̲aan**	**ɛ-kk̲an**	do, make

Table 4 – Jóola near-minimal pairs: Corresponding surface stems across Jóola varieties illustrate that intervocalic plosives lenite in Eegimaa monomoraic roots.

Whereas underlying cognate roots (4a,d) appear to be exactly the same between the Eegimaa variety Banjal and other Jóola languages, in fact, the representation of Eegimaa stems reveals a divergence from underlying plosives /b k/ to surface fricatives /β x/. The same plosives, when found in bimoraic roots, however, emerge across the Jóola varieties identical to their underlying forms.

One commonality among Jóola languages is that of mora preservation. Both my own data and BARRY (1987) confirm that the process found in Jóola Eegimaa of Essil exists in Banjal as well as among all Jóola varieties (even those without contrastive geminates); the deletion of a root-final consonant in reduplicated stems to avoid an impermissible consonant cluster results in the formation of a geminate. Comparative Kujamutaay (a Fogny variety) examples in Table 5 are extracted from BARRY (1987: 174) and are given in IPA format (rather than his original orthographic representations).

[5] The subsequent voicing witnessed in the final syllable of a stem such as that of the past tense stem in Table 3 (a) may be attributed to its post-tonic position but this has yet to be thoroughly examined.

	GLOSS	INFINITIVE	3S PERFECTIVE
a.	fight	[ɛ-tiik]	[na-tɪ-ttiik]
b.	kill	[ɛ-budʒ]	[na-bu-bbudʒ]

Table 5 – Jóola Kujamutaay verb stems: A stem-final consonant deletes and is replaced by an initial geminate in the reduplicant of the 3rd person perfective aspect.

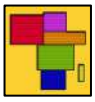
Although BARRY (1987: 174) refers to these as examples of assimilation, the data from Eegimaa argue in favor of a deletion and subsequent gemination analysis. The process differs slightly in Fogny in that both a voiceless plosive as well as a voiced one trigger gemination in the resulting reduplicant whereas in Eegimaa, only a voiced plosive in final position results in mora deletion, and thus, preservation.

Another point of interest is the long vowel that appears in the Fogny infinitive stem (5a). When the root is reduplicated, the reduplicant vowel shortens, but remains long in the base. As shown above, the two Eegimaa varieties diverge in this respect. While adjacent vowels are found in the Essil variety of Eegimaa, BASSÈNE (2012) argues that they are heterosyllabic and that the language has no contrast on the basis of vowel length.

The reduplicated perfective in Jóola Eegimaa is relevant to the current study as it provides evidence for the role of moraicity in the language, as well as the fact that the language relies on gemination to compensate for the loss of a mora in instances of impermissible consonant clusters and therefore deletion of a segment.

5. Analysis

Historically, long vowels actually preceded geminates in the development of Jóola languages (POZDNIAKOV and SEGERER, in press). At first glance, synchronic evidence seems to point in the opposite direction. Comparative Eegimaa examples are shown in Table 6.



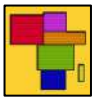
	Eegimaa (Essil)		Eegimaa (Banjal)	GLOSS
a.	[ɛ-ɸaŋ]	b.	[ɛ-ɸaŋ]	fetish
c.	[ɛ-ppan]	d.	[ɛ-paaŋ]	kind of fish trap

Table 6 – Minimal pairs in Jóola Eegimaa nouns: intervocalic lenition under-applies in the Banjal variety of Eegimaa suggesting that geminate consonants preceded long vowels in the language.

By comparing the first of the minimal pairs in both Eegimaa varieties in Table 6 (a–b), lenition occurs when plosive /p/ is in intervocalic position. Then, in (6c), as predicted by SELKIRK's (1991) inalterability principle, the geminate /pp/ is immune to lenition, in this case spirantization, as a geminate consonant does not meet the conditions of being intervocalic. Surprising, however, is the form in (6d) in which lenition continues to be blocked, despite the fact that the conditions for the process are met. In a rule based framework, lenition has opaquely under-applied to the inter-vocalic singleton consonant /p/. A diachronic account would presuppose that the original geminate consonants blocked the effects of lenition and that, even though the conditioning environment no longer exists in roots with singleton consonants and long vowels, the process still applies.

To account for this apparent discrepancy, I refer to a diachronic process with a synchronic outcome whereby historically, geminate consonants gave way to long vowels through Jóola Eegimaa Banjal speakers' contact with geographically proximate Jóola varieties in which only long vowels are attested. Cognate forms in Eegimaa Banjal with other Jóola languages as shown in Table 2 surface with a long vowel rather than the geminate found in Eegimaa Essil. Therefore, in Jóola Eegimaa varieties, geminates historically preceded long vowels.

An additional diachronic consequence of mora preservation is that of resolving disallowed consonant clusters. Not only do long vowels correspond with geminates between Eegimaa of Essil and other Jóola varieties, Table 7 compares roots with nasal-plosive clusters to those with geminates or long vowels. In examples (7a–b) note that a nasal-voiceless plosive cluster in Jóola Fogny corresponds with a long vowel in the Jóola Eegimaa spoken in Banjal and then with a geminate in Essil, but that a nasal-voiced plosive cluster such as in example (7c) yields no difference among the represented Jóola varieties.



	Kaasa	Fogny	Eegimaa (Essil)	Eegimaa (Banjal)	GLOSS
a.	/-fe**nk**/	/-pɛ**nk**/	/-pp**ɛk**/	/-p**ɛɛk**/	mat
b.	/-uu**ŋk**ul/	/-wu**ŋk**ul/	/-**ʊʊ**k**ʊ**l/	/-**ʊʊ**k**ʊ**l/	new
c.	/-fi**nt**ɔ/	/-hi**nt**ɔ/	/-**ff**ɪ**l**ɔ/	/-f**ɪɪ**lɔ/	lie down
d.	/-t**aa**m/	/-**n**tam/	/-**t**tam/	/-t**aa**m/	ground
e.	–	/-**mp**apa/	/-**pp**apa/	/-p**aa**pa/	papaya
f.	/-kɔ**nd**ɔr/	/-kɔ**nd**ɔr/	/-kɔ**nd**ɔr/	/-kɔ**nd**ɔr/	neck

	Bliss	Her	Eegimaa (Essil)	Eegimaa (Banjal)	GLOSS
g.	/-la**ŋg**ʊʊt/	/-laa**ŋk**ur/	/-ak**k**ʊt/	/-**k**ʊt/	scorpion

	Kwaatay	Karon	Eegimaa (Essil)	Eegimaa (Banjal)	GLOSS
h.	/-fe**ŋk**/	/-pa**ŋk**/	/-pp**ɛk**/	/-p**ɛɛk**/	mat

Table 7 – Nasal-consonant clusters versus long vowels versus geminates in Jóola lexical correspondences: a ban on nasal-voiceless plosive clusters in Jóola Eegimaa is realized as a geminate or a long vowel in the Essil and Banjal varieties respectively.

It is clear among these examples that, as with the long vowel-geminate correspondences, a mora is preserved. However, an issue that arises is that of alignment: examples (7a–c, g–h) contain root-final nasal-voiceless plosive clusters in the Jóola varieties where they are allowed whereas (7d–e) are featured root-initially; in all cases the Eegimaa Essil variety geminates its root-initial consonant. The reason for is attributed to a dispreference for stem-final geminates in the language (HANTGAN-SONKO 2017).

Cognates between Eegimaa and other Jóola varieties are found wherein both long vowels and nasal-voiceless plosive clusters align with geminates in the Essil variety. Geminates rarely occur root-finally in Eegimaa, but where they do, in all but one case, they only align with nasal-voiceless plosive clusters. Examples are provided in Table 8.

	Kaasa	Fogny	Eegimaa (Essil)	Eegimaa (Banjal)	GLOSS
a.	/-bu**nt**/	/-bu**nt**/	/-bʊ**tt**/	/-b**ʊʊ**t/	deceive
b.	/-so**nt**en/	/-so**nt**en/	/-so**tt**en/	/-s**oo**ten/	(to) close
c.	–	/-a**ŋk**/	/-a**kk**/	–	hard/difficult
d.	/-mu**ŋk**ɛn/	–	/-mʊ**kk**ɛn/	–	collect
e.	–	/-bɔ**ŋk**ɛt/	/-bɔ**kk**ɛt/	–	forgive
f.	/-lɔ**k**/	/-rɔ**k**/	/-dɔ**kk**/	/-rɔ**k**/	work

Table 8 – Roots with final geminates in Eegimaa: root-final geminates in Eegimaa Essil correspond with long vowels in Banjal, and nasal-voiceless plosives in other Jóola languages.

As noted, stem-final geminates in Eegimaa are uncommon; some of the forms in Table 8 contain frozen suffixes, and corresponding cognates were difficult to find. Not only are final geminates relatively rare in Eegimaa, they only include voiceless plosive phonemes /pp/, /kk/, /tt/ and are realized in stems as singleton plosives [p], [k], and [t]. That is, the stem for the lexical root in (8a) surfaces as **[ɛ-βʊt]** with the intervocalic /b/ lenited and the final /tt/ reduced to a singleton. This, coupled with the fact that all voiced plosives are phonetically devoiced, and nasal-voiced plosives reduce to singleton plosives stem-finally, led HANTGAN-SONKO (2017) to posit a process of de-moraicity.

Therefore, the final form, (8f), emerges in Jóola Eegimaa with inter-vocalic lenition as **[bʊ-rɔk]**, exactly the same as that of Jóola Fogny, **[bʊ-rɔk]**. It is quite possible that this form is a borrowing into Eegimaa from Fogny as there exists an additional word for 'work' in Eegimaa, **[bu-llər]**. Accordingly, the form could have been assimilated into the phonotactics of Eegimaa: a surface [k] is only possible in the language via an underlying geminate /kk/ since /k/ would result in [x] stem-finally (cf. 'dance' **/-bɔk/** 'to dance' **[ɛ-βɔx]**).

All present-day varieties of Jóola Eegimaa ban nasal-voiceless plosive sequences. Yet, SAPIR (1971b) shows evidence from KOELLE's (1854) word-lists from "Fullup" for the presence of nasal-voiceless consonant clusters. Although today Fulup is considered to be a Jóola language spoken in Guinea Bissau, according to BARRY (1987) and SAGNA (2008), the lexical items listed in *Polyglotta Africana* most closely resemble those found in current varieties of Jóola Eegimaa. Considering the presence of nasal-voiceless consonant clusters among the other Jóola languages, as well as in a probable early Eegimaa variety, it is reasonable to imagine that Jóola Eegimaa had the clusters but has now lost them.

BARRY (1987: 151) proposes that the resolution of the ban on nasal-voiceless plosive clusters in the modern form of Jóola Eegimaa was the deletion of the voiceless nasal, triggering subsequent a vowel lengthening.[6] Compensatory lengthening is a robust cross-linguistic process whereby a deleted weight-bearing segment in the input must be compensated in the output (DE CHENE and ANDERSON 1979). Since the variety of Jóola Eegimaa spoken in Essil lacks contrastive vowel length,[7] the language's only viable option to compensate for the loss of the nasal was gemination.

[6] Barry specifically references the form for 'new' in which he states an underlying /k/ also undergoes "softening" and thus surfaces as **[-ʋʋɡʊl]**.

[7] See BASSÈNE (2012) for a thorough overview of Eegimaa syllable structure and its ban on adjacent vowels tautosyllabically.

The data presented in Table 7 illustrate the phonotactics of each variety constrains cognates' surface realization. Recall that Jóola Kaasa is spoken directly north of the Casamance River from Banjal while Fogny is spoken further away to the southeast. One can infer that, historically from Jóola Fogny, the simplification of impermissible nasal-voiceless plosive clusters (7a–e) gave way to geminates in Eegimaa Essil, which are in turn realized through language contact with Kaasa as long vowels in Eegimaa Banjal. Crucially and consistently, a mora is preserved in each instantiation of the lexical stem.

Although no other Jóola variety is attested with contrastive geminates, the consequences of mora preservation extend beyond Eegimaa. Recall that at the other end of the Kingdom's peninsula from Banjal, Jóola Kujireray is spoken in Brin, which is located between Crossroads villages Essil and Djibonker. Somewhat surprisingly given their geographic distance, Jóola Kujireray speakers share the property of vowel length with that of Jóola Eegimaa of Banjal, however not with their closer neighbor Essil. Examples of comparative minimal pairs between Kujireray and Eegimaa in Table 9 illustrate differing synchronic and diachronic outcomes.

	Kujireray	Eegimaa (Banjal)	Eegimaa (Essil)	GLOSS
a.	[ɛ-ɸaŋ]	[ɛ-ɸaŋ]	[ɛ-ɸaŋ]	fetish
b.	[ɛ-paaŋ]	[ɛ-ppaŋ]	[ɛ-paaŋ]	fishing dam
c.	[ɛ-lat]	[ɛ-lat]	[ɛ-lat]	to refuse
d.	[ɛ-laat]	[ɛ-llat]	[ɛ-laat]	to hang

Table 9 – Jóola long vowel versus geminate distinctions: where there is gemination in Eegimaa of Essil, Kujireray of Brin and Eegimaa of Banjal contrast vowel length.

These underlying forms of verb and noun roots illustrate that the difference in either vowel or consonantal length (but not both) is phonemic not only in Eegimaa, but also in Jóola Kujireray. Kujireray displays long vowels which correspond with geminates in cognate forms with the Eegimaa variety spoken in Essil. Examples (9a–b) illustrate that across all three Jóola varieties, an underlying plosive /p/ in the root becomes a fricative [ɸ] in the nominal stem preceding a short vowel. However, even though the nouns in (9b) do meet the criteria for lenition (the plosives are all post-vocalic), the process does not take place. DIANDY (2005: 49) confirms that in Jóola Kujireray, an underlying plosive becomes a fricative only before short vowels, not long vowels.

The failure of the otherwise productive lenition process to apply in Jóola Kujireray and Jóola Eegimaa of Banjal implies that the form of the consonant was, at least for Jóola Eegimaa, diachronically, a geminate plosive. It is thus likely that, as with Jóola Eegimaa of Banjal, Jóola Kujireray once had geminate consonants but

that whether with contact with Baïnounk Gubëheer or at an even earlier stage, the geminates were lost in favor of long vowels. Based on my fieldwork and the depiction of Baïnounk Gubëeher provided by COBBINAH (2013), Gubëeher lacks phonemic geminates as well.

The supposition is that roots in (9b,d) project the same number of morae, irrespective of the overt vocalic or consonantal specification. Furthermore, WATSON (2018) presents lexical items in support of a closer connection between Kujireray and Eegimaa of Banjal than that of Essil. Thus, the phonology supports the lexical inferences even though historical substantiation is contested. WATSON (2018) argues against the generally accepted narrative that Brin was settled as part of the migration to the Kingdom; rather she presents evidence for deeper roots further back in time with Jóola communities to the north of the Casamance River.

However, a disparity is found among root-final consonants in one inflected stem. Compare the phonemic forms of the roots in (9c–d) with the stems' phonetic outputs in (10a–b).

	Kujireray	Eegimaa (Banjal)	Eegimaa (Essil)	GLOSS
a.	**[nɪ-lal-ɛ]**	**[nɪ-lal-ɛ]**	**[nɪ-lal-ɛ]**	I refused
b.	**[nɪ-laal-ɛ]**	**[nɪ-laat-ɛ]**	**[nɪ-llat-ɛ]**	I hung

Table 10 – Opaque outputs in Jóola varieties: inflected verb stems show the lenition intervocalically applies in Jóola Kujireray but not in Jóola Eegimaa.

In Eegimaa, a phonemic /t/ in root-final position weakens to [l] intervocalically in the verbal stem. As with the examples in Table 9, the process occurs across the board in the monomoraic root. Here, in Table 10 it can be noted that, in Kujireray, the lenition process transparently applies, but interestingly, the outputs in the two Jóola Eegimaa varieties in example (10b) are opaque in that the lenition process fails to apply as expected. That is, the root-final /t/ in Example (10b) in the Eegimaa verb stems was not part of a geminate and thus should be lenited as it was in Example (10a).

As this is the only example of an under-application of the lenition process, or, from another angle, an over-application of the blocking process, I attribute the unexpected outcome to the presence of the long vowel/geminate sequence preceding the target consonant. The reason for the root-final /t/ in 'hang' not being lenited to [l] in Eegimaa notwithstanding, it is well-documented that there is more variation in standard than in non-standard varieties of languages. The regular application of phonological processes can be referenced as a diagnostic

for determining a creole or mixed variety, and in this way view Jóola Kujireray in a mixed language model.

6. Discussion

BARRY (1987) makes little mention of underlying geminates in his reconstruction of the Jóola languages save for one important note. He states that in the languages "Banjaal" and "Kuluunaay" (Banjal and Kujireray respectively), [k] is pronounced in the root for 'push' as **[-fakɛn]** yet as **[-faŋkɛn]** in "Elana" (a village near Affiniam with which SAGNA (2008) states there is mutual intelligibility with Eegimaa) (BARRY 1987: 150).

Wolfgang Berndt has worked in Enampore for over ten years. The inland village is located at the heart of the Kingdom. The name Enampore is pronounced **[ɛ-nappɔr]** and comes from the verb 'to gather'. However, in his word-list and grammatical description (BERNDT 2003), he transcribes phonetic geminates as a singleton plosive and fricative or liquids as such. Thus, he differentiates what he terms a "strong" versus "weak" contrast between plosive and otherwise lenited consonants between vowels.

Based on length-measurements, it is clear that a phonetic difference exists between geminates and singleton consonants in the inland varieties of Eegimaa, but not in the outlier ones, nor in Kujireray, where a vowel-length distinction is visible. Phonologically, however, in both varieties of Eegimaa and the Kujireray language, a contrast persists between a geminate plosive and a singleton one that precedes a long vowel. Here, I offer a historical explanation for this consequence whereby geminates predated long vowels in Eegimaa. Evidence comes from the under-application of the lenition process among noun and verb roots with long vowels in the Banjal variety. Kujireray is likely an off-shoot of Eegimaa, with its speakers separating at a point after the evolution from geminates to long vowels occurred.

BARRY (1987) also discusses the "softening" process as affecting dialects of the somewhat geographically distant but genealogically related Affiniam Jóola languages. Therefore, other than Eegimaa and its potentially closely related languages, no other Jóola language is attested with lenition. Cognates with the widely spoken Jóola languages Kaasa and Fogny reveal singleton plosives in lieu of fricatives and liquids post-vocalically. However, these unlenited plosives did not result in geminates among any of the cognate forms with Eegimaa. Where cognates can be found, geminates in Eegimaa of Essil and environs align with either long vowels or nasal-voiceless plosive clusters. As both heterosyllabic vowels and nasal-voiceless plosive clusters are impermissible in the language, I

posit that Eegimaa geminates a moraic consonant as a solution that preserves the root's underlying moraicity.

All documented Jóola languages today rely on mora preservation strategies and make use geminates. Authors disagree if the geminate that is produced is done so by assimilation or deletion and subsequent gemination. In the Eegimaa variety spoken in Essil, HANTGAN et al. (2019) argue in favor of a gemination analysis as the language lacks a vowel length contrast. In light of this argument, it is postulated here that geminates arose in Eegimaa of Essil in order to preserve the underlying moraic status of a noun or verb root. However, an open question remains as to why do both varieties of Eegimaa make a moraic distinction at the level of voicing where the other Jóola languages categorically compensate for the loss of a mora?

7. Conclusion

POZDNIAKOV and SEGERER (in press) reconstruct long vowels for the Jóola languages with geminates as the innovation. Since their findings were obscured for the variety of Eegimaa spoken in Essil, it was necessary to compare the outcomes of impermissible nasal-voiceless plosive sequences across Jóola varieties, where an alternative explanation for the presence of geminates in the Essil variety of Eegimaa appears. The analysis put forth here attributes the lack of lenition in consonants proceeding long vowels in the Eegimaa Banjal variety to the fact that geminates were present in Eegimaa prior to long vowels. As no other attested Jóola language has phonemic geminates, it is probable that at least some of the geminates found in the Essil variety arose synchronically from the resolution of a ban on impermissible nasal-voiceless plosive clusters rather than through inheritance. The presence of long vowels in the Banjal dialect of Eegimaa inadvertently reverts the language back to the reconstructed Proto-Jóola pronunciation.

In support of this supposition, according to oral histories gathered during my fieldwork and those by PALMERI (1995), the village of Essil is the predecessor to Banjal. Prior to the villagers of Banjal leaving Essil, however, there was likely an interim period in which Jóola Eegimaa speakers split their language off from related Jóola languages like Fogny, and then further divided when the Eegimaa community itself moved from the forest to the river's border and thus speakers became in close contact with Kaasa speakers.

As noted in the introduction, attested variation within well-documented varieties of Jóola such as Eegimaa appears to be changing. In addition to the outlined differences witnessed between geminates and long vowels, there is a great deal

of discussion in the Jóola Eegimaa literature as to the phonemic representation of singleton consonants in the language, which certainly contributes to the confusion regarding the language's internal classification. Five key aspects about the phonology of Jóola Eegimaa are unlike that of other Jóola languages:

1. the presence of contrastive geminates (in the Essil dialect),
2. the lack of a vowel contrast,
3. an underlying contrast between moraic and non-moraic consonants,
4. severe restrictions on surface [k] (in part due to a process of lenition which occurs in Eegimaa),
5. a complete ban on surface nasal-voiceless plosive clusters.

And yet, these shifts are still in flux. Although no less than nine grammatical descriptions and many more word-lists have been collected from among the Kingdom's villages, the variety of Jóola Eegimaa spoken in Banjal has yet to be thoroughly documented, particularly within the domain of the phonological system. Based on the fact that the nine authors' disagree as to the basic facts of the phonological system of the language, an in depth comparative study of each village's pronunciation is required. Preliminary findings explored here have shown that even Banjal speakers may use geminate variants in their speech. The question to answer next is when and why do these changes occur. For the time being, this study has appealed to mora preservation and historical development through language contact as an explanation for the otherwise unusual appearance of geminates in Eegimaa Essil. Noun and verb roots with marked nasal-consonant clusters gave rise to geminates diachronically, which in turn became long vowels once again, although synchronically. In each case, an equal number of morae is preserved, whether through doubling of the consonant or lengthening of the vowel. Given this importance of syllable weight in Jóola varieties, all of which are a-tonal, a future study of interest will be the role of stress in the Jóola languages.

ABBIE HANTGAN-SONKO

Synchronic and diachronic strategies of mora preservation in Gújjolaay Eegimaa

Appendix

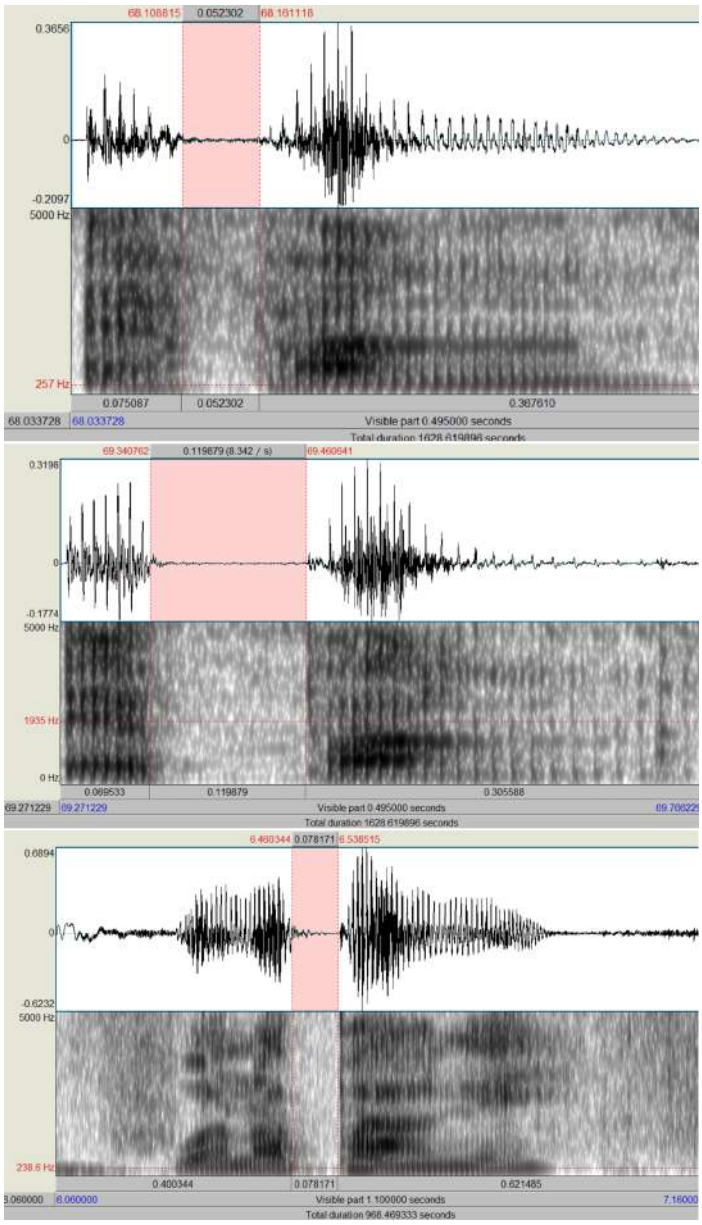
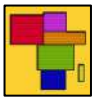


Figure 3 – Spectrograms of **[ɛ-ɸaŋ]** 'fetish', **[ɛ-ppaŋ]** 'fishing dam', and **[wa na-paaŋ-ɛ]** 's/he fished with a fishing dam': the phonological differences between /p/ and /pp/ are realized phonetically as spirantization and closure length respectively, even in the non-geminated [p] of **[na-paaŋ-ɛ]**. Note that these forms were all uttered by the same speaker on difference occasions.



References

BARRY, Abdoulaye (1987). *The Joola Languages: Subgrouping and Reconstruction*, PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London.

BASSÈNE, Alain Christian (2007). *Morphosyntaxe du joola banjal, langue atlantique du Sénégal*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

BASSÈNE, Mamadou (2012). *Morphophonology of Joola Eegimaa*, PhD thesis, University of Minnesota.

BERNDT, Karine (2004). Manuel d'alphabétisation de transition: Francais-Bandial. Dakar: SIL.

BERNDT, Wolfgang (2003). *Description de la phonologie du diola-bandial*, accessed on 26/11/2019, <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/60065>

BLACK, Andrew and Gary SIMONS (2008). "The SIL fieldworks language explorer approach to morphological parsing", in Nick GAYLORD, Alexis PALMER, and Elias PONVERT (eds.), *Computational Linguistics for Less-studied Languages: Proceedings of Texas Linguistics Society 10*: 37-55.

BOERSMA, Paul and David WEENINK (2017). *Praat: doing phonetics by computer*, accessed on 24/06/2019, <http://www.praat.org>

CHANARD, Christian (2015). *ELAN-CorpA (Version 5.7) [logiciel]*, Villejuif: CNRS-LLACAN (Langage, langues et cultures d'Afrique), accessed on 25/07/2019, <http://llacan.vjf.cnrs.fr/ELAN-CorpA/download/512/install.htm>

COBBINAH, Alexander Yao (2013). *Nominal classification and verbal nouns in Baïnounk Gubëeher*, PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London, accessed on 11/01/2016, <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/17370>

COBBINAH, Alexander Yao, Abbie HANTGAN, Friederike LÜPKE, and Rachel WATSON (2017). "Carrefour des langues, carrefour des paradigms", in Michelle Auzeanneau (éd.), *Pratiques plurilingues, mobilités et education*, Paris: Édition des Archives Contemporaines, 79-97.

DAVIS, Stuart (2010). "Quantity", in Jason RIGGLE, John GOLDSMITH and Alan YU (eds.), *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 103-130.

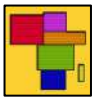
DE CHENE, Brent and Stephen R. ANDERSON (1979). "Compensatory lengthening", *Language* 55(3): 505-535.

DIANDY, Valery Edouard Martin (2005). *Phonologie de Kujireray*, Master's thesis, UCAD.

DREYFUS, Martine and Caroline JUILLARD (2001). "Le jeu de l'alternance dans la vie quotidienne des jeunes scolarisés à Dakar et à Ziguinchor (sénégal): Variation dans l'usage du francais et du wolof", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 41(163/164): 667–696.

DREYFUS, Martine and Caroline JUILLARD (2005). *Le plurilinguisme au Sénégal: Langues et identités en devenir*, Paris: Karthala.

EBERHARD, David M., Gary F. SIMONS, and Charles D. FENNIG (eds.) (2019). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas: SIL International, accessed on 20/07/2019, <http://www.ethnologue.com>



FRANÇOIS, Alexandre (2012). "The dynamics of linguistic diversity: egalitarian multilingualism and power imbalance among northern Vanuatu languages", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 214: 85-110.

HANTGAN, Abbie (2015). "How foreign is accent? Expressions of peace in Casamance", *Voices from around the world. Special issue on multilingualism in the Global South* 3, 01/06/2016, <http://voices.uni-koeln.de/2015-3/ howforeignisaccent>

HANTGAN, Abbie (2016). "Methodological approaches to annotated multilingual corpus design", paper presented at the *46th Poznań Linguistics Meeting* (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 6-9 June 2016).

HANTGAN, Abbie (2017a). "Choices in language accommodation at the Crossroads: convergence, divergence, and mixing", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* IX (1): 102–118.

HANTGAN, Abbie, Serge SAGNA, and Stuart DAVIS (2019, forthcoming). "Moraic preservation and equivalence in Gújjolaay Eegimaa perfective reduplication", *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*.

HANTGAN-SONKO, Abbie (2017). "A weight-based analysis of Jóola Eegimaa lenition", in Samuel OBENG and Christopher GREEN (eds.), *African Linguistics in the 21st Century. Essays in Honor of Paul Newman*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 47-56.

HAWTHORNE, Walter and José LINGNA NAFAFÉ (2016). "The historical roots of multicultural unity along the Upper Guinea Coast and in Guinea-Bissau", *Social Dynamics* 42(1): 31–45.

HAYES, Bruce (1989). "Compensatory Lengthening in Moraic Phonology", *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 253–306.

IRVINE, Judith T. (1974). "Strategies of status manipulation in the Wolof greeting", in Richard BAUMAN and Joel SHERZER (eds.), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 167-191.

KOELLE, Sigismund Wilhelm (1854). *Polyglotta Africana*, London: Church Missionary Society.

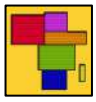
LÜPKE, Friederike (2014-2018). *Crossroads. Investigating the unexplored side of multilingualism in Casamance*. Leverhulme Research Leadership Award, accessed on 07/01/2019, <https://soascrossroads.org>

LÜPKE, Friederike (2018). "Multiple choice: Language use and cultural practice in rural casamance between convergence and divergence", in Jaqueline KNÖRR and Wilson TRAJANO FILHO (eds.), *Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity: Language, Culture, Identity*, Leiden: Brill, 181–208.

MOROZ, George (2017). *Lingtypology: easy mapping for Linguistic Typology*, accessed on 18/07/2019, <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lingtypology>

NEWMAN, Paul (1972). "Syllable Weight as a Phonological Variable", *Studies in African Linguistics* 3: 301-323.

PALMERI, Paolo (1995). Retour dans un village diola de Casamance. chronique d'une recherche anthropologique au Sénégal, translated from Italian by Janick GAZIO, Paris: L'Harmattan.



POZDNIAKOV, Konstantin and Guillaume SEGERER (in press). "A genealogical classification of Alantic languages", in Friederike LÜPKE (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to the World's Languages: Alantic*, Oxford Oxford University Press.

R CORE TEAM (2017). *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing*. R Vienna: Foundation for Statistical Computing, accessed on 13/10/2016, <https://www.R-project.org>

SAGNA, Serge (2008). *Formal and Semantic Properties of the Gújjolaay Eegimaa (a.k.a Banjal) Nominal Classification System*, PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London.

SAGNA, Serge and Abbie HANTGAN (2019). "African multilingualism viewed from another angle: challenging the Casamance exception", paper presented at the conference *Typology of small-scale multilingualism* (CNRS & Université Lumière Lyon 2, 15-17 April 2019).

SAPIR, David (1971a). "West Atlantic: an inventory of the languages, their noun class systems and consonant alternation", in T. A. SEBEOK (ed.), *Current trends in linguistics*, The Hague and Paris: Mouton & Co., 45-112.

SAPIR, David (1971b). "Diola in the polyglotta Africana", *African Language Review* 9: 187-203.

SCHUH, Russel G. (2017). "The phonological reality of syllable weight", in Paul NEWMAN (ed.), *Syllable Weight in African Languages*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 97-112.

SEGERER, Guillaume and Sébastien FLAVIER (2011-2019). *RefLex: Reference lexicon of Africa*, accessed on 07/02/2019, <http://reflex.cnrs.fr/>

SELKIRK, Elisabeth (1991). "On the inalterability of geminates", in Michael KENSTOWICZ, Pier Marco BERTINETTO, and Michele LOPORCARO (eds.), *Certamen phonologicum II: papers from the 1990 Cortona Phonology Meeting*, Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier, 187-210.

SILVERSTEIN, Michael (2003). "Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life", *Language and Communication* 23: 193–229.

TENDENG, Odile (2007). *Le Gusiilay: un essai de systèmatisation. Une contribution à l'étude du Jóola*, Berlin: Peter Lang.

WATSON, Rachel (2015). *Nominal Classification and Verbal Nouns in Kujireray*, PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London.

WATSON, Rachel (2018). Patterns of lexical correlation and divergence in Casamance, *Language & Communication* 62: 170–183.

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1/2020, 26-61

What grammar for Bamileke languages? A common grammar or a 'library' of grammars?

ELIANE KAMDEM SONKOUE

University of Bayreuth
elianesonkoue@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper describes and then compares tense-aspect features in three Bamileke languages, viz. Ghomala?, Ngiemboon, and Ngombale, with a view to (1) providing a detailed description of the mechanisms for expressing tense-aspect categories in three Bamileke languages and (2) testing the assumption that Bamileke languages could be described in a common grammar. The study shows that there is an extensive inventory of tense-aspect markings in each of the languages under investigation, which enables speakers to refer to situations that are distinct with respect to tense (past, present, future) and aspect (perfective, imperfective, progressive, habitual). The comparison of the investigated languages with respect to the structure of tense-aspect categories, the form of tense-aspect markers, and the function of tense-aspect categories reveals that the languages analysed show similarities, but also huge differences with respect to tense-aspect categories. I conclude from this that Bamileke languages are not suitable candidates for inclusion in a common grammar.

