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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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 Lilias E. Armstrong. Kirk, in spite of his extensive knowledge of the language and the experience of living and working in Somaliland, gives an inadequate account of Somali grammar and makes many serious mistakes in his transcription of the sounds. Armstrong, though her paper chiefly deals with phonetics, makes most enlightening and accurate observations on Somali grammar, but unfortunately her work is very short and published in the form of an article.

Even the scholarly works of Bell and Moreno do not go into sufficient detail to account for the operation of the declensional system in this language. The aim of the present thesis is to provide the information lacking in this sphere of Somali grammatical structure and to demonstrate the use of an ad hoc descriptive framework which has been evolved to deal with the problems under discussion.
There is no generally accepted method of writing 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, 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 GS (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.

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 Ninka shàah ú gēe. (CS) Take some tea to the man.
1B Ninku wùu bukaa. (CS) The man is ill.
2A Ninka hálkàa faddiýá Take some tea to the man who shàah ú gēe. (CS) is sitting there.
2B Ninka hálkàa faddiýaa The man who is sitting there wùu bukaa. (CS) 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 ninka in sentence 1A does not agree with a verbal form, while in sentence 1B, ninku 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 ninka in sentence 2A does not agree with a verb, while ninka in sentence 2B does agree with the verbal form bukaa.

The general principles involved in this apparent discrepancy are these: the opposition between noun forms with the definite article ka, 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 inan '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. *waa buur*. 'It is a hill.'
The question particle *ma* + the noun under observation + the emphatic particle *baa*, e.g. *ma buur baa?* '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.
*Ninkii uu la shaqeyo u yede!* '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 framework 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 Pike\(^2\), Charles Carpenter Fries\(^3\) and the three authors of the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*\(^4\) 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 English*\(^5\), 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 iyo 'and'. The basis of the subsequent classification of positions into 'configurations' is more varied and includes such criteria as proximity of certain particles. In one of the configurations a case system operates which is reminiscent of that in some of the well known languages, e.g. Latin or Classical Arabic. This case system is, however, treated as a subdivision of the configuration in question.

The division of positions into 'settings' and 'configurations'
is an arrangement arrived at on empirical grounds through trying various ways of stating the results of my observations, and then selecting the one which appeared to be most 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:
In establishing the Accentual Units two positions in which every syllable can occur have been taken into account:

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

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

The five Accentual Units are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>AU1</th>
<th>AU2</th>
<th>AU3</th>
<th>AU4</th>
<th>AU5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>High Tone with</td>
<td>High-Falling Tone with</td>
<td>Mid Tone with</td>
<td>High Tone with</td>
<td>Mid Tone with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Even Strong Stress</td>
<td>Diminuendo Strong Stress</td>
<td>Absence of Stress</td>
<td>Even Strong Stress</td>
<td>Absence of Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Mid Tone with</td>
<td>The same as in Position</td>
<td>Low Tone with</td>
<td>High-Falling Tone with</td>
<td>Mid Tone with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary Stress</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>Absence of Stress</td>
<td>Diminuendo Strong Stress</td>
<td>Secondary Stress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. â

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 bårq dashay. (CS) She gave birth to a boy.
Inán bårq dashay. (CS) She gave birth to a girl.
Waa ínan. (CS)
Wàa ínan. (CS)
Ma damèer bùu sóo ḳëbsaday? Did he buy a he-donkey?
Ma damèer bùu sóo ḳëbsaday? Did he buy a she-donkey?
Bëertšisii diби bàà Lagú His field used to be ploughed
dqëdi ḳëray. (CS) by an ox.
Bëertšisii diби bàà Lagú His field used to be ploughed
dqëdi ḳëray. (CS) by oxen.
Walaalkàa ú mú uu diⱪibin Your brother did not hand over: lačágtii. (CS)
lacčìtii. (CS)
Walaalkàa ú mú uu diⱪibin He did not hand over the money to your brother.
lacčìtii. (CS)
Ninkii dykànanka lahàa ma Did the man who owned the shop ú yeeqay? (CS) call him (her, them)?
Ninkii dykànanka lahàa ma Did he call the man who owned ú yeeqay? (CS)
the shop?
Ninkii ḳibåash má diⱪin. (CS) The man did not kill a lion.
Ninkii ḳibåash má diⱪin. (CS) A lion did not kill the man.
Qábtañ abeeso. (CS) A python caught him (her, them, it).
Qábtañ abeesó. (CS) She caught a python.
Nínkùñ arkay. (CS) He saw the man.
Nínkùñ arkay? (CS) Which man did he see?
Kóoràñ iñ keeneen. (CS) They brought me a saddle.
Kóoràñ iñ 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, 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.
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.

sâ'ab  clapping hands, dance  sâ'abka

gûd  hole (in the ground)  gûdka
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gad</td>
<td>beard, chin</td>
<td>gadka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masaaf</td>
<td>funnel</td>
<td>masafka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurus</td>
<td>hump (camel's)</td>
<td>kuruska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klish</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>klishka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haj</td>
<td>pilgrimage</td>
<td>hajka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agoon</td>
<td>orphan</td>
<td>agoonka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doofaar</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>doofaarka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>country</td>
<td>dalka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subag</td>
<td>ghee</td>
<td>subagga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daw</td>
<td>road, right, just</td>
<td>dawga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gy</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>gyga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qngi</td>
<td>he-goat</td>
<td>qrgiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gy</td>
<td>spring, rainy season</td>
<td>gyga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ardaa</td>
<td>roofless enclosure for people</td>
<td>ardaaaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawaaq</td>
<td>shouting</td>
<td>dawaaqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goa</td>
<td>sheet of cloth</td>
<td>goa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shikh</td>
<td>sheikh, man of religion</td>
<td>shikha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doch</td>
<td>valley</td>
<td>dooha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabaqallbo</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>dabaqallbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taha</td>
<td>sigh, groaning</td>
<td>taha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oomane</td>
<td>waterless place, desert</td>
<td>oomanaha, oomanuhu, oomanehge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilmõ</td>
<td>child, baby</td>
<td>ilmáha, ilmūhu, ilmihi, ilmõhōo, ilmehē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hablõ</td>
<td>girls</td>
<td>habláha, hablúhu, hablihi, hablõhōo, hablehē</td>
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<tr>
<td>gõob</td>
<td>battle</td>
<td>gõobta</td>
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<td>maraakiib</td>
<td>ships</td>
<td>maraakiibta</td>
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<tr>
<td>mág</td>
<td>compensation, blood money</td>
<td>mághta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masáf</td>
<td>winnowing tray</td>
<td>masáfta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gğes</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>gğesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rúnta</td>
<td>truth</td>
<td>rúnta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>macallimiin</td>
<td>teachers</td>
<td>macallimiinta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áwr</td>
<td>he-camels</td>
<td>áwrta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abáar</td>
<td>drought</td>
<td>abáarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bád</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>bádda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dêeq</td>
<td>generosity</td>
<td>dêeqda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dąp</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>dąpda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisíkh</td>
<td>dirt</td>
<td>wisíkhda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qorráh</td>
<td>sun, sunshine</td>
<td>qorráhda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quráac</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
<td>quráacda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báh</td>
<td>children of the same mother and father</td>
<td>báhda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>načaw</td>
<td>weather, air</td>
<td>načáwda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ęy</td>
<td>dogs:</td>
<td>ęyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qrgi</td>
<td>he-goats</td>
<td>qrgida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

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

The choice between 3m and 3p, and between 3f and 3p is:
optional. The feminine collective and feminine sub-plural forms have identical potentialities with verbal forms but are differentiated by their morphological characteristics (see Appendix VII).

