THE DECLENSIONS OF
SOMALI NOUNS

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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. Kehaify into Afar (Dankali), of E. M. Hoper 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 aptly 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 with language assistants and financing my travels in Afric since I became a member of the staff.
PART I - INTRODUCTION

General introduction

The inadequacy of the traditional approach

The descriptive framework used in the thesis

Note on the arrangement of material

The range of investigations

Accentual patterns

PART II - DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS AND THEIR POSITIONS

Definition of the noun

Classification of noun forms and their positions - A general note

Classification of noun forms according to potentialities of combining with definitives. Defined and undefined noun forms

Classification of noun forms according to their potentialities of agreement with verbal forms

Classification of noun forms according to potentialities of combining with definitives, agreement with verbal forms and certain phonological characteristics

Classification of the positions of noun forms - An introductory note

Classification of the positions of noun forms according to their relationship to nominal clusters - Settings

Classification of the positions of noun forms according to their proximity in the sentence to certain words and structures - Configurations
Case system

Note on the selection of examples in Parts III and IV

PART III - UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THEIR SETTINGS AND CONFIGURATIONS

Declensional exponents of undefined noun forms in the simple setting

Declensional exponents of undefined noun forms in the integrated setting

Declensional exponents of undefined noun forms in the subordinate setting

PART IV - DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THEIR SETTINGS AND CONFIGURATIONS

Declensional exponents of defined noun forms - A general note

Declensional exponents of defined noun forms in the simple setting

Declensional exponents of defined noun forms in the integrated setting

Defined noun forms

Ns and nominal clusters

levant to the this thesis

biography of uguage

the social background territories
APPENDIX II: TRANSCRIPTION

1. Consonants and semivowels  105
2. Vowels  107
3. Spelling conventions  110

APPENDIX III: CONTRACTION  114

APPENDIX IV: DEFINITIVES AND THEIR COMBINATIONS WITH NOUN FORMS

1. List of definitives  118
2. Characteristics of junctions between nouns and definitives  121
3. Accentual patterns of defined noun forms  123

APPENDIX V: PRONOUNS AND ATTRIBUTIVES

1. List of preverbal pronouns and their combinations with the particles baa and aan  125
2. List of substantive pronouns  126
3. List of attributives  126

APPENDIX VI: VERBAL FORMS AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBLESS SENTENCES

1. Note on verbal forms  126
2. Note on verbless sentences  137

APPENDIX VII: SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NOUN FORMS CONNECTED WITH THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER

1. Special characteristics of singular noun forms  142
2. Special characteristics of collective noun forms  142
3. Special characteristics of sub-plural noun forms  142
4. Special characteristics of plural noun forms  144

FOOTNOTES  147
PART I

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 bound up with their positions and relationship to other words in the sentence.

The declensional exponents (signs) consist of inflective 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 impossible to state it in terms of the traditional descriptive technique.

The existence of declensions has almost entirely escaped the attention of all authors who have written on Somali, although it is true that one can find fragmentary and partially accurate statements on this matter scattered among other grammatical formulations, such as that the definite articles ku and tu and the suffix -a indicate the subject of the sentence and that certain feminine noun forms have possessive endings. Nowhere is there any description of the distribution of these features, while the declensional exponents consisting of accentual patterns only are ignored altogether, with the exception 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. J. 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 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 Hikmad Soomaali and its articles 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq dialect of Somali' and 'Pronominal and prepositional particles in Northern Somali', but in order to avoid constant reference to these three publications, an outline of the system of transcription is given in Appendix II. The problem of contractions, which is very much bound up with that of transcription is discussed in Appendix III.

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

Almost all the examples of sentences are based either on continuous texts taken from Somali folk literature or record 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 FS refers to Hikmado Soomaali, a collection of Somali stories by N.H.I. Salaal, 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 Gaalle Addiib by the same author, as yet unpublished, and the figures refer to the lines of the text. 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 those 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 Ninka sháah ú gëe. (CS) Take some tea to the man.
1B Ninku wùu bukaa. (CS) The man is ill.
2A Ninka hálkáa faddíyá Take some tea to the man who
    sháah ú gëe. (CS) is sitting there.
2B Ninka hálkáa faddíyaa The man who is sitting there
    wùu bukaa. (CS) is ill.

In sentence 1A the noun nin '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 ninka in sentence 1A does not agree with a verbal form,
while in sentence 1B, ninku agrees with the verbal form bukaa
'is ill'. Pell'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 nin has in both cases the ka form of
the definite article, in spite of the fact that ninka in
sentence 2A does not agree with a verb, while ninka in sentence
2B does agree with the verbal form bukaa.

The general principles involved in this apparent discrepancy
are these: the opposition between noun forms with the definite
article ka, ku 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 ḫan 'a boy' and ḫin '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 ḫii, ḫee 'which?' this difference is not present: ḫii ḫee 'which boy?', ḫii ḫee '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 research 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 patterns with a particular place or slot for the noun forms under observation. These places within the test frames were not only positions in the actual word order but also presuppose a particular type of relationship, e.g. interdependence or non-interdependence between the noun under observation and other components of the sentence.

Some of these frames were very simple, such as:

The particle 

_**ma**_ 'it is, they are' + the noun form under observation, e.g. __wá búhr. 'It is a hill.'

The question particle _**ma**_ + the noun under observation + the emphatic particle __**ba**__, e.g. __la baar baar? 'Is it a hill?'

Some test frames, however, were very complex and involved several items, e.g.:

The noun under observation + a preverbal pronoun + a prepositional particle + a verbal form dependent on the noun under observation but not agreeing with it + a prepositional particle + a main verb form not agreeing with the noun under observation, e.g.:

**Hünkli wa la shageeyó 饬 yeci! 'Call the man with whom he...**

In these test frames large numbers of noun forms were placed and it became apparent that many noun forms had the...
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 characteristics 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 configurations).

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 (including syntax) is not to be viewed as a formal realisation of preconceived notional framework but as a system of path of arrangement and interdependence. The 'pattern' approach presupposes the use of test frames in actual research but language informants are questioned and where samples are from recorded material.

Examples of the application of these principles can be found in various writings, but the works of Kenneth Lee Charles Carpenter Fries and the three authors of the Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English can be as characteristic and notable examples. Pike's method dealing with tone languages takes into account criteria of position and interdependence, while Fries in describing English uses test frames explicitly for establishing his categories. The Advanced Learner's Dictionary classifies material according to the potentialities of occurrence in certain grammatical categories and structures and one of its authors, A.S. Hornby, applies a similar technique to the teaching of English grammar to foreign students in his Guide to Patterns and Usage in English, where generalised sentence patterns and the criteria of position are employed, instead 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 of positions of Somali nouns.

The settings and configurations overlap and the statements 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 exponents 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 recognisable 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 individual declension is the starting point.

Part V is devoted to a comparison between the declension characteristics of a noun form and those of a nominal cluster 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 and 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 programmes broadcast by Radio Hargeisa and Radio Nairobi (Somali Service.

Direct contact with the Somali community not only allowed me to check, by means of observation, the accuracy of my formulations presented in this thesis, but also made it possible for me to verify my findings by actual linguistic discussions 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 accentual patterns is given in this section, instead of being relegated 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
Kid
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>AU1</th>
<th>AU2</th>
<th>AU3</th>
<th>AU4</th>
<th>AU5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>High Tone with Even Strong Stress</td>
<td>High-Falling Tone with Diminuendo Strong Stress</td>
<td>Kid Tone with Absence of Stress</td>
<td>High Tone with Even Strong Stress</td>
<td>Kid Tone with Absence of Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Lid Tone with Secondary Stress</td>
<td>The same as in Position (a)</td>
<td>Low Tone with Absence of Stress</td>
<td>High-Falling Tone with Diminuendo Strong Stress</td>
<td>Kid Tone with Secondary Stress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Accental Units are represented by diacritics (or their absence) placed over the first vowel-letter of the syllable:

- **The Acute** represents AÜ₁ e.g. á
- **The Grave** AÜ₂ e.g. à
- **The Circumflex** AÜ₄ e.g. â
- **The Inverted Circumflex** represents AÜ₅ e.g. â

The absence of any of the above diacritics represents AÜ₃.

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.
Inan bery dashay. (CS) She gave birth to a boy.
Inán bery dashay. (CS) She gave birth to a girl.
Waa inan. (CS) It is a boy.
Waa inán. (CS) It is a girl.
Ma dawar bënu só gëñgëdday? Did he buy a he-donkey?
Ma dawar bënu só gëñgëdday? Did he buy a she-donkey?
Dërtëllà dëbi bëna ëgà. His field used to be ploughed by an ox.
Dërtëllà dëbi bëna ëgà. His field used to be ploughed by oxen.
Walamalkà u mu uu dëbëñ lašàgètii. Your brother did not hand over the money to him (her, them).
Walamalkà u mu uu dëbëñ lašàgètii. He did not hand over the money to your brother.
Minkii dykàanka lahàa ma ú yeeaday? Did the man who owned the shop call him (her, them)?
Minkii dykàanka lahàa ma ú yeeaday? Did he call the man who owned the shop?
Minkii liybah mà dëllin. The man did not kill a lion.
Minkii liybah mà dëllin. A lion did not kill the man.
Qâbtay abéeso. (CS)  A python caught him (her, then,
Qâbtay abëesô. (CS)  She caught a python.