KEY WORDS: Bamileke languages, Grassfields, grammar, tense, aspect

DOI 10.6092/jalalit.v1i1.6733

1. Introduction[1]

Bamileke languages are mainly spoken in the Western Region of Cameroon. WATTERS (2003: 232-233) lists eleven Bamileke languages (Ngombale, Megaka, Ngomba, Ngiemboon, Yemba, Nweh, Ghomala?, Fe?fe?, Kwa?, Nda?nda?, Medumba) and classifies them as follows:

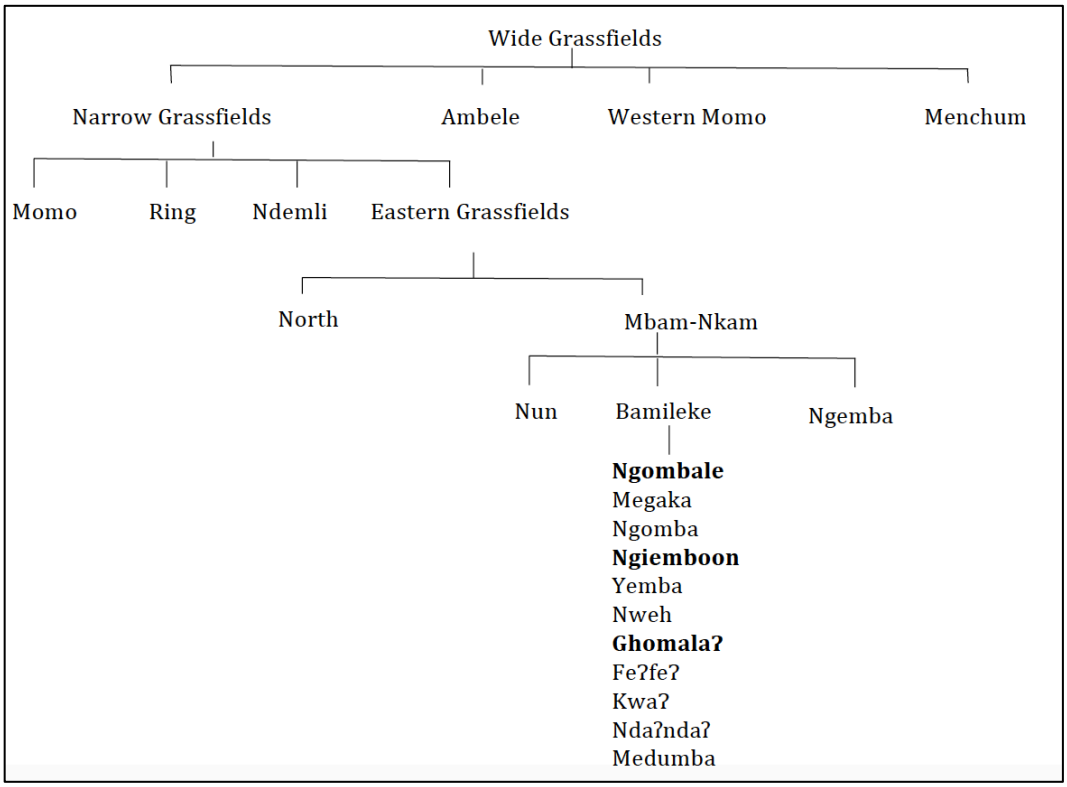


Figure 1 – Genetic classification of the investigated languages[2]

[1] This paper which presents some findings of the fieldwork of my doctoral thesis *Tense-Aspect Categories and Standard Negation in Five Bamileke Languages of Cameroon: A Descriptive and Comparative Study* was made possible through a grant from the Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies. I thank the following for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper: Prof Dr Gabriele Sommer, Dr Kerstin Winkelmann, PD Dr Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn, Duncan Ian Tarrant, Sara Fortmann, and Guillome Guitang. I also acknowledge valuable comments by two anonymous reviewers which have been considered in preparing this final version.

[2] The classification by WATTERS (2003) follows various classifications proposed by previous researchers (ELIAS, LEROY and VOORHOEVE 1984, WATTERS and LEROY 1989, PIRON 1995). This

The initial assumption of this paper, namely, that Bamileke languages could be eventually described in a common grammar, stems from three main observations: (1) to unify Bamileke languages for educational purposes at the University of Yaounde, NISSIM (1975) attempted to describe Bamileke languages in a common grammar and provided a grammar sketch based on a preliminary treatment of some aspects of the grammar of three Bamileke languages: Fe?fe?, Medumba, and Ghomala?,[3] (2) previous scholars have indicated reasonable mutual intelligibility (WATTERS 2003: 233) and certain phonological, as well as noun class similarities (HYMAN 1972: 7-9) between Bamileke languages, (3) specialists of the Ngemba group –a language group genetically closely related to the Bamileke group; see figure 1 above– have launched a project for a unified common grammatical description of all Ngemba languages (TAMANJI 2009) to create a sense of national unity and prepare the Ngemba languages for use in the school system. The notion of common grammar in this paper is taken to refer to a grammar that describes two or more languages as one, highlighting the common features and including the differences between them, on the basis that these languages actually share the same grammar.

The data analysed were collected in the following Bamileke villages: Bandjoun (for the Ghomala? language), Bangang (for the Ngiemboon language), and Babadjou (for the Ngombale language). The data collection involved four and a half months of fieldwork divided into two fieldtrip. The first lasted three and a half months: from September 2015 to December 2015. The second was from December 2017 to January 2018. I worked with 6 main language consultants and about 10 occasional language consultants. The main language consultants were particular active in the research during the first field trip, while the occasional language consultants mostly intervened during the second field trip and they mainly helped to check the material collected from the main language consultants. The data analysed were gathered through one principal method: working sessions with language consultants. The working sessions with the

classification is adopted because it is recent compared to other classifications, for example, RICHARDSON (1957).

[3] In his discussion of tense, aspect, and mood in Bamileke languages, Nissim does not provide concrete data for the validity of his analysis to be clear. For instance, he argues that there are at least five past tenses and six future tenses in each Bamileke languages: "le système des temps est plus complexe qu'un français par exemple. Au mode indicatif, le plus développé de ce point de vue, on doit distinguer deux actuels, au moins cinq temps du passé et au moins six temps du futur" (NISSIM 1975: 150). However, all the tenses acknowledged by Nissim are limited to a listing of tense labels. In other words, no information is provided about the form(s) and function(s) of the tenses listed.

language consultants were guided by one principal tool, namely, a questionnaire, which I formulated based on DAHL's (1985) questionnaire that was used for a study investigating what tense-aspect categories are typically found in the languages of the world. The language consultants were instructed to orally produced in their native language the appropriate sentences from the questionnaire taking as a basis contextual information.

The idea behind the use of a questionnaire for this study is that, unlike, for instance, the observation of native speakers using their language in real-life dialogues which is time-consuming and might give rather limited information (most native speakers do not use all the available tense-aspect forms of their language in daily conversations), working with native speakers using tools such as questionnaires stimulates the native speaker and, thus, enables the researcher to quickly discover a wide range of forms. Like any method of data collection, the main method used for this research has limitations. For instance, the sentences elicited from the questionnaire are controlled by specific contexts provided by the researcher. This might trigger artificial language use, such as the inappropriate coining of structures by the native speakers in their language just to please the researcher. To overcome the questionnaire's drawbacks, I collected short oral texts in order to have data in which the native speakers use their language in a natural context as much as possible.

The choice of the languages presented in this paper is practical, that is, these are the three Bamileke languages on which I have already carried out ample research. Note, however, that there is much contact between them: Ngiemboon and Ngombale are both found in the Western part of the Bamileke area and Ghomala? is analysed as a bridge between the Bamileke languages spoken in the Western part of the Bamileke area and those spoken in the Eastern part (HYMAN 1972: 7). Only declarative verbal main clauses that are in the positive form are considered. Also, my evaluation of the common grammar idea of Bamileke languages is restricted to the analysis of tense-aspect features in Ghomala?, Ngiemboon and Ngombale. The paper is organised as follows: section 1 provides an introduction to the paper. Section 2 presents an overview of the structure of the declarative verbal main clause in the investigated languages. In section 3, I focus on the description of the tense-aspect categories in each individual language of the study. Section 4 provides a comparison of tense-aspect categories across the investigated languages. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Structure of the declarative verbal main clause in the languages under investigation

The basic ordering of elements within the declarative verbal main clause in the investigated languages may be schematized as in (1) below.

(1) 1SBJ + 2T + 3AA + 4A + 5N- + 6Root + 7EXT + 8SUFF + 9OBJ[4]

The elements in (1) are not all necessarily present in a given declarative verbal main clause but always appear in a fixed order. Many of the positions described, for example, position 1/subject of the clause, position 5/nasal consonant prefix, position 6/verb root, etc. have been identified and described while discussing the structure of the declarative verbal main clause in Mengaka[5] (see Sonkoue 2019: 2-4). The sentence in (2) below shows an example in Ngiemboon with all slots filled.

(2) **à** **kà** **ŋétà** **nè** **ń-dzàʔ-tê:** **ŋɔ́:nsè**
she P_2 AA PROG N-cut-EXT.IPFV 1.onion
'She was still chopping the onion'
Context: The speaker is talking about something his/her sister was doing when he arrived home yesterday night.

Position 1. This position is occupied by the subject of the clause. This might be a subject noun or a subject pronoun. It will be shown in section 3 that tense-aspect meaning in Ghomalaʔ and Ngiemboon, may be signalled by a tone alternation on the subject of the clause.

Position 2. Position 2 is occupied by a tense marker. For example, the hodiernal past marker **jă/tě** in Ngombale.

Position 3. At position 3, one finds adverbial auxiliaries. This refers to a set of words which express meanings commonly expressed by adverbs in European languages. Adverbial auxiliaries have verbal properties. This means that just like verbs, they may be marked for tense or aspect. Also, they may take a nasal consonant prefix (see position 4 below). Some of the adverbial auxiliaries in the

[4] Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 1, 7, 9 noun class numbering, 1SG first person singular, 2SG second person singular, 3SG third person singular, 3PL third person plural, A aspect, AA adverbial auxiliary, C consonant, EXT verbal extension, F_1 future 1, F_2 future 2, F_3 future 3, H high tone, HAB habitual, HL high-low tone, IPFV imperfective, LH low-high tone, N- nasal consonant prefix, NEG negation marker, NMLZ nominalization marker, OBJ object, P_1 past 1, P_2 past 2, P_3 past 3, PRF perfect, PROG progressive, Q question, QPTCL question particle, SBJ subject, SUFF suffix, T tense, UTA unmarked tense-aspect, V vowel, vb verb, VC vowel-copying.

[5] Mengaka is a language of the Bamileke group.

target languages, such as **ʧə́ʔə̀…wɔ́** 'no longer' (in Ngiemboon) or **pjɛ́** 'still' (in Ngombale) may be classified under the grammatical category 'phasal polarity', that has been recently acknowledged by KRAMER (2017: 1).

Position 4. This slot is occupied by an aspect marker. For example, the progressive marker **wɔ́** in Ghomalaʔ. As will be shown in section 3, the tense and the aspect markers may merge in Ngiemboon and surface as a single marker.

Position 5. This position is occupied by a nasal consonant prefix which must accompany some tense and/or aspect markers and typically occurs before the verb. This nasal consonant prefix which is symbolised by the archiphoneme /N-/ throughout the paper is realised as a syllabic nasal whose tone may vary from one Bamileke language to another. Moreover, it is homorganic with the consonant it follows, that is, the nasal and the consonant following the nasal have the same place of articulation, and this is attributable to a place feature assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant. Also, the presence of the nasal consonant prefix before the verb may occasion the consonant alternation of the initial consonant of the verb as shown in (3) below.

(3)[6] p→b / N-_, ɣ→g / N-_, ʒ→ʤ / N-_, v→bv / N-_, z→dz / N-_, l→d / N-_

The striking fact about the nasal prefix described is that its function(s) is/are still unclear. I therefore simply gloss it as 'N-'. In fact, in each of the investigated languages, it has proven difficult to attribute a function to the nasal prefix discussed in this paper. ANDERSON (1983) makes a similar observation when talking about Ngiemboon's verbal markers: "in the preceding chart, the /ne/ marker clearly signals progressive meaning and the imperfective verb suffix (symbolized by 'I') signals imperfective aspect, but the homorganic nasal consonant verb prefix (symbolized by 'N-') has a more vague meaning" (ANDERSON 1983: 60-61). Research on the diachronic source of the nasal consonant prefix in the languages analysed, as well as related languages outside the Bamileke group where a similar nasal prefix is observed, for instance, the Bafut language of the Ngemba group (TAMANJI 2009: 212-215) might help to shed light on its function(s). However, this will not be covered in this paper.

Position 6. Position six is occupied by the verb root. Verb roots in the investigated languages are basically mono-syllabic, with one of the following two major

[6] The arrow '→' means 'changes to', the slash '/' means 'in the environment of', '_ ' positions the input in relation to other elements in the phonological environment. p→b / N-_ , therefore, means 'p' changes to 'b' when it occurs after 'N-'. Concrete illustrations of these rules are provided in the examples in section 3 below.

syllable structures: CVC (for example, **fɔ̀ʔ**, **fɨ̀ʔ**, **fɨʔ** 'measure' in Ghomalaʔ, Ngiemboon, and Ngombale, respectively) and CV (for example, **há**, **ná**, **ŋá** 'give' in Ghomalaʔ, Ngiemboon, and Ngombale, respectively). On the basis of their lexical tones, two classes of verb roots are distinguished in each of the investigated languages, namely, high and low tone verb roots.

Position 7. This position is occupied by a verbal extension. Two verbal extensions are distinguished in each of the investigated languages, namely, **-tə** and **-ɲə** in Ghomalaʔ (MBA 1997: 81), **-te** and vowel-lengthening/copying in Ngiemboon (MBA and DJIAFEUA 2003: 125), and **-tə** and vowel-lengthening/copying in Ngombale. The extension **-tə**, in Ghomalaʔ, is roughly associated with the plural meaning, for example, the verb **kə́m** 'scratch' becomes **kə́mtə́** 'scratch several times'. The extension **-ɲə** basically yields the following meanings: reflexivity, stativity, reciprocity, valency change, or prolongation of the action. For instance, the verb **tə̀m** 'hide' becomes **tə̀mɲə̀** 'hide oneself'; the extension **-ɲə** adds the meaning of reflexivity to the verb. The extension **-te**, in Ngiembon, may be associated with the meanings of reciprocity, valency-change, and plural (for example, the verb **kxwé** 'die' becomes **kxwété** 'die in great numbers'; the extension **-té** adds a plural meaning to the verb or indicates that the situation described is experienced by several people), whereas vowel lengthening or copying roughly yields the meanings of stativity, reflexivity, valency change, and reciprocity (for example, the verb **kwòŋ** 'love' becomes **kwòŋò** 'love each other'; the copied vowel **-ò** adds the meaning of reciprocity to the verb). The extension **-tə**, in Ngombale, is roughly associated with the plural meaning. For example, the verb **kwə́** 'die' becomes **kwə́tə́** 'die in great numbers'. As for the verbal extension represented by a process of vowel-lengthening/copying, it basically yields the meaning of reciprocity. For example, the verb **búʔ** 'hit' in Ngombale becomes **búʔú** 'fight'. Verbal extensions have no inherent tone in the investigated languages, but rather take their tone from the vowel of the preceding syllable by tone spreading. Moreover, only one extension may occur on a single verb.

Position 8. This position is relevant only for Ghomalaʔ and Ngiemboon. It is occupied by a verbal suffix. Based on the data analysis, one can say that while in Ghomalaʔ the verbal suffix is exclusively attached to CVC verbs and is always a copy of the vowel of the verb, in Ngiemboon, the verbal suffix may occur following CV or CVC verbs and is mainly identical to the vowel of the verb. Moreover, while in Ngiemboon the addition of the verbal suffix to the verb is obligatory and the verbal suffix has a clear function, that is, imperfective or perfect marker, in Ghomalaʔ, the addition of the verbal suffix to the verb is optional. This means that the speaker deliberately chooses to add it or not. Also, the verbal suffix does not have a clear function in Ghomalaʔ.

Position 9. This position is occupied by the object of the clause. This might be a nominal or a pronominal object.

3. Tense-aspect categories in each of the languages under investigation

In this section, an attempt is made to describe all the means employed to express tense-aspect categories in the three languages under investigation. The basic functions of the tense-aspect categories established are also discussed. This means that the paper is not concerned with the semantics and pragmatics of the tense-aspect markings.

To determine the basic functions of the tense-aspect categories, I posited that the use of a grammatical marking may be defined in terms of the structural linguistic environment or the contextual linguistic environment. Also, I argue that the basic function(s) of a grammatical marking refer(s) to the function(s) derived from the structural linguistic environment, while its secondary function(s) is/are the function(s) derived from the contextual linguistic environment. By structural linguistic environment of a grammatical marking, I refer, for instance, to the distribution of the grammatical marking in relation to the other elements of the clause or the words with which a grammatical marking occurs together. For example, expressions of time such as 'today', 'yesterday', 'next year', 'presently' or 'usually'. The contextual linguistic environment has to do with the particular circumstances in which a grammatical marking is uttered. For example, the construction **kɔ̀ nè** N-vb-**vʟᴸ**, **-vcᴸ** is basically used in Ngiemboon to describe a situation which was ongoing on the day the utterance is made, but before the moment of speech (see 3.2.2.1 below). However, it could be used to describe a remote past progressive situation, that is, a situation which took place a month ago or any time before that if the speaker is telling a story and wants to make a remote past situation seem a bit more temporally near.

The term 'tense' is used in this study to refer to a grammatical category that locates situations in time in relation to a reference point (COMRIE 1985:9), while 'aspect' refers to a grammatical category which is concerned with the different ways of viewing the internal temporal structure of a situation (COMRIE 1976:3). COMRIE (1985: 36, 56) makes a distinction between absolute and relative tenses. An absolute tense includes "as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre" while a relative tense "does not include as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre". In other words, an absolute tense takes the time of speaking as its reference point, whereas a relative tense relates situations to a point in time other than the time of speaking. In this paper, except for the Unmarked Tense-Aspect where the reference point for the location of situations

in time is the previous situations, the various tenses discussed take the time of speaking as their reference point.

The tenses distinguished in the target languages are: past tenses, a present tense, and future tenses. In the aspectual domain, a three-way aspectual division is observed in Ghomala? and Ngiemboon. That is, perfective, imperfective, and progressive in Ghomala? and perfective, habitual, and progressive in Ngiemboon. Ngombale shows a two-way aspectual division, that is, perfective and imperfective. The definition of the perfective adopted for this study is that of (COMRIE 1976: 12): "the term 'perfective' contrasts with 'imperfective', and denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency". In my understanding this means that when there is no explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, it is in the perfective. For example, the sentence **ē gō tsú? gəfə̀** 'he is going to cultivate maize today' in Ghomala? describes a perfective situation in the future. The speaker does not provide information about whether the situation described is going to be in progress at a specific time or habitual. Rather, he represents the situation as a complete situation in the future. The perfective is unmarked in the three languages analysed. The habitual represents "a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment, but precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period" (COMRIE 1976: 27-28). Note that this characterisation does not hold for present states in the languages analysed. That is, while Ghomla? uses the form of the Perfect to describe current states, Ngiemboon and Ngombale use the Unmarked Tense-Aspect to talk about current states. More will be said about this below. As for the progressive, it describes a situation in progress at a specific time. Ghomala? and Ngiemboon also distinguish a Perfect category. Moreover, an Unmarked Tense-Aspect is identified in all three languages analysed.

In section 2 above, it has been noted that in two of the investigated languages, that is, Ghomala? and Ngiemboon, tense-aspect meaning may be signalled by a tone alternation on the subject of the clause. I posit two tonal tense-aspect markers in this study, namely, a replacive low-high tone (LH) and a replacive high-low tone (HL). These tonal markers may be realised on the subject or the verb of the clause.[7] Moreover, they completely delete the lexical tone of the

[7] When the subject or the verb of the clause has more than one syllable, the tonal alternation indicating tense-aspect meaning is realised on the last syllable. The realisation on the subject is observed in both Ghomala? and Ngiemboon and may express the Imperfective, the Habitual or the Perfect. The realisation on the verb is limited to Ngiemboon and is used to express the Perfect.

syllable on which they are realised. The origin of tonal tense-aspect markers in the investigated languages might be attributable to the loss of original segmental tense-aspect markers that existed at some point of time in the past and left their traces in the form of replacive tones. Support for the claim about the historical source of the replacive tonal tense-aspect markers described is that in Ngiemboon, the general future marker (ɣè) may be replaced by a low-high tone realised on the subject of the clause, in rapid speech among native speakers.

The analysis of the verb in this study with a replacive rising or falling tone that may appear in certain tense-aspect structures is justified by the fact that there seems to be no tone rule (for instance, spreading or shifting) which could transparently account for the surface neutralisation of lexical tone contrasts of verbs, as well as the unusual surface tone patterns which are associated with the subject of the clause in the investigated languages. In other words, I find it a good solution to explain the unusual surface tone patterns which are associated with the verb or the subject of the clause in the investigated languages.

A decision has been made in this paper not to discuss tense separately from aspect. In effect, although (COMRIE 1985: 6-7) observes that the notions of tense and aspect are conceptually separable (aspect involves the internal temporal constituency of a situation, while tense is concerned with the placement of a situation on the timeline relative to a reference point), it should be admitted that these two notions have intersecting meanings in that they both characterise the verb with respect to time. Moreover, the two categories appear to be intricately related in the languages analysed. For example, the absence of an aspect marker in a clause where the verb occurs together with a marker that clearly indicates tense is the best indication that the situation denoted by the verb is in the perfective. Similarly, the absence of a tense marker in a clause where the verb occurs together with a marker that clearly expresses the category of aspect clearly indicates that the situation denoted by the verb is in the present tense. In Ngiemboon, there are some markers that clearly indicate tense and aspect simultaneously and appear to be markers which arose from the fusion of a tense marker and an aspect marker.

3.1 Tense-aspect categories in Ghomala?

The markings used to indicate the tense-aspect categories in Ghomala? are listed in the overview in Table 1 below.

LABELS	TA MARKERS	N-	VERB	(-SUFF)[8]
Hodiernal Past[9]	**ê**	N-[10]	vb	---[11]
Near Past	**kə̄**	---	vb	---
Near Past, Imperfective	**kə̄ bə́**	N-	vb	(-SUFF)
Near Past, Progressive	**kə̄ bə́ wə́**	N-	vb	(-SUFF)
Remote Past	**lə̄**	---	vb	---
Remote Past, Imperfective	**lə̄ bə́**	N-	vb	(-SUFF)
Remote Past, Progressive	**lə̄ bə́ wə́**	N-	vb	(-SUFF)
Imperfective	**HL tone**	N-	vb	(-SUFF)
Progressive	**bə́ wə́**	N-	vb	(-SUFF)
General Future	**gə̄**	---	vb	---
General Future, Imperfective	**gə̄ pə́**	---	vb	(-SUFF)
General Future, Progressive	**gə̄ pə́ wə́**	---	vb	(-SUFF)
Near Future	**gə̄ tí**	---	vb	---
Near Future, Imperfective	**gə̄ tí pə́**	---	vb	(-SUFF)
Near Future, Progressive	**gə̄ tí pə́ wə́**	---	vb	(-SUFF)
Remote Future	**gə̄ ʧwə́**	---	vb	---
Remote Future, Imperfective	**gə̄ ʧwə́ pə́**	---	vb	(-SUFF)
Remote Future, Progressive	**gə̄ ʧwə́ pə́ wə́**	---	vb	(-SUFF)
Perfect	LH tone	---	vb	---
Unmarked Tense-Aspect	[12]	---	vb	---

Table 1 – Tense-aspect markings in Ghomala?

3.1.1 Hodiernal Past (P_1)[13] **ê (N-)** vb

The Hodiernal Past is expressed by a construction which consists of two pre-verbal elements, namely, the hodiernal past marker **ê** and the nasal consonant

[8] The use of brackets here is justified by the fact that the addition of the verbal suffix to the verb is optional in Ghomala? (see section 2). The verbal suffix is, therefore, added in this table just for information.

[9] Initial capitalisation is used throughout this paper when writing tense-aspect category labels. This is to make a distinction between tense-aspect categories and tense-aspect functions or markings.

[10] The nasal consonant prefix that occurs before the verb in Ghomala? is always deleted when followed by a voiced plosive sound (for example, [b, d, g]) or a voiced affricate sound (for example, [bv, dʒ, dz]).

[11] The use of hyphens here, as well as in all the other tables in this paper means not available or not applicable.

[12] The empty cell in this table and all the other tables in this paper means unmarked verb.

[13] The P_n ($past_n$) and F_n ($future_n$) notation used throughout this paper is borrowed from ANDERSON's (1983: 250) study. It should be interpreted as follows: P_2 is more remote in the past than P_1, P_3 is more remote in the past than P_2, etc.

prefix **N-**, in that order. It is used to describe past perfective situations[14] of the day of speaking.[15] This is shown in the example in (4) below.

(4) **wáp ê dzə́ʔ gəfə**[16]
wáp ê N-tsə́ʔ gəfə
3PL P_1 N-cultivate maize
'They cultivated maize'
Context: The speaker is talking about something his/her brothers have done early today.

3.1.2 Near Past (P_2) **kə̄** vb

The Near Past is indicated by the marker **kə̄** which precedes the verb. It is used to describe past perfective situations that took place less than one month before the moment of speech, except situations that occurred on the day the utterance is made.

(5) **tá ă kə̄ və̄ ʃjə̄**
father my P_2 fall water
'My father fell into the (river) water'
Context: The speaker is talking about something that happened about a week ago.

---

[14] Recall that a situation in the perfective is one presented without regard to its internal temporal constituency (COMRIE 1976: 3). That is, when there is no explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation, it is understood as being in the perfective.

[15] The tense-aspect markings discussed in this paper have (relatively) well-defined basic uses in that it will, for instance, be a collocational clash to use the hodiernal past marker with time adverbials, such as 'yesterday', 'last week' or 'last month' in each of the investigated languages. However, it is important to specify that there is a certain degree of flexibility in the use of the tense-aspect markings identified in the study. It is, for instance, possible to use a hodiernal/today past construction in Ngiemboon for a temporal interval broader than 'today' in certain contexts. For example, to talk about a situation which went on for a long period of time, such as a whole farming season, within the year the utterance of the speaker is made. The same goes for the perfect marker in Ngiemboon which is basically used to describe a past situation whose end is interpreted as just having occurred, but may be used to express imminent future situations. These shifts from the basic functions of tense-aspect markings are considered here as special or secondary uses of tense-aspect markings. Note that only the basic functions of tense-aspect markings are discussed in this paper. Also, some of the basic uses of the tense-aspect categories discussed in this paper, for example, the Hodiernal Past's use in Ghomalaʔ or the Hodiernal Past Progressive's use in Ngiemboon have been identified in an analysis of the tense-aspect system of Mengaka (see SONKOUE 2019: 7-15).

[16] Adverbials of time may co-occur with tense-aspect markings, where necessary, in order to pinpoint the event's location in time.

3.1.3 Near Past Imperfective (P_2 IPFV) **kə́ bə́ N-**vb

The Near Past Imperfective is expressed by a construction which consists of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the near past marker **kə́**, the imperfective marker **bə́**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N-**, in that order. It is used to describe a habitual situation which terminated in the near past. That is, approximately less than one month ago. This is shown in (6) below.

(6)

ē	**kə́**	**bə́**	**dzú?**	**gəfə́**
ē	**kə́**	**N-pə́**	**N-tsú?**	**gəfə́**
3SG	P_2	N-IPFV	N-cultivate	maize

'He used to cultivate maize'
Context: The speaker is talking about the profession of his/her brother when he (the brother of the speaker) was still living in the village. (It is known that the speaker's brother left the village not long ago).

Although this category indicates habitual as opposed to progressive situations, it has been analysed as an imperfective rather than a habitual. This is justified by the fact that the form that indicates it must be used together with a more specific progressive form to describe progressive situations. In other words, when used on its own, the form '**pə́/bə́**' functions exclusively as a habitual but when used together with the progressive form (see 3.1.4 below) it functions as an imperfective.

3.1.4 Near Past Progressive (P_2 PROG) **kə́ bə́ wə́ N-**vb

The Near Past Progressive is expressed by a construction which consists of four pre-verbal elements, namely, the near past marker **kə́**, the imperfective marker **bə́**, the progressive marker **wə́**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N-**, in that order. It is used to describe situations which were ongoing in a near past. That is, less than one month ago.

(7)

ē	**kə́**	**bə́**	**wə́**	**gíŋ**	**tám**	**ɣé…**
ē	**kə́**	**N-pə́**	**wə́**	**N-ɣíŋ**	**tám**	**ɣé**
3SG	P_2	N-IPFV	PROG	N-walk	in	forest

'He was walking in the forest...'
Context: The speaker is talking about something that happened to his/her brother yesterday.

3.1.5 Remote Past (P_3) **lə́** vb

The Remote Past is expressed by the marker **lə́** which precedes the verb. It is used to describe past perfective situations which took place either a month ago

or any time before that time. Below is an example that illustrates the use of the Remote Past in Ghomala?.

(8) **ē lə̄ tsú? gə̀fə̀**
3SG P_3 cultivate maize
'He cultivated maize.'
Context: The speaker is talking about something his/her brother did last year.

3.1.6 Remote Past Imperfective (P_3 IPFV) lə̄ bə́ N-vb

The Remote Past Imperfective is expressed by a construction which consists of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the remote past marker **lə̄**, the imperfective marker **bə́**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N**-, in that order. It is used to describe a habitual situation which terminated in the remote past. That is, a month ago or any time before that time.

(9) **ē lə̄ bə́ dzú? gə̀fə̀**
ē lə̄ N-pə́ N-tsú? gə̀fə̀
3SG P_3 N-IPFV N-cultivate maize
'He used to cultivate maize'
Context: The speaker is talking about the profession of his/her brother when he (the brother of the speaker) was still living in the village. (It is known that the speaker's brother left the village long ago).

3.1.7 Remote Past Progressive (P_3 PROG) lə̄ bə́ wə́ N-vb

The Remote Past Progressive is expressed by a construction which consists of four pre-verbal elements, namely, the remote past marker **lə̄**, the imperfective marker **bə́**, the progressive marker **wə́**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N**-, in that order. It is used to describe situations which were ongoing in a remote past. That is, one month ago or any time before that time.

(10) **ē lə̄ bə́ wə́ dzú? gə̀fə̀**
ē lə̄ N-pə́ wə́ N-tsú? gə̀fə̀
3SG P_3 N-IPFV PROG N-cultivate maize
'He was cultivating maize'
Context: Q: What was your brother doing when a mid-wife phoned him last year at this very time to inform him that his wife gave birth to a baby boy? (Do you remember the activity he was engaged in?)

3.1.8 Imperfective (IPFV) HL tone N-vb

The Imperfective is expressed by a replacive high-low tone which is realised on the last (or only) syllable of the subject pronoun or noun preceding the verb. In addition to this, a nasal consonant prefix **N**- is attached to the verb. It is

employed to describe events or actions performed on multiple occasions over an extended period of time.

(11) **ê gàp k^{h}áp**
ē ˆ N-ɣàp k^{h}áp
3SG IPFV N-distribute money
'She distributes money (as a habit)'
Context: Q: What does your sister usually do when she is happy?

(12) **kāmdôm gàp k^{h}áp té?**
kāmdōm ˆ N-ɣàp k^{h}áp té?
kamdom IPFV N-distribute money a.lot
'Kamdom distributes money regularly'
Context: The speaker is talking about someone who usually distributes money.

Two examples are provided here, as well as in 3.1.19 below to show where the falling tone docks.

3.1.9 Progressive (PROG) **bə́ wə́** N-vb

The Progressive is expressed by a construction which consists of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the imperfective marker **bə́**, the progressive marker **wə́**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N-**, in that order. It is used to describe present progressive situations. That is, situations ongoing at the time of speaking.

(13) **ē bə́ wə́ ǹtí**
ē N-pə́ wə́ N-tí
3SG N-IPFV PROG N-sleep
'He is sleeping'
Context: Q: What is your brother doing right now?

Just like the perfective, the present tense is unmarked in the investigated languages. Also, the markers **bə́** and **wə́**, are often replaced by a single marker, namely, **bó** in daily conversations among Ghomala?'s speakers. One can, therefore, assume that the marker **bó** in Ghomala? is a short form of the merge of the imperfective marker **bə́** with the progressive marker **wə́**.

3.1.10 General Future (F_1) **gɔ̄** vb

The General Future is expressed by the marker **gɔ̄** which precedes the verb. It is used to describe future perfective situations of the day of speaking.

(14) **gā gɔ̄ ɣɔ̄ ʧə̂tə**
gā N-ɣɔ̄ ɣɔ̄ ʧə̂tə
1SG N-F$_1$ go meeting
'I am going to go to a meeting'
Context: The speaker is talking about what s/he is planning to do today.

3.1.11 General Future Imperfective (F$_1$ IPFV) **gɔ̄ pə́** vb

The General Future Imperfective is expressed by means of two pre-verbal elements, namely, the general future marker **gɔ̄** and the imperfective marker **pə́**, in that order. It is used to express the fact that an action will be performed on a regular basis or routinely as from the day of the utterance.

(15) **ē gɔ̄ pə́ tsú? gəfə**
ē N-ɣɔ̄ pə́ tsú? gəfə
3SG N-F$_1$ IPFV cultivate maize
'He is going to cultivate maize (routinely)'
Context: Your brother has got a new work contract and he is going to start working today. Q: What will be your brother's occupation at his work place?

3.1.12 General Future Progressive (F$_1$ PROG) **gɔ̄ pə́ wə́** vb

The General Future Progressive is expressed by means of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the general future marker **gɔ̄**, the imperfective marker **pə́**, and the progressive marker **wə́**, in that order. It is used to describe situations which will be in progress on the day of speaking. This is shown in (16) below.

(16) **ē gɔ̄ pə́ wə́ tsú? gəfə**
ē N-ɣɔ̄ pə́ wə́ tsú? gəfə
3SG N-F$_1$ IPFV PROG cultivate maize
'He is going to be cultivating maize'
Context: Q: What do you think your brother is going to be doing when we arrive tonight? (What activity will he be engaged in?)

3.1.13 Near Future (F$_2$) **gɔ̄ tí** vb

The Near Future is expressed by the marker **tí** which must co-occur with the general future marker **gɔ̄**. It is used to describe future perfective situations that are going to take place either the day after the speech moment or any time before a year as from the day after the speech moment.

(17) **ē gɔ̄ tí ɣɔ̄ sākú**
ē N-ɣɔ̄ tí ɣɔ̄ sākú
3SG N- F_1 F_2 go school
'He is going to go to school'
Context: The speaker is talking about something his/her son is going to do tomorrow.

