

THE CASE SYSTEM IN SOMALI

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PART 1. INTRODUCTION

PRELIMINARIES

It is one of the salient characteristics of the Somali case system that it uses accentual patterns as case signs i.e. as exponents of the inflectional category of case. Suffixes are also used for this purpose but only in some declensions and within a limited range. As the word order in Somali is very flexible and usually does not participate in subject/non-subject differentiation, this role is fulfilled by case forms, most of which use only accentual patterns and no suffixes. Thus we have pairs like

(1) wjil libaax gxyéy 'a youth whom a lion chased'

(2) wjil libâax gxyéy 'a youth who chased a lion'

where libaax 'a lion' in (1) stands in concord with gxyéy 'chased', while libâax in (2) does not.

As far as I have been able to ascertain such phenomena have not been reported in any other Hamito-Semitic languages, though they might of course have been overlooked in some languages, as they had been in Somali. In fact the role of accentual patterns in the Somali case system is not accounted for in the majority of works on Somali, the number of which is quite large as can be seen from the bibliographies provided in JO 69 and JO 73. Information about it is found only in AB 64, AN 54a, AN 54b, AN 64 and MU 56.

The question arises as to whether the Somali case system is archaic within the Hamito-Semitic group or whether it is due to contact with languages of other groups and the facts presented in Part IV of this paper may throw some light on this very complex question. Parts II and III present a concise account of the whole Somali case system, a first attempt of this kind. Whatever its shortcomings, it is offered in the hope that it will provide a basis for comparison, positive or negative, with other Hamito-Semitic languages and their geographical neighbours.

Somali case forms are identified in this paper by codes consisting of letters and sometimes also figures. This is done because the existing linguistic terminology of case does not fit the Somali situation at all well, as is obvious from the description provided in Part III. To invent new terms for Somali case forms would be a formidable task which I would prefer to leave to general linguists. The use of codes has the advantage of making it clear that they refer to inflectional case forms and not to their functions: these can be inferred from the description of contexts. It should be noted that this paper does not go beyond what is conveyed by the case forms themselves and does not explore the problems of case from the point of view of the transitivity or non-transitivity of verbs or the use of prepositional particles, leaving this vast field to further exploration. In this connection it may be mentioned perhaps that the Somali case forms make no distinction between those which occur as explicit objects of transitive verbs and those which are governed by prepositional particles.

The word-classes or their aggregates in which the case system operates are referred to in this paper as 'nominal items' or 'case marked items' and in the list below they are divided into Group 1 and 2. The maximum number of case form distinctions in Group 1 occurs only in nouns and is represented

by the codes A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, B1 and B2. Other nominal items within that group make fewer distinctions but the same system of code marking is used for the case forms which occur in them, on the grounds of their distributional comparability with the corresponding case forms in nouns. In this paper expressions which state that a particular nominal item other than a noun is 'assigned' to a particular case represent this type of comparability. In the nominal items listed in Group 2 there are only two case distinctions and they are represented by the code letters A and B.

The names of the nominal items given in the list below are the same as in AN 75a, pp.6-16 except that nominal aggregates I and II are further subdivided into groups represented by lower case letters.

Group 1

noun (n.)
adverbial noun I (adv.n.I)
adverbial noun II (adv.n.II)
cardinal numeral (card.num.)
approximating numeral (appr.num.)
unspecified numeral (unsp.num.)
interrogative word I (inter.w.I)
interrogative word II (inter.w.II)
interrogative word III (inter.w.III)
interrogative word IV (inter.w.IV)
interrogative word V (inter.w.V)
interrogative word VI (inter.w.VI)
substantive pronoun (subs.pron.)
reciprocal pronoun (rec.pron.)
subject pronoun (subj.pron.)
object pronoun I (obj.pron.I)
object pronoun II (obj.pron.II)
impersonal pronoun (impers.pron.)

Group 2

definite article of the general type (def.art.gen.)
definite article of the remote type (def.art.rem.)
demonstrative (dem.)
possessive definitive (poss.def.)
interrogative definitive (inter.def.)
indefinite article (indef.art.)
attributive (attr.)
ordinal numeral (ord.num.)
dependent verb (dep.v.)
nominal aggregate Ia (nom.aggr.Ia)
nominal aggregate Ib (nom.aggr.Ib)
nominal aggregate Ic (nom.aggr.Ic)
nominal aggregate Id (nom.aggr.Id)
nominal aggregate Ie (nom.aggr.Ie)
nominal aggregate If (nom.aggr.If)
nominal aggregate IIa (nom.aggr.IIa)
nominal aggregate IIb (nom.aggr.IIb)

The formulations presented in this paper apply to the Northern branch of the Common (Standard) dialect type of Somali but can be extended with minor modifications to the remaining branches of this dialect type. For information about dialect divisions of Somali readers are referred to AN and LE 64, pp.37-38 and AN 71, pp.271-272.

The transcription of Somali used here is the same as in AN 64 except for the following changes:

- c is replaced by c
- q̣ is replaced by dh when it occurs at the beginning of a word, before a consonant or the semivowel y within the same word, or after a consonant within the same word
- q̣ is replaced by ʀ when it occurs at the end of a word or when it occurs as a single (non-geminated) consonant between two vowels within the same word, or between the semivowel y and a vowel within the same word
- qq̣ (a geminated d) is replaced by dh:
- h is replaced by x
- ʾ is replaced by '

These changes are such that when the semicircle over r (ʀ), the sign : after dh and other diacritics used in AN 64 are ignored all the symbols are then the same as in the national orthography introduced in Somalia in 1972. Information about this orthography can be found in AN 74. The rather complex pattern of replacement in the case of q̣ and qq̣ is due to the fact that the Somali national orthography accommodates to a very large extent dialect differences between the Northern and Southern branches of the Common Somali dialect type and thus masks the phonetic differences between them, which are reflected here in the use of the semicircle over r and the sign : after dh.

Another departure from the system of transcription used in AN 64 consists of dispensing with spelling conventions (i) and (iv) given there on pp.110-112. Convention (i) which deals with variations in the quality of final vowels before a pause and not before a pause is no longer necessary here since in this paper, as in the Somali national orthography, the transcription represents speech flow uninterrupted by any pauses other than those indicated by punctuation marks. According to convention (iv) variations in vowel quality in sequences ay and ey are standardized as ay but here, as in the Somali orthography, the transcription represents one particular utterance and no attempt is made at standardization. Information about this very puzzling feature of Somali is provided in AN 68 pp.12-17, AR 34, p.154 and MU 56, p.15.

Accentual patterns

As has been demonstrated in AN 64, accentual patterns play an important role in the Somali case system and act as the sole case signs in forms which have no distinctive suffixes. The treatment accorded to them in AN 64 requires some modifications and expansion which are provided in the remaining part of this section.

The accentual units which make up these accentual patterns consist of

combinations of types of tone and stress, which in Somali are closely related. The following types of tone and stress are involved:

Tone

High

Mid

Low

High-Mid i.e. falling from High to Mid

High-Low " " " " " Low

Stress

Even/Strong

Even/Secondary (intermediate between Even/Strong and the
absence of stress)

Diminuendo (i.e. Decrescendo)/Strong

Absence of stress

These types of tone and stress combine into accentual units and in dealing with such combinations it is essential to take into account the two positions in which a syllable which bears them can occur:

Position (a): The syllable is immediately followed by another syllable within the same or the following word.

Position (b): The syllable is immediately followed by a pause within or at the end of the sentence.

The types of tone and stress described above combine into the accentual units (abbreviated to AU) given in the table overleaf.

POSITION	TONE				STRESS			
	High				Even/Strong			
	Mid				Even/Secondary			
	Low				Diminuendo/Strong			
	High-Mid				Absence of Stress			
	High-Low							
AU1	a	+				+		
	b	+				+		
AU2	a		+				+	
	b			+			+	
AU3	a	+						+
	b		+					+
AU4	a	+				+		
	b			+			+	
AU5	a		+					+
	b		+			+		

It should be noted that the formulations involving position (b) do not apply when the special 'linking intonation feature' is present, which is discussed later in this section.

The accentual units given are represented by accentual marks which are placed over the vowel letters. In the case of long vowels, which are represented by doubling the vowel letter, the accentual mark is placed on the first letter only, e.g. áá instead of áá.

AU1	is represented by the acute, e.g. á
AU2	" " " " grave, e.g. à
AU3	" " " " absence of any accentual mark
AU4	" " " " circumflex, e.g. â
AU5	" " " " inverted circumflex, e.g. ă

When a particular word is viewed in abstraction from its accentual pattern the sign ! is placed immediately after it so as to indicate that the absence of accentual marks does not represent AU3 on every syllable. For a discussion of the reasons why such a sign is needed for Somali see AN 75a, pp.5-6.

AU1, AU2, AU3 and AU5 have been arrived at through comparison of such contrastive pairs as those given below.

níríg 'a male baby camel'
 níríg 'a female baby camel'
 díbí 'an ox'
 díbí 'oxen'
 qóre 'a writer'
 Qoré. 'They wrote it.'
 Ma báràa? 'Is he a teacher?'
 Ma baràa? 'Are they spots?'
 Mas má qabtay? 'Did a snake catch him (etc.)?'
 Más má qabtay? 'Did he (etc.) catch a snake?'
 wáx dhacá 'something that happens', 'someone who loots'
 Wáx dháca! 'Loot (pl.) something!'
 Ha bíxín! 'Do (sg.) not come out!'
 Ha bixín! 'Do not pay!'
 nínkíí adéerkáy lá jógéy 'the man who stayed with my paternal uncle'
 nínkíí adeerkáy lá jógéy 'the man with whom my paternal uncle stayed'

Many other contrastive pairs can be found in AB 64, AN 54a, AN 54b, AN 64, AN 75a, AR 34 and MU 56.

AU4 occurs in one word only, namely the conjunction oo! 'and', 'while', 'as', and is designed to accommodate the changes in tone and stress which are related in that word to the presence or absence of an immediately following pause, e.g.

Wùu dāalay ōo seexday. 'He became tired and went to sleep.'
 Wùu dāalay ōo, seexday. 'He became tired and (PAUSE) went to sleep.'

The grounds for establishing AU1, AU2, AU3 and AU5 have been extended through comparison of words, phrases and sentences which have identical sequences of accentual units and identical grammatical characteristics but are otherwise dissimilar, such as are given overleaf.

níríg	'a male baby camel')	
ínán	'a boy')	
góray	'a male ostrich'	)	all sg.m. nouns
wáraf	'a sling')	
másaf	'a funnel')	
níríg	'a female baby camel')	
galáb	'evening')	
habár	'an old woman'	)	all sg.f. nouns
wíyíl	'a rhinoceros')	
dhuxúl	'charcoal')	
wáx dhacá	'something that happens', 'someone who loots'		
nín buká	'a man who is sick'		
más hyrdá	'a snake which is asleep'		
Mas má qabtay?	'Did a snake catch him (etc.)?'		
Nin má arkay?	'Did a man see him (etc.)?'		
Sac má cunay?	'Did a cow eat it?'		

The accentual patterns which are involved in the case system are listed below. Each pattern is composed of a fixed sequence of accentual units. The abbreviations AU and AP mean 'accentual unit' and 'accentual pattern' respectively.

Position of the syllable and its length, if relevant		AP							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Last or only syllable		AU1		AU2	AU5		AU1	AU3	
Penultimate syllable			AU1						AU2
First syllable	when long						AU2	AU2	
	when short						AU1	AU1	
All positions other than those already specified in the appropriate column, if any		AU3	AU3	AU3	AU3		AU3	AU3	AU3
All positions						AU3			

Examples of accentual patterns of nouns are given below. The words in square brackets are used merely to provide the necessary contexts when the form cannot occur in isolation and are not to be taken into account as examples.

- AP1. nín 'a man', horumár 'progress', ínán 'a girl', maraakíib 'ships'
- AP2. ínán 'a boy', waddóoyin 'roads', shaqáale 'workers'
- AP3. xòg 'force', libàax 'a lion', midabkalasòc 'racial discrimination'
- AP4. rээр 'a family', 'a group', gabdhò 'girls', tykayaal 'crows'
- AP5. nin [má yimi?] '[did] a man [come?]', libaax [má yimi?] '[did] a lion [come?]'

- AP6. Bòoramé, name of a town in Somalia hábardygáag 'beast of prey'
 AP7. bèeldaaje! 'o chief elder!' (a traditional title used here in its vocative form) gúddoonshe 'o chairman! (the vocative form)
 AP8. càawa 'tonight'

The classification of accentual patterns given here is the same as in AN 64 except that AP6, AP7 and AP8 have been added. The main reason for adding them is that in this paper, unlike in AN 64, nouns which are proper names and forms of direct address are covered by the formulations provided.

In Somali accentual patterns of individual components of the sentence determine to a very large extent its intonation contours. Normally the intonation of the sentence does not alter the essential pitch characteristics within the accentual patterns of the individual components and does not neutralize their semantic distinctiveness. The only exception to this, as far as I could ascertain, is the raising of the pitch in the last syllable before a pause in what will be referred to as the operation of the 'linking intonation feature', discussed later in this section. At this point it should be observed that sentence intonation in Somali often expresses nuances of meaning, especially those concerned with the attitudes or the emotional states of the speaker, but its rôle does not extend to the conveying of emphasis or distinguishing between statements and polar questions. These are conveyed by indicators i.e. by the special phrasal particles discussed in detail in AN 75a. Commands are also outside the domain of sentence intonation since they are expressed by suffixes and fixed accentual patterns related to them in individual verbal forms, as has been demonstrated in AN 68, AN 69 and AN 75b.

The relative pitch distinctions within accentual units, which make up the accentual patterns, are not sufficiently numerous to account for the intricate intonation contours of longer sentences. Syllables often differ in their relative pitch, even though they are assigned to identical accentual units on the grounds of comparisons mentioned earlier in this section. No exact rules concerning such variations are yet available but it could be stated that there is a tendency in Somali towards 'down-stepping' i.e. towards pronouncing the sequence of syllables assigned to the same accentual units in such a way that each syllable has a slightly lower pitch than the preceding one, e.g.

Ká sóo qáada! 'Take (pl.) it from him (etc.)!'

This tendency is by no means universal. It can be reversed, i.e. the syllable under observation can have a slightly higher pitch than the preceding one, or it can be neutralized, i.e. the syllable under observation and the preceding one can have the same pitch. Such reversal and neutralization can be represented, if necessary, by special signs, such as / and = respectively, placed immediately before the relevant syllable.

Before a pause within a sentence or at its end an intonation feature is sometimes used which consists of the raising of the tone of the last syllable of a word. The raising is either

- (a) by one level i.e. from Low to Mid or from Mid to High, or
- (b) by two levels i.e. from Low to High.

The raising of type (a) is represented by the single sign + and that of type (b) by the sign ‡ placed before the syllable in question. Thus in examples below the form joo+gey has the tone sequence Mid-Mid, since without the sign +, joo~~gey~~ would be Mid-Low. On the other hand the form joo‡gey has the tone sequence Mid-High which without this sign would be Mid-Low.

Wùu joo+gey, hasé ahaatee má maqál. He was there, but he did not hear it.

Wùu joo‡gey, hasé ahaatee má maqál. The same meaning as above.

Shaki ku má jiró. Wùu joo+gey. There is no doubt. He was there.

Shaki ku má jiró. Wùu joo‡gey. The same meaning as above.

The raising of both type (a) and (b) is associated with 'semantic linking', i.e. it indicates that there is some specific connection between what is said and what is to follow or what was said in the preceding sentence. In this respect there does not appear to be any difference between the raising of type (a) and (b).

The raising under discussion could be described as a 'linking intonation feature'.

It happens very frequently in nominal items in Somali that their last vowel, if it is short, is elided when the word which follows immediately is the indicator baa, the conjunction iyo! 'and', oo! 'and', 'while' or a subject pronoun. This feature of Somali is discussed in MU 56, pp.20-23 and AN 64, pp.114-117 where it is referred to as 'contraction'.

When elision takes place the accentual pattern of the nominal item remains the same as in the full form except for the syllable the vowel of which is elided (deleted), e.g.

Cál-àa yimí. 'Cali came.', cf. Cálí baa yimí. (without elision)

Ma kooràa 'Are they camel-bells?', where kooràa = kooró + baa

Ma kóoràa 'Is it a saddle?', where kóoràa = kóore + baa

fardíyo gèel 'horses and camels', cf. fardó iyo gèel (without elision)

Sóortùu keenay. 'He brought the food.', where sóortùu = sóorta + bûu = sóorta baa uu-

sóortuu keenáy 'the food which he brought', where sóortuu = sóorta uu

The same type of elision occurs also when a nominal item is followed immediately by one of the vocative suffixed particles, e.g.

Múuñow! 'O Muuse!', cf. Múuse, a man's name

Ugáasóoy! 'O Ugáaso!', cf. Ugáaso, a woman's name

PART 11. CASE FORMS

CASE FORMS OF NOUNS

As a preliminary step to the description of case forms in nouns it is necessary to divide all noun forms into declensions i.e. groups of forms which share the same case signs. The division into declensions used in this paper is identical with that presented in AN 64 except for the fact that two more declensions have been added and that some of the existing declensions have been further subdivided, with the subdivisions represented by lower case letters, e.g. IVa, IVb etc.

