B. W. Andrzejewski

Tone in Somali

It is one of the most striking features of Somali that it has fixed tonal patterns which function as exponents of grammatical categories, either alone or alongside affixes.

Each grammatical form has a fixed tonal pattern but it should be noted that these patterns are often shared by different individual forms or even whole paradigms, since the number of accentual patterns is limited to less than twenty.

Tonal patterns alone never distinguish lexical items which are grammatically identical. All tonal 'minimal pairs' found in Somali belong to different grammatical forms, e.g. másaf 'funnel' (singular masculine noun), masáf 'winnowing tray' (singular feminine noun).

Tonal patterns of forms within a sentence determine its overall intonation contours, and it might be appropriate to mention that sentence intonation in Somali is not used for distinguishing questions from statements or for expressing emphasis. On the other hand Somali has various particles with equivalent semantic functions. Doubt, surprise, anger, approval and similar nuances are sometimes expressed by intonation which is 'superimposed' on the tone patterns; this results in the widening of certain pitch intervals or the raising or lowering of the whole register of the voice.

In a sentence spoken in a normal unexcited manner, pause (intermediate or final) is usually associated with the 'lowering' of the tonal level in the syllable which immediately precedes it, and this fact is taken into account in the system of tone marking used in the examples given in this paper.

Two positions of a syllable are recognized:

(a) when it is followed immediately by another syllable

(b) when it is followed immediately by a pause (intermediate or final).

In the table below the use of tone marks is explained:

Tone mark	Position of the syllable	
	(a)	(b)
´	high	mid
`	high-mid	high-low
absence of mark	mid	low
˅	mid	mid
̂	high	high-low

Tone appears to be associated with types of stress and the following correlation has been observed:

Tone	Stress
high	even strong stress
high-mid high-low	diminuendo strong stress
mid in position (b)	secondary even stress
mid in position (a) low	absence of stress

The above formulation is only tentative on account of the difficulties of assessing and measuring stress.

There is rigid adherence to the tonal patterns among the speakers of Somali and deviations meet with censure or laughter just as much as the use of wrong suffixes. A child, if it happens to use the wrong tonal pattern, is corrected by adults, or even more severely by older children. Foreigners who do not develop sufficient awareness of the tonal patterns of grammatical forms are often misunderstood or not understood at all. Personal names with different tone patterns but otherwise identical are not rare, and present practical difficulties if they occur on a nominal roll (say, of workmen to be paid) and are transcribed without any tone marks, as they are usually are.

The first researcher to observe the existence of tone in Somali was Armstrong, and her formulations have been followed up and related in detail to grammatical categories by myself and

by R.C. Abraham (see the bibliographical note at the end of this paper).

The relationship between tone and stress in Somali was first formulated by Daniel Jones in The phoneme.

The transcription of the Somali examples which are given in the remaining part of this article is the same as that used in my publications referred to above. The salient features of this transcription are:

1. Long vowels are represented by double vowel letters, and the tone marks, when placed on the first vowel letter, apply to the whole syllable.

2. The cedilla placed under the first vowel letter indicates the 'fronting' of the whole word. This feature is described by Armstrong and also in my article 'The problem of vowel representation' (see the bibliographical note). In forms which are characterized by 'fronting' the single letter a when immediately followed by y may be interpreted either as a or e, as the transcription accommodates the vacillation which occurs in this respect.

Examples of tonal contrasts are listed and arranged in groups according to the grammatical characteristics. They have been recorded by Mr. Mohamed Farah Abdillahi of the Hargeisa Region in the Somali Republic (SOAS Master Tape Ref.No. SOM/3/1).

FIGURE 1

[The first noun in each pair is masculine and the second feminine.]

*   gèes   a horn

*   gées   a side; a direction

*   gòol   a fatted male camel; a fatted animal

*   góol   a lioness

*   gùul   a party of men and their domestic animals on

                              the way to or from a watering place

*   gúul   victory

     làan   a small tree; bush

     láan   a branch of a tree

     nàyl   a male lamb

     náyl   a female lamb

     wèyl   a male calf

     wéyl   a female calf

[The first noun in each pair is masculine and the second feminine]

* díriq   a mat with two handles for carrying wet dung of
             animals out of the enclosure

* diríq   wet dung of animals

* Ḍúhul   "Charcoal" (a man's nickname)

* . ḍuhúl   charcoal

* gá^can   an elephant's trunk; a promontory

* ga^cán   a hand

* híddig   a conspicuous star or planet (used in Somali folk
             astronomy and weather forecasting)

* hiddíg   a star or planet (of any kind)

inan   a boy

inán   a girl

másaf   a funnel

masáf   a winnowing tray

ná^cas   a stupid man

na^cás   a stupid woman

nịrig   a male baby camel

nịrig   a female baby camel

qáalin   a young male camel

qaalín   a young female camel

* Shímbir   "Bird" (a man's nickname)

* shimbír   a bird

* Tímir   "Date" (a man's nickname)

* timír   dates

*	wáhar	a male kid
*	wahár	a female kid

[The first noun in each pair is masculine and the second feminine.]

damèer	a he-donkey
daméer	a she-donkey
darmàan	a colt
darméan	a filly
^ceesàan	a young he-goat
^ceesáan	a young goat
fạrìid	a good and wise man
fẹríid	a good and wise woman
✻ islàan	an old man; a chief
✻ isláan	an old woman
✻ quràa^c	sweet pancake
✻ quráa^c	breakfast
✻ Salàan	Salàan (a man's name)
✻ saláan	greeting; salute

àwr   a he-camel

áwr   he-camels

ẹ̀y   a dog

ẹ́y   dogs

kụ̀ug   a cook

kụ́ug   cooks

tụ̀ug   a thief

tụ́üg   thieves

*   yẹ̀y   a wolf

*   yẹ́y   wolves

* árday   a student
* ardáy   students

* bádow   an inhabitant of the nomadic interior; a country bumpki
* badów   inhabitants of the nomadic interior; country bumpkins

* bálli   a water reservoir
* ballí   water reservoirs

* dáray   a fig tree
* daráy   fig trees

* dóqon   a foolish man
* doqón   foolish people; a foolish woman

* ḍíllay   a lecher
* ḍilláy   lechers

  fúley   a coward
  fuléy   cowards

  géri   a giraffe
  gerí   giraffes

  góodir   a kudu
  goodír   kudus

  Híndi   an Indian man
  Hindí   Indian people

* Habáshi   an Ethiopian man
* Habashí   Ethiopian people

* kálah   a water dipper; a ladle

*	kúrey	a boy (between approximately 12-18 year of age)
*	kuréy	boys " " " " " " "
*	múla^c	a lizard
*	mulá^c	lizards
⊃ *	órgi	a he-goat
*	orgí	he-goats
*	qúḍa^c	an acacia tree
*	quḍá^c	acacia trees
*	Sooméali	a Somali man
*	Soomaalí	Somali people
*	Túrki	a Turkish man
*	Turkí	Turkish people

*	kúrey	a boy (between approximately 12-18 year of age)
*	kuréy	boys " " " " " " "
*	múla^{c}	a lizard
*	mulá^{c}	lizards
⊃ *	órgi	a he-goat
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*	qúḍa^{c}	an acacia tree
*	quḍá^{c}	acacia trees
*	Sooméali	a Somali man
*	Soomaalí	Somali people
*	Túrki	a Turkish man
*	Turkí	Turkish people

