THE DECLENSIONS OF SOMALI NOUNS

B. W. Andrzejewski

Lecturer in Cushitic Languages, School of Oriental and African Studies

PREFACE

In writing this book, I have had three main objectives in view. First, for those interested in the Somali language, this study may provide descriptive formulations, which may help towards a fuller understanding of the Somali grammatical system. I have in mind particularly the growing interest among the Somali intellectual élite in their own language and in the literature and cultural traditions which it enshrines.

My second aim is to provide scholars working in the Cushitic language group, of which Somali is regarded as a member, with new material which may be of some value in assessing the nature of the relationship between Somali, Galla, Afar (Dankali) and other languages of the group. The researches of Lilias E. Armstrong into Somali, of W. E. Welmers into Saho, of E. Mahaffy into Afar (Dankali), of E. M. Roper into Bedawie and my own observations on Galla show that accentual features, such as tone and stress, are an integral part of the grammatical structures of the languages concerned and play a part comparable to that of grammatical suffixes and prefixes. The present study amply confirms this, as far as Somali is concerned, and points to new possibilities in comparative studies, where special emphasis could be placed on the similarities of accentual patterns and their respective roles in the languages

of the Cushitic group. This may be more productive than

lexical comparisons which so far have yielded very disappo

results in this group.

Finally, the present study may be of some interest to

general linguists concerned with descriptive techniques.

illustrates the necessity, already recognized by many writ

of setting up formal grammatical categories which in some

cases may not be correlated with any notional category.

concepts of 'setting' or 'configuration' will serve as goo

examples of this. They have been introduced here not for

sake of innovation but for want of appropriate terms in th

existing linguistic terminology.

I wish to express to Professor Malcolm Guthrie my

gratitude for the patience and care with which he read and

commented on successive versions of this work. I am inde

to the School of Oriental and African Studies not only for

meeting the cost of publication of this book but also for

their co-operation when I was working as Linguistic Resear

Officer in the Somaliland Protectorate and for providing m

with language assistants and financing my travels in Afric

since I became a member of the staff.

CONTENTS

A / B	C	DE	F	GH	IL	M	NO	PQ	R	S	TU	VZ
a	b	c	de	f	gh	il	m	no	pq	r	s	tu	vz

ANDRZEJEWSKI

THE DECLENSIONS OF SOMALI NOUNS

Register Buzzetti 1131 (a)

PART I

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In the literature on Somali it has not been recognised
far that noun forms, in addition to gender and number, have
declensions, i.e. can be arranged into groups (paradigms)
composed of regular shape variants whose distribution is bou
up with their positions and relationship to other words in
the sentence.

The declensional exponents (signs) consist of inflectio
and accentual characteristics and are straightforward and
repetitive, but the actual distribution of members of each
declension is so complex and unusual that it would be imposs
to state it in terms of the traditional descriptive techniqu

The existence of declensions has almost entirely escape
the attention of all authors who have written on Somali, alt
it is true that one can find fragmentary and partially accur
statements on this matter scattered among other grammatical
formulations, such as that the definite articles <u>ku</u> and <u>tu</u>
and the suffix -<u>i</u> indicate the subject of the sentence and
that certain feminine noun forms have possessive endings.
nowhere is there any description of the distribution of thes
features, while the declensional exponents consisting of
accentual patterns only are ignored altogether, with the exc
of Armstrong whose observations apply to nouns in isolation

This is hardly surprising, as the researches into Somali, in common with those into many African languages, have suffered from two handicaps: those authors who spent long periods in direct contact with the language had usually an insufficient knowledge of adequate descriptive techniques applicable to unwritten languages and hardly any knowledge of phonetics, while those who had the requisite training limited their researches to relatively short periods. Good examples of this are two studies on Somali: the grammar of Somali by J.W.C. Kirk and the study of the phonetic structure of Somali by Lilias E. Armstrong. Kirk, in spite of his extensive knowledge of the language and the experience of living and working in Somaliland, gives an inadequate account of Somali grammar and makes many serious mistakes in his transcription of the sounds. Armstrong, though her paper chiefly deals with phonetics, makes most enlightening and accurate observations on Somali grammar, but unfortunately her work is very short and published in the form of an article.

Even the scholarly works of Bell and Moreno do not go into sufficient detail to account for the operation of the declensional system in this language. The aim of the present thesis[1] is to provide the information lacking in this sphere of Somali grammatical structure and to demonstrate the use of an ad hoc descriptive framework which has been evolved to deal with the problems under discussion.

There is no generally accepted method of writing Som
and the transcription used in this thesis requires some
explanation.   It is the same as in <u>Hikmad Soomaali</u> and in
articles 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq
dialect of Somali' and 'Pronominal and prepositional parti
in Northern Somali', but in order to avoid constant refere
to these three publications, an outline of the system of
transcription is given in Appendix II.   The problem of co
tractions, which is very much bound up with that of transc
is discussed in Appendix III.

Although, with some modifications, the statements in
thesis apply to most dialects of Somali,[1] they are based or
Northern Somali, i.e. Somali spoken in the Northern Region
the Somali Republic, in French Somaliland and in the Harar
Province of Ethiopia.

Almost all the examples of sentences are based either
continuous texts taken from Somali folk literature or recor
of spontaneous speech.   The only exceptions to this are
sentences which will be marked with the abbreviation CS
(Controlled Specimen) and which have been obtained through
direct questioning of language informants by means of test
frames.   In the case of examples taken from folk literature
already written down, the abbreviation HS refers to <u>Hikmad</u>
<u>Soomaali</u>, a collection of Somali stories by M.H.I. Galaal,
and the figures following relate to the serial numbers of th

stories and the lines of the text; the abbreviation QA refers
to a short novel Qaalle Adduun by the same author, as yet
unpublished, and the figures refer to the lines of the text.[1]
All the examples of sentences where the source is not stated
have been taken from folk tales recorded on tape by Somali
speakers or from recordings of dramatic productions broadcast
by Radio Hargeisa.

Details of works on Somali will be provided in Appendix I
and no further bibliographical notes will be given on these
works in the text of the thesis.

THE INADEQUACY OF TRADITIONAL APPROACH

The descriptive technique used in this thesis differs
considerably from the traditional approach found in the works
of other authors on Somali. It proved necessary to develop
a different technique, particularly when dealing with the
facts described in this thesis, because of the inadequacy of
the traditional approach.

Works on Somali tend to recognize only those formal
categories which can be readily correlated with meaning and
which have been found in well known languages. They ignore,
however, those characteristics which can only be partially
correlated with meaning or which are unusual and unfamiliar.
In this way important data are left out of the description.
The following two pairs of sentences will illustrate this
point:

1A	Nínka shàah ú gẹ̀e. (CS)	Take some tea to the man.
1B	Nínku wùu bukaa. (CS)	The man is ill.
2A	Nínka hálkáa faḍḍiỹá shàah ú gẹ̀e. (CS)	Take some tea to the man who is sitting there.
2B	Nínka hálkáa faḍḍiỹaa wùu bukaa. (CS)	The man who is sitting there is ill.

In sentence 1A the noun nín 'man' has the ka form of the
definite article, and in sentence 1B the ku form of the
definite article.   This difference is associated with the fact
that nínka in sentence 1A does not agree with a verbal form,
while in sentence 1B, nínku agrees with the verbal form bukaa
'is ill'.   Bell's statement (in §7, page 13 of his book)
that ku and tu are used to identify the subject of the sentence
is valid for sentences 1A and 1B, but not for sentences 2A
and 2B, where the noun nín has in both cases the ka form of
the definite article, in spite of the fact that nínka in
sentence 2A does not agree with a verb, while nínka in sentence
2B does agree with the verbal form bukaa.

The general principles involved in this apparent discrepance
are these: the opposition between noun forms with the definite
article ka, ta and those with ku, tu operates only in certain
positions, and in certain other positions it does not do so.
Thus the distribution of the different noun forms can be
described only if reference is made to the position in which
they occur.   It is, in fact, impossible to give an adequate

account of the formal characteristics of Somali nouns, unless
first of all all the relevant positions in which a noun form
can occur are described and classified.

The inadequacy of the traditional approach is even more
evident in the treatment of accentual features, which in Somali
play a very important role, but again, cannot always be directly
correlated with any notional categories.   The nouns ínan
'a boy' and inán 'a girl', for example, have different accentual
patterns before a pause or when combined with the definite
articles, but when they occur with interrogative definitives
kée, tée 'which?' this difference is not present: inankée
'which boy?', inantée 'which girl?'   Any statement, therefore,
that gender in nouns in Somali is distinguished by accentual
patterns would be untrue, without reference to the position in
which the noun form occurs in relation to the other components
of the sentence.

THE DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK USED IN THE THESIS

The descriptive framework used in the thesis has been
evolved ad hoc, for the specific purpose of dealing with
Somali nouns, and was developed stage by stage during the
actual investigations.

The starting point in my researches was the material
presented by Armstrong in her article 'The phonetic structure
of Somali'.   Armstrong observed that noun forms can be divided
into groups according to their tone patterns, but her observations

appeared to be valid only for certain contexts. The next

step was to investigate those contexts for which Armstrong

formulations did not apply. For this purpose I construct

test frames which consisted of generalised sentence patter

with a particular place or slot for the noun forms under

observation. These places within the test frames were no

only positions in the actual word order but also presuppos

a particular type of relationship, e.g. interdependence o

non-interdependence between the noun under observation and

other components of the sentence.

Some of these frames were very simple, such as:

The particle <u>waa</u> 'it is, they are' + the noun form under

observation, e.g. <u>Waa búur</u>. 'It is a hill.'

The question particle <u>ma</u> + the noun under observation + t

emphatic particle <u>baa</u>, e.g. <u>Ma búur bâa</u>? 'Is it a hill?'

Some test frames, however, were very complex and invol

several items, e.g.

The noun under observation + a preverbal pronoun + a prep

tional particle + a verbal form dependent on the noun under

observation but not agreeing with it + a prepositional part

+ a main verb form not agreeing with the noun under observa

e.g:

Hinkii ua lá shaqeeyó ú yéed! 'Call the man with whom he v

In these test frames large numbers of noun forms were

placed and it became apparent that many noun forms had the s

inflectional and accentual characteristics in identical test
frames. Noun forms with the same characteristics in
identical test frames were now grouped in declensions, whose
total number was finally reduced to eight. At this point it
became possible to regard the inflectional and accentual
characteristics of noun forms of the same declensions, varying
in different test frames, as their declensional exponents
(or declensional signs).

Furthermore, my investigations showed that many differing
test frames yielded identical results when noun forms of the
same declension were placed in them. The next step consisted
of finding out, through comparing numerous test frames, what
characteristics of each frame were correlated with the presence
of particular declensional exponents of noun forms under
observation. This led to isolating all the relevant characteris-
tics from the test frames and taking these characteristics as
fundamenta divisionis in the classification of positions in
which a noun can occur in the sentence (settings and configura-
tions).

It is important to note that all the classifications given
in Parts II, III and IV are based on a very extensive use of
test frames and are neither arbitrary or subjective.

In its details the descriptive framework used here is
entirely new, but the general principles on which it is based
have been applied in linguistics for some time. The main

principle involved is that grammatical structure (includ
syntax) is not to be viewed as a formal realisation of
preconceived notional framework[1] but as a system of patt
of arrangement and interdependence. The 'pattern' appr
presupposes the use of test frames in actual research bc
language informants are questioned and when samples are
from recorded material.

Examples of the application of these principles can
found in various writings, but the works of Kenneth Lee
Charles Carpenter Fries[3] and the three authors of the
Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English[4] can be
as characteristic and notable examples. Pike's method
dealing with tone languages takes into account criteria
position and interdependence, while Fries in describing
English uses test frames explicitly for establishing his
categories. The Advanced Learner's Dictionary classifi
material according to the potentialities of occurrence w
certain grammatical categories and structures and one of
authors, A.S. Hornby, applies a similar technique to the
teaching of English grammar to foreign students in his G
to Patterns and Usage in English[5], where generalised sen
patterns and the criteria of position are employed, inst
of the traditional schemata of parsing and analysis.

NOTE ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL

In Parts II, III and IV declensions of nouns and th

exponents are described in detail.   The scope of these
formulations makes it desirable to outline here the arrangement
of the material, with brief indications of the procedure applied

Part II begins with a formal definition of nouns in
Somali, in which the potentiality to combine with any of the
definitives is taken as the criterion.   Noun forms are then
divided into eight declensions, a classification based on
their potentialities of combining with types of definitives,
concord with verbal forms and certain relevant phonological
characteristics.   The declensions, as has been said, have
been arrived at by experimenting with test frames.

The next step is the classification of positions, in which
a noun form can occur, into three types, called here 'settings'.
The basis of this classification is the relationship between
a given noun form and a structure which is described as a
nominal cluster: this consists of a nominal accompanied by
items dependent on it or linked to it by the conjunction
iyo 'and'.   The basis of the subsequent classification of
positions into 'configurations' is more varied and includes
such criteria as proximity of certain particles.   In one of
the configurations a case system operates which is reminiscent
of that in some of the well known languages, e.g. Latin or
Classical Arabic.   This case system is, however, treated as
a subdivision of the configuration in question.

The division of positions into 'settings' and 'configurations'

is an arrangement arrived at on empirical grounds through trying various ways of stating the results of my observations and then selecting the one which appeared to be most economic and clearest.   As far as I know, the terms 'setting' and 'configuration' have not been used before as linguistic terms and they are introduced simply as labels for certain groups c positions of Somali nouns.

The settings and configurations overlap and the statemen in Parts III and IV are arranged first of all according to three settings, and then within each setting declensional exponents of noun forms in each configuration are described separately.   Part III is devoted to the declensional expone of undefined noun forms, i.e. noun forms not combined with definitives, while Part IV deals with defined forms, i.e. those combined with definitives.

The arrangement outlined provides a readily recognisabl framework in which every Somali noun can be placed as soon -as its declension is established by applying the criteria of classification already mentioned.   Moreover it makes it possible, if necessary, to convert all the formulations without difficulty into another framework, where each indivi declension is the starting point.

Part V is devoted to a comparison between the declensic characteristics of a noun form and those of a nominal cluste considered as a unit.   It appears that there are striking

parallels in their formal behaviour.

In order to lighten the structure of the main body of the text many items of information essential to the exposition of the main theme of the thesis have been relegated to Appendices.

THE RANGE OF INVESTIGATIONS

The material on which this thesis is based was collected during a period of investigation into Somali which extended over twelve years and which was concerned with the whole phonological and grammatical structure of the language.

The study of the declensional exponents of noun forms constituted a substantial part of this investigation on account of the great complexity of the subject.

Although many of my examples of Somali sentences are taken from two collections of texts, the descriptive statements are based on a wide experience of the language.

Concurrently with the investigation by means of test frames, I studied the declensional exponents of noun forms in spontaneous speech, in Somali oral traditions, in everyday conversations and in broadcasts.   These studies not only provided me with a testing ground for my formulations but also acted as a check in the actual construction of the test frames. The test frame work was conducted with relatively few language informants, while spontaneous speech was studied in situations involving a large number of persons.   During my two research tours (1950-51 and 1957-58), I spent a considerable time

learning to speak Somali, and for this purpose I lived in very close contact with the Somali community, listening to an participating in conversations under natural conditions (e.g. by the camp fire), as well as conducting all the business affairs of everyday life in Somali.   In London I continued to use Somali by keeping in touch with the Somali community and by listening to the programmes of Cairo Radio and the B.B.C. Somali Service, which contain such items as dramatic productions, quiz programmes, interviews, talks and sermons. Moreover, I have some 200 reels of tape recordings of progran broadcast by Radio Hargeisa and Radio Nairobi (Somali Service

Direct contact with the Somali community not only allowe me to check, by means of observation, the accuracy of my formulations presented in this thesis, but also made it possi for me to verify my findings by actual linguistic discussion: with educated Somalis.

ACCENTUAL PATTERNS

Most of the declensional exponents consist totally of accentual patterns, as will be shown in Parts III and IV. In view of this, an account of accentual features and accent: patterns is given in this section, instead of being relegate(to an Appendix.

The accentual features are classified here into five — Accentual Units (abbreviated AU) which are made up of the following components:

High   )
)
High-Falling)
)   Tone
Mid   )
)
Low   )

Even-Strong   )
)
Diminuendo-Strong   )
)   Stress
Secondary   )
)
Absence of   )

In establishing the Accentual Units two positions in
which every syllable can occur have been taken into account:

(a) if it is immediately followed by another syllable
within the same or the following word;

(b) if it is immediately followed by a pause within
or at the end of the sentence.

The five Accentual Units are given below:

Position	AU1	AU2	AU3	AU4	AU5
(a)	High Tone with Even Strong Stress	High-Falling Tone with Diminuendo Strong Stress	Mid Tone with Absence of Stress	High Tone with Even Strong Stress	Mid Tone with Absence of Stress
(b)	Mid Tone with Secondary Stress	The same as in Position (a)	Low Tone with Absence of Stress	High-Falling Tone with Diminuendo Strong Stress	Mid Tone with Secondary Stress

The Accentual Units are represented by diacritics (or their absence) placed over the first vowel-letter of the syllable:

The Acute represents AU1   e.g. á

The Grave   "   AU2   e.g. à

The Circumflex   "   AU4   e.g. â

The Inverted Circumflex
            represents AU5   e.g. ǎ

The absence of any of the above diacritics
            represents AU3.

The terms "High", "High-Falling", "Mid" and "Low Tone" "Even-Strong Stress", "Diminuendo Strong Stress", "Secondary Stress" and "Absence of Stress" denote types of relative pitch and stress (intensity) with fairly wide ranges of phonetic realisations. The boundaries between these ranges are very clear in short sequences of syllables. In longer sequences however the division into such types is to a large extent subjective and arbitrary, except that it is oriented towards the tone and stress potentialities which a particular word or word group has in a grammatically comparable context in corresponding shorter sequences. An objective criterion of this division can be found in pairs of words or sentences which differ only in their accentual features, e.g.