The two additional declensions are referred to as declensions IX and X, thus continuing the numbering used in AN 64. They are introduced to accommodate certain proper names and rare words not covered by the scope of that work. Their characteristics are as follows:

Declension IX. To this declension belong those noun forms which in isolation consist of three or more syllables and at the same time have accentual pattern 6 in isolation.

Declension X. To this declension belong those noun forms which in isolation consist of two or more syllables, the penultimate of which is long, and have accentual pattern 8 in isolation.

A summary of the division into declensions is given overleaf. The sign + indicates the presence of particular characteristics which are used as criteria upon which the division is based. Note that the lower case letters which mark subdivisions within declensions do not correspond exactly to those used in AN 64 on pp. 29-40. The aim of the subdivisions introduced here is to accommodate some of the apparent anomalies not fully covered in AN 64.

Declension										Other distinguishing characteristics of the forms, if any, which are present when the forms occur in isolation.
Subdivision										
AP in isolation										
Gender and number										
M.										
F.										
Sg.										
Coll.										
Sub-pl.										
Pl.										
I	1	+	+	+						Forms consist of short monosyllables or are compound nouns in which the last component consists of a short monosyllable
II	3	+	+	+						
III	a				+	+				Forms do not end in -e.
	2	+							+	Forms have the termination -ooyin or vocalic mutation (i.e. are 'broken plurals').
IV	a				+	+	+			Forms other than those listed in IVb and IVc.
	1	+								Only the following forms: daméer 'a she-donkey' hál 'a she-camel', ló 'cattle' and rí 'a goat'
V	b				+	+				Forms end in -a or -o and are proper names
	c				+	+				Forms end in -e
VI	a	+							+	Forms end in -o
	2		+		+	+				Forms which have terminations which consist of or end in -o, except for those listed in VIb below.
VII	b		+						+	Only the following forms: halō 'she camels', idō 'sheep', laxō 'ewes', riyō 'goats' and xoolō 'domestic animals', 'wealth'.
	4									Forms have terminations which end in a consonant or the semi-vowel w.
	c	+	+						+	Forms consist of long monosyllables or are polysyllabic. The form wāx 'a thing', 'things', 'a person', 'persons' is added to this subdivision.
	d	+			+	+				
VIII	3	+	+	+						
IX	2	+	+	+						
X	6	+	+	+	+					
XI	8	+	+	+	+					

The following exception should be noted: the noun *had* (n.f.) is assigned to declension IVa even though it has accentual pattern 5. It occurs only as the first component of *haddí* (nom.agg.Ia) which means '[under] the condition', '[at or after] the time', 'if', 'when' or 'after'. It should not be confused with *hád* (n.f.) 'time' in spite of the semantic overlap.

The case signs of noun forms, consisting of suffixes and accentual patterns, are given in the table below. The abbreviations DCL and SDV mean 'Declension' and 'Subdivision' respectively. Arabic numerals when used by themselves refer to accentual patterns and optional variants are given in parentheses. Case suffixes are marked by placing a hyphen before them. The sign)(indicates that no examples have been found.

DCL	SDV	Case						
		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2
I		1	1	)(	1	1	5	5
II		3	3	7	3	1	5	5
III	a,b	2	2	7	2	1	5	5
IV	a	1	1	)(	1	1 -eed	5 -i	5 -eed
	b	1	1	)(	1	1 -aad	5 -i	5 -aad
	c	1	1	7	1	1	2 (5,-i)	5
V	a,b	2	1	7	1	1	2	5
VI	a	4	1	)(	4	1 -ood	4(5)	5 -ood
	b	4	1	)(	4	1 -aad	4(5)	5 -aad
	c,d	4	1	7	4	1 -aad	4(5)	5
VII		3	3	7	3	1 (3)	5(3)	5(3)
VIII		2	2	7	2	1 (2)	5(2)	5(2)
IX		6	6	7	6	6	7	7
X		8	8	)(	8	8(1)	8 (5 -i)	8 (5)

Note that when a noun stem ends in -i there is a linking consonant -y- between the stem and any of the case suffixes, e.g. *mindiŷi*, B1 form of *mindí* (n.f.) 'knife' and similarly, *mindiŷeed*, case A5 form of the same noun. In the stem of a noun which belongs to declension IVc and thus ends in -a or -o in isolation, two possibilities of junction with the suffix -i exist: either the final vowel of the stem is replaced by -iŷ- or it is elided, e.g. *Berberiŷi* or *Berberi*, case B1 of *Berberá* (name of a town) and

Hobyiŷi or Hobyi, the same case of Hobyó (name of a town).

CASE FORMS OF ADVERBIAL NOUNS I AND II

The adverbial nouns have the following forms:

- I. horé (horéy) 'forward', 'before'
saré 'up'
- II. řad 'very', 'much', 'thoroughly'

The forms of the adverbial nouns of type I are assigned to either case A1 or case A4, while the adverbial noun of type II is assigned to one of the three cases A1, A2 or A4.

CASE FORMS OF NUMERALS OTHER THAN ORDINALS

As a starting point in describing the case forms in such numerals, information is given below concerning their genders and the forms they have when they occur in isolation.

(a) Cardinal numerals

kôw (f.) 'one'
lába (f.) 'two'
sáddex (f.) 'three'
áfar (f.) 'four'
shán (f.) 'five'
líx (f.) 'six'
toddobá (f.) 'seven'
siddèed (f.) 'eight'
sagáal (m.) 'nine'
tobán (m.) 'ten'
labaatán (m.) 'twenty'
sóddon (m.) 'thirty'
afártan (m.) 'forty'
kónton (m.) 'fifty'
líxdan (m.) 'sixty'
toddobáatan (m.) 'seventy'
siddéetan (m.) 'eighty'
sagáashan (m.) 'ninety'
boqól (m.) 'one hundred'
kún (m.) 'one thousand'
milyùn (m.) 'one million'

(b) Approximating numerals

All the forms of these numerals are feminine, end in the suffix -eeyo and have accentual pattern 2 in isolation, e.g. soddoméeyo 'about thirty', afartaméeyo 'about forty' etc.

(c) The unspecified numeral

This numeral is masculine and its form in isolation is dhàwr 'several'.

Numerals of all the three types have the same case forms as those collective noun forms which are of the same gender and have the same accentual patterns in isolation and other characteristics on which the division of noun forms into declensions is based.

There are, however, some exceptions to this formulation. The cardinal numeral *lába* (f.) 'two', which would be assigned on the grounds of the above criteria to declension VIII, has the following deviant forms:

Case A2 *labá*

Case A4 *labá*

Case B1 *labi* (optional to *lába*)

Furthermore some speakers use forms with the suffix *-i* and the accentual pattern 5 as optional alternatives for case B1 forms in cardinal numerals which represent numbers 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90, e.g. *tobani*, *labaatani*, *soddomi* etc.

It should be observed that there are several restrictions on the occurrence of certain case forms of numerals. The cardinal numeral *ków* occurs in case A1 only in the context of counting (e.g. *ków, lába, sáddex...* 'one, two, three etc.') and in case A2 only when followed immediately by the conjunction *iyoi* 'and', e.g. *kóob iyo tobán* 'eleven' (lit. 'one and ten'), *kóob iyo labatán* 'twenty five' (lit. 'five and twenty'). Only the cardinal numerals *boqól* 'one hundred', *kún* 'one thousand' and *milyùn* 'one million' can occur in case A5 and B2 and no numeral can occur in case A3.

All numerals other than ordinals can occur as the first components of nominal aggregates.

CASE FORMS OF INTERROGATIVE WORDS I-VI

The interrogative words of these six types are listed below.

- I. Combinations of nouns or substantive pronouns with the suffix *-ma*, e.g. *méelma* 'which place?', *idínma* 'which one of you?.'
- II. *maxáy* 'what?'
- III. *kúma* (sg.m.), *túma* (sg.f.), *kuwáma* (pl.) 'who?', 'whom?'
- IV. *yaa!* 'who?', 'whom?'
- V. *ayō* 'who?', 'whom?'
- VI. *ímisá* (*ímmisa*) 'how many?'

The interrogative words of type I, II, III and IV are all assigned to case A1 while the interrogative word of type V is assigned to either case A1 or case A5. The interrogative word of type VI is assigned to either case A1 or case A2.

It should be noted that the interrogative words of type IV and V are very restricted in their occurrence. The interrogative word of type IV occurs only in what are assumed to be combinations with the indicator *bàa* and only in sentences which contain a main verb, e.g.

Yàa yimí? 'Who came?', where yàa is assumed to be yaa¹ + bàa.

Yàad aragtay? 'Whom did you see?', where yàad is assumed to be yaa¹ + bàa + the subject pronoun aad 'you' (sg.).

The interrogative word of type V is restricted to the following constructions:

Wàa ayõ? 'Who is it?', 'Who is he?', 'Who is she?'

X ayõ?, where X stands for the name of a person and ayõ refers to that person's father, e.g. Axmed ayõ? 'Axmed the son of who? a phrase used when inquiring about someone's full name. Note that in Somali surnames are normally not used.

It should be observed that in interrogative words of type I the noun component has the same accentual pattern as the corresponding selfstanding noun form when it occurs in case A2. The substantive pronoun component has accentual pattern 1.

CASE FORMS OF PRONOUNS

In this section various types of pronouns are discussed, each separately in view of great disparity in their characteristics.

Substantive pronouns occur mainly as first components of nominal aggregates. When this happens there is no case differentiation since the case signs of nominal aggregates are borne by the last component.

As the first components of nominal aggregates, substantive pronouns have the following forms:

1sg.	ani-	1	'I', 'me'
2sg.	adi-	1	'you'
3sg.m.	isa-	1	'he', 'him'
3sg.f.	iya-	1	'she', 'her'
1pl.excl.	anna-	1	'we', 'us'
1pl.incl.	inna-	1	'we', 'us'
2pl.	idin-	1	'you'
3pl.	iya-	1	'they', 'them'

When they occur outside nominal clusters substantive pronouns always enter into combinations with one of the following items:

- (i) the conjunction na¹ 'and'
- (ii) " " se¹ 'and', 'but'
- (iii) " " iyo¹ 'and'
- (iv) " " oo¹ 'and', 'while'
- (v) the indicator bàa (which then has the elided form -àa).

In the table below those forms of substantive pronouns which enter into such combinations are listed. They are assigned to various cases on the grounds of their comparability with corresponding noun forms.

Type of combination	Case of the pronoun	Form of the pronoun							
		1sg.	2sg.	3sg. m.	3sg. f.	1pl. excl.	1pl. incl.	2pl.	3pl.
(i) and (ii)	A4	an-	ad-	is-	iya-	anna-	inna-	idin-	iya-
	B1	an-	ad-			anna-	inna-	idin-	
(iii) and (iv)	A2	an-	ad-						
(v)	A1	an-	ad-						

Note that all the above forms of pronouns can be optionally replaced by nominal aggregates in which the first component is a corresponding substantive pronoun and the last component is a definite article of the general type.

The reciprocal pronoun is 'each other', 'one another', 'self' can occur either as a selfstanding word or as the first component of a nominal aggregate. When it occurs as a selfstanding word it is assigned to case A4 and when it occurs as the first component of a nominal aggregate it is not assigned to any case since only the last component of a nominal aggregate bears case signs.

The subject pronouns, which are listed below, have only one case form each, which is assigned to case B1.

1sg.	aan	'I'
2sg.	aad (aa)	'you'
3sg.m.	uu	'he'
3sg.f.	ay	'she'
1pl.excl.	aannu (aan)	'we'
1pl.incl.	aynu	'we'
2pl.	aydin (aad) (aa)	'you'
3pl.	ay	'they'

The object pronouns I and II, which are listed below, have only one case form each, which is assigned to case A4.

The difference in the conditions of occurrence between the object pronouns I and II is accounted for in MU 56, p.125, Note 237.

	I	II
1sg. 'me'	i	kay ¹
2sg. 'you'	ku	kaa ¹
3sg.m. 'him'	∅	∅
3sg.f. 'her'	∅	∅
1pl.excl. 'us'	na	kayo ¹
1pl.incl. 'us'	ina (inna)	keen ¹
2pl. 'you'	idin	kjin ¹
3pl. 'them'	∅	∅

There are two constructions in which doubt may arise as to what case *i* and *ku* should be assigned to. They are *vàa i kán* 'here I am' (in answer to a call) and *ku mề* 'where are you?'. In the first of these constructions *vàa* is probably the indicator *vaa*¹ with a copular function and *kán* is a demonstrative; in the second, *mề* is the interrogative word of type VII, meaning 'where is....?' These two constructions are anomalous and no attempt is made here to offer a solution to the problem which they present.

The impersonal pronoun *la* 'one', 'someone', 'people' has one case form only, which is assigned to case B1.

CASE FORMS OF DEFINITIVES

As in AN 64, the term 'definitive' covers here the definite articles, demonstratives, possessive definitives and interrogative definitives. When describing the case forms of definitives it is useful to take into account their potentialities of occurrence as:

- (i) selfstanding words i.e. separate units within the sentence,
- (ii) last components of nominal aggregates,
- (iii) middle components of nominal aggregates, and
- (iv) first components of nominal aggregates.

In definitives there are two cases, A and B, but case differentiation operates only when potentiality (i) or (ii) is fulfilled. There is no formal case differentiation when potentiality (iii) or (iv) is fulfilled since in nominal aggregates only the last component bears case signs. It should be noted that interrogative definitives do not occur in case B.

In the list below forms which have potentiality (ii) only are preceded by a hyphen and those which have potentiality (iii) or (iv) only are followed by a hyphen. Forms which have both potentiality (i) and (ii) are neither preceded nor followed by hyphens. Optional forms within any of the groupings are given in parentheses.

Only the masculine forms of definitives are listed here. The corresponding feminine forms are identical with the masculine ones except for the initial consonant which is *t-* instead of *k-*.

The list does not include masculine forms which have the pluralizing infix *-uw-*¹. This infix is placed immediately after the initial consonant of the definitive, e.g. *kúwán* 'these', cf. *kán* 'this', and can occur in all definitives provided that potentiality (i) or (iv) is fulfilled. The accentual pattern of this infix is *-úw-* except when it occurs in an interrogative definitive or a nominal aggregate in which the last component is an interrogative definitive. In such an environment the accentual pattern is *-uw-*, e.g. *kuwề* 'which ones?', *kuwayagề* 'which ones of ours?'

	Case A	Case B
Definite article of general type	ka	-ku
Definitive article of remote type	kíi	kii
Demonstratives:		
'this'	kán	kanu (kani)
'this' (with asseveration)	-kakán	-kakanu (-kakani)
'that'	káas (káa) (kaasí)	kaasu (kaasi)
'that' (further away)	kéer	keeri
'that' (even further away)	kóo	kooyi
Possessive definitives:		
1sg. 'my', 'mine'	-káy	-kây
2sg. 'your', 'yours'	-káa	-kâa
3sg.m. 'his'	-kîis (-kîi) (-kî)	-kîis (-kîi) (-kî)
3sg.f. 'her', 'hers'	-kêed	-kêed
1pl.excl. 'our', 'ours'	-kayô	-kayô (-kayo)
1pl.incl. " "	-kêen	-kêen
2pl. 'your', 'yours'	-kîin	-kîin
3pl. 'their', 'theirs'	-kôod	-kôod
Interrogative definitive		kêe (kêe)
Possessive definitives:	Neither Case A nor Case B	
1sg. 'my', 'mine'		kây-
2sg. etc.		kâa-
3sg.m.		kîis-
3sg.f.		kêed-
1pl.excl.		kayá-
1pl.incl.		kêen-
2pl.		kîin-
3pl.		kôod-

When definitives occur within nominal aggregates the junctions between them and the other components have special characteristics which are described in detail in AN 64, pp.118-123.

CASE FORMS OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

The occurrence of the forms of the indefinite article is restricted to one construction only. They occur only in phrases where the indefinite article is a headword followed by a form of the attributive *kalé* 'other' which is dependent on it, e.g. *ku kalé* 'another'. The forms of the indefinite article are *ku* (masculine) and *tu* (feminine). They are assigned to case A2.

CASE FORMS OF ATTRIBUTIVES, ORDINAL NUMERALS AND DEPENDENT VERBAL FORMS

The attributives i.e. words like *dambé* 'which is behind', *dhexé* 'which is in the middle' etc., which are listed in AN 64 on pp.126-127 and in AN 75a on p. 10 have two case forms, A and B. Such case forms are differentiated by their accentual patterns: those in case A have accentual pattern 1 while those in case B have accentual pattern 5. No case suffixes are used except in the attributive *wál* 'each', 'every' which has the suffix \emptyset in case A and the suffix *-i* in case B. Note that this attributive is normally immediately followed by the distributive particle *ba* 'each', 'whatever', 'whoever': *wál-ba*, *wali-ba*.

