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SOMALI SYNTAX,

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PREFACE

A complete description of a language is made up of two basic parts:
grammar and lexis, which are to a significant degree interrelated.   An
analysis of grammar presupposes a corresponding organisation of the lexicon,
in particular a definite assignment of words making up the lexicon into
major and minor syntactic classes and definite information concerning verb
government, the lexical functions of words (see Zholkovskij 1966, 1967a),
etc..

The subject of this work is a description of one of the subdivisions
of Somali grammar; namely, the syntax of independent declarative sentences,
for the most part positive.   The structure of negative, interrogative,
imperative, etc. sentences is not treated here.

The notion of independent sentence includes not only the simple
sentence of the principal clause, but also an entire compound or complex
sentence.   The study of simple and complex sentences together is all but
unavoidable, since the simple sentence as such in Somali is virtually a
fiction.   For one thing, Somali is almost completely lacking in adjectives
with their role being performed by verbs forming relative clauses.   For
another, nouns possess almost no valences for governing participant or

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circumstantial dependents and thus this form of government (i.e., with a noun head) is realized through the use of subordinate clauses (see Zholkovskij – 1967b). Finally, a number of extremely important meanings are rendered in Somali by means of subordinate clauses; e.g.:

> Shan caruur ah...
>
> five – children – are
>
> Five children...

> Nin gadh leh...
>
> man – beard – has
>
> A bearded man...

> Deymiradda dadka qaada...
>
> plane/the – people/the – carries
>
> The passenger plane...

Somali appears to lean toward presenting all forms of predication in an explicit manner (relationships which tend to remain implicit in other languages). It is this tendency that we shall often note in our description. As a result, the main clause often turns out to be an extremely short distance between subordinate clauses.

And so the unwillingness to treat subordinate clauses would leave a good half of the syntactic relationships and the means by which they are realized beyond the confines of this study. The following "simple" sentence (translated into Somali) illustrates this point:

> The Soviet trade unions, 80 million strong, deeply appreciated
>
> the talks between trade union delegations of the Soviet Union

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and Guinea...

Ururaha shaqaalaha MS oo ay dadka u jira tiradiisu ay tahay siddeetan
malyuun oo rux wax qaaya leh ayaa waxay ka sheegeen wadaxdalkii
miraha lahaa ee ay wada yeesheen ergoyinkii ka socday ururaha
shaqaaldaha ee MS iyo Gini...

unions/the – workers/the – USSR – and – they – people/the – in –
are – number/their – it – is – 80 – million – and – person – thing
– value – has – SENT. PART. – SENT. PART. – about – said – talks/the
– fruits/the – had – and – they – together – did – delegations/the
– from – came – unions/the – workers/the – and – USSR – and –
Guinea

We have chosen a descriptive method which can be characterized as
synthesizing; i.e., our task is to formulate the rules which govern the
structure of independant declarative sentences in Somali.   Such a goal lies
at the interface of...

(1) such practical applications as teaching Somali to Russian speakers,
translating Somali texts into Russian, etc.;

(2) the demands imposed upon any linguistic description of modern
linguistic theory, a theory which treats a scientific description, a grammar,
as a model replicating a speaker's competence (a generative model) or a
listener's competence (a recognition model);

(3) the experience gained from work on automated translation, an
activity which in particular poses the task of expressing in a precise and
yet flexible manner in the output language that which has been extracted from
the text which we are translating.

In this latter regard, the present work attempts to give the most complete, formal and operational description possible of the manner in which one would proceed from a given meaning to the structures present in a Somali text, to the extent that this can be done using syntactic means.   Such a goal has led to the natural division of syntax into two levels - deep and surface; i.e., it has led to making a distinction which in one form or another has been adopted by many of today's linguists.   The fact that the description is directed toward both theoretical and practical considerations is the reason why there was an effort to make it accessible to potential learners.   This is why purely formal issues of presentation often yield to questions of substance.   In those places where we must make a choice between a scholarly investigation of all possible theoretical ramifications associated with a particular point and the brevity of a more pragmatic approach, we have chosen the latter course (for example, concerning the problem of word classes in the charts showing expression of deep-structure relationships through surface patterns).   There are, however, some other instances in which it is precisely the logic of the model's formal apparatus which makes it possible to discover and describe facts which are of great practical interest and thus all possible combinations are listed (e.g., the study of head-dependent combinations both for each relationship and for all word classes).

There is a particular purpose in mentioning the object, materials and sources of the present work.   Until recently Somali was not a written language.   Of course, many of the existing works printed in the Republic of Somali and also scientific publications of Somali folklore (basically English and Italian) were used as source materials for this study, but most of the

data concerning the language itself, in keeping with its predominantly oral character, were derived from taped broadcasts of the Radio Moscow Somali service and direct contact with native speakers.

Most Somalis, in spite of the acknowledged differences among dialects, differences which are to a great extent phonetic in nature, understand each other perfectly well and consider themselves to be speaking a single language. Language problems arise when there is contact between speakers of the main group of dialects and inhabitants of the southern regions – members of the Digil and Rahanwein tribes. These circumstances presented us with several alternative approaches to the description of Somali: (1) to describe a single dialect (or even idiolect); (2) to describe all dialects one by one (see Moreno – 1955); (3) to make a composite description of the dialects; (4) to make a single, supradialectal description. For a number of reasons which included the paucity of materials and also a lack of even the most general works on the syntax of Somali, it was the last alternative that we selected. Under the heading of syntax we are including rules for obtaining those sentences which can be (1) constructed by at least some representatives of the main dialect group and (2) understood and acknowledged as correct by the remaining speakers of these dialects. Such an approach was also motivated by the fact that at the level which most engages our interest; i.e., at the syntactic level, dialectal differences tend to be obscured, appearing as they do at levels closer to surface realization – the levels of morphology and phonology. This is certainly the case when syntactic structures common to the entire language are realized.

Of the scholarly sources we should mention the grammar of C.R.V. Bell,

a short but precise handbook of Somali, the various works of B.V. Andrzejewski
on specific questions of Somali grammar and also his work (together with
Muuse Galaal) on Somali folk tales with detailed lexical and grammatical
notes and, finally, the Somali-English and English-Somali dictionaries
(complete with extensive examples and a separate survey of Somali grammar)
compiled by R.C.Abraham.   Abraham's works contain not only a fully realized
description of Somali, but also an extremely rich and exceptionally well
chosen body of linguistic material, something which is especially valuable
in the case of a language which was until quite recently without its own
writing system and one which remains to this day sparsely documented.

        As has been already stated, in keeping with the task of describing the
means by which meaning is expressed, Somali syntax is divided into two levels:
surface and deep.   Surface (or external) syntax is the description of what
is happening in an actual Somali sentence from a formal point of view.   In
other words, what must be listed are the syntagmas (i.e., the Patterns of
surface syntax).   These are the typical constructions of the language which
are both external and formal from the vantage point of the meanings being
expressed and yet at the same time well defined and adequate from the point
of view of (1) eventual realization in the form of specific morphological
indicators and (2) projection of word order.   The survey of Somali surface
syntax makes up SECTION I of the book.   Each of the Patterns studied is
accompanied by information concerning morphological marking and the way
constituents distribute in regard to each other.

        The notion of deep (or conceptual) structure is to be understood as
the more generalized relationships between words, relationships which are

to such an extent independent of any specific surface realization that it would be difficult to establish a one-to-one equivalence between them and specific sets of morphological indicators. The surface patterns set forth in SECTION 1 serve as the means by which deep structure relationships are realized and are enumerated which each one of the deep structure relationships. Thus, the deep syntactic relationships must function as a metalanguage for describing the meaning of surface constructions and ultimately, by virtue of this fact, for describing the meanings of particular strings in Somali. A number of current works on syntax (see Lakoff - 1965, Bierwisch - 1966, Sgall - 1967) posit approximately the same five or six relationships as such descriptive devices under the rubric of deep structure and express the conviction that such a system is sufficiently universal to be applied to languages of the most diverse typologies. This means that a conceptual, substantive description of syntax is possible without any of the disadvantages associated with the comparison to the language being studied with a given single foreign language.

It is clear that such a single metalanguage to be used for describing the syntax (and lexis) of various languages should not be formulated without some consideration of the unique features of these languages. From this work it will become clear that Somali, in particular, can play an important role in defining the structure of universal deep syntax, since a number of the general characteristics found in European languages are absent from Somali, while on the other hand Somali always marks certain meanings overtly, meanings which are only implicit in other languages. In this regard, Somali could conceivably play a role similar to that of the Amerindian languages in

the twenties and thirties in the development of methods of linguistic description.

