# Reflections on Derivation from Prefix-conjugated Verbs in Somali

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1. It is well known that Somali, like most other Omo-Tana languages, has a small group of so-called prefix verbs. While its other main classes of verbs are only inflected by means of suffixes — or have new compound forms such as the present tense of the C4 verbs, eg., *wuu óg-yahay* « he knows » whith *óg* « know » plus *yahay* « he is » —, the verbs of this group have a number of tenses where subject concord is expressed by a set of prefixes and, in the 2p and 3p, also by suffixes. In addition to this, four of these verbs express tense and mood through vowel alternations in their root. A good example is the verb *yaal* « stay, lie », whose present and past tenses are shown in (1) below.

|      | Present | Past |
|------|---------|------|
| (1) |         |      |
| 1s   | *aal* | *iil* |
| 2s   | *t- aal* | *t- iil* |
| 3m   | *y- aal* | *y- iil* |
| 3f   | *t- aal* | *t- iil* |
| 1p   | *n- aal* | *n- iil* |
| 2p   | *t- aall-iin* | *t- iill-een* |
| 3p   | *y- aall-iin* | *y- iill-een* |

Notice that the 1s can be viewed as having a prefix /'/, even though this is not usually spelt in the standard Somali orthography.

No Somali prefix verb has concord prefixes in the whole scatter of its tenses. Besides defective verbs such as *ye* and *yeen* « say » that occur only in their past tense, several verbs of this group have complex suppletion patterns with other stems inflected as verbs belonging to one of the major inflectional classes. For istance, « be » has prefix conjugation only in its present tense, eg., 3m *y-ahay*, 3p *y-ih-iin*, while its other tenses are C4 forms of the stem /ah/, eg., present restrictive *áh*, past *ah-aa, ah-ayd*, etc., negative present *ah-í, ah-íd*, etc., negative invariabile *ah-áyn*, and so on like *óg, og-aa, og-ayd, og-í, og-íd, og-áyn*, etc., from *óg* « know ». These suppletion patterns are discussed in Andrzejewski (1975) and Banti (1985, pp. 88-93), and will not be repeated here. The attested stems, however, are listed in (2) together with the stems of the verbs that don't show this kind of suppletion. The prefix-conjugated stems listed below are the present

stem (Pr), the past stem (Pa) and the Jussive stem (Ju). The last one is identical with the present stem except in « stay, lie », which can also have *iil* like the past stem (cf. Reinisch, 1903, p. 84; Banti, 1985, p. 90; also Rendille has jussive forms like *y-iill-e, t-iill-e*, etc., from this verb, cf. Sasse, 1980, p. 165). The present stem with *aa* is used also in the 2p and 3p of the past, optionally, in *t/y-aqaann-een ~ t/y-aqiinn-een* and *t/y-aall-een ~ t/y-iill-een*, obligatorily in *t/y-imaadd-een* and *t/y-iraahd-een*.

(2) Stems of verbs with prefix conjugated forms in Somali

| Prefix-conj. stems | | Suffix-conj. stems |
|---|---|---|
| a. Pr { *ahay* / *ah* | « be » | |
| Pa — | | *ah* C4 |
| Ju — | | |
| b. Pr *aqaan* | « know » | *aqoot/aqoon* C3 |
| Pa { *aqaan* / *aqiin* | | |
| Ju *aqaan* | | |
| c. Pr *aal* | « stay, lie » | { *aal* C1 / *ool* C1 / *oollaat/oollaan* C3 |
| Pa { *aal* / *iil* | | |
| Ju { *aal* / *iil* | | |
| d. Pr *imaad(d)* | « come » | { *imaat/imaan* C3 / — / *iman* C3 |
| Pa { *imid* / *imi* | | |
| Ju *imaad(d)* | | |
| e. Pr { *iraah(d)* / *iraa* | « say » | { *dheh* C1 / — / *oran* C3 |
| Pa *iri* | | |
| Ju { *iraah (d)* / *iraa* | | |
| f. Pa { *e* / *een* | « say » | |
| g. Pr *uwaad* | « be able, can » | *awood* C1 |
| Pa *uwaad* | | |
| Ju *uwaad* | | |
| h. Pr *ammuud* | « die » | *ummaad* C1 |
| Pa *ammuud* | | |
| Ju *ammuud* | | |

Before pursuing further our argument, a few points should be made about the data in (2). First of all, C3 verbs alternate a stem in a dental stop with a stem in a dental nasal. This dental stop is underlyingly /t/, but always surfaces as *d* in word-final position; for this reason, eg., in (2.d) « *imaat/imaan* C3 » represents the C3 forms which alternate these stems. On the other hand, « — / *iman* C3 » indicates that only C3 forms in *-n* are attested from this stem, while their counterparts from the stem /*imat/ do not occur.[1]

Secondly, « *imaad(d)* », and « *iraah(d)* » are shortened forms representig the stems that occur in *y-imaadd-aa ~ y-imaad* and, respectively, *y-iraahd-aa ~ y-iraah-aa*. Third, the verb *yiraahdaa* has *dh*, ie. /ḍ/, in the varieties that distinguish /ḍ/ from /r/ in postvocalic position, and consequently all the items in (2.e) are likely to contain the same root *ḍ-h*. The phoneme /h/ probably disappeared in the stems *iraa*, *iri* and *oran* because it was preceded directly by *d*: *iḍhaa*, *iḍhi*, *oḍhan* (cf. Saho-Afar present *aḍhe*, past *eḍhe* « say » with a similar stem shape *VḍhV*; see also Sasse, 1980, p. 161).

Fourth, the two stems *e* and *een* are listed together in (2.f.), even though the forms with *-n* still have to be explained properly.[2] These two stems are most fre-

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[1] In the following pages the C3 verbs will be represented with their stem in dental stop, eg. /imaat/, for the sake of brevity. If there are only forms from the *n*-stem, the stem will be represented as, eg., /°imat/, that is the *t*-stem will be used throughout, but it will be preceded by « ° » when no actual form of it is attested.

[2] This verb has two paradigms, with no apparent difference in semantic or syntactic usage:

| (i) | a. | b. |
|---|---|---|
| 1s | *e* | *een* |
| 2s | *t-e* | *t-een* |
| 3m | *y-e* | *y-een* |
| 3f | *t-e* | *t-een* |
| 1p | *n-e* | *n-een* |
| 2p | *t-e* | *t-een* |
| 3p | *y-e* | *y-een* |

The 2p and 3p in (i.a) can be explained if they are seen to contain the same ending *-é* that occurs in the 3p of the so-called past independent and past comparative tenses, eg., *keen-é* « they brought it » and, respectively, *igá cáqli roonaay-é* « they were wiser than I ». Past 3m *ye* and 3f *te* have parallels in Dasenech *yi/či*, Saho *ye/te*, Afar *(iy-)ye/(in-)te*, which all mean « he said/she said ». The root is probably *y*, that occurs with suffix conjugation in Highland East Cushitic (eg., Burji *i-* « say » and Sidamo *y-* « say ») and Agaw (*y-* « say » in Bilin, Xamir, Quara and Kemant) as well as in Old Egyptian (eg. *y-sn* « they say »).