Ínan bày qashay. (CS)	She gave birth to a boy.
Inán bày qashay. (CS)	She gave birth to a girl.
Waa ínan. (CS)	It is a boy.
Wáa inán. (CS)	It is a girl.
Ma daméer bùu sóo ḳibsaday? (CS)	Did he buy a he-donkey?
Ma daméer bùu sóo ḳilsaday? (CS)	Did he buy a she-donkey?
Béertḳisdi díbi bàa Lagú qódi jìray. (CS)	His field used to be ploughed by an ox.
Béertḳisdi díbí bàa Lagú qódi jìray. (CS)	His field used to be ploughed by oxen.
Waláalḳa u mú uu díbín laᶜágtíi. (CS)	Your brother did not hand over the money to him (her, them).
Waláalkáa u mú uu díbín laᶜágtíi. (CS)	He did not hand over the money to your brother.
Nínkii dựkàanka lahaa ma ú yeeday? (CS)	Did the man who owned the shop call him (her, them)?
Nínkíi dựkàanka laháa ma ú yeeday? (CS)	Did he call the man who owned the shop?
Nínkii lḳbàah má díḷín. (CS)	The man did not kill a lion.
Nínkíi lḳbaah má díḷín. (CS)	A lion did not kill the man.

Qábtay abéeso. (CS)   A python caught him (her, them,

Qábtay abeesó. (CS)   She caught a python.

Ninkùu arkay. (CS)   He saw the man,

Ninkùu arkay? (CS)   Which man did he see?

Koorày ii keeneen. (CS)   They brought me a saddle.

Koorày ii keeneen. (CS)   They brought me camel-bells,

It is possible and sometimes significant to recognize a
larger number of types of relative pitch and stress and to
represent them by means of dots and lines on a stave or by
means of additional signs, such as arrows,[1] indicating the
"step down" and "step up". However, to use such devices
in our present task would considerably complicate our
transcription and might divert attention from the main theme
of this thesis.

Sequences of Accentual Units will be referred to as
Accentual Patterns (abbreviated AP). Only a limited number
of such patterns is possible in noun forms:

AP1   AU1 on the last or the only syllable, AU3 on
       all the other syllables of the form, if any.

AP2   AU1 on the penultimate syllable, AU3 on all
       the other syllables of the form.

AP3   AU2 on the last or the only syllable, AU3 on all
       the other syllables of the form, if any.

AP4   AU5 on the last or the only syllable, AU3 on

        all the other syllables of the form, if any.

AP5   AU3 on all the syllables of the form.

PART II

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS AND THEIR POSIT

DEFINITION OF THE NOUN

For the purposes of this thesis the noun in Somali wil
be defined as follows:

The noun is a grammatical unit (part of speech) which
capable of being immediately followed by and of being combi
with any of the words called definitives and listed in Sect
1 of Appendix IV. Such combinations must then possess the
junction features given in Section 2 of Appendix IV. The
substantive pronouns (Section 2 of Appendix V), the cardin
numerals and proper names form separate groups of grammati
units and will not be regarded as nouns, even though they
comply with the criteria given in the definition of the no

In the examples below each noun form is first given
without a definitive and then in combination with the defi
article of the general type, set A (see Section 1 of Appen
IV) which is to be considered as representative of all the
other definitives. Only when vowel junction features (se
Section 2 of Appendix IV) have to be illustrated are noun
forms in combination with other definitives quoted.

| sáᶜab | clapping hands, dance | sáᶜabka |
| gód | hole (in the ground) | gódka |

gád	beard, chin	gádka
másaf	funnel	másafka
kúrus	hump (camel's)	kúruska
kìish	bag	kìishka
hój	pilgrimage	hájka
agòon	orphan	agòonka
doofúar	pig	doofàarka
dál	country	dálka
súbag	ghee	súbagga
dàw	road, right, just	dàwga
èy	dog	èyga
órgi	he-goat	órgiga
gú	spring, rainy season,	gúga
ardàa	roofless enclosure for people	ardàaga
dawàaq	shouting	dawàaqa
gó^ɔ	sheet of cloth	gó^ɔa
shìikh	sheikh, man of religion	shìikha
dòoh	valley	dòoha
dabaqallòo^c	scorpion	dabaqallòo^ca
tàah	sigh, groaning	tàaha
oománe	waterless place, desert	oománáha, oomanúhu, oomaníhíi, oomanóhóo, oomanehée

ilm.	child, baby	ilmáha, ilmúhu, ilmíh ilmóhóo, ilmehǧe
hablǒ	girls	habláha, hablúhu, hablíhii, hablóhóo, hablehǧe
góob	battle	góobta
maraakiib	ships	maraakibta
nág	compensation, blood money	mágta
masáf	winnowing tray	masáfta
gǧes	side	gǧesta
rún	truth	rúnta
ma^callimiin	teachers	ma^callimiinta
áwr	he-camels	áwrta
abáor	drought	abáarta
bád	sea	bádda
déeq	generosity	déeqda
dǧᵓ	age	dǧᵓda
wisíkh	dirt	wisíkhda
qorráh	sun, sunshine	qorráhda
quráa^c	breakfast	quráa^cda
báh	children of the same mother and father	báhda
na^cáw	weather, air	na^cáwda
ǧy	dogs	ǧyda
ọrgí	he-goats	ọrgída

sạlaasá	Tuesday	sạlaasáda
mạgáalo	town	mạgaaláda
lịbaahyŏ	lions	lịbachyáda
ugáad	game (animals)	ugáadda
méel	place	méesha
bustayáal	blankets	bustayáasha

CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS AND THEIR POSITIONS — A GENERAL NOTE

To describe the declensional characteristics of noun forms in Somali it is necessary to begin with some formal definitions and classifications, so as to provide a descriptive frame-work within which the actual formulations can be given. Some indications of the procedures adopted have already been given in Part I and it only remains to stress that all the classifications in this thesis are based on experiments with text frames and not on any preconceived notional scheme. Some of the terms used, such as 'masculine' and 'feminine' could give the impression of belonging to notional grammar, but in fact they are used only as labels, which are retained for their mnemonic value.

CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS ACCORDING TO POTENTIALITIES OF COMBINING WITH DEFINITIVES; DEFINED AND UNDEFINED FORMS

A noun form which is capable of combining with any of the masculine definitives (see Section 1 of Appendix IV) will

be said to be masculine and a noun form capable of combining with a feminine definitive will be said to be feminine.

A form which is actually combined with a definitive will be said to be defined, and a form which is not will be said to be undefined.

CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS ACCORDING TO THEIR POTENTIALITY OF AGREEMENT WITH VERBAL FORMS

In this classification noun forms will be divided into: singular, collective, semi-plural and plural. The definition of these groups is given in the table below by means of reference to verbal forms with which they agree. For the names of the paradigms and the serial signs of their number see Section 1 of Appendix VI.

Type of noun form.	Agreeing verbal forms	
	Restrictive and Construct Paradigms	Extensive and Diverg Paradigm
masculine, singular	3m	3m
feminine, singular	3f	3f
masculine, collective	3m	3m or 3p
feminine, collective	3f	3f or 3p
feminine, semi-plural	3f	3f or 3p
plural	3p	3p

The choice between 3m and 3p, and between 3f and 3p is

optional.   The feminine collective and feminine sub-plural

forms have identical potentialities with verbal forms but

are differentiated by their morphological characteristics (see

Appendix VII).

CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS ACCORDING TO POTENTIALITIES OF
COMBINING WITH DEFINITIVES, AGREEMENT WITH VERBAL FORMS AND
CERTAIN PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In this classification noun forms are divided into eight

declensions.   When phonological characteristics are taken

into account, the shape which occurs in isolation is regarded

as the starting point, but as will be shown in Parts III and

IV these declensions have many other features which differentiate

them from one another.

(i)   To the first declension belong:

    (a) all the masculine singular and masculine

        collective noun forms which consist of one short

        syllable only, with the exception of wẵ 'thing,

        things', and

    (b) all masculine singular and masculine collective

        compound noun forms whose last component consists

        of a short syllable.

Examples:

    (a)

shír	assembly	rág	men
qás	trouble	dád	people

sán	nose
dúl	earth
wán	ram
mús	outer fence
tís	branch of thorny tree
dór	clothes
más	snake
gál	sheath
cód	voice
wár	news
sác	cow
ħár	woodworm
nín	man
tóg	river bed
dáb	fire
cír	sky
qáb	pride

(b)

biya-ħíd	dam
hor-u-már	progress
isku-dír	unification, putting together
abaal-gúd	reward, paying a debt of gratitude
gaashaan-díg	alliance, defence

(ii) To the second declension belong those masculine sing
and masculine collective noun forms which in isola

(a) consist of one long syllable only and have AP3

(b) consist of two or more syllables the last of
which is long, and has AP3.

The vast majority of masculine singular and masculin
collective noun forms which have the syllabic struct
specified under (a) or (b) above have AP3 and belong
to this declension.

Examples:

(a)

ħòog	strength	ħèer	customary law

bèer	liver	àwr	he-camel
dòog	fresh grass	gùur	marriage
ùur	abdomen	bood	dust
dàan	water caravan	hòor	ratel
qìiq	smoke	gèed	tree
dàad	floodwater		
sùun	strap		
ròob	rain		
ħàas	wife, family		

(b)

dagàal	fight, battle.	istiqlàal	independence
libàah	lion	wgayðel	elder, elders
barkar	male lamb		
gwràad	chieftain		
ᶜeesàan	young he-goat		
waḍàad	man of religion		
biᶜlid	oryx		
daqdaqàaq	movement		
matàan	male twin		
baadiðon	person or persons looking for lost animals		
deyaħgaᶜmèed	artificial satellite[1]		

(iii) To the third declension belong:

(a) all those masculine singular and masculine

collective noun forms which in isolation

consist of two or more syllables, the last of

which is short and does not end in -e, and

which at the same time have AP2.

(b) all those plural forms which have the ending -oyin.

(c) the following plural noun forms:[2]

jaráaᵓid	newspapers
jasáaᵓir	islands
qabáaᵓil	clans, nations

The vast majority of masculine singular and masculine
collective noun forms which have the syllabic structure
specified under (a) above have AP2 and belong to this declens

Examples:

(a)

málab	honey	wíyil	male rhinoceros
qáalin	young he-camel	gári	giraffe
hádig	rope, imprison-	^{c}áqli	intelligence
	ment	gíjis	submarine (Poetic)
féras	horse	dúmar	women
ólol	flame		
gáshi	debt		
kúrus	hump		
bádah	milk mixed with		
	water		
fúruq	smallpox		
dáawa^c	injury		
dámbi	sin		
wéerar	attack		
dáwlis	bucket rope		
súmal	uncastrated ram		

(b)

magaalóoyin	towns	ñaajóoyin	matters, affair
waddóoyin	roads	dawa^{c}óoyin	jackals
dundumóoyin	termite		
	hills		
gorayóoyin	ostriches		
deeróoyin	gazelles		

(iv) To the fourth declension belong:

(a) all those feminine singular and feminine collecti

noun forms which in isolation do not end in -o

and at the same time have AP1.

(b) all the sub-plural noun forms.

It should be noted that in isolation all the sub-plural noun

Noun forms of type (a) occur very frequently and in fact the
vast majority of feminine singular and feminine collective
noun forms belong to this type.   Sub-plural forms are much
less common and the majority of them are Arabic borrowings.

Examples:

(a)

láf	bone	tommootí	animal which died from natural causes
díb	difficulty		
úl	stick	gashaantí	girl of marriageable age
hál	she-camel		
rún	truth	madí	camel which gives much milk
góol	lioness		
déeq	generosity	^ceesáan	young female goat
duhúl	charcoal	matáan	female twin
guntín	knot	isláan	old woman
dengód	long stick	qaalín	young she-camel
surád	brand	jamhuuryád	republic
abáar	drought	^carrúur	children
harríiq	line		

(b)

kutúb	books	orgí	he-goats
^carsháan	huts (permanent)	dagháx	stones
		awr	he-camels
maraakíib	ships	éy	dogs
kuracsi	chairs		
munaafiqíin	hypocrites		
gawaadí	cars		
díbí	oxen, bulls		

(v) To the fifth declension belong:

    (a) all those masculine singular and masculine

       collective noun forms which in isolation end in

       -e and

    (b) all those feminine singular and feminine collective

       noun forms which in isolation end in -o.

Examples:

(a)

túke	crow	fúre	key
kóore	saddle	búste	blanket
gúube	afterbirth (of a camel)	masálle	leather prayer mat
		bakáyle	hare
híidme	intestines	kabáde	pedlar
waráabe	hyaena	kallúunle	fishmonger
fagáare	meeting place	shagáale	worker or workers
hakáme	bridle		
timírle	date seller		
oománe	desert, waterless place		

(b)

úfo	whirlwind	nafáqo	nourishment
máro	cloth	sakáaro	dikdik
gĝenyo	mare	ḍíillo	bad news
shéeko	story	barambárqo	lioness
márso	harbour	soʿóto	travellers
barkímo	cushion		
boqortóoyo	kingdom		
siigo	column of dust		
kabúubyo	numbness		
magáalo	town		
mushaháaro	wages		

(vi) To the sixth declension belong:

(a) all the plural noun forms which in isolation end in -yo, -Ro, -CCo, -v̆o, -o, -aR, -Raal, -vaal an -yaw (see Section 4 of Appendix VII).

(b) all those masculine singular and masculine colle forms which consist of one long syllable or two or more syllables (short or long) and which at t same time in isolation have AP4.

(c) the masculine noun wah 'thing, things'.

The noun forms of type (b) are not very common as the vast
majority of noun forms which have that syllabic structure
belong to the second, third and fifth declensions.   Instead
of selected examples a complete list of all the noun forms of
this type which have been found is given below.

Examples of noun forms of type (a):

dawyŏ	roads, ways
loohyŏ	boards
magaᶜyŏ	names
lįbaahyŏ	lions
dįbiyŏ	oxen, bulls
boqorrŏ	chieftains
idanmŏ	charcoal burners
buqullŏ	small milk vessels
qaalimmŏ	young he-camels
wędaaddŏ	men of religion
hadhŏ	ropes
udbŏ	prop, centre pole of a hut
warmŏ	spears
gaᶜmŏ	hands
maalnŏ	days
siyŏ	ways, methods
gashaantiyŏ	young girls of marriageable age
haamŏ	large water vessels
farŏ	fingers
wąduamŏ	leather buckets
sumadŏ	brands
habaalŏ	graves
nimăn	men
dabăb	fires
goolăl	gelded camels
miisăs	tables
gallăal	scabbards
bustayăal	blankets
waraabayăal	hyaenas
odayăal	elders
koorayăal	saddles
nimanyăw	groups of men
gabdayăw	groups of girls

List of noun forms of type (b):

ᶜaalĭn	a learned man
abbǎan	protector, patron
abtĭ	maternal uncle
ạdḓuun[1]	world, wealth
adĕer	paternal uncle
afǎaf	entrance
afhayĕen	interpreter
ajĭ	person or persons of noble descent
ạlbǎab	door
asĭl	tincture for tanning skins
ạwów	grandfather
bạroosĭn	anchor
bọolĭ	property seized unlawfully
bụudi	the part of a lorry where loads are put
dambǎr	beestings
dambǎs	ashes
dạmalĭin	guarantor, security
duqsĭ	fly (insect)
durbǎan	drum
dọaỵŏ	sight
dạddigŏod	the female sex
dạgǎn	stone, rock
dahǎl	inheritance, estate (of a deceased person)
dạkhtǎr	doctor, dresser
ẹdĕg	small enclosure for young animals
farrǎar	one of the arms of the v-shaped base of the stick used for carrying thorny branches
fiḓĭn	comb
fiqĭ	learned man, man versed in the Islamic Law
fŭud	soup
gạdǎal	back
gaạḓĭ	motorcar
gạmǎan	horses, mules and donkeys taken collectively
gẹeddĭ	move, people on the move
gorgŏr	vulture
gụbnŏod	a part of food which is charred or burnt when being cooked.

haꝰfĭ	hot wind blowing from the coast
haꝰrăr	heavy mat used as roof in the Somali hut
hǫwĕen	women
hĕen	fat which accumulates at the top of a vessel in which meat is cooked
hǫggăan	leading rope
hǫudĭ	rowing boat
haakĭn	judge, magistrate
hilŏ	wife (poetic and archaic)
ilmŏ	child, baby
inaꝰabtĭ	maternal cousin
inaꝰadĕer	paternal cousin
ishĭn	camels and cattle taken collectively
jĭid	red meat, flesh, kinsmen
jĭir	rat
kaatŭn	ring
kamăn	muscles above the buttocks
laasĭn	gold band (ornament)
labŏod	the male sex
lǫhăad	power, strength
lisĭn	sharpening stone
madĭ	person who has no brothers
mahdăr	latrine
malmăl	species of gum tree (COMMIPHORA PLAIFARI, Chiov.) or its gum
marčа	acacia tree
marăg	brand on a camel's leg, witness, evidence
markhaatĭ	witness
mǫroodĭ	elephant
matăg	vomited matter
miidăan	open space, assembly ground
mindi^cĭr	intestines
mǫolĭ	species of tree (DRACAENA SCHIZANTHA, Barker)
nadĭ	whip (archaic)
odăy	old man, elder

qaaddĭ	cadi
qaaẙŏ	large size, importance
qahoontĭ	retreat, evacuation
ratĭ	male camel
rĕer	family, lineage
sǫbǎan	time, season
sǝmbǎb	lung
sarĕen	maize
sǝǫddĭ	brother-in-law
sĭidĭ	whistle
suldǎan	sultan
shǫokĭ	police station
tǫoᶜĭ	place unprotected from the wind
tyrjubǎan	interpreter
ǔus	food inside the stomach
wǎ̆a	dawn, time
walǎal	brother
wǝbĭ	river
wǝhĕl	companion
wǝlĭ	still, not yet, ever
yabǎd	gifts to a newly married coupl
yarǎd	bride price
cǎws	dry grass

vii) To the seventh declension belong all those feminine

singular and feminine collective noun forms which:

(a) consist of one long syllable or two or more

syllables, the last of which is long,

(b) and which at the same time have AP3 in isolati

irrespective of the number of syllables.