Kinkbu arkay. (CS)  He saw the man.
Kinkbu arkay? (CS)  Which man did he see?

Koordè yi kaeneen, (CS)  They brought me a saddle.
Koordè yi kaeneen. (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, 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 Accental Units will be referred to as
Accental 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  AU3 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.
DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS AND THEIR POSIT

DEFINITION OF THE NOUN

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

The noun is a grammatical unit (part of speech) which capable of being immediately followed by and of being combined with any of the words called definitives and listed in Section 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 cardinal numerals and proper names form separate groups of grammatical units and will not be regarded as nouns, even though they comply with the criteria given in the definition of the noun.

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

sáčab clapping hands, dance
sáčabka

gǒd hole (in the ground) gǒdka
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gâd</td>
<td>beard, chin</td>
<td>gâdâka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màsaf</td>
<td>funnel</td>
<td>màsafka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûrus</td>
<td>hump (camel's)</td>
<td>hûruska</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kîlch</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>kîlchka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûj</td>
<td>pilgrimage</td>
<td>hûjka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agbon</td>
<td>orphan</td>
<td>agbonka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dôffur</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>dôffurka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dál</td>
<td>country</td>
<td>dálka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sübag</td>
<td>ghee</td>
<td>sübagga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dôw</td>
<td>road, right, just</td>
<td>dôwga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãy</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>ãyga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãwsgi</td>
<td>he-goat</td>
<td>ãwsgiga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûj</td>
<td>spring, rainy season</td>
<td>gûjga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arduña</td>
<td>roofless enclosure</td>
<td>arduñiga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawãaq</td>
<td>shouting</td>
<td>dawãaqga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûd</td>
<td>sheet of cloth</td>
<td>gûdga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shlíkh</td>
<td>sheikh, man of religion</td>
<td>shlíkhga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dóçã</td>
<td>valley</td>
<td>dóçãga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabaqallôcã</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>dabaqallôcãga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâsh</td>
<td>sigh, groaning</td>
<td>tâsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oomãne</td>
<td>waterless place, desert</td>
<td>oomãnâha, oomãnûhu, oomãnihî, oomãnôhcô, oomãnekege</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ilmá | child, baby | ilmána, ilmánu, ilmáni
      |            | ilmáhoó, ilmáhe
habiš | girls      | hablána, hablánu, hablibii, hablíhoó, hablíhe
góob  | battle     | góobta
marashib | ships    | marashibta
mág  | compensation, blood money | mágta
masáf | winnowing tray | masáfta
gées | side | géesa
rún  | truth | rúnta
na'callimín | teachers | na'calliminta
áwr | ho-verbs | áwrta
ábáar | drought | ábáarta
bád | sea | bádda
déeq | generosity | déeqda
dč³ | age | dč³da
wisíkh | dirt | wisíkhda
qorráh | sun, sunshine | qorránda
quráa⁵ | breakfast | quráa⁵da
báh | children of the same mother and father | báhda
naʕáw | weather, air | naʕáwa
gy | dogs | gyda
grgi | he-goats | grgida
-27-

sálasaá
myṣálo
li̊báhałyá
ugálad
méal
bustayášal

tucaday
town
lions
game (animals)
place
blankets
sálasaáda
myṣáloáda
li̊báhałyáda
ugáladá
méeshá
bustayáša

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 framework 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 test 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 feminines.

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 definites 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of noun form</th>
<th>Agreeing verbal forms</th>
<th>Restrictive and Construct Paradigm</th>
<th>Extensive and Divers Paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masculine, singular</td>
<td>3m</td>
<td>3m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine, singular</td>
<td>3f</td>
<td>3f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masculine, collective</td>
<td>3m</td>
<td>3m or 3f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine, collective</td>
<td>3f</td>
<td>3f or 3l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine, sub-plural</td>
<td>3f</td>
<td>3f or 3l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 **ṣ̣̂aḥ̣̂ 'thing, things', and

(b) all masculine singular and masculine collective compound noun forms whose last component consists of a short syllable.

Examples:

(a)

| shår | assembly   | rāg | men  |
| qās | trouble    | dād | people |
(b)  

biya-hid  dam  
hor-u-mar  progress  
isku-dar  unification, putting together  
abaal-gid  reward, paying a debt of gratitude  
ngaashaan-dig  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 masculine  
collective noun forms which have the syllabic struct  
specified under (a) or (b) above have AP3 and belong  
to this declension.

Examples:

(a)  

h'og  strength  
heer  customary law
(iii) To the third declension belong:

(a) all those masculine singular end 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 –øyin.

(c) the following plural noun forms:

- jāmā'īd newspapers
- jāmā'īr islands
- qūyās'īl 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 declension.

Examples:

(a)

|rálab  | honey             | wákýil  | male rhinoceros
|qálab  | young he-camel    | rúsi    | giraffe
|rádik  | rope, imprison-  | ndáli   | intelligence
|       | ment              |         | submarine (Poetic)
|fáras  | horse             | sújúsis | dórar
|glol   | flume             |         | woolen
|gáshi  | cloth             |         |
|háras  | hat               |          |
|hǎláp  | milk mixed with   |          |
|       | water             |          |
|fúraa  | swallow           |          |
|gáigua | injury            |          |
|gági  | sin               |          |
|wóórar | attack            |          |
|dówlíis | bucket rope     |          |
|shámal | uncostrated ram   |          |

(b)

|nggeálóoyin | towns         | sájóoyin | matters, affair.
|wyddóoyin   | roads         | dówáióoyin | jackals
|díndumóoyin | termite-hills |          |          |
|ggayóoyin   | ostriches     |          |          |
|díjeróoyin  | gazelles      |          |          |

(iv) To the fourth declension belong:

(a) all those feminine singular and feminine collective noun forms which in isolation do not end in -a

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)

lāf  bone  ṭamcootí  animal which died from natural causes
dīb  difficulty  gashaantí  girl of marriageable age
úl  stick  madí  camel which gives much milk
hál  she-camel  islāan  young female goat
tūn  truth  matāan  female twin
gēol  lioness  cōsān  old woman
dēaq  generosity  māsān  young she-camel
dīhūl  charcoal  qalān  republic
jūn  knot  jambahiyād  children
sūdād  long stick  ḥarrūr  children
shār  drought  ḥarrūr  children
harbiq  line

(b)

kutūb  books  ṣorgî  he-goats
čerashān  huts  gaghâx  stones
(permanent)  āwr  he-camels
masqâdīb  ships  ḳy  dogs
kurusi  chairs
munastiqiin  hypocrites
gawāḏi  cars
 dibī  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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bantu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>têke</td>
<td>crow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kôore</td>
<td>saddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûne</td>
<td>afterbirth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(of a camel)</td>
<td>bakâyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hîndje</td>
<td>intestines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáryâbe</td>
<td>hyena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fagàlo</td>
<td>meeting place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakâme</td>
<td>bridle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timirle</td>
<td>date seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oomâno</td>
<td>desert,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waterless place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bantu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>úfo</td>
<td>whirlwind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máro</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gônyo</td>
<td>mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sshéko</td>
<td>story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàroo</td>
<td>harbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barkimo</td>
<td>cushion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bôgortósoyo</td>
<td>kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sijo</td>
<td>column of dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâbyâbyo</td>
<td>mudness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magâlo</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mushahâra</td>
<td>wages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(vi) To the sixth declension belong:

(a) all the plural noun forms which in isolation end in -yo, -nó, -câo, -ô, -ô, -kâal, -vâal and -yâl (see Section 4 of Appendix VII).