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

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

(i) To the first declension belong:

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

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

Examples:

(a)

shir assembly
qás trouble
dád people
sán  nose
dúl  earth
wán  ram
múš  outer fence
tís  branch of thorny tree
dár  clothes
más  snake
gál  sheath
cód  voice
wár  news
sác  cow
hår  woodworm
nín  man
t ogó  river bed
dáb  fire
cír  sky
qáb  pride

(b)
biya-híd  dam
hor-u-már  progress, putting together
isku-dár  unification, putting together
abaal-gyíd  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)
ñoog  strength
ñëer  customary law
(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:

járgáːid newspapers
jásgáːir islands
qůbáːil 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Málab</th>
<th>Honey</th>
<th>Wíyil</th>
<th>Male rhinoceros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qáalin</td>
<td>Young he-camel</td>
<td>Géri</td>
<td>Giraffe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hádig</td>
<td>Rope, imprisonment</td>
<td>C'aqli</td>
<td>Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fáras</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Gújis</td>
<td>Submarine (Poetic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yálo</td>
<td>Flame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gáshi</td>
<td>Debt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kúrus</td>
<td>Hump</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bádah</td>
<td>Milk mixed with water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fúruq</td>
<td>Smallpox</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'sawac</td>
<td>Injury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Démbi</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wéerar</td>
<td>Attack</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dáwlis</td>
<td>Bucket rope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumal</td>
<td>Uncastrated ram</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b)

| Mgáalóoyin | Towns          | Hsajóoyin | Matters, affairs |
| Wáddóoyin  | Roads          | D'wádcóoyin | Jackals         |
| D'ndumóoyin | Termite        |          |                 |
| Górayóoyin | Ostriches      |          |                 |
| D'geróoyin | 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>láf</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīb</td>
<td>difficulty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úl</td>
<td>stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hál</td>
<td>she-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rún</td>
<td>truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gól</td>
<td>lioness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēeq</td>
<td>generosity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūhůl</td>
<td>charcoal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guntín</td>
<td>knot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>džngád</td>
<td>long stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumád</td>
<td>brand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abáar</td>
<td>drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harlīq</td>
<td>line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tammootti</td>
<td>animal which died from natural causes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gashaanti</td>
<td>girl of marriageable age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mādī</td>
<td>camel which gives much milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeesān</td>
<td>young female goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matāan</td>
<td>female twin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īslān</td>
<td>old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaalin</td>
<td>young she-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jamhuuryād</td>
<td>republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carrūur</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kutúb</td>
<td>books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čarshāan</td>
<td>huts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(permanent)</td>
<td>āwr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maraakiib</td>
<td>ships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuraasi</td>
<td>chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munaafiqiin</td>
<td>hypocrites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawaadi</td>
<td>cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>džbi</td>
<td>oxen, bulls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρrgí</td>
<td>he-goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍaghān</td>
<td>stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āwr</td>
<td>he-camels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lýy</td>
<td>dogs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) To the fifth declension belong:

(a) all those masculine singular and masculine collective noun forms which in isolation end in -e and

(b) all those feminine singular and feminine collective noun forms which in isolation end in -o.
Examples:

(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>túke</td>
<td>crow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koore</td>
<td>saddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>güübe</td>
<td>afterbirth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hüidme</td>
<td>intestines (of a camel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waráabe</td>
<td>hyaena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fagáare</td>
<td>meeting place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakáme</td>
<td>bridle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timirle</td>
<td>date seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oománe</td>
<td>desert, waterless place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>úfo</td>
<td>whirlwind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máro</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'genyo</td>
<td>mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheeko</td>
<td>story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>márso</td>
<td>harbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barkimo</td>
<td>cushion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boqortóoyo</td>
<td>kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'igo</td>
<td>column of dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabuubyo</td>
<td>numbness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magáalo</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mushaháaro</td>
<td>wages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(vi) To the sixth declension belong:

(a) all the plural noun forms which in isolation end
    in -yo, -Ro, -CcO, -Yo, -a, -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):

dawyō  roads, ways
lochyō  boards
magačyō  names
liibaahyō  lions
dibiyō  oxen, bulls
bogorrō  chieftains
idammō  charcoal burners
buquullō  small milk vessels
qaalimmō  young he-camels
wadaaddō  men of religion
ňádkō  ropes
udbō  prop, centre pole of a hut
warmō  spears
gačmō  hands
maalmō  days
siyō  ways, methods
gashaantiyō  young girls of marriageable age
haamō  large water vessels
farō  fingers
wadaamō  leather buckets
sumadō  brands
ňabaalō  graves
nimān  men
dabāb  fires
goolāl  gelded camels
miisas  tables
gallaal  scabbards
bustayāal  blankets
waraabayāal  hyaenas
odayāal  elders
koorayāal  saddles
nimanyaw  groups of men
gabdayaw  groups of girls
List of noun forms of type (b):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caalīn</td>
<td>a learned man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbān</td>
<td>protector, patron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ābātī</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧaddūnum</td>
<td>world, wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adēer</td>
<td>paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afāaf</td>
<td>entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afhayīn</td>
<td>interpreter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajī</td>
<td>person or persons of noble descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧlbābāb</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asāl</td>
<td>tincture for tanning skins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧwōw</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāroosīn</td>
<td>anchor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōoli</td>
<td>property seized unlawfully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byyūdā</td>
<td>the part of a lorry where loads are put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dambār</td>
<td>beeestings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dambās</td>
<td>ashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəmmīn</td>
<td>guarantor, security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duqsī</td>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyrbān</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daasyō</td>
<td>sight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāddigōođ</td>
<td>the female sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagān</td>
<td>stone, rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dahāl</td>
<td>inheritance, estate (of a deceased person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakhtār</td>
<td>doctor, dresser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēdēg</td>
<td>small enclosure for young animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farrāar</td>
<td>one of the arms of the v-shaped base of the stick used for carrying thorny branches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fīdīn</td>
<td>comb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiqī</td>
<td>learned man, man versed in the Islamic Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fūūd</td>
<td>soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadāal</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaqī</td>
<td>motorcar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧəmmāan</td>
<td>horses, mules and donkeys taken collectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧeeđādī</td>
<td>move, people on the move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorgör</td>
<td>vulture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gybnōod</td>
<td>a part of food which is charred or burnt when being cooked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamfi</td>
<td>hot wind blowing from the coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harrar</td>
<td>heavy mat used as roof in the Somali hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haween</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heen</td>
<td>fat which accumulates at the top of a vessel in which meat is cooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogganan</td>
<td>leading rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyudii</td>
<td>rowing boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haakin</td>
<td>judge, magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilol</td>
<td>wife (poetic and archaic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilmo</td>
<td>child, baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inaabti</td>
<td>maternal cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inaadheer</td>
<td>paternal cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishin</td>
<td>camels and cattle taken collectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jjida</td>
<td>red meat, flesh, kinsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jir</td>
<td>rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaatun</td>
<td>ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamlan</td>
<td>muscles above the buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laasin</td>
<td>gold band (ornament)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labod</td>
<td>the male sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lghaad</td>
<td>power, strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lisin</td>
<td>sharpening stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madi</td>
<td>person who has no brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahdar</td>
<td>latrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malmal</td>
<td>species of gum tree (COMMIPHORA PLAFARI, Chiov.) or its gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mara-a</td>
<td>acacia tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marag</td>
<td>brand on a camel's leg, witness, evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>markhaati</td>
<td>witness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maroodi</td>
<td>elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matag</td>
<td>vomited matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midaan</td>
<td>open space, assembly ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mindicir</td>
<td>intestines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgooli</td>
<td>species of tree (DRACAENA SCHIZANTHA, Barker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadi</td>
<td>whip (archaic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oday</td>
<td>old man, elder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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:
(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bidih</td>
<td>left side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basári</td>
<td>bad wife, slut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirri</td>
<td>stretch of hard ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gázri</td>
<td>good wife, good woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gúddi</td>
<td>committee, group of judges or elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurti</td>
<td>wise men, committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫamfáley</td>
<td>mythical wind which is said to have taken away the ancestor of the Yibir caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawéeney</td>
<td>lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jábti</td>
<td>gonorrhoea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máni</td>
<td>sperm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midig</td>
<td>right side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadábi</td>
<td>buckle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sábti</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words with the suffix -ley,

