

THE DECLENSIONS OF SOMALI NOUNS

by

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SUMMARY

In the literature on Somali grammar the exponents of gender and number have been given much attention, while the declensional system has passed almost entirely unnoticed. There are two main reasons for this gap: the use of the inadequate traditional techniques of description and the failure to examine the whole range of accentual patterns in Somali nouns.

The aim of this thesis, which is a result of over twelve years of research into the language, is to fill the gap in the present knowledge of Somali by providing formulations concerning the nature of Somali declensions, and by describing their exponents and distribution. Moreover, the use of a special descriptive framework is demonstrated in the handling of the data. Although this framework has been developed ad hoc to suit the descriptive needs of the language and has been used here for the first time, the methodological approach is not entirely new and has been used by Kenneth L. Pike, Charles C. Fries and the three authors of the Oxford Advanced Learner's English Dictionary.

The exponents of Somali declensions consist of inflectional characteristics and/or accentual patterns which are composed of sequences of various types of tone and stress. The distribution of the exponents is determined by the position of a particular noun form in the sentence, with respect both

to its place in the word order and to its grammatical interdependence with other words.

The relevant positions of noun forms are first classified (in Part II), and then (in Parts III and IV) a detailed description of the declensional exponents in each position is given, together with examples taken from spontaneous speech.

In the conclusion, comparison is made between the grammatical characteristics of noun forms and nominal clusters (extended nouns) and it is shown that nominal clusters have features parallel to the declensional features of nouns.

As yet Somali has no official orthography. Brief notes on the method of transcription used in the thesis are given in an Appendix.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In the literature on Somali it has not been recognised so 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 inflectional 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 techniques.

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 -i indicate the subject of the sentence and that certain feminine noun forms have possessive endings. Yet 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 only.

This is hardly surprising, as the researches into Somali, in common with those into many African languages, have suffered from two handicaps: those authors who spent long periods in direct contact with the language had usually an insufficient knowledge of adequate descriptive techniques applicable to unwritten languages and hardly any knowledge of phonetics, while those who had the requisite training limited their researches to relatively short periods. Good examples of this are two studies on Somali: the grammar of Somali by J.W.C. Kirk and the study of the phonetic structure of Somali by Liliias 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 Somali, and the transcription used in this thesis requires some explanation. It is the same as in Hikmad Soomaali and in my 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 this thesis apply to most dialects of Somali,¹ 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 recordings of spontaneous speech. The only exceptions to this are sentences which will be marked with the abbreviation CS (Controlled Specimen) and which have been obtained through direct questioning of language informants by means of test frames. In the case of examples taken from folk literature already written down, the abbreviation HS refers to Hikmad Soomaali, a collection of Somali stories by M.H.I. Galaal, and the figures following relate to the serial numbers of the

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

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

THE INADEQUACY OF TRADITIONAL APPROACH

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

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

- 1A Nínka shàah ú gèe. (CS) Take some tea to the man.
1B Nínku wùu bukaa. (CS) The man is ill.
2A Nínka hálkáa faḍdiyá
shàah ú gèe. (CS) is sitting there.
2B Nínka hálkáa faḍdiyaa
wùu bukaa. (CS) The man who is sitting there
is ill.

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

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

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

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

THE DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK USED IN THE THESIS

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

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

appeared to be valid only for certain contexts. The next step was to investigate those contexts for which Armstrong's formulations did not apply. For this purpose I constructed 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 presupposed a particular type of relationship, e.g. interdependence or non-interdependence between the noun under observation and the other components of the sentence.

Some of these frames were very simple, such as:

The particle waa 'it is, they are' + the noun form under observation, e.g. Wàa búur. 'It is a hill.'

The question particle ma + the noun under observation + the emphatic particle baa, e.g. Ma búur bàa? '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.:

Nínkii uu lá shaqeeyó ú yèed! 'Call the man with whom he works!'

In these test frames large numbers of noun forms were placed and it became apparent that many noun forms had the same

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 a preconceived notional framework¹ but as a system of patterns of arrangement and interdependence. The 'pattern' approach presupposes the use of test frames in actual research both when language informants are questioned and when samples are taken from recorded material.

Examples of the application of these principles can be found in various writings, but the works of Kenneth Lee Pike², Charles Carpenter Fries³ and the three authors of the Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English⁴ can be taken as characteristic and notable examples. Pike's method of 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 its material according to the potentialities of occurrence with 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 English⁵, 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 their

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 iyó '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 economical 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 declensional 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	}	Tone.
High-Falling	}	
Mid	}	
Low	}	
Even-Strong	}	Stress:
Diminuendo-Strong	}	
Secondary	}	
Absence of	}	

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

- (a) if it is immediately followed by another syllable within the same or the following word;
- (b) if it is immediately followed by a pause within or at the end of the sentence.

The five Accentual Units are given below:

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

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

The Acute represents	AU1	e.g. á
The Grave "	AU2	e.g. à
The Circumflex "	AU4	e.g. â
The Inverted Circumflex represents	AU5	e.g. ǎ

The absence of any of the above diacritics represents AU3.

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

Ínan bày dashay. (CS)	She gave birth to a boy.
Inán bày dashay. (CS)	She gave birth to a girl.
Waa inan. (CS)	It is a boy.
Waa inán. (CS)	It is a girl.
Ma damèer bùu sóo ñibsaday? (CS)	Did he buy a he-donkey?
Ma daméer bùu sóo ñibsaday? (CS)	Did he buy a she-donkey?
Béertìisíi dìbí bàa Lagú qódi jìray. (CS)	His field used to be ploughed by an ox.
Béertìisíi dìbí bàa Lagú qódi jìray. (CS)	His field used to be ploughed by oxen.
Walaalkàa ú mú uu dìbín la ^c ágtíi. (CS)	Your brother did not hand over the money to him (her, them).
Waláalkáa ù mú uu dìbín la ^c ágtíi. (CS)	He did not hand over the money to your brother.
Ninkii dukàanka lahaa ma ú yeeday? (CS)	Did the man who owned the shop call him (her, them)?
Ninkii dukàanka laháa ma ú yeeday? (CS)	Did he call the man who owned the shop?
Ninkii libàah má dìlín. (CS)	The man did not kill a lion..
Ninkii libaah má dìlín. (CS)	A lion did not kill the man.

Qábtay abéeso. (CS)	A python caught him (her, them, it).
Qábtay abeesó. (CS)	She caught a python.
Ninkùu arkay. (CS)	He saw the man.
Ninkùu arkay? (CS)	Which man did he see?
Kóorày íi keeneen. (CS)	They brought me a saddle.
Koorày íi keeneen. (CS)	They brought me camel-bells.

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

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

- AP1 AU1 on the last or the only syllable, AU3 on all the other syllables of the form, if any.
- AP2 AU1 on the penultimate syllable, AU3 on all the other syllables of the form.
- AP3 AU2 on the last or the only syllable, AU3 on all the other syllables of the form, if any.

AP4 AU5 on the last or the only syllable, AU3 on
all the other syllables of the form, if any.

AP5 AU3 on all the syllables of the form.

PART II

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS AND THEIR POSITIONS

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 is 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.¹

In the examples below each noun form is first given without a definitive and then in combination with the definite 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.

sá ^c ab	clapping hands, dance	sá ^c abka
gôd	hole (in the ground)	gôdka

gáǎ	beard, chin	gáǎka
másaf	funnel	másafka
kúrus	hump (camel's)	kúruska
kiish	bag	kiishka
ḥáj	pilgrimage	ḥájka
agòon	orphan	agòonka
doofàar	pig	doofàarka
dál	country	dálka
súbag	ghee	súbagga
dàw	road, right, just	dàwga
èy	dog	èyga
ǒngi	he-goat	ǒrgiga
gú	spring, rainy season,	gúga
ardàa	roofless enclosure for people	ardàaga
dawàaq	shouting	dawàaqa
gó ^o	sheet of cloth	gó ^o a
shìikh	sheikh, man of religion	shìikha
dòoh	valley	dòoha
dabaqallò ^c	scorpion	dabaqallò ^c a
tàah	sigh, groaning	tàaha
oománe	waterless place, desert	oomanáha, oomanúhu, oomaníhii, oomanóhóo, oomanehée

ilmǒ	child, baby	ilmáha, ilmúhu, ilmíhii, ilmóhóo, ilmehēe
hablǒ	girls	habláha, hablúhu, hablíhii, hablóhóo, hablehēe
góob	battle	góobta
maraakíib	ships	maraakíibta
mág	compensation, blood money	mágta
masáf	winnowing tray	masáfta
gēes	side	gēesta
rún	truth	rúnta
ma ^c allimíin	teachers	ma ^c allimíinta
áwr	he-camels	áwrta
abáar	drought	abáarta
bád	sea	bádda
dēeq	generosity	dēeqda
dǎ ³	age	dǎ ³ da
wisíkh	dirt	wisíkhda
qorráñ	sun, sunshine	qorráñda
quráa ^c	breakfast	quráa ^c da
báh	children of the same mother and father	báhda
na ^c áw	weather, air	na ^c áwda
éy	dogs	éyda
orgí	he-goats	orgída

ṣalaasá	Tuesday	ṣalaasáda
ṃagáalo	town	ṃagaaláda
ḷibaahyō	lions	ḷibaahyáda
ugáad	game (animals)	ugáaḍda
ṃeel	place	ṃeesha
bustayāal	blankets	bustayāasha

CLASSIFICATION OF NOUN FORMS AND THEIR POSITIONS - A GENERAL
NOTE

To describe the declensional characteristics of noun forms in Somali it is necessary to begin with some formal definitions and classifications, so as to provide a descriptive frame-work within which the actual formulations can be given. Some indications of the procedures adopted have already been given in Part I and it only remains to stress that all the classifications in this thesis are based on experiments with 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 feminine.