3.1.14 Near Future Imperfective (F_2 IPFV) **gɔ̄ tí pə́** vb

The Near Future Imperfective is expressed by means of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the general future marker **gɔ̄**, the near future marker **tí**, and the imperfective marker **pə́**, in that order. It is used to express the fact that an action will be performed on a regular basis or routinely as from the day after the time of speaking.

(18) **ē gɔ̄ tí pə́ tsú? gəfə**
ē N-ɣɔ̄ tí pə́ tsú? gəfə
3SG N-F_1 F_2 IPFV cultivate maize
'He is going to cultivate maize (routinely)'
Context: Your brother has got a work contract and he is going to start working tomorrow. Q: What will be your brother's occupation at his work place?

3.1.15 Near Future Progressive (F_2 PROG) **gɔ̄ tí pə́ wə́** vb

The Near Future Progressive is expressed by means of four pre-verbal elements, namely, the general future marker **gɔ̄**, the near future marker **tí**, the imperfective marker **pə́**, and the progressive marker **wə́**, in that order. It is used to describe situations which will be in progress in the near future. That is, either the day after the time of speaking or any time before a year as from the day after the time of speaking. This is illustrated in (19) below.

(19) **ē gɔ̄ tí pə́ wə́ tsú? gəfə**
ē N-ɣɔ̄ tí pə́ wə́ tsú? gəfə
3SG N-F_1 F_2 IPFV PROG cultivate maize
'He is going to be cultivating maize'
Context: Q: What do you think your brother is going to be doing when we arrive tomorrow? (What activity will he be engaged in?)

3.1.16 Remote Future (F_3) **gɔ̄ ʧwə́** vb

The Remote Future is expressed by the marker **ʧwə́** which must co-occur with the general future marker **gɔ̄**. It is used to describe future perfective situations that are going to take place either within a year or any time thereafter.

(20) **ē gɔ̄ ʧwə́ ɣɔ̄ gwūŋ á dɔ̄kə́**
ē N_1-ɣɔ̄ ʧwə́ ɣɔ̄ gwūŋ á dɔ̄kə́
3SG N-F_1 F_3 go kingdom of white.men
He is going to go to Europe.'
Context: The speaker is talking about something his/her son is going to do in two years' time (when he obtains his Bachelor's degree).

3.1.17 Remote Future Imperfective (F_3 IPFV) **gɔ̄ ʧwə́ pə́** vb

The Remote Future Imperfective is expressed by means of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the general future marker **gɔ̄**, the remote future marker **ʧwə́**, and the imperfective marker **pə́**, in that order. It is used to express the fact that an action will be performed on a regular basis or routinely as from one year after the time of speaking.

(21) **ē gɔ̄ ʧwə́ pə́ tsú? gəfə**
ē N-ɣɔ̄ ʧwə́ pə́ tsú? gəfə
3SG N-F_1 F_3 IPFV cultivate maize
'He is going to cultivate maize (routinely)'
Context: Your brother has got a work contract and he is going to start working next year. Q: What will be your brother's occupation at his work place?

3.1.18 Remote Future Progressive (F_3 PROG) **gɔ̄ ʧwə́ pə́ wə́** vb

The Remote Future Progressive is expressed by means of four pre-verbal elements, namely, the general future marker **gɔ̄**, the remote future marker **ʧwə́**, the imperfective marker **pə́**, and the progressive marker **wə́** in that order. It is used to describe situations which will be in progress in the remote future. That is, within a year or any time thereafter.

(22) **ē gɔ̄ ʧwə́ pə́ wə́ tsú? gəfə**
ē N-ɣɔ̄ ʧwə́ pə́ wə́ tsú? gəfə
3SG N-F_1 F_3 IPFV PROG cultivate maize
'He is going to be cultivating maize'
Context: Q: What do you think your brother is going to be doing when we visit him next year during Christmas holidays? (What activity will he be engaged in?)

3.1.19 Perfect (PRF) LH tone vb

The Perfect is indicated by a replacive low-high tone which is realised on the last (or only) syllable of the subject pronoun or noun preceding the verb. It is used to describe a past situation whose end is interpreted as just having occurred. The Perfect may also be used to present a current state without any implication of

how this state came about. The following sentences illustrate the use of the Perfect in Ghomala?.

(23) **kāmdɔ̌m kɛ́ pəpúŋ**
kāmdɔ̄m ˇ kɛ́ pəpúŋ
kamdom PRF read well
'Kamdom has read well.'
Context: The speaker is talking about someone who has just finished reading a passage from the bible.

(24) **ǒ ʒjə́ tá kómŋə́ ā**
ō ˇ ʒjə́ tá kómŋə́ ā
2SG PRF know father komgne QPTCL
'Do you know Mr. Komgne?'
Context: A father is talking to his son.

In example (23), the Perfect describes a past action whose end is interpreted as just having occurred, whereas in (24), it has a present state interpretation.

3.1.20 Unmarked Tense-Aspect (UTA) vb

The Unmarked Tense-Aspect is marked for neither tense nor aspect. It is signalled in the transcription by an empty set symbol (Ø) before the verb. The Unmarked Tense-Aspect is used in discourse (narrations, descriptions, expositions, etc.) to replace a tense-aspect marking already mentioned, either explicitly, that is, using an explicit tense-aspect marking or implicitly, that is, without any explicit tense-aspect marking since the participants already know the context.

(25) **gā gō ʧwə́ ləŋdzə jó mətwâ pīŋ Ø ɣō dwălā kə́ká**
gā N_1-ɣō ʧwə́ ləŋdzə jó mətwâ pīŋ Ø ɣō dwălā kə́ká
1SG N-F_1 F_3 first buy car then UTA go Douala visit
'I am going to buy a car first, then I am going to go and visit Douala'
Context: The speaker is talking about what s/he is planning to do when s/he receives his/her first salary.

In example (25) above, the Unmarked Tense-Aspect is used to replace the construction **gō ʧwə́**.

Before closing this section, a number of details deserve comment. The marker **pə́** which alternates with **bə́** has been analysed as an imperfective marker in Ghomala?. A curiosity about this marker is that it is sufficient to express the habitual meaning, but must co-occur with another marker, that is, the progressive marker, to convey the progressive meaning. In other words,

Ghomala? distinguishes a special progressive form, and the use of the imperfective marker without that special progressive form excludes progressive meaning.

As shown in the discussion above, future tense markers in Ghomala? are all free-standing markers. It emerged from discussions with language consultants that each of the future tense markers in Ghomala? can be formally related to a verb which has full lexical meaning. The general future marker **gɔ̄** is formally closely similar to the verb **ɣɔ̄** 'go', the near future marker **tí** is identical in form to the verb **tí** 'sleep', the remote future marker **ʧwə́** is identical in form to the verb **ʧwə́** 'stay'. The fact that each of the future tense markers in Ghomala? can be formally related to a verb which has full lexical meaning, and most importantly, that one of these verbs ('go') is a movement verb, might suggest that future tense markers in Ghomala? are cases of grammaticalization of verb.[17] However, the developmental pathways leading to future tense markers remain to be traced. This explains why I have opted to use the term 'marker' instead of 'auxiliary/verbal auxiliary' to refer to them, keeping in mind that they might be cases of grammaticalization of verbs. The clear formal relatedness of Ghomala?'s future tense markers to verbs with full lexical meaning might also suggest that what I have analysed in this paper as future markers could also be analysed as serial verb constructions. However, in my opinion, future tense markers in Ghomala? are not instances of serial verb constructions. This is explained by the fact that in all of the examples cited in 3.1 above, the markers **gɔ̄**, **tí**, **ʧwə́** do not function as verbs, that is, they do not describe an action, an event or a state, but rather provide temporal specifications. As shown below, the formal relatedness of future tense markers to lexical verbs described here is also observed in the other languages under investigation. The afore-mentioned assumptions about the formal relatedness of tense markers to lexical verbs could, therefore, also be made in Ngiemboon and Ngombale.

Also worth noting is that the hodiernal past meaning is not compatible with the habitual meaning in Ghomala?. In other words, it is not possible to have a hodiernal past habitual interpretation in Ghomala?. This is certainly due to the fact that an event occurring over a very short period of time, that is, today is not long enough to be considered as a past habit. Moreover, the present tense meaning is not compatible with the perfective meaning in Ghomala?. This is

[17] According to BYBEE, PERKINS and PAGLIUCA (1994: 253), the most frequent sources of grammatical morphemes expressing the future meaning cross-linguistically are movement verb constructions.

likely due to the fact that situations that refer to the present time have an inherent imperfective component, that is, there are either going on now or hold true for the moment of speaking.

3.2 Tense-aspect categories in Ngiemboon

The markings that are used to indicate the tense-aspect categories in Ngiemboon are listed in the overview in Table 2 below.

LABELS	TA MARKERS	N-	VERB	-SUFF[18]
Hodiernal Past	**nĕ**	N-	vb	---
Hodiernal Past, Progressive	**kɔ̀ nè**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Near Past	**kà**	---	vb	---
Near Past, Habitual	**kɔ̀:**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Near Past, Progressive	**kà nè**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Remote Past	**là**	---	vb	---
Remote Past, Habitual	**lɔ̀:**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Remote Past, Progressive	**là nè**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Habitual	LH tone	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Progressive	**nè**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
General Future	**ɣè**	---	vb	---
General Future, Progressive	**ɣè kú nè**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Near future	**ɣè ɣxɯɋ̀/tó/lù**[19]	---	vb	---
Near Future, Progressive	**ɣè ɣxɯɋ̀/tó/lù nè**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Remote Future	**ɣè lá?**	---	vb	---
Remote Future, Progressive	**ɣè lá? nè**	N-	vb	-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}
Perfect	---	---	vb	LH tone, H tone , -VC^{H}
Unmarked Tense-Aspect		---	vb	---

Table 2 – Tense-aspect markings in Ngiemboon

[18] As indicated in section 2, the verbal suffix in Ngiemboon has a clear function, that is, imperfective marker or perfect marker. The verbal suffix that expresses the imperfective has an underlying low tone, whereas the one expressing the perfect has an underlying high tone. Also, based on the data collected, it can be said that the suffix that indicates the Perfect does not occur with other tense-aspect markers. In other words, forms such as 'past perfect' or 'future perfect' forms have not been identified in the study. Also note that in an analysis of the tense-aspect system of Mengaka (a language of the Bamileke group), Sonkoue (2019: 4) discusses a verb suffix which has almost the same features as the imperfective verb suffix in Ngiemboon.

[19] The use of the slash (/) here and in all the other tables in the paper means markers used interchangeably.

3.2.1 Ngiemboon's tense-aspect categories, with semantically related tense-aspect category in Ghomala?

In this sub-section, I focus on Ngiemboon's tense-aspect categories which have semantically corresponding tense-aspect categories in Ghomala?. Only the markings of these tense-aspect categories are provided here since their functions have already been described when discussing the data in Ghomala?. Also, relevant data in Ghomala? are repeated here.

LABELS[20]	NGIEMBOON	GHOMALA?	
Hodiernal Past	**nĕ** N-vb	**ê** N-vb	(3.1.1)
Near Past	**kà** vb	**kə̄** vb	(3.1.2)
Near Past, Habitual	**kə̌:** N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}	**kə̄ bə́** N-vb	(3.1.3)
Remote Past	**là** vb	**lə̄** vb	(3.1.5)
Remote Past, Habitual	**lə̌:** N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}	**lə̄ bə́** N-vb	(3.1.6)
Remote Past, Progressive	**là nè** N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}	**lə̄ bə́ wə́** N-vb	(3.1.7)
Habitual	LH tone	HL tone	(3.1.8)
Progressive	**nè** N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}	**bə́ wə́** N-vb	(3.1.9)
General Future	**ɣè** vb	**gə̄** vb	(3.1.10)
General Future, Progressive	**ɣè kú nè** N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}	**gə̄ pə́ wə́** vb	(3.1.12)
Near Future	**ɣè ɣxɯ̀ɳ̀/tó/lù** vb	**gə̄ tí** vb	(3.1.13)
Near Future, Progressive	**ɣè ɣxɯ̀ɳ̀/tó/lù nè** N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}	**gə̄ tí pə́ wə́** vb	(3.1.15)
Remote Future	**ɣè lá?** vb	**gə̄ ʧwə́** vb	(3.1.16)
Remote Future, Progressive	**ɣè lá? nè** N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}	**gə̄ ʧwə́ pə́ wə́** vb	(3.1.18)

Table 3 – Semantically corresponding tense-aspect categories across Ngiemboon and Ghomala?

3.2.2 Ngiemboon's tense-aspect categories, with no semantically corresponding tense-aspect category in Ghomala?

This sub-section examines Ngiemboon's tense-aspect categories which do not have a semantically corresponding tense-aspect category in Ghomala?. A general comment about the organisation of the paper should be made here. To avoid making the exposition repetitious, the differences between the investigated languages with respect to the functions of the tense-aspect categories are not discussed here, as well as in 3.3.2 below. In other words, each language is treated separately. However, these differences are explicitly expressed in the comparative analysis below (see sub-section 4.3).

[20] The labels here only apply to the Ngiemboon language. For the labels in Ghomala?, see 3.1.

3.2.2.1 Hodiernal Past Progressive (P1 PROG) kɔ̀ nè N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}

The Hodiernal Past Progressive is expressed by a construction which consists of three pre-verbal elements and the underlying low tone imperfective verb suffix. The pre-verbal elements are the hodiernal past marker **kɔ̀** which is regarded as a grammatically conditioned allomorph of the Ngiemboon's hodiernal past marker **nɛ̌**,[21] the progressive marker **nè**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N**-, in that order. It is used to describe situations which were ongoing on the day of the utterance, but before the moment of speaking.

(26) **à kɔ̀ nè ḿbwɔ́ʔɔ̀ ŋ̀gəsáŋ**
à kɔ̀ nè N-pwɔ́ʔ-ɔ̀ ŋ̀-gəsáŋ
3SG P$_1$ PROG N-harvest-IPFV 9-maize
'He was harvesting maize'
Context: Q: What was your brother doing when I phoned him this morning? (What activity was he engaged in? He did not answer my call.)

3.2.2.2 Near Past Progressive (P2 PROG) kà nè N-vb-VL^{L}, -VC^{L}

The Near Past Progressive is expressed by a construction which consists of three pre-verbal elements and the underlying low tone imperfective verb suffix. The pre-verbal elements are the near past marker **kà**, the progressive marker **nè**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N**- in that order. It is used to describe situations which were ongoing in the near past. That is, yesterday or some time before yesterday, but not up to one month before the time of speaking.

(27) **à kà nè ḿbwɔ́ʔɔ̀ ŋ̀gəsáŋ**
à kà nè N- pwɔ́ʔ-ɔ̀ ŋ̀-gəsáŋ
3SG P$_2$ PROG N-harvest-IPFV 9-maize
'He was harvesting maize'
Context: Q: What was your brother doing when I phoned him yesterday? (What activity was he engaged in? He did not answer my call.)

3.2.2.3 Perfect (PRF) LH tone, -VC^{H}, H tone

Three strategies are used to indicate the Perfect in Ngiemboon. One of them involves the use of a replacive low-high tone which is realised on the vowel of the verb root. This causes the neutralisation of the distinction between lexical high and low tone verbs. This way of indicating the perfect is by far the most commonly encountered in the language. Another means used to indicate the

[21] The markers **nɛ̌** and **kɔ̀** are considered as grammatically-conditioned allomorphs because their selection is determined by a grammatical feature, namely, whether the verb following them co-occurs or does not co-occur with a progressive marker.

Perfect in Ngiemboon involves the addition of an underlying high tone verb suffix (-VC^{H}) to the verb root. This way of indicating the perfect is exclusively used when the verb root has a closed syllable structure, that is, CVC and is followed by an object which belongs to the noun class 1[22] (for example, **ǹ-dúm** 'husband') or 7 (for example, (**à**)-**ʧú?tè** 'meeting'). The third means employed to indicate the Perfect in Ngiemboon involves the alternation of the tone of the verbal extension into a high tone. Recall that verbal extensions in Ngiemboon have no inherent tone, but take their tone from the vowel of the preceding syllable by tone spreading. This means that the tonal alternation that indicates the Perfect occurs after the spreading of the tone of the verb root to the verbal extension. This strategy is exclusively used when the verb has a root and a verbal extension. The Perfect is used to describe a past situation whose end is interpreted as just having occurred. The Perfect may also be used to present a current state as being the result of some past situation. The following sentences illustrate the use of the Perfect in Ngiemboon.

(28) **à lɔ̌ ʃúm lézʒʃɯ́ó**
à lɔ́ ˇ (à)-ʃúm lé-ʒʃɯ́ó
3SG cook PRF 7-food NMLZ-eat (lexical tone of the verb: **lɔ́**)
'She has cooked the food'
Context: The speaker is talking about something his/her sister has just done.

(29) **ò fǎŋ tɛ̀?**
ò fáŋ ˇ tɛ̀?
2SG be.big PRF many (lexical tone of the verb: **fáŋ**)
'You have put on too much weight'
Context: The speaker is talking to a friend.

In example (28), the Perfect describes a past action whose end is interpreted as just having occurred, whereas in (29), it presents a state as being the result of some past situation.

3.2.2.4 Unmarked Tense-Aspect (UTA) Ø vb

The Unmarked Tense-Aspect is neither marked for tense nor aspect. It is used in discourse (narrations, descriptions, expositions, etc.) to replace a tense-aspect marking already mentioned, either explicitly, that is, using an explicit tense-aspect making or implicitly, that is, without an explicit tense-aspect marking since the participants already know the context. The Unmarked Tense-Aspect

[22] According to LONFO (2014: 56-61), there are five singular noun classes (classes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9) and five plural noun classes (classes 2, 4, 6, 8, 10) in Ngiemboon.

may also be used to present a current state without any implication of how this state came about.

(30) **è** Ø **fáŋ**
it UTA be.big
'It is big'
Context: The speaker is talking about the house in which s/he lives.

(31) **mé là kà: jé ńná lɔ́qtà à Ø ké tè ɣɯ́é wɔ́**
mé là kà: jé N-ná lɔ́qtà à Ø ké tè ɣɯ́é wɔ́
'Some people carried him to the hospital, he did not die, all the same.'
Context: The speaker is talking about an accident that happened one year ago.

In example (30), the Unmarked Tense-Aspect has a present state interpretation, whereas in (31), it replaces the remote past (P_3) marker **là**.

The following comments should be made here. On the basis of verb paradigms collected for his primarily phonological study, ANDERSON (1983: 246-305) identifies nine tenses in Ngiemboon: four past tenses, a zero tense, and four future tenses. The four past tenses (today past, yesterday past, distant past, and remote past) are interpreted as realis and subdivided into perfective and imperfective constructions. The four future tenses (today future, tomorrow future, distant future, and remote future) are interpreted as irrealis and subdivided into perfective and imperfective constructions. The zero tense shows five constructions: a realis perfective construction, a realis non-progressive imperfective construction, a realis progressive imperfective construction, an irrealis non-progressive imperfective construction, and an irrealis progressive imperfective construction. There are some differences between Anderson's description of Ngiemboon tense-aspect features and the description presented in this paper. For instance, in Anderson's study, the second degree of future (F2) is indicated by the maker **tó** or **gyò** and the third degree of future (F3) by the marker **lù**, whereas in this paper these three makers (**tó**, **gyò**, **lù**) are considered as freely interchangeable markers of the second degree of future. These differences are due to several factors: differences in the interpretation of the data, dialectal differences, and probably language change over the past 37 years. Also note that following some electronic communication with Anderson in September 2017, it appeared that the remote past marker (P4) **là lá?** discussed in Anderson's study does not exist at all. Rather, it is a modified form of the P3 marker using the form **lá?** which means 'before' and is used in the same slot with same meaning with other past tense markers.

Just like in Ghomalaʔ, the future tense markers in Ngiemboon are formally related to verbs which have full lexical meaning. The general future marker **ɣè** is formally closely similar to the verb **ɣùà** 'go', the hodiernal future marker **kú** is formally identical to the verb **kú** 'enter', the near future markers **ɣxɯɥò/tó/lù** are identical, or formally closely similar to the verbs **ɣxɯɥò** 'do', **tó** 'come', and **lùsé** 'stand up', respectively, the remote future marker **láʔ** is identical in form to the verb **láʔ** 'spend the night'. The formal relatedness between Ngiemboon's future tense markers and verbs with full lexical meaning may trigger certain assumptions that have already been discussed in 3.1 above.

The free-standing markers **kɔ̌:** and **lɔ̌:** in Table 2 are used to indicate the near past habitual and the remote past habitual, respectively. This means that each of these markers clearly expresses two notions at the same time: past tense meaning and habitual meaning. It is argued in this paper that the markers **kɔ̌:** and **lɔ̌:** arose out of the fusion of a past tense marker, that is, **kà** for near past habitual marker **kɔ̌:** and **là** for the remote past habitual marker **lɔ̌:**, with a habitual marker which once (at some point earlier in the history of the Ngiemboon language) consisted of a segment with a tone, but disappeared through the development of the language over time.

A hodiernal/today past habitual interpretation is not possible in Ngiemboon. Also, Ngiemboon does not allow the combination of the habitual meaning with the future tense meaning. In section 3.1 above, I posited a hypothesis to explain the incompatibility between the hodiernal past tense meaning and the habitual meaning in Ghomalaʔ. That hypothesis also holds for Ngiemboon. The incompatibility between the habitual meaning and the future tense meaning in Ngiemboon might be explained by the fact that a given event is readily perceived as a habit if it has occurred regularly over a certain period of time; what seems somehow contradictory to future events which are described as events which have not yet taken place. Note, however, that such a meaning (future habitual) is perfectly possible in the closely related Ghomalaʔ language (see 3.1 above). The present tense meaning also appears to be incompatible with the perfective meaning in Ngiemboon. An explanation for this can be found in 3.1 above.

3.3 Tense-aspect categories in Ngombale

The markings that are used to encode the tense-aspect categories in Ngombale are listed in the overview in Table 4 below.

LABELS	TA MARKERS	N-	VERB
Hodiernal Past	**jă/tě**	N-	vb
Hodiernal Past, Imperfective	**jă/tě mə́**	N-	vb
Near Past	**kə̀**	---	vb
Near Past, Imperfective	**kə̀ pə́**	N-	vb
Remote Past	**lə̀**	---	vb
Remote Past, Imperfective	**lə̀ pə́**	N-	vb
Imperfective	**mə́~pə́**	N-	vb
General Future	**ɣwɔ̀**	---	vb
General Future, Imperfective	**ɣwɔ̀ pə́**	---	vb
Remote Future	**ɣwɔ̀ ɣū**	---	vb
Remote Future, Imperfective	**ɣwɔ̀ ɣū pə́**	---	vb
Unmarked Tense-Aspect		---	vb

Table 4 – Tense-aspect markings in Ngombale

3.3.1 Ngombale's tense-aspect categories, with semantically related tense-aspect categories in Ghomala? and/Ngiemboon

In this sub-section, I display on Ngombale's tense-aspect categories which have semantically corresponding tense-aspect categories in both Ghomala? and Ngiemboon or exclusively, in Ngiemboon. Only the structure and markings of these tense-aspect categories is provided since their functions have already been described in 3.1 or 3.2.2 above. Also, relevant data in Ghomla? and/Ngiemboon are repeated here.

LABELS[23]	NGOMBALE	GHOMALA?	NGIEMBOON
Hodiernal Past	**jă/tě** N-vb	**ê** N- vb	**ně** N-vb
Hodiernal Past, Imperfective	**jă/tě mə́** N-vb	---	**kɔ̀ nè** N-vb-SUFF
Near Past	**kə̀** vb	**kə̄** vb	**kà** vb
Near Past, Imperfective	**kə̀ pə́** N-vb	---	**kà nè** N-vb-SUFF
Remote Past	**lə̀** vb	**lə̄** vb	**là** vb
General Future	**ɣwɔ̀** vb	**gɔ̄** vb	**ɣè** vb
General Future, Imperfective	**ɣwɔ̀ pə́** vb	**gɔ̄ pə́ wə́** vb	**ɣè kú nè** N-vb-SUFF

Table 5 – Semantically corresponding tense-aspect categories across Ngombale, Ghomala?, and Ngiemboon

[23] The labels in this table only apply to Ngombale. For the labels in Ghomala? and Ngiemboon, see 3.1 and 3.2.2, respectively.

3.3.2 Ngombale's tense-aspect categories, with no semantically corresponding tense-aspect category in Ghomala?/Ngiemboon

This sub-section focuses on Ngombale's tense-aspect categories which do not have a semantically corresponding tense-aspect category in Ghomala? or Ngiemboon.

*3.3.2.1 Remote Past Imperfective (P_3 IPFV) **lə́ pə́** N-vb*

The Remote Past Imperfective is expressed by a construction which consists of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the remote past marker **lə́**, the imperfective marker **pə́**, and the nasal consonant prefix **N-** in that order. It is used to describe on the one hand situations which were ongoing in the remote past, that is, one month ago or any time before that time, and on the other hand past habitual situations.

(32) **à lə́ pə́ ḿbí ŋgəsáŋ**
à lə́ pə́ N-pí ŋgəsáŋ
3SG P_3 IPFV N-sow maize
'He was sowing maize'
Context: Q: What was your brother doing when a mid-wife phoned him last year at this very time to inform him that his wife gave birth to a baby boy? (Do you remember the activity he was engaged in?)

(33) **à lə́ pə́ ńdʒú? ŋgəsáŋ**
à lə́ pə́ N-ʒú? ŋgəsáŋ
3SG P_3 IPFV N-cultivate maize
'He used to cultivate maize'
Context: Q: What was your brother doing as a profession when he was still living in the village?

*3.3.2.2 Imperfective (IPFV) **mə́~pə́** N-vb*

The Imperfective is expressed by a construction which consists of two pre-verbal elements, namely, the imperfective marker **mə́~pə́** and the nasal consonant prefix **N-** in that order. It is used to describe on the one hand actions or events performed on multiple occasions over an extended period of time, and on the other hand situations going on at the time of speaking. The examples in (34) and (35) below illustrate the use of the imperfective in Ngombale.

(34) **à pə́ ḿbí ŋgəsáŋ**
à pə́ N-pí ŋgəsáŋ
3SG IPFV N-sow maize
'He is sowing maize.'
Context: Q: What is your brother doing right now?

(35) **à pə́ ŋgāptə̄ ŋkáp**
à pə́ N-ɣāp-tə̄ ŋkáp
3SG IPFV N-distribute-EXT money
'He distributes money.'
Context: Q: What does your brother usually do when he is happy?

*3.3.2.3 Remote Future (F_2) **ɣwɔ̀ ɣū** vb*

The Remote Future is expressed by the marker **ɣū** which must co-occur with the general future marker **ɣwɔ̀**. It is employed to describe future perfective situations which will take place in the remote future. That is, either the day after the time of speaking or any time thereafter.

(36) **à ɣwɔ̀ ɣū pí ŋgəsáŋ**
3SG F_1 F_2 sow maize
'He is going to sow maize'
Context: The speaker is talking about something his/her brother is planning to do next week.

*3.3.2.4 Remote Future Imperfective (F_2 IPFV) **ɣwɔ̀ ɣū pə́** vb*

The Remote Future Imperfective is expressed by means of three pre-verbal elements, namely, the general future marker **ɣwɔ̀**, the remote future marker **ɣū**, and the imperfective marker **pə́** in that order. It is used to describe situations which will be in progress in the remote future.

(37) **à ɣwɔ̀ ɣū pə́ pí ŋgəsáŋ**
3SG F_1 F_2 IPFV sow maize
'He is going to be sowing maize'
Context: Q: What do you think your brother is going to be doing when we visit him next Sunday? (What activity will he be engaged when we arrive?)

3.3.2.5 Unmarked tense-aspect (UTA) Ø vb

The Unmarked Tense-Aspect is neither marked for tense nor aspect. It is noteworthy for its range of functions. It may be used to describe a past situation whose end is interpreted as just having occurred. Also, it may serve to present a current state without any implication of how this state came about. When used in discourse (narrations, descriptions, expositions, etc.), the Unmarked Tense-Aspect replaces a tense-aspect marking already mentioned, either explicitly, that is, using an explicit tense-aspect marking or implicitly, that is, without an explicit tense-aspect marking since the participants already know the context.

(38) **ò Ø ŋɔ́ məzʉ́ mbō mɔ̂**
2SG UTA give food to child
'Have you fed the baby?'
Context: The speaker is talking about a baby who looks hungry.

(39) **ə Ø ɣú?**
it UTA be.big
'It is big'
Context: The speaker is talking about the house in which s/he lives.

(40) **à lə pɔ́ ŋ́ŋé ʧə̄ māndò ndě?ʒwómí à Ø tō? kù jé ǹdù**
à lə pɔ́ N-ŋé ʧə̄ māndò ndě?ʒwómí à Ø tō? kù jé ndù
3SG P3 IPFV N-walk in forest suddenly he UTA lay foot his on
'He was walking in the forest suddenly, (and) suddenly, he laid his foot on…'
Context: The speaker is talking about something that happened to his/her brother about a year ago.

In example (38), the Unmarked Tense-Aspect is used to refer to a past action whose end is interpreted as just having occurred. In (39), it has a present state interpretation. Example (40) shows a case where the Unmarked Tense-Aspect replaces an already mentioned tense-aspect marking, namely, the remote past tense marker **lə**.

The following final comments should be made here. Just like Ghomala? and Ngiemboon, Ngombale shows a clear formal relatedness between future tense markers and verbs which have full lexical meaning. The general future marker **ɣwɔ̀** is identical in form to the verb **ɣwɔ̀** 'go', the remote future marker **ɣʉ̄** is identical in form to the verb **ɣʉ̄** 'do'.

As shown in Table 4, there are two variants of the imperfective marker in Ngombale, namely, **mɔ́** and **pɔ́**. The selection of one or the other of these two variants is conditioned by either the grammatical context or the lexical context of the imperfective marker. Talking about the grammatical context, it can be said that the imperfective marker in Ngombale is realised as [**mɔ́**] after the hodiernal past marker **jă/tě**, and [**pɔ́**] after all other tense markers. As for the lexical context, one can say that the imperfective marker is realised as [**mɔ́**] after the first person singular subject pronoun and [**pɔ́**] after all nouns and all subject pronouns except the first person singular subject pronoun.

Ngombale does not allow the combination of the habitual meaning with the future tense meaning. Also, the combination of the habitual meaning with the hodiernal past meaning, as well as the near past meaning is not possible in Ngombale. The present tense meaning also appears to be incompatible with the

perfective meaning in Ngombale. Possible reasons for these incompatibilities can be found in 3.1 and 3.2 above.

Also worth noting is the fact that the imperfective marker in Ngombale has a progressive interpretation when co-occurring with future tense markings or the markers of the first and second degrees of remoteness in the past, whereas when co-occurring with the remote past marker or when used alone, it has either the progressive meaning or the habitual meaning.

4. A comparison of tense-aspect categories across Ghomalaʔ, Ngiemboon, and Ngombale

In this section, I undertake a synchronic comparison of the investigated languages with respect to the structure of tense-aspect categories, the form of tense-aspect markers, and the function of tense-aspect categories.

4.1 Structure of tense-aspect categories

A comparison of the languages analysed with respect to the structure of tense-aspect categories shows that in Ghomalaʔ, Ngiemboon, and Ngombale, the tense marker always precedes the aspect marker when both elements occur together. Each of the languages analysed distinguishes an Unmarked Tense-Aspect which is manifested by the lack of a tense and an aspect marking. In other words, the verb appears in the clause with no tense or aspect marking. Also, in each of the investigated languages, it is possible to have one or two tense markers (following each other) before the verb. The structure 'T T vb', that is, two tense markers following each other before the verb exclusively occurs in clauses where the Near Future or the Remote Future is used.

In Ghomalaʔ and Ngombale, aspect markers typically appear in pre-verbal position, whereas in Ngiemboon, they occur before or after the verb. Also, while in Ngiemboon and Ngombale only one aspect marker may occur before the verb, in Ghomalaʔ, it is possible to have two aspect markers following each other before the verb. The structure 'A A vb', that is, two aspect markers following each other before the verb is observed in clauses where a tense-aspect category that describes a progressive situation is used. Ghomalaʔ and Ngiemboon both mark the Perfect category. However, while in Ghomalaʔ the perfect marker appears before the verb, in Ngiemboon, it occurs after the verb.

Each of the target languages distinguishes a nasal consonant prefix that must accompany some tense and/or aspect markers. This nasal prefix, which typically occurs before the verb, does not have the same distribution from one language of the study to another. For instance, while in Ngiemboon a nasal consonant prefix

always occurs before the verb when the verb is preceded by the progressive marker (nè), in Ghomala?, a nasal consonant prefix occurs before the verb when the verb is preceded by the progressive marker (wə́), except when the progressive marker is preceded by a future tense marker.

4.2 Form of tense-aspect markers

As shown in section 3, the tense-aspect markers that occur in the investigated languages may have any of the following four forms: (1) a free-standing marker, for example, the hodiernal past marker jă/tě in Ngombale, (2) a tonal marker, for example, the Imperfective in Ghomala? is indicated by a high-low tone realised on the subject of the clause, (3) an affix, for example, the imperfective verb suffix in Ngiemboon, and (4) a portmanteau realisation of a tense marker and an aspect marker, for example, the Ngiemboon's near past habitual marker kɔ̌ː. However, these four forms are not attested in all of the investigated languages. While in Ghomala? the tense-aspect marker may be a free-standing marker or a tonal marker, in Ngiemboon, the tense-aspect marker may be a free-standing marker, a tonal marker, an affix or a portmanteau realisation of a tense marker and an aspect marker. Ngombale, on its part, only distinguishes free-standing tense-aspect markers.

4.3 Function of tense-aspect categories

In Ghomala? and Ngiemboon, three distinct tense-aspect categories are used to talk about future perfective situations. These are: General Future, Near Future, and Remote Future. Ngombale makes use of two distinct tense-aspect categories to refer to future perfective situations: General Future and Remote Future. Worthy of note is that the function of the Remote Future in Ngombale, that is, the Remote Future describes future perfective situations that are going to take place either the day after the speech moment or any time thereafter, is identical to the functions of both the Near Future and Remote Future in Ghomala? and Ngiemboon. In other words, a difference is observed between the investigated languages with respect to the function of the tense-aspect categories in that a single category in Ngombale, that is, the Remote Future, works as two distinct categories in Ghomala? and Ngiemboon, namely the Near Future and the Remote Future.

In Ngombale, a single tense-aspect category, namely the Imperfective, is used to describe present progressive and present habitual situations. Ghomala? and Ngiemboon use two distinct tense-aspect categories to describe present progressive and present habitual situations. That is, Ghomala? distinguishes an Imperfective category and a Progressive category that are used to describe

present habitual and present progressive situations, respectively. Ngiemboon has a Habitual category and a Progressive category which are used to describe present habitual and present progressive situations, respectively.