Ordinal numerals, i.e. words which form the series *koobáad* 'first', *labáad* 'second', *saddexáad* 'third' etc., have two case forms, A and B. When the ordinal numeral has only one component it has accentual pattern 1 in case A and accentual pattern 5 in case B. When the ordinal numeral has two or more components the above rule applies only to the last component. The remaining components show no case differentiation and have the same accentual patterns as the corresponding cardinal numerals when they occur in case A2, e.g. *shán-iyó-labaatanáad* (case A) and *shán-iyó-labaatanaad* (case B) 'twenty-fifth', lit. 'five and twentieth'.

All dependent verbal forms have two case forms, A and B, except for the dependent infinitive and negative conditional which have no formal differentiation for case. The respective characteristics of case forms A and B are described in detail in AN 68, AN 69 and AN 75b. In these publications case is not mentioned but the division of forms into A and B corresponds exactly to the division posited here.

Examples of case A and B forms in dependent verbs are given below. The paradigms chosen are those of the present general convergent and divergent of the verb *kéen* (Z) 'to bring'. Note that the forms of the convergent paradigm always stand in concord with the headword on which they are dependent while those of the divergent paradigm never do so.

	Convergent		Divergent	
	A	B	A	B
1sg.	<i>keená</i>	<i>keenaa</i>	<i>keenó</i>	<i>keenaa</i>
2sg.	<i>keená</i>	<i>keenaa</i>	<i>kgentíd</i>	<i>keentaa</i>
3sg.m.	<i>keená</i>	<i>keenaa</i>	<i>keenó</i>	<i>keenaa</i>
3sg.f.	<i>keentá</i>	<i>keentaa</i>	<i>keentó</i>	<i>keentaa</i>
1pl.	<i>keenná</i>	<i>keennaa</i>	<i>keennó</i>	<i>keennaa</i>
2pl.	<i>keená</i>	<i>keenaa</i>	<i>keentāan</i>	<i>keentaan</i>
3pl.	<i>keená</i>	<i>keenaa</i>	<i>keenāan</i>	<i>keenaan</i>

Components	Type							
	I						II	
	a	b	c	d	e	f	a	b
	F M L	F M L	F M L	F M L	F M L	F M L	F M L	F M L
n.	+	+			+		+	+
card.num.	+	+					+	
appr.num.	+	+					+	
unsp.num	+	+					+	
subs.pron.			+				+	
rec.pron.						+		
def.art.gen.	+	+	+	+				
def.art.rem.	+	+	+	+				
dem.	+	+	+	+				
poss.def.		+		+	+	+	+	+
inter.def.							+	+

In nominal aggregates two cases are distinguished: A and B. The case signs are borne by the last components and these are described in the section on definitives.

The accentual patterns of the first and middle components are determined by the type and case of the nominal aggregate in which they occur. In the table below figures represent the accentual patterns of the first and middle components which are specified in the column on the left. It should be noted that nominal aggregates of type IIa and b do not occur in case B.

First or middle component	Type of nominal aggregate	
	Ia-d when in case A or B, and Ie and f when in case A	Ie and f when in case B, and IIa and b when in case A
n.	The same accentual pattern as in case A2 when the item occurs outside a nominal aggregate except for nouns of declension X which have accentual pattern 1	5
card.num.		
appr.num.		
unsp.num.		
subs.pron.	1	
rec.pron.		
poss.def.		
lpl.excl.	3	
poss.def.all other forms		

Numerous examples of nominal aggregates can be found in AN 61, AN 64 and AN 75a. Note that in AN 64, nominal aggregates in which the first component is a noun are referred to as 'defined nouns'.

PART III. CONTEXTS OF CASE FORMS

AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The distribution of case forms is closely correlated with certain characteristics of the contexts in which they occur. To describe these contexts in detail it is necessary, in the present state of our knowledge of Somali available in published sources, first to give some account of four aspects of Somali grammar, namely the structure of so-called nominal clusters, constructions involving numerals, the nature of suffixed vocative particles and the copular use of certain indicators.

NOMINAL CLUSTERS

By the term 'nominal clusters', which was first introduced in AN 64, are understood noun phrases composed of two or more separate words and in the context of this definition a nominal aggregate counts as one word.

There are three basic types of nominal clusters in Somali and each of them involves a different relationship between its components. The relationships involved are:

- (a) Dependence of an item (or items) on a headword which precedes it (them).
- (b) Annexation of an item (or items) by a headword which follows it (them). Such a headword is always a nominal aggregate in which the middle or the last component is a possessive definitive. The pronominal reference of the possessive definitive 'annexes' the item or items which precede the nominal aggregate.
- (c) Parallel linking of two or more co-ordinate items the relationship between which involves neither dependence nor annexation. This type of linking is associated at some point within the nominal cluster with the presence of the conjunction *iyol* 'and'.

In the above formulations 'headwords' could be defined as components of nominal clusters which have the potentiality of concord with verbs outside the nominal clusters to which they belong. Headwords of nominal clusters (a) and (b) will be referred to as 'dominant' and 'annexing' respectively. In nominal clusters in which parallel linking is involved, co-ordinate items are also treated as headwords on account of their potentiality of concord with outside verbs. Such headwords will be referred to as 'co-ordinate'.

The concept of dependence is used here in a restricted sense. Items are regarded as dependent only if they are directly dependent on the headword of the nominal cluster in which they occur. Thus, for example, a noun or a pronoun which occurs as the subject or the object of a dependent verb is not regarded as dependent.

Only the items listed below can occur as dependent items within nominal clusters:

- (i) Nouns, the cardinal numerals *boqol* 'one hundred', *kún* 'one

thousand', milyūun 'one million', the interrogative word of type V (ayō 'who', 'whom'), and the nominal aggregates of types Ia, Ib and Ie.

(ii) Attributives, ordinal numerals and dependent verbal forms.

When one of the items listed in (i) is dependent on a headword within a nominal cluster it conveys a type of meaning which is comparable to that of a noun or its equivalent in English when it occurs with the possessive suffix -s or is preceded by the preposition of, e.g. rēad libāax 'a lion's footprint' or 'footprint of a lion', where rēad 'footprint' is the headword and libāax 'a lion' is a dependent item. Similarly, rēadka libāaxa 'the lion's footprint' or 'the footprint of the lion', shān boqól 'five hundred' (lit. five [sets] of one hundred [units each]) and Axmed ayō 'Axmed [the son] of whom?'.

Examples of nominal clusters of all the three types are given below where the following graphic devices are used to identify headwords and dependent or annexed items:

Dominant headwords are overlined with a continuous line.

Dependent items are underlined " " " "

Annexing headwords are overlined with a dotted line.

Annexed items are underlined " " " "

Co-ordinate headwords are overlined with an interrupted line.

(a)

nin hyrdá 'a man who is asleep'

bijáha la cabbó 'the water one drinks'

ninkíi sóorta keenáy 'the man who brought the food'

sóortíi ninku keenáy 'the food the man brought'

áwrka kalé 'the other camel' (lit. 'the camel which is other')

damèerka saddexáad 'the third donkey' (lit. 'the donkey which is third')

xūub caaró 'a spider's web'

áqalkíi Calí 'Cali's house'

tobán wíil 'ten boys' (lit. 'ten of boys')

(b)

ljbàax r̥adk̥isa 'the footprints of a lion' (lit. 'a lion his
footprints')

dádkáas b̥eərón̥oda 'the plantations of those people' (lit. 'those
people their plantations')

(c)

rág iyo hawēen 'men and women'

fardó iyo g̥el iyo ló' iyo idō 'horses and camels and cattle and
sheep'

When there are three or more parallel headwords in a nominal cluster of type (c) they will be said to constitute an enumerative series. It is characteristic of such series that in them the conjunction iyo! 'and' which normally links parallel headwords can be optionally omitted in all positions except between the last two headwords, e.g. fardō, g̥el, ló' iyo idō 'horses, camels, cattle and sheep'.

It often happens that a nominal cluster contains within itself another nominal cluster, e.g.

w̥ilk̥i n̥ink̥i y̥imi arkáy 'the boy who saw the man who came'

n̥ink̥i aad lá hadasháy f̥arask̥isa 'the horse of the man to whom you spoke' (lit. 'the man to whom you spoke his horse')

sandūuq̥i aan méel f̥og ká keenáy iyo kabíh̥i w̥anaagsanāa 'the box which I brought from a place which is distant and the shoes which were good'

These structures can be readily understood if we replace the internal nominal clusters by the symbols NC¹ NC² and NC³ etc. as shown below:

NC¹ = n̥ink̥i y̥imí 'the man who came'

NC² = n̥ink̥i aad lá hadasháy 'the man to whom you spoke'

NC³ = sandūuq̥i aan méel f̥og ká keenáy 'the box which I brought from a place which is distant'

NC⁴ = kabíh̥i w̥anaagsanāa 'the shoes which were good'

NC⁵ = méel f̥og 'a place which is distant'

We could then read:

w̥ilk̥i NC¹ arkáy 'the boy who saw NC¹'

NC² f̥arask̥isa 'the horse of NC²' (lit. 'NC² his horse')

Sandūuq̥i aan NC⁵ ká keenáy iyo kabíh̥i w̥anaagsanāa 'the box which I brought from NC⁵ and the shoes which were good'

NC³ iyo NC⁴ 'NC³ and NC⁴'

From the point of view of the description of the Somali case system the concept of 'marker of a nominal cluster', introduced in AN 64, is of particular importance. This term is used here strictly in the sense of its definition which varies according to the type of nominal cluster and is as follows:

In nominal clusters of type (a) the marker is that last component which is directly dependent on its headword.

In nominal clusters of type (b) the marker is its headword which always occurs as the last component.

In nominal clusters of type (c) the marker is the last co-ordinate headword.

Closely allied to nominal clusters of type (a) are the so-called para-nominal clusters (para-nom.cl.), a term introduced in AN 75a, p. 16. In these constructions the headword is one of the following:

- (i) declarative particle (decl.ptc.) in 'that'
- (ii) terminal particle (term.ptc.) iláa 'till', 'since', 'as far as'
- (iii) concessive particle (ccv.ptc.) wélow 'although'

It should be noted that the headword of a para-nominal cluster is not capable of concord with any verbal form or of pro-concord with an indicator.

CONSTRUCTIONS INVOLVING CARDINAL NUMERALS OR THEIR EQUIVALENTS

With the exception of certain periphrastic constructions mentioned at the end of this section the cardinal numeral or its equivalent and the noun representing the number of items counted form a nominal cluster of type (a). The cardinal numeral or its equivalent is then the headword of such a cluster and the noun is dependent on it.

The occurrence of dependent noun forms after headwords which are numerals is reminiscent of similar constructions in some other languages, such as Classical Arabic or Polish, e.g.

alfu laylatin 'a thousand nights'. lit. 'a thousand of a night',
siedem kotów 'seven cats', lit. 'seven of cats'.

Some useful insight into the use of dependent case forms after numerals in Somali can be gained if we bear in mind that the numeral states the number of items in a set and the noun denotes the class to which each of the items belongs. Thus:

labá shabéel 'two leopards', lit. 'two of leopard' i.e. 'two of [the class named] leopard',

áfar gabdhóod 'four girls', lit. 'four of girls' i.e. 'four of [the class named] girls'.

The noun dependent on a cardinal numeral or its equivalent is either in its plural or its singular form. When its singular form belongs to declension IVa or IVb and its plural to declension VIa or VIb the dependent noun is in its plural form, but when the dependent noun does not fulfil this condition it is in its singular form, e.g.

- shán faróod 'five fingers', cf. fár (n.sg.f., declension IVa)
'a finger' and farō (n.pl.m., declension VIa) 'fingers',
- tobán haláad 'ten she-camels', cf. hál (n.sg.f., declension IVb)
'a she-camel' and halō (n.pl.m., declension VIb)
'she-camels',
- lír aqál 'six houses', cf. áqal (n.sg.m., declension III) 'a house',
- kónton áwr 'fifty he-camels', cf. áwr (n.sg.m., declension II)
'a he-camel'.

The distinction between the use of singular and plural forms of the dependent noun in such contexts plays an important role in preserving inflectional contrasts between nouns which have identical roots but are different in gender, e.g.

- sagáal wēyl 'nine male calves', cf. wēyl (n.sg.m., declension II)
'a male calf' and wēylāl (n.pl.f., declension VIc)
'male calves',
- sagáal wēylóod 'nine female calves', cf. wēyl (n.sg.f., declension IVa)
'a female calf' and wēylō (n.pl.m., declension VIa) 'female calves'.

Earlier in this section the phrase 'a cardinal numeral or its equivalent' was used and its second part requires some elucidation. The following items can occur as equivalents of a cardinal numeral in the nominal clusters under discussion:

- (i) an approximating numeral, e.g. tobanéeyo 'approximately ten'
- (ii) the unspecified numeral dhāwr 'several'
- (iii) the interrogative word ímmisa 'how many?'
- (iv) a nominal aggregate in which the first component is a cardinal numeral, an approximating numeral or the unspecified numeral dhāwr 'several'.

When a noun occurs only in the collective or plural form and has no corresponding singular form certain periphrastic constructions are used. They consist of nominal clusters in which the cardinal numeral or its equivalent is the headword but the dependent item is a form of the verb yghay (STR) 'to be'. The noun which denotes what is being counted is then the complement of that dependent verb, e.g.

- toddobá carrúur áh 'seven children', lit. 'seven who are children'.

VOCATIVE SUFFIXED PARTICLES

There is a group of vocative particles in Somali which are suffixed to nouns, to certain nominal aggregates and to markers of nominal clusters. These particles are used when addressing or invoking persons or personified

beings.

The vocative suffixed particles can be divided into set I and set II. The particles of set I are suffixed to:

1. Single nouns which are:
 - (a) proper names
 - (b) ad hoc made-up praise names or abusive epithets
 - (c) names of God
 - (d) nouns used as nicknames
 - (e) kinship terms
 - (f) nouns denoting persons related to the speaker by bonds of love or friendship
 - (g) nouns denoting holders of office or practitioners of occupations, when used as titles of respect
 - (h) nouns used as names of personified animals or abstract notions in allegorical narratives, poems or proverbs
 - (i) the nouns beenáale (n.m.) 'liar' and labawejjile (n.m.) 'hypocrite'
 - (j) the noun rág (n.coll.m.) 'men' when used as a form of polite address
2. Nominal aggregates in which the first component is a noun or a cardinal numeral.
3. Any markers of nominal clusters in which the headwords are:
 - (a) nouns or cardinal numerals
 - (b) nominal aggregates in which the first component is a noun or a cardinal numeral

The particles of set II are suffixed to those single nouns which do not fulfil the conditions specified for the occurrence of the particles of set I with single nouns.

The wording of entries 1(f), 1(g) and 1(j) in the formulations concerning the occurrence of the particles of set I reflects some degree of subjectivity in approach. Respect and politeness have vaguely defined boundaries in any culture and it is at times difficult to ascertain whether direct address to or invocation of an animal or an abstract notion implies full personification or not. The vagueness of the formulations presented here points to their tentative nature and to the need of further research in this sphere.

Vocative suffixed particles are listed below and their optional variants are given in parentheses. In each set the forms are divided into two groups, (a) and (b).

Set	(a)	(b)
I	ow	eey (ey) aay (ay) ooy (oy)
II	yohow (yow)	yahay (yay) (yey)

The distribution of forms (a) and (b) can be readily explained if we use the capital letter H to represent any of the following items:

1. The single noun to which the particle is suffixed.
2. The noun of the cardinal numeral which is the first component of the nominal aggregate to which the particle is suffixed.
3. The noun or the cardinal numeral which is the headword of the nominal cluster to the marker of which the particle is suffixed.
4. The noun or the cardinal numeral which is the first component of a nominal aggregate which is the headword of the nominal cluster to the marker of which the particle is suffixed.

The distribution of forms (a) and (b) is given in the table below:

Characteristics of H	Form
singular masculine noun collective masculine noun plural masculine noun plural feminine noun masculine cardinal numeral	(a)
singular feminine noun collective feminine noun subplural feminine noun feminine cardinal numeral	(b)

When particles of set I are suffixed to items which in other contexts end in the short vowels -e, -a or -o, this final vowel is elided. Elision as an optional alternative to non-elision is possible:

- (i) when the particle -ow is suffixed to an item which in other contexts ends in the short vowel -i, and
- (ii) when any particle of set I is suffixed to an item which in other contexts ends in -ay or -ey, but only when that item is a past tense form of a verb.

When an item which in other contexts ends in -i but has no elision of its final vowel, the linking consonant -y- occurs between it and the

particle.

When an item to which a particle of set II is suffixed ends in the short vowel -e or -o in other contexts, that vowel is replaced by the short vowel -a.

The distribution of the different forms of particles in set I (b) depends on the characteristics which the items to which they are suffixed have when they occur in other contexts, as shown in the table below:

Characteristics of the item to which the particle is suffixed when the item occurs in other contexts	Form of the particle
(i) the item ends in the short vowel -a	-aay (-ay)
(ii) the item ends in the short vowel -o	-ooy (-oy)
(iii) the item ends in -ay or -ey which is a past tense verbal ending	-eey (-ey) when there is no elision -aay (-ay) when there is elision
(iv) the item has characteristics other than those enumerated in (i), (ii) and (iii) above	-eey (-ey)

The accentual patterns of vocative suffixed particles are as follows:

Forms of set I have accentual unit 2 if all the syllables of the item to which it is suffixed have accentual unit 3. If this condition is not fulfilled they can have either accentual unit 2 or 3, the choice being optional.