The stem /een/ may be due to analogy. The older paradigm may indeed have been the following one:

(ii)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
e \\
te \\
ye \\
te \\
ne \\
\hline
té \qquad teen \\
yé \qquad yeen
\end{array}
$$

This is justified by the facts that suffixes in *-VVn* are common in 2p and 3p forms of prefix-conjugated verbs in Somali, and that Saho-Afar has only forms with final *-n* (eg., 2p Saho *ten*, Afar *(in-)ten* in these forms of « say ». However, since Somali also had 2p *té* and 3p *yé*, apparently with the same stem /e/ as the other forms, analogy may have extended *-een* to the entire singular and the 1p, creating two parallel and synonymous paradigms. Yet until the phonology and history

quent in Mudug and its surrounding areas, while *yimaad, yuwaadaa ~ yuwaad* and *yammuudaa* are used mostly in Central and Southern varieties of Somali. Finally, it should be pointed out that only *yiraahdaa* and *yimaaddaa* always have *i*-vocalism in their past tense. In fact, on the one hand *yaqaan* and *yaal* may have past tenses like, eg., *y-aqaann-ay* « he knew » and *y-aall-ay* « he lay » with the same stem as their present tense, while on the other hand *yuwaadaa* and *yammuudaa* never change their stem in their past tense. (No present tense is attested in Somali for *ye* and *yeen*, but it can be seen that also these two defective past tenses do not have *i*-vocalism).

2. The verb « be » which, as shown above in (2), alternates the prefix-conjugated stems *ahay* and *ah* (only in the 2p and 3p) with the C4 stem *ah*, is the basis from which a number of nouns and verbs are derived. The derivatives of the C4 verb *óg* « know » listed in (3.b) show that « be » behaves like a C4 verb in this respect.

(3) a. Derivatives of *áh* « be »     b. Derivatives of *óg* « know »

*ahaán* n.f. « being »          *ogaán* n.f. « knowing »
*ahaánsho* n.f. « being,        *ogaánsho* n.f. « knowing »
  becoming »                    *ogáw* v. C3 « know, get knowledge
*aháw* v. C3 « become »           of »
*ahaysíi* v. C2 « cause to be » *ogaysíi* v. C2 « cause to know, in-
                                   form »
*ahaysiín* n.f. « causing to be » *ogaysiín* n.f. « causing to know,
                                   information »

Actually, as shown in Puglielli (1984a), most of the forms in (3) are part of the regular and productive derivational pattern of the C4 verbs. Also *ah-aysíi*, as a causative from a C4 verb, has good parallels in *jecl-aysíi* « cause to love » and *og-aysíi* « cause to know, inform », even though the more common causatives from C4 verbs are formed through *-ée*, ie. /ays/, rather than *-aysíi*, eg., *adk-ée* « cause to become hard », *bisl-ée* « cause to become ripe », *yar-ée* « cause to be small » (from *yár* « small », however, there is also *yar-aysíi* synonymous of *yar-ée*), etc.

The only fact which is totally isolated within Somali morphology is that a C4 verb should have a prefix-conjugated present tense. If the argument of Banti

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of the Beja past tense of « say » listed in (iii) below have been properly understood, one cannot exclude that it may be connected to the Somali forms with *-een*.

(iii) Beja past tense of « say »

|      | Almkvist (1881, p. 221) | Roper (1928, p. 78) |
|------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1s   | 'an/'áne                | áne                 |
| 2m   | téna/ténia              | ténea               |
| 2f   | —                       | ténr                |
| 3m   | 'en/'éne/jéne           | éne                 |
| 3f   | —                       | téne                |
| 1p   | ne/nen                  | nen                 |
| 2p   | ten/ten(n)a             | tena                |
| 3p   | en/enna                 | en(a)               |

(in print) is accepted, namely that the tense labelled as « present comparative » in Andrzejewski (1956, pp. 118, 129) is the older form of the present tense of the Somali C4 verbs, we actually come out with two different present-tense paradigms for « be », ie. (4.a) and (4.b), the former with prefix conjugation and the latter with C4 or « stative » conjugation. (The forms with the stem -ih-, are from underlying /ah/ through vowel assimilation; t-ih-iin, íh-i, etc., are thus properly from /t-ah-iin/, /áh-i/, etc.).

(4) Present tense paradigms of « be » in Somali.

|  |  |
|---|---|
| a. | b. |
| ahay | íh-i |
| t-ahay | íh-id |
| y-ahay | áh |
| t-ahay | áh |
| n-ahay | íh-in |
| t-ih-iin | ih-idín |
| y-ih-iin | áh |

A prefix-conjugated present tense corresponding to a « stative »-conjugated one occurs in at least 18 verbs in Afar, as shown in Hayward (1978, p. 27 f.). In all these cases the prefix-conjugated forms have an incohative value and have to be regarded as derivatives rather than as alternatively inflected forms of one lexical item, whereas Somali ahay and íhi are clearly parts of the paradigm of the same verb áh « be ». Four of these Afar prefix-conjugated incohatives have a stem-final y that is absent in the stem of their cognate « stative » verbs:

(5) Prefix-conj. incohative (past stem)　　　« Stative » verb

| *i$^c$ilsiye > i$^c$ilsee « be heavy » | $^c$ilsa « be heavy » |
|---|---|
| u$^c$unḍuye ~ u$^c$unḍee « become small » | $^c$unḍa « be small » |
| igibdiye ~ igibdee « be difficult » | gibda « be difficult » |
| unuwwuye ~ unuwwee « be revived » | nuwwa « be alive » |

Hayward (1978) suggests that -y- has been added to these incohative prefix-conjugated verbs to give them « a "respectably" Semitic shape — similar to numerous other loans from Arabic and Ethiopian Semitic languages » (p. 31). This is possible, even though the fact that only four incohatives are prefix verbs with a y extension, while the other 14 prefix-conjugated incohatives show different derivational types (eg., eede$^c$e ~ eed$^c$e « be pregnant » from id$^c$a « be pregnant », in$^c$ibe « be angry » from ni$^c$ba « hate », elle « get » from le « have », etc.), and the most common and productive type of incohatives from statives are suffix-conjugated verbs with -oow- (eg., $^c$add-oow-e « become white » from $^c$ado « be white »), may also indicate that the four incohatives with y are relics of an older derivational type. It is safe to assume, however, that Somali t-ahay ~ íh-id « you are » has a cognate in Afar, eg., t-anuwwuye « you are revived » ~ nuww-ito « you are alive ». Future research will have to show which was the original relationship between the prefix-conjugated forms with the y extension and the « stative »-conjugated forms.