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

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

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

Type of noun form.	Agreeing verbal forms	
	Restrictive and Construct Paradigms	Extensive and Divergent Paradigms
masculine, singular	3m	3m
feminine, singular	3f	3f
masculine, collective	3m	3m <u>or</u> 3p
feminine, collective	3f	3f <u>or</u> 3p
feminine, sub-plural	3f	3f <u>or</u> 3p
plural	3p	3p

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

optional. The feminine collective and feminine sub-plural forms have identical potentialities with verbal forms but are differentiated by their morphological characteristics (see Appendix VII).

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

In this classification noun forms are divided into eight declensions. When phonological characteristics are taken into account, the shape which occurs in isolation is regarded as the starting point, but as will be shown in Parts III and IV these declensions have many other features which differentiate them from one another.

(i) To the first declension belong:

(a) all the masculine singular and masculine collective noun forms which consist of one short syllable only, with the exception of wah 'thing, things', and

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

Examples:

(a)

shír assembly
qás trouble

rág men
dád people

sân	nose
dúl	earth
wân	ram
mús	outer fence
tís	branch of thorny tree
dár	clothes
más	snake
gál	sheath
cód	voice
wár	news
sá ^c	cow
hár	woodworm
nín	man
tóg ^r	river bed
dáb	fire
cír	sky
qáb	pride

(b)

biya-híd	dam
hor-u-már	progress
isku-dár	unification, putting together
abaal-gúđ	reward, paying a debt of gratitude
gaashaan-díg	alliance, defence

- (ii) To the second declension belong those masculine singular and masculine collective noun forms which in isolation
- (a) consist of one long syllable only and have AP3, or
 - (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 structure specified under (a) or (b) above have AP3 and belong to this declension.

Examples:

(a)

hòog	strength	hèer	customary law
------	----------	------	---------------

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

(b)

dagàal	fight, battle.	istiqlàal	independence
libàah	lion	wàayèel	elder, elders
baràar	male lamb		
garàad	chieftain		
eesàan	young he-goat		
wadàad	man of religion		
bi ^c iid	oryx		
daqdaqaaq	movement		
matàan	male twin		
baadidòon	person or persons looking for lost animals		
dayahga ^c mèed	artificial satellite ¹		

(iii) To the third declension belong:

(a) all those masculine singular and masculine collective noun forms which in isolation consist of two or more syllables, the last of which is short and does not end in -e, and which at the same time have AP2.

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

(c) the following plural noun forms:²

jaráa ^o id	newspapers
jasáa ^o ir	islands
qabáa ^o il	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)

málab	honey	wíyil	male rhinoceros
qáalin	young he-camel	gèri	giraffe
hádig	rope, imprison- ment	ᶜáqli	intelligence
fáras	horse	gújis	submarine (Poetic)
ólol	flame	dúmar	women
gáshi	debt		
kúrus	hump		
bádaḥ	milk mixed with water		
fúruq	smallpox		
dáawa ^c	injury		
dēmbi	sin		
wéerar	attack		
dāwlis	bucket rope		
sumal	uncastrated ram		

(b)

maḡaalóoyin	towns	ḥaajóoyin	matters, affairs
wáddóoyin	roads	dāwa ^c óoyin	jackals
dündumóoyin	termite hills		
gḡrayóoyin	ostriches		
dḡeróoyin	gazelles		

(iv) To the fourth declension belong:

(a) all those feminine singular and feminine collective noun forms which in isolation do not end in -o and at the same time have AP1.

(b) all the sub-plural noun forms.

It should be noted that in isolation all the sub-plural noun forms have AP1.

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

Examples:

(a)

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

(b)

kutúb	books	orgí	he-goats
arsháan	huts	daghán	stones
	(permanent)	áwr	he-camels
maraakiib	ships	éy	dogs
kuraasí	chairs		
munaafiqín	hypocrites		
gawaadí	cars		
díbí	oxen, bulls		

(v) To the fifth declension belong:

(a) all those masculine singular and masculine

collective noun forms which in isolation end in

-e and

(b) all those feminine singular and feminine collective

noun forms which in isolation end in -o.

Examples:

(a)

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

(b)

úfo	whirlwind	nafáqo	nourishment
máro	cloth	sakáaro	dikdik
géenyo	mare	díillo	bad news
shéeko	story	barambárqo	lioness
márso	harbour	so ^c óto	travellers
barkímo	cushion		
bqortóoyo	kingdom		
síigo	column of dust		
kabúubyo	numbness		
magáalo	town		
mushaháaro	wages		

(vi) To the sixth declension belong:

(a) all the plural noun forms which in isolation end in -yo, -Ro, -CCo, -ýo, -o, -aR, -Raal, -yaal and -yaw (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 wáh '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):

dawyö	roads, ways
loohyö	boards
maga ^c yö	names
libaahyö	lions
dibiyö	oxen, bulls
boqorrö	chieftains
idammö	charcoal burners
buqullö	small milk vessels
qaalimmö	young he-camels
wadaaddö	men of religion
ñadkö	ropes
udbö	prop, centre pole of a hut
warmö	spears
ga ^c mö	hands
maalmö	days
siyö	ways, methods
gashaantiyö	young girls of marriageable age
haamö	large water vessels
farö	fingers
wadaamö	leather buckets
sumadö	brands
ñabaalö	graves
nimän	men
dabäb	fires
gooläl	gelded camels
miisäs	tables
galläal	scabbards
bustayäal	blankets
waraabayäal	hyaenas
odayäal	elders
koorayäal	saddles
nimanyäw	groups of men
gabdayäw	groups of girls

List of noun forms of type (b):

caalīn	a learned man
abbāan	protector, patron
abtī	maternal uncle
addūun ¹	world, wealth
adēer	paternal uncle
afāaf	entrance
afhayēen	interpreter
aji	person or persons of noble descent
albāab	door
asāl	tincture for tanning skins
awōw	grandfather
baroosīn	anchor
bōolī	property seized unlawfully
byudī	the part of a lorry where loads are put
dambār	beestings
dambās	ashes
dammiin	guarantor, security
duqsi	fly (insect)
dyrbāan	drum
daayō	sight
daddigōod	the female sex
dagāh	stone, rock
dahāl	inheritance, estate (of a deceased person)
dakhtār	doctor, dresser
edēg	small enclosure for young animals
farrāar	one of the arms of the v-shaped base of the stick used for carrying thorny branches:
fiqīn	comb
fiqī	learned man, man versed in the Islamic Law
fūud	soup
gadāal	back
gaadī	motorcar
gammāan	horses, mules and donkeys taken collectively
geedī	move, people on the move
gorgōr	vulture
gybnōod	a part of food which is charred or burnt when being cooked.

hamfĭ	hot wind blowing from the coast
harrĕr	heavy mat used as roof in the Somali hut
hawĕen	women
hĕen	fat which accumulates at the top of a vessel in which meat is cooked
hoggĕan	leading rope
hyudĭ	rowing boat
haakĭn	judge, magistrate
hilŏ	wife (poetic and archaic)
ilmŏ	child, baby
ina ^o abtĭ	maternal cousin
ina ^o adĕer	paternal cousin
ishĭn	camels and cattle taken collectively
jĭid	red meat, flesh, kinsmen
jĭir	rat
kaatŭn	ring
kamĕn	muscles above the buttocks
laasĭn	gold band (ornament)
labŏod	the male sex
lahĕaad	power, strength
lisĭn	sharpening stone
madiĭ	person who has no brothers
mahdĕr	latrine
malmĕl	species of gum tree (COMMIPHORA PLAIFARI, Chiov.) or its gum
marĕa	acacia tree
marĕg	brand on a camel's leg, witness, evidence
markhaatĭ	witness
maroodĭ	elephant
matĕg	vomited matter
miidĕan	open space, assembly ground
mindicĭr	intestines
mŏolĭ	species of tree (DRACAENA SCHIZANTHA, Barker)
nadĭ	whip (archaic)
odĕy	old man, elder

qaaddi	cadi
qaayō	large size, importance
qahoonti	retreat, evacuation
radi	male camel
reer	family, lineage
sabāan	time, season
sambāb	lung
sarēen	maize
sēddi	brother-in-law
siidi	whistle
suldāan	sultan
shōoki	police station
tqo ^c i	place unprotected from the wind
tūrjubāan	interpreter
ūs	food inside the stomach
wāa	dawn, time
walāal	brother
wēbi	river
wēhēl	companion
wēli	still, not yet, ever
yabād	gifts to a newly married couple
yarād	bride price
cāws	dry grass

- (vii) To the seventh declension belong all those feminine singular and feminine collective noun forms which:
- (a) consist of one long syllable or two or more syllables, the last of which is long,
 - (b) and which at the same time have AP3 in isolation, irrespective of the number of syllables.

Noun forms of this declension are very rare.. Only a few examples have been found and are listed below:

gàas	paraffin
ḍaan-ḍèer	strong camels of the herd
ḍèhtàal	refrain (in a poem)
liindannàan	bitter lime
liinma ^c àan	sweet lime

- (viii) To the eighth declension belong those feminine singular and feminine collective noun forms which:
- (a) consist of two or more syllables, the last of which is short and does not end in -o in isolation, and at the same time
- (b) have AP2 in isolation.