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

(c) the masculine noun wânh '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):

dawgō  roads, ways
locayō  hoards
magagō  names
lēkanbyō  lions
dībyō  oxen, bulls
bōgōrō  chieftains
īdamb  charcoal burners
bubullō  small milk vessels
qalimmō  young he-camels
wqaddamō  men of religion
haddō  ropes
uddō  prop, centre pole of a hut
wargō  spears
gāmō  hands
manbō  days
siyō  ways, methods
gușanatiyō  young girls of marriageable age
hacmō  large water vessels
fārō  fingers
wqaddamō  leather buckets
sumadō  brands
habgyō  graves
nimān  men
dabāb  fires
goolāl  gelled camels
milās  tables
gallāl  scabbards
bustayāl  blankets
warabayāl  hyaenas
odayāl  elders
koorayāl  saddles
nimanyūw  groups of men
gabqayūw  groups of girls
List of noun forms of type (b):

Cn̂n̂a
Abbām
Alx
Gddúm
Sāger
Afahf
Afhayēn
Ajī
Gībahab
Aqikl
Gwāw
Bprosaīn
Bqolī
Bqudī
Dmbār
Dmbās
Dqncūn
Dqgel
Durbām
Dsqīyō
Dqddigōd
Dqsgūn
Dahāl
Dakhtūr
Gdeg
Farrār
Fīqīn
Fīqī
F̱ūnd
Gdām̱l
Gandī
Gmawān
Gg̱ddīl
Gg̱ṟg̱ṟ
Gybūṉd

a learned man
protector, patron
maternal uncle
world, wealth
paternal uncle
entrance
interpreter
person or persons of noble descent
door
tincture for tanning skins
grandfather
anchor
property seized unlawfully
the part of a lorrry whose loads are part
beestings
ashes
guarantor, security
fly (insect)
drum
sight
the female sex
stone, rock
inheritance, estate (of a deceased person)
doctor, dresser
small enclosure for young animals
one of the arms of the v-shaped base of the stick used for carrying thorny branches
comb
learned man, man versed in the Islamic Law
soup
back
motorcar
horses, mules and donkeys taken collectively
move, people on the move
vulture
a part of food which is charred or burnt when being cooked.
hameri
hammar
hawis
heen
hugaan
hydi
baakin
hilö
ilmö
ina'atii
ina'adber
isheen
jiiq
jiir
kaatun
kasam
laasin
labood
laheen
lisin
madı
mahar
malnal
marça
marig
markhaattu
mgaadu
matag
miidaaan
mindicir
mgoli
madı
oday

hot wind blowing from the coast
heavy mat used as roof in the
Somali hut
woman
fat which accumulates at the top of
a vessel in which meat is cooked
leading rope
rowing boat
judge, magistrate
wife (poetic and archaic)
child, baby
maternal cousin
paternal cousin
camels and cattle taken collectively
red meat, flesh, kinsmen
rat
ring
muscles above the buttocks
gold band (ornament)
the male sex
power, strength
sharpening stone
person who has no brothers
latrine
species of gum tree (COMIFORUM
FLAMEARI, Chacv.) or its gum
aeacia tree
brand on a camel's leg, witness,
evidence
witness
elephant
vomited matter
open space, assembly ground
intestines
species of tree (DRACAENA SCHIZANTHA,
Darkar)
whip (archaic)
old man, elder
cadi
large size, importance
retreat, evacuation
mule camel
family, lineage
time, season
lung
maize
brother-in-law
whistle
sultan
police station
place unprotected from the wind
interpreter
food inside the stomach
dawn, time
brother
river
companion
still, not yet, ever
gifts to a newly married couple
bride price
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 AP 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:
(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 -a 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
suffixed -Hey are in this declension.

| ghas       | paraffin          |
| dana-dèr   | strong camels of the herd |
| dënta'ul   | refrain (in a poem)   |
| liungunu'au| bitter lime         |
| liwac'han  | sweet lime          |

| bida'h      | left side          |
| ba'dari     | bad wife, slut     |
| dirri       | stretch of hard ground |
| guri        | good wife, good woman |
| gy'adi      | committee, group of judges or elders |
| gyurti      | wise men, committee |
| hagáley     | mythical wind which is said to have taken away the ancestor of the Yibir caste |
| hywáney     | lady               |
| jábti       | gonorrhoea         |
| máni        | sperm              |
| midig       | right side         |
| qadábi      | buckle             |
| sábti       | Saturday           |

Words with the suffix -Hey.
biyāleley female water seller cf. biyō water
bḥdūdeley " jowari " cf. bḥdūd 'jowari'
hilīleley " meat " cf. hilīn 'meat'
tīmirleley " date " cf. tīmir 'date, dat

CLASSIFICATION OF THE POSITIONS OF NOUN FORMS. AN INTRODUCTION

NOTE

When discussing the exponents of the declensions it is essential to take into account their relationship to larger nominal structures, namely nominal clusters. 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 is 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 definite, a substantive, a 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 structure 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, ñoo) or a (ye, ñe).

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

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

In the examples below nominal clusters(11,13),(989,987) 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) (1)

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)

Are you coming for a further hearing?
(iii)  
Kör wągyeel waa wada inąo.  
(Proverb)  
Raqūtu boğii ándood bàay lóorahay; sagăal iyo sagásaan nijtágīda aybì kà aegtaa, mid na çégowgīda.  
(Pr.)

(iv)  
Lágā hablōód do xirākí do eydō la jëdgā maalīn ico ña fasnay.  (H312/3)

(b)  
Märkii daabba illayn  
auídjan kii daxarkaada dëjídi kàri màayö e nìxmànkii rasçay.  (H323/350-1.)

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.)

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

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'.)
Talk and girls both multiply 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.

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

Lárkaasha níñkii súldánkii ú sóo qátakoody. (CS) Then the man complained to the sultan.
Lárkaasha níñkii béerta lahaa súldánkii ú sóo qátakoody. (CS) Then the man who owned the garden complained to the sultan.
Lárkaasha níñkii béerta sáću dascéy lahaa súldánkii ú sóo qátakoody. (HS9/3-4) The man who owned the garden which the cow had grazed 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, intergrade and simple.

A noun form will be said to occur in the 'subordinate setting' when it is dependent on another noun, definitive or numeral which precedes it. From this setting are excluded the noun forms which are dependent on and are followed by noun combined with a possessive definitive (see Section I Appendix IV), such as сулдена хафаскъяса 'the sultan's horse' lit. 'the sultan his horse'. It follows from the definition of the nominal cluster that all noun forms in the subordinate setting are at the same time components of a nominal cluster. The subordinate setting is further subdivided into genitival-subordinate setting and postnumeral 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 'wa...′ type

(see Section 2 of Appendix VI), or

(III) when it occurs as the sequel part of a verbless sentence of the 'wa...′ 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 the 'wa...′ 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 'wa...′ type.

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

(a) the particle baa or ayaa, 1 or
(b) the particle *baa* or *cyaa* combined with the negative particle *nan* and/or a preverbal subject pronoun (see Section 1 of Appendix V), or

c) the particle *miyaq*, or

d) the particle *miyaa* combined with the negative particle *san*.

(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, *yo*) or *a* (*ya, *ya*), 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, *yo*).

(iv) A noun form will be said to be in the open configuration when it does not fulfill 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 lke or lke, 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 fulfill 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 fulfill 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 arrangements 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 realized as -i[i].

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th>Open</th>
<th>Case A</th>
<th>Case B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The accentual patterns in this setting are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th>Open Case A</th>
<th>Open Case B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
<td>AP 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
<td>AP 5</td>
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<td>AP 2</td>
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<td>AP 2</td>
<td>AP 5</td>
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<td>AP 1</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
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<td>AP 5</td>
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<td>AP 2</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>AP 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>AP 2</td>
<td>AP 2</td>
<td>AP 2</td>
<td>AP 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the neutral configuration noun forms of the 6th declension can have AP 1 as an optional variant.

In the closed configuration those noun forms of the sixth declension which do not end in a short vowel have AP 1 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

Minkii réerkisse Káa sooraa
The man who feeds you with what
wàà nín, minkii réer kalé Káa belongs to his own family is a
sooraa na wàà nimany’al.
generous man, but the man who
(Pr.) /1/6/
feeds you with what belongs to
another family is equal in
generosity to many mál 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
man'.)

Nin saláan badani waa
Only a pauper, a mullah, a servant
saddol arru waa wààdùnd arru waa or a liar are full of greetings.
(Pr.) /2/2/ 3/5/
( NOTE: lit. 'a man who is full
of greetings is a pauper or
a mullah or a servant or a liar'.)

Waa ngáed ee ha ká ýryn!
It is gara, don't chase it away!
/4/ (Q263)

Hinkasaasu na wùnhu wataa
And that man drives a female calf
wéyi. /4/
for himself. (NOTE: lit. 'and what
that man drives for himself (is)
a female calf.')
Closed Configuration

Tól iyó fardó, tól bwan doostay. (Pr.) /1/

Arlúdánc na demsa rha iyo ɣyda iyo baqaal ku wa kú qálii, mabáa yeedáy ɣyjel báránáy labáyn.
(HU22/51-2) /2/

Idí baddám bín u qalqalay hígáiynkii iyo miibihi ba hilib bín ká dergiway.
(HU20/10-11) /3/

Ma lúg bána? Ma ijenáa?
(QAL491) /4/3/

Nabáá bánnu kú sáñ hqayynay, nabáá na wáñ sahannay.
(QAL066-7) /4/

Lámánqow, arbáána ha ígá didín, oofáááha anay á. (From a gáý yí Ina ɣabdillá Haáán)

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

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

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

Is it a hind leg? Is it a front leg? (NOTE: ijenáa = ijeni bín.)