beéráley farmers, cf. beeró fields, farms
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. In order to do this a brief explanation of the main characteristics of nominal clusters must be given.

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

A nominal cluster normally consists of:

(a) A nominal (i.e. a noun, a definite, a substantive 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 qaad u ducaysataa do ducq badan aad digataa wasayo, nin adhum sita bad tahay do waa LaGu ilaynayaa 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)

Gaar dambé ma u noqonaysaa? Are you coming for a further hearing?

(HS2/11-2)
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...'
jog‘aa = jog‘ay 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'.)
Hadal iyọ hablọ ba du'ala'áan bay 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:

Markaasàa ninkii suldaankii ú sóo ástakooday. (OS) Then the man complained to the sultan.

Markaasàa ninkii béerta lahaa suldaankii ú sóo ástakooday. (CS) Then the man who owned the garden complained to the sultan.

Markaasàa ninkii béerta sácu daaqáy lahaa suldaankii ú sóo ástakooday. (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 suldaanka fáráskjísa '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 'wah-' type (see Section 2 of Appendix VI).

(b) In the integrated and subordinate settings:

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

(II) when it occurs as the marker of a nominal cluster which, taken as a unit, forms the essential part of a verbless sentence of 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 'wah-' 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 ibyo, 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 kee or tee, 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 -ii.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension</th>
<th>Configuration</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th>Open</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Case A</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The accentual patterns in this setting are as follows:

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

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 rëerkëisa Kää sooraa The man who feeds you with what wàa nìnn, ninkii rëer kale Kää belongs to his own family is a sooraa na wàa nimanyāal. 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'.)

Nin saláan badani waa Only a pauper, a mullah, a servant sabōl amma waa wədàaad amma waa or a liar are full of greetings. ciiđan amma waa beenāale. (NOTE: lit. 'a man who is full of greetings is a pauper or a mullah or a servant or a liar'.)

(Pr.) /2/2/ 3/5/ It is game, don't chase it away!

Waa uğaad e ha ká ēryin! /4/ (QA263)

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 fardő, tól bān doortay. (Pr.).  /1/

Arláddáas na dameeràa iyo ẹyda iyo baqàalku waa kú qāali, mahàa yeeláy ẹjel bàanáy lahayn.
(ΗS22/51-2) /2/

Adis badán bùu ú qalqalay hābbèynkii iyo súbihii ba hīlib bùu kà dergiyay.
(ΗS20/10-11) /3/

Ma lùg bāa? Ma ijeënàa?
(QA1491) /4/3/

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

Màandòw, arbāha ha igá didin, ooftààn ahay é. (From a gábay by Ína C'abdillé 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: ijeënàa = ijeeni bāa.)

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: ooftààn =
Nimān bāa qamār tagā, intay laḍag ú qaṭān é. (From a gābay by ĉwēd Khuurshē) /6/

**Open Configuration**

**Case A**

Arortīi mārkīi wāgīi bēryāy bāa suldāankī rāg kahaystay ōo ambabbahay. (AQ1607-3) /l/

Ilaahow, rōb nóo kēen!
(A prayer) /2/

Hādal garawshiinyyāa Lagagā dërgaa, kīlib na biyō, hanti na nāq. (Pr.) /3/3/6/4/4

Bēen shēeg laakiin bēen rūn ú ēg shēeg. (Pr.) /4/

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

Men go betting, taking money with them.

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

Oh God, bring us rain!

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

Tell lies, but tell lies which resemble truth.
Doqoni sokeeyé má ahá. (Pr.) /5/

Márkaasùù ćaanò ú keenay. (HS13/10-11) /6/

Open Configuration

Case B

Rag waa rággií horé, hadal ná waa intuú ỳídí. (Pr.) /1/

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

Méel hòo dọonaysá hadal wanhá ka má tarò. (Pr.) /3/

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

Then he brought milk for them.

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

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

Talk does not help at all where material help is needed. (NOTE: lit. 'talk does not help a place which wants "take it as a gift"'.)
Garaadyó Layskú keenáy bàa garásho ká dalataa. (Pr.)

/5/

Beeni wày Ku ròga gèysaa, Ku ma sè rakaadisó. (Pr.)

/4/

Miyàa wàh da²een? (QA611)

/6/

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

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

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

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

May a hot wind take you away! (NOTE: hàmfáley is a mythical hot wind which is said to have taken away Sheikh Mohàmméd Maniif, the eponymous ancestor of the Yàbir 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 configuration they have no special suffixes in any of the forms.

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

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<td>AP 1</td>
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**Neutral Configuration**

Hadal waa bâd iyô bogón.

(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 idiiin shëdegaynnaa wâhay ká déh daa¹day nin sod²- começ áh iyo jimni. /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.')
Listen man, indeed people used to say, a lion and a man made a pact, why don’t you make a pact with the beast?

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

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

A human being consists of a man and his pride. (NOTE: lit. 'a five-fingered-one is a man and his pride'. 'pride' i.e. his pride in his achievements or good points.)

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

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

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

Truth cannot reach lies which have run away.