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As for the 2p and 3p forms *tihiin* and *yihiin*, rather than positing *\*t-ahay-n* and *\*y-ahay-n* as suggested by Reinisch (1903, p. 85), I regard *\*t-ahay-iin* and *\*y-ahay-iin* as more likely forms, which were subsequently shortened into the present ones. The prefix-conjugated present tense of « be » tends still now to be shortened in Somali; for instance, Andrzejewski (1969, p. 53) reports forms like 2p *tiin* and 3p *yiin* as « optional variants used in less deliberate style of pronounciation ». Reinisch's forms, instead, require a 2p/3p suffix *-n* that does not occur elsewhere in Somali, and the raising *ay > ii* that seems rather *ad hoc*.

3.1. The other prefix-conjugated verbs listed in (2) have stems that cannot be accounted for through the regular synchronic morphology not only in their inflectional paradigms but also in their derivation.

Starting from the verb *yaqaan* « know », the *oo* vocalism and the final dental stop of the C3 stem /aqoot/ that forms, eg., alternative forms of the past tense (*aqooday, aqootay*, etc.), the infinitive (*aqoón*), etc., are unusual. Neither is the feminine noun *aqoón* « knowledge » justified by the normal derivational patterns; the C3 stem /aqoot/ should have *aqoónsho* f. — which is attested — or *\*aqóod* m. From *aqoón* the two synonyms *aqooonn-í* and *aqoónn-in* « known person » are formed, both derivationally irregular.

The verb *yaal* « lie, stay » has the two suppletive stems /ool/ C1 and /oollaat/ C3 which are strange. The noun *óol* m. « esterior part, surface » is regular from the C1 stem /ool/, even though it shows a considerable semantic specialization. The action noun *oollimáad* m. « lying » has the suffix /aad/ of a small group of feminine action nouns from C1 verbs (eg., *caddib-aád* f. « torturing », *kallah-aád* f. « walking early in the morning »), but this suffix has the wrong gender here and is added to *ooll-im-*, that recalls *aqoónn-in*. *Taállo* f. « pile of earth or stones, monument » seems to be the 3f of the present tense plus a final *-o*. Also *íil* m. « lateral niche where the corpse lies in the grave » may belong here, unless a better etymology is found for the C1 verb *íil* « incline, turn », which is connected with it. *Aál* f., used only adverbially with possessive suffixes — *aásháy, aáshaá*, etc., to men « slowly », looks like a derivative of *yaal*, if its original meaning could be something like « (as if I was) lying ». On the other hand, also the C1 stem /aal/ attested, eg., in the imperative *áal*, the inifinitive *aálli*, etc., is of interest here.

*Yimaaddaa* « come » has a stem extension *d* like *y-iraah-d-aa* « say », that is absent in those more Central varieties that have 1s *imaad-a*, 2s *t-imaad-daa* with /aa/, /taa/, etc., of the suffix conjugation. This stem extension still lacks a wholly satisfying explanation, *pace* Zaborski (1975, p. 47 ff.) and Sasse (1980, p. 160 f.). The C3 stems /imaat/ and especially /°imat/, the deverbal noun *imáad* m. « coming, comer », and the derivative *timaáddo* f. « future » — which looks as being of the same type as *taállo* — are to be considered.

It has already been said that *yiraahdaa* « say » has /d/ rather than /r/ in the varieties that preserve this distinction after vowels. Yet no productive process explains the alternation between *yiraahdaa* and *yiraa*, nor the C1 stem /dheh/ or the C3 stem /°orat/. The feminine nouns *oraáh* « saying, word » and *oróh* « word » contain the same root with different vocalisations. Probably also *éray* m. « insolent answer, word » belongs here, but it has *r* even in varieties that preserve /ḍ/ after a vowel. Since, as will be seen below, also the vowel *e* is strange here — *o* would be expected —, it is possible to think that this is a loan-word

from a dialect that already had *d̦ > r*, and that the original shape of the word should have been *e̦dh-ay > *erh-ay,* where *-ay* is a singulative suffix attested also, eg., in Somali *haweén-ay* « woman », as well as in Beja, Burji, Yaaku and Southern Cushitic (cf. Zaborski, 1986, pp. 39, 57, 188, 225, 277). Interestingly, *e̦dh* is the stem shape preserved in Saho-Afar *e̦dh-e* « say », in Jiiddu *e̦d-aal ~ er-aal* « say », as well as in Southern Oromo *y-ed'-* « say »-in other varieties of Oromo this vers is *jed'-,* with *yj-.*

It has already been pointed out that the verb *yuwaadaa* « be able » has prefix-conjugated forms only in Southern and some Central varieties, while the Cl verb *awóod* is used in the North and in several areas of the Centre. Also here no normal derivational rule accounts for the *oo* vocalism. There is also the feminine noun *awoód* « strength, energy », which if derived from the verb *awóod* should have masculine gender like most stem nouns from Cl verbs.

Finally, the verb *yammuudaa* « die » has several unusual derivatives. *Tammootí* « animal killed when it was going to die because of a wound or a disease » contains /t-ammood/ and the same suffix *-tí* of *gal-tí* « foreigners, persons who came from somewhere », *gashaan-tí* « unmarried girl », etc. *Ummáad* m. « death » and *ummáad* Cl « die » — spelt with one *m* in the *Dizionario somalo-italiano* (1985, p. 594) — belong here as well as *tummaatí* « wound caused by a pointed weapon », that has the same vocalization /t-ummaad-tí/ and had as its original meaning something like « deadly (wound) ».

*Móod* m. « not alive » (in the phrase *móod iyo nóol* « not alive and living property », ie. « objects and livestock ») belongs here, but it may be a loan from Arabic *mawt* « death » — yet with a different history than Somali *mówd* « death » — or Harari *mot ~ mut* « dead, death ». The C4 verb *mootán* « be dead » clearly derives from *móod.* Its *t* is probably to be explained as underlying /tt/ with morphological gemination as in *cuk-án* /cukk-án/ « satiated with water » (cf. Boni *j-a'ak-a* « drink » with ' < ᶜ as confirmed, eg., by Dullay *ᶜuk-* « drink »), *diidd-án* « be opposed », *ká caagg-án* « be totally averse to », *yaabb-án* « be astonished », etc. In addition to this, the two Arabic loanwords *mówd* « death » and *méyd* « corpse » (from Arabic *mayt* « dead ») originated the two derivatives *mowtí* and *meytí*, both meaning « the dead, spirits of the dead ».