Noun forms of this declension are very rare. Only a few

examples have been found and are listed below:

gàas	paraffin
dqan-dèer	strong camels of the herd
dénthal	refrain (in a poem)
liindannhan	bitter lime
liinma^càan	sweet lime

(viii)   To the eighth declension belong those feminine

singular and feminine collective noun forms which:

(a) consist of two or more syllables, the last of

which is short and does not end in -o in

isolation, and at the same time

(b) have AP2 in isolation.

Noun forms of this declension are very rare.   Only a few

examples have been found and are listed below.   It is

interesting to note that all the noun forms ending in the

suffix -ley are in this declension.

bídih	left side
basári	bad wife, slut
dírri	stretch of hard ground
géeri	good wife, good woman
gíddi	committee, group of judges or elders
gúurti	wise men, committee
hqmfáley	mythical wind which is said to have taken away the ancestor of the Yibir caste
hqwéeney	lady
jábti	gonorrhoea
máni	sperm
mídig	right side
qadábi	buckle
sábti	Saturday

Words with the suffix -ley,

biyáaley	female water seller	cf. biyô 'water'
hadúudley	" jowari "	cf. haḍuuḍ 'jowari'
hiliibley	" meat "	cf. hilib 'meat'
timirley	" date "	cf. timír 'date, dat

CLASSIFICATION OF THE POSITIONS OF NOUN FORMS.   AN INTRODUCT
NOTE

When discussing the exponents of the declensions it is
essential to take into account their relationship to larger
nominal structures, namely nominal clusters.[1]   In order to
do this a brief explanation of the main characteristics of
nominal clusters must be given.

By nominal cluster is understood a group of words which,
taken as a unit, is a syntactic equivalent of a noun in the
sense that it occupies a position comparable to a noun and i:
capable of being substituted for it, i.e. it fits into the
same functional slot as a noun.

A nominal cluster normally consists of:

(a) A nominal (i.e. a noun, a definitive, a substanti
     pronoun or a numeral) accompanied by (usually
     followed by) any of the items dependent on it
     and listed below:

     (i) a dependent clause i.e. a dependent structur
         whose principal component is a verbal form,

     (ii) an attributive (see Section 3 of Appendix V)
          or an ordinal numeral,

     (iii) a noun,

(iv) two or more of the items given under (i), (ii) and (iii) joined to each other by the conjunction oo (yoo, y̌oo) or e (ye, y̌e).

(b) A nominal combined with a possessive definitive preceded by a nominal dependent on such a combined form.

(c) A nominal joined to another nominal by the conjunction iyo.

In the examples below nominal clusters of type (a) and (b) are marked by overlining the nominal on which other items are dependent and underlining the dependent items; nominal clusters of type (c) are overlined throughout.

(a) (i)

Waa ínaad ḫad ú dy̌ᶜaysataa ôo dy̌ᶜó badán aad ḍigataa wáayo, nín g̈ḍääun sįtá bàad tahay ôo waa LaᏟu iláynayaa y̌e.

You must pray for yourself very much and gain much blessing for yourself because you are a man who has wealth and people will cast the evil on you. (NOTE: 'has wealth' lit. 'carries wealth for himself'.)

(ii)

Gár dambé má ú noqónaysaa? (HS2/11-2)

Are you coming for a further hearing?

(iii)

Kŏr waayeel wàa wada indŏ.
(Proverb)

Doqontu booól indóod bày
lbedahay; sagáal iyo
sagáashan higtádẹ̀eda ayèy
kú eegtaa, mid na ᶜẹ̀dowgẹ̀eda.
(Pr.)

The skin of elders is all eyes.
(NOTE: 'The skin' lit. 'skin'.)
Fools have a hundred eyes; with
ninety nine they watch their
relatives and with one their
enemy. (NOTE: When nouns
occur with numerals they are
dependent on them.)

(iv)

Labá hablóod ôo yẹryár ôo
adyŏ lá joogàn maalín is ú
faanay. (HS12/3)

One day two young girls who stay
with flocks of sheep and goats
boasted to each other. (NOTE:
'two....stayed' lit. 'two girls
who were young and who stayed...
jọogàa = jọogáy bàa.)

(b)

Márkíi dambùu íllayn
suldáankíi amarkíisa díidi
kári màayó e nimánkíi
raaᶜay. (HS23/350-1.)

Then, of course, he could not
refuse the order of the sultan
and he followed the men.
(NOTE: 'the order of the sultan
lit. 'the sultan his order'.)

(c)

Hádal iyö hablö ba du^cala^ɔáan   Talk and girls both multiply

bày kú tarmaan.   (Pr.)   without blessing. (NOTE: i.e.

all things which are not very

much wanted increase easily.)

A nominal cluster may contain within itself another
nominal cluster which in turn may contain another nominal
cluster.   Theoretically there are no limits to this kind of
expansion, but examples with more than five degrees of
expansion are rare.

Two degrees of expansion are illustrated through the
comparison of the sentences below:

Lárkaasàa nínkii suldáankii   Then the man complained to the

ú sóo gatakooday.   (CS)   sultan.

Lárkaasàa nínkii béerta lahaa   Then the man who owned the garden

suldáankii ú sóo gshtakooday.   complained to the sultan.

(CS)

Lárkaasàa nínkii béerta sá^cu   The the man who owned the garden

daaɗáy lahaa suldáankii ú sóo   which the cow had grazed

gshtakooday.   (HS9/3-4)   complained to the sultan.

A nominal cluster always contains at least one nominal
capable of agreement with verbal forms outside the cluster
itself.   A nominal of this kind will be referred to as the

headword of the cluster.   The last component of a nominal cluster plays a very important role as will be demonstrate later, and will be referred to as its marker.   Sometimes nominal is at the same time the headword and the marker of cluster.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE POSITIONS OF NOUN FORMS ACCORDING TO THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO NOMINAL CLUSTERS: SETTINGS.

Positions of this kind will be given the general name 'settings' and will be divided into subordinate, integrate and simple.

A noun form will be said to occur in the 'subordinate setting when it is dependent on another noun, definitive o numeral which precedes it.   From this setting are exclude the noun forms which are dependent on and are followed by noun combined with a possessive definitive (see Section 1 Appendix IV), such as <u>suldáanka fáraskíisa</u> 'the sultan's horse' lit. 'the sultan his horse'.   It follows from the definition of the nominal cluster that all noun forms in t subordinate setting are at the same time components of a nominal cluster.   The subordinate setting is further subdivided into genitival-subordinate setting and postnume subordinate setting.   The former term is applied to noun forms dependent on a nominal other than a numeral and the latter is applied to noun forms dependent on numerals.

A noun form will be said to occur in the 'integrated' setting when it occurs as a component of a nominal cluster but does not fulfil the conditions specified in the definition of the subordinate setting given above.

A noun form will be said to occur in the 'simple' setting when it does not fulfil the conditions specified in the definitions of the other two settings. A noun form in the simple setting is never therefore a component of a nominal cluster.

In the actual description of the characteristics of noun forms in the three settings the following order has been adopted: simple, integrated and subordinate, as it has been found more convenient for that purpose. The order – subordinate, integrated and simple – has proved to be more suitable for giving their definitions. Examples of the three settings of noun forms will be found in Parts III and IV.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE POSITIONS OF NOUN FORMS ACCORDING TO THEIR PROXIMITY IN THE SENTENCE TO CERTAIN WORDS AND STRUCTURES: CONFIGURATIONS.

The positions of noun forms classified according to the proximity of certain words and structures will be referred to as 'configurations'. Four configurations will be recognised: neutral, closed, concatenated and open.

(i) A noun form will be said to stand in the neutral configuration: .

(a) In the simple setting:

    (I) when it occurs in isolation, or

    (II) when it occurs as the essential part of a
        verbless sentence of the 'waa...' type
        (see Section 2 of Appendix VI), or

    (III) when it occurs as the sequel part of a verble
        sentence of the 'wah-' type (see Section 2
        of Appendix VI).

(b) In the integrated and subordinate settings:

    (I) when it occurs as the marker of a nominal
        cluster which, taken as a unit, stands in
        isolation, or

    (II) when it occurs as the marker of a nominal
        cluster which, taken as a unit, forms the
        essential part of a verbless sentence of th
        'waa...' type, or

    (III) when it occurs as the marker of a nominal
        cluster which, taken as a unit, forms the
        sequel part of a verbless sentence of the
        'wah-' type.

(ii) A noun form will be said to be in the closed configura
when it is immediately followed by:

(a) the particle baa or ayaa,[1] or

(b) the particle baa or ayaa combined with the negative

particle aan and/or a preverbal subject pronoun

(see Section 1 of Appendix V), or

(c) the particle miyaa, or

(d) the particle miyaa combined with the negative

particle aan.

(iii) A noun form will be said to be in the concatenated

configuration

(a) when it is immediately followed by the conjunction

iyo, or

(b) when it is immediately followed by the conjunction

oo (yoo, ŏo) or a (ye, ŏe), when these occur as

links between items dependent on the same headword, or

(c) when it is followed by another noun, attributive

or ordinal numeral dependent on it (i.e. dependent

on the noun in the concatenated configuration), or

(d) when it is accompanied by (normally followed by)

a clause dependent on it, including clauses linked

to their headword by the conjunction oo (yoo, ŏo).

(iv) A noun form will be said to be in the open configuration

when it does not fulfil any of the conditions

specified in the definitions of the other

configurations.

Noun forms in the simple setting do not occur in the concatenated configuration.

Examples of the four configurations will be found in Parts III and IV.

CASE SYSTEM.

It is a characteristic feature of Somali that it has a two term case system which operates in noun forms in the open configuration only. Moreover, in undefined noun forms it is limited to the first five declensions only. In the defined noun forms it operates in all declensions except for those forms whose second component is the definitive _kée_ or _tée_, which itself is invariable.

This system consists of an alternance between two sets of variants differentiated in their shapes or in their accentual patterns, or in both. The two sets will be called Case A and Case B, and the details of their exponents will be given together with examples, in Part III and IV of this thesis. In this section, however, the factors determining the distribution of case forms will be described.

In the actual description of these characteristics Case will be dealt with first, and then Case B, on account of the higher frequency of occurrence of the Case A forms. In describing the distribution of case forms it is, however, more convenient to begin with Case B.

In the simple setting the distribution of case forms is determined by the following factors:

(i) The forms of Case B occur when the noun form in the

    open configuration

    (a) agrees with a verbal form, or

    (b) forms the complementary part of a verbless sentence
        of the 'waa...' or 'ma....baa' types (see
        Section 2 of Appendix VI.)

(ii) The forms of Case A occur when the noun form in the

    open configuration does not fulfil either of the

    conditions specified under (i) above.

In the integrated and subordinate settings the distribution of case forms is determined by the following factors:

(i) The forms of Case B occur when the noun in the open

    configuration

    (a) agrees with a verbal form, and/or

    (b) is the marker of a nominal cluster whose headword
        or headwords agrees with a verbal form outside
        the cluster itself, or

    (c) when it is the marker of a nominal cluster which,
        taken as a unit, forms the complementary part of
        a verbless sentence of the 'waa...' or 'ma....baa'
        types.

(ii) The forms of Case A occur when the noun form does not

   fulfil any of the conditions specified under (i)

   above.

Examples of case differentiation will be given in Parts
III and IV.

NOTE ON THE SELECTION OF EXAMPLES IN PARTS III AND IV.

In Parts III and IV tabulated statements concerning the
declensional exponents of noun forms in their settings and
configurations are given.   They cover a very large range of
possibilities, particularly if the various types of arrangemen
within each configuration are taken into account.   For this
reason the examples which follow each statement are limited
to a representative selection only.   To give an example for
each item would involve doubling or even trebling the size
of this thesis and might obscure its main theme.

PART III

UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THEIR SETTINGS AND CONFIGURATIONS

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SIMPLE SETTING.

In the simple setting the majority of noun forms have no special suffixes, but some forms have the suffix -i in the open configuration, Case B. When this suffix occurs in forms whose corresponding form in the neutral configuration ends in -i, i.e. when its stem ends in -i, the sequence -i + -i is realised as -iyi.

The distribution of the suffix -i and of the absence of suffixes is given in the table below.

Declension	Configuration			
	Neutral	Closed	Open	
			Case A	Case B
1	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-i
5	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-

The accentual patterns in this setting are as follows:

Declension	Configuration			
	Neutral	Closed	Open	
			Case A	Case B
1	AP 1	AP 1	AP 1	AP 5
2	AP 5	AP 3	AP 3	AP 5
3	AP 2	AP 2	AP 2	AP 5
4	AP 1	AP 1	AP 1	AP 5
5	? AP 2	AP 2	AP 1	AP 2
6	AP 4	AP 4	AP 4	AP 4
7	AP 3	AP 3	AP 3	AP 3
8	AP 2	AP 2	AP 2	AP 2

In the neutral configuration noun forms of the 6th declension can have AP1 as an optional variant.

In the closed configuration those noun forms of the sixth declension which do not end in a short vowel have AP1 as an optional variant.

Those noun forms which are used as examples below are underlined and the figures between two oblique strokes (e.g. /3/) indicate the declensions. When more than one noun is used as an example in the same sentence, the figures indicating declensions are placed in the same order as the noun forms in the text.

Neutral Configuration

Ninkii réerkǐisa Káa sooraa
wàa nín, ninkii réer kalé Káa
sooraa na wàa nimanyǎal.
(Pr.) /1/6/

The man who feeds you with what
belongs to his own family is a
generous man, but the man who
feeds you with what belongs to
another family is equal in
generosity to many men taken
together. (NOTE: lit. 'the man
who feeds you from his family is
a man, and the man who feeds you
from another family is groups of
men'.)

Nín saláan badani waa
sabbol amma waa wǎdǎad amma waa
ᶜiidan amma waa beenáale.
(Pr.) /2/2/ 3/5/

Only a pauper, a mullah, a servant
or a liar are full of greetings.
(NOTE: lit. 'a man who is full
of greetings is a pauper or
a mullah or a servant or a liar'.)

Waa ugáed e ha ká ḝryin!
/4/ (QA263)

It is game, don't chase it away!

Ninkaasu na wúhuu wataa
wḝyl. /4/

And that man drives a female calf
for himself. (NOTE: lit. 'and what
that man drives for himself (is)
a female calf.)

Closed Configuration

Tól iyó fardǒ, tól bàan
doortay.   (Pr.)   /1/

Of kinsmen and horses I have
chosen kinsmen.   (NOTE: i.e.
the bond of kinship is more
important to me than wealth.)

Arládáas na demeeràa iyo
éyda iyo baqàalku waa kú
qáali, mahàa yeeláy gèel
bàanáy lahàyn.
(HS22/51-2)   /2/

In that country donkeys, dogs
and mules were dear, because
they had no camels.   (NOTE:
'were dear' lit. 'are dear',
'they' refers to the inhabitants
of that country.)

Ádi badán bùu ú qalqalay
hgbèynkíi iyo súbihíi ba
hílib bùu ká dergiyay.
(HS20/10-11) /3/

He slaughtered for them many
sheep and goats and fed them with
meat to satiety in the night and
in the morning.

Ma lúg bàa?   Ma jéenàa?
(QA1491) /4/3/

Is it a hind leg?   Is it a front
leg?   (NOTE: jéenàa = jéeni
bàa.)

Nabád bàannu kú sóo hoyannay,
nabád na wáw seehannay.
(QA1066-7) /4/

We came home at night in peace
and we slept in peace.

Màandow, arbáha ha igá didín,
oofátàan ahay ó. . (From a
gábay by Ína ᶜAbdillé Hasán)

Dear friend, do not scare away
from me the bull elephant, I
am a hunter.   (NOTE: oofátàan

oofáto + bhan. The poet refers here to his enemies whom he intended to attack by surprise; the whole poem is addressed to one of his generals.)

Nimän bàn qemáar tagá, íntay laᶜág ú qaatàan ó. (From a gabay by ᶜấwed Khumrshé) /6/

Men go betting, taking money with them.

Open Configuration

Case A

Aróortii márkii wáagii baryáy bàa suldáankii rág kahaystay óo ambabbahay. (QA1607-8) /1/

In the morning, when the dawn broke, the sultan took with him some men and set out on the journey. (NOTE: 'some men' lit. 'men'.)

Ilàshòw, ròob nóo kèen! (A prayer) /2/

Oh God, bring us rain!

Hádal garawshiinyàa Lagagá dergaa, hílib na biyŏ, hantí na náag. (Pr.) /3/3/6/4/4

One gets satisfaction out of talking through sympathy and understanding, out of meat through (drinking) water, out of wealth through a wife.

Béen shèeg laakiin béen rún ú ég shèeg. (Pr.) /4/

Tell lies, but tell lies which resemble truth.

Doqoni sokeeyé má ahá.
(Pr.) /5/

Fools are not relatives.   (NOTE:
'fools cannot be considered as
real relatives, as one cannot
depend on them for co-operation.')

Kírknasùu caanŏ ú keenay.
(HS13/10-11) /6/

Then he brought milk for them.

Open Configuration

Case B

Rag waa rággii horé, hadal
ná waa íntuu yidí.   (Pr.)
/1/

Real men are the men of old times
real talk is what they said.
(NOTE: 'real men' lit. 'men'.
'real talk' lit. 'talk'.   'of
old times' lit. 'previous, former

Haddáan La kala roonáan
roob má doʔó.   (Pr.) /2/

Unless people are better than
each other rain does not fall.
(NOTE: i.e. unless one party in
a quarrel shows more generosity
than the other reconciliation
never comes.)

Méel hòo dǫonaysá hadal
wahbá ka má taró.   (Pr.)
/3/

Talk does not help at all where
material help is needed.   (NOTE:
lit. 'talk does not help a place
which wants "take it as a gift"'.

Garaadyó Layskú keenáy bàa
garásho ká ḍalataa.   (Pr.)
/5/

Understanding is born out of
minds which have been brought
together.

Beeni wáy Ku roga geysaa,
Ku ma sé rakaadisó.   (Pr.)
/4/

A lie will serve your purpose,
but will not give you water for
a second time.

Miyàa wãh da^c een?   (QA611)
/6/

Has anything happened?   (NOTE:
lit. 'has a thing happened' or
'have things happened?'.)