Noun forms of this declension are very rare. Only a few examples have been found and are listed below. It is interesting to note that all the noun forms ending in the suffix -ley are in this declension.

bìdih	left side
basári	bad wife, slut
ḍirri	stretch of hard ground
gáari	good wife, good woman
gýddi	committee, group of judges or elders
gýurtti	wise men, committee
ḥamfáley	mythical wind which is said to have taken away the ancestor of the Yibir caste
ḥawéeneey	lady
jábtí	gonorrhoea
máni	sperm
mídig	right side
qadábi	buckle
sábtí	Saturday

Words with the suffix -ley,

bḗeráley	farmers, cf. beerō fields, farms
----------	----------------------------------

ḅiyáaley	female water seller	cf. ḅiyŏ 'water'
hađúudley	" jowari "	cf. hađùud 'jowari'
ḥilibley	" meat "	cf. ḥilib 'meat'
ṭimírley	" date "	cf. timír 'date, dates'

CLASSIFICATION OF THE POSITIONS OF NOUN FORMS. AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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

By nominal cluster is understood a group of words which, taken as a unit, is a syntactic equivalent of a noun in the sense that it occupies a position comparable to a noun and 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 definitive, a substantive 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, yoo) or e (ye, ye).

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

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

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

(a) (i)

Waa inaad ñad ú dycaysataa
ôo dycó badán aad digataa
wáayo, nín addūun sítá bàad
tahay ôo waa LaGu iláynayaa
ye.

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

(ii)

Gár dambé má ú noqónaysaa?

(HS2/11-2)

Are you coming for a further
hearing?

(iii)

Kór wàayeel wàa wada indǒ.

(Proverb)

Doqóntu boqól indóod bày
lèedahay; sagáal iyo
sagáashan higtádèeda ayèy
kú eegtaa, míd na ḡadowgèeda.

(Pr.)

(iv)

Labá hablóod ôo yaryár ôo
adyǒ lá jogàa maalin is ú
faanay. (HS12/3)

(b)

Máarkii dambùu illayn
suldáankii ámarkìisa dǐidi
kári màayó e nimáankii
raa^cay. (HS23/350-1.)

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...'
jogàa = jogáy 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'.)

(c)

Hádal iyó habló ba du^cala^oáan
bày kú tarmaan. (Pr.)

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.

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

Márkaasàa ninkii suldáankii
ú sóo ʒstakooday. (CS)

Then the man complained to the
sultan.

Márkaasàa ninkii béerta lahaa
suldáankii ú sóo ʒstakooday.
(CS)

Then the man who owned the garden
complained to the sultan.

Márkaasàa ninkii béerta sá^cu
daaqáy lahaa suldáankii ú sóo
ʒstakooday. (HS9/3-4)

The 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 demonstrated later, and will be referred to as its marker. Sometimes a nominal is at the same time the headword and the marker of a 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, integrated 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 a noun combined with a possessive definitive (see Section 1 of Appendix IV), such as suldáanka fáraskiisa '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 'waa...' type
(see Section 2 of Appendix VI), or

(III) when it occurs as the sequel part of a verbless
sentence of the 'wañ-' 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
'waa...' type, or

(III) when it occurs as the marker of a nominal
cluster which, taken as a unit, forms the
sequel part of a verbless sentence of the
'wañ-' 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 ayaa combined with the negative particle aan and/or a preverbal subject pronoun (see Section 1 of Appendix V), or
 - (c) the particle miyaa, or
 - (d) the particle miyaa combined with the negative particle aan.
- (iii) A noun form will be said to be in the concatenated configuration
- (a) when it is immediately followed by the conjunction iyoo, or
 - (b) when it is immediately followed by the conjunction oo (yoo, yoo) or e (ye, ye), 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, yoo).
- (iv) A noun form will be said to be in the open configuration when it does not fulfil any of the conditions specified in the definitions of the other configurations.

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

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

CASE SYSTEM.

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

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

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

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

- (i) The forms of Case B occur when the noun form in the open configuration
 - (a) agrees with a verbal form, or
 - (b) forms the complementary part of a verbless sentence of the 'waa...' or 'ma....baa' types (see Section 2 of Appendix VI.)
- (ii) The forms of Case A occur when the noun form in the open configuration does not fulfil either of the conditions specified under (i) above.

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

- (i) The forms of Case B occur when the noun in the open configuration
 - (a) agrees with a verbal form, and/or
 - (b) is the marker of a nominal cluster whose headword or headwords agrees with a verbal form outside the cluster itself, or
 - (c) when it is the marker of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, forms the complementary part of a verbless sentence of the 'waa...' or 'ma....baa' types.

(ii) The forms of Case A occur when the noun form does not fulfil any of the conditions specified under (i) above.

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

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

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

PART III

UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THEIR SETTINGS AND CONFIGURATIONS

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SIMPLE SETTING.

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

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

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

The accentual patterns in this setting are as follows:

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

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

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

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

Neutral Configuration

Ninkii réerkìisa Káa sooraa The man who feeds you with what
wàa nín, ninkii réer kalé Káa belongs to his own family is a
sooraa na wàa nimanyáal. generous man, but the man who

(Pr.) /1/6/

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

Nín saláan badani waa Only a pauper, a mullah, a servant
sabool amma waa wadàad amma waa or a liar are full of greetings.

ciidan amma waa beenáale.

(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 ugáad e ha ká éryin!

/4/ (QA263)

It is game, don't chase it away!

Ninkaasu na wúhuu wataa

wéyl. /4/

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

Closed Configuration

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

Arládaas na dameeràa iyo
éyda iyo baqaalku waa kú
qáali, mahàa yeeláy gèel
bàanáy lahayn.

(HS22/51-2) /2/

Ádi badán bùu ú qalqalay
hàbèynkii iyo súbihi ba
hilib bùu ká dergiyay.

(HS20/10-11) /3/

Ma lúg bàaa? Ma jéenàa?

(QA1491) /4/3/

Nabád bàannu kú sóo hqyannay,
nabád na wáw seehannay.

(QA1066-7) /4/

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

/5/

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

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

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

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

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: oofátàan =

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

Nimăn bàa qamàar tagá, íntay
la^cág ú qaatàan é. (From a
gábay by ^cÁwed Khuurshé) /6/

Men go betting, taking money
with them.

Open Configuration

Case A

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

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

Ilàahòw, ròob nòo kèn!
(A prayer) /2/

Oh God, bring us rain!

Hádal garawshiinyàa Lagagá
dęrgaa, hilib na bıyö, hantı
na nág. (Pr.) /3/3/6/4/4

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

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

Tell lies, but tell lies which
resemble truth.

Doqoni sokeeyé má ahá.

(Pr.) /5/

Fools are not relatives. (NOTE:

'fools cannot be considered as real relatives, as one cannot depend on them for co-operation.')

Márkaasùu: caanõ ú keenay.

(HS13/10-11) /6/

Then he brought milk for them.

Open Configuration

Case B

Rag waa rággii horé, hadal

ná waa intuu yidi. (Pr.)

/1/

Real men are the men of old times,

real talk is what they said.

(NOTE: 'real men' lit. 'men'.

'real talk' lit. 'talk'. 'of old times' lit. 'previous, former'.)

Haddáan la kala roonáan

roob má dq³ó. (Pr.) /2/

Unless people are better than each other rain does not fall.

(NOTE: i.e. unless one party in a quarrel shows more generosity than the other reconciliation never comes.)

Méel hòo djonaysá hadal

wahbá ka má taró. (Pr.)

/3/

Talk does not help at all where

material help is needed. (NOTE:

lit. 'talk does not help a place which wants "take it as a gift".)

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

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

Beeni wày Ku rōga gęysaa,
Ku ma sé rakaadisó. (Pr.)
/4/

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

Miyàa wǎh da^ceen? (QA611)
/6/

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

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

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

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE INTEGRATED SETTING.

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

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

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

Neutral Configuration

Hadal waa bád iyó boqón.

(Pr.) /4/

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

Sheekádaan idiin shéegaynaa wáhay ká dēh da^cday nín sod^c-
c`aal áh iyo jinni. /3/

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 wáar, waa tii La ođán
jiray libàah iyó nín bàa
wa^catamáy e maad báhalka
lá wá^cántid? (QA224-5)

/1/

Maháddáa na adiyo Ilàah bàa
léh. (HS23/361) /2/

Wáña La yiđi libàah iyo más
iyo mús iyo dáb iyo heelád
iyo daa^cád bàa béri hál wada
laháa. (HS19/2-3) /4/

Concatenated Configuration.

Shanfaróodle waa nín iyo
qáǎkí. (Pr.) /1/

Mákhribka hórtiisii bùu,
iságoó gaajó iyo dàal iyo
harràad ú il darán, tɔuló
yimi. (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.

Agó gorayo ma lugàa misé
wàa mìnjǒ? (A riddle) /6/

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

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

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

Eel dadlíq áh úl dèer bàa
Lays kagá dayaa. (Pr.)
/2/4/

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

Béen fakatáy runi má gǎaddó.
(Pr.) /1/

Truth cannot reach lies which
have run away.

Beláayo ḍamán La qabtày
lèedahay e dabó La qabtó
má léh. (Pr.) /6/5/

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

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

Open Configuration

Case A.