*	addòon	a male slave
*	addóon	slaves (male and/or female); a female slave
	agòon	a male orphan (whose father has died)
	agóon	orphans (male and/or female); a female orphan; (whose father has died)
	^{c}ạbìid	a male servant
	^{c}ạbíid	— servants (male and/or female)
	baabùur	a motor-car
	baabúur	motor-cars
	doofàar	a pig
	doofáar	pigs

| Nín bàa líbàah qabtáy. | A man caught a lion. |
| Nín bàa libaah qabtay. | A lion caught a man. |

| Más bàa nín díláy. | A snake killed a man. |
| Más bàa nin dílay. | A man killed a snake. |

| Gabáḍ bàa Faadumó ú díibtáy. | A girl handed it to Faadumo. |
| Gabáḍ bàa Faadúmo ú díibtay. | Faadumo handed it to a girl. |

| Ęy bàa waraabé ęryáy. | A dog chased a hyena. |
| Ęy bàa waráabe ęryay. | A hyena chased a dog. |

| * Wíil bàa àwr hęrraatiỹáy. | A boy kicked a he-camel. |
| * Wíil bàa awr hęrraatiỹay. | A he-camel kicked a boy. |

| Nínkii bàa líbàahíi qabtáy. | The man caught the lion. |
| Nínkii bàa líbàahii qabtay. | The lion caught the man. |

| Máskii bàa nínkii díláy. | The snake killed the man. |
| Máskii bàa nínkii dílay. | The man killed the snake. |

| Faadúm-àa gabáḍḍii ú díibtáy. | Faadumo handed it to the girl. |
| Faadúm-àa gabáḍḍii ú díibtay. | The girl handed it to Faadumo. |

| Ęygíi bàa waraabíhii ęryáy. | The dog chased the hyena. |
| Ęygíi bàa waraabíhii ęryay. | The hyena chased the dog. |

| * Wíilkíi bàa àwrkii hęrraatiỹáy. | The boy kicked the he-camel. |
| * Wíilkíi bàa àwrkii hęrraatiỹay. | The he-camel kicked the boy. |

nín lìbàah qabtáy — a man who caught a lion

nín lìbaah qabtáy — a man whom a lion caught

más nín dịláy — a snake which killed a man

más nin dịláy — a snake which a man killed

gabáḍ Faadumó ú ḍịibtáy — a girl who handed it to Faaduwo

gabáḍ Faadúmo ú ḍịibtáy — a girl to whom Faadumo handed it

èy waraabé ẹryáy — a dog which chased a hyena

èy waráabe ẹryáy — a dog which a hyena chased

wịil àwr hạrraatiẙáy — a boy who kicked the he-camel

wịil awr hạrraatiẙáy — a boy whom a he-camel kicked

nínkíi lịbàahíi qabtáy — the man who caught the lion

nínkíi lịbàahíi qabtáy — the man whom the lion caught

nínkíi máskíi dịláy — the man who killed the snake

nínkíi máskíi dịláy. — the man who the snake killed

gabáḍḍíi Faadumó ú ḍịibtáy — the girl who handed it to Faadumo

gabáḍḍíi Faadúmo ú ḍịibtáy — the girl to whom Faadumo handed it

èygíi waraabíhíi ẹryáy — the dog which chased the hyena

èygíi waraabíhíi ẹryáy — the dog which the hyena chased

Nínkíi líbàahíi qabtay miyùu lá hadlay?	Did the man who caught the lion talk to him ?
Nínkíi líbàahíi qabtáy miyùu lá hadlay?	Did he talk to the man who caught the lion?
Nínkíi líbàahíi qabtay miyùu lá hadlay?	Did the man whom the lion caught talk to him ?
Nínkíi líbàahíi qabtáy miyùu lá hadlay?	Did he talk to the man whom the lion caught?

— ——

Gabáḍḍíi laᶜágta keentay miyày ú yeeḍḍay?	Did the girl who brought the money call her ?
Gabáḍḍíi laᶜágta keentáy miyày ú yeeḍḍay?	Did she call the girl who brought the money?

Wḷilkíi ᶜAdán ká yḷmi miyùu sooray?	Did the boy who came from Aden entertain him with food?
Wḷilkíi ᶜAdán ká yḷmí miyùu sooray?	Did he entertain with food the boy who came from Aden?

Odáygíi wḁnaagsanaa miyùu ú sheegay?	Did the good old man tell him about it?
Odáygíi wḁnaagsanáa miyùu ú sheegay?	Did he tell the good old man about it?

Dádka aad shḁegaysaan má arkeen?	Did the people about whom you are talking see them ?
Dádka aad shḁegaysàan má arkeen?	Did they see the men

Walóasháy way ú timi.	She came to my sister.
Walaashòy way ú timi.	My sister came to her.
Aabbóhọod wăh má sịiyay?	Did he give anything to their father?
Aabbohọod wăh má sịiyay?	Did their father give anything to him?
Họoyádẹed wày soortay.	She entertained her mother with food.
Họoyadẹed wày soortay.	Her mother entertained her with food.
Sáddehdíi inán wày amaaneen.	They praised the three boys.
Sáddehdíi inan wày amaaneen.	The three boys praised them .
* Sáddehdíi gabḍóod wày amaaneen.	They praised the three girls.
* Sáddehdíi gabḍood wày amaaneen.	The three girls praised them .
* Sáddehdíi inán ée wạnaagsanáa wày amaaneen.	They praised the three good boys.
* Sáddehdíi inán ée wạnaagsanaa wày amaaneen.	The three good boys praised them .
* Sáddehdíi gabḍóod ée wạnaagsanáa wày amaaneen.	They praised the three good girls.
* Sáddehdíi gabḍóod ée wạnaagsanaa wày amaaneen.	The three good girls praised them .

Ha ḍọofin.	Do not go abroad.
Ha ḍọofín.	Do not send it abroad.
Ha gélin.	Do not enter it .
Ha gelín.	Do not put it in.
* Ha kíᶜin.	Do not get up.
* Ha kiᶜín.	Do not make him get up.
* Ha waréerin.	Do not get upset.
* Ha wareerin.	Do not upset him .
* Yàanu burbúrin.	Let it fall into pieces.
* Yàanu burburín.	Let him not break it into pieces)
* Yàanu fídin.	Let it not spread.
* Yàanu fidín.	Let him not spread it.
* Yàanay kárin .	Let it not boil.
* Yàanay karín.	Let them not boil it.
* Yàanay kọ́rḍin.	Let them increase.
* Yàanay kọrḍín.	Let them increase it.

Má shaqeeyaan?   Do they work?

Má shaqeeyàan.   They do not work.

     Cf. Wày shaqeeyaan.   They work.

Hálkán má yimaaddaan?   Do they come here?

Hálkán má yimaaddàan.   They do not come here.

     Hálkán bày yimaaddaan.   They come here.

Má joogaan?   Are they in?

Má joogàan.   They are not in.

     Wày joogaan.   They are in.

Má ᶜabtaan?   Do you (pl.) drink it?

Má ᶜabtàan.   You (pl.) do not drink it.

     Wàad ᶜabtaan.   You (pl.) drink it.