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

Dear friend, do not scare away from me the bull elephant, I am a hunter. (NOTE: oofáááha :}
gofáto + 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.)

Len go betting, taking money with them.

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

Oh God, bring us ruin!

One gets satisfaction out of talking through sympathy and understanding, out of meat through (drinking) water, out of wealth through a wife. Tell lies, but tell lies which resemble truth.
Fools are not relatives. (NOTE: 'fools cannot be considered as real relatives, as one cannot depend on them for co-operation.') Then he brought milk for them.

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

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.)

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"'.

Doqoni sokeeyé ná ahá. (Fr.) /5/

Kírtmasuù Caangó ñ kecnay. (Fr:13/10-11) /6/

Open Configuration

Case B

Rez was rággi horá, hadel ná waa intuun yídí. (Fr.) /1/

Haddáan Lu kala roomán roob má dɔɔó. (Fr.) /2/

Úéél hóo duonaysú hadal wanná ka má teró. (Fr.) /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"'.

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Rez was rággi horá, hadel ná waa intuun yídí. (Fr.) /1/

Haddáan Lu kala roomán roob má dɔɔó. (Fr.) /2/

Úéél hóo duonaysú hadal wanná ka má teró. (Fr.) /3/
Understanding is born out of minds which have been brought together.

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

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

May a hot wind take you away!

(101: hemfūley is a mythical hot wind which is said to have taken away Sheikh Mohammed Hanif, the eponymous ancestor of the Yibir caste.)

DIMENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF UNDEFINED FOUR FORMS IN THE INTEGRATED SETTING.

Four 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. In the concatenated configuration they have no special suffixes in any of the forms.

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

Hedal was bád iyé horón.

(Pr.) 1/4/

Sheekúdáa láalin sha’ugaynaa
wáhay ká qáa qa’dáy níyu sode-
cáal áh iyo jímmi. 1/3/

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).)

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

Oo waa, waan tii la odan jiray liibkha iyo nii baa waafatanay e naad bahan wax waqantid? (QA22-5)

/1/

Ishadda na adiga liibka baa lagu, (HA23/361) /2/

Waa la raad iyo baa mas iyo nus iyo dub iyo haladi iyo dagaal baa bari. Haa wade lahaa. (HA19/2-3) /4/

Concatenated Configuration.

Shanirocodde wax rsi iyo gaaki. (Fr.) /1/

Lukhribka nortisii baa, isaaq oo gaa jii iyo dhaaj iyo harrmak u fi daran, tyulo yima. (HS22/22-3) /5/2/

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?

And thanks for that are due to you and God. (Note: lit. 'You and God own those thanks.')

It is said, a lion, a snake, a thorny fence, fire, floodwater, deceit and honesty together kept a she-camel.

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.)

Exhausted by hunger, tiredness and thirst, he came to a village before the evening.
Are feet of an ostrich hind feet or are they front feet? (NOTE: 'or are they' lit. 'or they are'.

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

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 swaller"'.)

Truth cannot reach lies which have run away.

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

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

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.)

A man who has not travelled over the earth has no sight. (NOTE: min ąan is pronounced nim ąan.

'Has...earth' lit. 'has not
Dukitárku nin Çägli lùn ahaa.
(H36/10) /3/

Nin bëen yąguna waaw nin fal yągaan. (Pr.) /4/

Nin kaŋyanaa bëdni wa ahaa ganaa. (H36/11) /5/

A di bëa wia mëngë lihi kà jìgi jìrèy. (H36/1) /6/

Heel Çëwa lihi ahàa na ahàa.
(PPr.) /6/

The doctor was an intelligent
(NOTE: bë = biñù. 'an intelligent man' lit. 'a man who has intelligence'.)
A man who knows how to lie knows magic. (NOTE: 'knows how to lie' lit. 'knows a lie' or 'knows lies'.)
A man who is full of deceit on safety. (NOTE: 'is full of deceit' lit. 'has much deceit'.)
A ram which had horns used to stray among sheep and goats.
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 D

Bërigàa na mooddikhar ìyo

At that time there were no
rŏelwey iyo dayunraddi tŏone mā jirin. (HS22/S-10) /4/

Dān iyō ḏiddikhi is djidé. (Pr.) /4/

Kīn daad qaaday humbō ḏitskey. (Pr.) /2/

Mēel ḏogŏj ḏogŏ gačántładă Lu ilaachadaa, mēel ēulīn ḏogŏ na ēarrakbaadaa, mēel yelī ḏogŏ na qalbigaaga. (Pr.) /5/6/3/

Hīrgi faamnā galben hikmadī mā gashō. (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'. gačántładă = gačántładarbaa.) 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, and the second that women do not possess wisdom.)

DECLENSIONAL EXPLANATIONS OF UNDEFINED FOUR FORMS IN THE SUBORDINATE SETTING.

Undefined noun forms in the genitive-subordinate setting are rare. When they occur they have the following special suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>-êd</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-îd</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) those plural forms whose final vowel is -o,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) all the other forms singular, collective and plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The suffix -êd follows immediately the stem, e.g. shimbir-êd 'beak' (lit. bird's mouth). When the stem ends
in -ä, the junction is realized as -änd, e.g. šhiränq dömmän-
änd 'skin's sail'. When the stem has no alternance between
a longer and a shorter shape, the shorter shape occurs with
-änd, e.g. där nändärd 'child's clothes', of. gäändä 'girl'.
There are two noun forms in the fourth declension which instead
of the suffix -änd have the suffix -änd: dönnänä 'she-donkey'
and ländä 'cattle', e.g. śamänd ländänäd 'she-donkey's milk',
śamänd ländänänd 'cattle's milk'.

The letter ë in the designation of the suffix ëänd indicates
the lengthening of the vowel preceding the consonant ë of the
suffix, e.g. hëndä fëndändänd 'horses' enclosure', of. lëndë
'horses', nëndändändändändändändändä 'mamä's work', of. nëndë
'women'.
In two noun forms, rëndä 'goats' and ëndä 'sheep', the suffix
-änd is used instead of the suffix -änd, e.g. hëndä rëndänäd 'goats'
enclosure' and hëndänändändändändändändändä 'mamä' (lit. mamä's meat).

Undefined noun forms in the postnominal-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 ṭäyän and ṭäyä, both
meaning 'time',
(c) all feminine singular noun forms of the 5th, 7th and 8th
declemens,
(d) those plural noun forms of the 6th declension whose corresponding singular forms belong to the 4th declension, e.g. nāgū 'women' (6th declension) whose corresponding singular form is nāg ‘a woman’ (4th declension),

(e) the plural noun ḥalla '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 -ā except for the noun form ḫātā 'goats' which has the suffix -and.

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

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

The accentual patterns in this setting are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th>Concatenated</th>
<th>Open</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AP 1</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
<td>Case A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Case B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP 1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>AP 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AP 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those noun forms which have any of the suffixes characteristic of the subordinate setting have APs in the
closed configuration as an optional variant to API.

Neutral Configuration

'Tóé i nyā?' waa khéy régi,
(Pr.) 1.2

'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.)

Wékere intii ká dën dorey
chóör iyo ąghòogin uu
jigjebiyáy oó marooni iyo illó
lihaskbeded iyo iindó waraabó
iyo ćiidiyó liháash iyo ćiidiyó
shabór iyo ćiidiyó rhanaa-
ćiidiyó. 1.3/

What he added to the amount was:
wool, elephants' tails which he had broken into bits, shark's teeth, hyena'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 hyenas and claws of lion and claws of leopard and claws of lizard'.)
Closed Configuration

Álla, was dímaatsímyghay e cůd góbminíía ká muqáda.
(QM13-4) /5/

Laul mí̱n báymu nahay é is ka leen sii. (QM13-4) /1/
Warr méesba labá děgamíña yğal oo ta shishá qy̱d ma haysató e, ta sokó ana qišno. (HS13-21-3) /5/

Concatenated Configuration

Wáy sokoevi iyo wii sakaardí iyo wárarác dámál sáddënda ba cawáaqiibqođa dágásàa Lóo arkaa. (Fr.) /5/5/

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

We are two men, let us fight each other.

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: děgamí = děgmybë.)

Lament of kinsmen and a death-cry of a dikdik and a cracking sound of a tall tree, one soon sees vengeance of these three. (Note: i.e., an injury done to one's kinsmen, the felling of a tree and the killing of a dikdik soon bring retribution on a person who commits these deeds, considered
Advice of kinsmen when it is rejected has a broken limb. (NOTES: i.e. the rejection of kinsmen's (clan's) advice always has bad consequences.)

Oh, Werit, you are more to me than the two parents and the brothers and sisters. (NOTES: 'more' lit. 'greater', or 'bigger'.)