Forms of set II have accentual unit 3 on all their syllables.

Selected examples of vocative suffixed particles are given below.

Set I

Xásanōw! 'O Xasan!', cf. Xásan (n.sg.m.) a man's name.

Altíjōw! 'O maternal uncle!', cf. abtí (n.sg.m.) 'a maternal uncle'.

Dhúlkayágōw! 'O our land!', cf. dhúlkayága (nom.aggr.Ib) 'our land', cf. dhúl (n.sg.m.) land, kayo! (poss.def.lpl. excl.) 'our' and ka (def.art.gen.m.) 'the'.

Dádka na dḥeḡeysáneyōw! 'O people who are listening to us!', cf. dádka na dḥeḡeysáneyá 'the people who are listening to us' which is a nominal cluster. The item dḥeḡeysánayá (3pl.pres.cnt.cvg.A) '[who] are listening to' is the marker of the nominal cluster and is dependent on its

headword *dádk* 'the people'. *Dádk* (nom.aggr.Ia) is composed of *dád* (n.coll.m.) 'people' and *ka* (def.art.gen.m.) 'the'.

Ládanëy! 'O Ladan!', cf. *Ládan* (n.sg.f.) a woman's name.

Ēeddōoy! 'O paternal aunt!', cf. *Ēeddo* (n.sg.f.) 'a paternal aunt'.

Carrúurtâydiyëy! 'O my children!', cf. *carrúurtâydi* (nom.aggr.Ib) 'my children'; cf. *carrúur* (n.coll.f.), *tay*! 'my' and *tii* (def.art.rem.) 'the'.

Akhyáarta na dhegeysánaysâay! 'O worthy people who are listening to us!', cf. *akhyáarta na dhegeysánayeša* 'the worthy people who are listening to us' which is a nominal cluster. The item *dhegeysáneysá* (3sg.f.pres.cnt.cvg.A) '[who] are listening to' is the marker of the nominal cluster and is dependent on the headword *akhyáarta* 'the worthy people'. *Akhyáarta* (nom.aggr.Ia) is composed of *akhyáar* (n.coll.f.) 'worthy people' and *ta* (def.art.gen.).

Set II

Nínyohow! 'O man!', cf. *nín* (n.sg.m.) 'a man'.

Gēelyohow! 'O camels!', cf. *gēel* (n.coll.m.) 'camels'.

Gabdháyohow! 'O girls!', cf. *gabdhō* (n.pl.m.) 'girls'.

Dabqaaddáyohow! 'O incense burners!', cf. *dabqaaddō* (n.pl.f.) 'incense burners'.

Hályahay! 'O she-camel!', cf. *hāl* (n.sg.f.) 'a she-camel'.

Carrúuryahay! 'O children!', cf. *carrúur* (n.coll.f.) 'children'.

Djibíyahay! 'O oxen!', cf. *djibí* (n.sub-pl.f.) 'oxen'.

INDICATORS WITH COPULAR FUNCTION

There is a group of constructions in Somali which have no main verbs and yet form complete sentences: they are composed of nouns or their equivalents and indicators (phrasal particles) occurring in fixed positions in relation to one another. These constructions are listed below; the letter X represents the noun or its equivalent and all the remaining words are indicators.

- (i) *Waa*! X.
- (ii) X *wēeyé*.
- (iii) X *wēeyàan*.
- (iv) *Wáxa wēeyé* X.
- (v) *Wáxa wēeyàan* X.
- (vi) *Ma* X *bāa*?
- (vii) X *miyāa*?

Information concerning indicators can be found in AN 75a but it should

be noted that the indicator *miyāa* is regarded there as a unitary word while here it is assumed to be composed of *mi* and *yāa*, two indicators equivalent to *ma*¹ and *bāa* respectively. Furthermore the indicators *wēyē* and *wēyāan* are regarded here as two different words while in AN 75a they were treated as optional alternatives of each other.

The indicators *waa*¹, *wēyē*, *wēyāan*, *bāa* and *yāa* [in *miyāa*] all have a copular function corresponding roughly to that of 'is' or 'are' in English and there does not appear to be any difference in their meaning except for stylistic nuances in their usage, which are left out of the discussion here.

The indicators *ma*¹ and *mi* [in *miyāa*] have here an interrogative function and the indicator *wāxa* a heralding function, which consists of emphasizing an item which is to follow the main verb or its equivalent. Heralding forms part of 'presentative movement' discussed in HE 75.

In the examples below the recurrent word is the noun *gēesi* 'a brave man', 'a hero'.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| (i) | <i>Waa gēesi.</i> | '[He] is a brave man'. |
| (ii) | <i>Gēesi wēyē.</i> | The same meaning as above. |
| (iii) | <i>Gēesi wēyāan.</i> | " " " " " |
| (iv) | <i>Wāxa wēyē gēesi.</i> | " " " " " |
| (v) | <i>Wāxa wēyāan gēesi.</i> | " " " " " |
| (vi) | <i>Ma gēesi bāa?</i> | 'Is he a brave man?' |
| (vii) | <i>Gēesi miyāa?</i> | The same meaning as above. |

The copular function of indicators always has present time reference. In related sentences which are their equivalents with past time reference the meaning 'was', 'were' is conveyed by the past tense forms of the verb *yāhay* 'to be' (see AN 69, pp.48-50). Thus in the following examples the past tense verbal form *ahaa* 'was' corresponds to an indicator with a copular function in the sentences given above. Note that the form *būu* is a contraction of the indicator *bāa*, which here has an emphasizing function only, and the subject pronoun *uu* 'he'.

- | | | |
|------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) -(v) | <i>Gēesi būu ahaa.</i> | 'He was a brave man'. |
| (vi)-(vii) | <i>Ma gēesi būu ahaa?</i> | 'Was he a brave man?' |

The constructions involving indicators with a copular function are often preceded or followed by a noun or its equivalent which in comparable constructions with past time reference would stand in concord with a form of the verb *yāhay* 'to be', e.g.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Nínkani waa gēesi.</i> | 'This man is a brave man'. |
| <i>Waa gēesi nínkani</i> | The same meaning as above. |
| Cf. <i>Nínkani gēesi būu ahaa.</i> | 'This man was a brave man'. |
| <i>Gēesi būu ahaa nínkani.</i> | The same meaning as above. |
| <i>Nimánkani wāa gēesiyāal.</i> | 'These men were brave men'. |
| <i>Wāa gēesiyāal nimánkani.</i> | The same meaning as above. |

Cf. Nimánkani ggesiyáal báy ahaáyēen. 'These men were
brave men'.

Ggesiyáal báy ahaáyēen nimánkani. The same meaning
as above.

A noun of its equivalent which has the characteristics described above will be said to stand in 'pro-concord' with the indicator which has a copular function. Thus in the examples given above the noun forms ninkani 'this man' and nimánkani 'these men' will be said to stand in pro-concord with the indicator waa!

Constructions involving indicators with a copular function are listed in the last five entries in Table III, Part One, in AN 75a, p. 28, and the term 'identification' is used to describe their semantic function (ibid, p. 23. These constructions are referred to as 'verbless sentences' i.e. sentences without a main verb, in AN 64, pp. 138-140. It should be noted that the constructions described as 'wax sentences' in AN 64, p.140 would no longer be included in this group for reasons which are explained in detail in AN 75a, pp. 13-14.

In ZH 71, p.17 an interesting suggestion is made that the indicators waa!, wēyē and wēyāan should be regarded as 'megamorphs' combining the functions of indicators (i.e. phrasal particles in ZH 71 terminology) with those of copular verbs. Obviously this approach could be extended also to bāa and yāa [in miyāa].

CLASSIFICATION OF CONTEXTS

The types of contexts which are relevant to the distribution of case forms are classified here and provided with descriptive labels listed below, together with their abbreviations in parentheses:

Focused (FOC)
Linked (LIN)
Vocative (VOC)
Oblique (OBL)
Concordial (CON)
Dependent-focused (DFOC)
Dependent-linked (DLIN)
Dependent-oblique (DOBL)
Dependent-concordial (DCON)

Some types of contexts are further divided into sub-types which are differentiated by figures and the lower case letters a and b.

In the table below the capital letter X represents the case marked item under observation and the lower case letters i and d stand for 'independent' and 'dependent' respectively.

Type of context		Characteristics of the context	
FOC	1	a	Xi occurs in isolation (i.e. forms by itself a complete utterance) and at the same time is not used as a form of direct address or invocation to a person or a personified being.
		b	Xi is the marker and at the same time the headword (or one of the headwords) of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs in isolation.
	2	a	Xi occurs in one of the positions associated with emphasis through the proximity of certain indicators, as specified in AN 75a, p. 28.
		b	Xi is the marker and at the same time the headword (or one of the headwords) of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs in one of the positions associated with emphasis, as specified in AN 75a, p. 28.
	3		Xi is immediately followed by and combined with the vocative suffix -ow, -eey/-aay/-ooy.
LIN	1	a	Xi is followed by an item or items which are dependent on it.
		b	Xd is followed by an item or items which are dependent on it.
	2		Xi is immediately followed by the conjunction iyo ¹ 'and'.
	3	a	Xi occurs as the first or one of the middle components of an enumerative series and is not immediately followed by the conjunction iyo ¹ 'and'.
		b	Xi is the marker and at the same time the headword (or one of the headwords) of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs as the first or one of the middle components of an enumerative series and is not immediately followed by the conjunction iyo ¹ 'and'.
	4		Xi is immediately followed by and combined with the vocative suffixed particle -yohow, -yahay.
VOC			Xi occurs without any vocative suffixed particle but is used as a form of direct address or invocation to a person or personified being.
OBL			Xi does not fulfil any of the sets of conditions specified for FOC, LIN and VOC contexts and at the same time does not stand in concord with a verb or in proconcord with an indicator which has a copular function.

CON			Xi does not fulfil any of the sets of conditions specified for FOC, LIN and VOC contexts and at the same time stands in concord with a verb or in proconcord with an indicator which has a copular function.
DFOC	1		Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs in isolation.
	2		Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs in one of the positions associated with emphasis through the proximity of certain indicators, as specified in AN 75a, p. 28.
	3		Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster and is immediately followed by and combined with the vocative suffixed particle -ow, -eey/-aay/-ooy.
DLIN	1		Xd is not the marker of a nominal cluster in which it occurs and at the same time is linked to another item dependent on the same headword by the conjunction oo ¹ or ee ¹ (e ¹), both meaning 'and'.
	2		Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster and is immediately followed by the conjunction iyo ¹ 'and' which links the whole nominal cluster, taken as a unit, to an item which follows.
	3		Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs as the first or one of the middle components of an enumerative series and is not immediately followed by the conjunction iyo ¹ 'and'.
DOBL			Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster but does not fulfil any of the sets of conditions specified for DFOC and DLIN contexts; at the same time the headword of Xd does not stand in concord with a verb outside that nominal cluster or in proconcord with an indicator which has a copular function.
DCON			Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster but does not fulfil any of the sets of conditions specified for DFOC and DLIN contexts; at the same time the headword of Xd stands either in concord with a verb outside that nominal cluster or in proconcord with an indicator which has a copular function.

CORRELATION BETWEEN CASES AND CONTEXTS

Under optimal conditions, i.e. in sentences with maximum grammaticality, normally there is a close correlation between the occurrence of particular case forms and the types of their context. This is shown in the table below. Note that blank spaces indicate that no examples of a particular case form have been found in the contexts specified in the headings of the columns.

	FOC			LIN				VOC	OBL	CON	DFOC			DLIN			DOBL	DCON
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4				1	2	3	1	2	3		
n.	A1	A1	A1	A2	A2	A2	A2	A3	A4	B1	A5	A5	A5	A5	A5	A5	A5	B2
adv.n.I		A1			A2				A4									
adv.n.II	A1	A1							A4									
card.num.	A1	A1		A2	A2	A2			A4	B1	A5	A5	A5	A5	A5		A5	B2
appr.num.	A1	A1		A2	A2				A4	B1								
unsp.num.	A1	A1		A2	A2				A4	B1								
inter.w.I	A1	A1																
inter.w.II		A1																
inter.w.III	A1	A1																
inter.w.IV		A1																
inter.w.V		A1									A5							
inter.w.VI	A1	A1		A2														
subs.pron.		A1		A2	A2				A4	B1								
rec.pron.									A4									
subj.pron.										B1								
obj.pron.I									A4									
obj.pron.II									A4									
impers.pron.										B1								
def.art.gen.				A														
def.art.rem.		A		A					A	B								
dem.	A	A		A	A				A	B								
inter.def.	A	A																
indef.art.				A														
attr.											A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B
ord.num.											A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B
dep.v.											A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B
nom.aggr.Ia	A	A	A	A	A	A			A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B
nom.aggr.Ib	A	A	A	A	A	A			A	B								
nom.aggr.Ic	A	A		A	A	A			A	B								
nom.aggr.Id	A	A		A	A	A			A	B								
nom.aggr.Ie	A	A	A	A	A	A			A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B
nom.aggr.If		A							A	B								
nom.aggr.IIa	A	A																
nom.aggr.IIb	A	A																

BLOCKING OF SUBJECT/NON-SUBJECT DIFFERENTIATION AND THE DEVICES WHICH COMPENSATE FOR IT

It is clear from the formulations presented in this paper that in Somali the case system plays an important role in subject/non-subject differentiation, if we take concord with a verb or pro-concord with an indicator as the criterion of being a subject.

This differentiation operates only when the nominal item occurs in context OBL and CON or DOBL and DCON. In other contexts it is blocked (neutralized).

Since in Somali word order does not play any significant role in subject/non-subject differentiation, ambiguity could arise as a result of such blocking. There are, however, certain compensatory devices in the language which prevent the occurrence of ambiguity.

The first of these devices can be described as 'dual concord'. As has been shown in AN 68, AN 69 and AN 75b, in some of the most commonly used main verbal paradigms there is a dichotomy between 'restrictive' and 'extensive' forms and in almost all dependent verbal paradigms there is a similar dichotomy between convergent and divergent forms. Except for their concord characteristics the dichotomous forms, both main and dependent, have identical grammatical functions.

Their concord characteristics can be best described by reference to five schedules in which context characteristics of nominal items with which they stand in concord are listed. These five schedules are:

Schedule 1

- (i) A nominal item is in context FOC/2, or
- (ii) in context LIN/1, LIN/2 or LIN/3 but only when the nominal cluster in which the item occurs, taken as a unit, is in context FOC/2.

Schedule 2

- (i) A nominal item is in context CON, or
- (ii) in context LIN/1, LIN/2 or LIN/3 but only when the nominal cluster in which the item occurs, taken as a unit, is in context CON.

Schedule 3

A nominal item under observation is absent from the sentence but it either occurs in a preceding sentence or its presence is inferred from the context of the situation.

Schedule 4

A nominal item is in context LIN/1 and the item dependent on it is a verb.

The rules of concord between nominal items and dichotomous verbal forms are given below:

Schedule of the nominal item	Form of the main verb	Form of the dependent verb
1	Restrictive	
2	Extensive	Divergent
3	Extensive	
4		Convergent

It is obvious that this type of concord acts as an aid in subject/non-subject differentiation especially if we consider the second compensatory device which will be referred to as 'concord matching'. It consists of the following rules:

- (i) When a main verbal form stands in concord with two or more nominal items within the same sentence all these nominal items must belong to either schedule 1 or schedule 2 but never to both.
- (ii) A dependent verbal form can either stand in concord with the headword on which it is dependent or with another item which occurs between the headword and itself, if any. It cannot stand in concord with them both since they belong to different schedules: the headword is always in schedule 4 while the other item is in schedule 2.

The rules given above apply to all forms of verbs irrespective of whether they belong to dichotomous paradigms or not.

The third compensatory device, which will be referred to as the 'obligatory presence of an overt subject', consists of the following rules:

- (i) In a sentence which contains a nominal item which has the characteristics described in schedule 1, and a main verb which does not stand in concord with that item, there is always at least one other nominal item which belongs to schedule 2 and stands in concord with the main verb.
- (ii) In a nominal cluster in which the headword does not stand in concord with a verb dependent on it there is always at least one nominal item which belongs to schedule 2 and stands in concord with that dependent verb.

The fourth compensatory device will be referred to as 'differentiation by proxy'. It involves the following rules:

When a nominal item is in context LIN/1, LIN/2 or LIN/3 and is the headword or one of the headwords of a nominal cluster the marker of which is in contexts CON, DCON, OBL or DOBL, then the case of the marker acts by proxy, as it were, as an exponent of subject/non-subject differentiation. Under optimal conditions case B1, B2 or B of the marker indicates that the headword or headwords of the cluster stand in concord with a verb outside the cluster or in pre-concord with an indicator. Case A4, A5 or A of the

marker, on the other hand, indicates that the headword (or headwords) of the cluster do not stand in concord with a verb outside the cluster or in pro-concord with an indicator.