Máarkii ^caanii La damáy bàa
rággii shirka jógáy ôo
dammi, dallinyaró iyo wàayèel,
wəysó ú qalqaashay.
(QA837-8) /2/

^cÁd Ku ^cijjay ñil iyo geerí
Kúu díl. (Pr.) /4/

Nín áan dúl marini qaayó má
léh. (Pr.) /1/6/

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

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:
Nín áan is pronounced ním áan.
'Has.....earth' lit. 'has not

- Ɖakhtárku nín Ɖáqlí lùu ahaa. The doctor was an intelligent man.
(HS16/10) /3/ (NOTE: lùu = lèh+bùu. 'an intelligent man' lit. 'a man who has intelligence'.)
- Nín béen yaqaan waa nín fáal A man who knows how to lie knows
yaqaan. (Pr.) /4/ magic. (NOTE: 'knows how to lie' lit. 'knows a lie' or 'knows lies'.)
- Nín khayaanó badni waa nabád A man who is full of deceit enters
galaa. (HS6/11) /5/ safety. (NOTE: 'is full of deceit' lit. 'has much deceit'.)
- Ádi bàa wán ggesó lihi kú A ram which had horns used to
jiri jiray. (HS6/1) /6/ stray among sheep and goats.
- Méel Ɖáws lihi abáar má ahá. A place which has dry grass is
(Pr.) /6/ not drought stricken. (NOTE: 'is not drought stricken' lit. 'is not drought' or 'is not a drought stricken place'.)

Open Configuration

Case B

Bérigáa na mooddikàar iyo At that time there were no

rêelwey iyo dayuuradi t'ona
má jirín. (HS22/9-10) /4/

Dán iyó fiddikhi is d'idé.
(Pr.) /4/

Nin daad qaaday humbó ^cyskéy.
(Pr.) /2/

Méel boqor j'ogó ga^cántàadàa
La ilaashadaa, méel caalín
j'ogó na ^cárrabkàaga, méel
weli j'ogó na qálbígàaga.
(Pr.) /3/6/3/

Híngi caanõ galèen hikmadi
má gashó. (Pr.) /6/

motorcars, no railways and no
airplanes. (NOTE: lit. 'a
motorcar and a railway and an
airplane were not, none of them'.)
Necessity and haughtiness do not
agree. (NOTE: lit. 'necessity
and haughtiness rejected each
other.')

A man whom flood water had taken
caught at froth.

In a place where a chieftain is
present one watches one's hand,
in a place where a learned man
is present one's tongue, in a
place where a saint is present
one's heart. (NOTE: 'one's
hand' lit. 'your hand', 'one's
tongue' lit. 'your tongue', 'one's
heart' lit. 'your heart'.
ga^cántàadàa = ga^cántàadatarbàa.)

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 EXPONENTS OF UNDEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SUBORDINATE SETTING.

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

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

The suffix -eed follows immediately the stem, e.g. af shimbir-eed 'beak' (lit. bird's mouth). When the stem ends

in -i, the junction is realised as -i-ýeed, e.g. shiràaq dponni-ýeed 'ship's sail'. When the stem has an alternance between a longer and a shorter shape, the shorter shape occurs with -eed, e.g. dár gabdéed 'girl's clothes', cf. gabád 'girl'. There are two noun forms in the fourth declension which instead of the suffix -eed have the suffix -aad: daméer 'she-donkey' and ló^o 'cattle', e.g. caanó dameeráad 'she-donkey's milk', caanó lo^oáad 'cattle's milk'.

The letter L in the designation of the suffix Ld indicates the lengthening of the vowel preceding the consonant d of the suffix, e.g. heró fardóod 'horses' enclosure', cf. fardō 'horses', shúqul naagóod 'women's work', cf. naagō 'women'. In two noun forms, riýō 'goats' and idō 'sheep', the suffix -aad is used instead of the suffix -Ld, e.g. heró riýáad 'goats' enclosure' and hilib idáad 'mutton' (lit. sheep's meat).

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

- (a) all masculine singular noun forms in all declensions,
- (b) the feminine singular noun forms góor and jéer, both meaning 'time',
- (c) all feminine singular noun forms of the 5th, 7th and 8th declensions,

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

(e) the plural noun hablǔ '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 -Ld, except for the noun form rijǔ 'goats' which has the suffix -aad.

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

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

The accentual patterns in this setting are given below:

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

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

closed configuration as an optional variant to APl.

Neutral Configuration

'Má i tidi?' waa kàyd rág.

(Pr.) /2/

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

Wúhuu íntíi kú dēh daray
dogór iyo dābóoyin uu
jejebiyáy ōo maṛoodí iyo ilkó
lìbaahbadéed iyo indó waraabé
iyo ^cidiyó lìbáah iyo ^cidiyó
shabéel iyo ^cidiyó maansa-
agaléy. /8/

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

Closed Configuration

Álla, waa dibaataysányahay e

^cád gōbnimàa ká muuqdá.

(QA413-4) /5/

By God, he is exhausted, but a strain of nobility is visible in

him. (NOTE: gōbnimàa = gōbnimó+bàa. 'strain' i.e. stock, race; this word also means a piece of flesh.)

Labá nín bàynu nahay é is

ka kēen sīi. (QA1814) /1/

Waar méesha labá dēgmàa yáal

oo ta shishe gēel ma haysató

e, ta soké aan dá^cno. (HS13/

21-3) /5/

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: dēgmàa = dēgmó+bàa.)

Concatenated Configuration

Wày sokeeyé iyo wīi sakaaró

iyo warará^c damál sáddehda

ba ^cawáaqibkòoda daqsàa Lóo

arkaa. (Pr.) /5/5/

Lament of kinsmen and a death-cry of a dikdik and a cracking sound of a tall tree, one soon sees the 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

Taló tól ʔo La diidaa taḡòog
jabày lèedahay. (Fr.) /1/

Labáda wāalíd iyó walaaláha
adàa, Wéerisáay, igalá wèyn.
(From a héello) /3/

Góor dèw bàa siiddèed qarróg
ʔo ʔaanǒ áh inammáadii gúrigii
kalá sǒo beheen ʔo shirkii
keeneen. (QA830-3) /3/

Márkaasàa sáddehndii hablóod e
gúriga jḡogay qófkii dumar
aháyð e ínanka waraabisáy
áqalkèedii ú sǒo wāreegeen.
(QA445-6) /6/

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

Advice of kinsmen when it is
rejected has a broken limb.

(NOTE: i.e. the rejection of
kinsmen's (clan's) advice always
has bad consequences.)

Oh, Weeris, you are more to me
than the two parents and the
brothers and sisters. (NOTE:
'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. (NOTE:
'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.

Sagáalkii nín e kalé ee
gèela Kulá waday ba dinté
ôo anàa lqayáy! (QAB30-3)
/1/

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

Open Configuration

Case A

Hádal sokeeyé iyo hilib
idáad b̄ wàa La qaboojaa.
(Pr.) /6/

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

^cIqáabta ífka iyo ^cqádaabta
aakhiró Alla Káa qeerèe.
(A formalised blessing) /5/

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

Márkaasàa márkii nimáankii
gabádda dōonayay labá habéyn
jogèen e La sqoryeeyáy
maalintíi dambé shirkii
yimaaddeen ôo dee sídii La

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

árki jiráy is yidaahdeen,
'Suldaanka lá hádla ôo
gabádda weydiista!'

(QA1983-5) /2/

Márkaasaa Midgaankii síi
jis^cimay ôo táh hilibō ah iyó
labá lafóod síi siiyay oo
yidi: 'Hilibaa síi ^cún
lafaa na márkaad harraaddó
már ba mid dùuh'.

(QA173-6) /6/

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

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

Open Configuration

Case B

Hádal wàayeel wàa g̃udmár.

(pr.) /2/

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

Ína ragòw, taló g̃duun tàada
úun má ahá. (From a gábay)

/6/

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

Oo sáddehda hal wàa mańáy?

(HS15/18) /1/

And what are the three things?

Haddày labá libaah igú
kulmàan ka i h̃igàan doortay.

(Pr.) /2/

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

Qáb qáb daafáy bày labá
g̃ood qáran kú w̃ydaa ýe.

(Pr.) /6/

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

PART IV,

DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THEIR SETTINGS AND CONFIGURATIONS.

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS. A GENERAL NOTE.

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

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

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

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SIMPLE SETTING.

The declensional exponents of defined noun forms in the

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

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

Examples

Neutral Configuration

Oo waa çadkée? ... Waa hüngúriga. (QA1545-6) /1/3/

Ninka wèyn é hálkáa hürdaa waa ninkàygii. /1/

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

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

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: báh means children of the same mother in a polygynic family.)

Closed Configuration

Ma baqíidàa? Ma wadnáhàa? Ma çárrabkàa? (QA1492) /4/5/3/

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

(NOTE: bađídàa = bađída + bàa,
wadnáhàa = wadnáha + bàa,
ǀárrabkàa = ǀárrabka + bàa.)

Sídíi dǀonni dǀoofáy duufàan
Cídládaan hád ba djirád
saaraa yé. (A héello) /4/

Like a ship sailing in a storm,
again and again I set my compass
towards the empty land. (NOTE:
Cídládaan = Cídláda + bàan.)

Háshíi bày maaleen. (HS
19/26) /4/

They milked the she-camel for
themselves.

Libàahíi ayùu tǀogtay. /2/

He fired at the lion.