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

Then the three girls who were in the homestead went to the house of the woman who gave water to the boy.
All the other three men who drove the camels with you have died, and it was I who killed them.

Both discussion between relatives and custom must first be cooled.

May God keep far away from you the punishment of this world and the torments of the other world.

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
the assembly, and, as used to be seen, they said to themselves, 'Speak to the sultan and ask for the girl!'

Then the Lidiqan gave the boy provisions for the journey and gave him dried meat and two bricks and said: 'Go on eating meat, and when you become thirsty cut the marrow out of one of the bones'. (I.312: The Lidiqan used to be a low caste among the Somalis.)
Open Configuration

Case II

Talit of elders consists of veiled speech. (NORE: 'consi-
of' lit. 'is'. 'veiled speech' i.e. speech in which the meaning is conveyed indirectly through allusions.)

'Bin, the management of the world is not only yours. (NORE: lit 'son of man, management (the way of running) of world is not only yours.)

And what are the three things?

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

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

Co sáddéna hal wáa mándú?
(HS15/18) /1/

Maddéy labá libaah ígú
kúlúnan ka i hiğán dooqay.
(Pr.) /2/

Qág qág dánqás bùy labú
qákoq qúran kú wéyyáa ño.
(Pr.) /6/
PART IV.

DECLENSIONAL EXONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS.  A GENERAL NOTE.

In Section 2 of Appendix IV the junction features between the noun component and definitive component 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 definitively component (i.e. the definitively 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 definitively 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 EXONENTS 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Configuration</th>
<th>Type of definitive</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Set A</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case B</td>
<td>Set B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples**

**Neutral Configuration**

Co waa ṣebees? ... Waa bynàriza. (QAL1545-5) /1/3/

Ninka wijn é hàlkàa byrde waa ninjxwàni. /1/

Gëbbàddassu na waa wàllìshìy. Òo is ku bëh bëmmu nehay.

(QAL757-3) /4/

And which part of the neck is it? ... It is the socket.

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

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

**Closed Configuration**

Ha bynàn? Ha wàmmu? Ma Is it the rump? Is it the heart? Is it the tongue?
Like a ship sailing in a storm,
again and again I set my compass
towards the enemy land.  
(NOTE: 

sididàn = sididà + bha.)

They milked the she-camel for
themselves.

He fired at the lion.

The adjudicator 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'.)

That girl knew it and we shall
take her as wife for our kinsman.

(NOTE: gabággesanà = gabágga
bàa.)
I told your father that you were in great peace and prosperity and nothing evil was coming to you. (NOTE: qabt'o = qabt'o)

Dwëmrd kà keentay kalluńka?

Open Conversation

Qa'ma

Saamé la qen!

(QA763) /2/

Drink the milk with the boy!

(QOTE: saamé is an optional variant of 'caamé' or 'caam’a'.)

Waax, hbe qen, nin améga

(QA1037-9) /6/

Listen, now the illness which

so kale ki dwen'y so Bagé dwes-

afflicts you once came upon us:

yey e bal kà tág lugalá.

of our men and he was treated
effectively against it, well

then, uncover your legs.

(QOTE: 'which afflicts you' = 'which found you'. 'one of our men' lit. 'a man who is (or belongs to) us'. 'uncover your legs' lit. 'come off the legs'
Dee ércass, gabádha ne did.
(QA2013) /1/ /1/
Káránniyy habbúddu niyyufi
jiiyayeir. /2/
Gabád béé ndid, 'Báánaa
jiiyaye, níinhégyuyuyá són
qántid é.' /1/

How chieftain, give us the girl.

Then the bullet inflicted a
flesh wound on the lion.

A girl said to herself, 'Test
those men, so that you may learn
about that man who will marry
you.' (HO23: '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'.

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

Soon afterwards the wife brought
the he-camel.

I do not believe my eyes!

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

Q. Is the boy a stranger?
A. In fact the boys are normal developed and healthy and the back parts of the bodies contracted. (L. IAS: hagle an optional variant of nagl or hagl-a. 'normally developing and healthy' lit. 'just big and have health'.)

Q. What is the girl calling?
A. Then the lion killed the man.

Q. What were those meg whispering about?
A. My father used to be a chie.

Q. The elephant does not see the camel fly which sits on him, sees the other one. (NOTE: kalhu = kalé + bhu. 'the other one' i.e. 'the other camel:'

---

Yay nabádáa u yëgdayne?
(QAA29) /4/

Màrkkassàb hehëhii nìnhii dìlay. /2/

Nahìy kë hankasáháagayanu
(AAA25) /1/

Abbhahìy bogor bhu ahón jìray. /5/

Lànqogó lìn takõta kâ jëgogtâ
dì më arko, tì kalìm arko. /6/
The chieftain is ill.

What are your animals?

These stories are true stories.

(NOTE: 'true stories' lit. 'stories which are truth'.)

'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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Configuration</th>
<th>Type of definitive</th>
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<td>Neutral</td>
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<td>Closed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Concatenated</td>
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<td>Open</td>
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<tr>
<td>Case A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Case B</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Examples

Neutral Configuration

'Alooladaye yea Ilah

Fortitude is the companion of

weitkii. (Fr.) /6/
God.  (NOTE: 'the companion of God' lit. 'God his companion'.)

The boy traveller is lying in the middle of the shed, exhausted with hunger and thirst and is listening to the prayer.

( NOTE:  jif'aa = jif'aa + baa jif'aa = jif'aa baa.  'The boy traveller' lit. 'the boy who was the traveller'.  'the middle of the shed' lit. 'the shed its middle'. )

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'.  'there' lit. 'a place where'. )
Say to him: the weak, all the poor and the livestock will perish. (*Note: dálaskiyo = dálanka iyo, guunyáda = guunýda + bhu.* )

Every day he just used to pass between the children and the animals and did not use to do any harm. (*Note: déndjodùn = déndjodù + bhu.* )

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

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

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?
The flies fall into the dish on which a cover is not put.

( NOTE: heedááam = heedáa áam.

And the young boy was captured.

( NOTE: 'the young boy' lit.

'the boy who was young'.

After he had walked on and on he came to the snake which was sleeping in the place. ( NOTE: hyrdāa = hyrdā + būu. 'the snake which was sleeping' - another meaning of this expression is 'the snake, while it was sleeping'. 'was sleeping' lit. 'is sleeping'.

Then he touched the cooking pot in 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...?')

Let us direct the raiding party
away from that settlement with which he is staying!

Open Configuration

Case A.

lärkii dákii kala wada
sesehday biia afúdii ḫumka
sgalbniwáa waasaawisay
dóbiidii ú sóo benday do in
tidi, 'Kool ‘iyó... ñoda
ú sóo róog.' (Qa54-5) /5/

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.' (NTE: 'and
....' implies that there were also
other things she was to attend to.)

He said to himself, 'Set a trap
for him. Catch the man who came
unlawfully to your wife.' (NTE:
'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'. Kaaqä = Ku
"you" + ñ 'to' + ka 'from, against'
(will, wishes, rights, interest).)

Súbiíhii márki wágii bëryáy
In the morning when the dawn
Nkii ninkii maraa ahaa
wata' oo ninkii reerka lahaa
ū geedka. (RS10/3-4) /4/

Lárkaa waa ninkii ka
mid in aydii: 'Anka garinayá
si cuhnū ü hulamó.' (RS15/
18-9) /6/

Cía ṣan démúllyuün ahlu
ná arág. (QA1391) /5/

Is nä góa agboon iyo ninkii
nabbihi dila kā. (From a
gábbay) /5/

Wçu, bal ayruu xoo iyo dáarka
iyo hoolá kā warriam! (QA1068) /6/

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'.)

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).

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.)

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.)

All right, and now tell us the
news about the homesteads, the
people and the animals.  (NOTE: gyrỳrã is an optional alternative of gyrỳn̂ or gyrỳr着眼; hool̀a is an optional alternative of hool̀na or hool̀na.)

At one moment "Igaal 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 'Igaal looked at the animals.)

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

Then the wife went to her father, her mother and her brothers and said, 'We are moving.'
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 by the mid-morning were near the corpse of the first man whom Ishak had killed. (2092:37)

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,
upon the corpse of the first man whom the boy had killed.)

Thou the man whose wife died told the old man the news and said:

'By 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. geshāan = geshāy bāan.)
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.

In that country donkeys, dogs and mules were expensive, because they had no camels.

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

Then the chieftain and the elders, after they had looked at one another, smiled.
At the time when you were at sea, I and your father met.

DECISIVE ROLE 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Configuration</th>
<th>Type of definitive</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral Closed</td>
<td>Set A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concatenated Case A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Case B</td>
<td>Set B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples

**Neutral Configuration**

Níkãla su waa odáyga fáρerku. That man is the head of the family. (Note: 'the head' lit. 'the old man'. 'Family' or 'village'.)
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 23/152-3B and 253A in ES. *dumida* = *dumidu* + bhu.)