Hamfáley Ku qáadday!.   (A
formalised curse.)   /8/

May a hot wind take you away!
(NOTE: hamfáley is a mythical
hot wind which is said to have
taken away Sheikh Mohámmed
Haníif, the eponymous ancestor
of the Yíbir caste.)

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE INTEGRATED SETTING.

Noun forms in this setting can occur in all the four
configurations.   In the neutral, closed and open configurations
they have exactly the same exponents as their corresponding
forms in the simple setting[1]   In the concatenated configura-
tion they have no special suffixes in any of the forms.

In this setting in the concatenated configuration the
accentual patterns are:

Declension	
1	AP 1
2	AP 3
3	AP 2
4	AP 1
5	AP 1
6	AP 1
7	AP 3
8	AP 2

Neutral Configuration

Hadal waa bád iyó hoqón.
(Pr.) /4/

In talking there is a sea and
a tendon. (NOTE: lit. 'talk
is a sea and a tendon'. The
meaning is: in talking one
must distinguish between the
mass of unimportant words (sea)
and the few important, operative
words (tendons).)

Sheekádaan idíin shଵଵgaynaa
wáhay ká déh qaᶜday nín sodᶜ-
ᶜaal áh iyo jínni. /3/

The story which we are going to
tell you is about a traveller and
a djinn. (NOTE: lit. 'The stor
which we are telling you what it
fell between (is) a man who is a
traveller and a djinn.)

Closed Configuration

Oo wáar, waa tíi La odán jiray libàah iyó nín bàa waᶜatamáy e maad báhalka lá waᶜántid? (QA224-5) /1/	Listen man, indeed people used to say, a lion and a man made a pact, why don't you make a pact with the beast?
Laháddáa na adiyo Ilàah bàa lah. (HS23/361) /2/	And thanks for that are due to you and God. (NOTE: lit. 'You and God own those thanks.')
Wáha La yidi libàah iyo más iyo mús iyo dáb iyo haeláд iyo danᶜád bàa bérd hól wade laháa. (HS19/2-3) /4/	It is said, a lion, a snake, a thorny fence, fire, floodwater, deceit and honesty together kept a she-camel.

Concatenated Configuration.

Shanfaróodle waa nín iyo qobki. (Pr.) /1/	A human being consists of a man and his pride. (NOTE: lit. 'a five-fingered-one is a man and his pride'. 'pride' i.e. his pride in his achievements or good points.)
Lákhribka hórtiisii bùu, iságoo gaajó iyo dạal iyo harràad ú íl darán, tụuló yimi. (HS22/22-3) /5/2/	Exhausted by hunger, tiredness and thirst, he came to a village before the evening.

Cásó gorayo ma lugàa misé
wha minjŏ? (A riddle) /6/

Are feet of an ostrich hind feet
or are they front feet? (NOTE:
'or are they' lit. 'or they are'.

Gár daabé má ú noqónaysaa?
(HS2/11-12) /4/

Are you coming back for another
hearing? (NOTE: 'hearing' i.e.
hearing in an arbitration
tribunal.)

cẼel dadlíq áh úl dèer bàa
Lays kagá daẙaa. (Pr.)
/2/4/

One examines with a stick which
is long a well which swallows
people. (NOTE: 'a well which
swallows people' lit. 'a well
which is a "people swallower"'.)

bèen fakatáy runi má ggaddó.
(Pr.) /1/

Truth cannot reach lies which
have run away.

Bęláayo daamán La qabtày
lèedahay e dabó La qabtó
má léh. (Pr.) /6/5/

Misfortune has jaws by which
it is caught but has no tail
by which it is caught. (NOTE:
qabtày = qabtó+bày. The sense
of this proverb is: one can
prevent misfortune but one
cannot stop it when it has
already arrived.)

Walaalló is je^celi wàa
hoolŏ bataan ôo ħabaalŏ
yaraystaan, walaalló is
ne^cebi wàa hoolŏ yaraystaan
ôo ħabaalŏ bataan.   (Pr.)
/6/6/

Brothers who love one another
increase in wealth and make few
graves for themselves, brothers
who hate one another decrease in
wealth and make many graves for
themselves.

Open Configuration

Case A.

Márkii ^caanii La danáy bàa
rággii shírka joogáy ôo
dammi,dallinyaró iyo weeybeh,
weysó ú qalqaashay.
(QA837-8) /2/

When the milk had been drunk all
the men who were at the assembly,
young men and elders, prepared
for the ablutions.

^cad Ku ^ciijay ħil iyo geeri
Kúu díl.   (Pr.) /4/

A piece of meat which chokes
you kills you through death
and through shame.   (NOTE: i.e.
kills you by bringing death on
you and kills your reputation by
bringing shame on you as a greedy
person.)

Nin áan dúl marini daayŏ má
léh.   (Pr.) /1/6/

A man who has not travelled over
the earth has no sight.   (NOTE:
Nin áan is pronounced nim áan.
'Has.....earth' lit. 'has not

travelled (passed) earth (land ground).)

Dakhtárku nín Cáqli lùu ahaa. (HS16/10) /3/

The doctor was an intelligent (NOTE: lùu = léh/bùu. 'an intelligent man' lit. 'a man who has intelligence'.)

Nín béen yęquan waa nín fál yęqáan. (Pr.) /4/

A man who knows how to lie knows magic. (NOTE: 'knows how to lie' lit. 'knows a lie' or 'knows lies'.)

Nín khaygano badni waa nabád galaa. (HS6/11) /5/

A man who is full of deceit enters safety. (NOTE: 'is full of deceit' lit. 'has much deceit'.

Adi bàa wán ġęesǒ lihi kú jįri jįray. (HS6/1) /6/

A ram which had horns used to stray among sheep and goats.

Méel Cǎws lihi abáar má ahá. (Pr.) /6/

A place which has dry grass is not drought stricken. (NOTE: 'is not drought stricken' lit. 'is not drought' or 'is not a drought stricken place'.)

Open Configuration

Case B

Bęrigáa na mooddikàar iyo

At that time there were no

ręelwey iyo dayuurudi tòona
má jįrin.   (HS22/9-10) /4/

Dán iyǒ fįddikhi is djidé.
(Pr.) /4/

Nin daad qaaday humbó ᶜuskéy.
(Pr.) /2/
Méel boqor jǫogó gaᶜántaadàa
la ilaashudaa, méel ᶜaalįn
jǫogó na ᶜárrabkàaga, méel
vęli jǫogó na qálbigàaga.
(Pr.) /3/6/3/

Hírgi ᶜaanǒ galèen hikmadi
má gashó.   (Pr.) /6/

motorcars, no railways and no
airplanes.   (NOTE: lit. 'a
motorcar and a railway and an
airplane were not, none of them'.)
Necessity and haughtiness do not
agree.   (NOTE: lit. 'necessity
and haughtiness rejected each
other.')
A man whom flood water had taken
caught at froth.
In a place where a chieftain is
present one watches one's hand,
in a place where a learned man
is present one's tongue, in a
place where a saint is present
one's heart.   (NOTE: 'one's
hand' lit. 'your hand', 'one's
tongue' lit. 'your tongue', 'one's
heart' lit. 'your heart'.
gaᶜántàadàa = gaᶜántàadaɬbàa.)
Wisdom does not enter a mind which
milk has entered.   (NOTE: This
proverb is capable of two

interpretations.   The first is

that a rich man is never wise, a

the second that women do not

possess wisdom.)

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SUBORDINA
SETTING.

Undefined noun forms in the genitival-subordinate setting

are rare.   When they occur they have the following special

suffixes:

Declension	Suffix
1	-
2	-
3	-
4	-eed
5	-
6 (a) those plural forms whose final vowel is -o,	-Ld
(b) all the other forms singular, collective and plural	-
7	-
8	-

The suffix -eed follows immediately the stem, e.g. af

shimbir-eed 'beak' (lit. bird's mouth).   When the stem ends

in -i, the junction is realized as -i-yeed, e.g. shiraaq doomi-
yeed 'ship's sail'. When the stem has an alternance between
a longer and a shorter shape, the shorter shape occurs with
-eed, e.g. dúr gableed 'girl's clothes', cf. gabár 'girl'.
There are two noun forms in the fourth declension which instead
of the suffix -eed have the suffix -aad: danéer 'she-donkey'
and ló? 'cattle', e.g. caanó danéeraad 'she-donkey's milk',
caanó loPáad 'cattle's milk'.

The letter L in the designation of the suffix Ld indicates
the lengthening of the vowel preceding the consonant d of the
suffix, e.g. heró faráóod 'horses' enclosure', cf. faró
'horses', shúqul naagóod 'women's work', cf. naagó 'women'.
In two noun forms, riyó 'goats' and idó 'sheep', the suffix
-aad is used instead of the suffix -Ld, e.g. heró riyáad 'goats'
enclosure' and hílib idáad 'mutton' (lit. sheep's meat).

Undefined noun forms in the postnumeral-subordinate
setting are very frequent, but only certain noun forms can
occur in that position, namely:

   (a) all masculine singular noun forms in all declensions,

   (b) the feminine singular noun forms góor and jéer, both

       meaning 'time',

   (c) all feminine singular noun forms of the 5th, 7th and 8th

       declensions,

(d) those plural noun forms of the 6th declension whose corresponding singular forms belong to the 4th declension, e.g. naago 'women' (6th declension) whose corresponding singular form is náag 'a woman' (4th declension),

(e) the plural noun hablŏ 'girls' (6th declension) which has no corresponding singular form.

Noun forms of type (a), (b) and (c) have no special suffixes, while those of type (d) and (e) have the suffix -o except for the noun form riyŏ 'goats' which has the suffix -aad.

Noun forms not given above under (a) - (e) do not occur in the postnumeral-subordinate setting.

All noun forms in the subordinate setting, both genitive and postnumeral, have the same accentual patterns irrespective of their declension.

The accentual patterns in this setting are given below:

Configuration				
Neutral	Closed	Concatenated	Open	
			Case A	Case B
AP 1	AP 1	AP 1	AP 1	AP 5

Those noun forms which have any of the suffixes characteristic of the subordinate setting have AP4 in the

closed configuration as an optional variant to AP1.

Neutral Configuration

'Má i tidi?' waa kàyd rág,
(Pr.) /2/

'Did you tell me?' is a store
of men.   (NOTE: This proverb
refers to the necessity of
speaking clearly and in front of
witnesses in important matters.
To be able to give an affirmative
answer to the question 'Did you
tell me?' is as useful for men as
to have a store of provisions.)

Wúhuu íatíi kú déh daray
dogór iyo dąbóoyin uu
jąjebiyáy óo ngroodí iyo ilkó
ljbashbadéed iyo indó waraabé
iyo ᶜidiyó ljbáah iyo ᶜidiyó
shabéel iyo ᶜidiyó nąansą-
ᶜągąléy. /3/

What he added to the amount was:
wool, elephants' tails which he
had broken into bits, shark's
teeth, hyaena's eyes, lion's
claws, leopard's claws and
lizard's claws.   (NOTE: lit.
'what he added tails of elephant
which he had broken to bits and
teeth of shark and eyes of hyaena
and claws of lion and claws of
leopard and claws of lizard'.)

Closed Configuration

Álla, waa dibaataysányghay e
cád gobnimha ká muuqdá.
(QA413-4) /5/

By God, he is exhausted, but a
strain of nobility is visible in
him. (NOTE: gobnimha =
gobnimó+bàa. 'strain' i.e.
stock, race; this word also
means a piece of flesh.)

Labá nín bàynu nahay é is
ka kęen sìi. (QA1814) /1/

We are two men, let us fight
each other.

Waar méesha labé degmba ýǫal
oo ta shisha gǫel ma haysató
e, ta soké aan dácno. (HS13/
21-3) /5/

Two settlements are staying in
the place, and the one on the
further side has not many camels,
let us rob the one on this side.
(NOTE: degmàa = degmó+bàa.)

Concatenated Configuration

Way sokceyé iyo wìi sakaaró
iyo wararác damál sáddehda
ba cawáaqibkǫoda daqsàa Lóo
arkaa. (Pr.) /5/5/

Lament of kinsmen and a death-cr
of a dikdik and a cracking sound
of a tall tree, one soon sees th
vengeance of these three. (NOT
i.e. an injury done to one's
kinsmen, the felling of a tree a
the killing of a dikdik soon
bring retribution on a person wh
commits these deeds, considered

Taló tól ôo La djidaa tęgòog
jabày lèedahay. (Pr.) /1/

Advice _of kinsmen_ when it is
rejected has a broken limb.
(NOTE: i.e. the rejection of
kinsmen's (clan's) advice always
has bad consequences.)

(as evil. 'these three' lit.
'the three'.)

Labáda ugalíd iyó walaaláha
adàa, Weerisáay, igalá wỳyn.
(From a héello) /3/

Oh, Weeris, you are more to me
than the two _parents_ and the
brothers and sisters. (NOTE:
'more' lit. 'greater', or
'bigger'.)

Cóor dỳw bàa sịddèed ạẹrnóẹ
ôo ʕaanŭ áh inemmádii gýrigíi
kalá sóo beheen ôo shirkíi
keeneen. (QA830-3) /3/

Soon the boys came out of the
homestead with three _milk vessels_
which contained milk and brought
them to the assembly. (NOTE:
'which contained milk' lit.
'which are milk'.)

Lárkaasàa sáddehdíi _hablóod_ e
gýriga jọogay qófkíi dúmar
aháyd e ínanka waraabisáy
áqalk̨edíi ú sóo wạreegeen.
(QA445-6) /6/

Then the three _girls_ who were
in the homestead went to the
house of the woman who gave
water to the boy.

Sagáalkii nín e kalé ee ǫ̂ulu Kulá waday ba ḍintê ôo wun lǫayáy! (QA830-3) /4/

All the other three men who drove the camels with you have died, and it was I who killed them!

Open Configuration

Case A

Hádal sokeeyé iyo hílib idáad ba wáa La qaboojan. (Pr.) /6/

Both discussion between relatives and mutton must first be cooled. (NOTE: lit. 'one cools both talk of relatives and meat of sheep.')

ᶜIqáabta ifka iyo ᶜqdáabta aakhiró Alla Káa doerês. (A formalised blessing) /5/

May God keep far away from you the punishment of this world and the torments of the other world. (NOTE: 'this world' lit. 'the world'. The undefined noun aakhiró corresponds to 'the other world' in English.)

Márkaasaa márkii nimánkii gabádda dǫ́onayay labá habéyn jǫogèen e La sporyeeyáy maalíntii dambé shírkii yị́maaddeen ôo dee sídii La

When the men who sought to marry the girl had stayed for two nights and when they had been entertained with food, then on the subsequent day they came to

árki jįráy is yįdaahdeen,
'Suldáanka lá hádla ôo
gabádha węydíista!'
(QA1983-5) /2/
Márkaasaa Midgáankii síi
jisⁿiiay ôo táh hįlbŏ ah iyó
labá laⁿóod síi sįiyay oo
yįdi: 'Hilbàa síi ⁿún
lúⁿa na màrkaad harraadó
mír ba níd dính'.
(QA173-6) /6/

the assembly, and, as used to be
seen, they said to themselves,
'Speak to the sultan and ask for
the girl!'
Then the Midgaan gave the boy
provisions for the journey and
gave him dried meat and two
bones and said: 'Go on eating
meat, and when you become thirsty
eat the marrow out of one of the
bones'. (NOTE: The Midgans
used to be a low caste among
the Somalis.)

Open Configuration

Case B

Hádal waayeel wàa guudáar.
(pr.) /2/

Talk of elders consists of veiled speech. (NOTE: 'consists of' lit. 'is'. 'veiled speech' i.e. speech in which the meaning is conveyed indirectly through allusions.)

Ína ragòw, baló adduun thada úun má ahá. (From a gábay) /6/

Man, the management of the world is not only yours. (NOTE: lit 'son of men, management (the way of running) of world is not only yours.)

Oo sáddehda hal wàa maháy? (HS15/18) /1/

And what are the three things?

Haddày labá libaah igú kulmàan ka i higàan doortay. (Pr.) /2/

When two lions converge on me, I prefer the one which is near me. (NOTE: 'I prefer' lit. 'I have chosen'.)

Qáb qáb daafáy bày labá gobood qáran kú wçydaa yo. (Pr.) /6/

Two noble clans do not find prosperity in pride clashing with pride. (NOTE: 'pride clashing with pride' lit. 'pride which has passed pride'.)

PART IV.

DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THEIR SETTINGS AND CONFIGURATIONS.

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS.   A GENERAL NOTE.

In Section 2 of Appendix IV the junction features between the noun components and definitive components of defined noun forms are described and a statement concerning their accentual patterns is given in Section 3 of Appendix IV. From this information it is possible to predict the inflectional characteristics of every defined noun form, provided that its declensional group is taken into account, and its definitive component (i.e. the definitive form with which the noun form is combined) is known.

In view of this the declensional exponents of defined noun forms will be described in the following sections by reference to the definitive forms of either Set A or Set B.

The division of positions into three settings is not necessary for the actual description of declensional exponents of defined noun forms, but is kept in this part of the thesis in order to provide a framework for the comparison of the declensional exponents of the defined noun forms with those of the undefined noun forms.

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SIMPLE
                          SETTING.

The declensional exponents of defined noun forms in the

simple setting are stated in the table below by reference to their definitive components.

Configuration	Type of definitive
Neutral	
Closed	Set A
Open { Case A	
Case B	Set B

Examples

Neutral Configuration

Oo wàa ᶜɟdkɟe? ... Waa
hynɡúriɡa.   (QA1545-6) /1/3/

And which part of the meat is
it? ... It is the gullet.

Línka wɛ̀yn é hálkáa hyrdaa
waa nínkàyɡii.   /1/

The big man who is sleeping
over there is my husband.

Gabáḍḍaasu na waa waláasháy
ᵭo is ku báh bàannu nahay.
(QA1757-8) /4/

And that girl is my sister and
we are children of the same
mother.   (NOTE: báh means
children of the same mother in
a polygynic family.)