Gúddidíi bàa ninkíi hásha
Lagá gartáy ká baqday ôo ú
eehatay. (HS2/8) /8/

The arbitration court was afraid
of the man among whose herds the
she-camel was found and gave an
unfair judgment in his favour.
(NOTE: 'the man...found' lit.
'the man from whom the she-camel
was recognised'.)

Gabáddaasàa garatáy ôo aannu
gyursánaynaa. (HS15/37-8)
/4/

That girl knew it and we shall
take her as wife for our kinsman.
(NOTE: gabáddaasàa = gabáddaas
bàa.)

Aabbáháa bàan ú sheegay
inaad nabadgelyó wèyn qabtôo
áan wáñ bẹló ihi inaan Kugú
so^cón. /5/

Haggàad ká keentay kallùunka?
/1/

Open Configuration

Case A

Wìilka ^caanàa lá dán!
(QA763) /2/

Waar, hẹe dẹh, nín annága
áh bàa bẹri ^cúdurkàa Ku heláy
òo kale kú da^cáy ôo Lagá dąwee-
yay e bal ká tág lugáha.
(QA1037-8) /6/

I told your father that you were
in great peace and prosperity
and nothing evil was coming to
you. (NOTE: qabtôo = qabtó oo.)

Where have you brought the fish
from? (NOTE: haggàad =
haggée bàad. 'where' lit.
'which place' or 'what place'.)

Drink the milk with the boy!
(NOTE: ^caanàa is an optional
variant of ^caanáha or ^caaná⁻a.)

Listen, now the illness which
afflicts you once came upon one
of our men and he was treated
effectively against it, well
then, uncover your legs.
(NOTE: 'which afflicts you' lit.
'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 gâraad, gabâdda na sîi.

(QA2013) /4/

Mârkaasây habbâddii libâahîi

jîidaysay. /2/

Gabâd bàa tiqi, 'Râggâa

jîrrab, nînkâa gyursânayâ aad

qgâatid é.' /1/

Now 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.' (NOTE: 'test' i.e.

'test their prudence and
intelligence by asking them
questions especially designed for
the purpose. 'who will marry
you' lit.. 'who is marrying'.)

Bal, aabbâhây tág! /5/

Ká qàad heedâda dabòolka!

(QA1503) /5/2/

Góor dḡw bàa náagtii àwrkîi

keentay. (QA93) /2/

Indâhâyga rumaysân màayo!

/6/

Hêbel, mahâa arladîinnii Kâa

keenây é aad dúlkayágân ká sóo

doontay? (HS23/120-1) /5/1/

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 Configuration

Case B

Waar, wiilku ma qarib baa?

(QA734) /2/

Bisé, luguhu ways ka

waawènyihiiin oo waa

caafimaad qabaan e haglaa

uum baa is ku degay.

(QA884-6) /6/

Yay gabaddu u yeedaysaa?

(QA829) /4/

Mar kaasaa libaahii ninkii

dilay. /2/

Mahay ku hanshashaqayaan

raggaasi? /1/

Aabbahay boqor buu ahaan

jiray. /5/

Maroodigu takarta ku jooqta

ma arkoo, ta kaluu arkaa. /6/

Is the boy a stranger?

In fact the legs are normally developed and healthy and only the back parts of the knees are contracted. (NOTE: haglaa an optional variant of haglaaha or hagla'aa. 'normally developed and healthy' lit. 'just big and have health'.)

Whom is the girl calling?

Then the lion killed the man.

What are those men whispering about?

My father used to be a chieftain.

The elephant does not see the camel fly which sits on him, he sees the other one. (NOTE: kaluu = kalé + buu. 'the other one' i.e. 'the other camel flies'.)

Bógorkii wùu bukaa. /3/

The chieftain is ill.

Hooláhàagu wàa maháy? /6/

What are your animals?

Shèekóoyinkani waa shèekóoyin

These stories are true stories.

dáb áh. /3/

(NOTE: 'true stories' lit.

'stories which are truth'.)

Ga^cantàa gó^dday! (HS23/229)

May your hand wither! (NOTE:

/4/

'wither' or 'be cut off' or

'die'.)

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE INTEGRATED SETTING.

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

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

Examples

Neutral Configuration

^cAlooladayg waa Ìlàah

Fortitude is the companion of

wèhélkí. (Pr.) /6/

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

Closed Configuration

Ínankíi sod^càalka aháa y^oô
gaajó iyo harràad ú il darani
na wáabta déhdèdèdùu sóo
jiifáa dy^cáda dègaysánayaa.

(QA124-5) /4/

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

(NOTE: déhdèdèdùu = déhdèdèda + bùu.
jiifáa = jiifaa ôo. 'The boy
traveller' lit. 'the boy who was
the traveller'. 'the middle of
the shed' lit. 'the shed its
middle'.)

Ímminka se suldáanka
cáqligìisíi bàa humaadáy. /3/

Máantadán na inántàydíi
yaráyd iyo waláalkéed bàa is
raa^cáy, méel ay qabtèn garán
màayó. /6/

But now the sultan has lost his
senses. (NOTE: lit. 'but now
the sultan his mind has become bad.)

Even to-day my young daughter
and her brother went away
together, I don't know where they
have gone. (NOTE: 'my young
daughter' lit. 'my daughter who
was young'. 'where' lit. 'a
place where'.)

Dálaskiyo sabòolkôo dâñ iyo
dunyádàa so^cón dèh.

(HS23/301) /5/

Say to him: the weak, all the
poor and the livestock will
perish. (NOTE: dâlaskiyo =
dâlaska iyo. dunyádàa =
dunyáda + bàa.)

Concatenated Configuration

^cAshó walbá carrúurta iyo
hooláha dèhdòdùu is ká mári
jìray ôo wahbá ma yéeli jìrín.

(HS8/3-4) /4/

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

Maalintii afartanáad ayàa
inankii iyo nínkii hílib lá
sóo beheen. /4/3/

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

Márkaasàa inanlayàalkii
réerkìisii iyo afádìisii lá
gùuray. (HS18/5-6)/6/

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

Miyàanáad ogàyn ináan indáha
dúmarka wahbá ká bahsán? /6/

Don't you know that nothing will
escape the eyes of the women?

Waar hór ma adàa nínka
bakhàylka áh é La sheegaa?

First, are you the man who is a
miser and about whom people talk?

(HS14/12-3) /1/

Duqsígàa kú da^cá heedádaán
dábaqu saarnàyn é. (From a
gábay) /5/

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

Ínuu síi so^cdó ba máskii yoo
hálkii hyrdùu yimi.
(HS23/224) /1/

Márkaasùu taabtay dérigii
wah Lagú shílayáy. /3/
Sow réerkán aan ú hoyday
má ihíd? (QA675) /6/

Aan degmádaa uu lá yaal ^cólka

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

(NOTE: heedádaán = heedáda áan.)

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:

hyrdùu = hyrdá + bùu. '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

ká dýno! (HS13/18-9) /5/

away from that settlement with which he is staying!

Open Configuration

Case A.

Máarkii dádkii kala wada
seehseehdáy bàa afádii inanka
galabnimádii waraabisay
debédidii ú sóo bañday ôo is
tidí, 'Hoolàa iyó.... óodda
ú sóo róg.' (QA544-6) /3/

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

Wúhuu is yiđi, 'Hórta dábin
ú digó. Ninkii naagta Kaagá
yimi qabó!' /4/

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

Súbiñii máarkii wáagii beryáy

In the morning when the dawn

bàa ninkii martída ahaa
ka^cay ôo ninkii réerka laháa
ú yeeday. (HS10/3-4) /4/

Márkaasùu nín nimánkii ká
míd ihi yiḍi: 'Anàa garánayá
sí aynu ú hulannó.' (HS15/
18-9) /6/

Ḷíd áan degmáḍinnán ahàyn
má arág. (QA1391) /5/

Is má ḡgá agòon iyo ninkii
aabbihí ḍilay é. (From a
gábay) /5/

Wèeyé, bal guryàa iyo dáaka
iyo hoolàa ká warráma!
(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: guryàa is an optional alternative of guryáha or guryá~a; hoolàa is an optional alternative of hooláha or hoolá~a.)

Már uun bùu ^cIgaal dameerihii
iyo báqalkii sídáa ú eegay.

(HS22/28-9) /3/

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

Gèela ràadkìisíi ràa^c ôo
kagá dabó tág. (QA1169-70)

/2/

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

Márkaasàa afádii aabbéhéed
iyo hqoyádeéd iyo walaalládeéd
ú tagtay ôo tídi, 'Waannu
gúuraynaa.' /6/

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

Open Configuration

Case B

Ínay sídáa ahaató ba márkay
barqáđíi aháyđ bàa show
cólkíi kalé é raa^cdáda aháa
ôo fardõ kú joogá ôo show
intá góor gaabán guryíi ká
sóo baháy dabadeed rãadkíi
gábbal ugá da^cáy ôo hálkíi
seehdáy ôo márkíi nín iyo
gèed La kala gartáy rãadkíi
sóo jiifsaday, mèydka nínkíi
ú hõrreeyáy é ínanku dıláy kú
sóo da^ceen. (QA1851-6) /3/

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

Márkaasùu nínkíi náagtu ká
đimatay odáygíi ú warramay ôo
yídi: 'Afádàydíi bàa shálay
đimatay ôo méesha Lagú aasay.
(HS21/11-13) /4/

Mýddó haddùu nínkíi kùhàanka
ahaa gýrigìisíi jòogáy é
nastay é istareeháy bàa nimán
suldaankii sóo diray ú
yímaaddeen oo yídaahdeen:
'Suldaankíi bàa nóo sóo káa
diráy.' (HS23/235-7) /6/

Nín awowgí lòoh ugú đigoo líil
gëshàan ahay é. (From a
gábay by Salàan c'Arrabey.)
/6/

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

Then the man whose wife died told
the old man the news and said:
'My wife died yesterday and was
buried in the place.' (NOTE:
'the man whose wife died' lit.
'the man from whom the wife died'.)