Ma kóor-àa?   Is it a saddle?

Ma koor-àa?   Are they camel bells?

Wày kalá tageen.   They went away from him   with it .

Wày kala tageen.   They parted.

Jǫoji.   Stop it .

Jǫoji.   He stopped it .

Wáhaan ú maláynayaa   I think

inaanáy kábáyn.   that she will not set it ('it' would refer here to a fractured bone).

Wáhaan ú malaynayaa   I think

inaanáy kabáyn.   that she did not hit him   with a sandal.

Má kábaysaa?   Is she setting it ('it' would refer here to a fractured bone)

Má kabaysaa?   Does she hit him   with a sandal.

Wáh bár-ùu yiḍi.   He said, 'Teach (pl.) something.'

Wáh bar-ùu yiḍi.   He said, 'Learn (sg.) something.'

Hasan má imán.   Hasan did not come.

Hasan ma imán?   Will Hasan come?

ᶜAli Aar   ᶜAli (the son) of Aar

ᶜAli Aar   ᶜAli Aar i.e. ᶜAli whose second name or nickname is Aar

Má La shaqeeyay?   Did people work?

Ma lá shaqeeyay?   Did he   work with them ?

Miyùu kú keenay?   Did he bring it in it?

Miyùu Ku keenay?   Did he bring you?

Nínkíi yịmí wùu arkay.

Nínkíi yịmí wùu arkay.

The man who came saw him.

He saw the men who came.

Gabáḍḍii aláabtii keentay miyày
raaᶜday?

Gabáḍḍii aláabtii keentáy miyày
raaᶜday?

Did the girl who brought the things
accompany her?

Did she accompany the girl who
brought the things.

Wịilka bụkaa miyùu yạqaan?

Wịilka bụké miyùu yạqaan?

Does the sick boy know him?

Does he know the sick boy?

Nínkén ạaylínayaa muhùu ká
dǫonayaa?

Nínkán ạaylínayá muhùu ká
dǫonayaa?

What does this man who is shouting
want from him?

What does he want from the man who
is shouting?

Rággii tụjáarta ahaa way
ú yeeḍeen.

Rággii tụjáarta aháa way
ú yeeḍeen.

The men who were merchants called
them.

They called the men who were
merchants.

Dádka ay lá jọogaan má waraabsheen?

Dádka ay lá jọogàan má waraabsheen?

Did the people with whom they are
staying give them water to drink?

Did they give the people who are
staying with them water to drink?

Odáygii aad lá shạqáynayseen wäh
miyùu sịiyay?

Odáygii aad lá shạqáynaysèen wäh
miyùu sịiyay?

Did the elder with whom you were
working give him something?

Did he give something to the elder
who was working with you?

Odayáashii ay turjubaannǒ ú ahaayeen
wày sooreen.

Odayáashii ay turjubaannǒ ú ahaayèen
wày sooreen.

The elders for whom they acted as
interpreters entertained them with
food.

They entertained with food the elders
for whom they acted as interpreters.

* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínuu nínkii wạnaagsanáa. They knew the men was good.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínuu nínkii wạnaagsanaa They knew that the good man
  tẹgáy.   went away.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ín nínkii wạnaagsanáa   They knew that someone had killed
  La dịláy.   the good man.

* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínay gabáḍḍii wạnaagsanáyd. They knew that the girl was good.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínay gabáḍḍii wạnaagsanayd They knew that the good girl
  tagtáy.   went away.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ín gabáḍḍii wạnaagsanáyd   They knew that someone had
  La dịláy.   killed the good girl.

* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínuu odáygii wạnaagsanáa. They knew that the elder was good.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínuu odáygii wạnaagsanaa They knew that the good elder
  tẹgáy.   went away.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ín odáygii wạnaagsanáa   They knew that someone had killed
  La dịláy.   the good elder.

* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínay isláantii   They knew that the old woman was
  wạnaagsanáyd.   good.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ínay isláantii   They knew that the good old
  wạnaagsanayd tagtay.   woman went away.
* Wày ọgaaẙeen ín isláantii   They knew that someone had killed
  wạnaagsanáyd La dịlay.   the good old woman.

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INTRODUCTION

Somali has an inflectional case system which exhibits some very
unusual features.   They are very difficult to observe and to describe
and this explains perhaps why so far no adequate account of the Somali
case system has been published   even   though there is a number of
works on Somali grammar in existence, as can be ascertained from the
bibliographies in JO 69 and JO 73.   Among them only AB 64, AN 54a, AN
54b, AN 64a, MU 56 and ZH 71 recognize the role of accentual patterns,
consisting of combinations of types of tone and stress, in the Somali
case system while   the remaining works give a lopsided view of the
facts by ignoring this role.

AN 64a provides the most extensive information on the Somali case
system so far, but the descriptive framework which it uses is difficult
to interpret and requires restatement and amplification, especially since
the publication of AN 75a where some of the theoretical advances in
the study of Somali syntax introduced in ZH 71 are taken into account.
In this paper an attempt is made to give a comprehensive account of the
Somali case system.   In Part II and III its characteristics are describe
in detail and the former distinction of 'configuration', 'setting' and
'case', used in AN 64a, is abandoned there in favour of the two concepts
of 'inflectional case' and 'syntactic context', referred to as simply
'case' and 'context' for the sake of brevity.   In Part IV sentences
which illustrate the formulations in Part II and III are given together
with the requisite lexical and textual annotations and in Part V
parallels to the Somali case system in other languages of North East
Africa are discussed.

Throughout this paper cases are identified by codes which either
consist of a capital letters only or of capital letters accompanied by
figures.   This is done in preference to such descriptive labels as

'nominative', 'genitive', 'accusative' etc. since the linguistic termi-
logy applied to languages such as Latin, Finnish or Turkish, does
not fit at all well the Somali situation.   The use of codes has the
advantage of making it clear that they refer to inflectional case forms
and not to their functions.   These can be inferred from the description
of contexts but it should be noted that this paper does not go beyond
what is conveyed by the case forms themselves and does not explore the
problems of case from the point of view of the tranitivity or non-transi-
tivity of verbs or the use of prepositional particles, leaving this vast
field to further exploration.   In this connection it may be mentioned
perhaps that the Somali case forms make no distinction between those
which occur as explicit objects of transitive verbs and those which
are governed by prepositional particles.

The word classes or their aggregates in which the case system
operates are referred to in this paper as 'nominal items' or 'case
marked items' and in the list below they are divided into Group 1 and
2. The maximum number of case form distinctions in Group 1 occurs in on
ly in nouns and is represented by the codes A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, B1 and
B2.   Other nominal items within that group make fewer distinctions but
the same system of code marking is used for the case forms which occur
them on the grounds of their comparability with the corresponding case
forms in nouns.   In this paper expressions which state that a parti-
cular nominal item other than a noun is 'assigned' to a particular case
represent this type of comparability.   In the nominal items listed
in Group 2 there are only two case distinctions and they are represented
by the code letters A and B.