(6) Main derivatives and suppletive stems of the other Somali prefix-conjugated verbs

    a. *Yaqaan* « know »
       /aqoot/ v. C3 « know »
       *aqoón* n.f. « knowledge »
       { *aqoonn-í* } n. mf. « known person »
       { *aqoónn-in* }

    b. *Yaal* « lie, stay »
       /aal/ v. Cl « lie, stay »
       /ool/ v. Cl « lie, stay »
       /oollaat/ v. C3 « lie, stay »
       *óol* n.m. « exterior part, surface »
       *oollimáad* n.m. « lying »
       *aál* n.f. in *aásháy, aáshaá* etc. « slowly »

*taállo* n.f. « heap of earth or stones, monument »
*íil* n.m. « lateral niche in the grave »

c. *Yimaaddaa* « come »
/imaat/ v. C3 « come »
/°imat/ v. C3 « come »
*imáad* n.m. « coming, comer »
*timaáddo* n.f. « future »

d. *Yiraahdaa* « say »
/iraa/ v. prefix-conj. « say »
/dheh/ v. Cl « say »
/°orat/ v. C3 « say »
*oraáh* n.f. « saying, word »
*oróh* n.f. « word »
*érey* n.m. « insolent answer, word » (loanword?)

e. *Yuwaadaa* « be able, can »
/awood/ v. Cl « be able, can »
*awoód* n.f. « strenght, energy »

f. *Yammuudaa* « die »
/ummaad/ v. Cl « die »
*ummáad* n.m. « death »
*tummaatí* n.f. « wound caused by a pointed weapon »
*tammootí* n.f. « animal killed when it was going to die because of a wound
   or a disease »
*móod* n.m. « not alive » (loanword?)
*mootán* v. C4 « be dead »
*mówd* n.m. « death » (Arabic loanword)
*méyd* n.m. « corpse » (Arabic loanword)
$\begin{Bmatrix} mowtí \\ meytí \end{Bmatrix}$ n.f. « the dead, spirits of the dead »

3.2. It is well-known that agent nouns are commonly formed in Somali through
the suffixes m. *-e* and f. *-to*, eg., *dhegéyste* m. « male listener » and *dhegeysàto*
f. « female listener » or, collectively, « listeners » from /dhegeys-at/ « listen »
(cf. Puglielli, 1984a, p. 21 ff.). Less common suffixes are m. *-áa* and *-eén*, eg.,
*dil-áa* « killer » and *dhul-mar-eén* « traveller » (from *dhúl* « country » and *már*
« pass »). In compounds agent nouns are often masculine stem-nouns (for the
notion of stem-noun in Somali, cf. Puglielli, 1984a, p. 14 ff.), like *ari-jír* m.
« shepherd » (*ári* « sheep and goats » *jír* « stay with »), *waraaba-la-hádal* « per-
son who is believed to be able to speak to hyaenas » (*waraábe* « hyaena », *lá*
« with », *hádal* « speak »), etc., or from C2 verbs *af-célis* « interpreter » (*áf*
« language », *céli* « return »), *malab-máris* « honey cuckoo, *cuculus indicator* »
(*málab* « honey », *mári* « show »), etc.

The compound noun *gadaal-ka-imáad* m. « newcomer » (*gadáal* « after », *ká*
« from ») contains the masculine stem-noun *imáad* and is thus of the same type

as *ari-jír* and *af-célis*. But a number of compunds from *yaqaan* « know » and *yaal* « lie, stay » contain instead of a masculine stem-noun the forms m. *-yaqáan* and *-yáal*, as well as f. - *taál*, that look like the 3m and, respectively, the 3f of the present stem. In some cases there is even f. - *taállo*, ie., the 3f of the present stem with the suffix *-o*. A short list of these forms is given in (7) below, which is not to be regarded as exhaustive.

(7) a. *af-yaqáan* m. « person who knows languages (*áf*) »
   *gar-yaqáan* m. « judge, person who knows the law (*gár*) »
   *wax-yaqáan* m. « expert, person who knows things (*wáx*) »
   b. *dambas-yáal* m. « that lies in the ash (*dámbas*) », ie., « stone for suppor-
      ting pots while cooking » « piece of wood in the ash »
   *dibad-yáal* m. « exposed, open; that lies outside (*dibád*) »
   *if-yáal* m. « exposed, open; that lies in the light (*íf*) »
   c. *daran-ku-taál* f. « that lies on (*kú*) the *daran*-grass », kind of edible root
   *dhex-taál* f. « that lies between (*dhéx*) », « refrain (in a poem) »
   d. *dhex-taállo* f. variant form of *dhextaál*

It is interesting that very similar forms are attested as a productive type of agent noun in Afar. Indeed, Parker and Hayward (1985) report several forms like m. *yaḍigi* « male knower », f. *taaḍigi* « female knower », pl. *taaḍago* « knowers » from *eeḍege* « know ». Here the masculine and feminine are identical with the 3m and 3f of the present tense with a nominal suffix *-i*, cf. *y-aaḍig-e* « he knows » and, respectively, *t-aaḍig-e* « she knows ». The plural has the feminine *t-* prefix, *a*-vocalism in the whole stem if the root allows it in its jussive stem, and final *-o*; it is thus formally similar to Somali f. *t-aáll-o*. Other examples of this type for Afar are *yaaguri* « rinderpest » from *oogore* « beat, strike », and even *yasgalli* « conjunction (gramm.) » from *esgelle* « mix together ».

As a consequence, Somali *yaqáan* m. « knower », *yáal* m. « lier » — as well as f. *taál* and *taállo* —, and probably even *taállo* « heap of stones » (lit. « that which lies ») and *timaáddo* « future » (lit. « that which comes ») are to be seen as relics of an old type of agent noun.

4. Let us consider now the shapes of the stems in the different forms of the prefix verbs and of their derivatives that have been seen so far.

First of all, there is a group of stems with long *aa* between the first and the second stem consonant. Stems with one consonant only have this *aa* either before it like *aal* or after it like *iraa*, which was said in section 1 to derive from *iḍhaa*, ie., from a biconsonantal stem with no intervening vowel between the first and the second consonant. The feminine noun *oraáh* concords with this pattern, but its first vowel is *o*, while the present, past and jussive stems of the root *ḍ-h* « say » always have *i* as first vowel in Somali: *iraah(d), iraa, iri*. Since *o* is the vowel that characterises a number of derived stems, as will be seen later in more detail, it is better to regard *oraáh* as being marked both as an *a*-stem and as an *o*-stem.