Closed Configuration

Ma baḍídàa?   Ma wadnáhàa?   Ma
ᶜárrabkàa?   (QA1492) /4/5/3/

Is it the rump?   Is it the
heart?   Is it the tongue?

(NOTE: baɗíɗàa = baɗíɗa + bàa,

wadnáhìn = wadnáha + bàa,

Cárrabkàa = Cárrabka + bàa.)

Sídíi doonní qooftáy duufáan Cidláɗèn hád ba djiráɗ suaraa ŷé. (A hóello) /4/	Like a ship sailing in a storm, again and again I set my compass towards the empty land. (NOTE: Cidláɗèn = Cidláɗa + bàan.)
Náshíi bày maaleen. (HS 19/26) /4/	They milked the she-camel for themselves.
Libàahíi ayàu toogtay. /2/	He fired at the lion.
Ójɗaiɗíi bàa níníkíi hácha Iagá gartáy ká baqday ôo ú eehatay. (HS2/3) /3/	The arbitration court was afraid of the man among whose herds the she-camel was found and gave an unfair judgment in his favour. (NOTE: 'the man...found' lit. 'the man from whom the she-camel was recognised'.)
Gabáɗɗaasàa garatáy ôo aannu gyursánaynaa. (HS15/37-8) /4/	That girl knew it and we shall take her as wife for our kinsman. (NOTE: gabáɗɗaasàa = gabáɗɗaas bàa.)

Aabbáháa bàan ú sheegay
ínaad nabadggelyó wèyn qabtôo
áau wáá bgeló ihi ínaan lugú
so^ón. /5/

Hagghad ká keentay kalluunka?
/1/

I told your father that you we
in great peace and prosperity
and nothing evil was coming to
you. (NOTE: qabtôo = qabtó
Where have you brought the fis
from? (NOTE: hagghad =
hagéc bàad. 'where' lit.
'which place' or 'what place'.

Open Configuration

Case A

Wiilka ^caanha lá qáu!
(QA763) /2/

Waar, hòe qáh, nín anmága
áh bàa bgeri ^cúdurkáa Ku heláy
ôo kala lú qa^cáy ôo lagá dgwee-
yay e bal ká tág lugáha.
(QA1037-8) /6/

Drink the milk with the boy!
(NOTE: ^caanha is an optional
variant of ^caanéha or ^caaná^a.
Listen, now the illness which
afflicts you once came upon o
of our men and he was treated
effectively against it, well
then, uncover your legs.
(NOTE: 'which afflicts you' l
'which found you'. 'one of c
men' lit. 'a man who is (or
belongs to) us'. 'uncover yc
legs' lit. 'come off the legs'

Dee géraad, gabádda na sii.
(QA2013) /4/

Now chieftain, give us the girl.

Márkaasay habbáddii libàahii
jiidaysay. /2/

Then the bullet inflicted a
flesh wound on the lion.

Gabád bàa tidi, 'Rágga
jirrab, ninkáa guursánayá aad
ogáatid é.' /1/

A girl said to herself, 'Test
those man, so that you may learn
about that man who will marry
you.' (NOTE: 'test' i.e.
'test their prudence and
intelligence by asking them
questions especially designed for
the purpose. 'who will marry
you' lit. 'who is marrying'.)

Bal, gabbáháy tág! /5/
Ká qàad heedáda dabòolka!
(QA1503) /5/2/

Well then, go to my father!
Take off the cover from the
dish!

Góor dow bàa náagtii àwrkii
keentay.   (QA93) /2/

Soon afterwards the wife brought
the he-camel.

Indáhàyga rumaysán màayo!
/6/

I do not believe my eyes!

Hébel, mahàa arládiinnii Káa
keenáy é aad dúlkayágén ká sóo
doontay?   (HS23/120-1) /5/1/

What has brought you from your
country and what have you come
to seek in this our land?

Open Configuration

Case B

Waar, wiilku ma qariib bàa?
(QA734) /2/

niso, lugihu ways ká
vǫewèynyǫhiin ôo waa
ᶜaafimàad qabnan e haglàa
ûnbàa is kú dǫǫáy.
(QA884-6) /6/

| | Is the boy a stranger? |
| | In fact the legs are normal developed and healthy and o the back parts of the knees contracted. (NOTE: haglè an optional variant of nagl or haglá⁻a. 'normally dev and healthy' lit. 'just big and have health'.) |

Yay gabáddu ú yǫedaysaa?
(QA829) /4/

Márkaasàa libàahii nínkii
dǫlay. /2/

Mahày kú hanshasháqayaan
rággaasi? /1/

Aabbahày bóqor bùu ahéan
jǫray. /5/

Maroodigu takárta kú jǫogtá
má arkó, ta kalùn arkao. /6/

	Whom is the girl calling?
	Then the lion killed the me
	What are those men whisperi about?
	My father used to be a chie.
	The elephant does not see t camel fly which sits on him. sees the other one. (NOTE: kalùu = kalé + bùu. 'the (one' i.e. 'the other camel :

báqorkii wàu bukaa. /3/ — The chieftain is ill.

Koolåhàagu wàa maháy? /6/ — What are your animals?

Shgekóovinkani vaa shgekóoyin — These stories are true stories.

ḍáb áh. /3/ — (NOTE: 'true stories' lit.

'stories which are truth'.)

Ca^canbàa gó^ɔday! (MS23/229) — Lay your hand wither! (NOTE:

/4/ — 'wither' or 'be cut off' or

'die'.)

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE INTEGRATED SETTING.

The declensional exponents of defined noun forms in the integrated setting are stated in the table below, by reference to their definitive components, as in the preceding section.

Configuration	Type of definitive
Neutral	
Closed	
Concatenated	Set A
Open — Case A	
Open — Case B	Set B

Examples

Neutral Configuration

^cAlooladayg waa Ịlàah — Fortitude is the companion of

wghélkị. (Pr.) /6/

God. (NOTE: 'the companion of
God' lit. 'God his companion'.)

Closed Configuration

Ínankíi sod^caalka aháa y̆óo
gaajó iyo harràad ú íl daroni
na wàabta dénd̃edhu sóo
jiifáa dy^cáda d̃egaysánayaa.
(QA124-5) /4/

The boy traveller is lying in
the middle of the shed, exhausted
with hunger and thirst and is
listening to the prayer.
(NOTE: dénd̃edhu = déud̃ede + bhu
jiifáa = jiifaa óo. 'The boy
traveller' lit. 'the boy who was
the traveller'. 'the middle of
the shed' lit. 'the shed its
middle'.)

Ínminka se suldáanka
^cáqliglisíi bàa humaadáy. /3/

But now the sultan has lost his
senses. (NOTE: lit. 'but now
the sultan his mind has become bad.
Even to-day my young daughter
and her brother went away
together, I don't know where they
have gone. (NOTE: 'my young
daughter' lit. 'my daughter who
was young'. 'where' lit. 'a
place where'.)

Máantadén na inántàydíi
yaráyd iyo waláalkéed bàa is
raa^cáy, móel ay qabtèen garán
màayó. /6/

Dálaskiyo sabòolkôo dán iyo
dyunyádàn so^cón déh.
(HS23/301) /5/

Say to him: the weak, all the
poor and the livestock will
perish. (NOTE: dálaskiyo =
dálaska iyo. dyunyádàn =
dyunyáda + bàa.)

Concatenated Configuration

^cAshó walbá ^carrúurta iyo
hoolúha déhdòodùu is ká mári
jiray ôo walbá ma ýqeli jirín.
(HS8/3-4) /4/

Every day he just used to pass
between the children and the
animals and did not use to do any
harm. (NOTE: déhdòodùu =
déhdòoda + bùu.)

Maalintíi afortanáad aỳàa
ịnankíi iyo nínkii hịlib lá
sóo beneen. /4/3/

On the fortieth day the boy and
the man took out the meat.

Márkaasàa inanlaygàalkii
réerkḷisíi iyo afádḷisíi lá
gyuray. (HS18/5-6)/6/

Then the man who lived with his
wife's clan, moved away with
his household and his wife.
(NOTE: 'man.....clan' lit.
'girl-with-stayer'.)

Miyàanád ogàyn ínáau indáha
dúmarka wahbá ká bahsán? /6/
Waar hór ma adàa nínka
bakhàylka áh é La sheegaa?
(HS14/12-3) /1/

Don't you know that nothing will
escape the eyes of the women?
First, are you the man who is a
miser and about whom people talk?

Daqsígàa kú ḍaᶜá heeḍáḍáan díbaqu saarràyn é. (From a gàbay) /5/

The flies fall into the dish on which a cover is not put. (NOTE: heeḍáḍáan = heeḍáḍa áan.)

Inankii yaráa na wàa La qabtay. (HS1/19) /3/

And the young boy was captured. (NOTE: 'the young boy' lit. 'the boy who was young'.)

Ìnuu síi soᶜdó ba mánkii ỹoo húlkíi hurdùu yimi. (HS23/224) /1/

After he had walked on and on he came to the snake which was sleeping in the place. (NOTE: hurdùu = hurdá + bùu. 'the snake which was sleeping' - another meaning of this expressic is 'the snake, while it was sleeping'. 'was sleeping' lit. 'is sleeping'.)

Kárkaasùu taabtay ḍḍrigíi weñ Lagú shḍilayáy. /3/
Sow réerkán aan ú hoyday má ḍhid? (QA675) /6/

Then he touched the cooking pot i which something was being fried. Aren't you from this family to whom I came to stay for the night (NOTE: 'Aren't you from' might alternatively be translated by 'don't you belong to...?')

Aan ḍḍmáḍáe uu lá yqal ᶜólka

Let us direct the raiding party

ká dýno! (HS13/18-9) /5/

away from that settlement with
which he is staying!

Open Configuration

Case A.

márkii dádkii kala wada
seehseehdáy bàa afádii ínanka
galabnirádii waraabisay
dgbéddii ú sóo bahday óo is
tidi, 'Woolha iyó.... óodda
ú sóo rǫg.' (QA544-6) /3/

When the people all went to sleep
the woman who gave water to the
boy in the evening came out into
the open and said to herself,
'Attend to the animals and ....
the thorn fence.' (NOTE: 'and
....' implies that there were also
other things she was to attend to.)

Wíhuu is yidi, 'Hórta dábin
ú digó. Mínkii uᵘagia Kaagá
yimi qabó!' /4/

He said to himself, 'Set a trap
for him. Catch the man who came
unlawfully to your wife.' (NOTE:
'set a trap for him' lit. 'set a
trap for him for yourself (i.e.
on your behalf). 'came to your
wife unlawfully' lit. 'came to the
wife against you'. Kaagá = Ku
'you' + ú 'to' + ka 'from, against'
(will, wishes, rights, interest).)

Súbihii márkii wᵘagii bǫryáy

In the morning when the dawn

bla nínkíi martída ahaa
m̀aay ôo nínkíi réerka laháa
ú yeeday. (HS10/3-4) /4/

broke the guest got up and
called the head of the family.
(NOTE: 'the guest' lit. 'the
man who was the guest'. 'the
head of the family' lit. 'the man
who owned the family'.)

Márkaasùu níu ninánkíi ká
mid ihi yidi: 'Anùa garínayá
sí aynu ú hulannó.' (HS15/
18-9) /6/

Then one of the men said: 'I know
a way in which we can select her.
(NOTE: 'one of the men' lit.
'a man who was one from the men'.
'in which we can select her' lit.
'in which we select her' (out of
a group).)

ᶜíd áan degmád[linnán ahàyn
ná aróg. (QA1391) /5/

I have not seen a person who was
not of this your settlement.
(NOTE: 'was not of' or 'did not
belong to this your settlement.)

Is má ŋgá agòon iyo nínkíi
asbbíhí dílay é. (From a
gàbay) /5/

An orphan and the man who killed
his father do not know each other.
(NOTE: 'do not know each other'
i.e. will never be friends.)

Wẁeyé, bal guryàa iyo dádka
iyo hoollàa ká warráaa!
(QA1068) /6/

All right, and now tell us the
news about the homesteads, the

people and the animals. (NOTE:
gyryàa is an optional alternative
of gyryáha or gyryáˉa; hoolèa is
an optional alternative of
hoolâha or hooláˉa.)

Mar uun bùu ᶜIgaal dameerihii
iyo báqulkii sídâa ú eegay.
(HS22/28-9) /3/

At one moment ᶜIgaal looked
attentively at the donkeys and
the mule. (NOTE: 'at one moment
or 'once' or 'at one time'.
'attentively' lit. 'like that' or
'in that way'; here the
narrator's facial expression would
show how ᶜIgaal looked at the
animals.)

Gèela ràadkìisii rhaᶜ ôo
kagá dabó tág. (QA1169-70)
/2/

Follow the footprints of the
camels and thus go after them.
(NOTE: 'the footprints of the
camels' lit. 'the camels their
footprints'.)

Márkaasàa afádii aabbéhèed
iyo hooyádèed iyo walaallàdèed
ú tagtay ôo tiḍi, 'Waannu
gýuraynaa.' /6/

Then the wife went to her father,
her mother and her brothers and
said, 'We are moving.'

Open Configuration

Case B

Inay sidáa ahaató ba márkay
bargálii aháyd bàa show
cólkii kalé é raacdáda ohá̃a
ôo furdǒ ká joogá ôo show
intá góor gaabán gurylì ká
sóo bahay debadeed rʒedkii
gábbal ugá dacáy ôo hálkíi
seehdáy ôo márkii nín iyo
gʒed la kala garbij cǒ̃lkii
sóo jiifsaday, mydka nínkii
ú horreeyáy é <u>inanku</u> dilǎy ká
sóo dacen. (QA1851-6) /3/

It continued to be so for some
time. The other search party,
who were on horseback, left the
homesteads in the late afternoon,
then detected the footprints in
the evening and slept there.
When one could tell a man from a
tree, they followed the footprint
and in the mid morning came upon
the corpse of the first man whom
<u>the boy</u> had killed. (NOTE:
The three sentences in the
translation correspond to one
sentence in the original: As it
continued to be so, when it was
the mid morning the other group
who were a search party and who,
after having left the homesteads
in the late evening, afterwards --
detected the footprints and
slept there and who, when one
recognised a man from a tree,

Lárkaasùu ninkíi náaxtu ká
dimatay odáygíi ú warremay ôo
yįḍḍ: 'Afádàydíi bàa shálay
dimatay ôo méesha Lagú assay.
(HS21/11-13) /4/

 Myduó baddùu ninkíi kyhèanka
ahaa gúrigiisíi jọogáy é
nastay é istareeháy bàa nimán
suldáankíi sóo diray ú
yįuaraleen oo yįdeahdeen:
'Suldaankíi bàa nóo sóo káa
diráy.' (HS23/235-7) /6/
Min gwawaį lòon ugú digoo líil
gẹshàan ahay é.   (From a
gábay by Salàan cArrabey.)
/6/

upon the corpse of the first man
whom the boy had killed.)
Then the man whose wife died told
the old man the news and said:
'My wife died yesterday and was
buried in the place.'   (NOTE:
'the man whose wife died' lit.
'the man from whom the wife died'
When the soothsayer stayed at his
home for a while, rested and
enjoyed himself, men whom the
sultan sent came to him and said:
'The sultan sent us for you.'

My grandfather taught me it on
a writing board and made me
accomplished.   (NOTE: lit. 'I
am a man whom his grandfather
taught it on a writing board and
made accomplished.'   'it' refers
to the art of composing poems.
gẹshàan = gẹsháy bàan.)

Márkaasùu ádigii martídu
wadatáy keheeyay ôo ádigiisii
ku duray, martídii na wùu
syoryeeyay.   (HS20/8-10)
/4/

Then he drove the sheep and goats
which the guests had with them
and put them together with his
own sheep and goats; and he
entertained the guests with food.
(NOTE: 'which the guests had with
them' lit. which the guests drove
for themselves.)

Arládáas na dameerha iyo
eyda iyo baqhalku was kú
dẃli, mahaa ye láy gèel
bàanáy lahàyn.   (HS22/51-2)
/2/

In that country donkeys, dogs
and mules were expensive, because
they had no camels.   (NOTE:
dameerha is an optional alternative
variant of dameerdha or dameerá a
'they' i.e. the inhabitants.)

Boowáháy, maháddáyda iyo
duⁱádàydu há Kulá jireen.
(QA1727) /5/

My son, may my thanks and
my blessing be with you.

Márkaasàa garhadkii iyo
duqáydii iutá is eegèen
dóoshu ká qosleen.
(QA853-4) /4/

Then the chieftain and the
elders, after they had looked
at one another, smiled.

Bêrigii aad bádda kú maqnáyd   At the time when you were at

anigii iyo aabbahaa wàannu   sea, I and your father met.

kulannay. /5/

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SUBORDINATE SETTING.

The inflectional characteristics of defined noun forms
in the subordinate setting are stated below, again by reference
to their definitive components.

Configuration	Type of definitive
Neutral	
Closed	
Concatenated	Set A
Open — Case A	
Open — Case B	Set B

Examples

Neutral Configuration

Ninkaasu waa odáyga réerka.   That man is the head of the
/6/   family.   (NOTE: 'the head' lit.
'the old man'.   'family' or
'village'.)

Closed Configuration

Dunka na ^cglaansooyinka | And the vicissitudes of the
dunidha hukúmaya. | world are ruling the people.
(HS25/453-4) /4/ | (NOTE: 'vicissitudes' lit.

Dunka na ^cglaanooyinka
dunídha hukúmayá.
(HS25/453-4) /4/

And the vicissitudes of the
world are ruling the people.
(NOTE: 'vicissitudes' lit.
'signs' or 'patterns', for a
further explanation of this
concept see Notes 23/452-3B
and 253A in HS. <u>dunídha</u> =
<u>dunida</u> + <u>bàa</u>.)

Dee íllayn iyáda ^cidi odán
màysó, 'Wàad ga^cCatay!' é àayár
bàa Lóo yími yòo La ànaweday óo
^cabbàar Lalá joogay óo ^càws
iyó geedò Lóo keenay óo kúl La
yími qàylku fàraska <u>suldáankùu</u>
ú égyghay. (QA1699-1702) /6/

Well, no one will say to her
'You have an illegitimate baby!'
and slowly people came to her,
watched her, stayed with her for
a while and brought her dry grass
and fresh grass; and strangely
enough the colt resembles the
horse <u>of the sultan</u>! (NOTE:
<u>suldáankùu</u> = <u>suldáanka</u> + <u>bùu</u>.
'her' refers to a mare, which
unexpectedly bore a colt which
resembled the sultan's horse
which was away on a long
journey.)