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

Group 1   *Classi di parole in cui gioca il caso*

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

Group 2
definite article of the general type (def.art.gen.)
definite article of the remote type (def.art.rem.)
demonstrative (dem.)
possessive definitive (poss.def.)
interrogative definitive (inter.def.)
indefinite article (indef.art.)
attributive (attr.)
ordinal numeral (ord.num.)
dependent verb (dep.v.)
nominal aggregate Ia (nom.aggr.Ia)
nominal aggregate Ib (nom.aggr.Ib)
nominal aggregate Ic (nom.aggr.Ic)
nominal aggregate Id (nom.aggr.Id)
nominal aggregate Ie (nom.aggr.Ie)
nominal aggregate If (nom.aggr.If)
nominal aggregate IIa (nom.aggr.IIa)
nominal aggregate IIb (nom.aggr.IIb)

The formulations presented in this paper apply to the Northern branch

of the Common (Standard) dialect type of Somali but can be extended

with minor modifications to the remaining branches of this dialect

type.   For information about dialect divisions of Somali readers

are referred to AN and LE 64, pp.37-38 and AN 71, pp.271-272.

The transcription of Somali used here is the same as in AN 64a

for the following changes:

^c is replaced by c

ḍ is replaced by dh when it occurs at the beginning of a word,

before a consonant or the semivowel y within the same word,

or after a consonant within the same word

ḍ is replaced by ř when it occurs at the end of a word or when

it occurs as a single (non-geminated) consonant between two

vowels within the same word, or between the semivowel y and

a vowel within the same word

ḍḍ (a geminated ḍ) is replaced by dh:

ħ is replaced by x

ɔ is replaced by '

These changes are such that when the circle over r (ř), the sign :

after dh and other diacritics used in AN 64a are ignored all the symbols

are then   the   same as in the national orthography introduced in

Somalia in 1972.   Information about this orthography can be found in

AN 74a.   The rather complex pattern of replacement in the case of

ḍ and ḍḍ is due to the fact that the Somali national orthography accommo

dates to a very large extent dialect differences between the Northern

and Southern branches of the Common Somali dialect type and thus masks

the phonetic differences between them, which are reflected here in the

use of the semicircle over r and the sign : after dh.

Another departure from the system of transcription used in AN 64a

consists of dispensing with spelling conventions (i) and (iv)

given there on pp.110-112.   Convention (i) which deals with variations
in the quality of final vowels before a pause and not before a pause
is no longer necessary here since in this paper, as in the Somali
national orthography, the transcription represents speech flow uninter-
rupted by any pauses other than those indicated by punctuation marks.
According to convention (iv) variations in vowel quality in sequences
ay and ey are standardized as ay but here, as in the Somali orthography
the transcription represents one particular utterance and no attempt is
made at standardization. Information about this very puzzling feature
of Somali is provided in AN 68, pp.12-14, AR 34, p.154 and MU 56, p.
15.

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

The accentual units which make up these accentual patterns con-
sist of combinations of types of tone and stress, which in Somali
are closely related. ' The following types of tone and stress are
involved:

Tone

High

Mid

Low

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

High-Low " "   "   "   "   " Low

Stress

Even-Strong

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

Diminuendo (i.e. Decrescendo)-Strong

Absence of stress

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

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

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

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

	Position	Tone					Stress			
		High	Mid	Low	High-Mid	High-Low	Even-Strong	Even-Secondary	Diminuendo-Strong	Absence of Stress
AU1	a	+					+			
	b		+					+		
AU2	a			+					+	
	b				+				+	
AU3	a	+								+
	b		+							+
AU4	a	+					+			
	b				+				+	
AU5	a	+								+
	b	+						+		

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

The accentual units given above are represented by accentual marks
which are placed over the vowel letters. In the case of long vowels,
which are represented by doubling the vowel letter the

accentual mark is placed on the first letter only, e.g. áa instead of áá.

AU1 is represented by the acute, e.g. á

AU2 "   "   "   " grave, e.g. à

AU3 "   "   "   " absence of any accentual mark

AU4 "   "   "   " circumflex, e.g. â

AU5 "   "   "   " inverted circumflex, e.g. ǎ

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

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

nírig 'a male baby camel'

niríg 'a female baby camel'

díbi 'an ox'

dibí 'oxen'

qóre 'a writer'

Qoré.   'They wrote it.'

Ma báràa?   'Is he a teacher?'

Ma baràa?   'Are they spots?'

Mas má qabtay?   'Did a snake catch him (etc.)?'

Más má qabtay?   'Did he (etc.) catch a snake?'

wáx dhacá 'something that happens', 'someone who loots'

Wǎx dháca!   'Loot (pl.) something!'

Ha bíxin!   'Do (sg.) not come out!'

Ha bixín!   'Do not pay!'

nínkíi adéerkáy lá jǫogéy   'the man who stayed with my paternal
          uncle'

nínkíi adeerkày lá jǫogéy   'the man with whom my paternal uncle
          stayed'

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

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

Wùu dạalay ôo seexday.　'He became tired and went to sleep.'

Wùu dạalay ôo, seexday.　'He became tired and (PAUSE) went to sleep.'

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

nịrig	'a male baby camel'	
ínan	'a boy'	
góray	'a male ostrich'	all sg.m. nouns
wáŕaf	'a sling'	
másaf	'a funnel'	

nịríg	'a female baby camel'	
galáb	'evening'	
habár	'an old woman'	all sg.f. nouns
wịyíl	'a rhinoceros'	
dhuxúl	'charcoal'	

wáx dhacá　'something that happens', 'someone who loots'

nín buká　'a man who is sick'

más hụrdá　'a snake which is asleep'

Mas má qabtay?　'Did a snake catch him (etc.)?'

Nin má arkay?   'Did a man see him (etc.)?'

Sac má cunay?   'Did a cow eat it?'

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

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

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

AP1. nín 'a man', horumár 'progress', ínán 'a girl', maraakíib 'ships

AP2. ínan 'a boy', wẹddóoyin 'roads', shaọáale 'workers'

AP3. xọog 'force', lịbàax 'a lion', midabkalasòoc 'racial discriminati

AP4. rĕer 'a family', 'a group', gabdhŏ 'girls', tụkayăal 'crows'

AP5. nin [má yịmi?] '[did] a man [come?]', lịbaax [má yịmi?] '[did] a lion [come?]'

AP6.   Bòoramé, name of a town in Somalia

        hábardụgáag 'beast of prey'

AP7.   bèeldaaje! 'o chief elder!' (a traditional title used here in its vocative form)

        gụ́ddoonshe 'o chairman! (the vocative form)

AP8.   Hạrgèysa, name of town in Somalia, càawa 'tonight'

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

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

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

towards pronouncing the sequences of syllables assigned to the same accentual units in such a way that each syllable has a slightly lower pitch than the preceding one, e.g.

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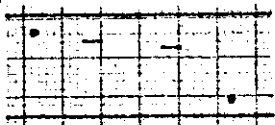
This tendency is by no means universal.   It can be reversed, i.e. the syllable under observation can have a slightly higher pitch than the preceding one, or it can be neutralized, i.e. the syllable under observation and the preceding one can have the same pitch. Such reversal and neutralization can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

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

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

(b) by two levels i.e. from Low to High.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The raising under discussion will be referred to as 'linking
intonation feature'.