Dee illaya iyida cidi odin... (QA1039-1702) /6/

Well, no one will say to her 'mad governess!' and they say 'You have an illegitimate baby!'... watched her, stayed with her for a while and brought her dry grass and fresh grass; and strangely enough the colt resembles the horse of the sultan! (NOTE: sulptanku = sulptanka + bhu. '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

Dya`u-d`arta ḍaliva idha`i
dgyλan bia naqdi d`un.
(A325/322) /8/

Say to him: the strong ones among the camels and the black-headed sheep will survive.

(Note: ḍaliva = ḍalam ḍa`i;
idha`i is an optional variant of idha`i or idha`a. The noun dya`u-d`a`ar named the strong camels which are capable of great exertions. 'The strong ones among the camels.' Lit. 'the strong camels of the camels'.)

Then people let in the mare, b`adalana na ḍa`rawa`i suldanika which was on heat, to the h İlkeer m`arinaya ḍa`un u`il dagayn. (Q1662-3) /5/

sultan's horse which was grazing at night over there. (Note: suldanika = suldanika ḍa`.
'the sultan's horse' lit. 'the horse of the sultan'.)

Open Configuration

Case A

Wal`alow, i qad do `gaddki
Brother, carry me and take me
Shizka il年龄。 (Q41033) /1/

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 sad when they heard the words of the boy and said:

"Probably this boy was born of a noble clan, let us make such a step for him while he stays with us!"

How many teeth have people, and how many are those of the horse? (P023: lit. 'which amount are the number of the teeth of the people, and which amount are those of the horse?' )
FIFTY 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 form 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
some 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Configuration of the nominal cluster, taken as a unit</th>
<th>Type of the verbal form which occurs as its marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Set A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>Set A or, optionally, Set 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(except for the negative verbal forms in which no</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>optional alternatives do not occur.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concatenated</td>
<td>Set A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Open, Case A</td>
<td>Set A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open, Case B</td>
<td>Set B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Neutral Configuration
Lārkaasāhu, illaṣa va niu ana  Well, then, he was a man who had
Áfar ćamamáal omnató daddaním é diiday. (QA71-8)

Álla, suldaam ninku waa nín wínnagasín é ha dójín!

(CS20-1)

Closed Confirmation

Nínka ćaa Sauyyý mí ká dýánm.

(CS2/12-3)

Nínkaasú nín wínnagásín bhu chech. (CS12/10-7)

Concatenated Confirmation

Fárkii nínkii réérka láchu ćó suboole ahaa martidii farša baddáy arúy bhu nabay, há yeexhó e wuú ká hischoodey jinu ćarruwaal. (CS20/6-3)

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

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

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

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

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'.).
And what you must know is this: as for the children of Adam, to 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

War korta baahaskin dyudum
La xiduchin nigak wittan.
(2S5/5)

Ínumkii yáata na wii ña qabstey. (2S1/19)

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

First, tell me about this thing which is called termite hill.

And the young boy was captured. (Note: 'the young boy' lit. 't
And in what way shall we recognize the one who is best?

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

Well, this man who is called lion

...a man......day' lit. 'is the man the strength is that amount and the day after...'

In that way the young boy survived, out of the whole raiding party.

'out of the whole raiding party' i.e. was the only survivor.)
Pālitâyāga wān ké ṣyamnady
râ 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 Isnaq dialect of Somali' it has been demonstrated that certain grammatical categories have fixed accential patterns. From this it follows that to a very large extent the accential 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 accential 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 literacy merit, to make provision for the marking of accential 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
1. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THIS THESIS.


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Appendix II

TRANSCRIPTION

1. CONSONANTS AND SEMI-VOWELS

The symbols representing consonants and the semi-vowels \( \theta \) and \( \chi \) are explained in the table overleaf by means of comparison with the symbols used by other authors and in the Sczuli Writing (Eur. Scrzuli). The sign - indicates that the symbol used by a particular author is the same as in my transcription.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My transcription</th>
<th>Liliane E. Armstrong</th>
<th>M.H.U. Lorenz</th>
<th>'Abdullahi Hijji Mahamud and Bruno Panza</th>
<th>M.H.U. Galaal</th>
<th>Somali Writing</th>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ss</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ss</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hh</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the transcription used by 'Abdullahi Hijji Mahamud and Bruno Panza, and in the Somali Writing, there is no
special symbol for the glottal stop (\(^3\)). The presence of a

The symbol \(\ddot{y}\) represents a sound for which no provision is

There is in northern Somali

It is articulated by the tip of the tongue

This sound occurs only between vowels. It was

excellent of \(\ddot{y}\)

\(\text{miiya} \quad \text{no}\)
\(\text{halbeexu xejiya} \quad \text{(CS)} \quad \text{be is sitting (or sits) there}\)
\(\text{wic le waay} \quad \text{(CS)} \quad \text{people failed to find it}\)
\(\text{mjiidjo} \quad \text{knives}\)

2. VOWELS

The method of representing vowels in this thesis differs

considerably from that of other authors and requires some

As the starting point five basic vowel units

\(\text{i} \quad \text{u}\)
\(\text{e} \quad \text{o}\)
\(\text{a}\)
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

ágal  hut
órud  run (Imp.Sg.)
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 Nihamo, Somali.

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.

weræght-founder, -founder

3. SPELLING CONVENTIONS.

As in #ikbyl, several spelling conventions are used in this thesis —

(1) Words which before a pause or in isolation end in -æ, -æ or -æ, 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 a or the ihi form of the verb æq 'being, is, are', the final vowel of the word in question is -æ, e.g.

mygalá yá: a small town of mygaló town
koorá gú: a heavy saddle of kóoré saddle

When a word of this type is immediately followed by the Conjunction a 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 jýgo o ðí: let him stay, leave him alone
cf. há jýgo 'let him stay'.

má humá o gá: it isn’t bad, take it for yourself
cf. má humá 'it isn’t bad'.

---

1. This convention is used to distinguish between words that end in -æ and those that end in -æ in isolation or before a pause. The -æ form is used in speech before a pause or in isolation, while the -æ form is used in all other contexts.
nin kalluwa: wali: ihi has a fisherman come here?  cf.
mai yjai hilkum?  nin kalluwa: wali 'a fisherman
of. w;u kalluwa: wale '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 convention.
Thus for example,

bearə wynagə:n

and

bustə baluna:gə:n

are to be read as

bearə wynagə:n

and

bustə baluna:gə:n.

(ii) before a pause or before an immediately following
consonant the final ry in the Verbal forms ah 'being, is, or
and leh 'having, has, have' does not represent any actual
sound. It is placed there to indicate that there is a
consonant h when a vowel follows immediately.
(iii) The Impersonal Pronoun ḫ Dzięki 'someone, people' and the Object Pronoun ḫunya 'you' (Sg.) are always split with an initial capital letter in order to provide a visual distinction between these Pronouns and the Prepositional Particles ḫ in 'together with' and ḫu ḫu 'in, by, with'.

(iv) All the sequences ḫɣɣ, i.e. the short vowel ḫ followed by ḫ in the affixes occurring in words whose verbs belong to the Front Series, have ḫɣɣ 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 Small who always use the ḫɣɣ variants in such contexts.

(v) The final sound of certain grammatical forms is ḫ when they are immediately followed by the conjunctions ḫu ḫu or ḫu or the verbal forms ḫu ḫu, ḫu, and it is ḫu 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 ḫu ḫu, ḫu ḫu, e.g.

Wu baqday ṭo ḫu Gararay. (CS) He was afraid and ran away from it.

Wu baqday. (CS) He was afraid.
Wha sashíibiky̨ e lá hádal. (CS) It is my friend, talk with him.

Wha sashíibiky. (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 juncture 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 Ahrar Snowball.

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

(a) All forms which before a pause end in a short vowel, or the interrogative definite forms b jakości, ws. 'which?'

and

(b) The particle bez or a combination of that particle with the negative particle ma 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.
Is it a blanket?

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 go 'and'
or 'while'; the negative particle goj; the proverbial
subject pronouns (see Section 1 of Appendix V);
the proverbial subject pronouns combined with the
negative particle goj; the unclassified word pa;
'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 ál

a blanket and a stick

cf. ál iyo buste

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:

Lálin jojnāde ñi sii sāga. (03) Stop here and wait for me.
Lálin jojnāde ñi i sā
sāga. (03) (The same meaning)

Then jojnāde is compared with jojnāde (in jojnādē). It is found that the former has the accentual pattern A[U]+A[U]+A[U], while the latter has A[U]+A[U].