*Ahay* and *ah* are the only prefix-conjugated present stems with short *a* seen so far. If /ah/ in *t-ih-iin* is syncopated from an older *t-ahay-iin* as argued in section 2, we have that Somali present stems with prefix conjugation are of the types /aCaaC/, /iCaaC(d)/, /uCaaC/, /aaC/, /iCaa/ (only in *iraa*), and /aCaC/. (For /aCCuuC/ see below in this section).

Short *a* is attested also in the C4 forms of *áh* « be », as well as in the C3 forms of /°imat/ and /°orat/. Because of *iraa, iri* and the possible loanword *ér-ey*, /°orat/ should be seen as /°or-at/, i.e., as consisting in the stem /or/ and the middle root-extension /at/. By comparison with the stem /iraah(d)/, /or/ appears as a « reduced » stem. The same analysis can be made for /°im-at/, from *yimaaddaa* that has indeed the monoconsonantal past stem /imi/ like /iri/. In this manner, putting aside *áh* as the only C4 stem alternating with a prefix-conjugated stem, the short *a* in /°or-at/ and /°im-at/ actually belongs to their root-extension.[3]

The stems with *aa* and *a* are listed below in (8), distinguishing whether they occur in verbal forms (v) or in nouns (n).

(8) *A*-stems
    i. Stems with long *aa*
       /aCaaC/:    v *aqaan*
                    n *y-aqáan*
       /iCaaC(d)/:  v *imaad(d)*, /imaat/; *iraah(d)*
                    n *imáad, t-imáadd-o*
       /uC(C)aaC/:  v *uwaad; ummaad*
                    n *ummáad*, /t-ummaad-tí/
       /aaC/:      v *aal*
                    n *aál, y-áal, t-aál, t-aáll-o*
       /iraa/:     v *iraa*
    ii. Stems with short *a*
       /aC/:       v *ah*
       /aCaC/:   v *ahay*
    iii. *O/a*-stem
       /oCaaC/:  n *oraáh*

Another group of stems has *oo* corresponding to *aa* in the types /aCaaC/ and /aaC/. Notice that in two verbs the change is not just from *aa* to *oo*, but from the pattern /uC(C)aaC/ to /aC(C)ooC/. Three stems from the root *ḍ-h* « say » have short *o* as their first stem vowel: *oraáh* and the « reduced » stem /°or-at/, which were seen above, and the feminine noun *oróh*. Since the second *o* of *oróh* can be an echo vowel as in *kóboc* « fat » vs. *kobc-íd* « fattening » or *erég* « what has been entrusted » vs. *erg-íd* « entrusting », etc., *oróh* may be seen as a development of an older stem *oḍh*.

*Móod* and its derivative *mootán* are instances of a pattern /CooC(C)/ that could belong here. Yet it has already been stated that it could be a loanword from Arabic or another Semitic language like Harari. This suspicion is strengthen-

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[3] The stem /°im-at/, whose forms with *-n* only are attested in Somali (eg., infinitive *imán*, negative imperative plural *ha imannína*, etc.), would have in its forms with the dental stop the alternation *int- ~ *imat- ~ *imann-. For instance, the past tense would be 3m *intay, 3f *imatay, etc. Interestingly, the stem *int-* is attested in two cognates of this verb, ie., Burji *int-ay-* « come » and Awngi *int-* « come » (a prefix-conjugated verb, eg., perfect definite 3m *y-int-a*, 3f *t-int-a*). It is thus possible that Somali forms like the infinitive *imán* attest that in the past there were in the paradigm of « come » forms where the sequence *-int-* could be interpreted as an alternant of the stem /°im-at/ in some varieties of Somali (on the problem of the verb « come » in East Cushitic see also Hayward, 1979).

ed by the fact that all the other stems from prefix-conjugated verbs that have been seen so-far always have an initial vowel and not a consonant.

(9)  *O*-stems
  i. Stems with long *oo*
  /aC(C)ooC/:  v /aqoot/; *awood*
      n *aqoón, aqoonn-í, aqoónn-in; awoód;* /t-ammod-tí/
  /ooC/:  v *ool,* /ooll-aat/
      n *óol, ool-im-áad*
  ii. Stems with short *o*
  /oCoC/:  n *oróh*
  iii. Possible loan-word
  /CooC(C)/:  v *moot-án*
      n *moód*

Stems with *ii* or *i* as characteristic vowel are attested in past stems and in the jussive stem of *yaal* « lie, stay ». If *íil* « lateral niche in the grave », is a derivative of this verb, it would be the only derivative noun from a prefix-conjugated verb that has *ii* as its stem vowel in Somali.

Also the feminine noun *yaqiín* « certainty » has *ii* in its stem, but it is a loan-word from Arabic *yaqiin* « certainty » (from the verb *yaqina*, imperfect *yayqanu* « be certain »). Its similarity with Somali *aqoón* « knowledge » and *y-aqaan* « he knows » is striking, and the fact that there are no clear cognates to this verb in the other Omo-Tana languages makes it tempting to regard Somali *yaqaan* as created analogically from the Arabic loanword *yaqiín* « certainty », reinterpreted as *y-aqiín*. Yet this verb has possible cognates in Yaaku *qɛɛno'* « know » (where the correspondence between Somali *q* and Yaaku *q* is regular, cf. Sasse, 1979, pp. 47 f., 54), and in a group of words in Highland East Cushitic (HEC), ie., Sidamo *egen-* (Gasparini, 1983, p. 179) or *eegen-* (Moreno, 1940, p. 213) « know », Timbaaro and Alaba *enkee'n-* « know », Qabena *inke'n-* « know ». Both Moreno (1940, p. 213) and Sasse (1982, p. 67), who spells *eegan*, do not mention the cognates of this Sidamo verb in the Northern HEC languages, ie., in Timbaaro, Alaba and Qabena, and connect it with Somali *eeg-* « look at », Oromo *eeg-* « guard, watch », etc. Yet even though the correspondence between Sidamo *g*, Northern HEC *nk* and *q* in Somali and Yaaku deserves an explanation, it seems clear that Somali *yaqaan* « know » has cognates within East Cushitic. As a consequence, one may speak at most of interference with Arabic *yaqiin*, eg., in helping to preserve an old verb that was otherwise lost in the other Omo-Tana languages.[4]

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[4] To establish a direct link between Somali *y-aqaan* « know » and the Somali C4 verb *óg* « know » as, eg., Ferrario (1923) does is wrong. Indeed, Somali *óg* has good cognates in Dasenech *og*, Elmolo *ogi* « know », Arbore *\*oq* in *mooq* < *\*ma-oq* « ignorant » (with Arbore *q* corresponding to *g* in other Omo-Tana languages, as in Arbore *meqé* « name » vs. Somali *mágac*, Rendille *mágah,* etc.) and Oromo *og-eessa* « expert ». In this case, Omo-Tana and Oromo *g* may derive from *\*q*, because the counterparts of this verb are Awngi prefix-conjugated *aq* « know », Kemant suffix-conjugated *ax* « know » and possibly Bilin prefix-conjugated *'aqʷ* « know » (in *ta'aqʷe* « you know », cf. Het-zron 1976, 33). Ethiopian Semitic borrowed this verb from Agaw (?) already in Ge'ez *ᶜoqä* « know » and there still are, eg., Amharic *awwäqä* « know » and Harari *aqa* « know ». But Somali usually