We shall proceed from a deep syntax which includes six relationships, four of them predicative:(I-subject, II, III, IV-objective, V- modifying and VI-conjoining).

It has already been noted (Mel'chuk - 1964, Zholkovskij - 1966b) that since these relationships are conceptual, they are not purely syntactic (i.e., simply a matter of joining forms one with the other). Any system, therefore, which would pedantically insist upon a strict division between semantics and syntax would have to be confined to a single syntactic relationship and mark all meanings lexically - through the use of words alone and not the bondings between them (the arrows in our diagrams of the deep structure level). This might be in many respects a good way to go, but it is somewhat removed from the structure of the kind of language in which, for example, verbs possess strong government; i.e., languages in which there is an idiomatic surface realization of the predicative relationships associated with verbs. Another alternative would be to consider as deep syntactic relationships not only the relationships listed above, but also for all intents and purposes all meanings regularly expressed in the language, often through the use of morphological indicators or surface syntax constructions (such meanings as "cause", "time", "belonging", etc.). In this latter instance syntax would cover an extremely broad range of meanings and would have to account for some 50 to 100 conceptual relationships. In support of the system which posits the six relationships noted above as opposed to one in which there are some 50 to 100 relationships we can cite the fact that all languages appear

to express the former syntactically while they often mark the latter lexically.

It is clear, however, that these latter meanings (i.e., the 50 to 100 "notions" which are, in the system we have chosen to use, part of the lexicon) are important from a syntactic point of view. Unlike either morphological markers and syntactic structures or independent, free-standing words on the surface level, they are the words, or rather the sub-words (in Russian SLOVEChKI) of the metalanguage. Such entities ("instrument", "result", "part", "in the direction of", "in the quantity of", etc. form a kind of gray area between lexicon and grammar. They should, in our opinion, be made available to the language learner together with the syntax of the language, because they determine to a great extent the structure of each sentence. In reality, during the process of going from deep to surface structure these sub-words sometimes "dissolve" completely within one or another construction, sometimes reappear as one or more surface words and often require an entire sentence to be restructured.

The expression of deep structure relationships through the use of surface patterns; that is, the rules governing the regular transformation of deep structure relationships into surface structures, is treated in SECTION III. The expression of a number of very important lexical meanings; i.e., certain non-regular correspondences between deep and surface levels, non-regular correspondences associated with definite and regularly expressed entities (the "sub-words" referred to above), makes up the substance of SECTION V.

SECTION II treats the ways in which independant clauses are transformed

*literally "little words"

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into nouns (nominalization) and modifiers - noun modifiers (adjectivalization) and verb modifiers (adverbialization). This is the buffer zone between syntax and word formation, since what is treated here are the ways in which a particular kind of word formation is carried out - the assignment to one part of speech, the verb, the properties characteristic of another, the noun, adjective or adverb. Obviously, these phenomena also relate to grammatical competence.

SECTION IV of the book is devoted to the synonymous transformations which exist in deep structure; i.e., from one deep structure to another. Thus, SECTION I describes surface structures, SECTION III - the regular transformations from deep to surface structures, SECTION V - the non-regular correspondences between one level and the other, SECTION II - the synonymous transformations of surface structures and SECTION IV - the synonymous transformations of deep structures. The APPENDICES contain certain material necessary to an understanding of the main body of the book, information concerning the later stages in the process of going from meaning to text. They treat such questions as morphology, word order, ellipsis rules, the organization of the lexicon, etc..

It is the author's pleasant duty to thank everyone who helped make this book a reality in its present form: I.A. Mel'chuk for his deep concern in discussing both the principles and many of the details of the work in all its stages, A.B. Dolgopol'skij, A.A. Zaliznyak, Yu. K. Shaglov, the staff of the Machine Translation Laboratory of the First Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages i/n Thores and the African Language Section of the Institute of Linguistics, Academy of Sciences of the USSR - for their

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SURFACE PATTERNS OF DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

The surface patterns of declarative sentences will be described in terms of binary structures consisting of a head and a dependant. The direction of dominance is indicated by an arrow: HEAD ⟶ DEPENDENT.

Pattern 1: Emphasis Construction

Every independent, positive, declarative sentence in Somali has at least one SENTENCE PARTICLE in it (what C.R.V. Bell calls an indicator) - waa, baa/ayaa/yaa, waxa (see Appendix IV for exceptions to this rule and Appendix V for the problem of waxa as a sentence particle). Sentence particles (SP) play a dual role:

1) They mark sentence-level predication; e.g.:

(1)   Nin baa yimid.

            A man arrived.

(2)   Ninkii yimid...

            The man who arrived...

2) They indicate the emphasized constituent of the sentence; e.g.:

(3)   Nin wuu yimid.

            A man ARRIVED.

(4)   Nin woxo yimid shalay.

            A man arrived YESTERDAY.

(5)   Nin shalay buu yimid.

         A man arrived YESTERDAY.

(6)   Nin baa yimid.

         A MAN arrived.

(7)   Waxa yimid nin.

         A MAN arrived.

This means that Somali uses grammatical means — a special word class
(SP) — to mark informational structure (as opposed to grammatical structure)
and that this process is indistinguishable from the process of marking
predication itself.

The emphasis construction joins what is called the _logical predicate_
(i.e., that sentence constituent which is being stressed) with the SP.
The former is the _head_ and the latter is the _dependent_.   The logical
predicate can be either the surface predicate (usually a verb) or one
of its dependents of the so-called "first rank" – the surface subject,
an object/complement or a noun phrase denoting some circumstance of the
verb's action (a noun phrase operating as an adverb); i.e., the dependent
elements of patterns 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

If the logical predicate is also the grammatical or surface predicate,
then the SP selected is _waa_.   In other situations, the SP is _baa/ayaa/yaa_
or _waxa_.

Waa is placed in front of the verb; i.e., immediately before the
verb's string of preverbal particles (see Appendix VII).   Note only the
waa which appears with verbs is under discussion here, not the _waa_ of
so-called "verbless" sentences (see patterns 4 and 5 below).

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Baa/ayaa/yaa follow the logical predicate (and its dependents).

Waxa precedes the preverb-verb string and the logical predicate follows the verb. Examples of Pattern 1 are...

(8)   Saddex nin waa la dilay.

three - man - SP - one - killed

Three men were killed.

(9)   Saddex nin way dhinteyn.

three - man - SP/they - died

Three men died.

(10)   Ninkii aan shalay la hadlay Burco buu tegey.

man/the - I - yesterday - with - talked - Burao - SP/he - went

The man I talked with yesterday went to Burao.

(11)   Burco buu tegey ninkii aan shalay la hadlay.

Burao - SP/he - went - man/the - I - yesterday - with - talked

The man I talked with yesterday went to Burao.

(12)   Mosko waxa timi ergo ka socota dawladda Mali.

Moscow - SP - arrived - delegation - from - goes - government/the - Mali

A government delegation from Mali arrived in Moscow.

Pattern 2: Subject-Predicate Construction

The head is always a verb. Note that what is sometimes called an

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adjective in Somali possesses such features as inflections for tense, person, number and gender and comprises one of the subclasses of the verb, the **attributive verb**. The **dependent** is the surface subject: a short-form subjective pronoun or some kind of substantive (a noun, a personal or demonstrative pronoun, a cardinal number).

A predicate or its functional equivalent must be present in every sentence, but the subject may be understood if the SP is _waa_; e.g.:

(1a)   Waa cunayaa.

              He (it) is eating.

(1b)   Waa jabay.

              It broke.

The predicate agrees with the subject in gender, person and number according to one of two possible types of agreement, depending on the placement of the logical accent in the sentence: _Type I_ - the logical predicate is not the subject; _Type II_ - the logical predicate is the subject. For a detailed treatment of this point see Appendix III. The subject, or more accurately the subject group, may take the subjective case form in accordance with a number of special rules (see Appendices II and III).

The subject-predicate constituent order is the one most frequently encountered. Not counting inversions (fairly common in speech), this order is obligatory with the SP _waa_. With _baa/byaa/yaa_ , it is possible to put the subject after the predicate; e.g.:

(15)   Waa yahay - ayyu yidhi ninkaasu.

              OK, said that man.

Sentence-final placement of the subject group is normal only with the SP _waxa_ when the subject group also contains the logical predicate; e.g.:

(15)   Radnow   Habana waxa ka furad doona shir ay wadi qaban

doonan dadyowga saddexda qaradood.

soon - Havana - SP - in - start - will - meeting - they
- together - do - will - peoples/the - three/the
- continents

a conference of the people of the three continents will
begin soon in Havana.