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

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

Cál-àa yįmí. 'Cali came.', cf. Cali bàa yįmí. (without elision)

Ma kooràa 'Are they camel-bells?', where kooràa = koorƃ + bàa

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

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

Sóortùu keenay. 'He brought the food.', where sóortùu = sóorta
+ bùu = sóorta bàa uu

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

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

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

Ŋgáasòoy! 'O Ŋgáaso!', cf. Ŋgáaso, a woman's name

CASE IN NOUNS

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

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

Declension IX.   To this declension belong those noun forms which
in isolation consist of three or more syllables and at the
same time have Accentual Pattern 6, e.g. Bòoramé, Òodweyné
Áfbakaylé, Dáraatoolé (names of places in Somalia), hábar-
dugáag 'beasts of prey'.

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

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

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

The following exception should be noted: the noun had (n.f.) is assigned to declension IVa even though it has accentual pattern 5. It occurs only as the first component of haddíi (nom. agg. Ia) which means '[under] the condition', '[at or after] the time', 'if', 'when' or 'after'

It should not be confused with hád (n.f.) 'time' in spite of the semanti
overlap.

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

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

Note that when a noun stem ends in -i there is a linking cônsonant
-ỹ- between the stem and any of the case suffixes, e.g. mịndiỹi, Case
B1 form of mịndí (n.f.sg.) 'knife' and similarly, mịndiỹéed, Case A5
form of the same noun. When the stem ends in -a there is an elision
of the final vowel, e.g. Bẹrberi and Bẹrberáad, Case B1 and A5 res-
pectively, of Bẹrberá (n.f.sg.), name of a town in Somalia.

CASE IN ADVERBIAL NOUNS I and II

The adverbial nouns have the following forms:

I. horé (horéy) 'forward', 'before'

   saré 'up'

II. ḍad 'very', 'much', 'thoroughly'

The forms of the adverbial nouns of type I are assigned either to Case A1 or A4 while the adverbial noun of type II is assigned to Case A1, A2 or A 4.

CASE IN NUMERALS OTHER THAN ORDINALS

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

(a) Cardinal numerals

ków (f.) 'one'

lába (f.) 'two'

sáddex (f.) 'three'

áfar (f.) 'four'

shán (f.) 'five'

líx (f.) 'six'

toddobá (f.) 'seven'

siddèed (f.) 'eight'

sagǎal (m.) 'nine'

tobǎn (m.) 'ten'

labaatǎn (m.) 'twenty'

sóddon (m.) 'thirty'

afártan (m.) 'forty'

kónton (m.) 'fifty'

líxdan (m.) 'sixty'

toddobáatan (m.) 'seventy'

siddéetan (m.) 'eighty'

sagáashan (m.) 'ninety'

boqól (m.) 'one hundred'

kún (m.) 'one thousand'

milyùun (m.) 'one million'

(b) Approximating numerals

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

(c) The unspecified numeral

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

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

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

Case A2   labá

Case A4   labá

Case B1   labi (optional to lába)

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

It should be observed that there are several restrictions on the occurrence of certain case forms of numerals. The cardinal numeral kǫw occurs in Case A1 only in the context of counting (e.g. ków, lába, sáddex..... 'one, two, three etc.') and in Case A2 only when followed immediately by the conjunction iyo[1] 'and', e.g. kóob iyo tobǎn 'eleven' (lit. 'one and ten'), kóob iyo labaatǎn 'twenty five' (lit.'five and twenty'). Only the cardinal numerals boqól 'one hundred', kún 'one thousand' and milyùun 'one million' can occur in Case A5 and B2. and no numeral can occur in Case A3.

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

The interrogative words of these six types are listed below.

I.   Combinations of nouns or substantive pronouns with the suffix -ma, e.g. méelma 'which place?', idínma 'which one of you?'.

II. maxáy 'what?'

III. kúma (sg.m.), túma (sg.f.), kuwáma (pl.) 'who?', 'whom?'

IV. yaaᴸ 'who?', 'whom?'

V.   ayð 'who?', 'whom'

VI. ímisá (ímmisa) 'how many?'

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

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

Yàa yįmí? 'Who came?', where yàa is assumed to be yaaᴸ + bàa.

Yàad aragtay? 'Whom did you see?', where yàad is assumed to be

yaaᴸ + bàa + the subject pronoun aad 'you'(sg.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(i)   the conjunction naˡ 'and'

(ii)   "   "   seˡ 'and', 'but'

(iii)   "   "   iyoˡ 'and'

(iv)   "   "   ooˡ 'and', 'while'

(v)   the indicator bàa (which then has the elided form -àa).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The difference in the conditions of occurrence between the object pronouns I and II is accounted for in MU 56, p.125, Note 237 and in ZH 66, p.159, column 8).

	I	II
1sg. 'me'	i	kay$^{\perp}$
2sg. 'you'	ku	kaa$^{\perp}$
3sg.m. 'him'	∅	∅
3sg.f. 'her'	∅	∅
1pl.excl. 'us'	na	kayo$^{\perp}$
1pl.incl. 'us'	ina (inna)	kẹen$^{\perp}$
2pl. 'you'	idin	kị̈in$^{\perp}$
3pl. 'them'	∅	∅

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

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

CASE IN DEFINITIVES

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

      (i)   selfstanding words i.e. separate units within the

             sentence,

      (ii)   last components of nominal aggregates,

      (iii) middle components of nominal aggregates, and

      (iv) first components of nominal aggregates.

In definitives there are two cases, A and B but case differentiation
operates only when potentiality (i) or (ii) is fulfilled.   There is no
formal case differentiation when potentiality (iii) or (iv) is fulfilled
since in nominal aggregates only the last component bears case signs.
It should be noted that interrogative definitives do not occur in Case B
In the list below forms which have potentiality (ii) only are
preceded by a hyphen and those which have potentiality (iii) or (iv)
only are followed by a hyphen. Forms which have both potentiality (i)
and (ii) are neither preceded not followed by hyphens.   Optional forms
within any of the groupings are given in parentheses.

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

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

environment the accentual pattern is -uw-, e.g. kuwę́e 'which ones?',
kuwayagę́e 'which ones of ours?'

	Case A	Case B
Definite article of general type	ka	-ku
Definite article of remote type	kíi	kíi
Demonstratives:		
'this'	kán	kanu (kani)
'this' (with asseveration)	-kakán	-kakanu (-kakani)
'that'	káas (káa) (kaasí)	kaasu (kaasi)
'that' (further away)	kéer	keeri
'that' (even further away)	kóo	kooўi
Possessive definitives:		
1sg. 'my', 'mine'	-káy	-kày
2sg. 'your', 'yours'	-káa	-kàa
3sg.m. 'his'	-kį̃is (-kį̃i) (-kį́)	-kį̀is (-kį̀i) (-kį̀)
3sg.f. 'her', 'hers'	-kę́ed	-kę̀ed
1pl.excl. 'our', 'ours'	-kayð	-kayð (-kayo)
1pl.incl. " "	-kę́en	-kę̀en
2pl. 'your', 'yours'	-kį́in	-kį̀in
3pl. 'their', 'theirs'	-kǫ́od	-kǫ̀od

Interrogative definitive		kę́e (kée)

Possessive definitives:	Neither Case A nor Case B
1sg. 'my', 'mine'	kày-
2sg. etc.	kàa-
3sg.m.	kį̀is-
3sg.f.	kę̀ed-
1pl.excl.	kayá-
1pl.incl.	kę̀en-
2pl.	kį̀in-
3pl.	kǫ̀od-