A small group of forms has *e* or *ee* as their characteristic vowel, but they all have a marginal status within Somali. Indeed, /e/ and /een/, that provide two past-tense paradigms of « say », have good cognates with *e* in other Cushitic languages (cf. note 2), but they are the only prefix-conjugated past tenses with *e/ee* in Somali. As a consequence, they can be regarded as relics. As for the stem /eC/ in *ér-ay* « insolent answer, word », it has already been said that it may be a loanword (cf. section 3.1.). *Dhéh*, imperative of *yiraahdaa*, which developed into a suffix-conjugated paradigm in Central and Southern varieties of Somali, eg., present tense 3m *dhah-aa*, 3f *dhah-daa*, infinitive *dhíh-i*, etc., is probably a very old form, besides being the only consonant initial stem from a prefix-conjugated verb with a clearly Cushitic tradition — all the other stems begin with vowels, but for *móod* and *moot-án* that may be loan words -. In fact, it has the shape *CVC* also in Afar *(in-)ḍiḥ* and Rendille *ḍaḥ*, which both are irregular imperatives of « say ».

Finally, *y-ammuud-aa* « die » is the only instance of the type /aCCuuC/ in the set of stems connected with prefix-conjugated verbs in Somali. The stem /ammuud/ is isolated also in its being the only prefix-conjugated present tense that does not have *a* or *aa* between its first and second root consonant. Several Somali native speakers regard this verb as a loanword from Arabic, which indeed has *y-amuut-u*, imperfect of *maata* « die » — even though this verb is attested also in Ethiopian Semitic, eg., Harari *yimut ~ yimot*, imperfect of *mōta* « die » —. Yet *\*mwt* « die, death » is an old Afroasiatic root — cf., eg., Coptic *mowt* « be dead », Tuareg *ëmmët* « die », hausa *mútu* « die », etc. —, and it may have been preserved independently in Cushitic. Rendille, an Omo-Tana language closely related with Somali and spoken in Northern Kenya in an area where the influence of Arabic should be relatively insignificant, has indeed present 3m *y-amut*, 3p *y-amuut-in*, past 3m *y-umuy*, 3p *y-umaat-en*, jussive 3m *y-umaat-e* « die ». The rendille jussive stem /umaat/ is the same as Somali /ummaad/ in *ummáad* « death » and /t-ummaad-tí/, and this is the stem that one would expect to be used in the Somali prefix-conjugated present, cf. the Rendille jussive stems /imaat/, /iḍaaḥ/, /ubaad/ vs. Somali /imaad(d)/, /iraah/, and, respectively, /uwaad/. Boni, that usually has the same vocalisation as Somali in its prefix-conjugated verbs, has this type /uC(C)aaC/ in its *j-uwaad-a* « he dies » (Past *j-uwud-i*), but the root is *\*w-d*, the same as Somali *wéd* m. « death » and *wéd* v. Cl « cause somebody's death ». Instead of the expected present tense *\*y-ummaad-aa*, Somali thus has *y-ammuud-aa* which, rather than being an unlikely retention of the type of present-tense formation attested in Rendille, should be regarded as a contamination of the autochthonous form *\*y-ummaad-aa* with a Semitic imperfect form of this root. The reason for this innovation may have been both the quasi-synonymy of *\*y-ummaad-aa* « he dies » and *y-imaad(d)-aa* « he comes » and the strong emotional value of this verb.

5.1. If one disregards the stems attested in forms like *ér-ay* « insolent answer, word », *móod* « not alive » and *y-ammuud-aa* « die » which, as argued in the preceding sections, may be loans or contaminations with foreign forms, the stems

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keeps Omo-Tana *\*g* well apart from *\*q*. As a consequence, even though one cannot exclude that the two sets of cognates of Somali *óg* and *y-aqaan* may ultimately derive from the same root, they are clearly separated within Somali and Omo-Tana as well.

that occur in the derivatives and the suppletive forms of the Somali prefix verbs can be brought down to a few types.

First of all, there is a group of masculine and femmine nouns consisting in the bare *a*-stem: *imáad* m., *ummáad* m., *aál* f. Also m. *íil* « side niche » can be brought into this group if these nouns are seen as containing not the present stem, which is always an *a*-stem — with the only exception of the new form *y-ammuud-aa*, as seen in (2) above —, but rather the jussive stem which is usually an *a*-stem but can also be an *i*-stem in the case of *yaal* « lie, stay ». In compounds the *a*-stem — which generally speaking is /aCaaC/, /iCaaC(d)/, /uC(C)aaC/ or /aaC/ according to the root, the other types being irrelevant here — forms agent nouns with the 3m prefix like *y-aqáan* and *y-áal*, and even with the 3f prefix like *t-aál*. With the *t-* prefix and the suffixes *-o* or *-tí* it forms several derived nouns. (Yet nouns with both *t-* and *-o* are likely to be old agent nouns, cf. section 3.2.). It may be inflected as a suffix-conjugated C1 verb like *ummáad* « die » and *áal* « lie, stay », or even as a C3 verb (/imaat/ « come »). The C3 forms of /imaat/, however, may also be analysed as /im-aat/, ie. as containing the same « reduced » stem as /°im-at/ and the C3 extension /aat/.

Most of the other derived and suppletive forms contain an *o*-stem — according to the root /aC(C)ooC/, /ooC/ and /oCoC/—. There are both masculine and feminine stem-nouns like m. *óol* and f. *aqoón, oróh*, etc. The *o*-stem forms nouns with the suffixes *-i* or *-in*, and with the prefix *t-* and the suffix *-tí*. In addition to this, there are forms inflected as C1 verbs (*awóod, óol*) and as C3 verbs (/aqoot/).[5] In one case, maybe through analogy with /im-aat/, there is /ooll-aat/, ie., an *o*-stem with the C3 suffix /aat/.

Finally, the f. noun *oraáh* was seen as an instance of the type /oCaaC/, a sort of blend of the *a*-stem *iraah(d)* and the *o*-stem of *oróh*. These types are listed in (10) below.

5.2. Having isolated these types of derivative and suppletive forms of prefix-conjugated verbs, it becomes possible to look whether other nouns and verbs of the same types may attest that other prefix-conjugated verbs existed in the past in Somali but are not alive as such any more in this language.