Concatenated Configuration

Dgan-dèerte g̱g̱eliyo idàa   Say to him: the strong ones
dgylán bàa hádi dáh.   among the camels and the black-
(RS23/302) /2/   headed sheep will survive.
                                   (NOTE: g̱g̱eliyo = g̱g̱ela iyo
                                   idàa is an optional variant of
                                   idáha or idá-a.   The noun
                                   dgan-dber means the strong
                                   camels which are capable of
                                   great exertions.   'The strong
                                   ones among the camels' lit.
                                   'the strong camels of the
                                   camels'.)

Márkausaa g̱g̱enyádíi y̱óo   Then people let in the mare,
bg̱eddalán na fíraskii suldáankóo   which was on heat, to the
hálkéer níránayá Leog̱á síi   sultan's horse which was grazing
dgayay. (QA1662-3) /6/   at night over there.   (NOTE:
                                   suldáankôo = suldáanka ôo.
                                   'the sultan's horse' lit.
                                   'the horse of the sultan'.)

Open Configuration

  Case A

Waláolow, i qàad ôo g̱g̱edkíi   Brother, carry me and take me

shirka íi gọe. (QA1033) /1/
Síkhti badán íntay ká
dambaysáy ayûu gárigíi
hébếháy iigalá oóo bahsaday
maalíntíi la i guursán laháa.
/2/
Márkaasàa dúmarkii hádalkíi
ínanka lá yaabeen ôo
yịdaahdeen: 'Waa, ínanka
yeri malàu gợb bùu ká dashay
ê bal inaga bammaníya íntuu
inalá jọogó!' (QA436-7) /3/

Open Configuration

Case B

Íntẹe yịhiin tiráda ilkáha
dádku, waa ná íntẹe, kûwa
fárashu? /3/

to the tree of the assembly.
A long time ago he abducted me
from the home of my father on
the day when I should have been
married.

Then the women were surprised at
the words of the boy and said:
'Probably this boy was born of
a noble clan, let us make much of
him while he stays with us?'

How many teeth have people, and
how many are those of the horse?
(NOTE: lit. 'Which amount are
the number of the teeth of the
people, and which amount are
those of the horse?'.)

PART V

CONCLUSION

COMPARISON BETWEEN NOUN FORMS AND NOMINAL CLUSTERS

The account of the declensional exponents of noun forms
given in this thesis would be very incomplete without some
mention of the comparable characteristics of nominal clusters,
taken as units.

In the sections dealing with the classification of the
positions of noun forms it has been said that a nominal cluster
is a syntactic equivalent of a noun and is capable of occurrence
in the same positions in the sentence.   It follows then that
a noun within any setting or configuration can be replaced by
a nominal cluster.

Like a noun form, a nominal cluster has variants whose
distribution is determined by its setting, configuration and
case.   Such variants, however, differ only in the shapes and
accentual patterns of their markers, but are otherwise identical.

Even if the marker of a nominal cluster is not a noun form
it has positional and case variants, and this principle can
best be illustrated on markers which are dependent verbal forms,
i.e. members of the construct and divergent paradigms.   (See
Section 1 of Appendix VI.)

The distribution of such variants is determined by the

same factors as the distribution of the noun forms in the
subordinate setting.

The details of the characteristics of dependent verbal
forms which occur as markers of nominal clusters is given in
the table below, which applies to all the three settings:

Configuration of the nominal cluster, taken as a unit	Type of the verbal form which occurs as its marker
Neutral	Set A
Closed	Set A or, optionally, Set B (except for the negative verbal forms in which such optional alternatives do not occur.)
Concatenated	Set A
Open, Case A	Set A
Open, Case B	Set B

In the examples given below the verbal forms which occur
as markers of nominal clusters are underlined.

Neutral Configuration

Lárkaashu, íllayn waa nín aan   Well, then, he was a man who had

úfar ᶜaanamáal oomató
dadḍamín é diiday. (QA71-8)

not tasted food for four milking
times, and he fainted. (NOTE:
'was' lit. 'is').

Álla, súldaan nínku waa nín
wonaaṣán é ha dílin!
(HS20-1)

By God, sultan, the man is a good
man and do not kill him. (NOTE:
'good man' lit. 'a man who is good')

Closed Configuration

Nínka íaa Samayné La
yídaahᶁaa bàan kú hiḍtay.
(HS2/12-3)

I put my trust in the man who
is called Samayné.

Nínkaasu nín wonaaṣán bùu
ahaa. (HS18/16-7)

That man was a good man. (NOTE:
'a man who is good'.)

Concatenated Configuration

bárkii nínkii réerka lahaá
yé sabbolka ahaa martídii
faràa badnáyd arkáy bùu nahay,
há yeeshó e wuu ká hishooday
ínuu ᶜarrawshó. (HS20/6-6)

When the man who was the head of
the family and who was poor saw
the numerous guests he was
appalled, yet he was ashamed to
send them away on an afternoon
journey. (NOTE: 'the man...
poor' lit. 'the man who owned the
family and who was a poor
person'.)

Wáhaanád qgautaa, bani
qalanka qôfkii wạnaagsán é
and awagtó ba qóf úun bàa ká
síi wạnaagsán. (HS21/50-1)

And what you must know is this:
as for the children of Adam, for
every good person that you see
there is a person who is even
better. (NOTE: lit. 'and what
you know, the children of Adam,
the person who _is good_ and when
you see whatever, a person
indeed is even better'.)

Open Configuration

Case A

Márkaasùu náskii ŷôo gèed
jịrriddá kú hurdá ú yịmi
ŷôo is yịdi: 'Séef qóorta
kagá dufó!' (HS3/7-8)

Then he came to the snake
who _was sleeping_ in the tree
trunk and said to himself: 'Hi
him with a sword on the neck!'
(NOTE: 'who was sleeping' or
'while he (the snake) was
sleeping'.)

Waar hórta baháshán dyndumó
La yịdaahdó ligá wárrau.
(HS5/5)

First, tell me about this thing
which _is called_ termite hill.

Ínankíi yaráa na wáa ba
qabtay. (HS1/19)

And the young boy was captured.
(NOTE: 'the young boy' lit. 't

Oo sidée bàynu ta ugú
wąnąą, ŋán ú garánaynaa?
(HS15/7-8)

And in what way shall we
recognize the one who is best?

Open Configuration

Case B

Márkaasho yárkii y̆òo węlí
hųrdaą qaalínta ɠlolkȩedíi
nȩ̀ądiga ká maqlay.   (QA
1165-6)

Then the boy who was still
sleeping heard in his half-
conscious state the grunting of
the she-camel.   (NOTE: 'who'
or 'while he'.)

Wáar, hórta nínkán lȩ̀bùah
La yidȩ̀ąhdaą íllayn waa nínka
hȩ̀oggu íntàa le²égyghay ôo
maalínta dambùu ina wada
láyn doonaa y̆e maynu is ká
qabánno?   (HS19/6-8)

Well, this man who is called lion
is a man whose strength is very
great and one day he will kill us
all, why don't we simply catch
him?   (NOTE: 'a man......day'
lit. 'is the man the strength is
that amount and the day after...')

Hálkaasàa ᶜólkíi y̆òo dán
ínankíi yaraa kagá bahsaday.
(HS1/22)

In that way the young boy survived,
out of the whole raiding party.
(NOTE: 'the young boy' lit.
'the boy who was young'.   'out
of the whole raiding party' i.e.
was the only survivor.)

Dúlkayága wéh ká wanaagsani
rá jiró.

There is nothing better than our country. (NOTE: lit. 'A thing which is better than our country there is not.')

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Although the material presented in this thesis has served to fill a gap in our knowledge of Somali, yet at the same time it has revealed even larger gaps which require attention if further progress is to be made in the study of the grammatical structure of this language.

The present study has shown that the morphology of noun forms cannot be adequately treated unless positional features are taken into account. It has also demonstrated that a similar approach is necessary when dealing with verbal forms, which so far have not received an exhaustive treatment in any of the existing publications. This is almost certainly due to the preoccupation of the authors of works on Somali with notional categories at the expense of the study of formal characteristics.

In addition the present study has also brought to light the lack of precise information about the relationship between the accentual patterns of sentences taken as units, and the accentual patterns of their components. In the present

study and in my article 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms
in the Isaaq dialect of Somali' it has been demonstrated that
certain grammatical categories have fixed accentual patterns.
From this it follows that to a very large extent the accentual
contours of the whole sentence are determined by the
grammatical status of their components. The details of this
correlation require extensive description.

Furthermore, the material presented here and in the
article mentioned above makes it clear that in Somali not only
affixes but also accentual patterns function as exponents of
grammatical categories which, in turn, are correlated with
notional categories. It is essential, therefore, for the
elucidation of texts, particularly those of literary merit,
to make provision for the marking of accentual features. If
this is not done, the texts, at least in some of the more
complicated passages, may prove difficult to understand and
to interpret even for the Somalis themselves.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED
       IN THIS THESIS.

ᶜAbdullāhi Ḥāji Maḥmūd and Bruno Panza Alkaya Hero.

    Mogadiscio 1960, Edizioni Arte e Cultura.

Andrzejewski, B.W.

    'Is Somali a tone-language?', Proceedings of the Twenty-

       Third International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge

       1954, Royal Asiatic Society, London, pp.567-9.

    'Some problems of Somali orthography', The Somaliland

       Journal 1954, pp.34-47.

    'The problem of vowel representation in the Isaaq dialect

       of Somali', BSOAS. 1955, XVII/3, pp.567-80.

    'Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq dialect

       of Somali', BSOAS, 1956, XVIII/1, pp.103-29.

    'Pronominal and prepositional particles in northern Somali',

       African Language Studies, I, 1960, pp.96-108.

    'Notes on the substantive pronouns in Somali', African

       Language Studies, II, 1961, pp.80-99.

Armstrong, Lilias E.

    'The phonetic structure of Somali', Mitteilungen des

       Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen zu Berlin, Jahrgang

       XXXVII, Abteilung III, 1934, pp.116-61.

Bell, C.R.V.

The Somali language, London 1953, Longmans, pp. XI + 185.

Berghold, K.

'Somali Studien', Vienna Oriental Journal (Wiener Zeitschrift
für die Kunde des Morgenlandes), vol.XIII, 1899, pp.123-98

Galaal, M.H.I.

'Arabic script for Somali', The Islamic Quarterly, Vol.1,
no.2, 1954, Islamic Cultural Centre, London, pp.114-18.

Hikmad Soomaali, edited with grammatical introduction and
notes by B. W. Andrzejewski, London 1956, O.U.P., pp.XII +
150.

Kirk, J.W.C.

A grammar of the Somali language, Cambridge University
Press 1905, pp.XVI + 216.

Laino, M.

'L'Alfabeto "Osmania" in Somalia', Rassegna di Studi
Etiopici, Vol.X,Genn.-Dic. Rome 1951, pp.108-21.

Moreno, M.M.

Il Somalo della Somalia, grammatica e testi del Benadir,
Darod e Dighil, Rome 1955, Istituto Poligrafico dello
Stato, pp.VIII + 404.

Reinisch, L.

Die Somali Sprache, Vol III – Grammatik, Vienna 1903.

Alfred Hölder, Kaiserlische Akademie der Wissenschaften,

Südarabische Expedition, pp.VIII + 126.

Tiling, M. von,

'Die Vokale des bestimmten Artikels im Somali', Zeitschrift

für Kolonialsprachen (Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen)

Jahrgang IX, 1918-19, Berlin, pp.132-65.

Warsama, S. and Abraham, R.C.

The Principles of Somali, London 1951, cyclostyled, second

edition, published by R. C. Abraham, pp.481.

2. A GENERAL NOTE ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ON THE SOMALI
LANGUAGE.

Bibliographies of works on Somali can be found in:

Bryan, M.A.

The distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic languages

of Africa, O.U.P. 1947, International African

Institute, pp.36.

Galaal, M.H.I.

Hikmad Soomaali (for which see Section 1 of the Appendix);

bibliography is given on pp.28-30.

Maino, M.

La lingua somala strumento d'insegnamento professionale,

Allessandria 1953, on pp.100-3.

'I somali e la loro lingua', Affrica, Anno VII, No.2,

Febr. 1952, Rome, pp.49-50.

Tucker, A.N. and Bryan, M.A.

The non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa, O.U.P., 1956.

Handbook of African Languages, Part III, International

African Institute, on pp.204-5.

To the above mentioned bibliographies the following new

items should be added:

Andrzejewski, B.W.

'Poetry in Somali society', New Society, London, Vol.1,

No.25, 1963, pp.22-4.

'Speech and writing dichotomy as the pattern of

multilingualism in the Somali Republic', Report of the

C.C.T.A./C.S.A. Symposium on multilingualism in Africa,

Brazzaville, 1962 (in the press).

'The position of Galla in the Cushitic language group',

Ethiopian Studies - Journal of Semitic Studies, 1964 (in

the press).   This article is relevant to the position

of Somali in the Cushitic language group.

'Somali Stories', Selections from African prose, ed. by

W.H. Whiteley, Vol.I, Oxford Library of African Literature,

The Clarendon Press, (in the press).

Andrzejewski, B.W. and Galaal, M.H.I.

'A Somali poetic combat', Journal of African Languages,

Vol.2, 1963;   Part I, pp.15-28;   Part II, pp.93-100;

Part III, pp.190-205;   1963.

Andrzejewski, B.W. and Lewis, I.M.

Somali poetry - An introduction, Oxford Library of African

Literature, The Clarendon Press, 1964 (in the press).

Moreno, M.M.

'Il dialetto degli Ašraf di Mogadiscio', Rassegna di Studi

Etiopici, Vol.XIV, 1955-8, pp.108-150.

3.   BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ON THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE

SOMALI SPEAKING TERRITORIES

Cerulli, E.

Somalia, Rome 1957-59, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato,

2 vols., pp. 363 + 392.

Drysdale, J.G.S.

The Somali dispute, Pall Mall Press, London 1964 (in the press

Hunt, J.A.

A general survey of the Somaliland Protectorate, 1944-50,

London 1951, Crown Agents for the Colonies, pp.203.

Lewis, I.M.

Peoples of the Horn of Africa, the Somali, Afar and Saho,

London 1955, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, International

African Institute, pp.ix + 200 (this book includes a com-

prehensive bibliography of works on the social background).

A pastoral democracy - A study of pastoralism and politics

among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa, O.U.P. 1961,

International African Institute, pp. ix + 320, plates and

maps.

A history of Somaliland - From nation to state, London 1964,

Weidenfeld and Nicolson (in the press).

APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPTION

1. CONSONANTS AND SEMIVOWELS

The symbols representing consonants and the semi-vowels
w and y are explained in the table overleaf by means of
comparison with the symbols used by other authors and in the
Somali Writing (Far Soomaali). The sign — indicates that
the symbol used by a particular author is the same as in
my transcription.

My transcription	Lilias E. Armstrong	M.M. Moreno	'Abdullāhi Hhāji Mahhamūd and Bruno Panza	M.H.I. Galaal	Somali Writing
b	—	—	—	ب	ᵂ
d	—	—	—	د	O
t	—	—	—	ت	ᵗ
ḍ	—	ḍ	dh	ذ	ᵗ
g	—	—	—	ج	ʰ
k	—	—	—	ك	ᵞ
q	—	—	—	ق	ᵗ
ɔ	—	—	—	ع	
f	—	—	—	ف	ᵞ
s	—	—	—	س	ᵈ
sh	ʃ	š	—	ش	ᶻ
kh	x	ẖ	—	خ	ᵗ
c	—	—	—	ح	ᵞ
h	—	ḥ	hh	ح	ᵗ
h	—	ḥ	—	ه	ᵞ
j	—	ǧ	—	ج	/
m	—	—	—	م	ᵗ
n	—	—	—	ن	ᵗ
l	—	—	—	ل	ᵗ
r	—	—	—	ر	ᵗ
w	—	—	—	و	ᵗ
y	—	—	—	ي	ᵗ
ẏ					

In the transcription used by 'Abdullāhi Hhāji Mahhamūd and Bruno Panza, and in the Somali Writing, there is no

special symbol for the glottal stop (ʔ).   The presence of a
glottal stop is often implied, however, in the juxtaposition
of vowel letters in these two systems.

The symbol y̆ represents a sound for which no provision is
made in other transcriptions.   There is in Northern Somali
a sound which is acoustically similar to y but is less tense
and 'darker'.   It is articulated by the tip of the tongue
raised towards the teeth ridge but without actual contact
while the mid part of the tongue is slightly raised at the
same time.   This sound occurs only between vowels.   It was
first described by Berghold who represents it with the
symbol ɗ .   Examples of y̆:

máy̆a	no
hálkaasuu fadḍiiy̆na (CS)	he is sitting (or sits) there
wàa la weey̆ay (CS)	people failed to find it
mindiy̆ŏ	knives

2. VOWELS

The method of representing vowels in this thesis differs
considerably from that of other authors and requires some
explanation.   As the starting point five basic vowel units
will be taken

i		u
	e	o
	a	

In each of these vowel units a further distinction of vowel quality is recognised:

(A) a relatively more "back" (retracted) quality,

(B) a relatively more "front" (advanced) quality.

In a variant of type A the highest (raised) part of the tongue is relatively less advanced than in the corresponding variant of type B.

The variants of type A in all the five vowel units constitute the "Back Series" and the variants of type B in all the five vowel units constitute the "Front Series".

Within the same word all the vowels normally belong to the same series and owing to this harmonic tendency it is enough to indicate the series of one vowel only, as then by implication all the other vowels of the word are marked as belonging to the same series.   A cedilla placed under the first vowel letter of a word indicates that all the vowels in that word belong to the "Front Series".   The absence of a cedilla under the first vowel letter of a word indicates that all the vowel letters of that word belong to the "Back Series".   Examples:

Back Series

áqal	hut
órod	run (Imp.Sg.)

dêero	gazelle
shabèel	leopard
ᶜiidan	servants, army
dameerᵒ̆	donkeys
kaaláẅn	come (Imp.Pl.)