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

CASE IN THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

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

CASE IN ATTRIBUTIVES, ORDINAL NUMERALS AND DEPENDENT VERBAL FORMS

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

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

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

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

	Convergent		Divergent	
	A	**B**	**A**	**B**
1sg.	keená	keenaa	keenó	keenaa
2sg.	keená	keenaa	keentíd	keentaa
3sg.m.	keená	keenaa	keenó	keenaa
3sg.f.	keentá	keentaa	keentó	keentaa
1pl.	keenná	keennaa	keennó	keennaa
2pl.	keená	keenaa	keentáan	keentaan
3pl.	keená	keenaa	keenáan	keenaan

The following sentences illustrate the use of forms A and B:

1. Nínka dhuxúsha keená má yaqaan? 'Does he know the man who brings the charcoal?'

2. Nínka dhuxúsha keenaa má yaqaan?'Does the man who brings the charcoal know him (her, them, it)?'

3. Nínka uu dhuxúsha ú keenó má yaqaan? 'Does he know the man for whom he brings the charcoal?'

4. Nínka uu dhuxúsha ú keenaa má yaqaan? 'Does the man for whom he brings the charcoal know him (her, them, it)?'

The structure of these four sentences becomes clear if the following explanatory notes are provided:

nínka 'the man'; headword of the dependent verbal forms keená (Convergent A), keenaa (Convergent B), keenó (Divergent A) and keenaa (Divergent B) all meaning 'brings' 'does.....bring'

dhuxúsha keená }
dhuxúsha keenaa } 'who brings the charcoal'; note that in Somali there is no special word corresponding to the relative pronoun in English

má yaqaan 'does [he] know?'; yaqaan is the main verb and is preceded by an indicator which here introduces a question

uu dhuxúsha ú keenó }
uu dhuxúsha ú keenaa } 'for (ú) whom he (uu) brings the charcoal'

The words 'him' ('her', 'them', 'it') in the translation correspond to the absence of the object pronoun in the Somali text for reasons explained in AN 75a, pp.4 and 5.

CASE IN NOMINAL AGGREGATES

Nominal aggregates, as defined in AN 75a, p.15, consist of combinations of various word classes.   The components of such combinations are represented in the table below by the sign + and it should be noted that the maximum number of components is three.   The letters F, M and L mean 'First', 'Middle' and 'Last' respectively and refer to the relative position of each component.   When there are two or more signs + in the same column this indicates that there are alternative combinations of components and the absence of the sign + in the M column indicates that the particular combinations have only two components each.

As in AN 75a nominal aggregates are divided into Type I and II, but here further subdivisions are introduced and are represented by the lower case letters a, b , c etc.

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

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

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

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

Numerous examples of nominal aggregates can be found in AN 61, AN 64a and AN 75a. Note that in AN 64a nominal aggregates in which t first component is a noun are referred to as 'defined nouns'.

CONTEXTS OF CASE FORMS: AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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

NOMINAL CLUSTERS

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

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

(a) Dependence of an item (or items) on a headword which precedes it (them).

(b) Annexation of an item (or items) by a headword which follows it (them). Such a headword is always a nominal aggregate in which the middle or the last component is a possessive definitive. The pronominal reference of the possessive definitive 'annexes' the item (or items) which precedes (precede) the the nominal aggregate.

(c) Parallel linking of two or more co-ordinate items the relationship between which involves neither dependence or annexation. This type of linking is associated at some point within the nominal cluster with the presence of the conjunction iyo[1] 'and'.

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

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

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

(i)   Nouns, the cardinal numerals boqòl 'one hundred', kún 'one
      thousand', milyùun 'one million', the interrogative word
      of type V (ayò 'who', 'whom'), and the nominal aggregates
      of type Ia, Ib and Ie.

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

When one of the items listed in (i) is dependent on a headword
within a nominal cluster it conveys a type of meaning which is
comparable to that of a noun or its equivalent in English when
it occurs with the possessive suffix -s or is preceded by the preposition
of, e.g. ràad lìbáax 'a lion's footprint' or 'foot print of a lion',
where ràad 'footprint' is the headword and lìbáax 'a lion' is a depen-
dent item. Similarly: ràadka lìbàaxa 'the lion's footprint' or 'the
footprint of the lion', shán boqól 'five hundred' (lit. five [sets] of
one hundred [units each])and Áxmed ayó 'Axmed [the son] of who?'.

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

Dominant headwords are overlined with a continuous line.

Dependent items are underlined   "   "   "   "

Annexing headwords are overlined with a dotted line.

Annexed items are underlined   "   "   "   "

Co-ordinate headwords are overlined with an interrupted line.

(a)

nìn hụrdá 'a man who is asleep'

b̲i̲y̲á̲h̲a̲ la c̲a̲b̲b̲ó 'the water one drinks'

n̲ī̲n̲k̲ī̲i̲ sóorta k̲e̲e̲n̲á̲y̲ 'the man who brought the food'

s̲ó̲o̲r̲t̲í̲i̲ ninku k̲e̲e̲n̲á̲y̲ 'the food the man brought'

ā̲w̲r̲k̲a̲ k̲a̲l̲é̲ 'the other camel' (lit. 'the camel which is other')

d̲a̲m̲ē̲e̲r̲k̲a̲ s̲a̲d̲d̲e̲x̲á̲a̲d̲ 'the third donkey' (lit. 'the donkey which is

third')

x̲ū̲u̲b̲ c̲a̲a̲r̲ó̲ 'a spider's w̲e̲b̲'

ā̲q̲a̲l̲k̲í̲i̲ C̲a̲l̲í̲ 'C̲a̲l̲i̲'s̲ h̲o̲u̲s̲e̲'

t̲ō̲b̲ā̲n̲ w̲ị̲i̲l̲ 't̲e̲n̲ b̲o̲y̲s̲' (lit. 't̲e̲n̲ of boys')

(b)

l̲i̲b̲à̲a̲x̲ r̲ạ̲a̲d̲k̲ị̲i̲s̲a̲ 'the footprints of a lion' (lit. 'a lion

his footprints')

d̲á̲d̲k̲á̲a̲s̲ b̲ẹ̲e̲r̲ó̲h̲ọ̲o̲d̲a̲ 'the plantations of those people' (lit.

'those people their plantations'

(c)

r̲ā̲g̲ iyo h̲ạ̲w̲ĕ̲e̲n̲ 'm̲e̲n̲ and w̲o̲m̲e̲n̲'

f̲a̲r̲d̲ŏ̲ iyo g̲ĕ̲e̲l̲ iyo l̲ŏ̲ᵀ iyo i̲d̲ŏ̲ 'h̲o̲r̲s̲e̲s̲ and c̲a̲m̲e̲l̲s̲ and c̲a̲t̲t̲l̲e̲ and

s̲h̲e̲e̲p̲'

When there are three or more parallel headwords in a nominal cluster of type (c) they will be said to constitute an enumerative series. It is characteristic of such series that in them the conjunction iyo‡ 'and' which normally links parallel headwords can be optionally omitted in all positions except between the last two head-

words, e.g. fardŏ, gèel, ló' iyo idŏ 'horses, camels, cattle and
sheep'.