When the soothsayer stayed at his
home for a while, rested and
enjoyed himself, men whom the
sultan sent came to him and said:
'The sultan sent us for you.'

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

Márkaasuu ádigíi martídu
wadatáy kẹheeyay ôo ádigìisíi
kú daray, martídií na wùu
sọoryeeyay. (HS20/8-10)

/4/

Arládaas na dameeràa iyo
éyda iyo baqàalku waa kú
qáali, maḥàa yeeláy gèel
bàanáy lahàyn. (HS22/51-2)

/2/

Boowáháy, maháddàyda iyo
du^cádàydu há Kulá jireen.
(QA1727) /5/

Márkaasàa garàadkíi iyo
duqáydií intá is eegèen
dóosha ká qosleen.
(QA853-4) /4/

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

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

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.

Bérigíi aad bádda kú maqnáyd At the time when you were at
anígíi iyo aabbahàa wàannu sea, I and your father met.
kulannay. /5/

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SUBORDINATE SETTING.

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

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

Examples

Neutral Configuration

Ninkaasu waa odáyga rээрka.

/6/

That man is the head of the
family. (NOTE: 'the head' lit.
'the old man'. 'family' or
'village'.)

Closed Configuration

Dádka na ^cālaamóoyinka

dunídàa hukúmayá.

(HS23/453-4) /4/

And the vicissitudes of the world are ruling the people.

(NOTE: 'vicissitudes' lit. 'signs' or 'patterns', for a further explanation of this concept see Notes 23/452-3B and 253A in HS. dunídàa = dunída + bàa.)

Dee íllayn iyáda ^cidi ođán

màysó, 'Wàad gar^catay!' é àayár

bàa Lóo yimi y^oo La daawaday ôo

^cabbàar Lalá j^oogay ôo ^cáws

iyó geedö Lóo keenay ôo kúl La

yimí qàylku fáraska suldáankùu

ú égyahay. (QA1699-1702) /6/

Well, no one will say to her

'You have an illegitimate baby!'

and slowly people came to her,

watched her, stayed with her for

a while and brought her dry grass

and fresh grass; and strangely

enough the colt resembles the

horse of the sultan! (NOTE:

suldáankùu = suldáanka + bùu.

'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

D̄āan-d̄ēerta ḡēeliyo id̄aa

d̄eyl̄an bàa há̄di d̄éh.

(HS23/302) /2/

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

(NOTE: ḡēeliyo = ḡēela iyo.

id̄aa is an optional variant of id̄áha or id̄á-a. The noun d̄āan-d̄ēer means the strong camels which are capable of great exertions. 'The strong ones among the camels' lit.

'the strong camels of the camels'.)

M̄árkaas̄aa ḡēenyá̄díi ȳóo

b̄ēddal̄án na f̄árask̄ii suld̄áank̄oo which was on heat, to the

há̄lk̄eer mir̄ánayá loogú síi

d̄āayay. (QA1662-3) /6/

Then people let in the mare,

sultan's horse which was grazing at night over there. (NOTE:

suld̄áank̄oo = suld̄áanka oo.

'the sultan's horse' lit.

'the horse of the sultan'.)

Open Configuration

Case A

Wal̄aalòw, i q̄aad oo ḡēedk̄ii

Brother, carry me and take me

shírka íi gèe. (QA1033) /1/
Wákhti badán íntay ká
dambaysáy ayùu gùrigíi
aabbáháy iigalá sóo bañsaday
maalíntíi la i gyursán laháa.
/5/

Márkaasàa dúmarkii hádalkii
ínanka lá yaabeen óo
yíḍaahdeen: 'Naa, ínanka
yari malàa gób bùu ká ḍashay
é bal inagá bambaaniya íntuu
inalá jḡogó!' (QA436-7) /3/

Open Configuration

Case B

Íntée yíhiin tiráda ilkáha
dádku, waa ná íntée kúwa
fárasku? /3/

to the tree of the assembly.

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

Then the women were surprised at
the words of the boy and said:

'Probably this boy was born of
a noble clan, let us make much of
him while he stays with us!'

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

PART V

CONCLUSION

COMPARISON BETWEEN NOUN FORMS AND NOMINAL CLUSTERS

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

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

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

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

The distribution of such variants is determined by the

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

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

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

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

Neutral Configuration

Márkaasùu, illayn waa nin aan Well, then, he was a man who had

áfar ^caanamáal oomató
daddamin é diiday. (QA71-8)

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

Álla, súldaan ninku waa nín
wanaagsán é ha dílin!
(HS20-1)

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

Closed Configuration

Ninka ina Sanweyné La
yidaahdaa baan kú hidtay.
(HS2/12-3)

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

Ninkaasu nín wanaagsán bùu
ahaa. (HS18/16-7)

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

Concatenated Configuration

Márkii ninkii réerka laháa
yé saboolka ahaa martidii
faràa badnáyd arkáy bùu nahay,
há yeeshó e wuu ká hishooday
ínuu ^carrawshó. (HS20/6-8)

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

Wáhaanád qgaataa, bani
Áadanka qófkii wánaagsán é
aad aragtó ba qóf úun bàa ká
síi wánaagsán. (HS21/50-1)

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

Open Configuration

Case A

Márkaasuu máskíi yóo gèed
jirriiddi kú hyrdá ú yimi
yóo is yidi: 'Séef qóorta
kagá dufó!' (HS8/7-8)

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

Waar hórta baháshán dyndumó
La yidaahdó iigá wárran.
(HS5/5)

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

Ínankíi yaráa na wàa La
qabtay. (HS1/19)

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

Oo sidêe bàynu ta ugú
wanaagsán ú garánaynaa?
(HS15/7-8)

Open Configuration

Case B

Márkaasàa yáarkii yôo weli
hyrdaa qaalínta ôlolkêedii
nêmdiga ká maqlay. (QA
1165-6)

Wáar, hórta nínkán libàah
La yídaahdaa íllayn waa níinka
hòoggu íntáa le^oégyahay ôo
maalínta dambùu ina wada
láyn doonaa ýe maynu is ká
qabáanno? (HS19/6-8)

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

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

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

Đúlkayága wáh ká wánaagsani
má jiró.

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

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPTION

1. CONSONANTS AND SEMIVOWELS

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

My trans- cription	Lillas E. Armstrong	M. M. Moreno	'Abdullāhi Hhāji Mahhamūd and Bruno Panza	M. H. I. Galaal	Somali Writing
b	-	-	-	ب	ʃ
d	-	-	-	د	0
t	-	-	-	ت	ʒ
ɖ	-	ɖ	dh	ډ	ʒ
g	-	-	-	ج	ʒ
k	-	-	-	ك	ʒ
q	-	-	-	ق	ʒ
ɕ	-	-	-	ق	ʒ
f	-	-	-	ف	ʒ
s	-	-	-	س	ʒ
sh	ʃ	ʃ	-	ش	ʒ
kh	x	ħ	-	خ	ʒ
c	-	-	-	ع	ʒ
h	-	h	hh	ح	ʒ
h	-	-	-	ه	ʒ
j	-	ɕ	-	ج	ʒ
m	-	-	-	م	ʒ
n	-	-	-	ن	ʒ
l	-	-	-	ل	ʒ
r	-	-	-	ر	ʒ
w	-	-	-	و	ʒ
y	-	-	-	ي	ʒ
ÿ	-	-	-	ي	ʒ

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

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

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

máya	no
háлкаasùu fadḍiyaa (CS)	he is sitting (or sits) there
wàa La waayay (CS)	people failed to find it
mḍindiyō	knives

2. VOWELS

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

i

u

e

o

a

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

- (A) a relatively more "back" (retracted) quality,
- (B) a relatively more "front" (advanced) quality.

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

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

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

Back Series

áqal	hut
órod	run (Imp. Sg.)

déero	gazelle
shabèel	leopard
ciidan	servants, army
dameerō	donkeys
kaaláyā	come (Imp.Pl.)

Front Series

maḡáalo	town
wiyíl	rhinoceros
gōodir	kudu
ōnkođ	thunder
haḡbèen	night
liḡbaahyō	lions
oḡáada	know (Imp.Pl.)

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

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

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

3. SPELLING CONVENTIONS.

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

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

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

magaalá yár a small town cf. magáalo town

koorá ^culús a heavy saddle cf. kóore saddle

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

há j̄oge e d̄əa let him stay, leave him alone

cf. há j̄ogo 'let him stay'.

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

cf. má humá 'it isn't bad'.

nín kalluunwalí ihi

has a fisherman come here? cf.

má yimi hálkán?

nín kalluunwalá áh 'a fisherman',
cf. waa kalluunwáale 'he is a
fisherman.'

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

beeró wanaagsán

and

busté ballaadán

are to be read as

beerá wanaagsán

and

bustá ballaadán.

(ii) Before a pause or before an immediately following consonant the final -h in the Verbal forms ah 'being, is, are' 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 La 'someone, people' and the Object Pronoun Ku/-Gu 'you' (Sg.) are always spelt with an initial capital letter in order to provide a visual distinction between these Pronouns and the Prepositional Particles la 'together with' and ku/-gu 'in, by, with'.