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 bān, combined or not combined with the negative particle an and/or a pronominal pronoun, follows immediately the definitive kān, tān, kās, or tās, it usually occurs without the initial consonant b-, e.g. kān-bān, tān-bān, kās-bān, tās-bān. The optional variants kān-bha, tān-bha, kās-bha, tās-bha also occur, but are less frequent.
In addition to the three kinds of contraction already described, contraction occurs in national variants of the sequences ʰi₁h₂, ʰi₂, ʰi₂i₂ and ʰi₂i₂ which consist of the final vowels of noun forms followed by the combined with definite article forms ka, ku, kii, kii. Such sequences have sets of two optional variants each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-hoe</td>
<td>-ho</td>
<td>-ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hii</td>
<td>-hi</td>
<td>-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kii</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kii</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g. k'ina 'a saddle', k'ina, ko'ina or ko'ina, ko'ina, or ko'ina or ko'ina, etc.

Again, when the rules concerning the distribution of accessional 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 NOM. FORMS

1. LIST OF DEFINITIVES.

The lists in this section contain all the definitives which can combine with nouns. The definitive forms beginning with *b- will be referred to as masculine and those beginning with *m- 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 *-iw- after the initial consonant, e.g. *kára, *káriti, *kárña, cf. ku, ki, kán. The form *kára which might be expected through analogy does not occur.
Definitives which consist of one component only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of definitive</th>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) definite article of the general type</td>
<td>ḫa</td>
<td>ḫa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) definite article of the relative type</td>
<td>ḫii</td>
<td>ḫii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) demonstrative 'this'</td>
<td>kón</td>
<td>tán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) demonstrative 'that'</td>
<td>kón</td>
<td>tán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) demonstrative 'that' (far away)</td>
<td>kór</td>
<td>tór</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) demonstrative 'that' (very far away)</td>
<td>kón</td>
<td>tón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) possessive definite:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 'my', 'mine'</td>
<td>ký</td>
<td>táy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 'your', 'yours' (sg.)</td>
<td>kán</td>
<td>tás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. 'his', 'its'</td>
<td>kís (kí)</td>
<td>tís (tí)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f. 'her', 'hers', 'its'</td>
<td>kòd</td>
<td>tòd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc. 'our', 'ours' (exclusive)</td>
<td>kàyó</td>
<td>tàyó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc. 'our', 'ours' (inclusive)</td>
<td>kǹg</td>
<td>tǹg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p. 'your', 'yours' (pl.)</td>
<td>kjin</td>
<td>tjin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p. 'their', 'theirs'</td>
<td>kòd</td>
<td>tòd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of combination</td>
<td>Set A</td>
<td>Set B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) + (iii)</td>
<td>kőšá</td>
<td>tőšé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőma</td>
<td>tőma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) + (i)</td>
<td>kőya</td>
<td>tőyá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőna</td>
<td>tőna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőšsa</td>
<td>tőšsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőšna</td>
<td>tőšna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőšsa</td>
<td>tőšsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőšna</td>
<td>tőšna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőšma</td>
<td>tőšma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kőšma</td>
<td>tőšma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) + (ii)</td>
<td>kőyam</td>
<td>tőyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) + (iii)</td>
<td>kőyam</td>
<td>tőyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) + (iv)</td>
<td>kőyam</td>
<td>tőyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 -a or -o.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The final consonant, semi-vowel or vowel of the noun form</th>
<th>The initial consonant of the definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b d q f s z h j n r l</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s w y i u a n</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q o k h n c h</td>
<td>absence of the first consonant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The final vowel of the noun form in isolation</th>
<th>The final vowel of the noun form when combined with a definitive</th>
<th>The initial consonant of the definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e o</td>
<td>a short vowel identical in quality with the first vowel of the definitive</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives
when the corresponding form in isolation does not
end in -o, -i, or -a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The final consonant, semi-vowel or vowel of the noun form</th>
<th>The initial consonant of the definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b, c, f, s, n, r</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, q, ə, h n, c, h, w</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y - any vowel other than -o</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives
when the corresponding noun form in isolation ends
in -a:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The final vowel of the noun form in isolation</th>
<th>The final vowel of the noun form combined with a definite</th>
<th>The initial consonant of the definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives
when the corresponding noun form in isolation ends
in -d:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The final consonant of the noun</th>
<th>The initial consonant of the definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(vi) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives
when the corresponding noun form in isolation ends in -l.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The final consonant of the noun form in isolation</th>
<th>The final component of the noun form when accented with a definitive</th>
<th>The initial component of the definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>absence of the final consonant</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS OF DEFINITE 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 characteristic of the noun form which places 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension of the noun component</th>
<th>Type of definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i)–(vi) both Set A and B; all definitives which consist of two components both not A and B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(viii) set A and B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AP 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AP 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AP 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>AP 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>AP 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kán, tán, táa, táa which occur before the an variant of the particle tan (combined or not combined with the negative particle an and/or a preverbal pronoun), as described in Appendix III; in such contexts the definitives kán, tán, táa and táa have AP3.
APPENDIX V

PROPER AND ATTRIBUTIVE

1. LIST OF PREVERBAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR COMBINATIONS WITH THE PARTICLES buu AND aay.

(i) Preverbal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>aam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>aand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>auc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>aay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>aamu excl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>aamu incl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>aaydin excl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>aaydin incl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>aay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Combinations of the negative aam and preverbal pronouns

- aam aam
- aam aand
- aamu
- aay
- aay aamu (or aam aamu)
- aay aaydin (or aay aaydin)
- aay aaydan (or aay aaydan)
- aay aay aay

(iii) Combinations of the particle buu with preverbal pronoun

- buu aam
- buu aand
- buu auc
- buu aay
- buu aamu (or buu aam aamu)
- buu aaydin (or buu aay aaydin)
- buu aaydan (or buu aay aaydan)
- buu aay aay aay
126.
band
buu
etc.

(iv) Combinations of the particles buu and ann with preverbal
pronouns
baanun
baanad
baanu
etc.

2. LIST OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Suffixes:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ani- (-ga, -gu, -gii, -gii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>adi- (-ga, -gu, -gii, -gii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>3rd person masc.</td>
<td>isi- (-ga, -gu, -gii, -gii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>3rd person fem.</td>
<td>iyă- (-da, -du, -dii, -dii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpc</td>
<td>1st person plural excl.</td>
<td>annă- (-ga, -gu, -gii, -gii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpi</td>
<td>1st person incl.</td>
<td>ină- (-ga, -gu, -gii, -gii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>idă- (-ka, -ku, -kii, -kii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>iyă- (-ga, -gu, -gii, -gii)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. LIST OF ATTRIBUTIVES.

Set A
dambo  behind, after, back, later, further
dene    middle
hoose   low, below

Set B
dambe
dehe
hoose
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horé</td>
<td>hore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kale</td>
<td>kale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horé</td>
<td>kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore</td>
<td>sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shishé</td>
<td>shishe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sake</td>
<td>sake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note that Bell calls these words 'local attributive'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX VI

VERBAL FORMS AND THE CHARACTERIZATION OF VERBAL SENTENCES

1. VERBAL FORMS.

The aim of this section is to provide criteria, by means of specific 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 bani, samna ( Importance) or mish, 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 fulfill 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 those constructions. Divergent paradigms are characterized by the fact that their members also occur as verbs in dependent
constructions but do not agree with the headwords of those 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 pronoun 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 and or na. With all the forms of the negative restrictive, construct and divergent paradigms the negative particle and is used. With the forms of the extensive paradigms either of the particles and or na is used, except that with the forms of the Negative (Inv.) Present Continuous only the particle and can occur.

Some of the forms of the divergent paradigms cannot agree with noun but can be dependant 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: गृह 'house', गेह 'tree' and पिन 'nose'.

The less common paradigms will be omitted and only those forms will be given which are relevant to the study of verb stems and nominal clusters.

I. Restriction type verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>गृह</td>
<td>गेह</td>
<td>पिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>गृह</td>
<td>गेह</td>
<td>पिन</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past general

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>गृहन्</td>
<td>गेहन्</td>
<td>पिनयि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>गृहन्द्</td>
<td>गेहन्द्</td>
<td>पिनयि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>गृहन्यन्ति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्ति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>गृहन्यन्ति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्ति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>गृहन्ति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयिति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>गृहन्ति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयिति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>गृहन्यति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्ति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>गृहन्यति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्ति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>गृहन्यति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्यि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>गृहन्यति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्यि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>गृहन्यति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्यि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>गृहन्यति</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>पिनयन्यि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Negative Present General and Negative Past General

I. Negative Present Continuous

| Inv. | odan (odanin) | odanayaa | marayaa |

Negative Past Continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inv.</th>
<th>odanayaa</th>
<th>marayaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

II. Extensive Present General

Present General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3m</th>
<th>vidacada</th>
<th>gaway</th>
<th>maray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ticacada</td>
<td>gaway</td>
<td>maray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>vidacadaan</td>
<td>gaway</td>
<td>maray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3m</th>
<th>viday</th>
<th>maray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tiday</td>
<td>maray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>vidacaday</td>
<td>maray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present Continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3m</th>
<th>odanayaa</th>
<th>marayaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>odanayaa</td>
<td>marayaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>odanayaa</td>
<td>marayaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fast Continuous

3m  gdānaye  -  mārayay
3f  gdānayay -  mārayay
3p  gdānaye  -  mārayen

Negative Present Central

3m  yidahdo  -  mōdō
3f  tidahdo -  gōdō  marto
3p  yidaheden

Negative Fast Central

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigms.