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

ẉịilkíi nínkíi yịmí arkáy 'the boy who saw the man who came'

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

sandùuqíi aan méel fǫg ká keenáy iyo kabíhíi wạnaagsanáa 'the
box which I brought from a place which is distant and the
shoes which were good'

These structures can be readily understood if we replace the
internal nominal clusters by the symbols NC^1 NC^2 and NC^3 etc. as
shown below:

NC^1= nínkíi yịmí   'the man who came'

NC^2= nínkíi aad lá hadasháy 'the man to whom you spoke'

NC^3= sandùuqíi aan méel fǫg ká keenáy 'the box which I brought
from a place which is distant'

NC^4= kabíhíi wạnaagsanáa 'the shoes which were good'

NC^5= méel fǫg 'a place which is distant'

We could then read:

Ẉịilkíi NC^1 arkáy 'the boy who saw NC^1'

NC^2 fáraskịisa 'the horse of NC^2' (lit. 'NC^2 his horse')

Sandùuqíi aan NC^5 ká keenáy iyo kabíhíi wạnaagsanáa 'the box
which I brought from NC^5 and the shoes which were good'

NC^3 iyo NC^4 'NC^3 and NC^4'

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

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

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

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

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

(i)   declarative particle (decl. ptc.) in 'that'

(ii) terminal particle (term. ptc.) iláa 'till', 'since', 'as far as'

(iii) concessive particle (ccv. ptc.) wę́low 'although'

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

CONSTRUCTIONS INVOLVING CARDINAL NUMERALS AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS

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

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

alfu laylatin 'thousand nights', lit.'a thousand of a night',.

siedem kotów 'seven cats', lit. 'seven of cats'.

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

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

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

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

shán faróod 'five fingers', cf. fár (n.sg.f., Declension IVa) 'a finger' and farð (n.pl.m., Declension VIa) 'fingers'

tobán haláad 'ten she-camels', cf. hál (n.sg.f., Declension IVb) 'a she-camel' and halð (n.pl.m., Declension VIb) 'she-camels'.

líx aqál 'six houses', cf. áqal (n.sg.m., Declension III)

'a house',

kónton áwr 'fifty he-camels', cf. àwr (n.sg.m., Declension II)

'a he-camel'.

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

sagáal wẹ̆yl 'nine male calves', cf. wẹ̆yl (n.sg.m., Declension II

'a male calf' and wẹylăl (n.pl.f., Declension VIc) 'male

calves',

sagáal wẹylóod 'nine female calves', cf. wẹ̆yl (n.sg.f., Declensio

IVa) 'a female calf' and wẹylŏ (n.pl.m., Declension VIa)

'female calves'.

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

(i)   an approximating numeral, e.g. tobanéeyo 'approximately ten

(ii)   the unspecified numeral dhàwr 'several'

(iii) the interrogative word ímmisa 'how many?'

(iv)   a nominal aggregate in which the first component is

a cardinal numeral, an approximating numeral or the

unspecified numeral dhàwr' 'several'.

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

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

children'.

VOCATIVE SUFFIXED PARTICLES

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

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

1. Single nouns which are:

    (a) propers names

    (b) ad hoc made up praise names or abusive epithets

    (c) names of God

    (d) nouns used as nicknames

    (e) kinship terms

    (f) nouns denoting persons related to the speaker by bonds of love or friendship

    (g) nouns denoting holders of office or practitioners of occupations, when used as titles of respect

    (h) nouns used as names of personified animals or abstract notions in allegorical narratives, poems or proverbs

    (i) the nouns beenáale (.n.m.) 'liar' and labawejíile (n.m.) 'hypoctite'

    (j) the noun rág (n.coll.m.) 'men' when used as a form of polite address

2. Nominal aggregates in which the first component is a noun or a cardinal numeral.

3. Any markers of nominal clusters in which the headwords are:

    (a) nouns or cardinal numerals

    (b) nominal aggregates in which the first component is a noun or a cardinal numeral

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

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

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

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

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

1. The single noun to which the particle is suffixed.

2. The noun or the cardinal numeral which is the first component of the nominal aggregate to which the particle is suffixed.

3. The noun or the cardinal numeral which is the headword of the nominal cluster to the marker of which the particle is suffixed.

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

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

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

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

(i) when the particle -ow is suffixed to an item which in other contexts ends in the short vowel -i, and

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

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

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

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

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

The accentual patterns of vocative suffixed particles are as follows:

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

Forms of Set II have Accentual Unit 3 on all their syllables.

Selected examples of vocative suffixed particles are given below.

Set I

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

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

Dhúlkayágòw! 'O our land!', cf. dhúlkayága (nom.aggr.Ib) 'our land', cf. dhúl (n.sg.m.) land, kayoˡ (poss.def.1pl.excl.) 'our' and ka (def.art.gen.m.) 'the'.

Dádka na dhęgeysáneyòw! 'O people who are listening to us!', cf. dádka na dhęgeysáneyá 'the people who are listening to us' which is a nominal cluster. The item dhęgeysánayá (3pl.pres. cnt.cvg.A) '[who] are listening to' is the marker of the nominal cluster and is dependent on its headword dádka 'the people'. Dádka (nom.aggr.Ia) is composed of dád (n.coll.m.) 'people' and ka (def.art.gen.m.) 'the'.

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

Ęeddòoy! 'O paternal aunt!', cf. ęeddo (n.sg.f.) 'a paternal aunt'.

Carrúurtàydíiyèey! 'O my children!', cf. carrúurtàydíi (nom.aggr.Ib) 'my children'; cf. carrúur (n.coll.f.), tayˡ 'my' and tíi (def. art.rem.) 'the'.

Akhyáarta na dhęgeysánaysàay! 'O worthy people who are listening to us!', cf. akhyáarta na dhęgeysánayesá' 'the worthy people who are listening to us' which is a nominal cluster. The item dhęgeysáneysá (3sg.f.pres.cnt.cvg.A) '[who] are listening to' is

the marker of the nominal cluster and is dependent on the
headword akhyáarta 'the worthy people'. Akhyáarta (nom.
is composed of akhyáar (n.coll.f.) 'worthy people' and ta
(def.art.gen.).

Set II

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

Gèelyohow! 'O camels!', cf. gèel (n.coll.m.) 'camels'.

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

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

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

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

Dịbíyahay! 'O oxen!', cf. dịbí (n.sub-pl.f.) 'oxen'.

INDICATORS WITH A COPULAR FUNCTIONS

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

(i)   Waaᴸ X.

(ii)   X wẹeyé.

(iii)   X wẹeyàan.

(iv)   Wáxa wẹeyé X.

(v)   Wáxa wẹeyàan X.

(vi)   Ma X bàa?
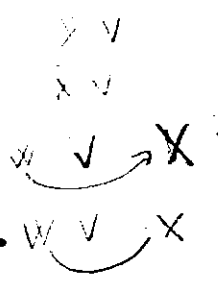
(vii)   X miyàa?

Information concerning indicators can be found in AN 75a but it should be noted that the indicator miyàa is regarded there as a unitary word while here it is assumed to be composed of mi and yàa, two indicators equivalent to maᴸ and bàa respectively. Furthermore the indicators wẹeyé and wẹeyàan are regarded here as two different words while in AN 75a they were treated as optional alternatives of each other.