Note that in view of the frequent redoubling of the subject group with
a subjective pronoun, the Somali sentence can have a single predicate and
two different dependents joined to it in Pattern 2; e.g.:

(17)   Taasi-na waxaay u baahan-tahay in la nooleeyo gabayadii

gabgaboobay.

that/but - SP/it - to - need - that - one - revives
- songs/the - become old

But this requires that old Somali poetry be revived.

The subject in (17) is _taasi_ and it is reflected in the short-form
subjective pronoun -ay (combined with _waxa_).

Pattern 3: Predicate-Object Construction

The _head_ is a verb or a preverb and the _dependent_ is a substantive
or a nominalized subordinate clause. One predicate can take several objects
(in the broad sense of the word). _Valence_ or the way in which a verb
combines with objects (either directly or through preverbs) is a feature of
the lexicon; i.e., it is part of the lexical entry for each verb. The

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preverbs themselves are joined to verbs in Pattern 7.

The order in which preverbs combine with verbs is described in Appendix VII and the way in which they convey their ability to govern to the verb – in Section III/6.

Although the ordering of objects around the verb is to a certain extent free, some tendencies can be observed:

1) No more than one dependent noun group should follow the verb.

2) A sequence of three or more dependent noun groups is to be avoided.

3) With the SP *waxa* only one so-called first rank element (subject, object, adverbial) may follow the verb.

We should note at this point (more will be said in Section III) that not only main constituents, but also adverbials denoting such things as place, cause, goal, etc. are treated like objects or valenced dependents. Such object groups functioning as adverbial modifiers combine with verbs through preverbal particles (also see Pattern 6 below for "non-valenced" verb+noun+adverbial modifier combinations); e.g.:

(18) Cali lacag buu (-baa+uu) i siiyey.

Ali - money - SP/he - me - gave

Ali gave me money.

(19) Cali lacag buu ii (=i+u) dhiibey aniga.

Ali - money - SP/he - me/to - handed

Ali handed money over to me.

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(20)   waa lala saaxiibay Ø.

                            SP - one/with - made friends

                            They made friends with (him, her, them).

   The following two patterns are, so to speak, "incorrect" variants of
the patterns discussed above.   They cover the categories of surface subject,
surface object, complement (i.e., that which is governed by the verb-
copula "to be") and logical predicate.   In these patterns, the verb "to be"
and the SP are realized in a single form - the copula waa (weeye/weeyaan)
and the complement is always the logical predicate or emphasized element in
the sentence:

Pattern 4: Subject-Copula Construction

   The head is the copula waa/weeye/weeyaan and the dependant is the
subject.   In Pattern 4, the subject is always a substantive (not a short-form
subjective pronoun) and it is always marked for subjective case (when overtly
realized).   The copula is invariable in form; it neither agrees with the
subject nor is marked for tense.   Subject-copula is the normal order for
this construction, but subjects may appear in final position in speech.
Subjects never fall between the copula and complement.

Pattern 5: Copula-Complement Construction

   The head is once again the copula waa/weeye/weeyaan and the dependent
is the predicate complement - always a substantive (not an "adjective") and
always overtly expressed (never deleted).   The dependent appears in the
general or non-subjective case form and it is also the logical predicate of
the sentence.   The dependent appears directly after waa , but immediately
preceding weeye/weeyaan .   In Pattern 5, the predicate complement, like a

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Verb can govern prepositional preverbs; i.e., it can be the head word in

Pattern 7.   Examples of patterns 4 and 5 are given below:

(21)   Ninkaasu waa macallin.

man/that - SP/V$_{cop}$ - teacher

This man is a teacher.

(22)   Isagu shuqulkiisa ku muhim weeye.

he - work/his - at - important thing - SP/V$_{cop}$

He plays an important role at his work.

(23)   Isagu shuqulkiisa waa ku muhim.

he - work/his - SP/V$_{cop}$ - at - important thing

(same as # 22)

The following example shows how the invariable waa can denote past

time:
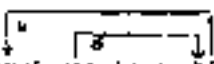
(24)   Shardi waxa u ahayd ninka la boqrayo... inuu aqoon weyn

u leeyahay murtida Soomaalida... xeerarka iyo caadooyinka

iyo dhaqanka dadadka xale waa inuu aqoon u leeyahay...

condition - SP - for - be - man/the - one - made king
-that/he - knowledge - big - for - have - thought/the
- Somali/the - laws/the - and - customs/the - and
- life ways/the - peoples/the - other - SP/V$_{cop}$ - that/he
- knowledge - for - have
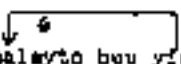
For a man to be chosen king there was the condition that
he possess an extensive knowledge of Somali culture and
that he also know the laws, customs and way of life of
other peoples as well...

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Pattern 6: Verb — Adverbial Construction

The head word is a verb (or a complement) and the dependent is a noun (an ideophone or a temporal substantive), one of a limited set of conjoining words or a subordinate clause (see Section II). Such adverbials, as opposed to governed or valenced objects, combine freely with verbs; i.e., the verb does not have to "take" them the way it "takes" objects. One predicate may combine with several adverbial dependents. Nouns or other substantives in the dependent slot of Pattern 6 appear in the non-subjective case form and are arranged around the verb with the same degree of freedom as objects; e.g.:

(25) Berri waa inoo shir.

tomorrow - SP/V_{cop} - us/for - meeting

We are having a meeting tomorrow.

(26) Shalayto buu yimi.

He arrived yesterday.

(27) Waxay yimaadeen annag-oo guriga fadhina.

SP/they - arrived - we/and - house/the - sat

They arrived when we were at home.

Pattern 7: Verb (Complement) — Preverb Construction

For a detailed discussion of the preverb string, see Appendix VII). In the process of going from deep to surface structure a preverb string is formed "in parts"; i.e., it is formed as a result of a verb combining with distinct dependent elements which have assumed the shape of preverbal particles. The multiple relationships between the verb and the individual

particles are replaced by a single bond:

```
        ┌──────── ? ────────┐
        │                   ▼
      VERB              PREVERBAL STRING
      (head)             (dependent)
```
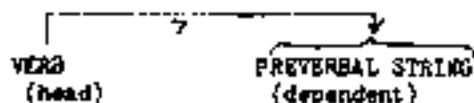
The kinds of government which derive from the particles, each one possessing its own valence, are imparted to the verb (for some information on the mechanics of this process, see Section III/6 below).

The following kinds of elements are found in the preverbal string:

1) **The Indefinite/Impersonal Subject**

      la   −   "one", "they", "people"

2) **The Prepositional Preverbs**

      u   −   "for", "toward"

      ku   −   "in", "on", "by means of", "against"

      ka   −   "from", "about", "through", "in"

      la   −   "with", "together with"

3) **Other Particles**

      wada   −   "together"

      kala   −   "apart", "other"

      soo   −   "hither"

      sii   −   "hence"

4) **Certain Nouns (Preposed and without Articles)**

      dhex   −   "middle"

Translator's Note:

Although Zholkovskij does not mention it at this point, another element which appears in the preverbal string is the <u>short-form objective pronoun</u>.

Some examples of the Verb-Preverb Construction are:

(28)   Nimankii baa la wada laayay.

men/these - SP - one/together - killed

All these people were killed.

(29)   Shirkii lagaga xaajooneyey arrintaas...

meeting/the - one/at/about - discussed - question/that

The meeting at which this question was being discussed,...

(30)   Ninkii ka wada xoog badan...

man/the - from/together-strength - big is

The strongest man....

(31)   Xuduudda dhex martaa NS iyo Turkiya...

border/the - middle - goes - USSR - and - Turkey

The border between the USSR and Turkey,...

(32)   Ardada magaaladan kaga kala timi dalalka adduunka oo dhan...

students/the - city/this - from/to - apart - come - lands/the
- world/the

The students who come to this city from the various
countries of the world,...

Pattern 8: The Verb - Infinitive Construction

The __head__ word is one of a limited set of Somali verbs which govern
infinitives. These are primarily auxiliary-like words which combine with
infinitives to make up compound verb forms. The __dependent__ element is an
infinitive.

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The verbs which govern infinitives are:

dooni: "wish". In the present, non-continuous indicative or subjunctive it is used to form a compound future; e.g.:

(33)   Waa shaqeyn doonaa.