Misfortune has jaws by which it is caught but has no tail by which it is caught. (NOTE: qabtày = qabtó+bay. The sense of this proverb is: one can prevent misfortune but one cannot stop it when it has already arrived.)
Walaalló is ječeeli wàa hooló bataan oo habaaló yaraystaan, walaalló is necebi wàa hooló yaraystaan oo habaaló bataan. (Pr.)

Open Configuration

Case A.

Márkii caanii La đamáy bàa rággii shírka jqogáy oo dammi, dallinyaró iyo wşayèel, wëysó ú qalqaashay.

(QA837-8) /2/

Čád Ku čįijáy níi iyo gęeri Kúu dįl. (Pr.) /4/

Nin áan důl marini qaayọ má lén. (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: Nin áan is pronounced nim áan. 'Has.....earth' lit. 'has not
The doctor was an intelligent man. (NOTE: luu = léh(fbùu. 'an intelligent man' lit. 'a man who has intelligence'.)

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

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

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

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

Open Configuration

Case B

At that time there were no
règelwèy iyo dayuuradi tòona mà jîrîn. (HS22/9-10) /4/
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'.)

Dán iyô rebellî is dîdè. (Pr.) /4/

Nín daad qaaday humbó bëskéy. (Pr.) /2/

Méel boqor jògò gâcàntàdàaa
Le ilaashadaa, méel Cà Marilyn jògò na càrrabhàaga, méel wëli jògò na càlbìghàaga. (Pr.) /3/6/3/

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'.
gâcàntàdàaa = gâcàntàdàadàaa.)

Wisdom does not enter a mind which milk has entered. (NOTE: This proverb is capable of two

Hirgí Càànn bëkààen hîkmandi mà gashó. (Pr.) /6/
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>-eed</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ld</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) those plural forms whose final vowel is -o,
(b) all the other forms singular, collective and plural

7

8

The suffix **-eed** follows immediately the stem, e.g. **af shimbir-eed** 'beak' (lit. *bird's mouth*). When the stem ends
in -i, the junction is realised as -i-yeed, e.g. shirāaq doonmi-yeed 'ship's sail'. When the stem has an alternance between a longer and a shorter shape, the shorter shape occurs with -eed, e.g. dår gabdeed 'girl's clothes', cf. gabād 'girl'.

There are two noun forms in the fourth declension which instead of the suffix -eed have the suffix -aad: dameer 'she-donkey' and lōd 'cattle', e.g. caanö dameerāad 'she-donkey's milk', caanö lōdāad '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. hérö fardōod 'horses' enclosure', cf. fardō 'horses', shuqul naagood 'women's work', cf. naagō 'women'.

In two noun forms, riyyō 'goats' and idō 'sheep', the suffix -aad is used instead of the suffix -Ld, e.g. hérö riyyāad 'goats' enclosure' and hīlib idāad '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 gōor and jēer, 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. naagō 'women' (6th declension) whose corresponding singular form is náag 'a woman' (4th declension),

(e) the plural noun hablō '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 níyo '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:

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

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 AFL.

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.)

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'.)

Wůhuu intii kú dëñ daray
dogór iyo dəböoyin uu
jejebiyáy co maroodí iyo ilkö
liṣháahbadëed iyo iñdí waraabé
iyo ćidíyó liṣháah iyo ćidíyó
shábeel iyo ćidíyó maansa-
çağalëy. /8/

Pr.
Closed Configuration

Álla, waa dibaataysányəñhay e c̩ád g̩obnim̩̃a k̩á muuq̩á.
(QA413-4) /5/

Labá nin b̩àynu nahay ē is ka k̩ēn sii. (QA1814) /1/
Waar m̩éeshā labá d̩ëgm̩àa y̩ääl oo ta shishe ḡ̩ēl ma haysató e, ta soké aan d̩ā̇č노. (HS13/21-3) /5/

Concatenated Configuration

Way sokeeyē iyo w̩i sakaarō iyo wararā̊c̩ d̪am̪āl s̪àddēhda ba c̪awāaqibk̩òda Ḍaqs̪àa L̪ō̊ark̪a. (Fr.) /5/ /5/

By God, he is exhausted, but a strain of nobility is visible in him. (NOTE: g̩obnim̩àa = g̩obnim̩ōt-b̩àa. 'strain' i.e. stock, race; this word also means a piece of flesh.)
We are two men, let us fight each other.
Two settlements are staying in the place, and the one on the further side has not many camels, let us rob the one on this side.
(NOTE: d̩ëgm̩àa = d̩ëgm̩ōt-b̩àa.)

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 oo La djidaa təgəgg jabðay ləedahay. (Pr.) /1/

Labáda wgalíd iyó walaaláha adàa, Wërísáay, igalá wəyn. (From a héello) /3/

Góor dqw bāa siddèed qarróg cōo cəanə ən inammáddii gyriği kalá sóo beheen cōo shirkii keeneen. (QA830-3) /3/

Märkaasàa sădđehdiihablóod e gùriga jʊogay qófkii dûmar ahñyd e ìnanka wəraabisáy ñqalkãëdii ú sóo wəreegeen. (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
gëela Kulá waday ba ñinté
ôo anàa lßayay! (QA30-3)

Open Configuration

Case A
Hádal sokeeyé iyo hílib
idáad b̀a wàa La qëboojaa.
(Pr.) /6/

'Iqáabta ifka iyo 'Çdáabta
aakhiró Alla Káa deeree.
(A formalised blessing) /5/

Márkaasàa márkií nimánkii
gabaáda ñgonayay labá ñábëyn
jëgògen e La ñgóoryeyyá
maalíntii dambé shîrkii
yímaaddeen ôo dee sídíi La

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

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

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. )

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
'Arki jiray is yidaahdeen, 'Suldaanka la hadla do gabadda wixdiista!' (QA1983-5) /2/

Markaasaa Midganka sii jiscomay do tah hiilbod ah iyoo laba lafoo sii siiyay oo yiddi: 'Hiilbaa sii cun lafaa na martaad harraaddo mar ba mid duuuh'. (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 wásayeel wàg gudmár.
(pr.) /2/

Ína ragòw, taló jàdduun tãada ûun má ahá. (From a gábay) /6/

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

Hadday labá lìbaah igú kulmàaan ka i hígàaan doortay.
(Pr.) /2/

Qæb qæb daafáy bày labá gòbood qàran kú wëydaa ỳe.
(Pr.) /6/

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.)

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.)

And what are the three things?

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

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

Two noble clans do not find prosperity in pride clashing with pride. (NOTE: 'pride clashing with pride' lit. 'pride which has passed pride'.)
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
delecnsional 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
delecnsional exponents of the defined noun forms with those
of the undefined noun forms.

The declensional exponents of defined noun forms in the
simple setting are stated in the table below by reference to their definitive components.

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

Examples

**Neutral Configuration**

Oo waa VectorXd? ... Waa hyunguriga. (QA1545-6) /1/3/ And which part of the meat is it? ... It is the gullet.

Ninka weyn é hálkàa hyrdaa waa ninkàygìi. /1/ The big man who is sleeping over there is my husband.