In order to talk about past habitual situations, Ghomalaʔ and Ngiemboon make use of two distinct tense-aspect categories. In Ghomalaʔ, there is a Near Past Imperfective and a Remote Past Imperfective which are used to describe near past habitual and remote past habitual situations, respectively. In Ngiemboon, there is a Near Past Habitual and Remote Past Habitual which are used to describe near past habitual and remote past habitual situations, respectively. Ngombale stands out as unique among the investigated languages as far as the description of past habitual situations is concerned. In fact, based on my data analysis, I argue that past habitual situations concerned only remote past situations in Ngombale. That is, a hodiernal or a near past habitual interpretation is not possible in Ngombale. A single category, namely the Remote Past Imperfective is, therefore, used to describe past habitual situations in Ngombale.

In Ngiemboon and Ngombale, three distinct tense-aspect categories are used to talk about past progressive situations. These are the Hodienal Past Progressive, the Near Past Progressive, and the Remote Past Progressive in Ngiemboon, the Hodiernal Past Imperfective, the Near Past Imperfective, and the Remote Past Imperfective in Ngombale. Ghomalaʔ uses two distinct categories to describe past progressive situations: the Near Past Progressive and the Remote Past Progressive. Interestingly, the function of the Near Past Progressive in Ghomalaʔ, namely description of situations that were ongoing less than one month ago, is identical to the functions of both the Hodiernal Past Progressive and the Near Past Progressive in Ngiemboon or the Hodiernal Past Imperfective and the Near Past Imperfective in Ngombale. In other words, a single category in Ghomalaʔ, that is, the Near Past Progressive, operates as two distinct categories in Ngiemboon and Ngombale.

Ghomalaʔ and Ngiemboon are both analysed as having a Perfect category. However, while in Ghomalaʔ the Perfect may be used to present a state without any implication of how this state came about, in Ngiemboon, the Perfect may be used to present a current state as being the result of some past situation. No Perfect category has been established in Ngombale. However, the Unmarked Tense-Aspect in Ngombale may function as the Perfect in Ghomalaʔ.

Each of the three languages analysed distinguishes an Unmarked Tense-Aspect. While in Ghomalaʔ the Unmarked Tense-Aspect is used to replace a tense-aspect category already mentioned in a preceding sentence, in Ngiemboon, the Unmarked Tense-Aspect is used to describe a present state without any

implication of how this state came about or to replace a tense-aspect category already mentioned in a preceding sentence. Ngombale on its part uses the Unmarked Tense-Aspect in three different ways: (1) to express a past situation whose end is interpreted as just having occurred, (2) to present a current state without any implication of how this state came about, and (3) to replace a tense-aspect category mentioned in a preceding sentence.

In all, the comparison of the investigated languages with respect to the structure of tense-aspect categories, the form of tense-aspect markers, and the function of tense-aspect categories reveals that the languages analysed show similarities, but also huge differences with respect to tense-aspect categories.

5. Conclusion

This paper set out to describe and then compare tense-aspect features in three Bamileke languages, with a view to (1) providing a detailed description of the mechanisms for expressing tense-aspect categories in three Bamileke languages and (2) testing the hypothesis that Bamileke languages could be described in a common grammar. The study has demonstrated that there is an extensive inventory of tense-aspect markings in each of the languages analysed and that most of these markings (for example, the remote past marker lə̄ in Ghomla?) seem to have a clear, single, basic function. The comparison of the investigated languages with respect to (1) the structure of tense-aspect categories, (2) the form of tense-aspect markers, and (3) the function of tense-aspect categories has revealed that the languages analysed show similarities, but also huge differences with respect to the tense-aspect categories. The paper neatly illustrates the fact that languages that are closely related can still have major differences at the verbal level (Nurse 2008: 25). Furthermore, it concludes with the observation that while it might be possible that at some point of time in the past Bamileke languages had the same grammar, (this assumption is based on the similarities between the investigated languages described in this paper, as well as the findings of previous scholars; see section 1) the differences currently observed between them, with respect to tense-aspect features, are so important that one has to acknowledge that Bamileke languages are not suitable candidates for inclusion in a common grammar. It would, therefore, be reasonable to describe different Bamileke languages in different grammar books. Similar research on the entire verbal system, as well as other aspects of grammar in the three languages compared in this paper and an extended number of Bamileke languages, will certainly provide useful information to substantiate these concluding remarks.

References

ANDERSON, Stephen (1983). *Tone and morpheme rules in Bamileke-Ngyemboon*, Ph.D. thesis, Los Angeles: University of Southern California.

BYBEE, Joan, Revere PERKINS, and William PAGLIUCA (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

COMRIE, Bernard (1976). *Aspect*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

COMRIE, Bernard. (1985). *Tense*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DAHL, Östen (1985). *Tense and aspect systems*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

ELIAS, Philip, Jacqueline LEROY and Jan VOORHOEVE (1984). "Nbam-Nkam or Eastern Grassfields", *Afrika und Übersee* 67: 31-107.

HYMAN, Larry (1972). *A Phonological Study of Fe'fe'-Bamileke*, Ph.D. thesis, Los Angeles: University of Southern California.

KRAMER, Raija (2017). "Phasal polarity expressions. Position paper", University of Hamburg, accessed on 30/11/2018,
<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/afrika/php2018/medien/position-paper-on-php.pdf>

LONFO, Etienne (2014). "Aperçu grammatical", in Etienne LONFO and Stephen ANDERSON (eds.), *Ngiemboon-French-English Dictionary*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 58–86.

MBA, Gabriel and Prosper DJIAFEUA (2003). "Les extensions verbales en Ngiembɔɔn", in Daniel IDIATA and Gabriel MBA (eds.), *Studies on voice through verbal extensions in nine Bantu languages spoken in Cameroon, Gabon, DRC and Rwanda*, Munich: LINCOM, 113-166.

MBA, Gabriel (1997). "Les extensions verbales en Ghɔmálá?", *Journal of West African languages* 26(1): 77-101.

NISSIM, Gabriel (1975). *Grammaire Bamileke*, Cahier du département des Langues Africaines et Linguistiques 6, Université de Yaoundé.

NURSE, Derek (2008). *Tense and aspect in Bantu*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PIRON, Pascale (1995). "Identification lexicostatistique des groupes bantoïdes stables", *Journal of West African Languages* 25(2), 3-30.

RICHARDSON, Irvine (1957). *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland*, Vol. 2, London: Oxford University Press.

SONKOUE, K. Eliane (2019). "Mengaka tense-aspect system", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 28(3), 1–17.

TAMANJI, Puis (2009). *A Descriptive Grammar of Bafut*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

TAMANJI, Puis (2009). "Towards a Polylectal Grammar of the Ngemba Cluster of Grassfields Bantu Languages", paper presented at the international workshop *Towards Polylectal Grammars of African Languages* (Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg, 27-29 November 2009).

WATTERS, John and Jacqueline LOREY (1989). "Southern Bantoid", in John BENDOR-SAMUEL (ed.), *The Niger-Congo languages*, Lanham: University Press of America, 430–449.

WATTERS, John (2003). "Grassfields Bantu", in Derek NURSE and Gérard PHILIPPSON (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, London: Routledge, 225-256.

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1/2020, 62-88

Outlier stock and Northern Nigeria's convergence zones

RONALD P. SCHAEFER[1] / FRANCIS O. EGBOKHARE[2]

[1] Department of English
Southern Illinois University Edwardsville
rschaef@siue.edu

[2] Department of Linguistics and African Languages
University of Ibadan
foegbokhare@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

We undertake a two-step inquiry relative to Northern Nigeria's convergence zones. Initially we compare West Benue Congo's Edoid language Emai to linguistic features assigned these zones. This provides an affinity quotient for Emai relative to each zone: 75% for the Macro-Sudan Belt (MSB) and 55% for the Wider Lake Chad Region (WLCR). We then assess Emai sentential coordination and noun class prefixing. Coordination reveals cognates for adversative **àmma** 'but' and disjunctive **ráà/láà** 'or,' both found among Northern Nigeria's majority languages and sourced from Arabic. Cognates occur not only in Northern Nigeria but also among the Emai, today a forest zone agricultural clan. In addition, remnant noun class prefixing in Emai privileges herding over farming. It thus favors a pastoral past. Combined, coordination and noun prefix data suggest a wave-like migration of Edoid peoples into the rainforest and the opportunity for extended interaction of the Emai with WLCR and MSB populations. We suggest therefore that investigation of contemporary outlier languages like Emai might further clarify areal influence and contact within Northern Nigeria.

KEY WORDS: Emai, Edoid, Wider Lake Chad Region, Macro-Sudan Belt

DOI 10.6092/jalalit.v1i1.6734

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1/2020, 62-88

1. Introduction[1, 2]

The identification of areal convergence zones in African linguistic studies has been reinvigorated of late (AIKHENVALD and DIXON 2001, HEINE and KUTEVA 2001, DIMMENDAHL 2008, 2011, GÜLDEMANN 2008). Several studies fix Northern Nigeria as a site where two distinct convergence zones overlap (WOLFF and LÖHR 2005, CARON and ZIMA 2006, CYFFER 2006, ZIEGELMEYER 2009, CYFFER and ZIEGELMEYER 2009, SCHUH 2011). One of these zones is the Macro-Sudan Belt (MSB) extending from Senegal to Ethiopia; the second is the Wider Lake Chad Region (WLCR).

Although it may be useful to emphasize the common geography of these areal zones, it seems equally, if not more important to remember that the linguistic interactions defining each are temporally non-adjacent. They represent distinct temporal eras over one geographic space. This becomes important as one explores potential structural affinities between the features of languages which, today, exist outside the WLCR and MSB, and the feature complexes defining each convergence zone. Our aim in this paper is to articulate affinities between such outlier language stock and each convergence zone. In doing so, we hope to illuminate Northern Nigeria's role in the history of various peoples who are no longer its inhabitants (NEWMAN 1995).

---

[1] Data incorporated in this paper derive from research sponsored by the U.S. National Science Foundation, (BNS #9011338 and SBR #9409552), the U.S. Department of State (College and University Affiliations Program grant ASJY 1333), and the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities (PD-50004-06). At various times, data collection benefited from summer research fellowship support competitively provided by Southern Illinois University Edwardsville and hospitality extended by the University of Ibadan and its Department of Linguistics and African Languages. We thank these institutions for their support, while not extending to them any responsibility for data interpretation. Finally, we thank two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments on an earlier draft.

[2] Orthographic conventions for Emai are consistent with those in SCHAEFER and EGBOKHARE (1999, 2007, 2017), where **o̲** represents a lax mid back vowel, **e̲** a lax mid front vowel, and **vb** a voiced bilabial approximant. With respect to tone, acute accent marks high, grave accent signals low, and acute accent followed by an apostrophe designates high downstep. Across an Emai clause, tone marking is grammatically conditioned by syntactic position as well as inflectional factors such as mood, aspect and polarity. Subject position is therefore variously assigned a construct tonal pattern (**ójé**, **ó̲li ókpósó**) for the past perfect, for instance, or an absolute, lexical pattern (**òjè**, **ólì òkpòsò**) for the present perfect. Abbreviations for grammatical morphemes used throughout this paper include: ASS=associative, C=continuous, COM=comitative, CONC=concessive, CS=change of state, DS=distributive, F=factative, IND=indicative, INT=interjection, LOG=logophoric, LOC=locative, NEG=perfect negation, PAP=past perfect, PR=Prohibitive, PRONEG=prospective negation, PRP=present perfect, PRED=predictive, REFL=emphatic reflexive, SC=subject concord, SELF=reflexive and SN=sentence negation.

To illustrate our point, we compare linguistic features defining each convergence zone with the West Benue Congo and Edoid language Emai (ELUGBE 1989, WILLIAMSON and BLENCH 2000). Today, Edoid populations inhabit the Guinea rainforest in an area demarcated from latitude 5°0'N to 7°30'N and from longitude 5°0'E to 6°50'E. This covers approximately 500 km from north to south and 300 km from east to west. Essentially, these dimensions characterize Nigeria's Bendel State of the 1970s-1980s, whose capital was Benin City. In the upper third of Bendel, at latitude 6°50'N and longitude 6°10'E, exists Afuze, political center of the Emai clan. Its grammatical patterns will be taken as representative of Edoid.

2. Comparison of Edoid to Northern Nigeria convergence zones

In the following sub-sections we compare linguistic features of Emai to those identified as characteristic of the Macro-Sudan Belt and the Wider Lake Chad Region in Northern Nigeria. Features for each convergence zone are sourced from conference presentations by ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016). In his tables for a given language or language family, features are identified as frequent, rare, or as occurring or not.

With respect to each convergence zone, features that Ziegelmeyer has assigned to Chadic languages serve as our initial point of comparison. We compare the Chadic features to our own knowledge of Emai in order to establish an affinity quotient relative to each zone. Furthermore, feature comparison between Emai and each zone is developed under two conditions, absolute and qualified. The former refers to a characteristic or pervasive grammatical feature, while the latter allows for remnant forms, grammatical variation and less pervasive phenomena.

Our overall findings show that Emai exhibits a greater affinity to the MSB than to the WLCR. While perhaps not surprising, affinity levels across convergence zones are distinct, since feature sharing is 75% with the MSB and 55% with the WLCR.

2.1 Macro-Sudan Belt compared to Emai

Our comparison between the Macro-Sudan Belt and Emai begins with Chadic properties displayed in Table 1. Of 12 MSB features, Chadic languages show 3 that are designated as frequent. Only one of these, the *surpass* comparative, is also found in Emai. Of 9 features indicated as rare or absent in Chadic, 4 appear in Emai as characteristic synchronic properties: labio-velar stops, nasalized vowels, logophoricity and serial verbs.

FEATURE	MACRO-SUDAN	CHADIC	EMAI
implosives	F	F	-
labial flap	F	r	-
3+ tone levels	F	r	-
ATR harmony	F	r	-
labio-velar stops	F	r	+
nasalized vowels	F	-	+
lax question markers	F	r	-
S aux O V X	F	-	-
V O negation	F	F	-
logophoricity	F	r	+
surpass comparative	F	F	+
serial verbs	F	r	+
	F=12	F=3	+=5

Table 1 – Features characteristic of the Macro-Sudan Belt from ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016) aligned relative to feature occurrence in Chadic (F=frequent, r=rare) and Emai (+ = occurrence and - = non-occurrence).

Setting Chadic aside, we now consider Emai features that are less comprehensive or assume a remnant form. We compare these qualified features directly to the MSB's 12 features outlined in ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016). There are 8 MSB features that occur in Emai. 4 do not (implosives, labial flap, 3+ tone levels, and lax question marker). Justifying this interpretation of Emai will require additional illustration. Immediately after Table 2, we provide samples of Emai sounds, lexemes and grammatical constructions to exemplify our qualified approach to Emai features and their relation to the MSB.

FEATURE	MACRO-SUDAN	CHADIC	EMAI-A	EMAI-Q
implosives	F	F	-	-
labial flap	F	r	-	-
3+ tone levels	F	r	-	-
ATR harmony	F	r	-	+
labio-velar stops	F	r	+	+
nasalized vowels	F	-	+	+
lax question markers	F	r	-	-
S aux O V X	F	-	-	+
V O negation	F	F	-	+
logophoricity	F	r	+	+
surpass comparative	F	F	+	+
serial verbs	F	r	+	+
	F=12	F=3	+=5	+=8

Table 2 – Features characteristic of the Macro-Sudan Belt from ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016) aligned relative to feature occurrence in Chadic (F=frequent, r=rare), Emai-absolute (A) and Emai-qualified (Q) (+ = occurrence, - = non-occurrence).

There are 8 MSB features that can be identified under qualified Emai. Perhaps our examples stretch the intended meaning behind Ziegelmeyer's approach to the MSB. Although that may be, we think it useful to consider features in broad rather than narrow terms, so as to gain an appreciation of how language contact may have operated over a longer period of time.

A background feature for the data that follows concerns 3+ tone levels. Emai has 2 level tones plus downstep. It shows high (H), down-stepped high (!H) and low (L) tone, both lexically and grammatically. In orthographic practice, high tone is represented by an acute accent, low tone by a grave accent, and down-stepped high by an acute accent immediately followed by a single quote mark.

èkpà	**ékpà**	**ódn̄**	**ùdón**	**óvbèè**	**ùvbéé'**
'fist'	'vomit'	'husband'	'loan interest'	'monkey'	'trickery'

High downstep contrasts with simple high in the expression of perfect aspect. In particular, right edge subject phrase tone distinguishes past perfect (PAP) from present perfect (PRP). PAP exhibits right edge high (**ómóhé**), whereas PRP reveals right edge low (**ómòhè**).

(1) a. **ǫ́lí ǫ́mǫ́hé dá' ɛ́nyǫ́ élìyǫ́.**
the man PAP.drink wine that.kind
'The man drank wine of that kind.'

b. **ǫ́lí ǫ́mǫ́hé dá ɛ́nyǫ́ élìyǫ́.**
the man PRP.drink wine that.kind
'The man drank wine of that kind.'

Emai articulates ATR harmony only in a remnant form. It has a Distributive (DS) suffix with the morphophonemic alternants **lo**, **lo** and **no**. Each attaches only to monosyllabic verb forms and differentially interacts with verb transitivity. The Distributive specifies that a verb property is distributed over an intransitive subject or a transitive direct object.

Morphophonemic shape of the Distributive is controlled by verb vowel height. When the host verb exhibits a non-nasalized high vowel, either front (**i**) or back (**u**), Distributive shape is **-lo**.

(2) a. **ò ó fì-lò ìyáín údò.**
he C hit-DS them stone
'He is hitting each of them, one after the other, with a stone.'

b. **è khú-ló élí ívbèkhàn kú à.**
they PRP.chase-DS the children disperse that.CS
'They chased the children away / they each chased a child away.'

When the verb shows a final nasal vowel (**un**, **in**), Distributive shape is **-no**.

(3) **é ló tín-nó kú à**.
they PRED fly-DS disperse CS
'They will each one after the other fly away.'

In all other vowel environments, Distributive shape is **-lo**.

(4) **ùkpíìhì ò ó sà-lò ólí ómòhè.**
they SC C sting-DS the man
'An ant is stinging the man repeatedly.'

A second feature in Table 2 pertains to labio-velar stops. Emai has two, [kp] and [gb], as illustrated below.

kpa 'to vomit' **gba** 'to be big'

Moving to nasal vowels, Emai shows five. Each contrasts with a corresponding non-nasal vowel. Only **e** and **o** exhibit no nasal counterpart.

sin	'to deny'	**khun**	'to bundle'	**sẹn**	'to pierce'
họn	'to hear'	**san**	'to leap'		

Another MSB feature taken from Ziegelmeyer is the lax question marker. Here we have a contrast with Emai. Emai does not employ a segmental marker for polar interrogatives. However, its polar questions of the *yes/no* type evince the same word order as declaratives but with a higher pitch register.

(5) **ólí ómòhè é ólí émàè**?
the man PRP.eat the food
'Has the man eaten the food?'

Rhetorical questions also rely on a higher register. They manifest a final extra-high tone (e.g. **é**) following a lexical low tone (**émàè**). Both of these Emai interrogatives reflect the tense or rising prosody type of CLEMENTS and RIALLAND (2008), as opposed to the lax/falling prosody type that Ziegelmeyer highlights.

(6) **ólí ómòhè ò ó ólí émàè?**
the man SC C the food
'The man is eating the food is he?'

For the feature encompassing an SVO ~ SauxOVX word order change, we wonder if "aux" can be the only grammatical exponent that accompanies the derived SOV order. Emai exhibits alternating simple and complex predicates that contrast with respect to word order and meaning. For a change of positional state, the complex predicate specifies achievement of a maximum end state or result ($SVOV_1$). A non-maximum change of positional state is expressed by a corresponding simple predicate (SV_1O). Instead of an auxiliary, Emai employs a verb in series to signal the maximum end state. English translation relies on directional prepositions 'up', 'down', 'around' or end state positional expressions such as 'at arm's length' or 'flat out'. The examples in (7) and (8) illustrate Emai's SV_1O ~ $SVOV_1$ alternation.

(7) a. **òjè khúáé ólì ùkòdò**.
Oje PRP.raise the pot
'Oje raised the pot.'

b. **òjè nwú ólì ùkòdò khúáé.**
Oje PRP.take.hold the pot raise
'Oje raised up the pot at arm's length / got the pot raised up.'

(8) a. **òjè gbé ólí óràn**.
Oje PRP.fell the tree
'Oje lowered the position of the tree / felled the tree.'

b. **òjè fí ólí óràn gbé**.
Oje PRP.project the tree fell
'Oje felled the tree flat out / got the tree down flat.'

c. ***òjè fí ólí óràn**.
Oje PRP.project the tree
'Oje projected/dropped the tree.'

It is not only a direct object argument that can undergo change to a maximum positional end state. Some complex predications assert a maximum end state for a subject argument, as with (**òjè** 'Oje') in (9b).

(9) a. **òjè héén ùdékèn.**
Oje PRP.climb wall
'Oje climbed the wall.'

b. **òjè nwú ùdékèn héén.**
Oje PRP.take wall climb
'Oje got to the top of the wall / climbed up to the wall top.'

c. ***òjè nwú ùdékèn.**
Oje PRP.take wall
'Oje took hold of the wall.'

A similar word order relationship between simple and complex predicates characterizes the forcible dispossession domain. With SV_1O order, a simple predicate conveys an activity while assuming a possession relationship between its subject as possessor and its direct object as possessum. In the corresponding complex predicate $SVOV_1$, the verb **do** 'engage by stealth' occurs as the initial verb in series and signals forcible dispossession of the erstwhile direct object. English translation engages the verb 'steal' or in some instances collocations of dispossession, e.g. 'carry off'.

(10) a. **òjè nwú ólí úkpùn.**
Oje PRP.take the cloth
'Oje carried the cloth.'

b. **òjè dó ólí úkpùn nwú.**
Oje PRP.engage.by.stealth the cloth take
'Oje stole / carried off the cloth.'

c. ***òjè dó ólí úkpùn.**
Oje PRP.engage.by.stealth the cloth
'Oje took hold of the wall.'

With respect to negation and main clause aspect, Ziegelmeyer identifies a dichotomy in the indicative expression of predicate negation. He notes that some languages in the Lake Chad Region exhibit contrasting forms of negation with perfective and imperfective aspect, e.g. Hausa imperfective *baa* vs. discontinuous *bà(a)…ba* for perfective and other indicatives. We wonder if this split character for negation might be extended further, to sentence negation for instance. In Emai, the sentence negation (SN) particle **ki** occurs in clause initial position. It has scope over the entire proposition. The affected clause takes the form of a polar interrogative or a declarative with an obligatory contrary-to-expectation interjection **ò**.

(11) a. **kí ólí ómóhé méhén'-ì?**
SN the man PAP.sleep-F
'Isn't it the case that the man slept?'

b. **kí ólí ómóhé méhén'-ì?**
SN the man PAP.sleep-F
'It isn't the case the man slept, even though you expect he did.'

In response to an interrogative **ki** construction, either **hèè** 'yes' precedes an affirmative declarative clause, or **òghò** 'no' precedes a negative statement.

(12) **kí ólí ómóhé gbé' ófè?**
SN the man PAP.kill rat
'Isn't it the case that the man killed a rat?'

hèè, ó gbé' ói. / òghò, ó ì gbè ói.
yes he PAP.kill it no he NEG kill it
'Yes, he killed it.' / 'No, he did not kill it.'

The counterpart to sentence negation in Emai is a sentence affirmation particle that has scope over its entire proposition. Sentence affirmation (SA) constructions reaffirm the factuality of a discourse event or proposition as information shared by speaker and hearer. They are framed by **érí'**, which appears only in clause initial position, never clause internally; it is immediately followed by a matrix clause.

(13) **érí' ólí ómóhé shén' ólí émà.**
SA the man PAP.sell the yam
'Indeed, the man sold the yam.'

Concerning the logophoric feature in Table 2, Emai exhibits a special class of pronouns to track the referent of a grammatical subject associated with a communication or cognition verb. Its logophoric (LOG) pronouns reflect two grammatical relations (subject/non-subject) as well as number (singular/plural).

	Singular	Plural
Subject	**yọn**	**yan**
Direct object	**íyọ̀ìn**	**íyàìn**
Indirect object	**íyọ̀ìn**	**íyàìn**
Possessive	**ìyóín**	**ìyáín**
Emphatic	**íyọ̀ìn**	**íyàìn**

In a typical instance, Emai logophoric forms appear in sentence complement clauses embedded under communication or cognition verbs. Regardless of their own syntactic position (subject **yọn** in 14a, direct object **íyọ̀ìn** in 14c), logophoric pronouns co-refer to a previously mentioned subject referent (e.g. **ójé**),

(14) a. **ójé ré' é khì yọn sá óvbèkhàn.**
Oje PRP.CONC say IND LOG PRP.shoot youth
'Oje$_i$ said that he$_i$ shot a youth.'

b. ***ójé ré' é áléké khì yọn sá óvbèkhàn.**
Oje PRP.CONC say Aleke IND LOG PRP.shoot youth
'Oje told Aleke$_i$ that she$_i$ shot a youth.'

c. **ójé ré' é khì óvbèkhàn sá íyọ̀ìn.**
Oje PRP.CONC say IND youth PRP.shoot LOG
'Oje$_i$ said that a youth shot him$_i$.'

When coding a third person singular subject in a complement clause, a logophoric pronoun (e.g. **yon**) contrasts with a corresponding personal pronoun (e.g **o**). Logophoric forms require conjoint reference vis-à-vis their antecedent, i.e. referential identity (15a). Personal pronouns impose a disjoint, switch reference condition relative to their antecedent (15b).

(15) a. **ólí ómóhé ré' é khì yọn gbé ólí ófè.**
the man PAP.CONC say IND LOG PRP.kill the rat
'The man$_i$ said that he$_i$ killed the rat.'

b. **ólí ómóhé ré' é khì ò gbé ólí ófè.**
the man PAP.CONC say IND he PRP.kill the rat
'The man$_i$ said that he$_j$ (someone else) killed the rat.'

Table 2 identifies a surpass/exceed comparative for the MSB. Emai articulates its comparative with verb **lee** 'surpass' in series.

(16) a. **ólí ómóhé ón àmè léé mè.**
the man PRP.drink water surpass me
'The man has drunk more water than I.'

b. **ólí ómòhè dá léé òhí.**
the man PRP.be.tall surpass Ohi
'The man is taller than Ohi.'

Relative to the surpass/exceed comparative, there are two subtypes according to HEINE and KUTEVA (2001: 405). The subtypes are illustrated with contrasting patterns from Hausa (17a) and Swahili (17b). A comparison of each subtype with the Emai examples in (16) reveals that Emai follows the Swahili pattern, consistent with its Niger Congo heritage, rather than the Hausa and presumably Chadic pattern. Further investigation of surpass/exceed subtypes within Northern Nigeria could thus prove revealing.

(17) a. **naa fii muusaa wàayoo.** (Hausa)
I surpass Musa cleverness
'I am cleverer than Musa.'

b. **Nyumba yako ni kubwa kushinda yangu.** (Swahili)
house your be to.defeat mine
'Your house is bigger than mine.'

Our final MSB feature from Table 2 concerns serial verbs. Emai manifests two verb series types. It displays verb combinations articulating either an event's argument profile or its aspectual character, particularly with respect to end state or result. Illustrative examples concern verb marking (**gbe**) of locative relatum for momentary contact (18a-b) and manner of motion (**sua, la**) for directional change of state (19a-b).

(18) a. **òjè gbúlú ólí ókò gbé ìmátò.**
Oje PRP.roll the mortar hit car
'Oje rolled the mortar against the car.'

b. **ólí ókò gbúlú gbé ìmátò.**
the mortar PRP.roll hit car
'The mortar rolled the car.'

(19) a. **ólí ómòhè súá ókò ó vbí ékóà.**
the man PRP.push mortar enter LOC room
'The man pushed a mortar into the room.'

b. **ólí ómòhè lá ó vbí úkpódè.**
the man PRP.run enter LOC road
'The man has run onto the road.'

2.2 Comparison of Emai to the Wider Lake Chad Region

The feature profile for the Wider Lake Chad Region (WLCR) in ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016) is presented in Table 3. Central to establishing this profile are the two

majority languages of the region, Kanuri and Hausa. In Table 3, 14 features are identified. Kanuri realizes 13 of these, while Hausa manifests 11. It is only ATR harmony that fails to appear in both languages.

Chadic languages in the WLCR fare less well but not substantially so. They manifest 10 of 14 features and all 10 are designated as frequent or "+". Only ATR harmony, TA coding of information structure, vague future and the mixed order of adverbial subordinator are identified as rare.

FEATURE	HAUSA	KANURI	CHADIC
ATR harmony	-	-	r
exceed comparative	+	+	F
TA coding information structure	+	+	r
predicative possession: conjunctional	+	+	F
pluractional with reduplication	+	+	F
NP conjunction – 'with'	+	+	F
vague future	+	+	r
dichotomy in standard negation	+	+	F
special prohibitive	+	+	F
non-verbal predication possible	-	+	F
mixed order of adverbial subordinator	-	+	r
polar question particle	+	+	F
emphatic reflexive with 'head'	+	+	F
secondary preposition	+	+	+
	+ = 11	+ = 13	F=10

Table 3 – Features characteristic of the Wider Lack Chad Region aligned relative to feature occurrence in Hausa, Kanuri (+ =occurrence, - = non-occurrence) and Chadic (F=frequent, r=rare) from ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016).

When we compare the profile for Chadic in Table 3 with an absolute interpretation of Emai features, there is very little overlap. Of the 10 features identified as frequent or "+" for Chadic, there is overlap of 2 with Emai absolute (see Table 4). Emai shows both the exceed comparative, as already discussed in (16-17), and a special prohibitive, as will be discussed shortly.

When a more qualified analysis of Emai is undertaken allowing for remnant or near equivalent forms, a different condition obtains. As Table 4 reveals, there are 6 features that overlap between Chadic and qualified Emai. There is no overlap for 5 of Ziegelmeyer's Chadic features (predicative possession, pluractional with reduplication, dichotomy in standard negation, non-verbal predicative and emphatic reflexive with 'head').

Of 4 features marked as rare in Chadic, 2 are found with qualified Emai (ATR harmony and TA coding of information structure) but not the other 2 (vague future and mixed order of adverbial subordinators).

As with our earlier tables, we justify our Emai qualified decisions with illustration. There are 6 WLCR features that have corresponding realization in qualified Emai. Of these 6, data pertaining to 3 have already been presented (ATR harmony, exceed comparative and polar question). We now illustrate the remaining 3 (TA coding of information structure, NP 'with' conjunction and the special prohibitive), as well as constructions pertaining to the features pluractional with reduplication and emphatic reflexive with "head". Again, our examples may not match up exactly with the WLCR terminology. Nonetheless, at this stage of areal research on Northern Nigeria we think it useful to consider features as exhibiting a broad or narrow realization.

FEATURE	HAUSA	EMAI-A	EMAI-Q
ATR harmony	r	-	+
exceed comparative	F	+	+
TA coding information structure	r	-	+
predicative possession: conjunctional	F	-	-
pluractional with reduplication	F	-	-
NP conjunction – 'with'	F	-	+
vague future	r	-	-
dichotomy in standard negation	F	-	-
special prohibitive	F	+	+
non-verbal predication possible	F	-	-
mixed order of adverbial subordinator	r	-	-
polar question particle	F	-	+
emphatic reflexive with 'head'	F	-	-
secondary preposition	+	-	-
	F=9	+=2	+=6

Table 4 – Features characteristic of the Wider Lake Chad Region aligned relative to feature occurrence in Chadic (F=frequent, r=rare), Emai absolute (A) and Emai qualified (Q) (+ =occurrence, - = non-occurrence) from ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016).

Starting with TA coding, Emai tense/aspect interacts with information structure in a limited fashion. Its factative marker **-ì**, under specific conditions of aspect, verb valency and displacement of a non-subject core argument, is suffixed to a bivalent verb. Regarding aspect, the factative is restricted to present or past perfect. For instance, when the direct object argument of a bivalent verb occupies clause initial focus position marked by **lì** or corresponds to an interrogative pronoun, factative **-ì** is obligatory.

(20) a. **ólí ómóhé shén' ólí émà.**
the man PAP.sell the yam
'The man sold the yam.'

b. **ólí émà lí ólí ómóhé shén'-ì / *shén'.**
the yam PF the man PAP.sell-F
'It was yam that the man sold.'

c. **émé' ólí ómóhé shén'-ì / *shén'?**
what the man PAP.sell-F
'What did the man sell?'

When an oblique object of a bivalent verb is similarly displaced to focus position or corresponds to an interrogative pronoun, factative **-i** is also obligatory.

(21) a. **ólí ómóhé ó' vbì èkìn.**
the man PAP.enter LOC market
'The man entered the market.'

b. **èkìn lí ólí ómóhé ó'-ì.**
market PF the man PAP.enter-F
'It was a market that the man entered.'

c. **ébé' ólí ómóhé ó'-ì?**
where the man PAP.enter-F
'Where did the man enter?'

Similar relations of displacement or correspondence for a non-subject core argument of a verb in series, a trivalent verb or a verb taking a postverbal particle do not condition factative **-i** occurrence. In addition, **-i** clauses tolerate no other auxiliary nor any preverb or postverbal particle.

Moving to another feature, the Emai pluractional is not expressed via verb reduplication, as stipulated in Table 4. Instead, it is incorporated in simple verbs. We thus find suppletive verb pairs **nwu** and **hua**, both meaning 'carry,' as well as **fi** and **ku**, each of which conveys 'throw, toss.' Pair members contrast with respect to grammatical number of their direct object. **nwu** and **fi** permit only a singular direct object (22a and 23a), while **hua** and **ku** allow a plural/mass object (22b and 23b).

(22) a. **òjè nwú ólí úkpùn.**
Oje PRP.carry the cloth
'Oje carried the cloth.'

b. **òjè húá élí íkpùn.**
Oje PRP. carry the cloths
'Oje carried the cloths.'

(23) a. **ólí ómòhè fí ólí údò fí à.**
the man PRP.throw the stone project CS
The man threw the stone away / aside.'

b. **ólí ómòhè kú élí ídò kú à.**
the man PRP.throw the stones disperse CS
'The man tossed the stones away / all over / aside.'