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

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

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

Wùu baqdaỵ ôo ká ^cararay. (CS) He was afraid and ran away
from it.

Wùu baqday. (CS) He was afraid.

Waa saahíibkáy e lá hádal. (CS) It is my friend, talk with
him.

Waa saahíibkáy. (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 III

CONTRACTION

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

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

- (a) All forms which before a pause end in a short vowel, or the interrogative definitive forms kée, tée 'which?', and
- (b) The particle baa or a combination of that particle with the negative particle aan and/or the preverbal subject pronouns (see Section 1 of Appendix V).

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

Ma bústàa?(CS) Is it a blanket?¹

cf. Waa búste.(CS) It is a blanket.

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

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

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

(b) the conjunction iyo 'and'; the conjunction oo 'and'

or 'while'; the negative particle aan; the preverbal subject pronouns (see Section 1 of Appendix V);

the preverbal subject pronouns combined with the

negative particle aan; the unclassified word uun

'only', 'just'.

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

bustiyo úl a blanket and a stick

cf. úl iyo búste a stick and a blanket

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

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

Hálkán j̄oogsádôo i síi súga. (CS) Stop here and wait for me.

Hálkán j̄oogsáda ôo i síi (The same meaning)

súga. (CS)

When j̄oogsáda is compared with j̄oogsád- (in j̄oogsádôo) it is found that the former has the accentual pattern AU³ + AU¹ + AU³, while the latter has AU³ + AU¹.

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

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

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

I	II	III
-áha	-áa	-á̄a
-úhu	-úu	-ú̄u
-íhíi	-íi	-í̄íi
-íhii	-íi	-í̄ii

E.g. kóore 'a saddle', kooráha or kooràa or koorá̄a, koorúhu, or koorúu or koorú̄u, etc.

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

APPENDIX IV

DEFINITIVES AND THEIR COMBINATIONS WITH NOUN FORMS

1. LIST OF DEFINITIVES.

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

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

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

Definitives which consist of one component only.

Designation of definitive	Set A		Set B	
(i) definite article of the general type ¹	ka	ta	ku	tu
(ii) definite article of the remote type	kii	tii	kii	tii
(iii) demonstrative 'this'	kán	tán	kani (kanu)	tani (tanu)
(iv) demonstrative 'that'	káa (káas)	táa (táas)	kaasi (kaasu)	taasi (taasu)
(v) demonstrative 'that' (far away)	kéer	téer	keeri (keeru)	teeri (teeru)
(vi) demonstrative 'that' (very far away)	kóo	tóo	kooyi	tooyi
(vii) possessive definitive:				
1. 'my', 'mine'	káy	táy	kày	tày
2. 'your', 'yours' (sg.)	káa	táa	kàa	tàa
3m. 'his', 'its'	k ₁ is (k ₁)	t ₁ is (t ₁)	k ₁ is (k ₁ i) (k ₁)	t ₁ is (t ₁ i) (t ₁)
3f. 'her', 'hers', 'its'	k ₂ ed	t ₂ ed	k ₂ ed	t ₂ ed
1pe. 'our', 'ours' (exclusive)	kayó	tayó	kayó	tayó
1pi. 'our', 'ours' (inclusive)	k ₃ en	t ₃ en	k ₃ en	t ₃ en
2p. 'your', 'yours' (pl.)	k ₁ in	t ₁ in	k ₁ in	t ₁ in
3p. 'their', 'theirs'	k ₃ od	t ₃ od	k ₃ od	t ₃ od

(viii) interrogative
definitive 'which?'

kẹẹ

tẹẹ

kẹẹ

tẹẹ

Definitives which consist of two components.

Type of combination	Set A		Set B	
(i) + (iii)	kakán	tatán	kakani (kakanu)	tatani (tatanu)
(vii) + (i)				
1.	kàyga	tàyda	kàygu	tàydu
2.	kàaga	tàada	kàagu	tàadu
3m.	k̄isa	t̄isa	k̄isu	t̄isu
3f.	k̄eda	t̄eda	k̄edu	t̄edu
1pe.	kayága	tayáda	kayágu	tayádu
1pi.	k̄enna	t̄enna	k̄ennu	t̄ennu
2p.	k̄inna	t̄inna	k̄innu	t̄innu
3p.	k̄oda	t̄oda	k̄odu	t̄odu
(vii) + (ii)				
1.	kàygíi	tàydíi	kàygii	tàydii
2.	kàagíi	tàadíi	kàagii	tàadii
3m.	k̄isíi	t̄isíi	k̄isii	t̄isii
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
(vii) + (iii)				
1.	kàygán	tàydán	kàygani (kàyganu)	tàydani (tàydanu)
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
(vii) + (iv)				
1.	kàygáa (kàygáas)	tàydáa (tàydáas)	kàygaasi (kàygaasu)	tàydaasi (tàydaasu)
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF JUNCTIONS BETWEEN NOUNS AND DEFINITIVES.

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

The final consonant, semivowel or vowel of the noun form	The initial consonant of the definitive
b d ḍ f s sh j n n l ^l	k
g w y i u aa	g
q ɔ kh h c h	absence of the first consonant

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

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

(iii) Junctions between noun forms and feminine definitives
when the corresponding form in isolation does not
end in -o, -d, or -l.

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

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

The final vowel of the noun form in isolation	The final vowel of the noun form when combined with a def- initive	The initial con- sonant of the definitive
o	a	d

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

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

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

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

3. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS.

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

- (a) the characteristics of the noun form which place it in a particular declension, and
- (b) the type of the definitive with which the noun form combines.

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX V

PRONOUNS AND ATTRIBUTIVES

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

(i) Preverbal pronouns

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

(ii) Combinations of the negative aan and preverbal pronouns

aanan

aanad

aanu

aanay

aannan (or aannaan)

aynan (or aynaan)

aydan (or aydaan)

aanay

(iii) Combinations of the particle baa with preverbal pronouns

baan

baad

buu

etc.

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

baanan

baanad

baanu

etc.

2. LIST OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS.

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

3. LIST OF ATTRIBUTIVES.

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

Set A

Set B

horé first, earlier, front, before

hore

kalé other

kale

koré top, upper

kore

saré " "

sare

shishé far, on the other side

shishe

soké near, on this side

soke

Note that Bell calls these words 'Local Attributives'.

APPENDIX VI

VERBAL FORMS AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBLESS SENTENCES

1. NOTE ON VERBAL FORMS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Optional variants will be placed in round brackets.

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

I. Restrictive paradigms

Present General

3m	yǐdaahdá	}	óg	mará
3f	tidaahdá			martá
3p	yǐdaahdá			mará

Past General

3m	yǐdí	ogáa	maráy
3f	tidí	ogáyǎ	martáy
3p	yǐdí	ogáa	maráy

Present Continuous

3m	odánayá	-	márayá
3f	odánaysá	-	máraysá
3p	odánayá	-	márayá

Past Continuous

3m	odánayáy	-	márayáy
3f	odánaysáy	-	máraysáy
3p	odánayáy	-	márayáy

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

Inv. ođán (ođanín) ǵǵàyn marín

Negative Present Continuous

Inv. ođánáyn - máráyn
(ođánaynín) (máraynín)

Negative Past Continuous

Inv. ǵođanéyn - mǵaréyn
(ǵođaneynín) (mǵareynín)

II. Extensive Paradigms

Present General

3m yǵdaahdaa ǵǵyahay maraa
3f tiđaahdaa ǵǵtahay martaa
3p yǵdaahdaan ǵǵyǵhiin maraan

Past General

3m yǵđi ǵǵaa maray
3f tiđi ǵǵayđ martay
3p yǵđaaahdeen ǵǵaaǵeen mareen

Present Continuous

3m ođánayaa - márayaa
3f ođánaysaa - máraysaa
3p ođánayaan - márayaan

Past Continuous

3m	odánayay	-	márayay
3f	odánaysay	-	máraysay
3p	odánayeen	-	márayeen

Negative Present General

3m	yídaahdó	} ogá	maró
3f	tidáahdó		martó
3p	yídaahdàan		maràan

Negative Past General

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Present Continuous

3m	odánayó	-	márayó
3f	odánaysó	-	máraysó
3p	odánaysàan	-	márayàan

Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Past Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

III. Construct Paradigms

Set A

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

Set B

Present General

3m	yǐdaahdaa	} qgi	maraa
3f	tidaahdaa		martaa
3p	yǐdaahdaa		maraa

Past General

3m	yǐdi	qgaa	maray
3f	tidi	qgayd	martay
3p	yǐdi	qgaa	maray

Present Continuous

3m	ođánayaa	-	márayaa
3f	ođánaysaa	-	máraysaa
3p	ođánayaa	-	márayaa

Past Continuous

3m	qđánayay	-	márayay
3f	qđánaysay	-	máraysay
3p	qđánayay	-	márayay

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

Inv.	ođani	qgayni	marini
	(ođannini)		

Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

Inv.	ođánayni	-	márayni
	(ođánaynini)		(máraynini)

Negative Past Continuous

Inv. qđáneyni	-	mậreyni
(qđáneynini)		(mậreynini)

IV. Divergent Paradigms

Set A

Present General

1	[idaahdó]	[qđaháy]	[maró]
2	[tídaahdó]	[qđtaháy]	[martó]
	[(tỉđaaahdíd)]		[(mậrtíd)]
3m	yỉđaaahdó	qđgyaháy	maró
3f	tídaahdó	qđgtaháy	martó
1p	[niđaahnó]	[qđgnaháy]	[marnó]
2p	[tídaahdàan]	[qđgtỉhìin]	[martàan]
3p	yỉđaaahdàan	qđgyỉhìin	maràan