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

**Closed Configuration**

Sidii dönni dooftay duurfàn

Cidlàdàan häd ba dįirád

Saaraa yé. (A hêello) /4/

Hâshîi bây maaleen. (HS 19/26) /4/

Liįbašîi ayûu tòogtay. /2/

Gyddidîi bàa nîkîi hâsha

Lagá gartáy ká baqday òò ú eenhätay. (HS2/8) /3/

Gabáddaasàa garatáy òò aannu
gyursánaynàa. (HS15/37-8)

/4/

(Note: badídàa = badída + bàa,
wadnáhàa = wadnâha + bàa,
cárrabkàa = cárrabka + bàa.)

Like a ship sailing in a storm,

again and again I set my compass;
towards the empty land. (NOTE: cidlâdàan = cïdláda + bàan.)

They milked the she-camel for themselves.

He fired at the lion.

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'.)

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

(Note: gabáddaasàa = gabáddaas bàa.)
I told your father that you were in great peace and prosperity and nothing evil was coming to you. (NOTE: qabtōo = qabtō ôo.)

Where have you brought the fish from? (NOTE: haggāad = haggēe bāad. 'where' lit. 'which place' or 'what place'.)

Drink the milk with the boy! (NOTE: caanāa is an optional variant of caanāha or caanā-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'.)

Open Configuration

Case A

Wii̱lkë caanāa lá dón! (QA763) /2/

Drink the milk with the boy!

(NOte: caanāa is an optional variant of caanāha or caanā-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 gáraad, gabádda na sìi.  
(QA2013) /4/  
Márkaasây habbaáddii lijbàahii  
jídaysay. /2/  
Gabád bàa tidi, 'Réggàa  
jírrab, nínkáa gyumsánayá aad  
qgáatíd é.' /1/  

Bal, aabbáháy tág! /5/  
Ká qàad heedáda dabòolkà!  
(QA1503) /5/2/  
Góor dòw bàa nàaagtii àwrlíi  
keentay. (QA93) /2/  
Indáhàyga rumaysán màayo!  
/6/  
Hébel, mahàa arládiinnìi Káa  
keenáy é aad dúlkayágàn ká sóo  
doontay? (MS23/120-1) /5/1/  

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'.)  
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, wjilikum qariib ba?  
(QA734) /2/  

Is the boy a stranger?  

Bisé, lugúhu ways ká  
waawènyíhiin oo waa  
'aaafimàad qabaan e haglàa  
ùmú bàa is kú dègáy.  
(QA864-6) /6/  

In fact the legs are normally  
developed and healthy and only  
the back parts of the knees are  
contracted. (NOTE: haglàa  
an optional variant of hagláha  
or haglá"a. 'normally developed  
and healthy' lit. 'just big  
and have health'.)

Whom is the girl calling?  

Yay gabáddu ú yèsdaysaa?  
(QA829) /4/  

Then the lion killed the man.  

Márkaasàa ljìbaahíi nínníi  
dìlay. /2/  

What are those men whispering  
about?  

Mahày kú hanshashágayaan  
rággaasi? /1/  

My father used to be a chieftain.  

Aabbahay bóqor bùu sháan  
jìray. /5/  

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

Mæroodígyu takárta kú jìogtá  
má arkó, ta kalùu arkaa. /6/
Bóqorkii wùu bukaa. /3/ The chieftain is ill.
Hooláhàagu wàa maháy? /6/ What are your animals?
Shèekóoyinkani waa shèekóoyin dáb áh. /3/ These stories are true stories.
(NOTE: 'true stories' lit. 'stories which are truth'.)
Gàcantàa gó'day! (HS23/229) May your hand wither! (NOTE: 'wither' or 'be cut off' or 'die'.)

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE INTEGRATED SETTING.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Configuration</th>
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<tr>
<td>Open</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case B</td>
<td>Set B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples

Neutral Configuration

cÀlooladayg waa Ìlàah wèhèlìkì. (Pr.) /6/ Fortitude is the companion of
Closed Configuration

Ínankií sodòalka aháa ñòó gaajo iyo harràad ú il darani na wáabta déndgedùu sòo jiifàa dyáda dégaysánayaa.

(QA124-5) /4/

Imminka se suldáanka

cáqligísii bèaa humaadáy. /3/

Máantadan na inántàyddii

yaráyd iyo wálálkèed bèaa is raaçáy, méel ay qabtèen garán màayó. /6/

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

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

(NOTE: déndgedùu = déndgeda + bùu. jiifàa = jiifaa óò. 'The boy traveller' lit. 'the boy who was the traveller'. 'the middle of the shed' lit. 'the shed its middle'.)

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

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

( HS23/301 ) /5/

Concatenated Configuration

cAshó wálbá Carrúurta iyo hooláha déhdødùu is ká mári jîray òo wahbá ma yeğli jîrín.

( HS8/3-4 ) /4/

Maalintii afartanáad ayàa inankii iyo ninkii hîlib lá soó beheen. /4/3

Márkaasàà inanlayàalkii réerkìisìi iyo afàðìisìi lá gyuray. ( HS18/5-6 ) /6/

Miyàanád  gàyn ináan indáha dûmar ka wahbâ ká bahsàn? /6/

Waar hór ma adàa ninka bakhàylka áh é La sheegaa?

( HS14/12-3 ) /1/

Say to him: the weak, all the poor and the livestock will perish. (NOTE: dalaskiyo = dalaska iyo. dyunýádaa = dyunýáda + bèa.)

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

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

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'. )

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

First, are you the man who is a miser and about whom people talk?
Duqsigàa kù da cà heedááaan dábaqù saarràyn é. (From a gábay) /5/

Ínankii yaràa na wààa Lą qabtay. (HS1/19) /3/

Ínuu sìi so cà má màskii yoo hálkii hyrdùu yììì.
(HS23/224) /1/

Máarkaasùu taabtay dêrigii wah Lągù shììilayáy. /3/

Sow réerkàn aan ù hgyday mà ìhìì? (QA675) /6/

Aan dégmáádaa uu lá yàgal c'ólka

The flies fall into the dish on which a cover is not put.
(NOTE: heedááaan = heedááda 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
Open Configuration

Case A.

Märkii dákii kala wada seehseehdáy báa afádii inanka galabnimádíi waraabisay dëbëddii ú sóo bëhday dëé is tidi, 'Hoolàa iyò.... ćodda ú sóo rëg.' (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 yidi, 'Hôrta dábín ú digò. Nímkii náaga Kaagá yimí qabó!' /4/

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

Súbihii márkkii wágii bëryáy In the morning when the dawn
bàa nínkii märiddle ahàa
kàcay dìo nínkii rěërka lahàa
ú yëedày. (HS10/3-4) /4/

Märkaasùu nín nimànkkii kà
mìd ihì yìddi: 'Anàa gàrràññàâ
sì aynù ú hùllànnó.' (HS15/
18-9) /6/

Cíd ánn ñégìmdàìinnàn ahàyn
mà arág. (QA1391) /5/

Is mà qgá agònòn iyò nínkkì
saâbbìì dìllaì é. (From a
gàbày) /5/

Wëëyè, bal gùrràâ iyò dàdka
iyò hoolàâ kà wàrràma!
(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: gyryàa is an optional alternative of gyryáha or gyryá-a; hoolàa is an optional alternative of hooláha or hoolá-a.)