Regarding the feature NP conjunction, Emai **bíì** exhibits asymmetry in its coding of pre- and post-conjunction position (i.e. 'with' conjunction). This is only evident with pronouns. Thus positions associated with **bíì** and realized by pronominal exponents reveal a coding split. When referring to a singular referent, pre-**bíì** position requires a plural pronoun reflecting the **bíì** phrase grammatical relation. Translation of the pronoun retains the singular interpretation. Post-**bíì** position employs an accusative pronoun, irrespective of **bíì** phrase grammatical relation.

(24) a. **mà / vbà / yàn bíì òjè gá ólí òkpòsò zé.**
we you they COM Oje PRP.meet the woman consolidate
'I / You / He and Oje met the woman.'

b. **mà bíì óì gá ólí òkpòsò zé.**
we COM him PRP.meet the woman consolidate
'He and I met the woman.'

With a **bíì** phrase as grammatical subject, pre-**bíì** position takes a plural nominative pronoun even when the referent is singular. Singular nominative pronouns (e.g. **ì** 'I') are ungrammatical (***ì bíì òjè** 'I and Oje'). Emphasizing further the singular reference of the pre-**bíì** pronoun, one cannot use plural pronoun **ma** 'we' in construction with **òjè**, or even the third person direct object pronoun **óì** 'he, she,' to mean three participants as in 'we (together) and Oje.'

Emai reveals negation of non-indicative mood with its prohibitive. The latter is a negation marker morphologically distinct from the *ì* of the indicative. Since both Emai negation markers are auxiliary forms, they occupy similar positions within a clause, unlike Ziegelmeyer's definitional statement requiring dissimilar positions. Prohibitive (PR) **è** in Emai displays low tone. It requires a second person subject pronoun, either high tone singular **é** or plural **vbá**.

(25) a. **é è é ólí émàè**
you PR eat the food
'Don't eat the food.'

b. **vbá è é ólí émàè.**
you PR eat the food
'Don't eat the food.'

Our final comment on features concerns the emphatic reflexive. Emai does not employ the body-part equivalent for 'head' in its construction, as required by Table 4. There is, however, an emphatic reflexive which contrasts with a non-emphatic reflexive counterpart. Emai's emphatic reflexive relies on the body-part noun **ọ́bọ̀** 'hand, arm' in construction with verb **do** 'fire, bake in a kiln' and an accusative personal pronoun in the frame [**dobó** + pronoun]. The form of the emphatic reflexive appears derived from a figurative expression with the sense 'fortify oneself with rituals.' Its tonal character reflects the fact that verbs like **do** functioning in preverb constructions (and verbs generally) have no inherent tone. Instead, they acquire their tonal properties from clause level aspect, modality or polarity indices.

(26) **ólí ómòhè dóbó ói hían ólí óràn.**
the man PRP.REFL him cut the wood
'The man himself cut the wood.'

In a focus construction, emphatic reflexive **dobó** has the potential to appear in either of two positions. It can occur between the subject and verb in the matrix clause, where other preverbs occur.

(27) **ólí ómòhè lí ó dóbó' ói zé ólí ìwè.**
the man PF he PAP.REFL him build the house
'It was the man who by himself built the house.'

As well, **dobó** phrases can appear in focus position preceding the focus particle **li**, thereby casting still greater contrastive emphasis on the antecedent referent.

(28) **ólí ómòhè dòbó ói lí ó zé' ólí ìwè.**
the man REFL him PF he PAP.build the house
'It was the man himself who built the house.'

Emai's non-emphatic reflexive is structured quite differently. It relies on the noun for 'body' and occurs in the frame [**égbè** + pronoun] as a noun phrase.

(29) **ólí ómòhè hían égbé ói**
the man PRP. cut SELF him
'The man cut himself.'

Although each reflexive form manifests distinct distributional behavior within a clause, the two are incompatible in a single clause.

(30) ***ólí ómòhè dóbó ói hían égbé ói.**
the man PRP.REFL him cut SELF him
'The man himself cut himself.'

Having completed this initial phase of our analysis, it appears useful to group features for the WLCR according to the linguistic component activated, as was done with MSB features. We thus arrive at Table 5.

FEATURE	HAUSA	EMAI-A	EMAI-Q
ATR harmony	r	-	+
TA coding information structure	r	-	+
vague future	r	-	-
dichotomy in standard negation	F	-	-
special prohibitive	F	+	+
predicative possession: conjunctional	F	-	-
non-verbal predication possible	F	-	-
pluractional with reduplication	F	-	-
mixed order of adverbial subordinator	r	-	-
polar question particle	F	-	+
emphatic reflexive with 'head'	F	-	-
NP conjunction – 'with'	F	-	+
secondary preposition	+	-	-
exceed comparative	F	+	+
	F=9	+ = 2	+ = 6

Table 4 – Regrouped features characteristic of the Wider Lack Chad Region from ZIEGELMEYER (2015, 2016) aligned relative to occurrence in Chadic (F=frequent, r=rare), Emai absolute (A) and Emai qualified (Q) (+ =occurrence, - = non-occurrence).

While organizing Table 5, we began to reflect more carefully on its feature content. Quite naturally we asked ourselves why analysis of the WLCR to date is limited to these features. Is it simply because they are dominant in Hausa and Kanuri? Might there be other features or other feature variants, perhaps from Niger Congo languages, that might occur or not occur in Hausa and/or Kanuri? Could these enhance our understanding of Northern Nigeria as a convergence zone?

3. WLCR relative to Emai coordination and noun prefixation

Questioning feature choice has led us to two syntactic/semantic domains in Emai. In the past both have puzzled us. Sentential coordination, its lexical coding and relatively rigid constructional properties, constitutes one domain. Coordination includes conjunctive ('and'), adversative ('but') and disjunctive ('or') types, following HASPELMATH (2007). Although Emai does not employ a sentential

conjunctive, it does code adversative and disjunctive, both cognate with forms otherwise found in the WLCR. The second domain consists of noun class prefixes expressing grammatical number. At least 11 prefix pairs can be identified. Taken together, they disfavor nouns coding an agricultural lifestyle, which is overwhelmingly dominant among contemporary Emai. Nominal prefixes, instead, highlight nouns reflecting a pastoral lifestyle.

3.1 Emai sentence coordination and the WLCR

The coding of sentence coordination raises some intriguing questions about the WLCR and its relation to both the Edoid group and the Niger Congo phylum. Consider in this regard Table 6.

	S but S	S or S	S and S	NP and NP
Kanuri	**ammá**	**ráà, láà, áàu, bíya**	**_ ye..._ ye**	**-a...-a**
Hausa	**àmma**	**koo...koo**	**kuma**	**dà**
Ngizim	**àmmá**	**dà, ráà, kóo**		**náa**
Anywa	**bá**	**walla**	**bá**	
Cipu	**àmáa**	**sáà**		**ǹ**
Nupe	**àmáà**	**kó**	**ma, ci**	**tò**
Igala	**àmáà**	**àbẹ́kí**	**kpàí /onwu**	**kpàí**
Yoruba	**àmọ́, sùgbọ́n**	**tabi-S**		**ati**
Igbo	**mànà, mà**	**mà**		**nà**
Yala	**kankana**	**kẹ́e**	**ma**	**bála**
Emai	**àmáà**	**dà**		**bíì**
Bini	**sòkpá**	**ra**		**vbe**
Urhobo	**ẹkẹ́vuọ̀vo**	**gbene**		**vi**
Engenni	**ka**	**ómomo**		**nàà**
Degema	**do**	**ómokáa**		**nu**
Kana	**mè**	**à-lè**	**è**	**à-lè**

Table 6 – Coordination morphemes by type in our sample aligned as to language of use.

Table 6 presents five main language groupings: Lake Chad area representatives from the Nilo-Saharan phylum (Kanuri) and Chadic group (Hausa, Ngizim), non-Lake Chad Nilo-Saharan (Anywa, REH 1999), Kainji of East Benue Congo (Cipu), West Benue Congo (Nupe, Igala, Yoruba, Igbo, Yala), Edoid of West Benue Congo (Emai, Bini, Urhobo, Engenni, Degema), and Cross River (Kana). Admittedly, Table 6 is not a comprehensive sample, but it is representative of a narrow WLCR relative to its broader, i.e. outlier, area.

What appears most striking in Table 6 is the distribution of phonologically similar forms under adversative coordination 'but.' This impression emerges

from four observations. First, there is the presence of **ammá/àmma** under the WLCR languages Kanuri, Hausa and Ngizim. As source for these cognate forms, grammars and dictionaries for the respective languages cite a common Arabic and Koranic studies source (CYFFER 1994, 1998, HUTCHISON 1981, NEWMAN 2000), with Ngizim likely borrowing from Hausa (SCHUH 1981). Second, we note the absence of a phonologically similar form in Cross River Kana (IKORO 1996), deep in Nigeria's Niger River Delta. Third, cognate forms for **ammá/àmma** appear in Cipu of the Kainji group of East Benue Congo (**àmáa** from MCGILL 2009) and in the West Benue Congo languages Nupe (**àmáà** from BANFIELD 1914, BANFIELD and MACINTYRE 1915, KANDYBOWICZ 2005) and Igala (**àmáà** from DAWSON et al. 2016). Still within West Benue Congo, reduced cognate forms appear in Yoruba (**àmó** from ABRAHAM 1946, CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY 1950, AWOBULUYI 1979) and Igbo (**mà** from WILLIAMSON 1972, ECHERUO 1998). Our fourth observation, which is of primary interest to us, concerns the non-reduced cognate form in Emai (**àmáà** from SCHAEFER and EGBOKHARE 2017). Compare this to the variable realization of adversative 'but' across the remaining Edoid languages listed from north to south (Bini **sòkpá** from MELZIAN 1937, MUNROE 1967, AGHEYISI 1986, Urhobo **ekévuòvo** from OSUBELE 2001, Engenni **ka** from THOMAS 1978, and Degema **do** from KARI 2004).

The variable coding of adversative coordination within Edoid relative to Kanuri, Hausa and Ngizim calls out for more extensive areal inquiry. It seems likely that Edoid borrowed an adversative and a disjunctive coordination marker to fill a syntactic gap (HARRIS and CAMPBELL 1995), as happened in Latin America when Pipil came into contact with Spanish (CAMPBELL 1987) and borrowed **per:oh** 'but,' **y** 'and' and **o** 'or,' respectively, from Spanish **pero**, **y** and **o**. Moreover, none of the Edoid languages listed below Emai in Table 6 and spoken south of it in old Bendel reveal an adversative form that is cognate with **ammá/àmma**. Of all the Edoid languages listed in Table 6, only Emai and its **àmáà** lexeme appear cognate with Kanuri, Hausa and Ngizim adversative forms. By extension, Emai **àmáà** must also be cognate with the Arabic adversative. We therefore focus the following brief discussion on Emai.

How do we begin to understand the Edoid distributional pattern in Table 6? To account for Emai **àmáà**, we need to consider at least two possibilities. Either the Emai in their current rainforest habitat came into contact with Arabic 'but' or with a language that employed Arabic 'but.' It must have done so for some time in order to assimilate the adversative. On the other hand, the Emai may have acquired their adversative marker prior to arriving in their present location. Wherever this prior location might have been, it must have provided access to

Arab influenced speech varieties not available to the remaining Edoid languages in Table 6.

Concerning the first option and its relation to Koranic studies, the Emai and most of Edoid follow a mixed Christian and animist tradition. Today, there are Anglican, Baptist and Evangelical churches in Emai's political center Afuze. Only in the last few years has a mosque appeared in Emai country. Northeast of Emai country, in Yekhee speaking areas of Edoid, Islam accompanied the southward jihad of 1804 led by Uthman dan Fodio (ISICHEI 1997) and subsequent slave raiding by the Nupe (OKHAISHIE 1999). Consequently, one finds in some Yekhee speaking areas a mosque tradition as well as Christian churches. However, the geographic terrain between Emai and Yekhee populations is dense rainforest, incorporating the Edion River. As well, paved roadways eventually connecting Emai and Yekhee populations were only completed in the late 1970s.

As for the second option, it allows for presence of the Emai outside their current location, perhaps, in fact, outside the rainforest. On one interpretation, the Edoid data suggest that member clans did not all enter the Bendel region at the same time. They may have migrated into the rainforest in waves. Hence there are different adversative forms for the Niger Delta Edoid languages Degema (**do**) and Engenni (**ka**) relative to the Emai, who are located in the plateau just south of the rocky outcroppings of the Igara Formation on Bendel's northern edge. If the Emai entered the rainforest after other clans, they could easily have interacted with populations in the Wider Lake Chad Region, perhaps in the Niger-Benue confluence zone, where Nupe and Igala are spoken. These WLCR populations, assuming they were Koranic adherents, would have influenced Emai linguistic patterns. On the other hand, one cannot completely rule out the possibility that the Emai themselves were at some time in the past followers of Islam and so were influenced by the Arabic of their own Koranic studies. Since Christian missionary activity in Emai country is confined to the influence of neighboring Yoruba populations, there are no mission records that might shed light on this possibility.

Selection among these and other general historical scenarios will benefit from future linguistic and non-linguistic evidence that will deepen our understanding of what happened when and to whom in the WLCR, especially its southwest. As part of a march toward specificity, scenarios such as the ones postulated above will need to be confirmed or disconfirmed. It seems worthwhile in this regard to consider the sentence coordination marker for the disjunctive. As shown in Table 6, there is variable coding of the disjunctive in Edoid from north to south. The two northernmost languages, Emai and Bini, show **dà** and **ra**, respectively. The

southernmost languages, Engenni and Degema, rely, respectively, on **ómomo** and **ómokáa**. This contrast may represent more than a north-south split.

If we again look to Table 6, the possibility of a cognatic relationship vis-à-vis disjunctive forms exists between the WLCR languages and the northern Edoid languages Emai and Bini. That is, Kanuri employs **ráà/láà** for disjunctive 'or.' Both have an initial alveolar liquid followed by a low central vowel. As well, Ngizim shows **dà** and **ráà** for its disjunctive. These Kanuri and Ngizim forms compare favorably with the alveolar initial **dà** and **ra** of Emai and Bini, respectively. Based on the adversative and disjunctive forms in Kanuri and Ngizim, it may be that Emai contact in the WLCR centered less on Hausa and the Niger River area and more on Kanuri and the Benue River. That is, the Edoid forms from Emai and Bini are not cognate with Hausa disjunctive **koo** 'or'. The prevalence of adversative **àmáa** in the Niger River valley, shown by Cipu, Nupe and Igala, suggests that Hausa may have played a commanding role in the spread of **àmáa** around the Niger-Benue confluence. What remains puzzling is why Hausa's disjunctive **koo** does not show a similar spread. Further investigation of coordination coding in not only Kanuri and Hausa but also Chadic and Benue-Congo languages of Nigeria's Middle Belt along the Benue and Niger Rivers might usefully expand our understanding of the nature and extent of areal contact in the WLCR.

Before proceeding further, let us briefly examine some of the distinctive properties associated with Emai's adversative **àmáà** and disjunctive **dà**. In particular, we note that their respective constructions manifest an obvious syntactic rigidity.

Emai adversative and disjunctive coordination each impose a polarity condition on clause union. And as a reminder, although Emai exhibits adversative and disjunctive forms, it has no overt marker for clause conjunction (e.g. 'and'), despite its presence in several languages of the WLCR.

Adversative coordination in Emai is expressed by **àmáà** 'but.' It requires an explicit affirmative-negative contrast between its clauses. The negative clause can only follow the affirmative clause; reversing this order is unacceptable. Negation can be realized through various means: perfect negation (31a), prospective negation (31b), negative focus (31c), prohibitive (31d), and cancellation of event fulfillment (31e).

(31) a. **ólí ómòhè dé ólí úkpùn àmáà ó ì sò óì.**
the man PRP.buy the cloth but he NEG sew it
'The man bought the cloth but he did not sew it.'

b. **ólí ómòhè ló dè ólí úkpùn àmáà ó khà sò óì.**
the man PRED buy the cloth but he PRONEG sew it
'The man will buy the cloth but he will not sew it.'

c. **òjè lí ó dé' ólí úkpùn àmáà ìyòìn kí ó só' óì.**
Oje PF he PAP.buy the cloth but he NF he PAP.sew it
'It is Oje who bought the cloth but it isn't he who sewed it.'

d. **dè ólí úkpùn àmáà é è só óì.**
buy the cloth but you PR sew it
'Buy the cloth but don't sew it.'

e. **òjè dé ólí úkpùn àmáà ò só óì bá kùn.**
Oje PRP.buy the cloth but he PRP.sew it pursue.in.vain
'Oje bought the cloth but he sewed it in vain.'

As for the disjunctive, this relation between events is framed in Emai by **dà** 'or.' It requires a polarity contrast; the negative clause must follow the affirmative. Even more stringent than **àmáà** constructions, however, is that disjunctive **dà** requires interrogative mood and verb identity. Disjunctives in a declarative form or with contrasting verbs (e.g. **de** 'buy' and **so** 'sew') are unacceptable.

(32) a. **òjè dé ólí úkpùn dà òjè í ì dè ólí úkpùn?**
Oje PRP.buy the cloth or Oje SC NEG buy the cloth
'Did Oje buy the cloth or did Oje not buy the cloth?'

b. ***òjè dé ólí úkpùn dà òjè í ì sò ólí úkpùn?**
Oje PRP.buy the cloth or Oje SC NEG sew the cloth
'Did Oje buy the cloth or did Oje sew the cloth?'

Clauses in **dà** disjunctives co-relate with respect to inflection. When Perfect Negation occurs in the negative disjunct, Present perfect appears in the affirmative disjunct (33a). When prospective Predictive **ló** occurs in the affirmative clause, Prospective Negation **kha** appears in the negative clause (33b). Across **dà** related clauses, it is grammatical relations as well as the grammatical form of those relations that require identity. Either lexical nouns or pronouns serve as clause direct objects, for example, but not a mix of lexical noun and pronoun. Overall, these restrictions on **dà** are reminiscent of alternative question constructions in Akan (SAAH 1987).

(33) a. **ò dé ólí úkpùn dà ó ì dè ólí úkpùn?**
he PRP.buy the cloth or he NEG buy the cloth
'Did he buy the cloth or did he not buy the cloth?'

b. **ò ló dè ólí úkpùn dà ó khà dè ólí úkpùn?**
he PRED buy the cloth or he PRONEG buy the cloth
'Will he buy the cloth or will he not buy the cloth?'

3.2 Emai noun class prefixes and the WLCR

As our final point we discuss how our findings bear on the previously mentioned Edoid migration into the forest zone. In part, such a migration is motivated by considerations of economic lifestyle, which for contemporary Emai is exclusively bush agriculture (BRADBURY 1957). However, Emai inflectional coding of grammatical number and noun class fails to affect lexical items related to farming. Instead, prefixes attach to nominal roots referring to a putatively pastoral and herding past. Such a history is incompatible with forest zone existence (SMITH 1992).

Emai has a remnant noun class system. Today, there are 11 classes established by contrasting singular/plural noun prefixes, as shown in Table 7 from SCHAEFER and EGBOKHARE (2017).

	human	animate	inanimate	b-p locus	abstract
a- ~ *e-*		+	+		
a- ~ *i-*	+	+	+		
e̲- ~ *i-*		+			
e̲- ~ *e-*		+			
o- ~ *a-*				+	
o- ~ *e-*	+	+	+	+	
o- ~ *i-*	+	+			
o̲- ~ *e-*	+	+			+
o̲- ~ *e̲-*					+
o̲- ~ *i-*	+				
u- ~ *i-*		+	+	+	+

Table 7 – Alignment of Emai noun prefix pairs with the semantic classes human, animate, inanimate, body-part (b-p) locus and abstract.

One intriguing aspect of these prefixes is that they tend not to appear with noun stems that articulate Emai's dominant economic lifestyle, bush agriculture and farming. Instead, alternating number prefixes occur on nouns that reference a pastoral or herding way of life. Body parts associated with pastoral animals are also coded by Emai noun class prefixes, as suggested immediately below.

Farming		Herding	
émà	'yam'	**émɛ̀lá**, **ímɛ̀lá**	'cow'
ókà	'maize'	**óghòóghò**, **íghòóghò**	'female sheep'
èhúé	'boiled yam'	**éwè**, **éwè**	'goat'
ópìà	'cutlass'	**áwà**, **éwà**	**dog**
ègúé	'hoe'	**óhìà**, **éhìà**	'hoof'
àhò	'large bladed hoe'	**óbò**, **ábò**	'foreleg / hand'

Nominals participating in Emai's noun class system are not as strongly reflective of an agricultural lifestyle as one might expect. We note that there are very few, if any lexemes associated with agriculture that exhibit a number prefix. Terms for yam and maize, staples of the Emai diet, do not show vowel alternation: **ókà** 'maize,' **émà** 'yam,' **ákògùè** 'water yam' and **èhúé** 'boiled yam.' Words for tools employed in the practice of farming in Emai country also fail to show number prefixes: **ópìà** 'cutlass,' **ópìsó** 'pointed tip cutlass,' **ègúé** 'hoe' and **àhò** 'large bladed hoe.' Of course, additional investigation, particularly within Edoid, will be required to flesh out this initial observation. Nonetheless, exploration of an Emai presence in the WLCR, perhaps along the Benue, would seem worthy of further attention.

4. Conclusion

We conclude that the Emai clan may have been among the last Edoid peoples to have entered the forest zone. Prior to their rainforest entry, they were probably pastoralists, although they may also have practiced incipient agriculture. As such, they would have inhabited regions outside the rainforest and farther north than their current location south of the Igara Formation. If so, they likely interacted with populations in the Wider Lake Chad Region for a longer period of time than other Edoid peoples. It is thus our contention that linguistic investigation of this wider temporal and spatial zone of interaction among outlier populations may prove useful in the future to understanding the distribution of grammatical features and areal influence within the WLCR as well as the MSB.

References

ABRAHAM, Roy Clive (1946). *Dictionary of modern Yoruba*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

AGHEYISI, Rebecca (1986). *An Edo-English dictionary*, Benin City: Ethiope Publishing.

AIKHENVALD, Alexandra Y. and Robert M.W. DIXON (eds) (2001). *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance: Problems in comparative linguistics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

AWOBULUYI, Oladele (1979). *Essentials of Yoruba grammar*, Ibadan: University Press Limited.

BANFIELD, Alexander Woods (1914). *Dictionary of the Nupe language*, Shonga: The Niger Press.

BANFIELD, Alexander Woods and John L. MACINTYRE (1915). *A grammar of the Nupe language together with a vocabulary*, London: Church Missionary Society.

BRADBURY, Ray (1957). *The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-speaking peoples of south-western Nigeria*, London: International African Institute.

CAMPBELL, Lyle (1987). "Syntactic change in Pipil", *International Journal of American Linguistics* 53: 253-280.

CARON, Bernard and Petr ZIMA (eds.) (2006). *Sprachbund in the West African Sahel*, Paris/Louvain: Peeters.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (1950). *A dictionary of the Yoruba language*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CLEMENTS, George N. and Annie RIALLAND (2008). "Africa as a phonological area", in Bernd HEINE and Derek NURSE (eds.), *A linguistic geography of Africa*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 36-85.

CYFFER, Norbert (1994). *English-Kanuri dictionary*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

CYFFER, Norbert (1998). *A sketch of Kanuri*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

CYFFER, Norbert (2006). "Kanuri and its neighbors: When Saharan and Chadic languages meet", in Paul NEWMAN and Larry M. HYMAN (eds.), *West African Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Russell G. Schuh* (Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 11), Columbus, OH: Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University, 33-55.

CYFFER, Norbert and Georg ZIEGELMEYER (eds.) (2009). *When languages meet. Language contact and change in West Africa*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

DAWSON, Samantha, Michael MARLO, Dane MYERS, Christopher RODRIGUEZ, Sorsha SMITH, and Kenneth STEMELI (2016). *The structure of Igala*, draft manuscript, University of Missouri.

DIMMENDAHL, Gerrit J. (2008). "Language ecology and linguistic diversity on the African continent", *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2 (5): 840-858.

DIMMENDAHL, Gerrit J. (2011). *Historical linguistics and the comparative method of African languages*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

ECHERUO, Michael J.C. (1998). *Igbo-English dictionary: a comprehensive dictionary of the Igbo language, with an English-Igbo index*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

ELUGBE, Ben (1989). *Comparative Edoid: Phonology and lexicon*, Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press.

GÜLDEMANN, Tom (2008). "The macro-Sudan belt: Towards identifying a linguistic area in northern sub-Saharan Africa", in Bernd HEINE and Derek NURSE (eds.), *A linguistic geography of Africa*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 151-185.

HARRIS, Alice C. and Lyle CAMPBELL (1995). *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

HASPELMATH, Martin (2007). "Coordination", in Timothy SHOPEN (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume II: Complex Constructions* (Second edition), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-51.

HEINE, Bernd and Tania KUTEVA (2001). "Convergence and divergence in the development of African languages", in Alexandra Y. AIKHENVALD and Robert M.W. DIXON (eds.), *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance: Problems in comparative linguistics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 393-411.

HUTCHISON, John P. (1981). *The Kanuri language: A reference grammar*, Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin.

IKORO, Suanu (1996). *The Kana language*, Leiden: Research School CNWS.

ISICHEI, Elizabeth (1997). *A history of African societies*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

KANDYBOWICZ, Jason (2005). "Nupe coordinate structures: A syntactically heterogeneous class", in Rebecca T. COVER and Yuni KIM (eds.), *Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (February 18-20, 2005) – Special Session on Languages of West Africa*, Berkeley: University of California, Department of Linguistics, 53-64.

KARI, Ethelbert E. (2004). *A reference grammar of Degema*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

MCGILL, Stephen J. (2009). *Gender and person agreement in Cicipu discourse*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, University of London.

MELZIAN, Hans (1937). *A concise dictionary of the Bini language of southern Nigeria*, London Kegan Paul: Trench, Trubner and Company.

MUNROE, David A. (1967). *English-Edo wordlist: An index to Melzian's Bini-English dictionary*, Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.

NEWMAN, James L. (1995). *The peopling of Africa: A geographic interpretation*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

NEWMAN, Paul (2000). *The Hausa language: An encyclopedic reference grammar*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

OKHAISHIE, Aha Idokpesi (1999). *The descent of Avhianwu*, Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Publishers.

OSUBELE, Ayemenokpe Edward (2001). *A dictionary of Urhobo language*, Wari: Doves Publishers.

REH, Mechtild (1999). *Anywa-English and English Anywa Dictionary*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

SAAH, Kofi K. (1987). "Alternative questions in Akan", in Kofi K. SAAH and M.E. KROPP-DAKUBU (eds.), *Papers in Ghanian Linguistics* 6: 44-50.

SCHAEFER, Ronald P. and Francis O. EGBOKHARE (1999). *Oral tradition narratives of the Emai people, Part I and Part II*, Hamburg: LIT Verlag.

SCHAEFER, Ronald P. and Francis O. EGBOKHARE (2007). *A dictionary of Emai: An Edoid language of Nigeria*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

SCHAEFER, Ronald P. and Francis O. EGBOKHARE (2017). *A grammar of Emai*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

SCHUH, Russell (1981). *A dictionary of Ngizim*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

SCHUH, Russell (2011). "Grammatical influences of Kanuri on Chadic languages of Yobe State", in Doris LOHR, Eva ROTHMALER and Georg ZIEGELMEYER (eds.), *Kanuri, Borno and beyond*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 137-154.

SMITH, Andrew B. (1992). *Pastoralism in Africa: Origins and development ecology*, London: Hurst and Company.

THOMAS, Elaine (1978). *A grammatical description of the Engenni language*, Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Williamson, Kay (ed.) (1972). *Igbo-English dictionary based on the Onitsha dialect*, Benin City: Ethiope Publishing.

WILLIAMSON, Kay and Roger BLENCH (2000). "Niger Congo", in Bernd HEINE and Derek NURSE (eds.), *African languages: An introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 11-42.

WOLFF, H. Ekkehard and Doris LÖHR (2005). "Convergence in Saharan and Chadic TAM systems", *Afrika und Übersee* 88: 265-299.

ZIEGELMEYER, Georg (2009). "Areal features in northern Nigeria – Towards a linguistic area", in Petr ZIMA (ed.), *The verb and related areal features in West Africa – Continuity and discontinuity within and across sprachbund frontiers*, Munich: LINCOM Europa, 269-306.

ZIEGELMEYER, Georg. 2015. "Contact linguistics in the Lake Chad region", paper presented at the *8th World Congress of African Linguistics* (Kyoto University, 20-24 August 2015), accessed on 30/11/2017,
< http://idiatov.mardi.myds.me/Area_Phenomena_in_NSSA.html>

ZIEGELMEYER, Georg (2016). "Areal features in the wider Lake Chad region", paper presented at the *47th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (University of Berkeley, 20-23 March 2016).

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1/2020, 89-109

Promoting women empowerment through songs: Barmani Choge and her performances

UMMA ALIYU MUSA

University of Hamburg
umma.aliyu.musa@uni-hamburg.de

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the oral performances of Hausa poet Hajiya Sa'adatu Barmani Choge (1945-2013). Her songs promoted the genre of music called Amada; music performed using calabash ensemble in northern Nigeria. Barmani has composed about 17 well known songs mostly targeting the female audience and family life. As such, some aspects of her songs drawn from excerpts of her recordings from CDs and YouTube highlighting her performances in Hausa language will be presented. The purpose of the analysis is to develop an understanding of her accomplishment and recognition as a traditional female singer who has played an important role in promoting women's empowerment. As the last female of her art, this article will showcase her style of performance with her calabash, chorus band members *'yan amshi*, creative exemplifications and public acceptance. Analysing some of her orally performances which include songs about women's life, women empowerment and women's sexuality will provide an insight into a woman's interpretation of Hausa society particularly in Nigeria.

KEY WORDS: oral poetry, Hausa women, women's empowerment

DOI 10.6092/jalalit.v1i1.6735

1. Introduction

Oral poetry has been, and remains, part and parcel of African traditions. With or without instrumental accompaniment, language shapes melodies that are in turn enriched by the meaning language brings. Hausa oral poetry has its roots in ancient Hausa tradition (SCHUH 1994: 1). The Hausa area encompasses northern Nigeria and parts of the Republic of Niger, where Hausa oral poetry is given great significance. In northern Nigeria, during the pre-Islamic period and the Hausa dynasty under Barbushe,[1] the Maguzawa worshipped their god Tsunburbura, chanting praises as part of their rituals.

Much later, in the pre-jihad period, Hausa *haɓe*[2] rulers and warriors enjoyed praise songs of valour, bravery and power. An example is cited in CHAMO (2013). It is from a praise song for the warrior Bawa Jan Gwarzo:

> "Causer of terror, iron chieftain,
> Son of Al-Hassan, owner of the drum,
> Causer of terror, iron grates of the town.
> … Bawa it was you who began to conquer the town."
> (from CHAMO 2013: 4)

Praise songs such as this one celebrate the strength of Bawa against his enemies during a time of war.

The *jihad* period ushered in Islamic songs reflecting praise of Allah and Prophet Muhammad and promoting good deeds for a higher gain. By the time of post jihad, oral songs had a mixed dimension, as singers opened and ended songs with praise of Allah and his prophet Muhammad and, in between, their lyrics systematically lauded royals, wealthy and significant others, depending on whom – and the occasion – the song was meant for. At this time, the popular Hausa oral singers were mostly male. Alhaji Mamman Shata, Alhaji Musa Ɗanƙwairo, Ibrahim Narambaɗa, Sa'idu Faru, Aliyu Ɗandawo, Salihu Jankiɗi, to mention a few, were and remain popular Hausa singers who became household names and enriched Hausa poetics.

The influence of Islamic interpretation also, does not encourage women to make a public presence. This is because "traditionally, the woman in Hausa custom is put in seclusion through a system called *Kulle* (wife seclusion) and it is almost mandatory and expected that the woman should be invisible and inaudible"

[1] A priest of Dala Hill in Kano.

[2] "People of Hausa as opposed to Fulani ancestry, usually in political or historical context" (NEWMAN 2007: 82).

(JEGEDE and MAGAJI 2018: 27). Still, Hausa girls and women are not silent, as songs during domestic chores, weddings and naming ceremonies have women creating music with their voices, and the use of *shantu* and *kwarya* as instruments add melody to their vocalising. Also, a few female Hausa Muslim oral poets have joined with other African women oral singers, and they have created legacies of their oral artistry.

Women's voices and their musicality has resonated in African countries, serving as a type of talisman, a balm creating awareness and understanding of the social spheres surrounding women oral poets. Hogan states:

> "In Niger, Nigeria, and Guinea in particular, women have historically challenged socio-cultural norms and political formations through song, as is documented in the ethnographic works of Africanists Beverly Mack, Saidou N'Daou, Aissata Sidikou, and others. Through performative acts of resistance, these female poets, singers, and activists confront many aspects of West African life, ranging from low literacy rates amongst women, immodesty by young Muslims, and the challenges of maintaining traditional Islamic practice, to the discontents of polygamy, the patriarchal organization of Muslim society, and the large scale political mobilization of rural minorities." (HOGAN 2018: 1)

Hogan captures the essence of oral song, especially that of women. This categorization echoes a trend in the thematic discourse found in women's orality. For example, in the Niger Republic, oral singers like Zabia Hussei use their verbal art 'to advance the cause of Hausa women' (HUNTER and OUMAROU 1998: 166). MACK's (2004) book on Muslim Hausa women discusses songs by women poets like Binta Katsina and Barmani Choge, whose voices are prominent and reflect their time, as they sing about, "current events, political issues, and social concerns" MACK's (2004: 4). One female oral poet, Uwaliya Mai Amada, set the pace that Barmani Choge would step into, both using the calabash as the instrument accompanying their orality. In northern Nigeria, Barmani Choge has become a living legend, and her resonance has reverberated throughout the Hausa-speaking regions of West Africa and across the globe wherever Hausa speakers reside. Her songs touch on different aspects of women's lives, female empowerment through education, trade and how to live 'smart' within the domain of polygyny. Rich in rhythm, inflection and tonal novelty, Barmani Choge's voice flows in a way that matches the chimes of a raised *kwarya* calabash – an active Hausa singing instrument without the additions of strings, leathers or other alterations – a valuable asset (apart from home use). Because of her popularity, notable scholars such as FURNISS (1996), MACK (2004), ADAMU (2006, 2008), GUSAU (2008), OJAIDE (2012) and BAWA (2016) have highlighted her music

in their work.

The significance of Barmani's lyrics is that it prioritises women. She has captured women in their domestic circumstances: as wives and co-wives, as mothers, as entrepreneurs. She also encourages them to access education. Her message vocalises the need for women to be independent through empowerment and education. On occasions of celebration such as marriage and naming ceremonies, her open display of women's sexuality through the use of jokes and humour glorifies the openness that exists between Hausa women in their private sphere. Barmani's poetry has mentioned several women: women attached to fame and politics, her band members and the common woman, whose presence lives on, documented by and in Barmani's poetic resonance. This paper, featuring Barmani Choge, her Amada instrument and her band, will discuss the appreciation of women in Barmani's performances.