I shall work.

jiri: "to be", "to be located". Its past, non-continuous form combines with a preceding infinitive to make up a habitual past tense; e.g.:

(34)   Waxa jiri jiray boqor...

Once upon a time there lived a king,...

kari: "to be able". Appearing itself in various forms, it combines with infinitives; e.g.:

(35)   Wuu hagaajin karaa.

He is able to repair this.

og-yahay: "to know how ... to do something". It appears in the present and past forms only; e.g.:

(36)   Wuu yeeli ogyahay.

He knows how to do (this).

maayo: In the present subjunctive it combines with an infinitive to form a negative present; e.g.:

12

(37)   Imaan mayyo.

              He is not coming.

Note that such combinations of _mayyo_ and the infinitive often have a future meaning (not unlike English).

        waayay: "to be unable", "to fail".   The past non-continuous and
                  the present subjunctive combine with infinitive forms;
                  e.g.:

(38)   Way guuleysan waayeen.

              They failed to achieve victory.

        lahaan: "to have", "to possess".   The past non-continuous combines
                  with an infinitive to form the conditional mood; e.g.:

(39)   Arrintii la dhammeyn lahaa...

              The problem which should have been solved...

    Some of these verbs may also appear as dependents in _Pattern 8_ and, thus, a sequence of infinitives may be encountered; e.g.:

(40)   Haddaad tan aamodi kari weaydo...
              if/you - this - accomplish - be able - are unable
              If you are unable to get this done....

    The dependent element, the infinitive, is always placed immediately in front of the finite verb, following all the preverbal particles. From a syntactic point of view, the members of _Pattern 8_ form a single unit; i.e., a compound form of the verb in the infinitive. The head word governs both

the subject and the SP, but all other dependent elements (preverbal particles, objects, adverbial modifiers) are dominated by the dependent; i.e., the infinitive. Thus, the head word of Pattern 8, the finite verb, is allowed no dependents other than the infinitive itself, the subject and the SP. For this reason, a situation like the following in English,...

I asked him yesterday afternoon to leave Tuesday.

where the head is modified by one adverb and the infinitive by another, could not be expressed with the Verb+Infinitive Construction in Somali.

It should be noted that this pattern is not especially common in Somali and that other semantically equivalent, but formally differing constructions are used to convey what is normally expressed by $V+V_{inf}$ in European languages. (see Section III/2, Section II/para's. 1-2).

Patterns 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are constructions with, for the most part, verb heads. Patterns 9 through 15 below are constructions with substantive heads.

Pattern 9: The Possessor — Possessed Construction

The head word is that which is possessed and the dependent is the possessor. The head is a noun or a number, while the dependent may be any substantive, even an entire clause. This is a special construction, quite common in Eastern languages - the "izafé". The head word bears the marker of the relationship, a suffixed possessive(treated below as a distinct word which is joined to its "base" in Pattern 15) and it appears after the dependent. The subjective case form of the pattern is marked on the head element. Examples of Pattern 9 are:

14

(41) Naago hadalkood...

women - conversation/their

(42) Naagaha hadalkooda...

women/the - conversation/their

(43) Sarkaalka faraskii(s)...

officer/the - horse/his

(44) Dameer labadiis dhegood...

donkey - both/his - ears

Pattern 10: The Noun – Modifying Noun Construction

Both the head and the dependent are substantives (any kind of substantive other than a full-form personal pronoun). The head noun always appears in front of the dependent (the exact opposite of Pattern 9 above). The dependent noun is marked in some instances with a tonal change and in other instances with a special suffix — -eed, -ood, -aad — if it does not have an article. Pattern 10 expresses a much more general kind of modification (including possession) than Pattern 9. The subjective case form is obtained by inflecting the second or dependent element (if this is possible). Examples of Pattern 10 are:

(45) Aqalka aabbaha...

house/the - father/the

(46) Daaqadda daarta...

window/the - building/the

15

(47)   Daaqad daarta...

window - building/the

a window of the building

<u>Translator's Note:</u>

Abraham glosses <u>daartii</u> as "a house made of stone"; Zholkovskij calls
it "a castle".

(48)   Vietnamta koonfursed...

Vietnam/the - south

(49)   Hadal naagood...

conversation - women

Women's chatter...

(50)   Badweynta Hindiya...

ocean/the - India

Although patterns 9 and 10 are often interchangeable, both Bell and
Abraham note that a combination of <u>defined head noun</u> (i.e. with an article)
and <u>undefined dependent</u> (i.e. without an article) is normally not possible.
Abraham writes that such a situation can be conveyed only through the use of
such paraphrases as...

(51)   <u>Faraskan oo sarkaal leeyahay</u> waa dhintay.

horse/this - and - officer - had - died

<u>This horse that some officer had died.</u>

Both "<u>Sarkaal faraskiisa</u> waa dhintay   and   "<u>Faraska sarkaal</u> waa dhintay
would be ungrammatical.   It is interesting to note that in a number of cases,

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particularly with compound geographic designators, such a combination of
defined head and undefined dependent does occur: e.g.:

(52)   Afrikada bari...

                        East Africa...

(53)   Vietnamta koonfureed...

                        South Vietnam...

Pattern 11: The Noun – Adjective Construction

The head word is a noun or a cardinal number and the dependent is one
of a small number of "true" adjectives (not a noun and not an attributive
verb).   Members of this limited class are:

   1) Ordinal Numbers; e.g.,

      lixaad   -   sixth

   2) Words of the So-Called Xale Class; e.g.,

      hore   -   forward, front, early

      sarre   -   supreme, main, upper

      shishe   -   distant, foreign, strange
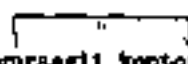
      soke   -   close, proximate

      dhexe   -   middle, between
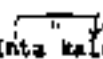
      kale   -   other, another
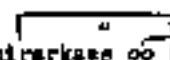
      oo kale -   like, similar

These are the words that merit the designation "adjective" in Somali.
They always follow the noun head and subjective case marking is accomplished
through a change in tone.   Examples of Pattern 11 are:

17

(54)   Xingaraagii kontomaad...

anniversary/the - fiftieth

(55)   Bariga dhexe...

East/the - middle

(56)   Inta kale...

quantity/the - other

The rest...
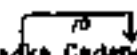
(57)   Shirarkaas oo kale

meetings/those - similar

Such meetings...

Pattern 12: The Noun – Name Construction

The <u>head</u> word is a noun and the <u>dependent</u> is a proper noun. The
dependent follows the head and does not inflect in any way (unlike the depend-
ent in <u>Pattern 10</u>); e.g.:

(58)   Magaalada Cadan...

The city of Aden...

Note the difference between patterns 13 and 10 as demonstrated below:

(59)   Dadka Cadeneed...

The population of Aden...

The entire phrase may be left unmarked for subjective case, even where
such a marking would be called for with a single noun; e.g.:

18

(60) Jariidadda "Dalka" waxay qortay...

newspaper/the - "Fatherland" - SP/it - wrote

However, when subjective case is marked, the dependent element assumes
the form; e.g.:

(61) Jariidadda "Dalku" waxay qortey...

Pattern 13: The Noun — Noun in Apposition Construction

Both members of the construction are substantives. They form a single
syntactic entity as far as subordination to the verb is concerned; i.e., they
occupy a single valence or "deep case" slot. In text, however, they may
very well be separated from each other with other constituents (particularly
the verb and the SP) between them. If they are juxtaposed and if the head
is the subject, then either one of them or both of them may be marked for
subjective case. Examples of Pattern 13:

(62) Markaasaa dadkii shirka joogay oo dhan (or dhami)
qof waliba is ururshay.

Moment/that/SP - people/the - meeting/the - attended
- and - all - person - each - with/himself - gathered

Then everyone who had attended the meeting assembled.[1]

(63) Dagaalka Sayidka iyo gumaysiga wuxuu bilowdey ruuntiisa
sannaddii 1900-kii.

war/the - Sayid/the - and - colonialism/the - SP/it - began
- truth/its - year/the - 1900/the.

The war between the Sayid and the colonialists began in reality
in the year 1900.

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If the head word of <u>Pattern 13</u> is the subject and if the two elements are separated by something other than the verb, by some other first-rank constituent or by the SP, then, as a rule, both elements assume the subjective-case form. However, even when the head word cannot take this case marking, the dependent may still do so; e.g.:

(64) Nimankaas baa ku soo noqday qof waliba gurigiisii.[2]

man/those - SP - in - hither - returned - person - each
- house/his

These men returned here, each to his own house.

Here <u>nimankaas</u> cannot assume the subject marker in front of the SP <u>baa</u>, but <u>qof waliba</u> does carry it.