At one moment ĆIgaal 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 ĆIgaal looked at the animals.)

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

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

Case B

Ínay sidáa ahaató ba márkay barqádíi aháyd bàa show cólkii kalé é raarídáda aháa òo fardoó kú joogá òo show intá góor gaabán gyryli ká sóo baháy dabadeed råadkii gábbal ugá dàcây òo hálkkii seehdáy òo márkii nín iyo gëéd La kala gartáy råadkii sóo jiifsaday, mëydká ninkii ú horreeyáy é inanku diíláy kú sóo dàcean. (QA185-6) /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
Märkaasuu nínkii náagtú ká dimatay odáygii ú warramay òo yídii: 'Afádaydii bàà shálay dimatay òo méesha Lagú aasay. (HS21/11-13) /4/

Myddó hadduu nínkii kyhaanka ahaa gúriggisii jèogday é nastay é istareehay bàà nimán suldaankii sóo diray ú yìmaaddeen oo yìdaahdeen:
'Suldaankii bàà nòo sóo káa diráy.' (HS23/235-7) /6/

Nín qwowgí lóoh ugu digoo liil gëshàan ahay é. (From a gábay by Salàan Carrabey.) /6/
Márkaasùu ádígíí martídu
wadatáy këheeyay ḍo ádígìisii ku daray, martidíi na wùu sçoryeeyay. (HS20/8-10)

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.

Arláddáas na dameeràa iyo ğyda iyo baqàalku waa ku qáali, mahàa yeeláy gël bàanày lahàyn. (HS22/51-2)

Boowáháy, maháddàyyda iyo dyćádàydu há Kulá jireen. (QA1727) /5/

Márkaasàa garàadkii iyo duqáydiì intá is eegéen dòosha ká qosleen. (QA853-4) /4/
Bērigii aad bādda kū maqnāyd At the time when you were at
anīgii iyo aabbahaa wàannu sea, I and your father met.
kulannay. /5/

DECLENSIONAL EXPONENTS OF DEFINED NOUN FORMS IN THE SUBORDINATE
SETTING.

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

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

Examples

Neutral Configuration

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

Dádka na Ḋalaamóoyinka dynídàa 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. dynídàa = dynida + bàa.)

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
Dən-ðèrta gəesiyo idàa
dəy̱lán bàa hádi déh.
(HS23/302) /2/

Say to him: the strong ones among the camels and the black-headed sheep will survive.
(NOTE: gəesiyo = gəela iyo.
idàa is an optional variant of idáha or idá-a. The noun dən-ðèer means the strong camels which are capable of great exertions. 'The strong ones among the camels' lit. 'the strong camels of the camels'.)

Then people let in the mare, bəeddalán na fáráskii suldaankō which was on heat, to the hálkēer miránayá Loogū sii dəsayay. (QA1662-3) /6/

Open Configuration
Case A
Waláalów, i qàaad òo gəedkii
Brother, carry me and take me
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!'

Open Configuration

Case B

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:

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

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

**Neutral Configuration**

Márkaasùu, illayn waa nin aan  Well, then, he was a man who had
éfar caanamáal oomató
daddamín é diiday. (QA71-8)

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

Closed Configuration

Nínka ina Sanwëyné La
yídaahdaa bàan kú hídítay.
(HS2/12-3)

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

Concatenated Configuration

Márkii ninkii réerka laháa
yé sabdólka ahaa martiddii
faràa badnáyd arkáy bùu nahay,
ха yeeshó e wuu ká hishooday
inuu Carrawshó. (HS20/6-8)

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

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

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

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

When the man who was the head of
the family and who was poor saw
the numerous guests he was
appalled, yet he was ashamed to
send them away on an afternoon
journey. (NOTE: 'the man...
poor' lit. 'the man who owned the
family and who was a poor
person'.)
Wáhaaánád ggaataa, bani ኣልልኝ እነድኝ ይኋ ገስኝ ይኋ ለዓ ለ፡ qsii ይኋ ገስኝ. (HS21/50-1)

Open Configuration

Case A

Markaasuu máskii ያው ጉራ ገማድ ገጥ ይሄ ለማ እማ ለማ ገማግ ያት ሆ እማ ገማጌ ያት ያገ ገማጌ ያታ "ወ ይግ ዕ " (HS8/7-8)

Waar hórta bahášhán dyndumo La ይግ ዕ ይግ ዕ እማ እማ እማ (HS5/5)

Ínankii yaräa nää waa La qabtay. (HS1/19)

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'.)

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'.)

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

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

1
Oo sidge baaynu ta ugu wanaagsan u garanaynaa? (HS15/7-8)

Open Configuration

Case B

Mankaasaa yarkii yoo weli hyrdaa qaalinta qolokkedii nermiga ka maqlay. (QA 1165-6)

Waar, hortaa ninkan liibaaah La yidaahdaa illayn waa ninka hogggu intaa leegyshaw oomaalinta dambuu ina wada layn doonaa ye maynu is ka qabanno? (HS19/6-8)

Halkaaasaa colkii yoo dan inankii yaraa kaga baahaday. (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.)
There is nothing better than our country. (NOTE: lit. 'A thing which is better than our country there is not.')

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

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

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

In addition the present study has also brought to light the lack of precise information about the relationship between the accentual patterns of sentences taken as units, and the accentual patterns of their components. In the present
study and in my article 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq dialect of Somali' it has been demonstrated that certain grammatical categories have fixed accentual patterns. From this it follows that to a very large extent the accentual contours of the whole sentence are determined by the grammatical status of their components. The details of this correlation require extensive description.

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

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APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPTION

1. CONSONANTS AND SEMIVOWELS

The symbols representing consonants and the semi-vowels \textit{w} and \textit{y} are explained in the table overleaf by means of comparison with the symbols used by other authors and in the Somali Writing (\textit{Fart Soomaali}). The sign \textit{–} indicates that the symbol used by a particular author is the same as in my transcription.
In the transcription used by 'Abdullāhi Ḥhāji Mahhamūd and Bruno Panza, and in the Somali Writing, there is no
special symbol for the glottal stop ('). The presence of a glottal stop is often implied, however, in the juxtaposition of vowel letters in these two systems.

The symbol й represents a sound for which no provision is made in other transcriptions. There is in Northern Somali a sound which is acoustically similar to й 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 Й. Examples of й:

ма'я а
хàлкаасуу ўаа'йаа (CS) he is sitting (or sits) there
вàа La ваа'яй (CS) people failed to find it
мëндиýо 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
а
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
óród    run (Imp. Sg.)
The harmonic tendencies in Northern Somali extend even beyond the limits of words. The conditions determining the limits of such harmonic word groups are so complex that it would be beyond the scope of this section to explain them. They are described in some detail in my article 'The problem of vowel representation in the Isaaq dialect of Somali' and in the Introduction to Hikmad Soomali.