ANOMALIES

The formulations presented in the above table require some modifications to account for the following anomalies:

- (i) When the demonstratives kún 'this' and káas 'that' occur in context FOC/2 and are immediately followed by the indicator bàa, very frequently instead of the expected sequences kán bàa and káas bàa we find kanàa and kaasàa. It is reasonable to assume that these are contractions of hypothetical sequences kanu (case B) + bàa and kaasí (case A) + bàa, even though such sequences do not occur in speech.
- (ii) When a dependent verb has case B forms which in the pres.gen. paradigms have the ending -aa or -aan, such forms can occur as optional alternatives to case A forms. This happens when the verbal form is the marker of a nominal cluster and is immediately followed by the indicator bàa. It should be noted that some speakers regard such optional forms as archaic and do not use them.
- (iii) Some speakers use case A1 forms as optional variants of case A2 forms in context LIN 3.

PART IV. ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES

AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The formulations presented in this paper were arrived at through the study of a large number of taperecordings of works of oral literature, plays and broadcasts; they were also discussed in some detail with members of the Somali Academy of Culture and with both staff and students at the Department of Somali Language and Literature of the National University of Somalia during my visits there in 1975 and 1977.

These formulations are illustrated here, however, by a limited number of sentences, which are annotated in detail with a view to making them fully comprehensible to readers not acquainted with Somali. As examples of the whole case system they are far from exhaustive, but they illustrate the procedures through which the grammatical formulations were arrived at. Further annotated examples can be found in AN 64, AN 75a and MU 56.

In the annotations the citation form (representative form) for nouns is the form which occurs in isolation; this is always followed by information, given in parentheses, concerning its gender and number if other than singular. For verbs the citation forms are the same as in AN 68a, AN 69 and AN 75b, while the root extension class of each verb is given in parentheses and the English translation is in the infinitive, irrespective of the grammatical status of the citation form.

The sign --- indicates that the shape of the citation form is identical with the form which occurs in the text and to which the particular annotation entry refers, e.g. *nín*, case A4 of --- (n.m.) should be read as *nín*, case A4 of *nín* (n.m.) The abbreviation ind. refers to indicators, i.e. phrasal particles, the role of which is described in detail in AN 75a. The expression positional variant (abbreviated to pos.var.) refers to the variants of identical words determined entirely by their phonetic environment.

All the illustrative sentences given here are transcribed from tape-recordings made by Mr Mohamed Farah Abdillahi (Maxamed Faarax Cabdillaahi in the official orthography). Sentences 1.1. - 1.21 were recorded on tape SOM/1/2 and 2.1. - 2.12 on tape SOM/1/5-6, the master copies of which are stored in the Tape Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

SENTENCES 1.1-1.21

1. Waa lá sóo baxeen oo way isa sóo raaceen. 2. Sédexdédii hadday isa sóo raaceen oo jidka máreyaan oo habeen sóo dhexeen ayaa súbixii wágii beryey. 3. Máarkii wágii beryey ayey Húuryo tiři, "Aan nasáanno!" 4. Márkaasaa gëed la fařiistay. 5. Márkii la fařiistáy ee cabbàar la fadh:iyéy ayaa Húuryo tiři, "Dee ina nasíya!" 6. Nínkii ina boqór ee lá sóo tegéy bàa yiři, "Oo wàaba fadh:inaayee, innákoo fadh:í=ná, sidé báynu ú nasannaa?" 7. Kabcálaf bàa wúxuu ahaa, ín kastoonú aságu gabádh:a wadán, nín aftahamá áh oo gábayga iyo maahmáahda iyo hádalka hóstá ká xiránna àad ú yaqáan. 8. Márkaasaa Kabcalaf yiři, "Waar maláa wáxay ina

lèedahay, "Aan kabáha iská bixínno!" 9. Márkaasàa Húuryó Ugaas sídàa íntay Kabcálaf ilqóodh:a ugá eegtáy ay tustay ín hádalkìisíi ú bogtáy oo uu gartáy. 10. Kabíhíi bàa dabeetó layská bixiyey. 11. Ín dòor áh haddíi la fadh:iyéy ayàa la kacay. 12. Márkíi cabbàar la soodéy ayèy tírri, "Oo màynu afúrró?" 13. Márkaasàa wìilkíi ína boqór ee ay ú doonn-anayd yíri, "Miyèy waalántey? Oo maxàynu kú afurnaa? Ma sóor bàa méesha tãat? Naa ina kèen oo méesha ká sóo socó!" 14. Kabcálaf bàa yírfi, "Waar malàa "Aynu rumajáanno!" ayèy lèedahay. 15. Márkaasàa, márka, márkaana íntay sídàa ishóo kalé ugá eegtáy ayèy háddana ú bogtay oo dhóosha ugá qososhay. 16. Márkay labáda arrin dhecèen ayàa wìilkíi gabádh:a watey labáda arrín ee lugú xadáy ee uu díb ugá dhacáy dírba ká yãr damqaday oo jírkkìisii damqaday. 17. Haddíi ín cabbàar áh la soodéy ayàa Húuryo wáxay tírri, "Cíd bàynu ú sóo gallay." 18. Wìilkíi bàa háddana íntuu is haysán kári wáyéy dhán wálba eegáy. 19. Márkaasùu íntuu wáxbá árki wáyéy yírfi, "Waar miyèy waalántey oo wàaba cidlá cíirsi lé'ee!" 20. Kabcálaf bàa íntuu sídìisíi cabbàar aammusáy yírfi, "Waar, mídh:aa tólow, xúunsho ayèy aragtay, xuunshádaa hád iyo góor dád uun kú dhówee!" 21. Marsaddexàadkí-ina, márkaasáy ú bogtay oo dhóosha ká qososháy oo wáy, wàa lays afgartay.

SENTENCES 2.1.-2.12

1. Cèel nín galáy bàa lagá wareystaa. 2. Dhalanteed harràad má ba'shó. 3. Hadal haamó má byuxshó. 4. Jír walálal má ahá ee jidlin bàa walálal áh. 5. Beení márka horé waa málab, márka dambána waa méleg. 6. Fúle wáx ká qoryó badán. 7. Beenaalé sáhan loo má diró. 8. Habár roob hayaa ínuu dád-kóo dhán wada hayaa bày mooodaa. 9. Labádíi iskú xantáy ha is xumáyn! 10. Oodá dhacameed síday ú kala sarreeyàan ayàa lóo guraa. 11. Nín hàa dhówi ma cìil beeló. 12. Shèyga dóqon la yíraa wúxuu yíraa, "Lay má dhaamó!"

TRANSLATION: 1.1.-1.21

1. They fled with her and travelled together homewards. 2. After the three of them had travelled together, following the road and spending a night on the journey, the dawn broke. 3. When the dawn broke Húuryo said "Let us rest!" 4. Then they sat down under a tree. 5. When they sat down and had remained seated for a while Húuryo said: "Well, let us rest!" 6. The man who was the son of a chieftain and had eloped with her said: "We are sitting, so how can we rest even more?" 7. Kabcalaf, though he was not escorting the girl for himself, was an eloquent man who

was very well acquainted with poetry and proverbs and the language which hides its depth. 8. Then Kabcalaf said: "Listen, maybe she is saying to us, 'Let us take off our sandals!'" 9. Then Huryo Ugaas, as she looked at Kabcalaf from the corner of her eye, showed that she was pleased with his words and that he had understood her. 10. Then they took off their sandals. 11. After they had sat for a while they got up. 12. After they had walked for a while she said: "And why don't we break our fast?" 13. Then the young man who was the son of a chieftain and to whom she was engaged said: "Is she mad? What shall we break our fast with? Is there any food here? Listen, let us go! Come away from this place!" 14. Kabcalaf said: "Maybe she is saying to us, 'Let us clean our teeth with tooth-brushing sticks.'" 15. Then, at that time also, as she looked at him from the corner of her eye as before, she was pleased again and smiled at him. 16. When the two events had occurred, the young man who was escorting the girl for himself immediately felt a little hurt about these two occasions on which he was outwitted and left behind, and his flesh hurt him. 17. When they had walked for a while Huryo said: "We have come to the settlement of some people!" 18. The young man again could not control himself and looked on every side. 19. Then as he failed to see anything, he said: "Is she mad? It is just a desolate place which can provide no help!" 20. Kabcalaf, after being silent for a while as was his way, said: "Listen, well, maybe she saw a xuunsho vulture. The xuunsho is always near people!" 21. Then for the third time she was pleased with this and smiled at him, and an understanding developed between them.

TRANSLATION 2.1.-2.12

1. One should enquire about a well from a man who has entered it. 2. A mirage does not quench thirst. 3. Words do not fill water-vessels. 4. Flesh is not a brother; it is the gullet that is a brother. 5. The first time, lies are money; the second time, they are death. 6. A coward has more rifles than anyone else. 7. One does not send a liar on reconnaissance. 8. An old woman on whom rain is falling imagines that it is falling on everyone. 9. O you two, whom people talk of as two friends, do not harm each other. 10. One picks up the thorny branches of an enclosure's entrance gate in the order in which they are placed. 11. A man who is always near to 'yes' does not ever rid himself of impotent anger. 12. The thing which is called 'fool' says: "No one is better than me!"

ANNOTATIONS 1.1-1.21

1.1 - 1.21 These sentences are an excerpt from a longer narrative which is a traditional story about Xirsi, the son of a chieftain who elopes with Huuryo, the daughter of another chieftain, and takes her on a long journey home where he intends to marry her. He is assisted in this bold enterprise by his friend Kabcalaf, a commoner. During their journey Hurryo, using allusive language, tests the intelligence of the two men. The use of allusive language for this and other purposes is a common practice in traditional Somali society, as is shown in AN 68b and AN and MU 66. A full version of the story, though not completely identical in its wording, is found in MO 67, pp. 28-31.

1.1.1 waa, pos.var. of waa¹ (ind.)

1.1.2 lá, pos.var. of la¹ (prep.ptc.) 'with', 'together with' which refers here to 'her' i.e. to Huuryo as the part of the story which precedes this sentence suggests; note that in Somali the 3sg.m., 3sg.f. and 3pl. forms of obj.pron.I and II are Ø (See AN 75a, pp. 4,5 and 10.

1.1.3 sóo (adv.ptc.) 'towards [what is regarded by the speaker at the particular time as the centre of attention]'; here the context suggests that the centre of attention is the home of the two men in the story

1.1.4 bexeen, 3pl. past gen.ext. of bax (Z) 'to come out'; the prep.ptc. la¹ which precedes the verb suggests the meaning 'to elope'

1.1.5 oo, pos.var. of oo¹ (conj.) 'and'

1.1.6 way = waa + ay

1.1.7 waa /1.1.1/

1.1.8 ay (3pl.subj.pron., case B) 'they'

1.1.9 isa, pos.var. of is (rec.pron., case A4) 'each other', 'one another'

1.1.10 sóo /1.1.3/

1.1.11 raaceen, 3pl.past.gen.ext. of raac (Z) 'to accompany'

1.2.1 sáddexdòdii.....dhexèen, nom.cl. in which haddii (in hadday) is the headword and dhexèen is the marker

1.2.2 sáddexdòdii, case B of sáddexdòdii (nom.aggr.Ib) 'the three of them'; cf. sáddex (card.num.f.) 'three', tóod¹ (3pl.poss.def.f.) 'their', 'of them' and tii, case B of tii (def.art.rem.) 'the'

1.2.3 hadday = haddii ay

1.2.4 haddii, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia) '[under] the condition', '[at] the time', '[after] the time', 'if', 'as', 'when', 'after'; note that this nom.aggr. occurs only as the headword of a nom.cl. which

describes the condition, the time or the circumstances of an event; cf. had (n.f.) 'condition', 'time' and tíi, case A of tíi / 1.2.2./

- 1.2.5 ay /1.1.8/ 'they' i.e. the three travellers
- 1.2.6 isa /1.1.9/
- 1.2.7 sóo /1.1.3/
- 1.2.8 raacèen, 3pl.past gen.dvg., case A of ràac (Z)/1.1.11/
- 1.2.9 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.2.10 jídká, case A of --- (nom.aggr.1a); cf. jíd (n.m.) 'path', 'way' and ka, case A of --- (def.art.gen.m.) 'the'
- 1.2.11 máreyàan, 3pl.pres.cnt.dvg., case A of már (Z) 'to pass'
- 1.2.12 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.2.13 habèen, case A⁴ of --- (n.m.) 'night'
- 1.2.14 sóo /1.1.3/
- 1.2.15 dhexèen, 3pl.past gen.dvg., case A of dháx (Z) 'to spend the night travelling', 'to spend the night away from home'
- 1.2.16 ayàa (ind.)
- 1.2.17 súbixíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.1a); cf. súbax (n.m.) 'morning' and kíi, case A of --- (def.art.rem.m.) 'the'
- 1.2.18 wáagii, case B of wáagíi (nom.aggr.1a); cf. wáa (n.m.) 'dawn' and kii, case B of kíi /1.2.17/
- 1.2.19 beryey, 3sg.m.past gen.ext. of béri (Z) 'to break' (said of dawn)
- 1.3.1 márkíi.....beryéy, nom.cl. in which márkíi is the headword and beryéy is the marker
- 1.3.2 márkíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.1a) 'the time', "[at] the time [when]"; cf. már (n.m.) 'time' and kíi /1.2.17/
- 1.3.3. wáagii /1.2.18/
- 1.3.4. beryéy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of béri (Z) /1.2.19/
- 1.3.5. ayèy = ayàa + ay
- 1.3.6 ayàa /1.2.16/
- 1.3.7 ay (3sg.f.subj.pron., case B1) 'she' i.e. Huuryo
- 1.3.8 Húuryo, case B1 of --- (n.f.) a woman's name
- 1.3.9 tíři, 3sg.f.past gen.ext. of yři (STR) 'to say'

- 1.3.10 aan (lpl.excl.subj.pron., case B1) 'we'; note that when used with optative verbal forms aan can be used instead of aynu (lpl.incl.subj.pron., case B1); here Huuryo expresses the wish that all the three of them should take a rest.
- 1.3.11 nasánno, lpl.optat. of nasó (AN) 'to take a rest', 'to rest'
- 1.4.1 márkaasàa = márkaasí + bàa or márkaas + bàa
- 1.4.2 ~~márkaasí~~ or márkaas, case A of --- (nom.aggr.1a), 'that time', '[at] that time', 'then'; cf. már (n.m.) /1.3.2/ and kaasí or kaas case A of --- (dem.m.) 'that'
- 1.4.3 bàa (ind.)
- 1.4.4 gèed, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'tree', '[in] the space under a tree'
- 1.4.5 la (impers.pron., case B1) 'someone', 'people', 'they'; here la refers to the three travellers in the story
- 1.4.6 fařiistay, 3sg.m.past gen.ext. of fařiisó (SAN) 'to sit down', 'to assume a sitting position'
- 1.4.7 márkaasàa.....fařiistay, 'then they sat under a tree'
- 1.5.1 márkíi.....fadh:iyyəy nom.cl. in which márkíi is the headword and fadh:iyyəy is the marker
- 1.5.2 márkíi /1.3.2/
- 1.5.3 la /1.4.5/
- 1.5.4 fařiistáy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of fařiisó (SAN)/1.4.6/
- 1.5.5 ee, pos.var. of ee¹ (or e¹) (conj.) 'and'
- 1.5.6 cabbàar, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'period of time'
- 1.5.7 la /1.4.5/
- 1.5.8 fadh:iyyəy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of fadh:i (Z) 'to sit', 'to remain in a sitting position'
- 1.5.9 ayàa /1.2.16/
- 1.5.10 Húuryo /1.3.8/
- 1.5.11 tiři /1.3.9/
- 1.5.12 dee (uncl.), an expletive word which in this context brings an element of urgency to the suggestion which follows
- 1.5.13 ina (lpl.incl.obj.pron.I) 'us', 'all of us'
- 1.5.14 nasíya, 2pl.imper. of nási (IN) 'to cause [someone] to take a rest'

- 1.5.15 ina nasiya, an idiomatic expression which means 'let us take a rest' (lit. 'cause us all to take a rest') and which has roughly the same meaning as aan nasáño /1.3.10/ and /1.3.11/
- 1.6.1 níńkíi.....tégéy, nom.cl. in which níńkíi is the headword and tégéy is the marker
- 1.6.2 níńkíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. nín (n.m.) 'man' and kíi /1.2.17/
- 1.6.3 ína boqór, nom.cl. in which ína is the headword and boqór is the marker
- 1.6.4 ína, case A2 of --- (n.m.) 'son'; note that this noun is used only in case A2 and is always followed by the proper name or the title of the person's father in case A5 or B2
- 1.6.5 boqór, case A5 of bóqor (n.m.) 'chieftain', 'king'
- 1.6.6 níńkíi ína boqór, note that this sequence is elliptical and that it would be more normal to say níńkíi ína boqór aháa 'the man who was a chieftain's son'
- 1.6.7 ee /1.5.5/
- 1.6.8 lá /1.1.2/
- 1.6.9 sóo /1.1.3/
- 1.6.10 tégéy 3sg.m.past cvg., case A of tág 'to go'
- 1.6.11 ee lá sóo tégéy, 'and who took her away [as his bride to be]', (lit. 'who went with her towards [home]')
- 1.6.12 bàa /1.4.3/
- 1.6.13 yĩrí, 3sg.m.past gen.res. of yĩri (STR) /1.3.9/
- 1.6.14 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.6.15 waaba = waa + ba
- 1.6.16 waa /1.1.1/
- 1.6.17 ba¹ (distr.ptc.), here: 'already'
- 1.6.18 fadh:inaayee = fadh:inaa ee
- 1.6.19 fadh:inaa, 1pl.pres.gen.ext. of fadh:i (2) /1.5.8/
- 1.6.20 ee /1.5.5/
- 1.6.21 innákôo fadh:í=ná, nom.cl. in which innáka (in innákôo) is the headword and fadh:í=ná the marker
- 1.6.22 innákôo = innáka ôo