Past General

1	[idí]	[qđgáa]	[maráy]
2	[tidí]	[qđgáyđ]	[martáy]
3m	yỉđí	qđgáa	maráy
3f	tidí	qđgáyđ	martáy
1p	[nidí]	[qđgáyñ]	[marnáy]
2p	[tídaahdèen]	[qđgaydèen]	[martèen]
3p	yỉđaaahdèen	qđgaayèen	marèen

Present Continuous

1	[odánayó]	-	[márayó]
2	[odánaysó]	-	[máraysó]
	[(odánaysíd)]		[(máraysíd)]
3m	odánayó	-	márayó
3f	odánaysó	-	máraysó
1p	[odánaynó]	-	[máraynó]
2p	[odánaysàan]	-	[máraysàan]
3p	odánayàan	-	márayàan

Past Continuous

1	[odánayáy]	-	[mǎrayáy]
2	[odánaysáy]	-	[mǎraysáy]
3m	odánayáy	-	mǎrayáy
3f	odánaysáy	-	mǎraysáy
1p	[odánaynáy]	-	[mǎraynáy]
2p	[odánaysèen]	-	[mǎraysèen]
3p	odánayèen	-	mǎrayèen

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Invariable Present Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Past Continuous

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Set B

Present General

1	[idaahdaa]	[ógahay]	[maraa]
2	[tidaahdaa]	[ógtahay]	[martaa]
3m	yı̇daahdaa	ógyahay	maraa
3f	tidaahdaa	ógtahay	martaa
1p	[nidaahnaa]	[ógnahay]	[marnaa]
2p	[tidaahdaan]	[ógtihiin]	[martaan]
3p	yı̇daahdaan	ógyı̇hiin	maraan

Past General

1	[idi]	[ogaa]	[maray]
2	[tidi]	[ogayd]	[martay]
3m	yı̇di	ogaa	maray
3f	tidi	ogayd	martay
1p	[nidi]	[ogayn]	[marnay]
2p	[tidaahdeen]	[ogaydeen]	[marteen]
3p	yı̇daahdeen	ogaaı̇deen	mareen

Present Continuous

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

2p	odánaysaan	-	máraysaan
3p	odánayaan	-	márayaan

Past Continuous

1	[odánayay]	-	[márayay]
2	[odánaysay]	-	[máraysay]
3m	odánayay	-	márayay
3f	odánaysay	-	máraysay
1p	[odánaynay]	-	[máraynay]
2p	[odánayseen]	-	[márayseen]
3p	odánayeen	-	márayeen

Negative Present General and Negative Past General

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

Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

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

Negative Past Continuous

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

2. NOTE ON VERBLESS SENTENCES

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ninkaasu waa wadàad. (CS)

That man is a mullah.

Waa wadàad ninkaasu. (CS)

the same meaning.

Waa wadàad. (CS)

He is a mullah. (NOTE: 'he' in the translation does not correspond to any word in the original.)

Nínka hálkáa faddiyáa waa a
wadàadkii hálayto nóo
yimi. (CS)

The man who is sitting there is
the mullah who came to us last
night.

Waa wadàadkii hálayto nóo
waa wadàadkii hálayto nóo
yimi, nínka hálkáa faddiyáa.
(CS)

the same meaning

Waa wadàadkii hálayto nóo
yimi. (CS)

He is the mullah who came to us
last night.

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

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

Nínkaasu ma wadàad baa? (CS)

Is that man a mullah?

Ma wadàad baa nínkaasu? (CS)

the same meaning

Ma wadàad baa? (CS)

Is he a mullah?

Nínka hálkáa faḍdiyaa ma
waḍàadkii hálayto nóo
yimí bàa? (CS)

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

Ma waḍàadkii hálayto nóo
yimí bàa, nínka hálkáa
faḍdiyaa?

the same meaning

Ma waḍàadkii hálayto nóo
yimí bàa? (CS)

Is he the mullah who came to us
last night?

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

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

Wáhaan dǒonayaa fáras. (CS) I want a horse. Lit. 'The thing I want is a horse' or 'What I want is a horse'.

Wáhay arkeen búur dèer. (CS) They saw a tall hill. Lit. 'The thing which they saw was a tall hill' or 'What they saw was a tall hill'.

Wáha nagá ^cararay labá
qaalmóod. (CS) Two young she-camels ran away from us. Lit. 'The things which ran away from us were two young she-camels' or 'What ran away from us etc.'

Wúhuu nóo loogay kóran iyo
labá wán. (CS) He slaughtered for us a fatted camel and two rams. Lit. 'The things which he slaughtered for us were a fatted camel and and two rams', or 'What he slaughtered for us was....etc.'

(NOTE: wúhuu = wáha uu.)

APPENDIX VII

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NOUN FORMS CONNECTED WITH THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER

1. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SINGULAR NOUN FORMS.

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

2. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLECTIVE NOUN FORMS.

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

3. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUB-PLURAL NOUN FORMS.

The sub-plural forms are characterised by:

- (a) a set of special suffixes, or
- (b) a special shape of the stem which is different from that of the corresponding singular, or
- (c) by the fact that in isolation they have an accentual pattern different from that of the corresponding singular (although, in this case, they do not have the characteristics described under (a) and (b)).

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

- 1. -iin

2. -CCaan (very rare)

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

3. -CCan (rare)

The letters CC have the same significance as above.

Examples:

1. ma ^c allimíin	teachers:	cf. sg. ma ^c állin	a teacher
munaafiqíin	hypocrites:	" "	munáafiq a hypocrite
nijaariin	carpenters:	" "	nijàar a carpenter
2. qalmáan	pens:	" "	qálin a pen
3. daghán	stones:	" "	dághah a stone
ughán	eggs:	" "	úghah (obsolete) an egg

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

maraakíib 'ships' cf. márkab 'ship'

bánaadiiq 'rifles' cf. býnduq 'rifle'

kutúb 'books' cf. kitàab 'book'

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

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

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

dìbí 'oxen' (4) " " dîbi 'an ox' (3)

qrgí 'he-goats' (4) " " q̇rgi 'a he-goat' (3)

4. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PLURAL NOUN FORMS.

The plural number forms are characterised by:

(a) a set of special suffixes, or

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

(a) The plural suffixes are:

1. -yo

2. -Ro

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

3. -CCo

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

4. -^oyo

5. -o

6. -oyin

7. -aR

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

8. -Raal (very rare)

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

9. -yaal

10. -yaw (rare)

Examples:

1. dāwlisyō	bucket ropes:	cf. Sg. dāwlis	a bucket rope
ubahyō	flowers:	" "	úbah a flower
2. sibraarrō	waterskins:	" "	sibràar a waterskin
shabeellō	leopards:	" "	shabèel a leopard
3. hargō	hides:	" "	hárag a hide
gabqō	girls:	" "	gabád a girl
4. mĩndiyō	knives:	" "	mĩndí a knife
5. sariirō	beds:	" "	sariir a bed
haamō	water vessels:	" "	háan a water vessel
6. wāddōoyin	roads:	" "	wáddo a road
dęerōoyin	gazelles:	" "	déero a gazelle
7. wanān	rams:	" "	wán a ram
°eelāl	wells:	" "	°èel a well
8. gallāal	scabbards:	" "	gál a scabbard
9. koorayāal	saddles:	" "	kóore a saddle

	m̄roodiyǎal	elephants:	cf. Sg.	m̄roodǐ	an elephant
	nimanyǎal	men or groups of men:	" "	nín	a man, and pl. nimán 'men'
10.	nimanyǎw	men or groups of men:	" "	nín	a man, and also cf. Pl. nimǎn 'men'
11.	gabdayǎw	girls:	" "	gabád	a girl, and also cf. gabǒ 'girls'

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

j̄arǎa²id 'newspapers', cf. j̄ariidád 'newspaper' ?

j̄asǎa²ir 'islands', cf. j̄asiirád 'island' ?

q̄abǎa²il 'clans, tribes', cf. q̄abīil 'clan, tribe'

FOOTNOTES

Page 8.

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

Page 9.

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

Page 14.

1. Such as the one set up by Otto Jespersen in his Analytic Syntax (Copenhagen 1937).
2. Tone Languages, A technique for determining the number and and type of pitch contrasts in a language, with studies in tonemic substitution and fusion, Glendale; Summer Institute of Linguistics 1943, University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics 4.
3. The structure of English, An introduction to the construction of English sentences, Longmans 1957 (published in the U.S.A. 1952).
4. By A. S. Hornby, E. V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield, O.U.P., 1948.
5. O.U.P., 1954.

Page 22.

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

Borana Dialect of Gallá', 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 thesis.

Page 37.

1. The etymology of this newly coined word suggests 'handmade-moon.'
2. All of Arabic origin.

Page 40.

1. In the introduction to HS these structures are referred to as nominal complexes and are discussed in the section describing the 'Secondary Agreement Signs', on pp.24-8 of that book.

Page 46.

1. This particle has also an optional variant yaa.

Page 110.

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

Page 115.

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

Page 119.

1. The difference between the definite articles of the 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 gèel 'camels' which has the same junctions with definitives as the noun forms ending in q ɔ kh h ɔ or h, e.g. gèela, gèelu, gèelii, gèelán etc.