2. Barmani Mai Choge

Barmani[3] Choge's (her birth name was Sa'adatu) exit from the world in March 2013 reawakened the people's passion and remembrance for this evocative performer (SHEME 2008). Born in 1945 in the small village of Gwaigwayi, in Katsina State in northern Nigeria, she had no background in singing (ADAMU 2008). Coming from a household of Islamic scholars, Barmani received her Islamic education through her father. Still living in a village, Barmani, along with her peer group, would participate in a late afternoon or evening play in an open air space refer to as *dandali*[4] where children gather, sing and play together (MASHI 1982).

Reminiscent of her childhood singing and dancing is the Choge[5] song, one that she remembered and that became part of her name and a chorus in her singing career (MASHI 1982: 2). Apart from this, marrying Alhaji Ali contributed immensely to her singing career taking off. At the age of nine, Alhaji Ali started singing with his father using the *garaya* two string plucked lute. Though Alhaji

[3] Barmani is a name derived from the verb *bari*, meaning to leave with an indirect object, here being *mani*, for me, which together implies 'leave (it) for me'. It is a name that has superstitious connotations and is given to a female child whose parents have lost other babies or whose mother is miscarrying her babies. So when a child is born, the name or nickname 'Barmani' is a shorter version of 'God leave this for me'.

[4] *Wasan dandali*: children's play conducted in an open area in a town centre or square.

[5] Choge was a song that children would sing to an elderly woman at the time when Barmani was young. The Choge name comes from how a woman would walk because of a lame leg. See MASHI's dissertation (1982). Later, the name stuck to Barmani because of her singing and dancing.

Ali did not become influential like his wife, his background of oral singing enabled him the hindsight to encourage his wife in her singing career, especially at a time when the voices of male oral poets overshadowed that of women (MASHI 1982: 6-7).

MACK notes that at Hausa traditional weddings they are, "women in action, professionals entertaining other women with abandon that derived from delight in what they were doing in singing and dancing to entertain audiences of other women" (2004: 3). Therefore, like other women performing at celebrations, Barmani's voice began to appear during women's occasions, such as marriages and naming ceremonies. Slowly, over the years and with the support of her husband, Barmani found herself moving in and out of Funtua to perform; she was invited to many places across the country and outside Nigeria, along with her groups of female supporters and her one-type musical instrument which is *ƙwarya*, that is the calabash (ADAMU 2008).

By the time of Barmani's death, the value of the *ƙwarya* had risen from a household item to an instrument, sometimes even without addition of strings, leather and stick, so common that women would beat the *ƙwarya* with their hands to evoke melodies and sing to events reminiscent of Barmani.

Her songs, which are analysed in the current paper, are found online and were uploaded to YouTube by Professor Abdalla Uba Adamu. These videos are found with the tag 'BarmaniChoge'.

3. The *amada* instrument and band

NEWMAN defines *amada* as "women's vocal music accompanied by calabash drums" (2007: 7). These calabash-like drums are the products of the calabash tree, which also produces big calabashes used by Hausa women for room decorations and as containers for storage and food (PLATTE 2004). As instruments, calabashes are turned upside down and are hit with hands or sometimes sticks; they can also be turned upside down in a bowl that is filled with water to create a bass-like sound.

Figure 1 – A calabash in a bowl with water similar to one of Barmani Choge's ensembles (picture by Aliyu Yakubu Yusuf).

At a time when access to musical instruments such as drums and trumpets were gender dominated, Hausa women had to sing while performing their daily chores. Part of the Hausa woman's daily chores may include grinding tomatoes on a stone grinder (now more evident in rural areas), sweeping the compound, thrashing the grains or pounding the mortar with a pestle. In this case, for many Hausa women, their voices may serve as a helper in the never-ending daily chores that kept a woman busy throughout the day (MACK 2004). During periods where celebrations brought women together, the Hausa would women create spaces socially defined to meet their needs; this social space was emphasised through the voice of one of Barmani's female influences: Uwaliya mai Amada. Adamu describes Uwaliya genre of music as a "female vocalist accompanied by an orchestra of women calabash musicians (led by her husband) in a music genre referred to as *amada*." (ADAMU 2008: 96).

Nevertheless, Uwaliya, and later on Barmani, would popularise the genre of Amada, which became a symbol of Amada praises entertaining common people at weddings and ceremonies, as well as people of the high class, who would marvel at Barmani's oral performances and invite her to their events and programmes.

Barmani's 'Amada' performance entailed a lot of praising of people. One of the specialities surrounding Barmani's performances was how her praise featured her all-women band and chorus singers. Praise singing *kirari* is a genre of music that may be accompanied by instrument (not for all) but entails oral performance in which the singer praise, 'their clients for money or other material goods' (ADAMU 2008: 94). In Hausa society, variations in praise singing occurs as some oral singers use instruments like the drum, *kuntigi* single stringed-lute among others, in which they get to be known by their vocals and the special instruments they use. Also, praise singing as Adamu notes:

> "The most distinctive characteristic of subject matter of mainstream traditional Hausa musicians is their client-focused nature. The subject matter of the songs could either be a courtier, an emir, a wealthy person, an infamous person, or simply iconic interpretations of the mutability of life. Thus Hausa "music" excels on its *vocal* qualities- with Hausa musicians producing songs of utter philosophical and poetic quality, reflecting Hausa proverbs-rather than instrumental virtuosity." (ADAMU 2008: 95-96)

In Barmani's case, her clients include the wealthy and the in-famous using her song to praise those who invited her as well as capturing the less privilege. Often, musicians were known by the nature of their singing and style, as if it was a one-person effort; this left the supporting band as nameless faces. Through Barmani's singing, her band became more than just nameless faces: they became an integral part of her performance. Like her music, which she sang full of passion and emotion, Barmani's band were equally cherished because of the way she engaged them in a conversation in many of her songs. A vivid description of Barmani's calabash performance is given by Adamu:

> "Barmani Choge usually performs with what I call 'a calabash orchestra', an elegant term for a group of five or six women (definitely no men) producing music with calabashes that have been placed upside down (that is the open ends on the ground) in front of them. They produce the music by rigorously beating the calabashes with sticks and the palms of the hands in a certain rhythmic pattern. One or two of the calabashes are often upturned on a larger bowl of water — thus giving out a deep bass sound, while the other upturned calabashes produce tight dry sounds. The music is accompanied by Barmani's lyrics, and often supported by a chorus from the women musicians." (ADAMU 2008: 102)

Through Barmani's chanting's, the names or nicknames of her band members like *'Yan biyun ƙwarya*, *A-bangaji-romo*, *Ladi* among others began to appear and stick in people's minds. According to MASHI (1982: 11), Barmani's ensemble of

band leaders were already oral singers when Barmani met them. These women's names, as cited by Barmani, were the nicknames they had used in their singing careers. In his dissertation, MASHI (1982) highlights some of the nicknames as belonging to, the following band members; Rakiya's nickname is *'Yan biyun ƙwarya,* Zulai as *Kushalle,* Hajara as *Ladi mai ƙwarya;* and Aishatu is nicknamed *A-bangaji-romo.*

Barmani called out their names during her performances to show their importance and further imprint in people's minds their names and personalities. In an interview with Barmani, she was quoted as saying, "there are periods when her band members create the chorus by themselves without waiting to hear it from her" (MASHI 1982: 11).

4. Appreciating women in Choge's performances

From the start of her singing career, in numerous ways, Barmani presented the importance of women by promoting them in her lyrics; this included praises of the women she came across during her performances, those who paid for her services, the wives of people she had come across or merely generally praising women while advising women to hold onto moral traits, be empowered, stay empowered and become educated.

One feature of her singing that stands out is how Barmani showed the significance of her all-female band members by calling out their names in her songs. She was, by all accounts, a modest woman who made the public aware that her career was a success only because of the support of her all-female band. The public got to know the simple, yet passionate calabash drummers and the chorus team she had assembled. In songs such as *Alhazawa*, a song about performing the Islamic rites of going to Mecca, Barmani calls out band member names while singing. Gradually, her songs, such as *Gangar Ɗa'a* ('The song about good manners'), *Gwarne Ikon Allah* ('The blessings of multiple births'), *Waƙar Kishiya* ('The song about being a co-wife'), *Mai Soso Ke Wanka* ('The one with the sponge takes a bath'), *Zage Zogala* ('Strip off the moringa leaves'), *Waƙar Ɗuwaiwai* ('The song of the derrière'), *Waƙar Sakarai Ba Ta Da Wayo* ('Silly, she's not smart'), *A Kama Sana'a Mata* ('Women, engage in profitable occupations'), *Dare Allah Magani* ('Allah, the curer of night darkness') and *Sama Ruwa Kasa Ruwa* ('Water above, water below'), to mention a few, included names such as *Ta Audu*, *Ladi*, *ɗiyar Mahauta*, *Ta Ari* and *'Yar Ja*, among others, in different instances. This is seen in an excerpt of *Alhazawa*:

Barmani	
Ayye ta Audu 'yar ƙwarya	Oh ta Audu the calabash player,
ki tuna da Ramatu	you should remember Ramatu
Ladi mai ƙwarya	Ladi, the calabash player,
a tuna da Ramatu	remember Ramatu
Ɗiyar Mahauta	Ɗiyar Mahauta,
ba ma mance Ramatu	we won't forget Ramatu
'Yar Ja mai ruwa a roba je ki,	'Yar Ja with the water in a bowl, go and
ki gai da Ramatu	say hello to Ramatu
Ayye ta Audu zaƙudi ƙwarya,	Oh ta Audu, shake the calabash, who
wa kike jira	are you waiting for
'Yan amshi	Chorus
Lallai lallai mu muna zuwa	Indeed, we too are coming

As exemplified above, the names of the band members mentioned indicate how Barmani treated them as part of her whole performance. A visual image is presented of a person who performs and in a certain style. For example, "'Yar Ja plays the calabash facing down in the large bowl of water which gives the "bass" sound" (ADAMU 2008: 102). Also, the message in the chorus indicates the certitude that one day, she and her band members will go and perform the pilgrimage rites as a fulfilment of one of the five pillars of Islam. Similarly, in her song, Barmani seems to portray the impression of engaging with her band members in conversation. A good example of this conversational approach is her song *Gangar Ɗa'a*:

Ayye mai kiɗa a bangaji romo[6]	Oh the drummer a bangaji romo
Ni Jas na je na sheƙe ayata	I went to Jos and enjoyed myself
Na tad da maigida da gidanshi	I met the head of a household…

In instances like the one above, her voice becomes folkloric as she entertains in a narrative way. For example, the following lyrics have a kind of narrative:

O ɗiyar mahauta rushe-rushe	The ɗiyar mahauta,
mu je gidan Sa'i	we should go to Sa'i's house
Idan kuɗi kike nema	If you need money
Yi kwalliya ki ɗau ƙwarya	Dress up and pick the calabash
Mu je Katsina mu yi ta rawa	We go to Katsina and dance away

This style of addressing band members in her orality is one of the essential

[6] *Bangaji romo* is a nickname for Aishatu, one of her band members.

ingredients of Barmani's songs. Other songs, such as *A Hayye Yaro*, *Sama Ruwa Kasa Ruwa*, *Wakar Kishiya* and *Ɗuwaiwai,* show similar patterns of band engagement.

In Hausa society, one marked by classed distinction, there are elite houses that are known for their title, wealth and mark of respect. The importance of class status is outlined by Smith in the following excerpt:

> "One of the first things of which a stranger is told in Hausaland is the importance of the distinction between the *sarakuna* (chiefs) and *masu-sarauta* (officeholders) on the one hand, and the *talakawa* (subjects, commoners) on the other. The rulers exercise authority over the ruled and therefore have higher status." (SMITH 1959: 247)

These influential houses have matriarchs that earned respect because of the positive roles they played in society, such as by helping the poor and giving to the needy. In her song *Gwarne Ikon Allah* (Version 1), Barmani praises Mariya Sunusi Ɗantata, a philanthropist, a daughter of one of Kano's richest men, whose son – Aliko Ɗangote – was also considered one of the richest African entrepreneurs. In her praising, Barmani also features the daughter of Aliko Ɗangote, also called Mariya after her grandmother portraying Mariya as taking after the good deeds of her grandmother. Similar patterns of praising women of significance were featured across different Hausa cities, such as Katsina and Zaria among others. Apart from the chorus members, Barmani's songs show her appreciation of women in places where she had been invited to perform. Like the praise singer she was, several women would be mention either alongside their men or in other instances by mentioning their names and what she has received from them. In her song *Alhazawa,* she praises a woman by featuring her name and stating this woman is the mother of twins:

Marliya, uwar tagwaye a daɗe a duniya	Marliya, mother of twins, may you live long

In the chorus of 'Gangar Ɗa'a', Barmani mentions a groom by using the bride's name to show her happiness in the gifts she received during her performance at a wedding function:

Angon Hanne ka biya mu	Hanne's groom, you have satisfied us

This type of praising of women is presented in most of her singing, where she calls out names to show gratitude of the payment made. Barmani, even when she was paid by the husband for her performances, gave praise to the wives who

welcomed her into their homes. An example of this is also featured in *A Hayye Yaro*:

Matan Magaji Naira ba a fi ku ba	Wives of Magaji, you are richer than others

According to Bawa, several women have plied Barmani with gifts to show their appreciation of her music, including the late Maryam Babangida[7] and other prominent women. One of her songs:

> "... was the one that was tribute to her closest friend, Hajiya Maduga wife of Sarkin Magana, who is also late. Choge owned gratitude to her. The first hajj she performed, the seat was given to her by Maduga." (BAWA 2016: 187).

As presented above, praising is one of the essential elements in her singing.

Brought up in northern Nigeria during a period when women were not given the chance to obtain a modern education, several of Barmani's songs echo her love and frustrations, urging women to become empowered or educated because, as Barmani would state numerous times, a lack of education limits the chances of one's empowerment. Her active support for women's empowerment and education is seen in her song 'A Kama Sana'a Mata' (women engage in trade), where she pleads with women to become proficient in a trade skill to escape a life that would otherwise be passive and troubled. Barmani's request for women's empowerment in certain trading is not a new venture to Hausa women. COLES' (1991: 181) analysis of the Hausa women in Kaduna shows these women engage 'in income-generating activities' similar to the activities mentioned by Barmani below. This is necessary because apart from the husband's responsibility of taking care of his wife (or wives) and children, a woman's income contributes 'to a woman's own maintenance and the subsistence of her children' when necessary or to 'gifts for female friends as part of formal exchange networks' (COLES 1991: 181). Therefore, Barmani sings to encourage more women to become empowered in an effort to reduce the burden of 'modern frustrations':

Kar a raina sana'a mata	Women do not look down on any trade
A yi kuli-kuli ko a yi kosai	Sell peanut balls or beans cake
A yi furar madu ko a yi ɗanwake	Sell millet balls or dumplings
Kai a kama sana'a ya fi	It is better to engage in a trade

[7] Former first lady and wife of former Nigerian Military leader General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993).

Ko za a sami abin kai wa biki	To enable gifts during celebrations

Among the Hausa in northern Nigeria, marriage requires a woman to participate in her domestic duties. Within the home, the woman serves as the caretaker of her husband and children. Those who are educated and can work outside of their homes also combine their professional work lives with their household chores. For women who do not work and have no other means of trade, Barmani implores these women to not belittle any trade. Instead, these women should engage in trade, even if it is just cooking food within the confines of their homes and selling it to others. By working in a trade, the chance of being economically dependent on a husband drops, thus lessening marital frustrations because financial constraints are one of the sources of conflict among spouses in Hausa society. This is explained by Sulaiman et al. in the following:

> "The marital, financial issues, money or anything affiliated to finances can be an achievable cause of misunderstanding among many people, including spouse. Husband and wife, whether they are happy or not, many have disagreements over the little financial issues too much bigger shared financial responsibilities or unequal monetary status." (SULAIMAN et al. 2015: 1235)

And one of the reasons, among others, women demand money from their husband includes gifts to give other women during festivities, such as marriages and naming ceremonies. Hausa women are known for their ability to strengthen social relationships with their spouse's family, their own extended family and neighbours or acquaintances. One of the ways this may occur is through appreciating a woman's birthing or marriage. A gift given is always appreciated and remembered. As such, having a means of subsistence other than that of the woman's husband, as listed by Barmani, enables security, reduces tension and provides a means with which to spruce oneself up by providing oneself with trinkets and other make-up accessories. To show women how successful trade can be, Barmani praises a woman who became popular because of her in-house trade:

Wannan magana ta sana'a ce	This song is about trade
Kai ni Rimin Tsiwa[8]	Take me to Rimin Tsiwa
Uwar Ramatu Rimin Tsiwa	The mother of Ramatu Rimin Tsiwa
Ga mai tuwo da sunan Allah	One who is blessed for her fufu trade
Ko sha biyun dare kika tuƙa a saya	It gets sold even when cooked at midnight

[8] An area in Zaria.

Her message to all women is that once you pick up a trade and work at it, people will come seeking your goods.

Also, for those who have progressed in life because of their educational background, Barmani shows clear fascination for these women and feels the need to extol them. In *Gangar Ɗa'a*, when invited to perform by a Katsina traditional titleholder, Barmani praised Fadila, another woman, and the wives of a Sa'i:[9]

Sannan Fadila na da ilimi	Also Fadila is educated
Ai matan Sa'i na da ilimi	The wives of Sa'i are educated

Also, her love for education made her praise Murja in her song *Ɗuwaiwai*:

Ki yi taƙamarki sosai	You should swagger proudly
Ke Murja yi rangaɗinki sosai	Murja, swagger very well
Ai ilimi gare ki Murja	Murja, you are educated
Ai ilimi gare ki sosai	Murja, you are very well educated

Apart from women the Barmani became acquainted with in her singing career, Barmani connected with women in her songs by imploring young girls to become empowered. In one of her songs, *Sama Ruwa Kasa Ruwa,* she implores young girls to seek an education:

Yarinya matso ki nemo ilimi	Girl, move closer and seek education

Perhaps her intention was to create awareness by showing that the essence of education lies with women, which shown in the following:

Da ilimi yana wurin mata	Education is with women

The above line connects with Islamic beliefs and traditions that call for women to be educated (ABUKARI 2014). Here, the idea is that a mother is a school, and the mother is the person who serves as the home's main caretaker. If she is educated, then all of society will become enlightened as well.

Barmani understood the setback facing women when it came to education in northern Nigeria, especially during her childhood, a time when most girls were not able to go to modern schools and instead were forced to marry around the

[9] A traditional title that emerged after the emergence of Islam. The title is for someone who is responsible for collecting *zakka*, the compulsory religious tithe. In this case, the song addresses the Sa'i of Funtua, that is, Alhaji Ahmadu na Funtua.

age of thirteen or thereabout to "fulfill a rite of passage early in their lives" (MACK 2004: 6). Even by:

> "... Nigerian independence (1960), statistics have constantly demonstrated that Hausa Muslim women's literacy levels are far lower than those of men, but these statistics are based on measures of Western educational programmes without accounting for levels of Qur'anic education." (MACK 2004: 6)

1960 was the year when Barmani became fifteen and married. Also, Mack's assessment is accurate as most women though not western educated have like Barmani undertaken Islamic literacy knowledge.

Nevertheless, it was important for a girl to be independent of her husband, especially when thrusted into a polygamous home where living with co-wives would be unavoidable; Barmani chants the following in *Mai Soso ke Wanka*:

Don Ya Rasulillahi mata	For the sake of the Prophet, women
Duk wanda bai yi ilimi ba	Whoever is not educated
Ya lallaɓa ya koyi sana'a	You should move and learn a trade
Don yanzu duniya ta canza	Because the world has changed
Ai sai da kwalliya ake gaye	With education, one can show off
Idan babu kwalliya wane gayen za a yi?	Without education, what would you show?

The above lyrics were a live performance in 2006 in Kano, where Barmani clearly stated that education is the key, begging women to become educated; if they couldn't get an education, then Barmani said they should seek empowerment through trade.

Similarly, in *Waƙar Kishiya,* a song about a co-wife, Barmani bares it all when it comes to having leverage among one's co-wives, portraying that what makes a woman independent must include having a sustainable trade, thus earning respect among co-mates:

Kai kowa ya kama sana'a mata	Every woman should have a trade
Duk macen da ba ta sana'a ta ba ni	A woman without a trade is in a dilemma
Duk macen da ba ta sana'a godîya	A woman without trade is like a mare
Mace da ba ta sana'a sakarai	A woman without a trade is useless

In Sakarai Ba Ta Da Wayo, Adamu describes the song as follows:

> "In advocating for gainful commerce by Muslim women in purdah, Choge uses the protagonist as a woman who does not engage in any form of trade and yet lives in the house. This woman, who is a *sakarai,* becomes the focus of Choge's operetta, where

she lambasts her as being less than useless because she has no trade." (ADAMU 2008: 103)

To buttress her point on the importance of women empowerment through trade, in *Sakarai Ba Ta Da Wayo* (useless, she is not smart), Barmani says the following:

Da na yi gargaɗi na ƙara	I have warned repeatedly
Kowa ya kama sana'a	Everyone should pick a trade

To show how significant her message is to fellow women, Barmani stresses the point in 'Sakarai Ba Ta Da Wayo' by listing the different cities she had visited and telling of how she encouraged the women of each city to pick up a trade:

Sai na je garin Daura,	I went to Daura
Kuma Zariya Birnin Shehu.	Also to Zaria, the city of Shehu
Kuma Zariya Birnin Shehu.	Women, I prefer you pick up a trade
Da ke ta Audu na zo Legas,	Ta Audu, I went to Lagos
Na gaya ma matan Legas,	I told the women in Lagos
Na yi gargadi na ƙara.	I have repeatedly warned
Don Allah a kama sana'a.	For God's sake, pick up a trade

For Barmani, being a professional praise singer empowered her by helping supplement her husband's income. This function can be glimpsed within the lines of her song *Allah Ka Ba Mu Nairori* (God give us money), where she talks of buying useful items for her children:

Sai nai ƙasa-ƙasa na kwashi kuɗi	Then, I bent so low to pack the money
Har na tsaya Kano na sai kaya	As far as stopping in Kano to buy stuffs
Na sai wani atamfa don gayu	I bought a textile material to spruce up
Na sai kwalla mai masallaci	I bought a basin with a mosque pattern
Na je na rarraba wa 'ya'yana	I went and shared it amongst my children

This 'classical style' room is described by PLATTE (2004: 175) in her analysis of the Kanuri women's room decor. Platte uses the words 'shelving of the pots' to describe one pot placed over the other. These pots, especially in Platte's assessment of 1990s room decor, were common Hausa women's room design; one pot is called *kwalla,* and several of these *kwalla* are an 'arrangement of enamel dishes decorated with' different patterns. Thus, for Barmani, providing her children with delicate and fashionable objects such as *kwalla*, especially for her daughters, was a way to provide them with trendy furniture. At this time, fashion for women was portrayed in the room and also on the body. When the room was fitted with decorated with items such as *kwalla* and the body was well

taken care of, especially in relation to cleanliness and wearing fashionable clothing, according to Barmani, this would give the woman a positive substance when she went to relate with her husband and other people. In other words, when well-furnished, a woman's room will appear beautiful to her husband and visitors, and her smart appearance will boost her positive image. And how would a woman achieve this? Barmani was clear in her vivid expression of women and how they must understand and appreciate their sexuality; she accomplished this by delving into the private homes of Hausa married women and what they must do to maintain their status, as seen in the following:

Ai mai muƙami ke wankan dare	It is the one with a position who baths at night
Wadda ba ta da muƙami ko sussuka tai dami tai wanka sai badî...	The one without a position even when night she threshed the corn, can stay without a bath until next year

The above song, *Mai Soso Ke Wanka,* describes the typical role of Hausa married women, the importance of marriage and how these women spruce up in the evening to appreciate their nights with their husbands. During the day, while the man is out providing for the family, the woman keeps the home and takes care of the children. When the evening meal is over, the woman takes a bath, dresses up and assumes her role of being with her husband. The one who does not fulfil this role is the one who does not have a man, and that woman can go to bed in her smelly outfit, and nobody will care.

Providing another insight into the effects of multiple birth, in her song *Gwarne Ikon Allah*, Barmani feels the need to offer support to women who easily become pregnant without the required spacing between a child and subsequent pregnancy. In traditional Hausa society, natural spacing methods include prolonged breast feeding (i.e., *lactational amenorrhoea*) and *coitus interruptus* (withdrawal method). For women who were not using artificial planning methods, there were cases where the natural method failed, and a suddenly pregnant woman would become the centre of gossip. The woman was said to be giving birth to *kunika*, a term applied to a child born within a period that is very close to the former one. Barmani's song ridicules those mocking these women instead of showing love and providing support to them. To show her support for them, she says the following:

Kun ji zan gaya muku yaran mata	Let me tell you young women
Haihuwa malkar faru ce	Procreation has a time limit
Ayye ran da ta ƙare sai warisa	When it ends one starts dressing up

To kuma rigar mama Salama Alaikum	And here comes wearing the brassiere
Ayye ni idan na fara sai nai dozin	Oh, I won't stop until I reach dozen

Barmani's message is that when a woman finds herself pregnant while still feeding a small child, she should not despair. She should, instead stay strong and carry on. A woman's fertile period has a term limit. And to support these women, Barmani celebrates procreation when she mentions she will give birth until she reaches a dozen children. Overall, *Gwarne Ikon Allah* exposes the double standard of the culture at the time. A woman (mostly in women's social circles) is forced to take the brunt of births spaced close together while the man experiences nothing of the sort.

Perhaps the biggest contribution made to women's voices lies in Barmani's ability to touch the core of the Hausa woman's dilemma: polygyny. Barmani brings out the emotional feelings most women have experienced by rebelling against the issue of polygyny. For the Hausa of northern Nigeria, it is standard for a man to marry several wives, and because of the Islamic injunction from the Quran, this number can reach up to four wives. In the chapter *Nisa'i* ('women'), there is the following passage:

> "[...] marry those that please you of [other] women, two or three or four. But if you fear that you will not be just, then [marry only] one or those your right hand possesses. That is more suitable that you may not incline [to injustice]." (QUR'AN 4:3).

The interpretation of this text gives many Muslims in northern Nigeria the opportunity to marry more than one wife. It is also right to say that polygyny in Hausa society did not start with Islam. Even before the coming of Islam, some Hausa men were thought to have had more than one wife, and in some cases, they had up to four because having a big family created the ability to have many children who would help take care of the farm (BARKOW 1973). Despite the fact that polygynous marriages come with some difficulties, there are many recorded cases of amiable relationships between co-wives, and it is rare to see an open emotional display on the part of the Uwargida (first wife) when a second wife is brought into the home. Of course, in SMITH (1991), Baba of Karo narrates the skirmishes taking place in the house of Malam Zakari, which reflects the polygynous rivalries in some Hausa homes. Barmani's song, *Wakar Kishiya*, which is also titled *Dare Allah Magani*, delves deeper. Though having lived without a co-wife all her married life, the message in Barmani's song echoes the feelings of many wives who find themselves in this situation. She narrates a peaceful atmosphere – one that soon vanishes with the mention of a co-wife –

between couples, with her as the first-person narrator, as follows:

'Yan Amshi: Dare Allah Magani	Chorus: Allah, the curer of night darkness
Barmani: *Muna zaman mu da Malam*	We are leaving together with Malam
Ba fushi ba tashin hankali	No fight or problems
Da sai na ce masa Malam Malami	Then I say to Malam
Da ni ina so ka yi mini kishiya	I want you to marry again
Da sai ya ce mini, 'ke ɗai kin isa'	Then he said, 'You are enough'
Ina ta ƙwambo, wai ni na isa	I am boasting that its only me
Da tsufa ya tabaibaye ni	As I begin to grow older
Sai ya ce mini wai aure za ya yi	Then he said, 'He wants to add a wife'
Sai na ce masa Malam Malami wa za ka dama wa salalan tsiya	Then I say, 'Malam who do you intend to confuse'

Barmani's song presents a scenario of Hausa women's expectations and fears after marriage. The first wife does not rule out the chance that her husband will add another wife. Behind the façade of happiness lies the reminder that a husband may add another wife. Not to be caught unaware, in her song, Barmani, as the narrator, suggests the husband should marry again, and his response that she suffices made her proud and boastful. Several years later, the narrator is shocked when her husband informs her of his intention to add another wife. Echoing the distress of many wives, Barmani's song curses the people who facilitate the entry of a co-wife:

Duk wanda ya yi maka hanyar kishiya	Whoever facilitates the coming of another wife
Ka yi wata tara ba ka gai da shi	Spend nine months not talking to him
Dare da rana Allah Ya isa	Curse him day and night
Wanda ya yi maka hanyar kishiya	Whoever facilitates the coming of another wife
Ana rabon ajali zai ba ka ne	Will also cause your death

Her attacks continue as she vents directly at the co-wife:

Kai ku tsaya ku ji sunan kishiya	Hey wait and hear the name of a co-wife
Bakar kunama mai halbin tsiya	Black scorpion with the venomous sting
Bakin maciji mai sarin tsiya	Black snake with the venomous strike
Ta ƙwandaririya mai ƙarfin gaba	Skinny, yet a nymphomaniac

What is interesting about Barmani's repertoire is how it brings out the feelings of many Hausa women. Her song is about acknowledging the existence of a woman's pain in a polygynous marriage taking place in a society that makes visible expressions of jealousy a serious sign of weakness. As such, Hausa women who are expecting a co-wife must hide their sorrow behind a veneer of calmness.

Surrounded by family and friends, a wife pretends she is fine by smiling and welcoming guests in preparation for the co-wife, even if in her heart she hates the co-wife. Barmani's song spits on the matchmakers, among which are also men, by informing women to turn their back on anyone who made their husbands bring in another co-wife. In the case where the marriage is enacted, Barmani's offer to women is the following:

Ku yi kishin birni mata	Women, play smart in co-wife situations
Kishin faɗa sai durwar kare[10]	Do not fight like mad dogs

The song opens up on the emotional trauma faced by women; Barmani's courageous song offers insight and advice to women on how to deal with a life in a polygynous setting.

5. Conclusions

The paper highlighted Barmani Choge's achievements as an oral artist. As an artist, her songs are a process of her life achievements. Her songs have a depth that are deeply engaging and thought provoking. Her songs provide insight into the socio-cultural aspects of Hausa society. In one of her songs, *A Kama Sana'a Mata*, Barmani portrays the significance of praise songs by saying, *Kowa ya ba ka don ka faɗi ne*, meaning 'whoever gives you, wants you to mention it'. This is why mentioning the names of people and extolling their virtues are part of Barmani's singing method. The significance of her praise songs is not limited to 'praise', but also serves as a documentation of significant people within Hausa society. Her songs take a journey through places she has visited, influential people of power in the past, royal households, her cherished band members, her association with other women in Hausa society and her travels through Nigerian cities. Barmani's songs serve as entertainment and admonishment to others, especially women. Her greatest message to women, as highlighted throughout this article, is women's empowerment through education and trade. Here, one very important note in MACK's (2004) discussion about Hausa women is that 'every woman sings', which portrays the significance of oral poetry among Hausa women.

[10] *Durwar kare* 'black and white dog'.

References

ABUKARI, Abdulai (2014). "Education of women in Islam: A critical Islamic interpretation of the Quran", *Religious Education* 109(1): 4-23.

ADAMU, Abdalla U. (2006). "Transglobal media flows and African popular culture: Revolution and reaction in Muslim Hausa popular culture", *Mary Kingsley Zochonis lecture for the African Studies Association, UK Biennial Conference School of African and Oriental Studies* (University of London, 12 September 2006).

ADAMU, Abdalla U. (2008). "Womanist ethos and Hausa domestic ecology: A structuralist analysis of Barmani Choge's Operetta, *Sakarai Ba Ta Da Wayo* (useless woman)", in S. ABDU and M.O. BHADMUS (eds.), *Poetry and poetics: Proceedings of the 5th Conference on Literature in Northern Nigeria*, Kano: Bayero University: 93-120.

BARKOW, Jerome H. (1973). "Muslims and Maguzawa in North Central State, Nigeria: An Ethnographic Comparison", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 7(1): 59-76.

BAWA, Aisha Balarabe (2016). "Addressing Gender Imbalance in Hausa Society: A Glimpse of Barmani Choge's Poetic Contributions", *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development* 5(10): 185-191.

CHAMO, Isa Yusuf (2013). "Hausa Oral Songs as a Tool for National Integration and Development in Nigeria", paper presented at International Conference on Folklore, National Integration and Development in honour of Prof. Dandatti Abdulkadir, OFR, Bayero University Kano, 1-12.

COLES, Catherine M. (1991). "Hausa women's work in a declining urban economy: Kaduna, Nigeria, 1980-1985", in Catherine M. COLES and Beverly MACK (eds.), *Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century,* Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press: 163-191.

GUSAU, S. M. (2005). *Wakokin Baka a Kasar Hausa: Yanaye-yanayensu da Sigoginsu*, Kano: Benchmark Publishers Limited.

FURNISS, Graham (1996). *Poetry, prose and popular culture in Hausa*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

HOGAN, Brian (2018). "Gendered modes of resistance: Power and women's songs in West Africa", *Ethnomusicology Review*: 1-12.

HUNTER, Linda and Chaibou Elhadji OUMAROU (1998). "Towards a Hausa Verbal Aesthetic: Aspects of Language about Using Language", *Journal of African Cultural Studies,* 11(2): 157-170.

JEGEDE, Oluwatoyin Bimpe and Mariam Yusuf MAGAJI (2018). "Gender Space and the Paradox of Self-Assertion in Amadasong Performance in Katsina State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Education Humanities and Social Science* 1(1): 25-41.

MACK, Beverly B. (2004). *Muslim women sing: Hausa popular song*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press.

MASHI, Musa Barah (1982). *Gudunmawar Hajiya Barmani Choge mai Amada ga adabin Hausa*, B.A. thesis, Department of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano.

NEWMAN, Paul (2007). *A Hausa-English Dictionary*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

OJAIDE, Tanure (2012). *Contemporary African literature: New approaches*. North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

PLATTE, Editha (2004). "Towards and African modernity: Plastic pots and enamel ware in Kanuri-women's room (Northern Nigeria)", *Paiduma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 50*:* 173-192.

QUR'AN 4:3, accessed on 24/07/2019, <https://quran.com/4/>

SCHUH, Russell G. (1994). "Text and Performance in Hausa Metrics", paper presented at *25th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (Rutgers University, March 25-27).