- 1.6.23 innáka, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ic); cf. inna¹ (lpl.incl.subs. pron.) 'we', 'we all', 'us', 'all of us' and ka, case A of --- /1.2.10/; note that innáka is an optional alternative to innága
- 1.6.24 ôo, pos.var. of oo¹ /1.1.5/; in most contexts this conjunction means 'and' but when it is added directly to the headword of a nom.cl. it indicates that the verbal clause dependent on that headword is of appositional nature i.e. describes some attendant circumstance and does not define the headword. It thus corresponds to the English 'while' or 'as'. The nom.cl. innákôo fadh: í=á can be translated as 'we, while we are sitting' or 'we, as we are sitting'.
- 1.6.25 fadh:í=ná, lpl.gen.cvg., case A of fádhi (Z) /1.5.8/; note that the marker of a nom.cl. in which the conjunction oo¹ is added directly to the headword normally has case A form in all contexts. This may be due to the appositional nature of such constructions. Note that fadh:í=ná has an unusual accentual pattern, normally it would be fadh:iná
- 1.6.26 sidée, case A of --- (nom.aggr.IIa) 'which way?', 'how?'; cf. sí (n.f.) 'way', 'manner' and tée, case A of --- (inter.def.f.) 'which?'
- 1.6.27 bàynu = bàa + aynu
- 1.6.28 bàa /1.4.3/
- 1.6.29 aynu (lpl.incl.subj.pron., case B1) 'we', 'all of us'
- 1.6.30 ú, pos.var. of u¹ (prep.ptc.) 'in', 'according to'; note that ú refers here to sidée
- 1.6.31 nasannaa, lpl.pres.gen.ext. of nasó (AN) /1.3.11/; note that in question sentences the forms of the pres.gen. paradigms often have future time reference and indicate that the speaker wants to know whether something is possible or permissible
- 1.7.1 Kabcálaf, case A1 of --- (n.m.) a man's name
- 1.7.2 bàa /1.4.3/
- 1.7.3 Kabcálaf...yaaáan, note that this sentence has two indicators: bàa which emphasizes Kabcálaf and wáxa (in wúxuu) which emphasizes the complement of the verbal form ahaa 'was'. Such sentences, though they sometimes occur in leisurely narrative style, are not considered as optimally grammatical. Here it appears that the speaker changed his mind as to the construction he was about to use after he had uttered bàa. The remaining part of the sentence, which begins with wúxuu, forms a complete sentence which is grammatically unrelated to the first part.
- 1.7.4 wúxuu = wáxa uu
- 1.7.5 wáxa (ind.)
- 1.7.6 uu (3sg.m.subj.pron., case B1) 'he'

- 1.7.7 ahaa, 3sg.past gen.ext. of yəhay (STR) 'to be'
- 1.7.8 ín.....wadán, nom.cl. in which ín is the headword and wadán is the marker
- 1.7.9 ín, case A2 of --- (n.f.) 'period of time', 'amount', 'group'
- 1.7.10 kastòonú = kastá òonú = kastá ôo aan! + uu
- 1.7.11 kastá, case A of --- (attr.) 'every', 'each', 'all', 'whatever'
- 1.7.12 ôo, pos.var. of oo! /1.1.5/
- 1.7.13 aan! (neg.ptc.)
- 1.7.14 uu /1.7.6/
- 1.7.15 ín kastá ôo, this sequence, which cannot be translated literally, introduces in Somali concessive constructions and is equivalent to 'although' or 'even though'
- 1.7.16 aságu, case B of asága (nom.aggr.Ic); asa! (3sg.m.subs.pron.) 'he', 'him' and ku, case B of ka /1.2.10/; note that aságu is an optional alternative to iságu
- 1.7.17 gabádh:a, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. gabádh (n.f.) 'girl' and ta, case A of --- (def.art.gen.f.)
- 1.7.18 wadán, neg.pres.-past gen.dep., case A of wadó (AN) 'to drive for one's own benefit', 'to conduct for one's own benefit'
- 1.7.19 nín.....yāqāan, nom.cl. in which the headword is nín and the marker is yāqāan
- 1.7.20 nín, case A2 of --- (n.m.) 'man'
- 1.7.21 aftəhamá, pos.var. of aftəhamó, case A4 of aftəhámó (n.f.) 'eloquence', 'eloquent person or persons'
- 1.7.22 áh, pres.gen.cvg., case A of yəhay (STR) /1.7.7/
- 1.7.23 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.7.24 gábayga.....xiřánna = gábayga.....xiřán na
- 1.7.25 gábayga.....xiřán, nom.cl. in which two co-headwords, gábayga and maahmáahda are joined to another nom.cl., hádalka.....xiřán
- 1.7.26 gábayga, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. gábay (n.m.) the name of one of the most highly esteemed genres of Somali poetry or 'poetry' in general and ka /1.2.10/
- 1.7.27 iyo, pos.var. of iyo! (conj.) 'and'
- 1.7.28 maahmáahda, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. maahmáah (n.f.) 'proverb', 'proverbs' and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.7.29 iyo /1.7.27/

- 1.7.30 hádalka.....xiřán, a nom.cl. in which hádalka is the headword and xirán is the marker
- 1.7.31 hádalka, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); hádal (n.m.) 'speech', 'words' and ka /1.2.10/
- 1.7.32 hóosta, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. hóos (n.f.) 'bottom part [of something]', 'underneath' and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.7.33 ká, pos.var. of ka¹ (prep.ptc.) 'from', 'off'
- 1.7.34 xiřín, pres.gen.cvg., case A of --- (AN¹) 'to be shut', 'to be tied'
- 1.7.35 hóosta ká xiřán, 'which is shut off from the bottom part' i.e. which conceals its deep hidden meaning from the person who does not know how to decode it
- 1.7.36 na, pos.var. of na¹ (conj.) 'and', 'but'
- 1.7.37 ðad, case A4 of --- (adv.n.II) 'intensive manner', 'very much'
- 1.7.38 ú /1.6.30/; note that ú refers here to ðad, thus ðad ú 'in an intensive manner', 'thoroughly'
- 1.7.39 yaqáan, 3sg.m.pres.gen.cvg., case A of yiqiin (STR) 'to know'
- 1.8.1 márkaasaa /1.4.1/
- 1.8.2 Kabcalaf, case B1 of Kabcálaf /1.7.1/
- 1.8.3 yiři, 3sg.m.past gen.ext. of --- (STR) /1.3.9/
- 1.8.4 waar (r.i.) a word used to attract the attention of a man or men; it is translated here as 'listen!'; the use of this word indicates that Kabcalaf is addressing the other man
- 1.8.5 malaa = maláha
- 1.8.6 maláha, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia) 'the thought', 'the opinion', here 'perhaps', cf. mále (n.m.) 'thought', 'opinion' and ka /1.2.10/
- 1.8.7 wáxay = wáxa ay
- 1.8.8 wáxa /1.7.5/
- 1.8.9 ay /1.3.7/
- 1.8.10 ina /1.5.13/
- 1.8.11 lèedahay, 3sg.f.pres.gen.ext. of lèh (Z⁺) 'to be saying [something] to [someone]'; note that all forms of this verb are durational i.e. refer to a continuous action
- 1.8.12 aan /1.3.10/
- 1.8.13 kabáha, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. kabō (n.m.pl.) 'sandals',

'shoes', káb (n.f.) 'sandal', 'shoe' and ka /1.2.10/

- 1.8.14 iská = is ká
- 1.8.15 is (rec.pron., case A4) /1.1.9/
- 1.8.16 ká /1.7.33/
- 1.8.17 bixínno, lpl.optat. of bíxi (IN) 'to cause to come out', 'to remove'; when preceded by iská this verb means 'to take off [one's clothes, shoes etc.]'
- 1.9.1 mārkaasāa /1.4.1/
- 1.9.2 Huryó Ugaas, a nom.cl. in which the headword is Huryó and the marker is Ugaas
- 1.9.3 Huryó, case A2 of Huryo /1.3.8/
- 1.9.4 Ugaas, case B2 of Ugaas (n.m.) 'Chieftain' (a noun used here as the title of office of a particular person); cf. ugāas (n.m.) 'chieftain'; note that the noun form Ugaas is dependent on the noun form Huryó and means 'of Chieftain', 'Chieftain's'. In the Somali system of naming, a person's given name is followed by the name of the title of office of his or her father and Huryo's full name could be translated as 'Huryo [the daughter] of Chieftain'
- 1.9.5 sídāa.....eegtáy, a nom.cl. in which ínta (in íntay) is the headword and eegtáy is the marker
- 1.9.6 sídāa, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. sí /1.6.26/ and táa, case A of --- (dem.f.) 'that'; note that the expression sídāa 'that way' is characteristic of oral narrative style in Somali and indicates that normally the narrator would imitate in some way the action he describes
- 1.9.7 íntay = íntay ay
- 1.9.8 ínta, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. ín /1.7.9/ and ta /1.7.17/; ínta is the headword of a nominal cluster which contains verbal forms of dvg.paradigms and usually has the meaning 'as', 'while'
- 1.9.9 ay /1.3.7/
- 1.9.10 Kabcálaf, case A4 of --- (n.m.) /1.7.1/
- 1.9.11 ilqóodhna, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. ilqóodh (n.f.) 'outer corner of the eye' and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.9.12 ugá = u¹ + ka¹
- 1.9.13 u¹ /1.6.30/; u¹ refers here to sídāa
- 1.9.14 ka¹ /1.7.33/
- 1.9.15 eegtáy, 3sg.f.past gen.dvg., case A of èeg (Z) 'to look at'
- 1.9.16 ay /1.3.7/

- 1.9.17 tustay, 3sg.f.past gen.ext. of tús (Z) 'to show [something] to [someone]'
- 1.9.18 ín hádalk̐isíi; the narrator inadvertently omitted here the word ay. This sequence should be amended to ínay hádalk̐isíi
- 1.9.19 ínay.....gartáy, 'that she was pleased with his words and [that] he had understood her'; this is a structure which is referred to as 'para-nominal cluster' in AN 75a, p.16 and which is only marginally relevant to the study of the Somali case system; it assumed here that the headword is the decl.ptc. ín
- 1.9.20 ínay = ín.+ ay
- 1.9.21 ín (decl.ptc.) 'that'
- 1.9.22 ay /1.3.7/
- 1.9.23 hádalk̐isíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ib); cf. hádal /1.7.31/, k̐isí (3sg.m.poss.def.) 'his' and k̐í /1.2.17/; note that at this type of junction k̐í is replaced by -íi
- 1.9.24 ū, pos.var. of uí (prep.ptc.) which forms here part of a lexically interdependent phrase described in /1.9.26/
- 1.9.25 bogtáy, 3sg.f.past gen.dvg., case A of bōg (Z) which forms part of the phrase described in /1.9.26/
- 1.9.26 uí (prep.ptc.) ... bōg (Z) 'to be pleased with'; as in AN 75a the sign ... indicates that the two parts can be separated by other words
- 1.9.27 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.9.28 uu /1.7.6/
- 1.9.29 gartáy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of garó (AN) 'to understand', 'to recognise'
- 1.10.1 kabíhíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. kabō /1.8.13/ and k̐í /1.2.17/
- 1.10.2 bāa /1.4.3/
- 1.10.3 dabeetó (r.i.) 'afterwards', 'after that'; cf. dābo (n.f.) 'tail', 'behind', tēdí (3sg.f.poss.def.) 'her', 'its' and -to, a suffix which occurs with certain words denoting time, e.g. shálaytó 'yesterday', berrító 'tomorrow'
- 1.10.4 layská = la iská = la is + ká
- 1.10.5 la /1.4.5/
- 1.10.6 is /1.1.9/
- 1.10.7 ká /1.7.33/

- 1.10.8 bixiyey, 3sg.past gen.ext. of bíxi (IN) /1.8.17/
- 1.11.1 ín.....fadh:iýéy, nom.cl. in which haddíi is the headword and fadh:iýéy is the marker
- 1.11.2 ín.....áh, nom.cl. in which ín is the headword and áh is the marker
- 1.11.3 ín /1.7.9/
- 1.11.4 dòor, case A4 of --- (n.m.)~'a substantial amount [of something]', 'a fairly long period of time'
- 1.11.5 áh /1.7.22/
- 1.11.6 haddíi /1.2.4/
- 1.11.7 la /1.4.5/
- 1.11.8 fadh:iýéy /1.5.8/
- 1.11.9 ayàa /1.2.16/
- 1.11.10 la /1.4.5/
- 1.11.11 kacay, 3sg.m.past gen.ext. of kác (Z) 'to rise', 'to get up'
- 1.12.1 mǎrkíi.....sqcdéy, nom.cl. in which mǎrkíi is the headword and sqcdéy is the marker
- 1.12.2 mǎrkíi /1.3.2/
- 1.12.3 cabbàar /1.5.6/
- 1.12.4 la /1.4.5/
- 1.12.5 sqcdéy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of socó (ON) 'to proceed', 'to move (intrans.)'; note that when the forms of the past gen.paradigm have vowels of the 'front series' (as defined in AN 64, pp. 107-109 and marked by a cedilla under the first vowel letter) in this verb they are durational i.e. refer to an action of a continuous nature
- 1.12.6 ayèy /1.3.5/
- 1.12.7 tiř /1.3.9/
- 1.12.8 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.12.9 mǎyru = ma¹ + aynu
- 1.12.10 ma¹ (ind.)
- 1.12.11 aynu /1.6.29/
- 1.12.12 afúrro, 1pl.rhet. of áfur (Z) 'to have food for the first time after a relatively long period', 'to have breakfast', 'to have the first evening meal during the Muslim fast of Ramadan'; cf. áf

(n.m.) 'mouth' and fúr (Z) 'to open'; sentences containing forms of the rhet. paradigm are positive rhetorical questions implying suggestion or encouragement but the nearest idiomatic translation of maynu afúrró would be 'why don't we have breakfast?'

- 1.13.1 mārkaasāa /1.4.1/
- 1.13.2 wīilkīi.....doonnanayd, nom.cl. in which wīilkīi is the headword and doonnanayd is the marker
- 1.13.3 wīilkīi ina boqór, this sequence is elliptical and under optimal conditions would be wīilkīi ina boqór ahāa 'the young man who was the son of a chieftain'
- 1.13.4 wīilkīi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. wīil (n.m.) 'young man', 'boy' and kīi /1.2.17/
- 1.13.5 ina /1.6.4/
- 1.13.6 boqór /1.6.5/
- 1.13.7 ee /1.5.5/
- 1.13.8 ay /1.3.7/
- 1.13.9 ū, pos.var. of u! (prep.ptc.) 'to'; for other meanings of u! see /1.6.30/, /1.9.24/ and /1.16.26/
- 1.13.10 doonnanayd, 3sg.f.past gen.cvg., case B of doonnān (R-AN[†]) 'to be engaged' (said only of a woman)
- 1.13.11 yīři /1.8.3/
- 1.13.12 miyèy = miyāa + ay
- 1.13.13 miyāa (ind.)
- 1.13.14 ay /1.3.7/
- 1.13.15 waalāntey, an optional form of waalāntahay, 3sg.f.pres.gen.ext. of waalān (AN[†]) 'to be mad'; note that in the official orthography waalāntahay would be written as waalan tahay
- 1.13.16 oo/1.1.5/
- 1.13.17 maxāynu = maxāy + bāa + aynu
- 1.13.18 maxāy (inter.w.II) 'what?'
- 1.13.19 bāa /1.4.3/
- 1.13.20 aynu /1.6.29/
- 1.13.21 kú, pos.var. of ku! (prep.ptc.) 'with', 'by means of'
- 1.13.22 afurnaa, IpI.pres.gen.ext. of áfur (Z) /1.12.12/; note that this verb is intransitive in Somali in view of its etymology and thus the literal translation of maxāynu kú afurnaa would be 'what shall

we have breakfast with?' i.e. 'what shall we have for breakfast?'