The indicators waaᴸ, wẹeyé, wẹeyàan, bàa and yàa [in miyàa] have all a copular function corresponding roughly to that of 'is' or 'are' in English and there does not appear to be any difference in their meaning except for stylistic nuances in their usage which are left out of the discussion here.

The indicators maᴸ and mi [in miyàa] have an interrogative function and the indicator wáxa a heralding function which consists of emphasizing an item which is to follow the main verb or its equivalent. Heralding forms part of 'presentative movement' discussed in HE 75.

In the examples below the recurrent word is the noun gẹesi 'a brave

man', 'a hero'.

(i)	Waa gǫ́esi.	'[He] is a brave man.'
(ii)	Gǫ́esi wǫ̀eyé.	The same meaning as above.
(iii)	Gǫ́esi wǫ̀eyàan.	" " " " "
(iv)	Wáxa wǫ̀eyé gǫ́esi.	" " " " "
(v)	Wáxa wǫ̀eyàan gǫ́esi.	" " " " "
(vi)	Ma gǫ́esi bàa?	'Is [he] a brave man?'
(vii)	Gǫ́esi miyaa?	The same meaning as above.

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

(i)-(v)	Gǫ́esi bùu ahaa.	'He was a brave man.' *No*
(vi)-(vii)	Ma gǫ́esi bùu ahaa?	'Was he a brave man?'

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

Nínkani waa gǫ́esi.	'This man is a brave man.'
Waa gǫ́esi nínkani	The same meaning as above.
Cf. Nínkani gǫ́esi bùu ahaa.	'This man was a brave man.'
Gǫ́esi bùu ahaa nínkani.	The same meaning as above.
Nimánkani wàa gǫesiyǎal.	'These men were brave men.'
Wàa gǫesiyǎal nimánkani.	The same meaning as above.
Cf. Nimáñkani gǫesiyǎal bày ahaaȳeen.	'These men were brave
brave men.'	
Gǫesiyǎal bày ahaaȳeen nimánkani.	The same meaning
as above.	

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

Constructions involving indicators with a copular function are listed in the last five entries in Table III, Part One, in AN 75a, 28, and the term 'identification' is used to describe their semantic function (ibid, p.23).   These constructions are referred to as 'verb-less sentences' i.e. sentences without a main verb in AN 64a, 138-40. It should be noted that the constructions described as 'wax sentences' in AN 64a, 140 would no longer be included in this group for reasons which are explained in detail in AN 75a, 13-14.

In ZH 71, 17 an interesting suggestion is made that the indicators waa$^\perp$, wẹeyé and wẹeyàan should be regarded as 'megamorphs' combining the functions of indicators (i.e. phrasal particles in ZH 71 termino-logy) with those of copular verbs.   Obviously this approach could be extended also to bàa and yàa [in miyàa] and would accord well with the views expressed in HE 65, 130.

CLASSIFICATION OF CONTEXTS

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

Focused (FOC)

Linked (LIN)

Vocative (VOC)

Oblique (OBL)

Concordial (CON)

Dependent-focused (DFOC)

Dependent-linked (DLIN)

Dependent-oblique (DOBL)

Dependent-concordial (DCON)

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

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

	Type of context		Characteristics of the context
FOC	1	a	Xi occurs in isolation (i.e. forms by itself a complete utterance) and at the same time is not used as a form of direct address or invocation to a person or a personified being.
		b	Xi is the marker and at the same time the headword (or one of the headwords) of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs in isolation.
	2	a	Xi occurs in one of the positions associated with emphasis through the proximity of certain indicators, as specified in AN 75a, p.28.
		b	Xi is the marker and at the same time the headword (or one of the headwords) of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, occurs in one of the positions associated with emphasis, as specified in AN 75a, p.28.
	3		Xi is immediately followed by and combined with the vocative suffix -ow, -eey/-aay/-ooy.

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

DLIN	3		Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit occurs as the first or one of the middle components of an enumerative series and is not immediately followed by the conjunction iyo[1] 'and'.
DOBL			Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster but does not fulfil any of the sets of conditions specified for DFOC and DLIN2 contexts; at the same time the headword of Xd does not stand in concord with a verb outside that nominal cluster or in proconcord with an indicator which has a copular function.
DCON			Xd is the marker of a nominal cluster but does not fulfil any of the sets of conditions specified for DFOC and DLIN2 contexts; at the same time the headword of Xd stands either in concord with a verb outside that nominal cluster or in proconcord with an indicator which has a copular function.

CORRELATION BETWEEN CASES AND CONTEXTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule 1

(i)   A nominal item is in Context FOC/2, or

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

Schedule 2

(1)   A nominal item is in Context CON, or

(11) in Context LIN/1, LIN/2 or LIN/3 but only when the

      nominal cluster in which the item occurs, taken as a unit,

      is in Context CON.

Schedule 3

A nominal item under observation is absent from the sentence

but it either occurs in a preceding sentence or its presence

is inferred from the context of situation.

Schedule 4

A nominal item is in Context LIN/1 and the item dependent

on it is a verb.

The rules of concord between nominal items and dichotomous

verbal forms are given below:

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

It is obvious that this type of concord acts as an aid in subject/

non-subject differentiation especially if we consider the second compen-

satory device which will be referred to as 'concord matching'. It

consists of the following rules:

(i)   When a main verbal form stands in concord with two or

      more nominal items within the same sentence all these

      nominal items must belong to either to Schedule 1 or

      Schedule 2 but never to both.

(ii) A dependent verbal form can either stand in concord with
                                                        which
      the headword on which it is dependent or with another item /

      occurs between the headword and itself, if any. It cannnot

stand in concord with them both since they belong to
different schedules: the headword is always in Schedule 4
while the other item is in Schedule 2.

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

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

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

(ii)   In a nominal cluster in which the headword does not
        stand in concord with a verb dependent on it there is
        always at least one nominal item which belongs to
        Schedule 2 and stands in concord with that dependent
        verb.

The fourth compensatory device will be referred to as differen-
tiation by proxy'.   It involves the following rules: the
        When a nominal item is in Context LIN/1 , LIN/2 or LIN 3 and is
headword or one of the headwords of a nominal cluster the marker of
which is in Contexts CON, DCON, OBL or DOBL, then the case of the marke
acts by proxy, as it were, as an exponent of subject/non-subject differe
tiation.   Under optimal conditions Case B1, B2 or B of the marker
indicates that the headword (or headwords) of the cluster stands (stand
in concord with a verb outside the cluster or in pro-concord with an
indicator.   Case A4, A5 or A of the marker, on the other hand, indica

that the headword (or headwords) of the cluster do not stand in concord with a verb outside the cluster or in pro-concord with an indicator.

ANOMALIES

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

(i)   When the demonstratives kán 'this' and káas 'that' occur in Context FOC/2 and are immediately followed by the indicator bàa very frequently instead of the expected sequences kán bàa and káas bàa we find kanàa and kaasàa.   It is reasonable to assume that these are contractions of hypothetical sequences kanu (Case B) + bàa and kaasu (Case B) + bàa, even though such sequences do not occur in speech.

(ii)   When a dependent verb has case B forms which in the pres. gen. paradigms have the ending -aa or -aan, such forms can occur as optional alternatives to case A forms.   This happens when the verbal form is the marker of a nominal cluster and is immediately followed by the indicator bàa. It should be noted that some speakers regard such optional forms as archaic and do not use them.