<u>Pattern 14</u>: The Number— Enumerated Construction
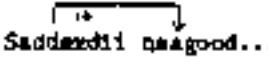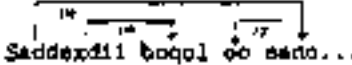
The <u>head</u> word is a cardinal number and the <u>dependent</u> is a noun or another number (but never a pronoun). The dependent remains in the singular. There is a particular noun class which assumes the endings -<u>ood</u> or -<u>eed</u> when placed in the dependent slot in this pattern. The dependent follows the head and subjective-case marking is accomplished through a tone change on the dependant. Articles are affixed to the number only, but suffixed possessives may be attached to either the number or the noun; e.g.:

(65) Boqol-kayna faras...

hundred/our - horse

(66) Boqol faras-kayna...[3]

hundred - horse/our
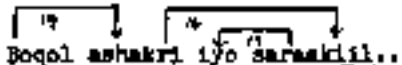
Other examples of Pattern 14 are:

(67) Saddex qof...

three - person

20

(68)   Saddex naagood...

Three women...

(69)   Saddexdii naagood...

The three women...

(70)   Saddexdii boqol oo sano...

three/the - hundred - and year

The three hundred years...
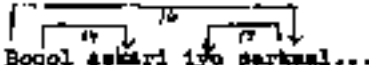
Note that in (70) the noun _sano_ is not subordinated to _boqol_, but to _saddexdii_. This is evident from the presence of the conjunction _oo_ which is used to join (or perhaps separate) the two heterogeneous dependents of a single head word (see Pattern 17 below).

If that which is being enumerated consists of two homogeneous nouns, then only the first one appears in the singular as specified in Pattern 14. The second one (and any others) will be marked for plural; e.g.:

(71)   Boqol ashakri iyo saraakiil...

hundred - soldier - and - officers

Translator's Note:

Compare (71) with the following example:

(72)   Boqol askari iyo sarkaal...

A hundred soldiers and (one) officer...

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Pattern 15: The Noun (or Number) – Determiner Construction

The head word is a noun or a number and the dependent is a suffixed
determiner; i.e., an article, a demonstrative or a possessive (agreeing in
gender with the head word).   The determiner is considered to be a separate
word, particularly since it can appear in a sentence without any overt head
word; e.g.:

(73)   Kii labaad-na waa la libiyay.

                that – second/and – SP – one – sold

                And the second (one) was sold.

(74)   Buuggani waa kayga.

                book/this – SP/V_{cop} – mine

                This book is mine.

A single noun can have the following determiners suffixed to it:

1) one article OR one possessive pronoun

            AND...

2) one demonstrative pronoun.

Some other examples of Pattern 15 are:

(75)   naagta   (from naag)

                the woman

(76)   naagtiisa

                his wife

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(77)   dhulkayiga   (from dhul)

         our homeland

(78)   faraskayigakan   (from faras)

         this horse of ours

     The determiner string contains the subjective case marking; w+g+r

(79)   Jariidadda "Dalku" waxay qortay...

         The newspaper "Fatherland" wrote...

(80)   Ninkanu waa macallin.

         This man is a teacher.

Translator's Note:

     The determiner string also contains the -ii/i marking which appears

under certain conditions; e.g.:

(81)   Shirkii lagaga xaajoonayay arrintaas...

         The meeting at which this question was being discussed...

(82)   Dawladihii musuqmaasuqa ahaa...

         Corrupt governments...

(83)   Shirarkoodii caadiga ahaa...

         Their usual meetings...

     The following two patterns are interrelated since they are used to

note relationships between conjoined homogeneous elements (linked to each

other in Somali, as in other languages, by conjunctions).

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Pattern 16: The Conjoining Construction

The members of Pattern 16 are conjoined elements of the same class. The first of the two is considered the head.

Pattern 17: The Conjunction — Conjoined Element Construction

The head element of Pattern 17 is the dependant of Pattern 16; i.e., the second of the two conjoined elements. The dependant of Pattern 17 is a conjunction. Conjunction-less structures are realizations of Pattern 16 without Pattern 17.

The following elements may be conjoined:

1) Full sentences - each with its own SP and its own predicate. The bond exists between the two predicates; e.g.:

(84)   Halkaa waxa lagu dhigay shir weyn oo qaaradda Afrika u
dhexeeyey, waxa-na tabaabusheysay UM4...

place/that - SP - one/in - held - meeting - big - and - continant/the - Africa - for - between/was - SP/and - organized - OAU

A Pan-African conference was held there and it was organized by the OAU.

2) Two or more predicates of a single subject; e.g.:

(85)   Halkaa ayyuu dhigay oo iska tegey.

place/that - SP/he - put - and - self/from - went

He put it there and left.

3) Two or more elements occupying the same valence or "deep case" slot vis-a-vis a given predicate: two or more subjects, homogeneous objects, adverbials; e.g.:

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(86) Cali iyo Axmad shalay way yimaadeen.

Ali and Ahmed arrived yesterday.
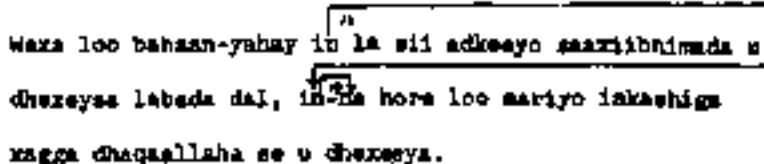
(87) Way kugo suugi doonta Burco ama Hargeysa.

3P/she - in/you - wait - will - Burao - or - Hargeysa

She will wait for you in either Burao or Hargeysa.

(87) Waxa loo bahaan-yahay in la sii adkeeyo saaxiibnimada u
dhexeysa labada dal, in-na hore loo aariyo iskashiga
xagga dhaqaallaha ee u dhexeeya.

5P - one/in - needs - that - one - further - strengthen
- friendship/the - for - between/is - two/the - country
- that/and - forward - one/to - lead - cooperation/the
- direction/the - economy/the - and - for - between/is

It is necessary that the friendship between the two
countries be strengthened and that economic cooperation
between them be developed.

When a single element has two or more modifiers, there is a special
problem with Somali conjoining constructions. This problem involves the
dependents of patterns 10, 11, 14 and 18 (also sometimes 12 and 15), but
never 13. Although these constituents are not truly conjoined, they are linked
(or separated - in this case it is the same thing) by the conjunctions oo or
ee . Bell gives rules for selecting between them (see The Somali Language,
1953, p. 79): basically ee joins dependents of a defined head (a head with
an article) and oo joins dependents of an undefined head (a head without
an article). Thus, under certain specific conditions Pattern 17 is possible
without Pattern 16 and the appearance of a conjunction is controlled by purely
syntactic factors; e.g.:

(88)

Saddex boqol oo kun oo ruux oo kale...

three - hundred - and - thousand - and person - and other

another three hundred thousand people...

(89)

Minguuraagii kontomiad oo tawraddii Oktoobar...

anniversary/the - fiftieth - and - revolution/the - October

The fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution...

Relative clauses and the dependents of the other patterns listed above are joined in a similar fashion if they both relate to the same head word; e.g.:

(90)

Ninkii kale oo halkan joogey...

man/the - other - and - place/this - was

The other man who was here...

Translator's Note:

This can also be depicted in the following way:

Ninkii (head word)

kale   joogey   halkan
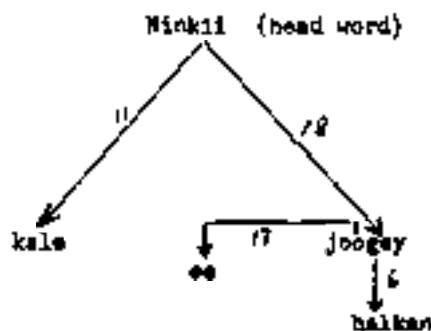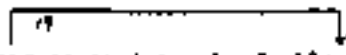
Both kale and the relative clause with the predicate joogey
are dependent upon the same head word ninkii. They are thus conjoined in
terms of surface syntax, but not semantically.

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Pattern 18: The Substantive - Relative Clause Construction
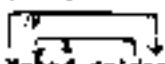
The head is a substantive and the dependent is a subordinate relative clause (actually the predicate of the subordinate clause).

Pattern 19: The Noun - Adverbial Clause Construction

The head is a noun (including full-form pronouns) and the dependent is a subordinate adverbial clause (again actually the predicate of the subordinate clause); e.g.:

(91)   Asag-oo arrintas ka faallooneya ayaa wuxuu yidhi...

he/and - problem/that - about - commented - 5P - 5P/he - said

Commenting about this problem, he said...