For the purpose of dealing with certain optional variants described in the section on Contraction the symbol — (raised hyphen) has been introduced. It represents a syllabic break
between two adjacent vowels not divided by a consonant, e.g. waraabá-a 'the hyaena' an optional variant of waraabáha or waraabáa.

3. SPELLING CONVENTIONS.

As in Hikmad Soomali, 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.  

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 jöoge e dëa let him stay, leave him alone
cf. há jöogo 'let him stay'.
má humé e qaado it isn't bad, take it for yourself
cf. má humá 'it isn't bad'.

nin kalluunwalí ihi  
ma yìmi hálkán?

has a fisherman come here? cf. 
nin kalluunwalá áh 'a fisherman', 
cf. waa kalluunwále 'he is a 
fisherman.'

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

beeró wánaagsán
and
busté ballaadán
are to be read as
beerá wánaagsán
and
bustá ballaadán.

(ii) Before a pause or before an immediately following 
consonant the final -h in the Verbal forms áh '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 -y 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.

Wuu baqday do kā c'araray. (CS) He was afraid and ran away from it.

Wuu baqday. (CS) He was afraid.
Waa saahiibkáy e lá hádal. (CS) It is my friend, talk with him.

Waa saahiibkáy. (CS) It is my friend.

In all these forms the final sound is represented by the symbol -y in all positions and the rules stated above are to be treated as reading conventions.
APPENDIX 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 kee, tee '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?

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 jogsádôo i sii súga. (CS) Stop here and wait for me. Hálkán jogsáda òo i sii (The same meaning) súga. (CS)

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

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

When the particle baa, combined or not combined with the negative particle aan and/or a preverbal pronoun, follows immediately the definitive kân, tán, kàas, or tåas, it usually occurs without the initial consonant b-, e.g. kan-àa, tan-àa, kaas-àa, taasàa. The optional variants kân bàa, tán bàa, kàas bàa, tåas bàa also occur, but are less frequent.
In addition to the three kinds of contraction already described contraction occurs in optional variants of the sequences -áha, -úhu, ihii and ihii which consist of the final vowels of noun forms followed by and combined with the definite article forms ka, ku, kii, kii. Such sequences have sets of two optional variants each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-áha</td>
<td>-åa</td>
<td>-á-å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-úhu</td>
<td>-ùu</td>
<td>-ú-ù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ihii</td>
<td>-ii</td>
<td>-í-ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ihii</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-í-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g. kóore 'a saddle', kooráha or kooråa or koorá-a, koorúhu, or koorùu or koorú-u, 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.
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, kúwíi, kúwán, cf. ka, kíi, kán. The form *kúwu which might be expected through analogy does not occur.
Definitives which consist of one component only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of definitive</th>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) definite article of the general type</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) definite article of the remote type</td>
<td>kii</td>
<td>kii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) demonstrative 'this'</td>
<td>kán</td>
<td>kán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) demonstrative 'that'</td>
<td>káa</td>
<td>kaasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) demonstrative 'that' (far away)</td>
<td>kéer</td>
<td>keeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) demonstrative 'that' (very far away)</td>
<td>koo</td>
<td>kooji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) possessive definitive:</td>
<td>kaay</td>
<td>kaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 'my', 'mine'</td>
<td>tay</td>
<td>tay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 'your', 'yours' (sg.)</td>
<td>kaãa</td>
<td>kaãa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m. 'his', 'its'</td>
<td>kaãis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f. 'her', 'hers', 'its'</td>
<td>kãged</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpe. 'our', 'ours' (exclusive)</td>
<td>kayó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpi. 'our', 'ours' (inclusive)</td>
<td>kãen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p. 'your', 'yours' (pl.)</td>
<td>kãin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p. 'th'ir', 'theirs'</td>
<td>kãod</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(viii) interrogative definitive 'which?'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of combination</th>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(i) + (iii)</em></td>
<td>kakán</td>
<td>tátán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kakani</td>
<td>tatan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kakanu)</td>
<td>(tatanu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(vii) + (i)</em></td>
<td>kàygá</td>
<td>tày dá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàygii</td>
<td>tày díi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàaga</td>
<td>tàadá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàagii</td>
<td>tàadíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìisa</td>
<td>tìisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìisii</td>
<td>tìisíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìedá</td>
<td>tìeda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìedii</td>
<td>tìedíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìenna</td>
<td>tìenna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìinnna</td>
<td>tìinnna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìoodá</td>
<td>tìodu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìoodii</td>
<td>tìoodíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(vii) + (ii)</em></td>
<td>kàygàí</td>
<td>tày dàí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàygài</td>
<td>tày dàíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàagàí</td>
<td>tàadàí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàagài</td>
<td>tàadàíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìisaí</td>
<td>tìisaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kìisìì</td>
<td>tìisìì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(vii) + (iii)</em></td>
<td>kàygànn</td>
<td>tày dànn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàygànni</td>
<td>tày dànni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(vii) + (iv)</em></td>
<td>kàygàas</td>
<td>tày dàás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàygàasi</td>
<td>tày dàasì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kàygàas)</td>
<td>(tàydàas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. CHARACTERISTICS OF JUNCTIONS BETWEEN NOUNS AND DEFINITIVES.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The final consonant, semivowel or vowel of the noun form</th>
<th>The initial consonant of the definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b  d  ɡ  f  s  ʃ  j  n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m  l</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g  w  y  i  u  a  a</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q  ɔ  ʁ  ʁ  h  b  c  h</td>
<td>absence of the first consonant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. ACCENTUAL PATTERNS OF 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension of the noun component</th>
<th>Type of definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)-(vi) both Set A and B; all definitives which consist of two components both Set A and B; (vii) Set A only</td>
<td>(vii) Set B only; (viii) Set A and B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1 | AP 1 |
| 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 kān, tān, kāas, tāas 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 kān, tān, kāas and tāas 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
(iv) Combinations of the particles baa and aan with preverbal pronouns

baanan
baanad
baanu
etc.

2. LIST OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial Sign</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ani-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd &quot;</td>
<td>adi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>3rd &quot; masc.</td>
<td>isá-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>3rd &quot; fem.</td>
<td>iyá-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>1st &quot; plural excl.</td>
<td>anná-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>1st &quot; incl.</td>
<td>inná-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>2nd &quot;</td>
<td>idín-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>3rd &quot;</td>
<td>iyá-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. LIST OF ATTRIBUTIVES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dambéé</td>
<td>dambe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dehéé</td>
<td>dehé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hooséé</td>
<td>hoose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set A</td>
<td>Set B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horé first, earlier, front, before</td>
<td>hore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalé other</td>
<td>kale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koré top, upper</td>
<td>kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sare</td>
<td>sare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shishé far, on the other side</td>
<td>shishe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soké near, on this side</td>
<td>soke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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', ŋg '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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present General</th>
<th>Past General</th>
<th>Present Continuous</th>
<th>Past Continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>yidaahdá</td>
<td></td>
<td>mará</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tidaahdá</td>
<td>ŋg</td>
<td>mará</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>yidaahdá</td>
<td></td>
<td>mará</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>yidi</td>
<td>ŋgáa</td>
<td>maráy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tidi</td>
<td>ŋgáyd</td>
<td>maráy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>yidi</td>
<td>ŋgáa</td>
<td>maráy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>odánayá</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>márayá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>odánaysá</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>márayásá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>odánayá</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>márayá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ŋdánayáy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>márayáy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ŋdánaysáy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>márayásy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ŋdánayáy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>márayáy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Negative Present General and Negative Past General