SHEME, Ibrahim (2008). "Bahaushe Mai Ban Haushi: Barmani Choge's night of glory", accessed on 22/06/2019, <http://ibrahim-sheme.blogspot.de/2008/01/barmani-choges-night-of-glory.html>

SMITH, Michael G. (1959). "The Hausa system of social status", *Journal of the International African Institute* 29(3): 239-252.

SMITH, Mary F. (1991). *Labarin Baba: Mutuniyar Kato ta Kasar Kano.* Kano: Quality Press.

SULAIMAN, Sa'idu Ibrahim, Anas Muhd YUNUS*, and* Nawas Dauda HASSAN (2015). "Factors of Divorced and the Effects of Divorced among the Marriage Couples, in Kano state, Nigeria", *Scholars Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences*: 1234-1247.

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1/2020, 110-140

Crafting modern Somali poetry: Lyric features in *Fad Galbeed* by Gaarriye and *Xabagbarsheed* by Weedhsame

MARTIN ORWIN

School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London
mo1@soas.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

This article presents two Somali poems in the *jiifto* metre: *Fad Galbeed* 'Evening Cloud' by Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac 'Gaarriye' and *Xabagbarsheed* 'Royal Jelly' by Xasan Daahir Ismaaciil 'Weedhsame'. Each is recognized as a fine example of modern Somali poetry, and this article seeks to understand some of the reasons why this is so. The particular features considered are the use of address and apostrophe in *Fad Galbeed* and how this relates to the lyric present in each of the two parts of the poem. In *Xabagbarsheed*, on the other hand, I concentrate on sound-patterning looking at two sections in particular, one which displays assonance and another which displays interesting crafting of sound features which, it is suggested, foreground the sound of the alliterating consonant in a particularly appealing way. The discussion is centred on the poems themselves making detailed reference to the language used and how this contributes to the features and effects discussed. It is thus on the one hand a contribution to the study of the craft and aesthetics in Somali poetry. On the other hand, the manifestations of these aesthetic aspects coincide with what is presented in work on lyric. The article makes reference to this and, without going into detail on the theoretical aspects, seeks to begin to make a contribution from Somali poetry to this field of literary study.

KEY WORDS: Somali, poetry, lyric, poetics, alliteration

DOI 10.6092/jalalit.v1i1.6737

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1/2020, 110-140

MARTIN ORWIN

Crafting modern Somali poetry

1. Introduction[1]

In this article I consider two fine examples of modern Somali poems: *Fad Galbeed* 'Evening Cloud' (1978) by Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac 'Gaarriye' and *Xabagbarsheed* 'Royal Jelly' (2007) by Xasan Daahir Ismaaciil 'Weedhsame'. The article concentrates on detailed analysis of address and time in *Fad Galbeed* and sound-patterning in *Xabagbarsheed*. The analysis is presented in a manner that, hopefully, allows the poems to speak for themselves with respect to these stylistic features but also with a view to bringing them to the wider discussion on 'lyric', to which, I suggest, Somali poetry has much to offer. The conceptualization and discussion of lyric here draws particularly on CULLER (1977 and 2015), BLASING (2007), SMITH (2007) and WOLF (2005).

Although these works concentrate on European languages there is nevertheless acknowledgement that the ideas may be relevant to other poetic traditions: CULLER (2015: 355 n.6) states 'There are, of course, very rich lyric traditions in other cultures, which I am not competent to address.' BLASING (2007: 20 n.12) goes so far as to say: "The lyric is a universal genre and it is the foundational genre in diverse languages." The consideration of lyric as a genre which is fundamental in many languages and cultures is discussed, among others, in MASLOV (2018) and MINER (2000). Although I don't discuss their ideas here, it is with these and similar works in mind that what follows is offered. The features of address and sound-patterning are chosen because they are generally agreed to be fundamental concepts relating to lyric in the literature, and these poems provide particularly interesting displays of these.

2. Somali poetry: some general comments[2]

Somali poetry is heard poetry. Writing is now used both in the composition of poems and in publishing them but its appreciation is predominantly through listening. Poems are generally first presented not by written publication but

[1] I am grateful to Gaarriye and Weedhsame for their help in fully understanding these poems and to two anonymous reviewers for the constructive comments on the initial submission of this article.

[2] For readers unfamiliar with the Somali alphabet, most letters indicate sounds which are, more or less, the same as in English with the following exceptions: 'c' is the voiced pharyngeal fricative (ع in Arabic), 'dh' is the voiced retroflex plosive, 'kh' is the voiceless velar fricative (خ in Arabic) and is only found in Arabic loanwords phonologically, 'q' is the uvular plosive (ق in Arabic) and 'x' is the voiceless phrayngeal fricative (ح in Arabic). Note 't' and 'd' are dentals and not alveolars thus are articulated more as they are in Italian or French than English, though 't' is heavily aspirated (as also is 'k').

through direct performance, which in most cases is by the poet herself or himself. These days, this may often also involve recording the performance, which is then made available on YouTube or other social media websites. Writing is making greater inroads into disseminating poetry both in print and on line, but listening still predominates in experiencing poems. This is important since sound and its effects in poetry are to be heard, and the dominance of listening means people are experienced in hearing these effects directly. It is also important with regard to the conceptualization of 'voice' in the poem and whether or not it is perceived by listeners as the voice of the poet or more abstractly as the voice of the poem, the lyric 'I'. This issue may be of particular interest for a poetic tradition such as Somali which, until relatively recently, was essentially an oral-poetic tradition and which, for many people, still is very much that. This is a big issue which will not be specifically dealt with here, though references to voice in the poems are made.

Another fundamental characteristic of Somali poetry is that it is all systematically patterned; it is all metrical and alliterative.[3] The two poems discussed here are in the *jiifto* metre, one of the most commonly used metrical patterns, particularly from the 1970s onwards. Somali metre is quantitative and patterns long- and short-vowel syllables and syllable-final consonants. The *jiifto* metrical pattern is given below in which the symbol ⏑ indicates a short-vowel syllable position, and the symbols ⏑⏑ and ⏒⏒ indicate positions which can be filled by either a long-vowel syllable or two short-vowel syllables. There is, however, a crucial difference between the two: a syllable-final consonant is not allowed at the end of the first short-vowel syllable when a position indicated by ⏑⏑ is realized as two short-vowel syllables. A syllable-final consonant is, in contrast, possible at the end of the first short-vowel syllable in the metrical position indicated with ⏒⏒ at the beginning of the line when this is realized as two short-vowel syllables. Geminate consonants are also restricted in the same way as syllable-final consonants, as are a group of consonants referred to as virtual geminates which are 't', 'k', 'f', 's', 'sh', 'j', 'w' and some instances of 'y' (see ORWIN and MOHAMED 2010).[4] Word endings cannot occur in the positions which do not allow syllable-final consonants. What may be considered hypermetric

[3] There are some poems and parts of poems which do not alliterate or alliterate differently to the description here but this need not concern us here. See ORWIN (2011) for further details on alliteration in Somali poetry.

[4] Although the sound 'j', the palato-alveolar affricate, which is heard both voiceless and voiced, seems to pattern as a virtual geminate, it is possible it behaves a little differently. Further work is needed to determine precisely how it behaves in such contexts.

lines are also found in which one, and only one, short-vowel syllable is present in one of the two positions given in parentheses.

The *jiifto* metrical pattern:

(⏑) ⏓ (⏑) ⏔ ⏑ ⏔ ⏔

Open-syllable diphthongs at the end of certain words count as short, in particular the past tense ending *-ay* (which may also be written *-ey*) and the diphthong at the end of parts of the verb 'to be', specifically *ahay*, *tahay*, *yahay* and *nahay* ('I am', 'you are' or 'she is', 'he is' and 'we are' respectively). Other open-syllable diphthongs count as long such as the short form of the vocative suffix *-aay* (f.) and *-oow* (m.) and some may count as either long or short.[5] Diphthongs within closed syllables (those with a syllable-final consonant) always count as long. Vowels in some morphemes such as the remote/anaphoric defining suffix, *-kii* (m.) / *-tii* (f.), which are generally long in speech, may count as short in some circumstances (see BANTI and GIANNATTASIO 1996: 86-87 for further details).

Alliteration in poems following the *jiifto* metrical pattern works such that there must be at least one word beginning with the same sound in each line of the poem.

3. *Fad Galbeed* 'Evening Cloud' by Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac 'Gaarriye'

Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac 'Gaarriye' (1949-2012) was born in Hargeysa in what was then the British Protectorate of Somaliland. Following primary school in Hargeysa and secondary school in Sheekh, he went to Lafoole College where he studied biology. In addition to his scientific interests he had a passion for poetry and soaked up poems in Somali from an early age. At school he studied Arabic poetry and continued to take an interest in poetry in that language.[6] After graduating he worked as a school teacher before returning to Lafoole as a lecturer in the Department of Somali Literature, of which he later became the director. He was the first person to write an analysis of the Somali metrical system, which was published in 1976 in a series of seminal articles in the national newspaper of the time *Xiddigta Oktoobar* (the first of these is MAXAMED

[5] The literature on metre in Somali poetry says that open-syllable diphthongs may count as long or short with no constraints (see, for example, BANTI and GIANNATTASIO 1996: 86). Based on recent research, I now disagree with this more general assumption reaching the conclusion which is given here. It is intended that this work be published soon.

[6] In discussing this with him, he mentioned in conversation that some of his poetry from the 1970s onwards was influenced by poets writing in Arabic whom he particularly admired such as Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī and Nizār Qabbānī.

1976). Some of his most famous poems are political in nature such as *Dugsi Ma Leh Qabyaaladi* 'Clannism Is No Shelter' which he wrote at the end of 1979. The poem alliterated in 'd' and set off a chain of poems on the major political concerns of the time each also alliterating in 'd' hence the name of the chain: *Deelley* 'The One in 'D''.

Fad Galbeed was written in 1978 and alliterates in 'g'. I use the term 'written' deliberately here as Gaarriye did use writing to make his poems and always read them from the page rather than memorized them.

He can be seen performing the poem in two YouTube videos *Abwaan Maxamed X. Dhamac (Gaarriye) (Maansada fadgalbeed)* 2014 and *Gaariye Iyo Saddex Maanso* 2012.[7] The poem was prompted by a particular experience that is described in MAXAMED (2007: 222) and which he always recounted before reading the poem publicly.[8] It was the month of Ramadan and he was driving with Cabdi Qays, another famous poet, on the road between Lafoole and the nearby town of Afgooye (both not far from Mogadishu) which runs through a major agricultural region. They passed some young women who were harvesting fruit, and the woman he describes as the most beautiful in his written introduction was caught unexpectedly by the wind with a gust blowing her clothing aside revealing the top part of her body. In that moment, the woman saw that the two young men had witnessed this and was embarrassed by it. As he describes, she bent down covering herself with her clothes looking at them out of the corner of her eye and biting on her finger nails. Gaarriye was struck by the scene, in particular by the beauty of the woman, which, as he writes in his introduction, was increased by her shyness and modesty in that instant. It was early evening and he sensed in that moment that the sun was setting more quickly than usual. This whole experience prompted the poem. The Somali text is as edited in MAXAMED (2007: 222-224).[9]

[7] These show performances in two different contexts. The first is a recording made in Djibouti by Radiodiffusion Télévision de Djibouti some time in the early to mid-1990s. In this one he begins the introduction at 0:30 and begins the poem at 5:45. The second seems to have been made in Hargeysa (possibly some time in the 2000s) and the introduction to *Fad Galbeed* begins at 12:22 and the poem begins at 16:10.

[8] This is in-keeping with the practice of presenting poems in Somali. The account of what prompted a poem is very often given both before one is recited and also when it is published in written form.

[9] I have made only one emendation. The word *Waxaan* in line 46 reads *Waxan* in the original. This makes no difference to the arguments here, nor does the change make the line unmetrical. It simply replaces the short form of the pronoun *an* with *aan*, which is the form generally used in this context and, for readers who know Somali, makes the discussion clearer below. The form

Gabbal-dhaca cadceed-yahay
U sii faano-guratee,
Casar gaaban liiqii
Godka weeraraysaa!
Go'e fuley miyaad tahay?
Waa maxay garmaamadu?

Ma googooska sagalkiyo
Gamasyada shucaacaa,
Gaade kaa horreeyiyo
Gurigaad ku hoyan layd
War ku gubay ka soo direy?

Mise gabadhan dhoolkiyo
Gu'goo shaalka xaytiyo
Fad galbeed la moodaa,
Kolkaad gelin is-dhugateen
Guluubkaagi shiikhoo
Dib-u-guradku waa baqe?

Mise ganac-jabkaagiyo
Waxaad galabta mudataad
Intay goori goor tahay,
Dayax soo lug-gu'i laa
Sii war-geli is-leedahay?

Gedgeddoonka hirarkee
Iyagoo garaaro leh,
Gaatin-socodka laafyaha
Xarragada u gaarka ah
Goonyahaaga tiiciyo,

Gaardiga daruuraha
Kugu gaaf-wareegee,
Gumucaad ridaysiyo
Goolli-baadh fallaadhaha,
Shafka kaga garaacdee
Isu rogay guduudkee,
Dhiiggooda gobo'liyo
Giirgiirka caadka leh,
Ku sibbaaqday guudkiyo
Garab-saar-dabtoodii
Maxaa maanta gaasirey?
Miyey kugu giriifeen?

Mise waxay ka giigeen
Gobaad haybaddeediyo,
Gantaalaha jacaylkiyo
Kal-gacaylka beereey
Indhaheedu ganayaan?

Afartaa siddiri-gam
Waxaan gocanayaa weli,

Tiiyoo gareyskiyo
Marta debec u gunuddoo
Guranaysa hoobaan,
Oo aan geyaankeed
Geesaha ka filanayn,
Dabayshii gadooddee
Uurkayga garatee
Gaadmada ku qaaddee,
Gosha iyo horaadkiyo
Gaaddada u fayddiyo,
Garba-duubka maraday
Durba 'geb' isku siisiyo,
Gabbashada xishoodka ah
Gorodday lulaysiyo
Ugubnimo-gandoodkii.

I have decided to present translations both of this poem and of *Xabagbarsheed* which are more literary than literal, which means that the translations do not follow the originals line for line. Given Somali syntax and the way lines relate to

Waxan could, potentially, be confused with being derived from *wax+kan* 'this thing' which is not grammatically possible in this context. Line 19 begins with *Waxaad* which is analogous differing only in the use of the second person pronoun *-aad*, thus also provides a precedent for the emendation in line 46.

each other, more literal translations can become very unwieldy (especially for poems in short form metrical patterns) and detract from an appreciation of the translation as one of a poem. It is for this reason that the lines in the translations are not numbered. References to lines and words with their meanings in the discussion of both poems will hopefully allow readers who don't know Somali to follow it readily along with the translations.

Setting sun you're stepping
from the fading day
heading for your hole
Hey! Are you a coward?
What's the hurry?

Did the flurry of dusk's
red flare, its rays,
its shining spears bring
scorching news –
an ambush waiting –
from the house where
you would spend the night?

Or is it this young woman
who seems a cumulus,
a breeze in spring
that lifts the filmy shawl,
a rain cloud in the evening?
You glimpsed each other
your brilliance dimmed,
do you retreat for fear
that she outshines you

or to tell the moon
of her before it rises
of your indignity, of what
this afternoon you deserved
so it won't stumble like you?

The swirling stratus-waves
slow-marched with swaying limbs,
an elegance unique to them;
the ceremonious ranks of clouds
surrounded you, and the bullets
you loosed and arrows you aimed
pierced their chests, they turned
to red, their blood dripped;
what made the cirrus
splashed with colour
shy away today
from shouldering their arms?
Are they aggrieved with you?
Or do they hold back
from Gobaad's prestige,
from the missiles of love
and ardour her eyes
released and planted in them?

Those lines now said:
what I still recall is her,

plucking ripe fruit,
her dress and *gareys*
tied loose at her waist,
not expecting the glance
of her suitor from anywhere;
the stirred wind realizing
the feelings inside me
surprising her,
revealing her body and breast;
her haste in holding
the clothes to herself;
modestly turning her face;
a gazelle dipping her head;
the shyness of virginity.

Notes: A *gareys* is a brightly coloured cloth worn by women. *Gobaad* is a proper name which is used here to refer to the woman picking fruit (see below). I have translated the noun *gandood* as 'shyness', though there is more to the word than

this. In my understanding, it expresses a shyness or embarrassment which comes out of annoyance at a situation but which is expressed in a quiet manner. The translation as 'shyness' seems to work best, and I did have the opportunity of asking Gaarriye, who knew English very well, about words such as these at various points in the past.

3.1 Fad Galbeed*: structure, apostrophe and lyric time*

In this section I present an analysis of the structure of the poem and discuss in particular the striking instance of address to the sun and how this relates to the second part and the notion of time in the whole. In so doing, I draw on ideas presented in CULLER (1977 and 2015: Chapter 5) and SMITH (2007) all of which deal with the concept of apostrophe. The reference to critical ideas which are based on the study of poetry in European languages needs to be handled carefully when considering a poetic tradition such as Somali which is quite distant linguistically and culturally.[10] However, the characteristics of the use of address as apostrophe in this poem resonate in interesting ways with what has been written in the literature on lyric with respect to this trope.

The poem is in two main parts. In the first (lines 1-44) it addresses the sun and asks first why it is hurrying and then why the clouds, which are described as the sun's guard of honour, do not shoulder their arms as they would normally. The second part describes the scene witnessed, which itself prompts both the address to the sun and the making of the poem.

The first line addresses the sun directly, ending with the vocative suffix *-yahay* on the noun *cadceed*; it is the only use of the vocative in the poem.[11] Following this address, the poem presents the perception of the sun setting more quickly than usual and questions why this should be. The haste is expressed first in the line *Godka weeraraysaa* which literally means '[who] is attacking the hole'.[12] The hole refers to the place into which the sun is setting, a somewhat mundane term for the home of the sun, which adds a hint of irony. The use of *weerar* 'attack'

[10] This is apparent in considering apostrophe in Somali poetry more widely (which I don't do here). If we take the distinction between oratorical and lyrical apostrophe made by SMITH (2007: 413), for example, examples from Somali could prove interesting, especially given the wider conceptual framework within which Wolf couches these ideas.

[11] The vocative form used is the feminine long form *-yahay*. The shorter feminine form is *-aay* which we shall see used prominently in *Xabagbarsheed*. The vocative is commonly used in Somali poetry from early poems to the present day and the addressee may be a person (real or imaginary), an animal, a bird or some inanimate entity as here.

[12] Note there is no relative pronoun in Somali.

implies the speed of the sun's setting, since an attack in conflict would be undertaken swiftly. The initial consonant and vowel of *godka* 'the hole' is echoed in the first word of the next line, *go'e*, an exclamatory particle which can imply disapproval or scorn. The linking of *godka* with this particle through the sound parallelism seems to add some strength to the ironic tone, as does the fact they are the alliterating words in their respective lines and are also the first words in each line. *Go'e* is then immediately followed by the question 'are you a coward?'. The use of *fuley* 'coward' to refer to the sun following the use of *weerar* 'attack' continues the ironic tone.

The next line asks directly 'What's the hurry?' and is followed by three line-groupings which present suggestions to the sun. The first is that it might be *War ku gubay*, literally 'news which has burned you' from home, possibly of a group of attackers who are hiding ready to ambush, a meaning inherent in the term *gaade*. This would be a reasonable explanation of why the sun was in a hurry and contrasts ironically with the suggestions in the next two line-groupings in which the 'real' reason is offered.

The first of these asks plainly if it is the woman who has caused the sun to set quickly. She is described in images of clouds and the potential for rain: *dhool* 'the white top of a cloud which is shedding rain', *gu'* 'the main rainy season' and *fad galbeed* 'afternoon cloud', which Gaarriye chose to be the title of the poem.[13] The *gu'* season is described as '[lifting] the filmy shawl' which prefigures the action of the wind later in the poem. These are all captivating images, the like of which are commonly used in Somali poetry. They also contrast with the sun which, although it brings light and is generally seen as magnificent, especially at dawn and dusk, also brings heat and dryness to the land.[14] This line-grouping continues with reference to the sun and the woman glimpsing each other which leads to the sun's brilliance dimming.[15]

[13] The word *galbeed* here comprises the feminine noun *galab* 'afternoon' and the suffix *-eed*, which has been described as a type of genitive ending but which is now generally thought possibly to play another role. There is a masculine noun *galbeed* 'west' which also resonates in the meaning here.

[14] It must be remembered that in the Somali territories the threat of drought is very real and life-threatening, thus references to rain, clouds, lightning and thunder are very positive and appealing.

[15] The word *guluub*, used to refer to the sun's waning brilliance, means 'light bulb' and is the alliterating word. The use of alliterating words in ways which is just beyond their more specific use is quite common in Somali poetry. See ROPER (2012) for discussion of the concept of *semantic stretch* in relation to alliteration.

Following this, the suggestion is presented that the hasty retreat is due to fear, echoing the use of *fuley* 'coward' above. A final possible reason is offered next with the thought that the sun may be hurrying in order to warn the moon that someone more beautiful than them is present in the world.

There follows an extensive image of the clouds and the sky at sunset. The clouds are anthropomorphized and presented as the guard of honour to the sun, and the imagery includes reference to blood spilled by the bullets and arrows which the sun normally fires at the clouds, thus offering a vivid picture of the sky at sunset. The question that concludes this imagery is what made them 'shy away today / from shouldering their arms?' The poem asks if they are aggrieved by the sun or are they in awe of the woman, *Gobaad* – the alliterating word and a proper name derived from the word *gob* – which conveys the sense of 'noble, fine woman'. We then hear how the clouds have had *gantaalo* 'missiles' of love and passion planted in them by her, all the more striking given that we hear just beforehand that the sun normally only musters bullets and arrows. The clouds are thus presented as turning away from the sun because they are more enamoured of the woman they have now seen.

The address to the sun can be considered an instance of apostrophe. In using this term, I take it here to be as expressed in WATERS (2012: 61): "Poetic address, esp. to unhearing entities, whether these be abstractions, inanimate objects, animals, infants, or absent or dead people." Whilst this provides us with a general definition of the term, the way it functions and behaves in poems is presented in greater detail in the work of Culler and Smith mentioned above, and *Fad Galbeed* presents a particularly interesting example of the trope with respect to their ideas.

One such feature relates to the "second level of reading the function of apostrophe" (CULLER 1977: 63) such that:

> "to apostrophize is to will a state of affairs, to attempt to call it into being by asking inanimate objects to bend themselves to your desire. In these terms the function of apostrophe would be to make the objects of the universe potentially responsive forces: forces which can be asked to act or refrain from acting, or even to continue behaving as they usually behave. The apostrophizing poet identifies his universe as a world of sentient forces." (CULLER 1977: 61)

Thus, when poems 'address natural objects they formally will that these particular objects function as subjects' (CULLER 1977: 62, see also CULLER 2015: 215-216). When the apostrophe is made in *Fad Galbeed*, however, it is not with a will to render the sun a subject, an animate entity, since the apostrophe acknowledges the sun already is that. It is already the agent of its own behaviour

having become a subject when it caught sight of the woman gathering fruit. The taunting tone of the apostrophe expresses recognition of the sun's response: its fluster and embarrassment in seeing someone more beautiful than itself. What is more, the sun's and the poet's attention is caught by the same sight, in the same moment, a moment brought about by another force of nature, the wind as presented below.

SMITH (2007) discusses a feature of 'lyrical apostrophe' (see footnote 10 above) which he terms 'denial': 'The claim I make for apostrophe follows from the premise that address in lyric is always and necessarily denied. By "denial," I mean the nonresponse of the "you" as a structural feature of lyric' (SMITH 2007: 415). It is interesting to consider this in the context of *Fad Galbeed*. The sun responds to the sight of the woman in the poem (and thus indirectly to the action of the wind) but not to the apostrophic gesture. There is therefore a 'denial', in Smith's terms, towards the lyric voice but a response, nevertheless, to a figure and occurrence present in the poem.

Line 45 is where the poem turns: *Afartaa siddiri gam*. This line has no role other than a structural one acting as the pivot between the two parts of the poem. The word *afartaa* literally means 'those four' and is an established way of referring to what has preceded in a poem, however many lines there may be. The words *siddiri gam* are the name of a dance performed by women (see AADAN 2013: 1311) and has no further specific relevance. Following this pivot, we hear *Waxaan gocanayaa weli* 'what I still recall [is]...'. We are immediately aware the poem is no longer addressing the sun, indeed this line has the effect almost of setting aside the preceding apostrophe. If what follows is what the lyric voice recalls, it as if the whole drama of the sun hurrying away, warning the moon, the clouds shying away etc. is no longer remembered. This has the effect of separating the two parts highlighting the apostrophe as a distinct poetic act.

I suggest the syntax used supports this interpretation. In this second part, there is no vocative, and the lyric voice is expressed directly with *aan* 'I' on the focus marker *waxa*/*waxaa*, which focusses what follows the verb. The focussed noun phrase begins at line 47 and extends to the end of the poem.[16] This is a single syntactic unit comprising a number of sub-noun phrases coordinated by the conjunction *iyo*, which only joins noun phrases, not clauses. This whole syntactic unit is therefore a list of things remembered that runs to the end of the poem.

[16] In general it is what immediately follows the verb that is focussed by *waxa* / *waxaa*. In this case, the adverb *weli* 'still' at the end of line 46 immediately follows the verb *gocanayaa* and the focussed noun phrase begins on the next line.

The first item in the list is *tii*: expressed as 'her' in the translation, this is the feminine remote/anaphoric defining suffix used pronominally and is modified by a sequence of relative clauses. The second thing remembered is *dabayshii* 'the wind' at line 52, though there is no conjunction linking this with the previous item.[17] Such slight anomalies and ambiguities in syntax are found in Somali poems though the sense is still clear. The defined noun *dabayshii* is also modified by relative clauses but these are introduced in a way that is subtly different to those on *tii*. The relative clauses modifying the pronoun *tii* are introduced by the conjunction *oo* which indicates non-restrictive relative clauses and is used here because we know who the pronoun *tii* refers to. The first relative clause on *dabayshii* 'the wind', on the other hand, has no conjunction and the rest are joined by the conjunction *ee*, all of which indicates restrictive relative clauses when modifying a defined head noun. This suggests a specificity to the wind: it wasn't just any wind, but the specific wind that was stirred and knew the feelings of the poet. The other things remembered are the woman hastily holding the clothes to herself, her turning her face in modesty, her hanging her head and the final line *Ugubnimo gandoodkii* 'the shyness of virginity'.

In this second part, there is no vivid imagery, no great use of figurative language. The lines also express something akin to narrative, but the section is short and syntactically subdues this narrative-like quality by being a single noun phrase. The tense of the verbs is, for the most part, not apparent also. It is only the past progressive negative form *filanayn* in line 51 which clearly displays the tense; the endings of the other verbs are obscured by the conjunctions at the end of lines 48, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58 and 60.[18] This elision of verb-final inflection caused by conjunctions is a feature of poetry, particularly in this position in the *jiifto* metre, rather than a general characteristic in the language. We hear, then, what is essentially a list of noun phrases, of instances remembered. They are in a specific order but are linked by coordinating conjunctions.

As such, this single noun phrase does not convey a syntactic narrative sense of time. The sense of time as expressed through the syntax may be regarded as

[17] The word *dabayshii* is the noun *dabayl* 'wind' with the remote/anaphoric defining suffix *-tii*. The use of the *-ii* suffix rather than the non-remote ending *-a* will not be pursued here, but could be interesting to consider with respect to deixis in poetry.

[18] The part of the verb 'to be', *ah*, at the end of line 59 is in the present tense but this is because it is the copula in the relative construction on *gabbashada* and thus does not play a temporal role in a narrative sense. The fact that *filanayn*, a negative past tense form, cannot 'hide' its tense is due to the fact that the suffix ends in a consonant and so is not a form in which the final vowel can be elided by a conjunction.

close to a single moment even though the order of the instances hints at something like narrative.

It was mentioned above that the apostrophe in the first part is not offered with any intent to make the sun a subject since it is already presented as the agent of its own reaction. In the second part on the other hand another force of nature, the wind, without being addressed, *is* moved to react in response to the feelings said to be within the poet, that is within the voice of the poem. There is no appeal and no drama in how the wind's reaction is expressed; it is said merely to be stirred and to know the poet's feelings. It is then the reaction to what the wind does which causes the woman gathering fruit to be seen both by the sun and the lyric voice, thus causing the sun's reaction and, in the same moment, the germ of the poem. The sun was not aware of the woman prior to this moment, but in the moment in which the poem is conceived it does become aware, reacts and the poem addresses it.

CULLER (2015: 226) states: "The fundamental characteristic of lyric, I am arguing, is not the description and interpretation of a past event but the iterative and iterable performance of an event in the lyric present, in the special 'now,' of lyric articulation." In *Fad Galbeed* we experience just such an event, the iterability seems not only to inhere in its memorable form and striking imagery but also in the interaction of the lyric presents expressed in each of the two parts of the poem. The first, the apostrophe to the sun, places the lyric present in the moment of the occurrence related. As the poem then turns, the lyric present becomes the moment of address to the audience, and the voice recalls what it was that caused both the sun's reaction and the poem's conception.

The mocking of the sun and the emphasis on the woman's modesty may be considered in-keeping with the general tone of other poems by Gaarriye from this time. In *Fad Galbeed* the action of the wind, based as it is on the poet's feelings, might be regarded as somewhat salacious, but the tone which recounts this in the poem is not that. The poem's expression of what was seen thus highlights the woman's modesty and what is mocked is the reaction of the 'powerful' sun as it responds to the beauty of the woman in that vulnerable moment. Some of Gaarriye's most memorable poems are centred on characters who are not powerful but whose lives are affected negatively by the politically powerful. *Kabocaseeye* 'Shoeshine Boy' is a good example. It is innovative in that he ironically uses the metre of a children's song to describe a shoeshine boy living in the streets of Mogadishu who is taken away suddenly, along with other such children, by a soldier. This is so that visiting dignitaries do not see these children as they arrive for an international conference as part of the United Nations International Year of the Child in 1979! Although not a socially

motivated poem and lighter in tone than *Kabocaseeye*, *Fad Galbeed* nevertheless has overtones of concern through the way the woman's experience is presented.

4. *Xabagbarsheed* 'Royal Jelly' by Xasan Daahir Ismaaciil 'Weedhsame'

Weedhsame was born in 1982 in the village of Kalabaydh to the west of Hargeysa. In the late 1980s, as a result of the civil war, he and his family fled as refugees to Ethiopia returning home in 1992. Following school, he studied mathematics at the University of Amoud in Boorame, which had just been founded following the conflict. He is quite a prolific poet and also uses writing to make his poems. Many of these are lyrics which are intended for setting to music, mostly love songs.[19] He is well known also for his longer, more serious poetry. One such example is *Mudduci* 'Plaintiff' which he wrote in February 2017 and concerns corruption. It alliterates in 'm' and quickly became widely heard via the internet throughout the Somali territories and in the diaspora. Others responded to it, beginning a chain of poems known as *Miimley* 'The One in 'M'' after the alliterating sound. He was mentored by Gaarriye, whom he first met in 2000.

The poem I consider here is one which was not made to be set to music and was written in 2007. The text presented here was provided to me by the poet as a written document and has been edited only for spelling. He considers this to be the poem in which he first really displayed his skills in poetry, although he had been making poems for some years beforehand. He mentioned to me in an email (13 October 2019) that when he showed it to him, Gaarriye had said: 'after this one, I realised that you are mature enough to go your way'. He also wrote in the email: "The first day Hadraawi heard it, he asked me to recite it. I did it then he asked me again and I did it till he asked me to recite it almost five times."[20] There is a strong sense with this poem that he is creating a masterpiece, to use the term in its original meaning: a piece which displays how well the apprentice has mastered the craft. Everyone I have spoken to about this poem finds it particularly beautiful and appealing, as do I, which is a major factor in choosing to consider it here.

In keeping with common practice, he introduces his poems before reciting them. The prompting of this poem was the sight of a *sogsog* tree (an acacia species) in the Xero Awr district of Hargeysa in which a trailing vine species was growing,

[19] See WOOLNER (2018) for a treatise on the role love songs play in people's lives, which includes discussion of some of Weedhsame's work.

[20] I quote the email with Weedhsame's permission. We normally communicate in Somali but occasionally use English and he wrote those parts of the email in English. Hadraawi is considered by many to be the greatest living Somali poet.

xayaab, which was in flower and made the tree particularly attractive. This prompted him to think about the imagery used in poems for beauty and how women are described in love poems. In the introduction in the YouTube video *Abwaan Weedhsame Maansadii XABAG BARSHEED* 2014, he points out that if a poem makes reference to particular attributes of a woman then another woman might reject it if those attributes are not suitable in describing her, and so he set out to make a poem in which the imagery used can refer to any woman to whom it might be addressed.

Xays galab hillaacaay
Xiisaanka sagalkaay
Xiddo shaalku leeyiyo
Xiddigtii dagaaraay.

Xilli moodda galabeed
Xinjiraha guduutiyo
Xaradhyada sibaaqa ah
Ku dul xidhatay caadkaay

Jeegaan is xayddoo
Midabada xariirta ah
Kala xayashadoodii
Mid waliba xijaabkiyo
Iska fayday xuubkaay

Dayaxoo xinaystoo
Intuu xooray daahii
Cirka xero ka ootoo
Xaadiisi muujoo
Dhulka xubin madoobayd
Ku xorreeyey nuurkaay

Ama geed xayaaboo
Mahiigaan xalay da'ay
Xubnihiisa maydhoo
Xashiishka iyo boodhkii
Daad-xoortu qaaddoo
Calcalyada xareed ihi
Xididkiisi aasnaa
Xaradhaaminaysoo,
Xagga sare caleentiyo
Ubaxyada xintamayaa
Xadad kala samaysteen,

Xamashkiyo ugbaadkuna
Intay dharabki xaynkiyo
Xusulada ku qaateen
Hoostiisa xaadheen,
Qorraxduna xanjaadkiyo
Xabadkeeda fayddoo
Xagal fiiqan kaahii
Kaga soo xugaysaay

Xamar geenyo uguboo
Geel lagu xabaadhiyo
Xarumaha colaadeed
Xaasha'e ka dhega loo
Xaalufiyo abaariyo
Weli aan xuluul mudan
Oo loo xil qaba oo
Xidh biyuhu fadhiisteen
Xarfo dharab ku yuururo
Xasilooni miratoo
Sarbi lagu xanuunshiyo
Aan xawd ku dhicinoo
Sabarkeeda xaaddii
Iska xoodday feedhaha
Xaamxaamanaysoo
Xubnaheeda oo idil
Xayndaabay farawgii
Oo loo dal-xiis tago
Xaadhintay ku nooshoo
Sida xayga dayreed
Dhaayuhu xaggeedaa
Xasilaad ku dheehdaan
Quruxdeeda xeesha leh
Adaa xuuralcayn yahay
Xusuliyo badh dheeroo

Sida xidid halbawlaha
Ka xamaala dhiiggaad
Xiddigyahay naftaydii
Ugu xeel fogaatoo
Xujadii kalgacalkaay
Xisku wuxu jeclaystaa
Xilo inaad u noqotaa.