- 1.13.23 ma, pos.var. of ma¹ (ind.)
- 1.13.24 sóor, case A1 of --- (n.f.) 'food'
- 1.13.25 bàa /1.4.3/
- 1.13.26 méesha, case A of --- (nom.aggr.1a); cf. méel (n.f.) 'place' and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.13.27 táal, 3sg.f.pres.gen.res. of yil (STR) ('to be [in a place]') -
- 1.13.28 naa (r.1.) a word used to attract the attention of a woman or women; it is translated here as 'listen'; the use of this word implies that Hyuryo is being addressed
- 1.13.29 ina kèen, idiomatic expression which means 'let us go', lit. 'bring us all'
- 1.13.30 ina /1.5.13/
- 1.13.31 kèen, 2sg.imper. of --- (Z) 'to bring'
- 1.13.32 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.13.33 méesha /1.13.26/
- 1.13.34 ká /1.7.33/
- 1.13.35 sóo /1.1.3/
- 1.13.36 socó, 2sg.imper. of --- (ON) /1.12.5/
- 1.14.1 Kabcálaf /1.7.1/
- 1.14.2 bàa /1.4.3/
- 1.14.3 yĩrf /1.6.13/
- 1.14.4 waar /1.8.4/
- 1.14.5 malàa /1.8.5/
- 1.14.6 ayuu /1.6.29/
- 1.14.7 rumayáanno, 1pl.optat. of rumayó (AN) 'to brush one's ~~teeth~~ with a rúmay'; rúmay or cūday (n.m.) is a small stick at one end of which the fibres are split thus forming a kind of brush. In the traditional Somali life the use of such a brush forms part of daily hygiene and is believed to have a refreshing effect.
- 1.14.8 ayèy /1.3.5/
- 1.14.9 lèedahay /1.8.11/
- 1.15.1 márkaasàa /1.4.1/

- 1.15.2 mārka, Case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. mār /1.3.2/ and ka /1.2.10/; note, however, that this word should be regarded as deleted from the text since it is obvious from what follows it that the narrator changed his mind as to the structure of the sentence
- 1.15.3 mārkaana = mārkaa + na
- 1.15.4 mārkaa, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. mār /1.3.2/ and káa, case A of --- (dem.m.) 'that'
- 1.15.5 na /1.7.35/
- 1.15.6 íntay.....eegtáy, nom.cl. in which ínta (in íntay) is the headword and eegtáy is the marker
- 1.15.7 íntay /1.9.7/
- 1.15.8 sídāa /1.9.6/
- 1.15.9 íshōo kalé, nom.cl. in which ísha (in íshōo) is the headword and kalé is the marker
- 1.15.10 íshōo = ísha ōo
- 1.15.11 ísha, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. íl (n.f.) 'eye' and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.15.12 ōo, pos.var. of oo! /1.1.5/
- 1.15.13 kalé, case A of --- (attr.) 'which is other', 'which is another'
- 1.15.14 ísha ōo kalé; note that the sequences X + oo! + kale!, in which X represents any nom.aggr. of type I, have the meaning 'another one like X', e.g. mīndídān ōo kalé 'another [knife] like this knife' (lit. 'this knife while it is another'); in this context the meaning is that Huuryo looked out of the eye which was 'like the other' i.e. like the eye out of the corner of which she looked on the occasion described in /1.9.11/; another possible interpretation is that the narrator at this point imitates with his own eye the way Huuryo looked at Kabcalaf
- 1.15.15 ugá = u! + ka!
- 1.15.16 u! /1.9.13/
- 1.15.17 ka! /1.7.33/
- 1.15.18 eegtáy /1.9.15/
- 1.15.19 ayèy /1.3.5/
- 1.15.20 háddana (r.i.) 'again'; this word is most probably connected with hád /1.20.19/, ta /1.7.17/ and na! /1.7.36/
- 1.15.21 á /1.9.24/
- 1.15.22 bōgtay, 3sg.f.past gen.ext. of bōg (Z) /1.9.25/

- 1.15.23 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.15.24 dhóosha, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. dhóol (n.f.) 'second incisor' (counting from the centre of the mouth) and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.15.25 ugá /1.15.15/
- 1.15.26 qososhay, 3sg.f.past gen.ext. of qósol (Z) 'to laugh'
- 1.15.27 dhóosha (nom.aggr.Ia) ... ka¹ (prep.ptc.) ... qósol (Z), lexically interdependent phrase) 'to smile'
- 1.16.1 márkay.....dhecèn, nom.cl. in which márka ((in márkay) is the headword and dhecèn is the marker
- 1.16.2 márkay = márka ay
- 1.16.3 márka, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia) 'the time', "[at] the time [when]"; cf. már /1.3.2/ and ka /1.2.10/
- 1.16.4 ay /1.1.8/, referring here to labáda arrin
- 1.16.5 labáda arrin, nom.cl. in which labáda is the headword and arrin is the marker
- 1.16.6 labáda, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. lába (card.num.f.) 'two' and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.16.7 arrin, case B2 of árrin (n.m.) 'matter', 'event'; note that árrin (n.m.) is an optional alternative of arrín (n.f.), with the same meaning
- 1.16.8 dhecèn, 3pl.past gen.dvg., case A of dhác (Z) 'to fall', 'to occur'
- 1.16.9 ayàa /1.2.16/
- 1.16.10 wìilkíi.....wàtey, nom.cl. in which wìilkíi is the headword and wàtey is the marker
- 1.16.11 wìilkíi /1.13.4/
- 1.16.12 gabádh:a /1.7.17/
- 1.16.13 wàtey, 3sg.m.past gen.cvg., case B of wadó (AN) /1.7.18/
- 1.16.14 labáda.....dhacáy, nom.cl. in which labáda is the headword and dhacáy is the marker
- 1.16.15 labáda /1.16.6/
- 1.16.16 arrín, case A5 of árrin /1.16.7/
- 1.16.17 ee /1.5.5/
- 1.16.18 lugú = lagú = la + ku¹

- 1.16.19 la /1.4.5/; here la refers to Huuryo and Kabcalaf
- 1.16.20 ku¹ /1.13.21/
- 1.16.21 xadáy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of xád (Z) 'to steal'; note that in Somali when what is stolen is not specified the word denoting the victim of the theft is the direct object of the verb xád, e.g. waa la i xaday 'I had things stolen from me' (lit. 'someone stole [things from] me'); in the context of this line the theft is metaphorical and consists of the victim being deprived of the benefit of participation on equal terms in the conversation through Huuryo's use of allusive diction
- 1.16.22 ee /1.5.5/
- 1.16.23 uu /1.7.6/
- 1.16.24 dǫb, case A4 --- (n.m.) 'backside', 'rump', 'behind' (a term denoting spacial relation)
- 1.16.25 ugá = u¹ + ka¹
- 1.16.26 u¹ (prep.ptc.) 'to', 'towards'; for other uses of this prep.ptc. see /1.6.30/ and /1.9.24/
- 1.16.27 ka¹ /1.7.33/
- 1.16.28 dhacáy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of dhác (Z) /1.16.8/
- 1.16.29 ee.....dhacáy, 'and in relation to which he was left behind' (lit. 'and from which he fell behind'); the reference here is to his inability to cope with Huuryo's allusive speech which Kabcalaf, his peer in age and sex, decoded with ease
- 1.16.30 dúrba (i.r.) 'immediately', 'very soon'
- 1.16.31 ká /1.7.33/; note, however, that in this context the most appropriate translation would be 'on account of [them]', 'because of [them]
- 1.16.32 yār (r.i.) 'a little', 'slightly'
- 1.16.33 damqaday, 3sg.m.past gen.ext. of damqó (AN) 'to feel pain'
- 1.16.34 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.16.35 jǫrkǫisii, case B of jǫrkǫsii (nom.aggr.Ib); cf. jǫř (n.m.) 'flesh', kǫis¹ (3sg.m.pos.def.) 'his' and kii, case B of kǫi /1.2.17/
- 1.16.36 damqaday /1.16.33/
- 1.17.1 haddǫi.....sqcdéy, nom.cl. in which haddǫi is the headword and sqcdéy is the marker
- 1.17.2 haddǫi /1.2.4/

- 1.17.3 ín.....áh, nom.cl. in which ín is the headword and áh is the marker
- 1.17.4 ín /1.7.9/
- 1.17.5 cabbàar /1.5.6/
- 1.17.6 áh /1.7.22/
- 1.17.7 la /1.4.5/
- 1.17.8 sqcdéy /1.12.5/
- 1.17.9 ayàa /1.2.16/
- 1.17.10 Húuryo /1.3.8/
- 1.17.11 wáxay = waxa ay
- 1.17.12 wáxa /1.7.5/
- 1.17.3 ay /1.3.7/
- 1.17.14 tiři /1.3.9/
- 1.17.15 cíd, case A1 of --- (n.f.sg. or coll.) 'person,' 'people'
- 1.17.16 bàynu /1.6.27/
- 1.17.17 ú, pos.var. of u¹ (prep.ptc.) 'to'; cf. /1.6.30/ and /1.9.26/
- 1.17.18 sáo (adv.ptc.), part of a lexically interdependent phrase described in /1.17.20/; cf./1.1.3/
- 1.17.19 gallay or galnay, lp.past.gen.ext. of gál (Z), part of a lexically interdependent phrase described in /1.17.20/
- 1.17.20 sáo (adv.ptc.) ... gál (Z) 'to come home', 'to come home for the night', 'to arrive at a place in expectation of hospitality'; note that in the Somali nomadic interior hospitality to travellers is regarded as a sacred duty
- 1.17.21 cíd.....gallay, 'we have come to some people in expectation of hospitality'
- 1.18.1 wjilki /1.13.4/
- 1.18.2 baa /1.4.3/
- 1.18.3 nádsana /1.15.20/
- 1.18.4 íntuu.....wqayéy, nom.cl. in which ínta (in íntuu) is the headword and wqayéy is the marker
- 1.18.5 íntuu = ínta uu
- 1.18.6 ínta /1.9.8/

- 1.18.7 uu /1.7.6/
- 1.18.9 is /1.1.9/
- 1.18.10 haysán, inf.dep. of haysó (IN/SAN) 'to hold for oneself', 'to control'
- 1.18.11 kári, inf.dep. of kár (Z) 'to be able'; note that kári is used here as an auxiliary verb in relation to haysán.
- 1.18.12 wəyǎ́y, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of wəa (Z) 'to fail'; note that wəyǎ́y is used as an auxiliary verb in relation to kári
- 1.18.13 dhán, case A2 of --- (n.m.) 'side', 'direction'
- 1.18.14 wálba = wál + ba!
- 1.18.15 wál, case A of --- (attr.) 'each', 'any'
- 1.18.16 ba! (distr.ptc.) 'each'; note that ba! merely reinforces the meaning of wál; cf. /1.6.17/ and /1.19.17/
- 1.18.17 eegáy, 3sg.m.past gen.res. of èeg (Z) /1.9.15/
- 1.19.1 márkaasùu = márkaasàa + uu
- 1.19.2 márkaasàa /1.4.1/
- 1.19.3 uu /1.7.6/
- 1.19.4 íntuu.....wəyǎ́y, nom.cl. in which the headword is inta (in íntuu) and the marker is wəyǎ́y
- 1.19.5 íntuu /1.18.5/
- 1.19.6 wǎxbá = wǎx + ba!
- 1.19.7 wǎx, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'thing', 'things', 'person', 'persons'
- 1.19.8 ba! /1.18.16/, here: 'any'
- 1.19.9 áarki, inf.dep. of árag (Z) 'to see'
- 1.19.10 wəyǎ́y /1.18.12/; note that wəyǎ́y is used as an auxiliary verb in relation to áarki
- 1.19.11 yiři /1.8.3/
- 1.19.12 waar /1.8.4/
- 1.19.13 miyèy /1.13.12/
- 1.19.14 waalántey /1.13.15/
- 1.19.15 oo /1.1.5/

- 1.19.16 waa /1.1.1/
- 1.19.17 ba, pos.var. of ba¹ /1.6.17/, here: 'just', 'merely'
- 1.19.18 cidlá.....lé'ee = cidlá.....lá' ee
- 1.19.19 cidlá.....lá', nom.cl. in which cidlá is the headword and lá' is the marker
- 1.19.20 cidlá, case A2 of --- (n.f.) 'uninhabited place'
- 1.19.21 cíirsi, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'support', 'help'
- 1.19.22 lá', prés.ge.cvg., case A of --- (A[†]) 'to be without', 'not to have'
- 1.19.23 ee /1.5.5/; here ee conveys the notion of causality: the chief-tain's son's critical comment on Hyuryo's statement was caused by the fact that he could not see anything which would suggest that the area was inhabited
- 1.20.1 Kabcálaf /1.7.1/
- 1.20.2 baa /1.4.3/
- 1.20.3 íntuu.....aammusáy, nom.cl. in which ínta (in íntuu) is the headword and aammusáy is the marker
- 1.20.4 íntuu /1.18.5/
- 1.20.5 síd̥isíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ib); cf. sí /1.6.26/, t̥isí¹ (3sg.m.poss.def.) 'his' and t̥íi, case A of --- (def.art.rem.) 'the'; the meaning of this nom.aggr. here is '[in] his [usual] way'
- 1.20.6 cabbàar /1.5.6/
- 1.20.7 aammusáy, 3sg.m.past gen.dvg., case A of áammus (Z) 'to become silent'
- 1.20.8 yiří /1.6.13/
- 1.20.9 wear /1.8.4/
- 1.20.10 m̥ídh:aa or m̥índhaa (r.i.) 'perhaps'
- 1.20.11 t̥élow (r.i.) an exclamatory word expressing perplexity or surprise, but sometimes used as a mere expletive, cf. t̥ól (n.m.) 'the bond of kinship', 'kinsfolk' and -ow (suffixal vocative particle 1)
- 1.20.12 x̥g̥unsho, case A1 of --- (n.f.) species of vulture which scavenges around human habitations
- 1.20.13 ayèy /1.3.5/
- 1.20.14 aragtay, 3sg.f.past gen.ext. of árag (Z) /1.19.9/
- 1.20.15 x̥yunshádàa = x̥yunsháda + baa

- 1.20.16 xyunsháda, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. xýunsho /1.20.12/ and ta /1.7.17/
- 1.20.17 baa /1.4.3/
- 1.20.18 hád iyo góor, nom.cl. in which the co-headwords are hád and góor
- 1.20.19 hád, case A2 of --- (n.f.) 'time'; note that this is a different word from had (n.f.) /1.2.4/ and when it occurs as the first component of a nom.aggr.Ia it has the meaning 'present time'
- 1.20.20 iyo, pos.var. of iyo¹ /1.7.27/
- 1.20.21 góor, case A4 of --- (n.f.) 'time', 'occasion'
- 1.20.22 hád iyo góor, 'time and time' i.e. 'always'
- 1.20.23 dád, case A4 of --- (n.m.coll.) 'people'
- 1.20.24 uun, pos.var. of uun¹ (r.i.) 'just', 'simply'; note that this word is sometimes used merely to introduce an element of suspense, surprise or novelty into the narrative
- 1.20.25 kú, pos.var. of ku¹ (prep.ptc.) 'to'; for another meaning of this prep.ptc. see /1.13.21/
- 1.20.26 dhówee = dhów ee
- 1.20.27 dhów, pres.gen.res. of --- (Z[†]) 'to be near'
- 1.20.28 ee /1.5.5/; note that here the notion of causality is involved: if Huuryo saw the bird she would know that human settlements were near because of the well-known habits of the bird
- 1.21.1 mar saddexâadkíina = marsaddexâadkíi + na
- 1.21.2 marsaddexâadkíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. marsaddexâad (n.m.) 'third time' and kíi /1.2.17/; note that marsaddexâad is a compound noun in which the first component is már /1.3.2/ and saddexâad (ord.num.) 'third'
- 1.21.3 na /1.7.36/
- 1.21.4 márkaasây = márkaasâa + ay
- 1.21.5 márkaasâa /1.4.1/
- 1.21.6 ay /1.3.7/
- 1.21.7 ú /1.9.24/
- 1.21.8 bogtay, 3sg.f.past gen.ext. of bóg (Z) which forms part of a lexically interdependent phrase described in /1.9.26/
- 1.21.9 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.21.10 dhóosha /1.15.24/

- 1.21.11 ká /1.7.33/
- 1.21.12 qososhay /1.15.26/
- 1.21.13 dhóosha ká qososhay, /1.15.27/
- 1.21.14 oo /1.1.5/
- 1.21.15 wáy /1.1.6/; note however that wáy should be regarded here as deleted, since it is obvious that the narrator changed his mind and replaced it by waa
- 1.21.16 waa, pos.var. of waa¹ /1.1.1/
- 1.21.17 lays = la is
- 1.21.18 la /1.4.5/; here la refers to Huuryo and Kabcalaf only
- 1.21.19 is /1.1.9/; here: 'each other'
- 1.21.20 afgartay, 3sg.m.past gen.ext. of afgaró (AN) 'to understand someone's language', also: 'to understand very well'; note that later in the story Huuryo manages to persuade her fiancé and the elders of his clan to release her from her engagement and to allow her to marry Kabcalaf to whom she becomes a devoted wife

ANNOTATIONS: 2.1-2.12

2.1 - 2.12 These sentences are proverbs.