We should note that the word modified by such subordinate clauses (in both patterns 18 and 19) is neither redoubled nor represented by any conjunction and, thus, it simultaneously governs the subordinate predicate and is governed by it; e.g.:

(92)   Nabad goʼday ma xidhanto.

peace - tore - not - mend

a broken peace is not easily mended.

Pattern 20: The Subordinating Conjunction - Independent Clause Construction
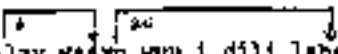
The head word is one of a small number of subordinating conjunctions:

hasyaeshe = laakiin: however .

matta yeelay = waayo: because

illayn = se: and so, so that, in fact, but

27
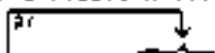
The <u>dependent</u> is an independent clause with its own SP.   An example of <u>Pattern</u>
<u>20</u> is:

(93)   An-aa ninkan dilay wadyo wuu i dili lahaa.

I/SP - man/this - killed - because - SP/he - me - kill
- had

I killed this man, because he would have killed me.

<u>Pattern 21</u>: The Attributive Noun -   Ahaan Construction

This construction joins a <u>head</u> substantive with a <u>dependent</u> clause
which consists of a particular noun subclass, the attributive noun (Atr),
and some form of the verb <u>ahaan</u> (to be); e.g.:
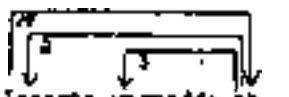
(94)   Xiriirka baayacmushteriga ah...

relations/the - trade(ness)/the - are

trade relations...

(95)   Lacagta warqadda ah...

money/the - paper/the - is

Paper money...

Translator's Note: Omitted at this point is a discussion of the relative
merits of two possible analyses of this construction:

Lacagta warqadda ah...

as opposed to...

Lacagta warqadda ah...

Tholkovskij prefers the former.   See page 30 in the original for his
argumentation.

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Pattern 21 is that specific context in which the subclass Atr occurs;
i.e., the slot in which such nouns as...

> baayacmashtariga: trade(ness)
>
> militariga: military(ness)
>
> tawriga: revolutionary(ness)
>
> siyaasiga: political(ness)

appear and which requires that the noun be in this form if such a form exists.
Thus, Pattern 21 covers attributive modifiers containing the subclass Atr.
Where the noun does not have this particular form, there is some question as
to whether we are dealing with Pattern 21 or with a combination of patterns
18+2+3.   Each case must be described according to criteria which are not
fully developed as yet.   Some possibilities along this line might be:

1) In Pattern 21 nothing can be transposed or added, whereas in the
combination of 18+2+3 (the freely combined forms) this is possible.   Also,
forms of the subclass Atr cannot occur in the free combination.   Thus,
there is a distinct distributional difference between Pattern 21 and patterns
18+2+3 combined; e.g.:

(96)
Golaha   tawriga ah...

council/the - revolution(ness)/the - is

The revolutionary council...

Compare (96) with...

(97)
Go'aankii ahaa tarred wayn oo ku dhacday xagga dhaqaalaha...
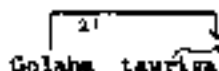
decision/the - was - revolution - big/was - and - in
took place - area/the - economy/the

The decision, which was a major economic revolution...

2) Freely combined attributive constructions are transformed into predicates in a different way from Pattern 21 attributives; e.g.:

(98)   Nin Soommali ah...

⟶   Ninkaasu waa Soomaali.

⟶   Ninkaasi Soomaali buu yahay.
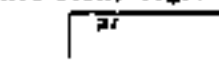
Compare (98) with...

(99)   Golaha   tawriga ah...

⟶   Golahaasu   waa mid tawri ah.
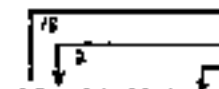
It is not possible to transform (99) using the structures which worked for (98)

(100)   *Golahaasu waa tawri (ah, yahay).

3) There may be a semantic difference between the Pattern 21 attributive and the freely combined form; e.g.:

(101)   Afgembigii tawriga ahaa...

The revolutionary upheaval...

as opposed to...

(102)   Afgembigii tawradda ahaa...

The upheaval which was the revolution...

There is, however, little hard evidence to support this hypothesis as of this writing.

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The verb ah is marked for subjective case with -i ; e.g.:

(103)   Golaha kacriga ahi wuxuu caddeyay...

                The revolutionary council announced...

If the modified element has the -ii form of the article, then the
verb ah will assume the past tense form; e.g.:

(104)   Xiriirkii baayacmushtariga ahaa...

            (the) trade relations...

****

Along with the patterns which have been presented above, there remain
a few isolated structures which are, as it were, outside the general design
of Somali syntax - two or three prepositions and postpositions, prepositional
preverbs with nouns and certain other anomalies.   These will be treated in
Section V with the underlying meanings which they represent.

****

NOTES:

[1]The translation of (62) is questionable; at least it was questioned by
two different native speakers, which means that the example itself is in doubt.

[2]This example (64) was judged to be ungrammatical.

[3]Only the first of the two orderings was judged to be acceptable and,
thus, example (66) would be ungrammatical.

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SECTION II

ADJECTIVALIZATION, ADVERBIALIZATION AND NOMINALIZATION PROCESSES

This Section will be devoted to the formal processes used to transform
an independent sentence into a noun modifier (adjectivalization), into a verb
modifier (adverbialization), or into one of the noun groups within the domain
of a verb - into the subject or object of a verb - (nominalization).   These
three sets of processes overlap to a certain degree, since the result of one
may very well turn out to be the input for another.   For example, a sentence
which undergoes nominalization and becomes a deverbative or verbal noun (S_v)
may then like any other noun appear as a noun attribute (i.e., as a modifier
of another noun).   It may, in turn, acquire its own attributes whose
meaning alter the meaning of a predicate (i.e., operate as modifiers of a
verb).

The ways in which deep relationships are expressed on the surface, depend-
ing on meaning and on the surface and deep status of the lexical units enter-
ing into these relationships, is surveyed in detail in Section III.   This
Section will be limited to the ways in which an independent sentence may be
transformed into a constituent of some other sentence.

In this regard, Somali has a number of special features.   The infinitive

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can be governed by no more than a handful of verbs (see Pattern 8 in Section I above). Nouns do not govern subordinate object clauses (as in English "... the requirement that this be done..."), phrases introduced by prepositions, or adverbs. What would be treated as an adjective or an adverb by a speaker of English usually turns out to be some kind of clause in Somali and, thus, the processes which are described in this Section, merit special attention.

The most convenient point of departure is adjectivalization, since relative clauses (herein noted as Ad) are widely used in Somali in a great variety of situations (including the processes of nominalization and adverbialization).

Adjectivalization is a transformation which begins with two sentences, one of which must become the principal clause while the other becomes the relative clause (henceforth the potential principal clause will be noted as → PC and the potential subordinate clause as → SC). This process is demonstrated in the following example:

(105) Waxaan dooneyaa gabadh aan guursado.

SP/I - look for - girl - I - marry

I'm looking for a girl I can marry.

This sentences can be derived from the → PC...

Waxaan dooneyaa gabadh.

and the → SC...

Gabadhdhan ayaan guursaneyaa.

Girl/this - SP/I - marry

The → SC has become an attribute of the word gabadh , which then becomes a member of both the principal and subordinate clauses. The

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presence of such a shared constituent - the modified word (antecedent) of the
→ PC and the "doubled" element of the → SC - is required for the process
of adjectivalisation to take place. It is also necessary that this shared
element be a substantive and that in the → SC it function as...

1) either a dependent of the first rank (i.e., the dependent element in
patterns 2, 3 or 6);

2) or the dependent element in Pattern 9, provided the head is itself a
first-rank constituent of the → SC; e.g., the word ninka in the phrase...

$$\overbrace{\text{ninka naagtiisa....;}}$$

man/the - wife/his

3) or a first-rank constituent of a clause which is subordinate to the
→ SC (see below on p. 42).

There are no other constraints imposed upon the role of the antecedent
in the principal clause (other than those which stem from the requirement that
it must be a substantive).

The mechanics of obtaining a relative clause from a → SC are as
follows: The sentence particle (SP) of the → SC is deleted as well as the
doubled element, the word which is identical in reference to the antecedent.
The antecedent then appears in the resultant complex sentence only one time
and it is not replaced by any word of the WHO/WHICH type. Where the entire
phrase consisting of the antecedent + relative clause is itself operating as
the main subject, subjective case marking will appear on the predicate of
the relative clause (which is in clause-final position). See Appendices II
and III.