Consider first the masculine noun *órod* « running » and the C1 verb *órod* (infinitive *órd-i*) « run ». They are respectively the masculine stem-noun and the C1 verb from an *o*-stem; the type is the same as m. *óol* and C1 *awóod, óol*, while the stem is /oCoC/ (~/oCC/) as *oróh*. Rendille and Boni have prefix-conjugated cognates of this verb, respectively present *y-arid*, past *y-irid*, and present *j-iraad-a*, past *j-irid-i* « run » (cf. Sasse, 1980, p. 163). Interestingly, in Saho-Afar this verb is prefix-conjugated *erd-e* « run », with the same stem shape as *edḥ-e* « say ». This similarity is preserved in Somali *órod* and *oróh*.

Several compound nouns have as their last element *-yáhan* « eater, person who is very familiar with » like, eg., *ceeriin-yáhan* « eater of raw meat », *aqoon-yáhan* « expert, scholar ». The form looks like an agent noun of the same type as *gar-*

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[5] The change from *n* to /t/ in the second root consonant is probably due to analogy here. The starting point may have been the invariable negative forms *má oól* « didn't lie, didn't stay » and *má aqoón* « didn't know », with ∅-ending like *má aróg* « didn't see » and *má maqál* « didn't hear ». *Má oól* could only be a C1 form, while *má aqoón* looked like the negative of a C3 verb in /oot/ such as *má riyoón* « he didn't dream ». The proportion was then *má riyoón*: /riyoot/ = *má aqoón* : x.

*yaqáan* « judge » or *if-yáal* « exposed », ie., it implies a 3m *y-ahan* « he eats » with an *a*-stem of the same type /aCaC/ as *y-ahay* « he is ». Actually, this is the very stem of the present tense of the verb « eat » in all the other Omo-Tana languages with the only exception of Dasenech! It has suffix-conjugation in Maay *aam-* « eat » and Bayso *aam-* « eat », that anyhow are languages that lost almost entirely the old conjugation by prefixes. But it has prefix conjugation in Jiiddu 3m *y-aam-ë* « he eats », Boni 3m *j-aham-a*, Rendille 3m *y-aḥam*, 3p *y-amḥ-in*, Arbore 3m *y-áham-a*, Elmolo 3m *y-aam-a*. This verb is cognate with Saho-Afar *okom-e ~ okm-e* « eat » whose stem /akam/ is attested, eg., in the Afar jussive *t-akam-ay* « let her eat! » or the Afar agent noun *y-akam-i* m. « irritation of the skin » (cf. for this semantic shift the Somali iterative *cúncun* « eat » and « itch »); it is one of the clearest instances of *$*k > h / a—a$* in Omo-Tana.

The feminine action noun occurs in *gees-taán* « disease that causes heavy pains » (lit. « which eats the side »); its original form was *$*-t-ahám$*, but *$*m$* gave *n* sillable-finally as in *-yáhan* — and more generally almost everywhere in Somali —, and *h* vanished between similar vowels (for other examples of *$h > Ø$* cf. Lamberti, 1983, p. 332 f.).

Somali preserves a considerable number of other nouns derived from this verb. *Oón* f. « food » is a feminine noun from the *o*-stem like *oróh* « word »; its reconstructible form many be *$*ohóm$* with *$*h > Ø$* as in *-t-aán*, but it should be pointed out that all the words with the *o*-stem of this root in Somali have *oom- ~ oon* and never retain *h*. *Oom-í* f. « food » is an *o*-stem with the suffix *-i* like *aqoonn-í* « known person ». Interestingly, two *a*-stems are attested for this root: /*aham/ and /ahm/. The first one occurs in *-yáhan, *-t-ahám* and *gees-tahányo* f., a variant form of *gees-taán*. Notice that nouns of the type *t* + [*a*-stem] + *yo* such as *t-ahán-yo* had not been met so far. The stem /ahm/, that has an exact parallel in Rendille *-amḥ-* < *$* -aḥm-$* in, eg., *y-amḥ-in* « they eat », occurs in *af-táhmo* « ability of speaking well », where *t-áhm-o* is of the same type as *t-imaádd-o* and *t-aáll-o*. (This compound gave rise to *af-táhan* m. « person who knows how to speak well » through contamination with the type *aqoon-yáhan*; the occurrence of the feminine prefix *t-* in a masculine noun is otherwise inexplicable). Also *áhm-i* and *áhm-in* m. « fat animals to be killed and eaten » contain /ahm/ in two forms of a type [*a*-stem] + { *i, in* } that had not been met till now. *Oomatí* f. « food » clearly contains the *o*-stem /oom/, but the final part *-atí* has to be explained.

*Dhiig-yácab* « blood-thirsty » (lit. « blood drinker ») contains the m. action noun *yácab* that should imply an old 3m *$*y-acab$* « he drinks » with /aCaC/ like *y-ahay* and *$*y-ahan$*. The same root occurs in Somali *cáb* « drink » as a suffix-conjugated Cl verb, but it has prefix conjugation in Afar present *y-aaᶜub-e,* past *y-ooᶜob-e* « drink ». Rendille 3m *y-abḥub*, 3p *y-abḥuub-in*, past 3m *y-ubḥub*, 3p *y-ubhaab-en* « drink ». Sasse (1980, p. 167) showed that this verb contains the same root, with *$*ᶜ > ḥ$* as usually in Rendille and metathesis as in *y-amḥ-in* < *$* y-aḥm-in$*. Rendille thus attests the three stems /*aᶜbuub/, /*uᶜbub/ and /*uᶜbaab/, and it is striking that the last one should not occur in Somali, since it has the same vocalisation type /uC(C)aaC/ in *uwaad* and *ummaad* at least. This, together with the fact that Somali lacks other derivatives from *$*y-acab$* « drink » that conform to the patterns listed in (10) below, makes it likely that the isolated form *-yácab* « drinker » is a loan from Afar. The original action

noun *y-aa ᶜab-i* could be easily remoulded into the more Somali-like *-y-ácab* that conforms to the morphological patterns of this language.

A small group of words attest the two stems /asooll/ and /osol/ ~ /osl/, that are typical of the derivation of a prefix-conjugated verb: *asoóll-i* v. C1 « mate (subj. ram) », *asooll-án* and *osl-án*. v. C4 « be on heat (subj. sheep) », *ósol* n.m. « (sheep) at heat ». A prefix-conjugated verb with a root *s-l* is attested in Rendille *y-asil* « lie down », Arbore *y-éssel-a* « cause to stand, stop », both old causatives of *yaal* « lie, stay » (cf. Sasse, 1980, p. 167). If *asoólli* and *oslán* are cognates of these two verbs, Somali would attest a semantic specialisation from « cause to lie, cause to stop », to « mate », maybe through the C4 derivatives *asooll-án* and *osl-án* « be caused to stand still while mating (subj. ewe) ».