Inv. odán (odanín)  qgàyn  marín

Negative Present Continuous

Inv. odánáyn  -  máráyn
(odánaynin)  (máraynin)

Negative Past Continuous

Inv. qgdánéyn  -  mgréyn
(qgdáneynin)  (mgréynin)

II. Extensive Paradigms

Present General

| 3m  | yídahdaa | qgyahay | maraáa |
| 3f  | tídahdaa | qgtahay | martaáa |
| 3p  | yídahdaaan | qgyihiin | maraaan |

Past General

| 3m  | yidi | qgaa | maray |
| 3f  | tidi | qgayd | martay |
| 3p  | yídahdeen | qgasaýeen | mareen |

Present Continuous

| 3m  | odánayaa | - | márayaa |
| 3f  | odánaysaa | - | máraysaa |
| 3p  | odánayaan | - | márayaan |
Past Continuous

3m  qdánayay  -  máranaay
3f  qdánaysay -  máranaaysay
3p  qdánayeen -  máraneen

Negative Present General

3m  yidaahdo  -  maró
3f  tidaahdo  -  martó
3p  yidaahdáan  -  maràan

Negative Past General

The same as the corresponding restrictive paradigm.

Negative Present Continuous

3m  odánayó  -  máranyó
3f  odánaysó -  máranyó
3p  odánaysàan -  máranyàan

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>yidaahdaa</td>
<td>qgi</td>
<td>maraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tidaahdaa</td>
<td>qgi</td>
<td>martaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>yidaahdaa</td>
<td>qgi</td>
<td>maraa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Past General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>yidi</td>
<td>qgaa</td>
<td>maray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tidi</td>
<td>qgayd</td>
<td>martay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>yidi</td>
<td>qgaa</td>
<td>maray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Present Continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>3f</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>odanayaa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>marayaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>odanaysaa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>maraysaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>odanayaa</td>
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#### Past Continuous

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#### Negative Present General and Negative Past General

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#### Negative (Invariable) Present Continuous

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IV. Divergent Paradigms

Set A

Present General

1 [iďaahdő] [ğgaháy] [máro]
2 [tiďaahdő] [ğgtaháy] [martő]
3m yiďaahdő ğgygháy máro
3f tiďaahdő ğgtaháy martő
1p [niďaahnő] [ğgnaháy] [marnõ]
2p [tiďaahdëan] [ğgtihiin] [martãan]
3p yićdaahdëan ğgyihiin maràn

Past General

1 [iďi] [ğga] [maráy]
2 [tiďi] [ğgyd] [martáy]
3m yiďi ğga máro
3f tiďi ğgyd martáy
1p [niďi] [ğgayn] [marnáy]
2p [tiďaahdèen] [ğgaydèen] [martèen]
3p yićdaahdèen ğgaaỳèen marèen
### Present Continuous

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<td>[(máraysid)]</td>
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### 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.
-136-

Set B

**Present General**

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**Present Continuous**

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Past Continuous

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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 wədəad. (CS) That man is a mullah.
Waa wədəad ninkaasu. (CS) the same meaning.
Waa wədəad. (CS) He is a mullah. (NOTE: 'he' in the translation does not correspond to any word in the original.)
The man who is sitting there is the mullah who came to us last night.

He is the mullah who came to us last night.

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

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

Ninkaasu ma wądàad bàa? (CS) Is that man a mullah?
Ma wądàad bàa ninkaasu? (CS) the same meaning
Ma wądàad bàa? (CS) Is he a mullah?
Nínka hálkáa faddiyaa ma wədàadkii hálayo no yimí bàa? (CS)

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

Ma wədàadkii hálayo no yimí bàa, nínka hálkáa faddiyaa?

the same meaning

Ma wədàadkii hálayo no 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 wah '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 definite, 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 'wah-' sentences.
In the examples given below the inceptive part is overlined and the sequel part is underlined.

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

Wähay 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, sub-plural and dependent noun forms. Examples: nín 'man', shabeel 'leopard', béer 'garden, field', dúl 'earth, land', bálúl 'water reservoir'.

2. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLECTIVE NOUN FORMS.

Collective noun forms also are characterised by the absence of special suffixes peculiar to plural, sub-plural and dependent noun forms. Collective noun forms differ from singular number forms only in their agreement potentialities. Examples: dág '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. maCCallimíin teachers: cf. sg. maCCállin a teacher
   munaafiqíin hypocrites: " " munáafiq a hypocrite
   nijaaríin carpenters: " " nijàar a carpenter
2. qalmáan pens: " " qálín 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:

   maraakiib 'ships' cf. márka'b 'ship'
   bánaadiiq 'rifles' cf. bánduq '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.

āwr 'he-camels' (4) cf.sg. āwr 'a he-camel' (2)
dībi 'oxen' (4) " " dībi 'an ox' (3)
qīrgi 'he-goats' (4) " " qīrgi '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. -yo
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. dğwlisyǒ bucket ropes: cf. Sg. dğwlis a bucket rope
   ubahyǒ flowers: " " úbah a flower
2. sibraarrǒ waterskins: " " sibràar a waterskin
   shabeellǒ leopards: " " shabèel a leopard
3. hargǒ hides:
   gabdǒ girls:
4. mjndiyǒ knives:
5. sariirǒ beds:
   haamǒ water vessels:
6. wəddóoyín roads:
   dğeróoyín gazelles:
7. wanǎn rams:
   ćeelǎl wells:
8. gallǎal scabbards:
9. koorayǎal saddles:
måroodiyaal elephants: cf. Sg. måroodī an elephant
nimanyāal men or groups " " nīn a man, and
of men: pl. nimān 'men'

10. nimanyāw men or groups " " nīn a man, and also
cf. Pl. nimān 'men'
of men:

11. gabdayāw girls: " " gabād a girl, and also cf. gabū " 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:

jāraa?id 'newspapers', cf. jāriidād 'newspaper'
jāsa?ir 'islands', cf. jāsiirād 'island'
qābā?il 'clans, tribes', cf. qābiil '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 type of pitch contrasts in a language, with studies in tonemic substitution and fusion, Glendale; Summer Institute of Linguistics 1943, University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics 4.


Page 22.

1. As used in my article 'Some preliminary observations on the
1. Moreover, noun forms used as exclamations or forms of address are excluded from the descriptive statements in this thesis.

1. The etymology of this newly coined word suggests 'handmade-moon.'

2. All of Arabic origin.

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.

1. This particle has also an optional variant yaa.

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

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

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 gəel 'camels' which has the same junctions with definitives as the noun forms ending in q 埕 kh h ˀ or h, e.g. gəela, gəelu, gəelii, gəelán etc.