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If the predicate of the → SC was affirmative and in the past tense, then then this tense form will be retained in the resultant subordinate clause. Where the antecedent has an -ii form determiner, the past tense is obligatory in the relative clause. The mood of the subordinate verb is no problem in these two situations. If, however, the → SC has a negated predicate, then the verb of the relative clause will assume a negative subjunctive form (i.e., the particle aan/san + the invariable negative in -in/-eyn).

The selection of mood when other tenses (present and future) are used in the → SC and the selection of the type of subject-predicate agreement in the relative clause are determined by a number of circumstances which are linked to the role of the antecedent and its "doubler" in the → SC (see Appendices II and II').

The doubled element is the subject of the → SC. The subordinate clause verb is in the indicative mood and Type II agreement is used. No short-form subjective pronouns may appear in the subordinate clause and its own subject is not marked for subjective case. We should note that there is a strong analogy between this first type of relative clause and an independent sentence in which the surface subject is also the emphasized element (logical predicate).

Translator's Note: See example 64 on p. 20 above for just such a sentence.

Where the antecedent + clause combination functions as the main sentence subject, subjective case marking may appear on the predicate of the relative clause if it is in clause-final position (as noted above). When the form so marked ends in a consonant, the marking is an added -i. When it ends in a vowel, the marking is a change in tone.

Examples of this first form of relative clause are:

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(106)

Nin mas hadleya arki jirey...

man - snake - talks - one - was

A man who would see a talking snake...

(107)

Sebenka soosocdaa usa asben colaadeed.

Time/the - is here-coming - SP/V$_{cop}$ - time - war

The period which is forthcoming will be a time of war.

The doubled element is not the subject of the → SC, but rather an object,
an adverbial noun (group) or the dependent element in Pattern 9. The
subordinate verb is in the subjunctive mood with Type I subject-predicate
agreement prevailing. Short-form subjective pronouns may be inserted in
the relative clause or they may be left out. The subjective case of the
phrase consisting of antecedent + relative clause is marked by the use of the
indicative rather than the subjunctive mood in the relative clause. Examples
of this second kind of relative clause are:

(108)

Halka aad weli naga dhegaysaneysaani waa Radio Mosko.

place/the - you - still - us/from - are listening
- SP/V$_{cop}$ - Radio - Moscow

Radio Moscow is continuing its broadcast.

Translator's Note: This example was given by Zholkovsky under the first
type of relative clause, even though the antecedent halka was diagrammed as
an object (Pattern 3) of the subordinate verb dhegaysaneysaani .

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(109)   Waqtiga imminka la joogo...

         time/the - now - one - be in

         The present...

         Compare (109) with...

(110)   Waqtiga nala jooga...

         time/the - with/us - is

         The present...

(111)   Arrintaaa sida looga shaqeeyaa way adagtahay.

         Question/that - way/the - one/in/on - works - SP/it
         - is difficult

         It is difficult to solve this problem.

(112)   Ninkaad doonaysaa Burco buu tegey.

         Man/the/you - want - Burao - SP/he - went

         The man you are looking for has gone to Burao.

Translator's Note: Is the use of indicative rather than subjunctive forms
in (111) and (112) a marking of subjective case on the antecedant - relative
clause phrases?

     The first kind of relative clause is analogous in meaning to the
active participal.   Passive participals are the counterparts of constructions
of the second relative clause type; i.e., clauses in which the antecedent
is an object and the role of the subject is played by the indefinite-personal
subject particle la-; e.g.:

                                    38

(113)   Waqtiga soo socda...

                     The future (the coming time)

(114)   Dalalka soo kooreya....

                     Developing countries...

(115)   Goballada ay deggen yihiin dad tadani...

                     regions/the - they - live - people - much

                     Heavily populated regions....

(116)   Aqalladii la dumiyey...

                     The ruined houses....

A number of the works cited (see in particular Abraham, 1964) state
that in Somali, relative clauses containing subjunctive forms express the
notion of "goal" or "purpose":

          'Where 'purpose' is to be expressed, we use the subjunctive;
e.g.:

                     Waxaan dooneyaa gabadh aan guursado.

                     What I am seeking is a girl whom I may marry.

In actuality, the link between the notion of "purpose" and the use of the
subjunctive is quite remote. The rule for selecting mood within a relative
clause is based on syntactic, not semantic factors. <u>Somali syntax does not
allow for a predicate to be the modifier of a noun</u> - either as a participial
(e.g., "writing desk"), or as an adjective (e.g., "a slanderous statement"),
or as a noun + preposition + noun combination (e.g., "a meeting in defense
of..."). The predication involved in such structures must be expressed in
the form of a verb and, thus, it almost always takes the surface form of a

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relative clause.   Among such substantive + relative clause sequences, there
are undoubtedly those which do have predicate strings joined to antecedents
in a semantic relationship of "goal" or "purpose"; e.g.:

> writing paper
>
> planning activity

In Somali, such meanings are usually conveyed by a relative clause containing
the indefinite-personal particle la...

> paper on which one (la) writes...;

i.e., a relative clause of the second type (in which subjunctive forms do
appear).   However, they may also be conveyed by relative clauses of the
first type and, thus, the notion of "goal" or "purpose" ends up being
expressed by indicative as well as subjunctive forms; e.g.:

(117)   Dayuuradaha dadka qaada...
               aircraft/the - people/the - carry
               Passenger aircraft (aircraft for carrying people)...

     On the other hand, there are relative clauses of the second type
(i.e., containing subjunctive forms)in which no meaning of "goal" or "purpose"
can be discerned; e.g.:

(118)   Shirka la tabaabushaynayo...
               meeting/the - one - is organizing
               The meeting which is being organised...

<u>Neither the →PC nor the →SC have a common, first-rank constituent.</u>

This represents a subset of the second relative clause type; e.g.:

(119)   Axaan arkay ninkii ay naagtiisii aqalkii tagtey.

            SP/I – saw – man/the – she – wife/his – house/the – went

            I saw the man whose wife had gone home.

<u>Translator's Note</u>: The potential principal and subordinate clauses are presented above in a hypothetical "kernel" form, which may not necessarily be fully grammatical.

    Since the common constituent <u>ninka</u> is deleted from the relative clause and not replaced by any conjunctive word (or PRO form), it is the suffixed possessive that effects the lexical bond between the two clauses. It is true that along with this lexical bond, there also exists a syntactic bond: the embedding rules described above. In Russian, under similar circumstances the relative pronoun KOTORYJ is preceded by what would be the suffixed noun in Somali; e.g.:

        ...CHELOVEKA, ZHENA KOTOROGO...

        (the) man – wife – (of) whom

Compare also French <u>dont</u> and German <u>dessen</u>.

It was stated above that it is possible in Somali to transform an →SC into a relative clause even when the →SC has no elements in common with the →PC, provided that the →SC in turn governs <u>a third clause</u> which does share some kind of substantive constituent with the →PC.

We shall examine a situation not unlike the one in (119). Again there is a →PC...

(120)   Waxay ka xaajooneyaan arrintaas.

        They are discussing this problem.

... and an →SC...

(121)   Arrintaas dhammaynteedu way adagtahay.

        This problem's solution is difficult.

..., giving us...

(123)   Waxay ka xaajoonayaan arrinta dhammayntaedu ay adagtahay.

        SP/they - about - are discussing - problem/the
        -solution/its - it - difficult/is

        They are discussing a problem which is difficult to solve.

Now let us take the same →PC (120), but combine it with an →SC which in turn contains its own subordinate clause; i.e., which is composed of a →PC' and a →SC' (→SC' = "They are working on the problem in the way/manner." and →PC' = "The way is difficult.").

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There are three clauses involved here: the main clause of the sentence (→PC), an embedded principal clause (→PC') and an embedded subordinate clause (→SC'), which are the components of a complex subordinate clause.   The →PC' has no common constituent with the →PC, but its embedded clause, the →SC' has elements within it which are shared by both the →PC' and the →PC (sida and arrinta respectively).

As a result, we obtain the following "two-staged" structure:

(12b)   Waxay ka xaajoonayaan arrinta ay sida looga shaqeyaa

adagtahay.

SP/they - about - are discussing - problem/the - it
-way/the - one/in/on - is working - difficult/is

In actuality, to convey such layered clauses in English, we would most likely resort to 1) a verbal noun structure or 2) an infinitive structure:

They are discussing a problem....

(1) whose solution is difficult.