Negative Present Continuous

3m  ogānayō  -  mārayō
3f  ogānayō -  mārayō
3p  ogānayen -  mārayen

Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigms.

Negative Fast Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigms.

III. Construct Paradigms

Set A

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

3s yōdah
3r tiānahēn
3p yōdahān

Past General

3a yōdi
3r tiāi
3p yōdi

Present Continuous

3m odārayyā
3f odārayyā
3p odārayyā

Past Continuous

3m ḍīhrayyay
3f ḍīhrayyay
3p ḍīhrayyay

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

Inv. ekti

ปาฏ (九十)

Negative (Irregular) Present Continuous

Inv. odārayyān

ปาฏ (九十)
### Russian Test Continues

**Inv.  gördәүүи**  
(ġördәүүини)

**нөрүүи**  
(нөрүүини)

### IV. Divergent Verbs

**Set A**

#### Future General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[iidi]</th>
<th>[ъеди]</th>
<th>[нөрди]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[idi]</td>
<td>[ъеди]</td>
<td>[нөрди]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[tiidi]</td>
<td>[ъеди]</td>
<td>[нөрди]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3w</td>
<td>yidi</td>
<td>ъеди</td>
<td>нөрди</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tiidi</td>
<td>ъеди</td>
<td>нөрди</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>[niidi]</td>
<td>[ъеди]</td>
<td>[нөрди]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>[tiidiadeen]</td>
<td>[ъеди]</td>
<td>[нөрди]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>yidiadeen</td>
<td>ъеди</td>
<td>нөрди</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*Note: The text appears to be a list of Russian verbs with future tense forms.*
Present Continuous

1. [ cadenaó ]
2. [ cadenaó ]

Pronoun
1m. cadenaó
3f. cadenaó
1p. cadenaó
2p. cadenaó
3p. cadenaó

Past Continuous

1. [ cadenaóyó ]
3m. cadenaóyó
3f. cadenaóyó
1p. cadenaóyó
2p. cadenaóyó
3p. cadenaóyó

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Irresistible Present Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Past Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.
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. **Role of Verbose Sentences**

In this language there are three types of verbose sentences, i.e. sentences without a main verb, which have to be taken into account in connection with the material presented in this thesis.
(1) The nucleus of the first type of verbless sentences is
the particle \textit{wag}, which in such contexts usually corresponds
to 'is' or 'are' in the English translation. In addition
to \textit{wag} 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 \textit{wag}, while
the complementary part either precedes the particle \textit{wag} 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 definite, a
substantive pronoun, a numeral or a nominal cluster.

Verbless sentences of this type will be referred to as
'\textit{wag...}' sentences.

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

\underline{Minkassa was waghad.} (CS) \hspace{1cm} \textit{That man is a mullah.}
\underline{Was waghad minkassa.} (CS) \hspace{1cm} \textit{the same meaning.}
\underline{Was waghad.} (CS) \hspace{1cm} \textit{He is a mullah.} (NOTE: \textit{'he'} in
the translation does not correspond
to any word in the original.)
The man who is sitting there is the mullah who came to us last night.

He is the mullah who came to us last night.

(ii) The nucleus of the second type of verbless sentences consists of the particles na and bha, which from the rational point of view are, in this type of sentence, an interrogative equivalent of yaa. The essential part always occurs between na and bha, while the complementary part either precedes na or follows bha, 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 'na.....bha' sentences.

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

Is that man a mullah?

The same meaning

Is he a mullah?
Is the man who is sitting there
the fellow who came to us last
night?

Is he the fellow 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
infective, consists of a nominal cluster whose headword is
the word with '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 infective
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 'wa-' sentences.
In the examples given below the inceptive part is overlined and the sequal part is underlined.

I want a horse. Lit. 'The thing I want is a horse' or 'What I want is a horse'.

They saw a tall hill. Lit. 'The thing which they saw was a tall hill' or 'What they saw was a tall hill'.

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.'

He slaughtered for us a fatted camel and two rams. Lit. 'The things which he slaughtered for us were a fatted camel and two rams', or 'What he slaughtered for us was... etc.'

(NOTE: wūnum = wāna uu.)
APPENDIX XIV

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LOMA NOUNS COLLECTED WITH THE CATEGORY OF ADJECTIVES

1. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SINGULAR NOUN FORMS.

Singular noun forms are characterized by the absence of any of the special suffixes peculiar to plural, subplural and dependent noun forms. Examples: mán 'man', shábbel 'insect', giir 'garden, field', gúl 'earth, land', bili 'water reservoir'.

2. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLECTIVE NOUN FORMS.

Collective noun forms also are characterized 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 possibilities. Examples: dák 'people', karúnt 'children', náig 'men'.

3. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUB-PLURAL NOUN FORMS.

The sub-plural forms are characterized 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. -CCan (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. macállimín teachers: cf. sg. macállin a teacher
    manaafiqín hypocrites: " " maanáfíg a hypocrite
    mijaarrín carpenters: " " miqár a carpenter

2. qalmán sons: " " qálín a son

3. dágáán stones: " " dágáh a stone
    uqhán eggs: " " wúghé (absolute) 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:

    merukkhîb 'ships' cf. mûrkabd 'ship'
    bimahadîq 'rifles' cf. bímâdaq 'rifle'
    kutîb 'books' cf. kitâb '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.

אר 'he-camels' (4)  cf. sg.  אע 'a he-camel' (2)
דיבי 'even' (1)    "    דיבי 'an ox' (3)
גרבי 'he-postels' (4)  "    גברי 'a he-postel' (3)

4. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PLURAL NOM. 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. -No

The letter N 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 suffixes Nos. 2 and 3.

4. -Yo
5. -o
6. -oyin
7. -ar
The letter ą represents here a consonant identical with the last consonant of the stem of the corresponding singular form.

8. - rehears (very rare)

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

9. -yaal

10. -yaw (rare)

Examples:

1. ḍałwΛi-syō bucket ropes: ḍałwΛiz a bucket rope
   ṣabanyō flowers: ṣabình a flower
2. ści-braur-ıń waterkins: ści-bràw a waterkin
   ści-skabellō leopards: ści-skabiel a leopard
3. ḍhargō hides: ḍhàrō a hide
   ści-gabdō girls: ści-gabād a girl
4. ści-mîn-dїyō knives: ści-mîndî a knife
5. ści-sariirō beds: ści-sarıir a bed
   ści-bamō water vessels: ści-bàm a water vessel
6. ści-wàd-dıŋyō roads: ści-wàddo a road
7. ści-dàger-ıngyō gazelles: ści-dàgero a gazelle
   ści-wànō rams: ści-wàn a ram
   ści-ceelō wells: ści-ceel a well
8. ści-sàl-Łal scabbards: ści-sàl a scabbard
9. koory-Łal saddles: koore a saddle
mgroodiyañal  elephants:  cf. Sg. mgroodi  an elephant
nimanyañal  men or groups  "  "  mīn  a man, and
of men:  cf. Sg. nimān  'men'

10. nimonyañ  men or groups  "  "  mīn  a man, and also
decl. of men:
cf. Sg. nimāna

11. gabdāyñ  girls:  "  "  gabbā  a girl, and
decl. of gabbā 'girls'
'gabbā'

(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:
jīzūlīd 'newspapers', cf. jīzūlīa 'newspaper'
jāsā'ir 'islands', cf. jāsā'irā 'island'
gabā'il 'clans, tribes', cf. gabā'il 'clan, tribe'
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 Rahumeyn dialect groups.

Page 9.

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


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 ṣdɪḥum instead of
ṣdīḥum and ṣadār instead of ṣadār. 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 H3 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 yea.

Page 57.
1. In the 6th declension in the open configuration the following exception has been found in the pronunciation of some speakers: nin sulðgan ān 'a man who is a sultan'

Page 110.
1. The only exception to this is the conjunction yvo 'and' which has the final vowel -o in all contexts.

Page 115.
1. Instead of na hínte bān? which might be expected on the analogy with such sentences as ka ál bān? 'Is it a stick?'

Page 119.
1. The difference between the definite articles of the general 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 ñbl 'anmole' which has the same junctions with definitives as the noun forms ending in ā, ḍ, kh, ḫ, ē, or h, e.g. ñèle, ñélu, ñélīi, ñélān etc.