Finally, the two words *ugáas* m. « tribal chief » and *agaás-in* m. « orderly arrangement, government » may be seen as instances of the same type as m. *ummáad* and, respectively, *áhm-in*, ie. as attesting two types of a-stems /ugaas/ and /agaas/ of an old prefix verb meaning « govern, direct » or something similar. Indeed, this verb had to be a loanword from Ethiopian Semitic, and particularly from Harari *gäza'a* « govern, own, posses » which has, eg., imperfect 3m *yigáz* that could easily be Somalized into *\*y-ugaas* or *\*y-agaas*. (Other Ethiopian Semitic languages have, eg., Amharic and Argobba *gäzza* « govern », Tigrinya *gäz'e* « govern » Ge'ez *gäz'ä* « govern » and *'igzi'* « master ». This verb was also borrowed into Saho *igzi'e* or *igziye* « rule over » according to the dialect). The Somali forms, beside showing that it was fitted into the derivational pattern of the prefi-conjugated verbs, indicate also that the borrowing took place rather recently, most likely during the political hegemony of Harar over the North-Western Somalis in the XVIIth-XIXth centuries, when other titles of the Harari state such as *gärãd* and *mäläq* were borrowed into Somali as titles of tribal chiefs. Indeed, Ethiopian Semitic *z* could not be preserved as *s* otherwise, but would have changed into *d* in Somali, like Omo-Tana *\*z* (eg., in *wádn-e* « heart » from *\*wazn-*) and the older Arabic loanwords (eg., *dágo* « first month in the year », « animals given each year as alms to the poor » vs. the more recent *sáko* « alms tax », « first month of the muslim year » from Arabic *zakaah*).[6]

In conclusion, it has been seen that by analysing the derived words and suppletive stems of the prefix-conjugated verbs in Somali it is possible to find a derivational system that involves internal ablaut, prefixes and suffixes in a manner that differs significantly from the productive derivational morphology of Somali (cf., eg., Puglielli, 1984a). In addition to this, words of derivational types characteristic of prefix-conjugated verbs make it possible to find traces in Somali of verbs that

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[6] Cerulli (1964: 57) connects Somali *ugáas* with Agaw: Bilin *gaž* « become old, be the first », Quara *gaž* « become big », Kemant *gaž* « become big ». I think that the Harari etymology is to be preferred, since it has an exact parallel in Saho. Interestingly, Somali lacks cognates to Boni Pr *j-igaas-a*, Pa *j-igis* « kill », Rendille Pr 3m *y-agis*, 3p *y-agiis-in*, Pa 3m *y-igis*, 3p *y-igaas-en* « kill », even though this verb is attested in Southern Somali dialects like Garre *igaas*, Tunni *egees*, and Dabarre *igees* which all mean « kill ». If Somali borrowed from Harari *\*y-ugaas* or *\*y-agaas* « he rules over, he governs », its great similarity with the old *\*y-igaas* « he kills » may easily explain why this verb was replaced by the verb *díl* in Maay and all the Central and Northern varieties of Somali. Ironically the old Somali *\*y-igaas* « he kills » may survive in Harari *yägässi* « malicious, bad, wicked », whose original meaning would thus be « killer » (even though Leslau, 1963, pp. 76, 163, explains this word differently). The final *-i* may be regarded as an internal development in Harari of this Somali loanword. The same old agent noun *\*y-igaas* « killer » may survive also in Somali *yaxaas* m. « crocodile », that could then have *\*g > h* as on irregular sound change in order to avoid the older tatoo word.

are inflected in this way in cognate languages, such as « run » and « eat », as well as to identify a few borrowings from other languages.

(10) Derivatives and suppletive stems of prefix-conjugated verbs. (Underlined froms lack an actually occurring verb of this type in Somali).

a. Nouns
  i. Stem-nouns

| | |
|---|---|
| [*a*-stem] m.: | *imáad* « coming, comer »; *ummáad* « death »; *ugáas* « tribal chief » |
| [*a*-stem] f.: | *aál* « lying (?) » |
| [*i*-stem] m.: | *íil* « side niche in a grave » |
| [*o*-stem] m.: | *óol* « surface »; *órod* « running » |
| [*o*-stem] f.: | *aqoón* « knowledge »; *awoód* « strength »; *oróh* « saying »; *oón* « food » |
| [*o/a*-stem] f.: | *oraáh* « saying |

  ii. Nouns with prefixes and/or suffixes

| | |
|---|---|
| [*a*-stem] + $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ in \end{matrix} \right\}$ m.: | *áhm-i*, *áhm-in* « fat animal to be killed and eaten »; *agaás-in* « government, orderly arrangement » |
| [*o*-stem] + $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ in \end{matrix} \right\}$ m./f.: | *aqoonn-í*, *aqoónn-in* « known person »; *ooll-im-áad* « lying »; *oom-í* « food » |
| [*o*-stem] + *atí* f.: | *oom-atí* « food » |
| y + [*a*-stem] m.: | *-y-aqáan* « knower »; *-y-áal* « lyer »; *-y-áhan* « eater »; *-y-ácab* « drinker » |
| t + [*a*-stem] f.: | *-t-aál* « lyer »; *-t-aán* < * *t-ahám* « eater » |
| t + [*a*-stem] + *o* f.: | *t-immaádd-o* « future »; *t-aáll-o* « heap of stones »; *-t-áhm-o* « expertise (?) » |
| t + [*a*-stem] + *yo* f.: | *-t-ahán-yo* « eater (?) » |
| t + [*a*-stem] + *tí* f.: | *tummaatí* ← /t-ummaad-tí/ « wound caused by a pointed weapon » |
| t + [*o*-stem] + *tí* f.: | *tammootí* ← /t-ammood-tí/ « animal killed before it dies naturally » |

b. Verbs

| | |
|---|---|
| [*a*-stem] C1: | *ummáad* « die », *áal* « lie, stay » |
| [*a*-stem] C3: | /imaat/ (?) « come » |

| | |
|---|---|
| [*o*-stem] C1: | *awóod* « be able »; *óol* « lie, stay »; *órod* « run »; *ósol* « be in heat » |
| [*o*-stem] C3: | /aqoot/ « know » |
| [*o*-stem] + *i* C1: | *asoóll-i* « mate (subj. ram) » |
| [*o*-stem] + *aat* C3: | /ooll-aat/ « lie, stay » |
| [reduced stem] + *at* C3: | /°im-at/ « come »; /°or-at/ « say » |
| [reduced stem] + *aat*C3: | /im-aat/ (?) « come ». |

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