- 2.1.1 cèel, case A₄ of --- (n.m.) 'well'; note that some Somali wells are very large and deep and have access ladders or stairs which can be dangerous to a person not acquainted with their layout and strength
- 2.1.2 nín galáy, nom.cl. in which nín is the headword and galáy is the marker; 'a man who entered it'
- 2.1.3 nín, case A₂ of --- /1.6.2/
- 2.1.4 galáy, 3sg.m.past gen.cvg., case A of gál (Z) 'to enter'; note that the absence of an explicit object of galáy within the nom. cl. nín galáy is interpreted here as 'it', as the context suggests, since in Somali the 3sg.m., 3sg.f. and 3pl. forms of obj.pron.I and II are Ø (cf. /1.1.2/)
- 2.1.5 baa /2.4.3/
- 2.1.6 lagá = la + ka¹
- 2.1.7 la /1.4.5/
- 2.1.8 ka¹ (prep.ptc.) 'about', 'concerning'; for other meanings of this prep.ptc. see /1.7.33/ and /1.8.17/; ka¹ refers here to cèel
- 2.1.9 wareystaa, 3sg.pres.gen.ext. of wareysó (AYN/SAN) 'to ask for information', 'to question'

- 2.2.1 dhalanteed, case B1 of dhalantèed (n.m.) 'mirage'
- 2.2.2 harràad, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'thirst'
- 2.2.3 má, pos.var. of ma¹ /1.13.23/
- 2.2.4 ba'shó or bi'iyó, 3sg.m.neg.pres.gen. of bí'i (IN) 'to obliterate', 'to remove', 'to quench'
- 2.3.1 hadal, case B1 of hádal /1.7.31/
- 2.3.2 haamǒ, case A4 of --- (n.m.pl.) 'large water containers used in the nomadic interior'; cf. háan (n.f.), sg.form of haamǒ
- 2.3.3. má /2.2.3/
- 2.3.4 byuxshó or byuxiyó, 3sg.m.neg.pres.gen. of bǫuxi (IN) 'to fill'
- 2.4.1 jǐř case B1 of jǐř /1.16.35/, symbolizing here the ties of kinship
- 2.4.2 walǎal, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'brother'
- 2.4.3 má /2.2.3/
- 2.4.4. ahá, 3sg.m.neg.pres.gen. of yǎhay (STR) /1.7.7/
- 2.4.5. ee /1.5.5/
- 2.4.6 jidîn, case A1 of --- (n.m.) 'gullet', symbolizing here food or the necessity to eat
- 2.4.7 bàa /1.4.3/
- 2.4.8 walǎal /2.4.2/
- 2.4.9 áh, pres.gen.res. of yǎhay (STR) /1.7.7/
- 2.4.10 jǐř.....áh, the literal translation of this proverb would be 'flesh is not a brother but the gullet is a brother'
- 2.5.1 beeni, case B1 of BEEN (n.f.) 'lie', 'lies', 'falsehood'
- 2.5.2 márka horé, nom.cl. in which márka is the headword and horé is the marker
- 2.5.3 márka, case A of --- (nom.aggr.1a); cf. már /1.3.2/ and ka /1.2.10/
- 2.5.4. horé, case A of --- (attr.) 'which is first', 'which is earlier'
- 2.5.5. waa /1.1.1/
- 2.5.6 máláb, case A1 of --- (n.m.) 'honey'
- 2.5.7 márka dambána = márka dambé na

- 2.5.8 mārka dambé, nom.cl. in which mārka is the headword and dambé is the marker
- 2.5.9 mārka /2.5.3/
- 2.5.10 dambé, case A of --- (attr.) 'which is later', 'which is after', 'which is behind'
- 2.5.11 na /1.7.36/
- 2.5.12 waa /1.1.1/
- 2.5.13 mēleg, case A1 of --- (n.m.) 'death'
- 2.6.1 fūle, case B1 of --- (n.m.) 'coward'
- 2.6.2 wāx, case A4 of --- (n.m.) /1.19.7/
- 2.6.3 ká, pos.var. of ka¹ (prep.ptc.) used here as the sign expressing the comparative degree; for other uses of ka¹ see /2.1.8/ etc.
- 2.6.4 qqoryō, case A4 of --- (n.m.pl.) 'rifles', 'sticks', 'weapons'; cf. qōri (n.m.) sg. form of qqoryō.
- 2.6.5 badán, comp.pres. of --- (AN[†]) 'to have many', 'to have much'
- 2.6.6 wāx ká qqoryō badán, 'has more weapons than [any other] person'
- 2.7.1 beenaalé, case A4 of beenáale (n.m.) 'liar'
- 2.7.2 sáhan, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'reconnaissance looking for good grazing land or water'
- 2.7.3 loc = la + u¹
- 2.7.4 la /1.4.5/
- 2.7.5 u¹ (prep.ptc.) 'to', 'for'; for other uses of this prep.ptc. see /1.6.30/, /1.9.24/ and /1.16.26/
- 2.7.6 má /2.2.3/
- 2.7.7 dírō, 3sg.m.neg.pres.gen. of dír (Z) 'to send'
- 2.8.1 habár.....hayaa, nom.cl. in which habár is the headword and hayaa is the marker
- 2.8.2 habér, case A2 of --- (n.f.) 'old woman'
- 2.8.3 roob, case B1 of ròob (n.m.) 'rain'; note that rain is regarded by nomadic pastoralists as a great blessing and is often used as a symbol of prosperity
- 2.8.4 hayaa, 3sg.m.pres.gen.dvg., case B of háy (IN) 'to hold', 'to continue to fall upon [something or someone]' (said of rain)
- 2.8.5 ínnu.....hayaa, para-nom.cl. in which ín (in ínnu) is the headword and hayaa is the marker

- 2.8.6 ínnu = ín + uu
- 2.8.7 ín (decl.ptc.) 'that'
- 2.8.8 uu /1.7.6/
- 2.8.9 dádkaôo dhán, nom.cl. in which dádka (in dádkaôo) is the headword and dhán is the marker
- 2.8.10 dádkaôo = dádka ôo
- 2.8.11 dádka, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. dád /1.20.23/ and ka /1.2.10/
- 2.8.12 ôo /1.6.24/
- 2.8.13 dhán, pres.gen.cvg., case A of --- (Z⁺) 'to be all', 'to be complete'
- 2.8.14 wada (adv.ptc.) 'together', 'altogether'
- 2.8.15 hayaa, 3sg.m.pres.gen.dvg., case B of háy (IN) /2.8.4/; note that here case B is an optional alternative to case A, since the indicator baa follows immediately (see the section on 'Anomalies'). Such optional alternative case B forms are also possible in paranominal clusters headed by ín when these clusters express a wish, intention or obligation, even if the indicator baa does not follow immediately.
- 2.8.16 báy = baa + ay
- 2.8.17 baa /1.4.3/
- 2.8.18 ay /1.3.7/
- 2.8.19 mǝoddaa, 3sg.f.pres.gen.ext. of mǝod (Z) 'to imagine [that something is what it is not]', 'to think erroneously'
- 2.9.1 labádíi.....xantáy = labádíi.....xantáy + -aay
- 2.9.2 labádíi.....xantáy, nom.cl. in which labádíi is the headword and xantáy is the marker
- 2.9.3 labádíi, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. lába (card.num.f.) /1.16.6/ and tǝi /1.2.2/
- 2.9.4 layskú = la iskú = la is + ku¹
- 2.9.5 la /1.4.5/
- 2.9.6 is (rec.pron.) which forms here part of a lexically interdependent sequence described in /2.9.8/; see also /1.1.9/
- 2.9.7 ku¹ (prep.ptc.) which forms here part of a lexically interdependent sequence described in /2.9.8/; see also /1.13.21/
- 2.9.8 is (rec.pron.) :: ku¹ (prep.ptc.) 'together', 'jointly', 'in the same manner', 'on the same occasion'

- 2.9.9 xantáy, 3sg.m.past.gen.dvg., case A of xamó (AN) 'to speak about someone in his absence'; note that this verb has no Pejorative meaning
- 2.9.10 labádíi.....xantáy, 'the two [persons] about whom people have talked jointly in their absence' i.e. 'the two [persons] who have acquired the reputation of being friends or associates'
- 2.9.11 -aay (vocative suffixed particle, set Ib); note that this particle refers to the headword of the nom.cl. labádíi.....xantáy but it is suffixed to its marker
- 2.9.12 ha, pos.var. of ha¹ (ind.)
- 2.9.13 is /1.1.9/
- 2.9.14 xumáyn, 2sg.neg.imper. of xumêe (Z⁺/AYN) 'to treat badly'; note that in traditional Somali ethics loyalty to one's friends and associates in any venture of cooperation is highly valued and any departure from this moral principle can seriously damage one's reputation and lead to avoidance by the community
- 2.10.1 oodá.....dhacaméed, nom.cl. in which oodá is the headword and dhacaméed is the marker
- 2.10.2 oodá, pos.var. of oodó, case A2 of oodō (n.m.pl.) 'branches of thorn trees out of which fences are made in the nomadic interior' cf. óod (n.f.) sg.form of oodō, also 'fence made out of such branches'
- 2.10.3 dhacaméed, case A5 of dhacán (n.f.) 'gate barrier to an enclosure which consists of thorny branches put in layers on top of each other'
- 2.10.4 síday.....sarreeyàan, nom.cl. in which sída (in síday) is the headword and sarreeyàan is the marker
- 2.10.5 síday = sída ay
- 2.10.6 sída, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. sí /1.6.26/, here: 'order', and ta/1.7.17/
- 2.10.7 ay /1.1.8/
- 2.10.8 ú /1.6.30/
- 2.10.9 kala (adv.ptc.) 'apart', 'individually', 'separately'
- 2.10.10 sarreeyàan, 3pl.pres.gen.dvg. case A of sarrêe (AYN) 'to be above', 'to be on top'
- 2.10.11 kala sarreeyàan, 'are individually above [each other]'
- 2.10.12 ayàa /1.2.16/
- 2.10.13 lóo = la + u¹

- 2.10.14 la /1.4.5/
- 2.10.15 u¹ /1.6.30/
- 2.10.16 guraa, 3sg.m.pres.gen.ext. of gúr (Z) 'to pick up'; when one opens the entrance to an enclosure one picks up the thorny branches of the gate barrier one by one, starting from the top
- 2.11.1 ~~nín~~.....dhowi, nom.cl. in which nín is the headword and dhowi is the marker
- 2.11.2 nín, case A2 of --- /1.6.2/
- 2.11.3 hăa (r.i.) 'yes'
- 2.11.4 dhowi, pres.gen.cvg., case B of dhôw (Z[†]) /1.20.27/
- 2.11.5 hăa dhowi, 'who is near to "yes"' i.e. who tends always to say 'yes'
- 2.11.6 má /2.2.3/
- 2.11.7 cîil, case A4 of --- (n.m.) 'impotent anger', 'deep resentment'
- 2.11.8 beelô, 3sg.m.neg.gen.pres. of bēel (Z) 'to become deprived of [something]', 'to get rid of'; note that the object of the verb bēel always occurs in preverbal position (as defined in ZH 71, p. 220) i.e. it occurs immediately before the verb without the possibility of any other word intervening
- 2.12.1 shěyga.....yĩraa, nom.cl. in which shěyga is the headword and yĩraa is the marker
- 2.12.2 shěyga, case A of --- (nom.aggr.Ia); cf. shěy (n.m.) 'thing', 'person' and ka /1.2.10/
- 2.12.3 dóqon (n.m.) 'fool'
- 2.12.4 la /1.4.5/
- 2.13.5 yĩraa or yĩraahdaa, 3sg.pres.gen.dvg., case B of yĩri (STR) /1.3.9/ here: 'to call'
- 2.13.6 wúxuu /1.7.4/
- 2.13.7 yĩraa or yĩraahdaa, 3sg.m.pres.gen.ext. of yĩri (STR) /1.3.9/
- 2.13.8 lay = la i
- 2.13.9 la /1.4.5/
- 2.13.10 i (1sg.obj.pron.I, case A4) 'me'
- 2.13.11 má /2.2.3/
- 2.13.12 dhaamó, 3sg.m.neg.pres.gen. of dhăan (Z) 'to be better than'

2.13.13 lay má dhaamó, 'people are not better than me' i.e. 'no one is better than me'

PART V. PARALLELS IN OROMO AND PARANILOTIC LANGUAGES

While in the preceding sections the Somali case system was surveyed in detail, the observations presented in this section are more in the nature of a preliminary reconnaissance which, I hope, may stimulate further research and theoretical discussion.

It is a particularly puzzling feature of Somali that it uses accentual features as case signs, i.e. as the inflectional category of case and in particular of subject/non-subject differentiation. As far as I can ascertain this feature of Somali is alien to the other languages of the Hamito-Semitic group, including its Cushitic branch, though of course we cannot exclude the possibility of its being overlooked in research data.

The nearest approximation to the Somali use of accentual patterns as case signs can be found in the Borana dialect of Oromo, where case forms are characterized by their tone patterns. It must be observed however that in the Borana dialect of Oromo, tone patterns are never the sole case signs: they are always accompanied by case affixes. Thus, for example, the subject case and the possessive case are characterized by a tendency to have high tone on every syllable which contains or consists of a case affix or its part, as can be seen from the forms of the nouns fárd^a 'horse' and sánga' 'ox' in the sentences below:

kun fárd ^a	'this [is] a horse'
fardí yá d'ufé	'a horse has come'
kun abba fardá	'this is the owner of a horse'
kun sánga'	'this is an ox'
sangáay yá d'ufé	'an ox has come'
sangáaní, yá d'ufé	'an ox [PAUSE] has come'
kun abba sangáa	'this is the owner of an ox'

Further examples of the use of tone patterns as partial case signs can be found in AN 70 and OW 79, where other functions of tone in the Borana dialect of Oromo are also discussed. It should be observed that Borana is one of those dialects of Oromo which show the least foreign influence and that it is spoken in an area which is traditionally regarded as the homeland of the Oromo and where many Oromo customs and institutions are still well preserved.

It is a surprising fact that the closest parallels to the role of accentual patterns in Somali are found outside the Hamito-Semitic group. They had been overlooked in linguistic literature until the publication of BE 74, a very important contribution to the study of the linguistic situation of North-Eastern Africa.

Except for Bari, the languages which are referred to as Paraniotic in TU and BR 66 have tonal patterns which are used as case signs and participate in subject/non-subject differentiation in a manner highly reminiscent of accentual patterns in Somali. This is clear from the extensive tonal data on Masai in TU and TO 55 and on the languages of the Kalenjin group in TU and BR 64 and TU and BR 65. In addition to this type of similarity there is also the fact that nouns in Paraniotic languages fall into clearly

delineated groupings, described in the works just mentioned as classes, which correspond in their nature to the division into declensions in Somali.

In Paranilotic languages tone patterns frequently act as the sole case signs, without any affixation. In the materials on Masai presented in TU and TO 55, where a large part of the grammatical description is devoted to the role of tone in various word classes, numerous minimal pairs are cited where tone is the only differentiating factor. Among them we find such sentences as those below, where *édól* means 'he sees'.

<i>édól embártá</i>	'he sees the horse'
<i>édól embartá</i>	'the horse sees him'

The materials on the Kalenjin languages show similar features and again we find minimal pairs, like these below, in which *ké:re* means 'he sees'.

<i>ké:re mūrên</i>	'he sees a young man'
<i>ké:re mùrèn</i>	'a young man sees him'

The parallels between Somali and Paranilotic languages present a very difficult problem. Apart from the features discussed so far the Paranilotic languages do not in any way resemble Somali, nor has any lexical convergence been established beyond a few words which are probably borrowings, for example:

Masai <i>isiet</i>	Somali <i>sideed</i>	'eight'
" <i>tomon</i>	" <i>toban</i>	'ten'

If this is the situation how can the parallels be explained? It is of course possible that they are area features which transcend the boundaries between languages otherwise unrelated, such as are found in the Balkans, West Africa and South-East Asia. This is in my view the most probable hypothesis and if proven would have very interesting historical implications. It would suggest that some time in the past Somali and the Paranilotic languages were geographically adjacent and this in turn could lead to the conclusion that the early habitat of Somalis was very much further to the South than it is now, or alternatively that the speakers of the Paranilotic languages lived much further to the North.

To this we could add another possibility, mentioned in BE 74, pp.21-22, that case forms in which case signs consist of tone or accentual pattern alone are likely to be the result of the loss of affixes. If such a hypothesis could be proved for the features under discussion, further historical implications would present themselves, namely that the geographical separation between Somali and the Paranilotic languages must have occurred a very long time ago. This would be suggested by the fact that even in the most archaic forms of Somali, such as proverbs, riddles and traditional poems with obvious preislamic content, there is no trace of case forms with the 'lost affixes'.

The possibility of the parallels between Somali and Paranilotic languages being merely fortuitous is discussed in BE 74, but is rejected on the grounds that there is too much convergence of detail. The whole question requires a great deal of investigation and theoretical elaboration, of course, but it seems obvious, even at the present limited stage of our knowledge, that these parallels are highly relevant to the comparative study of our field.

PART VI. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Throughout this paper when any of the items listed below is referred to it is identified by the first two letters of the name in the entry and the last two digits of the figure which represents the year of publication, e.g. AR 34 = Armstrong 1934. Somali names are not inverted since surnames are not normally used in Somalia and the change in the order of names can lead to confusion.

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