Front Series

mọgáalo	town
wịyíl	rhinoceros
g̣ọodir	kudu
g̣nkod	thunder
hg̣bèen	night
lịbaahyó	lions
ọgáado	knew (Imp.Pl.)

The harmonic tendencies in Northern Somali extend even beyond the limits of words. The conditions determining the limits of such harmonic word groups are so complex that it would be beyond the scope of this section to explain them. They are described in some detail in my article 'The problem of vowel representation in the Isaaq dialect of Somali' and in the Introduction to Hikmad Soomali.

For the purpose of dealing with certain optional variants described in the section on Contraction the symbol ⁻ (raised hyphen) has been introduced. It represents a syllabic break

between two adjacent vowels not divided by a consonant, e.g.
waraabáih 'the hyaena' an optional variant of waraabáha or
waraabáha.

3. SPELLING CONVENTIONS.

As in Hikmad Soomaali, several spelling conventions are
used in this thesis —

(i) Words which before a pause or in isolation end in -e,
-o or -a often have different final vowels in other contexts.[1]

When a word of this type is immediately followed by any
word other than the Conjunction e or the ihi form of the
verb ah 'being, is, are', the final vowel of the word in
question is -a,   e.g.

    magaalá yár   a small town   cf. magáalo   town
    koorú ⁱulús   a heavy saddle cf. kóore   saddle

When a word of this type is immediately followed by the
Conjunction e or the form ihi, the final vowel of the word
in question has the same quality as the initial vowel of the
immediately following word, e.g.

    há jooge e diʻa   let him stay, leave him alone
                                 cf. há joogo 'let him stay'.

    má humé e qaadó   it isn't bad, take it for yourself
                                 cf. má humá 'it isn't bad'.

nín kalluunwalí íhi   has a fisherman come here? cf.

má yḭṃai hílkán?   nín kalluunwalá áh 'a fisherman

                       cf. waa kalluunwále 'he is a

                       fisherman.'

In my transcription the distinction in the quality of the final vowels in words of this type will not be shown. The spelling based on the forms which occur before a pause or in isolation will be used throughout in all positions. The required adjustments should be made according to the rules stated above, which are to be treated as spelling conventions. Thus for example,

            beeró wynaagsán

                and

            busté balleadán

                       are to be read as

            beerá wynaagsán

                and

            bustá ballaadán.

(ii) Before a pause or before an immediately following consonant the final -h in the Verbal forms <u>ah</u> 'being, is, are' and <u>leh</u> 'having, has, have' does not represent any actual sound. It is placed there to indicate that there is a consonant <u>h</u> when a vowel follows immediately.

(iii) The Impersonal Pronoun La 'someone, people' and the Object Pronoun Ku/-Ku 'you' (Sg.) are always spelt with an initial capital letter in order to provide a visual distinction between these Pronouns and the Prepositional Particles la 'together with' and ku/-ku 'in, by, with'.

(iv) All the sequences -ay-, i.e. the short vowel a followed by y in the affixes occurring in words whose vowels belong to the Front Series, have -ey- as an optional variant. In my transcription such variants will not be marked, but their presence can be inferred from the phonological and grammatical context.

There are many speakers of Northern Somali who always use the -ey- variants in such contexts.

(v) The final sound of certain grammatical forms is -ў when they are immediately followed by the conjunctions oo or e or the verbal forms ah, ihi, and it is -y in all other contexts. The grammatical forms in question are: all singular and 1st person plural forms of the Past Tenses of verbs, except for the independent paradigms , and the definitives kay, tay, e.g.

Wùu baqdaў ôo kấ ᶜararay. (CS)   He was afraid and ran away from it.

Wùu baqday. (CS)   He was afraid.

Wàa saahiibkáÿ e lá hádal. (CS)   It is my friend, talk with him.

Wàa saahiibkáy. (CS)   It is my friend.

In all these forms the final sound is represented by the symbol _y in all positions and the rules stated above are to be treated as reading conventions.

APPENDIX IV

CONTRACTION

In this language there are frequent alternations between
shorter and longer variants of the same words. The shorter
variants occur at points of junction with certain words, while
the longer variants occur either in other positions or, in
some cases, as optional variants. This phenomenon has been
described as 'contraction' in the introduction to Kikuyu
Soomaali.

A very common type of contraction occurs at the junction
between the two following types of forms:

(a) All forms which before a pause end in a short vowel, or
   the interrogative definitive forms kée, tée 'which?',
   and

(b) The particle baa or a combination of that particle
   with the negative particle aan and/or the preverbal
   subject pronouns (see Section 1 of Appendix V).

Contraction occurs only if a form of type (a) is
immediately followed by a form of type (b) without a pause
intervening. At such junctions the forms of type (a) have a
shorter variant, namely a variant without a final vowel, while
the forms of type (b) have a shorter variant without the
initial consonant b, e.g.

la bústèo?(CS)   Is it a blanket?[1]

cf. Waa búste.(CS)   It is a blanket.

Contraction of this type is normal in all the styles of
speech, except in an extremely slow and careful style and
except when the form of type (a) ends in _i before a pause.
In the second of these two exceptions contraction is optional.

Another common type of contraction occurs at junctions
between the two following types of forms:

(a) all forms which before a pause end in a short vowel,

(b) the conjunction iyo 'and'; the conjunction oo 'and'
     'or 'while'; the negative particle gan; the preverbal
     subject pronouns (see Section 1 of Appendix V);
     the preverbal subject pronouns combined with the
     negative particle aan; the unclassified word min
     'only', 'just'.

When a form of type (a) is immediately followed by a form
of type (b) without a pause intervening, the former has a
shorter variant which has no final vowel.   The form of type
(b), however, has the same shape as in any other context, e.g.

        bustiyo úl   a blanket and a stick

    cf.   úl iyo búste   a stick and a blanket

Contraction of this type is normal in quick pronunciation
but is optional in other styles of speech.

The relationship between the accentual patterns of the shorter and longer variants of forms of type (a) is of particular relevance to the main theme of this thesis. It can be stated as follows:- The accentual pattern of the shorter variant consists of the same sequence of accentual units as that of the longer variant, but is without the last accentual unit. The following example can be used as an illustration:

Háli'in jgogsádôo i sii súga. (CS) Stop here and wait for me.

Háliin jgogsáda ôo i sii (The same meaning)

súga. (CS)

When jogsáda is compared with jogsid- (in jogsádôo) it is found that the former has the accentual pattern AU3 + AU1 + AU3, while the latter has AU3 + AU1.

When rules concerning the distribution of accentual patterns are given they will refer to the longer variants only. The required adjustments for shorter variants can be made in the light of the above formulation.

When the particle baa, combined or not combined with the negative particle aan and/or a preverbal pronoun, follows immediately the definitive kán, tán, káas, or táas, it usually occurs without the initial consonant b-, e.g. kan-àa, tan-àa, kaas-àa, taas-àa. The optional variants kán bàa, tán bàa, káas bàa, táas bàa also occur, but are less frequent.

In addition to the three kinds of contraction already described contraction occurs in optional variants of the sequences -áha, -úhu, -íhii and -íhii which consist of the final vowels of noun forms followed by and combined with definite article forms ha, hu, hii, hii. Such sequences have sets of two optional variants each:

I	II	III
-áha	-àa	-áa
-úhu	-ùu	-úu
-íhii	-ìi	-íii
-íhii	-ìi	-íii

E.g. kóoro 'a saddle', kooríhu or koorìu or kooríu, koorúhu, or koorìu or koorúu, etc.

Again, when the rules concerning the distribution of accentual patterns are given they will refer to forms which contain sound sequences set out in column I above. The required adjustments can be made by comparing the sequence in column I with those in columns II and III.

APPENDIX IV

DEFINITIVES AND THEIR COMBINATIONS WITH NOUN FORMS

1. LIST OF DEFINITIVES.

The lists in this section contain all the definitives which can combine with nouns. The definitive forms beginning with k- will be referred to as masculine and those beginning with t- as feminine. Optional variants will be given in brackets.

It is important to note that in the forms which consist of combinations of two definitives the first component is identical in both Set A and Set B, and only the second component varies.

All the definitives given in the lists can also occur without nouns, except for the possessive definitives when they are not combined with other definitives and except for the definite articles of the general type when combined with the demonstrative 'this'. When definitives occur without nouns they have special plural forms which are common to both genders and which are identical in shape with the masculine forms, except that they have the infix -úw- after the initial consonant, e.g. kúwa, kúwii, kúwán, cf. ka, kii, kán. The form *kúwu which might be expected through analogy does not occur.

Definitives which consist of one component only.

Designation of definitive	Set A		Set B	
(i) definite article of the general type[1]	ka	ta	ku	tu
(ii) definite article of the remote type	kíi	tíi	kii	tii
(iii) demonstrative 'this'	káa	táa	kaai (karu)	taa (ta...
(iv) demonstrative 'that'	káa (káas)	táa (táas)	kaasi (kaasu)	ta.. (ta...
(v) demonstrative 'that' (far away)	kóer	téer	keeri (keeru)	tee... (te...
(vi) demonstrative 'that' (very far away)	kóo	téo	kooǧi	too...
(vii) possessive definitive:				
1. 'my', 'mine'	káy	táy	kày	tày
2. 'your', 'yours' (sg.)	káa	táa	kàa	tàa
3m. 'his', 'its'	ki̧is (ki̧)	ti̧is (ti̧)	ki̧is (ki̧i) (ki̧)	ti̧... (t... (t...
3f. 'her', 'hers', 'its'	kȩed	tȩed	kȩed	tȩe
1pe. 'our', 'ours' (exclusive)	kayó	tayó	kayó	tay
1pi. 'our', 'ours' (inclusive)	kȩen	tȩen	kȩen	tȩe
2p. 'your' 'yours' (pl.)	ki̧in	ti̧in	ki̧in	ti̧...
3p. 'their', 'theirs'	ko̧od	to̧od	ko̧od	to̧...

| (viii) interrogative definitive 'which?' | kę́e | tę́e | kę́e | tę́e |

Definitives which consist of two components.

Type of combination	Set A		Set B	
(i) + (iii)	kakán	tatán	kakanu (kakanu)	tatanu (tatanu)
(vii) + (i)				
1.	kàygu	tàyda	kàygu	tàydu
2.	kàagu	tàada	kàagu	tàadu
3n.	kįìsa	tįìsa	kįìsu	tįìsu
3r.	kę̀eda	tę̀eda	kę̀edu	tę̀edu
1pe.	kayága	tayáda	kayágu	tayádu
1ni.	kę̀enna	tę̀enna	kę̀ennu	tę̀ennu
2p.	kįìnna	tįìnna	kįìnnu	tįìnnu
3p.	kę̀oda	tę̀oda	kę̀odu	tę̀odu
(vii) + (ii)				
1.	kàygii	tàydii	kàygii	tàydii
2.	kàagii	tàadii	kàagii	tàadii
3n.	kįìsii	tįìsii	kįìsii	tįìsii
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
(vii) + (iii)				
1.	kàygán	tàydán	kàygani (kàyganu)	tàydani (tàydan)
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
(vii) + (iv)				
1.	kàygáa (kàygáas)	tàydáa (tàydáas)	kàygaasi (kàygaasu)	tàydaas (tàydaa)
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF JUNCTIONS BETWEEN NOUNS AND DEFINITIVES.

(i) Junctions between noun forms and masculine definitives,
when the corresponding noun form in isolation does
not end in -e or -o.

The final consonant, semivowel or vowel of the noun form	The initial consonant of the definitive
b d d f e sh j n r l[1]	k
g w y i u aa	g
q ʔ kh ħ ʕ h	absence of the first consonant

(ii) Junctions between noun forms and masculine definitives
when the corresponding noun form in isolation ends
in -e or -o.

The final vowel of the noun form in isolation	The final vowel of the noun form when combined with a definitive	The initial consonant of the definitive
e o	a short vowel identical in quality with the first vowel of the definitive	h

(iii) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives

when the corresponding form in isolation does not

end in -o, -d, or -l.

The final consonant, semi-vowel or vowel of the noun form	The initial consonant of the definitive
b g f s n r	t
d q ɔ kh ḥ ᶜ h w y -any vowel other than -o	ḍ

(iv) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives

when the corresponding noun form in isolation ends

in -o

The final vowel of the noun form in isolation	The final vowel of the noun form when combined with a definitive	The initial consonant of the definitive
o	a	ḍ

(v) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives

when the corresponding noun form in isolation ends

in -d

The final consonant of the noun	The initial consonant of the definitive
ḍ	ḍ

(vi.) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives
when the corresponding noun form in isolation ends
in -l.

The final consonant of the noun form in isolation	The final consonant of the noun form when combined with a definitive	The initial consonant of the definitive
l	absence of the final consonant	sh

3. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS.

When a noun form is combined with a definitive, the
accentual pattern of the noun (i.e. the noun component of the
whole combined form) is determined by the following factors:

(a) the characteristics of the noun form which place it
in a particular declension, and

(b) the type of the definitive with which the noun form
combines.

In view of this, when the declension to which a
particular noun form belongs is stated the accentual pattern
of the noun form will be implied in the statement of the
type of the definitive with which it is combined, and a
considerable advantage in the economy of description can be
achieved through making use of these facts.

In the table below the distribution of accentual patterns
of the noun components of defined noun forms is given.

Declension of the noun component	Type of definitive	
	(i)-(vi) both Set A and B; all definitives which consist of two components both Set A and B; (vii) Set A only	(vii) Set B only; (viii) Set A and B
1	AP 1	
2	AP 3	
3	AP 2	
4	AP 1	
5	AP 1	AP 5
6	AP 1	
7	AP 3	
8	AP 2	

The accentual patterns of the definitive components are
the same as those shown by means of accentual marks in the
lists of definitives in this Section.   The only exception to
this are those forms of the definitive kín, tén, káas, tées
which occur before the ga variant of the particle baa
(combined or not combined with the negative particle aan and/or
a preverbal pronoun), as described in Appendix III;   in such
contexts the definitives kan, tan, kaas and taas have AP5.

APPENDIX V

PRONOUNS AND ATTRIBUTIVES

1. LIST OF PREVERBAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR COMBINATIONS WITH THE PARTICLES baa AND aan.

(i) Preverbal pronouns

1st person singular			aan
2nd	"	"	aad
3rd	"	" masc.	uu
3rd	"	" fem.	ay
1st	"	plural excl.	aannu (or aan)
1st	"	" incl.	aynu
2nd	"	"	aydin (or aad)
3rd	"	"	ay

(ii) Combinations of the negative aan and preverbal pronouns

aanan

aanad

aanu

aanay

aanaan (or aannaan)

aynan (or aynaan)

aydan (or aydaan)

aanay

(iii) Combinations of the particle baa with preverbal pronoun

baan

baad

buu

etc.

(iv) Combinations of the particles baa and aan with preverbal

pronouns

baanan

baanad

baanu

etc.

2. LIST OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS.

Serial Sign	Description		
1	1st person singular	aní-	(-ga, -gu, -gíi, -gii)
2	2nd " "	adí-	(-ga, -gu, -gíi, -gii)
3m	3rd " " masc.	isá-	(-ga, -gu, -gíi, -gii)
3f	3rd " " fem.	iyá-	(-da, -du, -díi, -dii)
1pe	1st " plural excl.	anná-	(-ga, -gu, -gíi, -gii)
1pi	1st " " incl.	inná-	(-ga, -gu, -gíi, -gii)
2p	2nd " "	idín-	(-ka, -ku, -kíi, -kii)
3p	3rd " "	iyá-	(-ga, -gu, -gíi, -gii)

3. LIST OF ATTRIBUTIVES.

Set A		Set B
dambé	behind, after, back, later, further	dambe
dehé	middle	dehe
hoosé	low, below	hoose

Set A		Set B
horé	first, earlier, front, before	hore
kalé	other	kale
koré	top, upper	kore
saré	" "	sure
shishé	far, on the other side	shishe
soké	near, on this side	soke

Note that Bell calls these words 'Local Attributives'.

APPENDIX VI

VERBAL FORMS AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBLESS SENTENCES

1. NOTE ON VERBAL FORMS.

The aim of this section is to provide criteria, by means of specimen paradigms, for identifying verbal forms which are connected with the main theme of this thesis.

All the paradigms will be divided here into four groups: restrictive, extensive, construct and divergent.

The term 'restrictive' will be applied to those paradigms whose members are main verbs of the sentence and agree with nominals which:

(a) are immediately followed by the particle baa, ayaa (yaa) or miyaa, or

(b) occur as headwords of nominal clusters whose markers are followed by any of the particles enumerated above.

Extensive paradigms are those whose members are main verbs of the sentence and agree with nominals which do not fulfil the conditions specified in the description of the restrictive paradigms.

Construct paradigms are those whose members are verbs in dependent constructions and which agree with the headwords of these constructions. Divergent paradigms are characterised by the fact that their members also occur as verbs in dependent

constructions but do not agree with the headwords of these constructions.

In each paradigm forms will be divided into persons according to their potentialities of agreement with substantive pronouns, listed in Section 2 of Appendix V. These potentialities will be stated by placing the serial signs of the substantive pronouns with which the verbal forms can agree at the left side of the paradigm column. The abbreviation inv. (invariable) will mean that the particular verbal form is the same in all the persons, i.e. can agree with any of the substantive pronouns.

Forms of the negative verbal paradigms are always preceded by either the particle _aan_ or _ma_. With all the forms of the negative restrictive, construct and divergent paradigms the negative particle _aan_ is used. With the forms of the extensive paradigms either of the particles _aan_ or _ma_ is used, except that with the forms of the Negative (Inv.) Present Continuous only the particle _aan_ can occur.

Some of the forms of the divergent paradigms cannot agree with nouns but can be dependent on them, i.e. can occur in constructions dependent on them. Such forms will be marked by placing their person signs in square brackets.

Optional variants will be placed in round brackets.