Waxa xiise guuniyo
Igu beeray xadantada
Xurmadiyo samaantiyo
Xishoodkiyo dulqaadkiyo
Xil-kaskiyo aqoontaa
Rabbi kuu xambaarshoo,
Waxaad tahay xaqiiqdii
Gacal iyo xigaalaba
Raalliyo xaq-dhawrtiyo
Qaryad xeer ku dhaqantoo
Mukur laga xorreeyee,
Xudduntii af-tahankaay

Xigmaddiyo sarbeebtiyo
Haasaawe xulahoo
Xoodaansha maankaad
Isku daba xidhaayoo
Sida xadhiga soohdaa!
Xalladiisa hadalkaad
Xeel-dheeri unugtaa!

Anna xabagbarsheedaay
Xilligaan is baranaan
Kasha kugu xariiqee
Waxaan dedo xogtaydoon
Xafidoon adkeeyaba
Hilow baa xasayntii
Xamilkeedi gooyoo
Xaaxigii jacaylkaa
Xeeliga i keenee
Caawaba Xayaadaay
Caashaqa xilkiisii
Xero ma u yagleelnaa?

As mentioned above, the translation here is more literary than literal. It also differs a little from the translation of *Fad Galbeed* in that, although the poem is in the same *jiifto* metre, the rhythm in the English translation is subtly different in parts. This arises from my own sense of the rhythm and flow of language in the lines in the original poems which informs the translation.[21]

O lightning-flash rain
O scarlet sash of dawn
O Dagaari nebula
frill of its shawl.

O sunset cirrus
the rain-promise bloom
swathes, dyed
blood-red above.

O risen rainbow
whose scarf lifts
revealing stripe
by stripe the spectrum's
silky sweep of colour.

O hennaed moon
haloed by a mist-
soft glow, the veil
is shed and you free
a darkened corner
of the world with light.

O tree in blossom,
the cloudburst cleansed
last night its branches,

[21] ORWIN (2018) is a short personal essay on my process of translation which addresses some issues related to this.

the foaming flood
cleared the dust,
and fresh-water lappings
tended its roots;
now leaves and petals
vie and tussle,
across their bounds;
while verdure and shoots
take up the moisture
at waist and elbow
and sweep its trunk
so the sun's spine,
and chest emit
acute-angle rays
of light it urges
through the breaking day.

You're a chestnut mare
who hasn't heard
the call to the camel raid
the quarters of conflict;
hasn't suffered dry
drought-laden land
nor dregs of pasture;
she's cared for and grazes
at night in the bush
where the pond sits
and dew crouches
among the grass;
never hurt by a whip
nor touched by a stick,
her downy fur smoothes
over her ribs and limbs;
fenced-off in her hollow,
people arrive to view
the filly at home
their eyes turn gently
like white spring flowers
toward her striking form:
you are more beautiful
than the houris by far.
Like the arteries that carry
the blood to the depths
of the body, you, a star,
reached the core of my soul;
you're the proof of love;
my whole being wishes
you become my wife.

What sowed the yearning
the desire in me
was your virtue, patience
knowledge, modesty,
the conscientious
respectful nature
God has placed in you.
You are the truth;
with friends and family
you show the highest
virtues of women.
Free from caprice,
O navel of eloquence:
like spinning a rope
you tie together
wisdom and metaphor,
you excel in composing
the sweetness of speech.

O royal jelly!
When we met, I
etched you in my chest;
kept it secret,
hidden, held tight;
now longing has broken
the burden of concealing
and waves of desire
have brought me to shore:
Hayaad, this evening
for a home and passion
shall we prepare the ground?

4.1 Xabagbarsheed*: structure and sound-patterning*

This poem is structured around address with thirteen instances of the vocative suffix, including two in the long form (in lines 62 and 66). Each instance of the vocative is suffixed to a nominalized phrase or noun that represents the imagined addressee except for the final instance which is suffixed to a proper name. In the first part of the poem (lines 1-19) these vocative expressions gradually become longer. The first two are single lines followed by a two-line phrase, then ones of four, five and six lines. Below are the endings of these lines divided into the individual vocative expressions ending in *-aay*.

1 *-aay*
2 *-aay*
3 *-iyo* / 4 *-aay*
5 *-eed* / 6 *-iyo* / 7 *-ah* / 8 *-aay*
9 *-oo* / 10 *ah* / 11 *-ii* / 12 *-iyo* / 13 *-aay*
14 *-oo* / 15 *-ii* / 16 *-oo* / 17 *-oo* / 18 *-ayd* / 19 *-aay*

I suggest that using these parallelistic syntactic structures leads to an expectation on the part of the audience for further vocative phrases and that the technique allows for particularly long instances of these to be built later in the poem. Once line 20 is heard, the listener expects a vocative expression and holds this expectation for the following 18 lines before the resolution is reached at the end of line 38 with the suffix *-aay*. Somali poems can be quite long overall, but such longer poems are often constructed of discernable parts. These parts are not always consistent in the number of lines, indeed any such consistency would, I suggest, stand out.[22] One way in which they are made discernable is through the use of syntactic parallelism, as here.[23] They may also present consistent imagery, such as the single image of the tree in this instance. Then, in addition, particularly in short-line metrical forms, the syntax and imagery may be supported by threads of sound-patterning. This may be more overt, such as the

[22] A type of poem in which consistency of line numbers within sections seems to be generally more prevalent is modern lyrics made specifically to be set to music. Parallelism still often plays a role but the consistency of numbers of lines in sections is done deliberately knowing they are to be set to music. There are also *gabay* poems which use groups of lines of consistent length, perhaps the most famous examples of which are those of Sayid Maxamed Cabdille Xasan who made poems in the *saddexley* 'triplet' form.

[23] This technique was also used by Maxamed Ibraahim Warsame 'Hadraawi' in his poems 'Beledweyne' and 'Jacayl Dhiig ma lagu Qoray?' which are based around a series of questions, negative in 'Beledweyne' and positive in 'Jacayl Dhiig ma lagu Qoray?'. See ORWIN (2006: 17) for some brief comment on this. Parallelism is common also in long-line forms, such as the *gabay*, but it is individual lines rather than groups of lines which tend to be parallel (see ANTINUCCI 1980).

striking examples of assonance and alliteration considered below, or more subtle such as some of those we hear in lines 20-38 which we shall look at first.

The image presented in this section is that of a tree with *xayaab* growing in it (line 20), just like the one in Hargeysa which prompted the poem. The line begins with the conjunction *ama* 'or', which is used in statements and which brings the expectation of an image or set of images different to what has come before. This expectation is met in that we are brought down from the imagery in the previous lines of stars, rainbows, the moon etc. to the tree.

Before looking at the sound patterning which resonates within this section on its own, we might consider sounds which echo patterning in the first part. The word *geed* 'tree, plant' echoes secondary alliteration in lines 5 and 6 (*galabeed* 'of the early evening' and *guduutiyo* '[which] turned red+*iyo*') as well as consonance in lines 2 and 4.[24] In the following two lines (21 and 22) we hear secondary alliteration with *mahiigaan* 'heavy rain, cloudburst' and *maydhoo* 'cleaned+*oo*' which resonate with lines 17 and 18 in which secondary alliteration also occurs in 'm' and lines 10 and 12 in which the sound is heard at the beginning of the lines.

Within the second section, the use of the conjunction *oo* in lines 20, 22 and 24 sets up both syntactic and sonic flow and after two other lines we hear the next instance in line 27: *Xaradhaaminaysoo* 'treating kindly, tending+*oo*'. The use of this conjunction at the end of lines in the *jiifto* metre is quite common and, given that its use prompts the expectation of another clause, adds a certain drive to the flow of the lines. Aside from its syntactic role, the sonic character of *oo* at the end of lines may also play a role in experiencing the flow of the language.[25]

Line 31 *Xamashkiyo ugbaadkuna* 'the fresh grass and the shoots' begins the next sub-phrase. The clausal clitic conjunction *-na* links it syntactically with what has preceded. The word *ugbaad* 'shoots' in line 31 displays a sound parallelism with *ubaxyada* 'the flowers' in line 29 both with respect to alliteration and assonance.[26] The two nouns in line 31 are subjects, apparent in the subject marking *-ku* on *ugbaadku-na*, and the next line begins the clause of which they are the subjects with *intay* (comprised of *in-ta* and *-ay*). Without going into the

[24] I use the term consonance here to describe the use of the same consonant sound anywhere in the word, not just at the end.

[25] *Beledweyne* by Hadraawi provides a particularly strong example of this in the first parts of the poem.

[26] All the vowels alliterate together in Somali whatever the quality or length and as such it is generally considered to be glottal stop alliteration. The assonance here is in the vowel 'u' in the first syllable of each word.

details of the syntax it means 'as they' followed by *dharabki xaynkiyo / Xusulada ku qaateen / Hoostiisa xaadheen*: 'took up the dew in the clothes-fold and elbow and swept its lower part (its trunk)' (for clarity, the translation here differs a little to the translation above).[27] The second verb, *xaadheen*, has no conjunction linking it to the previous clause, thus is an instance of parataxis. This lack of the conjunction *oo* seems to slow the drive towards this verb, thus lending a sense of settling down.

The imagery has also reached a sense of settling at this point. The tree has been cleansed by the rain in the night, its roots are able to soak up fresh water, the leaves and blossom are fluttering in playful competition and now the trunk has been wiped by the growing grass and shoots.[28] The next four lines strike a sense that all of this was in preparation for what is expressed in them: the sun rising to shed light on the tree, which resonates with the image of the moon at the end of the previous section freeing 'a darkened corner / of the world with light'. The reference to *xagal fiiqan* 'acute angle' is novel in Somali poetry and points to the sun's rising. In the performance on YouTube, Weedhsame interrupts the reading here and explains that he is being drawn to mathematics which, as mentioned above, he studied at university. He says what an acute angle is and that he used it here because, at such an angle, the sun's rays shining through the tree's branches and on the flowers bring out their colour and beauty more vividly than when the sun is overhead.

The patterning of syntax and sound described up to now is the sort found in much Somali poetry in this metre. It seems to help raise the poem from the structural underpinnings and offer the listener an aesthetic experience of the materiality of language. There is, however, another sound thread which runs through this section and extends beyond, namely assonance in the long vowels 'oo' and 'aa'.

Taking 'oo' first, most instances of this are the conjunction placed at the end of lines. In addition to the conjunctions, we hear 'oo' in four other words: *boodhkii* 'the dust' in line 23, *xoortu* 'the foam' in line 24, *hoostiisa* 'its lower part (trunk)' in line 34 and *soo*, the venitive deictic particle, in line 38. There are five lines in which both 'aa' and 'oo' are present together (lines 17, 20, 24, 27 and 34). This may not seem particularly remarkable given the many words which contain long

[27] The word *xayn* means a fold in clothing at the waist in which something is carried. It is the alliterating word in line 32.

[28] It is to be remembered that the tree which we might assume prompted this description was seen in the city and so will have been more dusty and dirty than a tree growing in the countryside, which would be the more common context for any tree referred to in poetry.

'aa' and 'oo' and the presence of the conjunction, but when we consider this patterning in relation to the following sections in the poem an effect becomes apparent.

The following section (lines 39-70) has 'oo' and 'aa' present together in four lines out of the 32 (lines 42, 50, 53 and 57). In the section which follows that (lines 71-89) however, we find 'oo' and 'aa' together in seven out of the 19 lines, a greater proportion. There are also instances of either 'oo' or 'aa' in all other lines except for the first two in the section (71 and 72) and the three in the middle (81, 82 and 83). Line 82, the central one of these three, ends in a vocative suffix: *Xudduntii aftahankaay* 'O navel of eloquence'. This line is followed by X*igmaddiyo sarbeebtiyo* which also does not display the assonance. The first of these words, *xigmad*, is the alliterating word and means 'wisdom', a loan from Arabic rather than the Somali *murti*; the second, *sarbeeb*, is a generic term for 'figurative language' which includes concepts such as metaphor, simile and other tropes (for which there are specific terms in Somali). These concepts are central to poetry in Somali (as indeed in other languages) but are not based on sound. The lack of assonance in these lines, set among ones within which it chimes so regularly seems iconic. The concepts of eloquence, wisdom and figurative language, in which sound does not necessarily play a role, stand out precisely because they lack the sound patterning that has been set up.

Following these lines, we return to the assonance in quite a dramatic manner. Lines 84-87 are repeated here with the assonance highlighted in bold small capitals:

HAASAAwe xulahOO	the choicest words
XOOdAAnsha mAAnkAAd	that soothe the mind
Isku daba xidhAAyOO	that you tie together
Sida xadhiga sOOhdAA	like spinning a rope[29]

The two lines which then follow each end in an instance of 'aa' at the end and round off this section.

The final word in this sequence is *soohdaa* 'you weave, spin, twine' and the assonance itself weaves through these lines such that it seems sonically iconic of the process of twining which metaphorically represents the skills imputed to the addressee. The words describing her skill enact it and reflect a comment by Culler, who, with reference to a discussion by BLASING (2007: 100-101) of the poem 'Death of a Naturalist' by Seamus Heaney, mentions that:

[29] The order of lines in the full translation is different since they are set within the wider context of the translation of the poem.

> "A particularly intriguing feature of lyric is the paradox [...] that the more a poem foregrounds vocal effects, as here, the more powerful the image of voicing, oral articulation, but the less we find ourselves dealing with the voice of a person." (CULLER 2015: 176).

In these lines of *Xabagbarsheed*, the vocal effects, in conjunction with the metaphor, are an image of voicing. It is as if only the lyric voice, and not the 'voice of a person', can express something that matches the skills of the addressee.

This may also be regarded as a subtle example of poetic self-reflexivity which is presented by Wolf as:

> "a special case of self-reference that mobilizes the cognitive activity of the recipient: it makes him or her 'reflect' on the text as such, on its textuality, fictionality etc. by various explicit or implicit means (thus metapoetic statements, referring to poetry, versification or the right choice of metaphors...)."[30] (WOLF 2005: 27 n.19)

Referring to a poem from within itself is a common feature in Somali and may be achieved in a number of ways, one of which is reference to the alliterating sound of the poem. Such reference may also include, in some instances, overtones, or overt expression, of confidence on the part of the poet with respect to the level of skill they are displaying. In *Xabagbarsheed*, the fact that it is the addressee's skill which is being presented precludes such overt reference. It is only in the implicit skill exhibited in such fine crafting of the sound and metaphor that the lyric 'I' is able to voice what is imputed to her. The study of self-reference of different types in Somali poems, given its prevalence, and also its use in *silsilado* 'chain poems', in which poets respond to each other, could prove a very fruitful exercise with respect to this feature of lyric poetry.

Turning to the final section, this might be considered to continue such self-reflexivity, again, not in any overt way, but in the sonic crafting of the concluding lines in which the alliterating sound seems to stand out significantly.

[30] For WOLF (2005) self-reflexivity is 'a special case of self-referentiality' (WOLF 2005: 26) which he uses as a hypernym for "all kinds of internal references or relations within one and the same system (the extent of the 'system' can vary and refer, e.g., only to a given poem, in which rhymes are self-referential features, or to the genre 'lyric', or to literature as a whole, in which 'intertextuality' operates as one form of literary self-reference)" (WOLF 2005: 26-27 n.19).

4.2 Xabagbarsheed*: highlighting systematic alliteration*

I have heard this poem recited a number of times by the poet at events in Hargeysa and in London (which he visited in 2016 to take part in the annual Somali Week Festival) and have also listened to it on YouTube many times.[31] The final few lines have always struck me as being particularly rich in terms of the sheer sound, a response which is echoed by others I have talked to about this.[32] The sonic quality is such that the acoustics of the alliterating sound 'x' seem to become more prominent in a manner that is very appealing to the ear and enhances the end of the poem in a notably satisfying way. In discussing this here, my aim is not to introduce further details of how alliteration is used systematically, rather to present what I perceive to be a particularly interesting way in which the sound of the systematic alliteration is creatively used in an unsystematic way.[33]

FABB (2015: 135) points out that "though alliteration is unsystematically used in many traditions, systematic use of alliteration is much less widely attested than systematic use of rhyme." The prevalence of systematic alliteration in Somali and the fact that it functions such that the same sound is used throughout the poem begs the question to what extent the systematically alliterating sound is used unsystematically.

One obvious way is for it to be used much more than is required, a feature labelled over-alliteration by AÐALSTEINSSON (2011: 144). A strong example of such use is at the beginning of *Samadoon* (1995) 'Seeker of Good' by Cabdulqaadir Xaaji Cali Xaaji Axmed in which the insistence of the alliterating sound, 'd', at the beginning is iconic of him hammering home the message in a very powerful

[31] I have also read it myself in Somali and in translation on behalf of the poet both in Hargeysa and in London when he was not able to be present himself.

[32] I am particularly indebted to a conversation on this topic, some time in late 2019, with Dr Jama Musse Jama, Director of the Hargeysa Cultural Centre.

[33] More could be said of the way in which systematic alliteration in Somali compares with other languages in which it is used. Perhaps the most prominent feature of any such comparison would be the way in which alliteration holds across the whole poem in Somali. This contrasts with systematic use such as that in Old English, in which alliteration functions within lines (across the two parts of the long line, see FABB 1997: 123-125) or in Icelandic where it can hold within couplets (see ÁRNASON 2011 and AÐALSTEINSSON 2011). A language in which alliteration holds across lines for sequences longer than couplets, though not always in the same way as Somali, is Mongolian (see KARA 2011 also FABB 1999: 231-2). There is an interesting use of a consistent consonant sound, the *rawiyy*, in *qāfiyah* 'rhyme' in Classical Arabic, a language linguistically and culturally closer to Somali and which is also important with respect to religion (see ORWIN 2019: 350-351 for a brief discussion of this).

poem about the conflict and suffering among the Somalis in the late 1980s and early 1990s.[34] The poem is in the long line *gabay* form which comprises two half-lines (not of equal length) in each of which an alliterating word must be present. The first thirteen lines are given below in which the caesura between the half-lines is indicated by a gap and the alliterating sounds are printed in bold.

***D**ulman iyo Xirsoow **d**agan Xirsoow*	***d**abar **d**anbeedaysan*
***D**ahan **d**eyrran **d**ool seben ku maqan*	***d**ayrada u laalan*
***D**ilan **d**uuggan **d**iihaal u fidhan*	***d**awriyo u looggan*
***D**uwan **d**eeqda Eebbahay ka madhan*	***d**amac u heensaysan*
***D**acdarraysan **d**eebaaq u xidhan*	*godob u **d**ooyaysan*
***D**ar ka maqan haddana ceel-**d**ultuban*	*garasho roon **d**iiddan*
***D**igdigtiyo **d**amtiyo uubatada*	***d**uulleydiyo maagga*
***D**abushida shiddiyo **d**aaf **d**arxumo*	***d**uunka uga heellan*
***D**ugsatada arbahay **d**uufka iyo*	*cudurba **d**iiftiisa*
*Ee u **d**oonnan weligeed u **d**aban*	*qaaxo iyo **d**uumo*
***D**il in ku ah wanaaggiyo **d**irkiis*	*ina Barrii **d**uufey*
*Iyo **d**aacufleydeer qad-tali*	*moogtan **d**aba joogta*
*Ahna **d**aranyo lagu hooridey*	***d**eel an kuu faro'e*

The translation is taken from ORWIN (2001: 18-19).

Hirsi

the oppressed deceived hobbled from behind
screened off enclosed absent perpetually dangling
disowned killed buried stick thin destitute
slaughtered for those without compassion
astray saddled for greed empty of the grace of God
neglected bound up for the bitterness of the aloe
from resentment sitting head and hands on knees
the water trough's absent even from the well good sense is refused
the ratatat and bomb booming calls for the lost
compliantly igniting troubles and provocation
my bull elephant
people sheltering engaged ever betrothed
to mucus and weakness of all diseases
malaria tuberculosis
they're led astray by killing's admirers son of Barre and his lot
in ignorance following the mistaken animal-haired humans
for my people with wickedness poured into them
i pass you this message alliterating in 'd'

[34] See also AHMED (1984) for discussion of this characteristic in the famous poem *Dardaaran* (1920) 'Final Testament' by Sayid Maxamed Cabdille Xasan.

Even to a reader who doesn't understand Somali, the heavy use of alliteration is apparent in the written lines. In these thirteen lines there need to be at least 26 alliterating words (one in each half-line) but we hear 41 and, in addition to that, 17 instances of the sound within words (instances of consonance in 'd'). This insistence is also supported by the syntactic structure, but I shall not discuss that further here.

The examples mentioned above are in the long *gabay* form which, given the length, allows more space for over-alliteration to be used. The affordances within the short *jiifto* line are different. One way in which the systematic alliteration may stand out is for it to be used at the beginning of lines such as we hear in the first seven lines of *Xabagbarsheed* as well as in some lines below. In the final lines of *Xabagbarsheed* though another technique is used. The final seven lines of the poem (95-101) are repeated below.

95	*Hilow baa xasayntii*	now longing has broken
	Xamilkeedi gooyoo	the burden of concealing
	Xaaxigii jacaylkaa	and waves of desire
	Xeeliga i keenee	have brought me to shore:
	Caawaba Xayaadaay	Hayaad, this evening
100	*Caashaqa xilkiisii*	for a home and passion
	Xero ma u yagleelnaa?	shall we prepare the ground?

The only words which are not either a noun or a verb in this section are *baa* (the focus marker), *i* (the first person singular object verbal pronoun 'me'), *ma* (an interrogative particle) and *u* (a preverbal particle meaning here 'for').[35] Of these nouns and verbs, all of them begin with the consonants 'x', 'h', 'c', 'g', 'k', 'j' or 'y'. The fricatives are the most prominent both in number and impressionistically, at least for this author, when the poem is heard.

The laryngeal 'h' begins the sequence. Hearing this at the beginning of the line, the listener, having already heard something phonologically and acoustically close to the alliterating sound, nevertheless still expects the alliterating word, which here is *xasayntii* 'the concealing'. The next three lines all begin with 'x' thus foregrounding the alliteration in that way. Strikingly, the middle of these three lines begins with *xaaxigii* in which the alliterating sound is heard twice in

[35] Other grammatical particles are present in the lines, but are appended to the nouns and verbs becoming part of those words in the context of the poem. They are all at the end of lines and are: the conjuction *oo* (line 96), the focus marker *baa* (line 97) and the conjunction *ee* (line 98). The only words which can alliterate in Somali are those with some lexical substance: verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Grammatical particles, pronouns etc. are not considered suitable for systematic alliteration.

succession. The word *xaaxi* means 'waves' but specifically waves as they break on the shore and so it brings not only the visual imagery to bear but also echoes of the sound of breaking waves. The image of the lyric 'I' then being brought to the shore by these waves is particularly vivid.

The two lines following these three begin with 'c', the voiced equivalent of 'x', which thus strongly echoes the alliterating sound (as was the case with 'h' in line 95). The listener then expects the alliterating sound itself, which is realized by *Xayaadaay* 'O Hayaad' and *xilkiisii* 'its sake' in each line respectively.[36] What is more, these sounds are heard in the same metrical positions and the lines are rhythmically parallel: 'c' is at the beginning of the line and 'x' is at the beginning of the short-vowel metrical position in the centre of the *jiifto* line. This can be shown diagrammatically:

c— ⏑⏑ x⏑ — —

In addition to the patterned use of pharyngeals and laryngeals, the lateral 'l' and the velar stops 'k' and 'g' display an interesting consonance. In each line except for 99 we hear 'l': 95: *hilow*, 96: *xamilkeedi*, 97: *jacaylkaa*, 98: *xeeliga*, 100: *xilkiisii* and 101: *yagleelnaa*. In lines 96, 97 and 100 it is immediately followed by the voiceless velar stop 'k' and in line 98 the next consonant, after the vowel 'i', is the voiced velar stop 'g'.[37] In the final word, this lateral-velar order is reversed: *yagleelnaa* 'we prepare the ground', in which there is a further instance of 'l'. The consistency which these instances of consonance bring to the sound might be considered to allow the pharyngeals to stand out more than if a greater diversity of consonant sounds were used around them.

Turning from the consonants to consider the vowels, assonance is also heard here. In contrast to the patterning of 'oo' and 'aa' discussed above (there is only one instance of 'oo' in these lines) we hear a patterning of 'i/ii' and 'a/aa'. This is particularly prominent in the rhythmically parallel lines 99 and 100 and can be made clear by extracting the vowels: aa a a a aa aay / aa a a i ii ii. As if in anticipation of this, the vowel in the central obligatory short-vowel syllable in

[36] The translation as 'sake' does not give a full sense. The word *xil* has meanings of 'responsibility' and also 'modesty' which I have found challenging to introduce into the translation. As the alliterative word, the sense of semantic stretch also seems to play a role here.

[37] The 'g' here is the consonant at the beginning of the defining suffix *-ka* which is voiced following the vowel *-i* at the end of the noun as the result of a regular phonological process.

each line in the sequence alternates 'a' and 'i': *Hilow baa x**a**sayntii / Xamilkeed**i** gooyoo* etc.[38]

The prevalence of consonants which are in some way close to the alliterating sound and the intricate way in which they are patterned in these lines may be heard as supported by the repetition of 'l' and the velars and also the assonance. It is a striking quality bringing as it does a very specific acoustic appeal to the poem's end within which is couched the final instance of the vocative: *Xayaadaay*. The word *Xayaad* is a proper name and is derived from the noun *xay* which refers to a 'white flower'. There is a sound parallelism here with the word *xayaab* which is the name of the flowering vine growing in the tree which prompted the poem and is mentioned in line 20.[39]

The final line is a question in which the subject is first person plural 'we', and, following the vocatives used throughout, and in particular the final *Xayaadaay*, can be considered to confirm the poem as apostrophic gesture. This wills the addressee to bring about a state of affairs in the company of the lyric voice. The fact that this final address is made in such rich-sounding language lifts it beyond the rest of the poem acoustically and provides a memorable ending which, if my own experience and that of others I have spoken to is to go by, leads strongly to the wish to hear it more than once.

In this presentation of *Xabagbarsheed* I hope to have highlighted some features of sound-patterning it displays and which contribute to making it such a fine example of Somali poetry. As Blasing points out of lyric poetry:

> "Above everything else, it is a formal practice that keeps in view the linguistic code and the otherness of the material medium of language to all that humans do with it – refer, represent, express, narrate, imitate, communicate, think, reason, theorize, philosophize. It offers an experience of another kind of order, a system that operates independently of the production of the meaningful discourse that it enables." (Blasing 2007: 2)

Somali poetry has systematic sound patterning as its foundation – metre and alliteration – and so the materiality of the linguistic code is used in this way to make an artefact that stands out as being of a particular type: a poem in a

[38] The '-i' in line 96 is an instance of the remote defining suffix vowel *-ii* counting as short as mentioned above in the brief introduction to metre in Somali.

[39] In conversation I did ask Weedhsame (who knows Arabic very well) if he intended any hint of the Arabic word حياة (ħayāt) 'life' which he said he did not. Having said that, I do find, personally, that I can't help but hear resonances of this word here. Note the name *Xayaad* is formed from *xay* in a manner analogous to *Gobaad* in 'Fad Galbeed' being formed from *gob*.

particular metre. In *Xabagbarsheed*, as in other poems, the materiality of that systematic patterning is in turn crafted further to make an artefact which is aesthetically rich. It appeals to the ear at the same time as it appeals to the inner eye through the vivid imagery, all of which supports it as a lyric and an apostrophic act.

5. *Fad Galbeed* and *Xabagbarsheed*: concluding remarks

In this article I have presented some analysis of how two modern poems in Somali have been crafted. The main features considered in *Fad Galbeed* by Gaarriye have been address and the expression of the lyric present and how these relate to the bipartite structure of the poem. In *Xabagbarsheed* I concentrated on sound-patterning with some reference to address also. Both are poems which are popular with audiences when heard and the analysis hopefully contributes to explaining part of what it is that appeals so much. The manifestations of aesthetic aspects of Somali poetry as exemplified in these two poems coincide with features of lyric presented in the works cited. The analysis of the two poems is, thus, offered as a contribution to the study of lyric more widely.

References

AADAN Xasan Aadan (ed.) (2013). *Qaamuus AfSoomaali*, Djibouti: Machadka Afafka ee Jabuuti (ILD) and Naadiga Qalinleyda iyo Hal'abuurka Soomaaliyeed (SSPEN).

AÐALSTEINSSON, Ragnar Ingi (2011). "Alliteration involving /s/ in the history of Icelandic poetry", in Jonathan ROPER (ed.), *Alliteration in Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 141-155.

AHMED Adan Ahmed (1984). "Maanso structure and content (an application of Guuleed's *maanso* scansion system to the meaning of 'Dardaaran')", in Thomas LAHAN (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies: Volume 1 Linguistics and Literature*, Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 333-371.

ANTINUCCI, Francesco (1980). "Notes on the linguistic structure of Somali poetry", in Hussein M. ADAM (ed.), *Somalia and the World: Volume 1*, Mogadhishu, Halgan, 141-153.

ÁRNASON, Kristján (2011). "Alliteration in Iceland: From the Edda to modern verse and pop lyrics" in Jonathan ROPER (ed.), *Alliteration in Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 123-140.

BANTI, Giorgio and Francesco GIANNATTASIO (1996). "Music and metre in Somali poetry", in Richard J. HAYWARD and Ioan M. LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power: The Culture of Language in North-East Africa. Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 83-127.

BLASING, Mutlu Konuk (2007). *Lyric Poetry: The Pain and the Pleasure of Words*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

CULLER, Jonathan (1977). "Apostrophe", *Diacritics*, 7(4): 59-69.

CULLER, Jonathan (2015). *Theory of the Lyric*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

FABB, Nigelm (1997). Linguistics and Literature: Language in the Verbal Arts of the World, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

FABB, Nigel (1999). "Verse constituency and the locality of alliteration", *Lingua* 108: 223-245.

FABB, Nigel (2015). What is Poetry? Language and Memory in the Poems of the World, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HERBERT, W.N. and Said Jama HUSSEIN (eds.) (2018). *So At One With You: An Anthology of Modern Poetry in Somali; Bulshoy Ma Is Baran Lahayn: Ururin Maansooyin Soomaali Ah Oo Waayahan Tisqaaday*, Pisa and London: Ponte Invisibile and The Poetry Translation Centre.

KARA, György (2011). "Alliteration in Mongol poetry", in Jonathan ROPER (ed.), *Alliteration in Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 156-179.

MASLOV, Boris (2018). "Lyric universality", in Ben ETHERINGTON and Jarad ZIMBLER (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to World Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 133-148.

MAXAMED Xaashi Dhamac 'Gaarriye' (1976). "Miisaanka maansada", *Xiddigta Oktoobar* January 17th: 3.

MAXAMED Xaashi Dhamac 'Gaarriye' (edited by MAXAMED Xasan 'Alto', Martin ORWIN and YAASIIN Jaamac Nuux 'Suldaan') (2007). *Hagarlaawe: Diiwaanka Maansooyinka Abwaan Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac 'Gaarriye'*, London: Aftahan Publications.

MINER, Earl (2000). "Why lyric?", in Earl MINER and Amiya DEV (eds.), *The Renewal of Song: Renovation in Lyric Conception and Practice*, Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1-21. [Reprinted in JACKSON, Virginia and Yopie PRINS (eds.) (2014). *The Lyric Theory Reader: A Critical Anthology*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 577-589.]

ORWIN, Martin (2000). "A literary stylistic analysis of a poem by the Somali poet Axmed Ismaciil Diiriye 'Qaasim'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 63(2): 194-214.

ORWIN, Martin (translator) (2001). "Cabdulqaadir Xaaji Cali Xaaji Axmed", *Modern Poetry in Translation*, (special edition ed. by Stephen WATTS), New Series, 17: 12-30.

ORWIN, Martin (2006). "The Worldly and the Unworldly in *Jacayl Dhiig Ma Lagu Qoray* by Maxamed Ibraahim Warsame 'Hadraawi'", *Research in African Literatures*, 37(3): 15-27.

ORWIN, Martin (2011). "Alliteration in Somali poetry", in Jonathan ROPER (ed.), *Alliteration in Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 219-230.

ORWIN, Martin (2018). "On translating Somali poetry: some personal thoughts with particular reference to 'Saxansaxo' (Rain's Breeze)", in W.N. HERBERT and Said Jama HUSSEIN (eds.), *So at One with You: An Anthology of Somali Poetry / Bulshoy Ma Is Baran Lahayn: Ururin Maansooyin Soomaali Ah oo Waayahan Tisqaday*, Pisa: Ponte Invisibile and London: The Poetry Translation Centre, 201-206.

ORWIN, Martin (2019). "Arabic influence on metre in Somali Sufi religious poetry", *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 11: 340-374.

ORWIN, Martin and MOHAMED Hashi Dhama 'Gaarriye' (2010). "Virtual geminates in the metre of Somali poetry", in Markus HOEHNE and Virginia LULING (eds.), *Peace and Milk, Drought and War: Somali Culture, Society and Politics. Essays in Honour of I.M. Lewis*, London: Hurst and Company, 245-258.

ROPER, Jonathan (2012). "Synonymy and rank in alliterative poetry", *Sign Systems Studies* 40(1/2): 82-93.

SMITH, J. Mark (2007). "Apostrophe, or the lyric art of turning away", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 49(4): 411-437.

WATERS, William (2012). "Apostrophe", in Roland GREENE (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics. Fourth Edition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 61-62.

WOOLNER, Christina J. (2018). *The Labour of Love Songs: Voicing Intimacy in Somaliland*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, King's College, University of Cambridge.

WOLF, Werner (2005). "The lyric: problems of definition and a proposal for reconceptualisation", in Eva MÜLLER-ZETTELMANN and Margarete RUBIK (eds.), *Theory into Poetry: New Approaches to the Lyric*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 21-52.

References for YouTube videos

Abwaan Maxamed X. Dhamac (Gaarriye) (Maansada fadgalbeed) (2014). YouTube video, added by Sayid-Axmed Dhegey [Online], accesses on 20/10/2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3J5_k4IzgxM>

Abwaan Weedhsame Maansadii XABAG BARSHEED. 2014. YouTube video, added by Mattaanaha [Online], accessed on 20/10/2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BzMi6glxkHM>

Gaariye Iyo Saddex Maanso (2012). YouTube video, added by Tixraac [Online], accessed on 20/10/2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V1XEfHJndsY>