In the specimen paradigms forms of three representative verbs will be given: ɗék 'say', ... 'know' and ... 'pass'. The less common paradigms will be ... and only those forms will be given which are relevant to the study of such terms and nominal clusters.

I. Restrictive conjugation

Present General

3m	yịdeahdá	}		...
3f	tideahdá	} ɛ́g		...
3p	yịdeahdá	}		...

Past General

3m	yịdí	ɔɛ́n		...
3f	tidí	ɛ́d		...
3p	yịdí	ɛ́n		...

Present Continuous

3m	odánayá	--	...
3f	odánaysá	--	...
3p	odánayá	--	...

Past Continuous

3m	ọdánayáy	--	...
3f	ọdánaysáy	--	...
3p	ọdánayáy	--	...

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

Inv.	odán (odanín)	ogàyn	marín

Negative Present Continuous

Inv.	odánáyn	–	máráyn
	(odánaynín)		(máraynín)

Negative Past Continuous

Inv.	odánéyn	–	máréyn
	(odáneynín)		(máreynín)

II. Extensive Paradigms

Present General

3m	yidaahdaa	ógaydáy	maraa
3f	tidaahdaa	ógtaláy	martaa
3p	yidaahdaan	ógayjhíin	maraan

Past General

3m	yidi	ogaa	maray
3f	tidi	ogayd	martay
3p	yidaahdeen	ogaaẙeen	mareen

Present Continuous

3m	odánayaa		márayaa
3f	odánaysaa		máraysaa
3p	odánayaan		márayaan

Past Continuous

3m	ǫdánayay	–	mɛ́rayay
3f	ǫdánaysay	–	mɛ́raysay
3p	ǫdánayeen	–	mɛ́rayeen

Negative Present General

3m	yídaahdó		maró
3f	tidaahdó	ǫgú	martó
3p	yídaahdáan		marhan

Negative Past General

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Present Continuous

3m	odánayó	–	márayó
3f	odánaysó	–	náraysó
3p	odánaysàan	–	márayàan

Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Past Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

III. Construct Paradigms

Set A

All the paradigms of this set have the same forms as the corresponding restrictive paradigms.

Set B

Present General

3m	yídaahduu̯		marań
3f	tídaahduu	} gdi̯	marknaa
3p	yídaahduu		marraa

Past General

3m	yídi	gdaa	marray
3f	tídi	gdoyi	marbay
3p	yídi	gdaa	marry

Present Continuous

3m	odánayaa	--	máraynaa
3f	odánaysaa	--	náraysaa
3p	odánayna	--	márayna

Past Continuous

3m	odánayay	--	márayay
3f	odánaysay	--	náraysay
3p	odánayay	--	márayay

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

Inv.	odani	gdayni	marini
	(odannini)		

Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

Inv.	odánayni	--	márayni
	(odánaynini)		(máraynini)

Negative Past Continuous

Inv.   ǫdénoyni   —   mọ́reyni

        (ǫdúneynini)   (mọ́reynini)

IV. Divergent Paradigms

Set A

Present General

1	[idaahdó]	[ǫrahéy]	[noró]
2	[tidaahdó]	[ǫgtahéy]	[martó]
	[(tidrahdíd)]		[(mọrtíd)]
3m	yidaahdí	ǫrǫhéy	maró
3f	tidaahdó	ǫrahéy	martó
1p	[ridaahdó]	[ǫrahéy]	[morró]
2p	[tidaahdèen]	[ǫrtjrèin]	[martèan]
3p	yidaahdèen	ǫrjhèin	maèhan

Past General

1	[idí]	[ǫáa]	[maróy]
2	[tidí]	[ǫgáyd]	[martáy]
3m	yidí	ǫgáa	maráy
3f	tidí	ǫgáyd	martáy
1p	[nidí]	[ǫgáyn]	[narráy]
2p	[tidaahdèen]	[ǫgaydèen]	[martèen]
3p	yidaahdèen	ǫgaaўèen	marèen

Present Continuous

1	[odánayó]	--	[máⁿayó]
2	[odánaysó]	--	[máⁿaysó]
	[(odánaysíd)]		[(máⁿaysíd)]
3m	odánayó	--	máⁿayó
3f	odánaysó	--	máⁿaysó
1p	[odánaynó]	--	[máⁿaynó]
2p	[odánaysàan]	--	[máⁿaysàan]
3p	odánayèan	--	máⁿayèan

Past Continuous

1	[odánayáy]	--	[máⁿayáy]
2	[odánaysáy]	--	[máⁿaysáy]
3m	odánayáy	--	máⁿayáy
3f	odánaysáy	--	máⁿaysáy
1p	[odánaynáy]	--	[máⁿaynáy]
2p	[odánaysèan]	--	[máⁿaysèan]
3p	odánayèen	--	máⁿayèen

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Invariable Present Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Past Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Set b

Present General

1	[idaahdaa]	[ǫgtahay]	[maran]
2	[tidaahdaa]	[ǫgtahay]	[martaa]
3m	yidaahdaa	ǫgyhay	marna
3f	tidaahdaa	ǫgtahay	martaa
1p	[nidaahdaa]	[ǫgnahay]	[marnaa]
2p	[tidaahdeen]	[ǫgtuhiin]	[martaan]
3p	yidaahdaan	ǫgyhiin	maraan

Past General

1	[idi]	[ǫgaa]	[maray]
2	[tidi]	[ǫgayd]	[martay]
3m	yidi	ǫgaa	maray
3f	tidi	ǫgayd	martay
1p	[nidi]	[ǫgayn]	[marnay]
2p	[tidaahdeen]	[ǫgaydeen]	[marteen]
3p	yidaahdeen	ǫgaǎyeen	mareen

Present Continuous

1	[odáneyaa]	--	[márayaa]
2	[odánaysaa]	--	[máraysaa]
3m	odánayaa	--	márayaa
3f	odánaysaa	--	máraysaa
1p	[odánaynaa]	--	[máraynaa]

2p	odánaysaan	--	mírayseen
3p	odánayaan	--	mírayaan

Past Continuous

1	[odánayey]	--	'mírayey'
2	[odánaysay]	--	[míraysay]
3m	odánayay	---	mírayay
3f	odánaysay	--	míraysey
1p	[odánaynay]	--	[míraynay]
2p	[odánaysaan]	--	mírayseen
3p	odánayaan	--	mírayaan

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

The same as the forms of the corresponding construct paradigm Set B.

Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

The same as the forms of the corresponding construct paradigm Set B.

Negative Past Continuous

The same as the forms of the corresponding construct paradigm Set B.

2. NOTE ON VERBLESS SENTENCES

In this language there are three types of verbless sentences, i.e. sentences without a main verb, which have to be taken into account in connection with the material presented in this thesis.

(i) The nucleus of the first type of verbless sentences is the particle waa, which in such contexts usually corresponds to 'is' or 'are' in the English translation.   In addition to waa sentences of this type contain two parts   one which is essential and without which the sentence is incomplete, and another which is complementary, but not essential, i.e. without which a complete sentence can occur.

The essential part always follows the particle waa, while the complementary part either precedes the particle waa or follows the essential part, the latter order being less frequent.

Both the essential and the complementary parts consist of one or more of the following items: a noun, a definitive, a substantive pronoun, a numeral or a nominal cluster.

Verbless sentences of this type will be referred to as 'waa...' sentences.

In the examples given below the essential parts are under-lined while the complementary parts are overlined.

Ninkaasu waa wadhad. (CS)	That man is a mullah.
Waa wadhad ninkaasu. (CS)	the same meaning.
Waa wadhad. (CS)	He is a mullah. (NOTE: 'he' in the translation does not correspond to any word in the original.)

Ninka hálkáa faddiÿaa waa wadáadkii hálayto nóo yimí. (CS)	The man who is sitting there is the mullah who came to us last night.
Waa wadáadkii hálayto nóo yimí, ninka hálkáa faddiÿaa. (CS)	the same meaning
Waa wadáadkii hálayto nóo yimí. (CS)	He is the mullah who came to us last night.

(ii) The nucleus of the second type of verbless sentences consists of the particles ma and baa, which from the notional point of view are, in this type of sentence, an interrogative equivalent of waa. The essential part always occurs between ma and baa, while the complementary part either precedes ma or follows baa, the latter order being less usual. Both the essential and complementary parts of sentences of this type consist of the same elements as the corresponding parts in the sentences of type (i). Verbless sentences of type (ii) will be referred to as 'ma......baa' sentences.

In the examples below the essential parts are underlined while the complementary parts are overlined.

Ninkaasu ma wadáad bàa? (CS)	Is that man a mullah?
Ma wadáad bàa ninkaasu? (CS)	the same meaning
Ma wadáad bàa? (CS)	Is he a mullah?

Ninka hálkáa faddiyaa ma wadhadkii hálayto nóo yimi bàa? (CS)	Is the man who is sitting there the mullah who came to us last night?
Ma wadhadkii hálayto nóo yimi bàa, ninka hálkáa faddiyaa?	the same meaning
Ma wadhadkii hálayto nóo yimi bàa? (CS)	Is he the mullah who came to us last night?

(iii) The third type of verbless sentence is composed of
two parts, both of which have a fixed order and cannot be
transposed. The first part, which will be referred to as
inceotive, consists of a nominal cluster whose headword is
the word wáh 'a thing' or 'things' or 'what', and which contains
a dependent clause. The second part, which will be referred
to as the sequel part, consists of a noun, a definitive, a
substantive pronoun, an ordinal or a nominal cluster. A
complete sentence of this type must contain both the inceotive
and the sequel part.

The juxtaposition of the two parts of the sentence of
this type corresponds, in terms of literal translation, to
'is', 'are', 'was' or 'were'. Verbless sentences of this
type will be referred to as 'wah-' sentences.

In the examples given below the inceptive part is overlined and the sequel part is underlined.

Wáuuu dóonayaa faras. (CS)	I want a horse. Lit. 'The thing I want is a horse' or 'What I want is a horse'.
Waxay arkeen buur dheer. (CS)	They saw a tall hill. Lit, 'The thing which they saw was a tall hill' or 'What they saw was a tall hill'.
Waha nagá carmay labá qaalmóod. (CS)	Two young she-camels ran away from us. Lit. 'The things which ran away from us were two young she-camels' or 'What ran away from us etc.'
Wúhuu nóo loogay káran iyo labá wán. (CS)	He slaughtered for us a fatted camel and two rams. Lit. 'The things which he slaughtered for us were a fatted camel and and two rams', or 'What he slaughtered for us was....etc.' (NOTE: wúhuu = wáha uu.)

APPENDIX VIII

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NOUN FORMS CONNECTED WITH THE CATEGORY
OF NUMBER

1. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SINGULAR NOUN FORMS.

Singular noun forms are characterised by the absence of
any of the special suffixes peculiar to plural, subplural and
dependent noun forms. Examples: nín 'man', shébèel 'leopard',
giir 'garden, field', dúl 'earth, land', bílli 'water reservoir'.

2. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLECTIVE NOUN FORMS.

Collective noun forms also are characterised by the
absence of special suffixes peculiar to plural, subplural and
dependent noun forms. Collective noun forms differ from
singular number forms only in their agreement potentialities.
Examples: dád 'people', cárrúur 'children', rág 'men'.

3. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUB-PLURAL NOUN FORMS.

The sub-plural forms are characterised by:

(a) a set of special suffixes, or

(b) a special shape of the stem which is different from
    that of the corresponding singular, or

(c) by the fact that in isolation they have an accentual
    pattern different from that of the corresponding
    singular (although, in this case, they do not have
    the characteristics described under (a) and (b)).

(a) The suffixes of the sub-plural number are:

    1. -iin

2. -CCaan   (very rare)

The letters CC indicate that the last two consonants of the stem are different from each other and that there is no vowel between them.   In the corresponding singular forms, however, there is always a vowel between the two last consonants.

3. -CCan   (rare)

The letters CC have the same significance as above.

Examples:

1. ma^callimíin | teachers: | cf. sg. ma^cállin | a teacher
munaafiqíin | hypocrites: | " " munáafiq | a hypocrite
nijaaríin | carpenters: | " " nijàar | a carpenter
2. qalmáan | pens: | " " qálin | a pen
3. daghán | stones: | " " dágah | a stone
ughán | eggs: | " " úgah | (obsolete) an egg

(b) The differences in shape of the stem occur mainly in Arabic borrowings and follow the Arabic 'Broken Plurals' pattern, as can be seen in the following examples:

maraakíib 'ships' cf. márkab 'ship'

bunaadíiq 'rifles' cf. búnduq 'rifle'

kutúb 'books' cf. kitàab 'book'

(c) The sub-plural forms which have a different AP in isolation from the corresponding singular forms are also characterised

by the fact that they and the corresponding singular forms
belong to different declensions, e.g.

áwr 'he-camels' (4)   cf.sg. àwr 'a he-camel' (2)

díbi 'oxen' (4)   " "   díbi 'an ox' (3)

orgí 'he-goats' (4)   " "   órgi 'a he-goat' (3)

4. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PLURAL NOUN FORMS.

The plural number forms are characterised by:

(a) a set of special suffixes, or

(b) in very rare cases, by a special shape of the stem,
    different from that of the corresponding singular
    form.

(a) The plural suffixes are:

1. -yo

2. -Ro

The letter R represents here the doubling of the last consonant
of the stem.

3. -CCo

The letters CC have the same significance as in the designation
of the sub-plural suffixesNos. 2 and 3.

4. -y̆o

5. -o

6. -oyin

7. -aR

The letter R represents here a consonant identical with the last consonant of the stem of the corresponding singular form.

    8. -Raal (very rare)

The letter R represents here the doubling of the last consonant of the stem.

    9. -yaal

    10. -yaw (rare)

Examples:

1.	dǫwlisyǒ	bucket ropes:	cf.	Sg.	dǫ́wlis	a bucket rope
	ubahyǒ	flowers:	"	"	úbah	a flower
2.	sibraarrǒ	waterskins:	"	"	sibràar	a waterskin
	shabeellǒ	leopards:	"	"	shabèel	a leopard
3.	hargǒ	hides:	"	"	hárag	a hide
	gabdǒ	girls:	"	"	gabáḍ	a girl
4	mǐndiy̌ǒ	knives:	"	"	mǐndí	a knife
5.	sariirǒ	beds:	"	"	saríir	a bed
	haamǒ	water vessels:	"	"	háan	a water vessel
6.	wǫddóoyin	roads:	"	"	wáddo	a road
	dǫeróoyin	gazelles:	"	"	déero	a gazelle
7.	wanǎu	rams:	"	"	wán	a ram
	ᶜeelǎl	wells:	"	"	ᶜèel	a well
8.	gallǎal	scabbards:	"	"	gál	a scabbard
9.	koorayǎal	saddles:	"	"	kóore	a saddle

maroodiyǎal	elephants:	cf. Sg.	maroodǐ	an elephant
nimanyǎal	men or groups of men:	" "	nín	a man, and pl. nimán 'men'
10. nimanyǎw	men or groups of men:	" "	nín	a man, and also cf. pl. nimǎn 'men'
11. gabḍayǎw	girls:	" "	gabǎḍ	a girl, and also cf. gabḍǒ 'girls'

(b) All the examples of plural forms with a special shape of stem, different from that of the corresponding singular forms, are Arabic borrowings of the Arabic 'Broken Plurals' pattern:

jaráa'id 'newspapers', cf. jariidáá 'newspaper'

jasáa'ir 'islands', cf. jasiiráa 'island'

qabáa'il 'clans, tribes', cf. qabíil 'clan, tribe'

FOOTNOTES

Page 7.

1. This study was submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D.
degree at the University of London.

Page 8.

1. With the exception of the Benadir and Rahanweyn
dialect groups.

Page 9.

1. The text can be consulted, by arrangement, at the
Departmental Library, Department of Africa, S.O.A.S.
In the examples taken from QA and HS accentual marks
have been added to the texts. These marks are base
on the actual phonetic realisations of the text.

Page 14.

1. Such as the one set up by Otto Jespersen in his
Analytic Syntax (Copenhagen 1937).

2. Tone Languages, A technique for determining the number
and type of pitch contrasts in a language, with
studies in tonemic substitution and fusion, Glendale,
Summer Institute of Linguistics 1943, University of
Michigan Publications, Linguistics 4.

3. The structure of English, An introduction to the
construction of English sentences, Longmans 1957
(published in the U.S.A. 1952).

4.   By A. S. Hornby, E. V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield, O.U.P., 1948

5.   O.U.P., 1954.

Page 22.

1.   As used in my article 'Some preliminary observations on

      the Borana dialect of Galla', B.S.O.A.S., 1957, XIX/2.

Page 24.

1.   Moreover, noun forms used as exclamations or forms of

      address are excluded from the descriptive statements

      in this study.

Page 31.

1.   The etymology of this newly coined word suggests

      'handmade-moon'.

2.   All of Arabic origin.

Page 36.

1.   I have met young men who pronounce ǧddŭun instead of

      ǧddŭun and górgor instead of gorgŏr.   This may be a

      sign of the beginning of a shift of words from this

      group to the declensions to which the majority of

      masculine singular and collective nouns belong,

      i.e. declensions 1-3.

Page 40.

1.   In the introduction to HS these structures are referred

      to as nominal complexes and are discussed in the

      section describing the 'Secondary Agreement Signs',

Page 46.

1. This particle has also an optional variant yaa.

Page 57.

1. In the 6th declension in the open configuration the
    following exception has been found in the pronunciation
    of some speakers: nín suldáan áh 'a man who is a sultan'

Page 110.

1. The only exception to this is the conjunction iyo 'and'
    which has the final vowel -o in all contexts.

Page 115.

1. Instead of Ma búste bàa? which might be expected on the
    analogy with such sentences as Ma úl bàa? 'Is it a stick?

Page 119.

1. The difference between the definite articles of the genera
    and remote types lies in the fact that normally the
    definite article of the remote type is associated with
    a situation either in the past or out of sight of the
    speaker, while the definite article of the general type
    has no such specific associations.

Page 121.

1. Except for gèel 'camels' which has the same junctions with
    definitives as the noun forms ending in q, ʾ, kh, ḥ, c,
    or h, e.g. gèela, gèelu, gèelii, gèelán etc.