(2) which is difficult to solve.

Alternative 1) has a Somali counterpart (see example 12) above), but 2) does not, because of the absence of a head + infinitive construction in Somali.   There is, thus, a correspondence between the head + infinitive construction in many European languages and this second level of subordination in Somali, particularly where verbs denoting "desire", "wish", "opinion", etc. are concerned; e.g.:

I saw the man whom they want to send to Burao.

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(125) Waxaan arkay ninka la dooneyo in loo diro Burco.

SP/I - saw - man/the - one - want - that - one/to - send - Burco

  → PC   → PC'   → SC'

   arkay   dooneya   dira

aan   ninka   la   in   la ninka u   in

                                          Burco
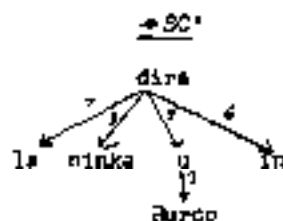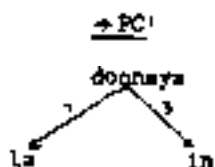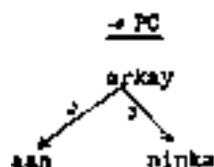
and also...

        He is impatiently waiting for that which he wants to see.

(126)   And buu u sugayaa wuxuu dooneyo inuu arko.

muchness - SP/he - in - waits - thing/he - wants - that/he - see

  → PC   → PC'   → SC'

  sugaya   dooneya   arka

uu   u   waxa   uu   in   uu waxa   in

    aad
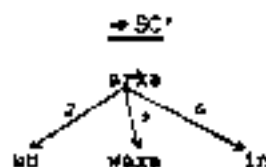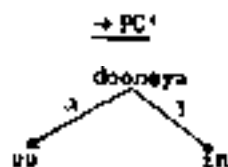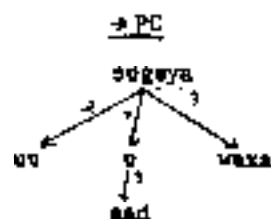
        However, the structures shown above in (125) and (126) have a broader
range of distribution than their counterpart infinitve structures in the
translations given. When the common element between the → PC' and the → SC'
is some "free-standing" content word and not a conjunctive form (e.g. in,
sida, etc., forms which are essentially a part of the mechanism of nominaliz-
ation), it is no longer possible to use an infinitive construction in trans-
lation.   In the following example, a similar two-level subordination structure

is superimposed upon a situation in which the antecedent (the common element dadka) is the dependent of Pattern 9:

(127)   Naqaabadaha MS oo ay dadka ku jira tiradiisu tahay 80 mln

oo rux waxay caddeeyeen...

trade unions/the – USSR – and – they – people/the – in – are
– number/their – is – 80 million – and person – SP/they
– declared – that

The trade unions of the USSR with their 80 million members
have declared that...

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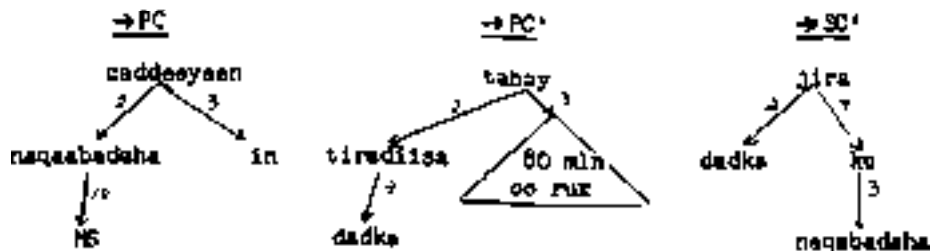
Adverbialization is a process whereby a sentence is transformed into something which can function as a verb modifier (specifically the modifier of the predicate of a →PC). There is one kind of adverbialization process whose mechanics are to a certain extent different from what we have seen for the relative clause. All other forms of adverbialization (and indeed all remaining structures of subordination; nominalizations, subordinate clauses denoting time, condition, etc.) use a syntactic mechanism which we have already described under the heading of _relative clause_.

The transformation of an →SC into an adverbial clause introduced by the conjunction _oo_ (into an Adv_{oo}) produces a result which closely resembles a relative clause, although there are some formal differences. On the meaning level, the →SC becomes a modifier of the predicate of the →PC, even though as a result of a purely mechanical process, based on the presence in the two clauses of shared elements, the →SC appears as the surface modifier of one of the noun groups dependent upon the main verb.

The Adv_{oo} in Somali is a close equivalent to such constructions as the English absolute; e.g.:

The weather being cold, we stayed indoors.

...the Russian DEEPRICHASTIE construction (the so-called verbal adverb or adverbial participle) and such phrases as...

He returned _an old man_.

They greeted us _as conquerors_.

The adverbial clause possesses the following general properties:

1) It is a relative clause modifying some specific word, whose "doubles" is one of its first-rank constituents. All appropriate rules

pertaining to the relative clause pertain also to the Adv_{oo} (regarding mood and selection of type of agreement).

2) The Adv_{oo} is always joined to its antecedent by the conjunction _oo_ (the _oo_ vs. _ee_ choice does not apply).

3) The predicate of the adverbial clause may be in the present tense, regardless of the actual tense involved.

4) When the entire antecedent + Adv_{oo} clause sequence is functioning as a subject and it is reflected by pronominal indicators, it requires either agreement with its antecedent or agreement in the feminine gender.

The way in which Adv_{oo} clauses are formed is determined to a great extent by the presence in both the $\rightarrow$PC and the $\rightarrow$SC of a shared element. A number of possibilities exist:

1) Regardless of whether the $\rightarrow$PC and the $\rightarrow$SC share a constituent, the following is always possible: The $\rightarrow$SC is transformed into an Adv_{oo} modifying (syntactically) the word _iyadu_ (this, it), which is introduced into both the $\rightarrow$SC and the $\rightarrow$PC as an adverbial noun phrase (Pattern 6). Given the $\rightarrow$PC...

(128)   Waxaan u imi gabadhaas.

                  SP/I - to - came - girl

and the $-$SC...

(129)   Gabadhaasu waxay huwanayd maradeedii caddayd.

                  girl/that - SP/she - was wearing - dress/her - white/was

..., the resulting complex sentence will be:

(130)   Waxaan gabadhaas u imi iyad-oo ay maradeedii caddayd
                  huwantahay.

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I encountered this girl when she was wearing her white dress.

In example of *iyada* where there are no constituents shared by the →PC and the →SC is:

(131)   Waxaan arkay gabadhaas iyad-oo roob da'ayo.

              SP/I - saw - girl/that - it/and - raining

              I saw this girl when it was raining.

2) If neither the →PC nor the →SC share any constituents, then one of the first-rank elements of the →SC can be moved into the → PC (at the point where the clauses are joined) as an adverbial noun phrase (Pattern 6) and the rest of the →SC is transformed into a modifier of this "fronted" element.   Thus, given the →PC...

(132)   Colkii guriga buu weeraray.

              enemy/the - house/the - SP/he - attacked

and the →SC...

(133)   Innagu waynu fadhinay meel ·

              We - SP/we - were (at) - place

...., the resultant complex sentence is:

(134)   Colkii innag-oo meel fadhina buu guriga weeraray.

              The enemy attacked the house while we were away.

or...

              The enemy attacked the house with us being away.

A full diagram of (134) might look like the following:

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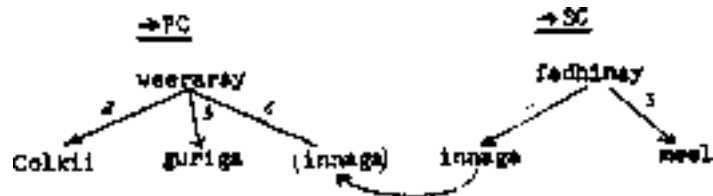
In a similar fashion, the forms taa(s)(that) and intaa(s) (that much) appear as modified elements standing for the entire principal clause (compare this with the English "...which surprised no one.").   An example of this is the following:

(135)   Waddaniyiintu rasaas ayey ku rideen ciidanka cadowga

                taas oo ka dhacday meel ka koonfureyse saldhigga

                weyn ee ku yaala Danang.

                nationalists/the - shells - SP/they - on - threw - army/the
                - enemy/the - that - and - in - occurred - place - from
                - to the south is - base/the - big is - and - in - is -
                Danang

                The Viet Cong shelled the enemy forces, (an event) which
                occurred to the south of the big base at Danang.

Translator's Note: This sentence may be diagrammed as follows.

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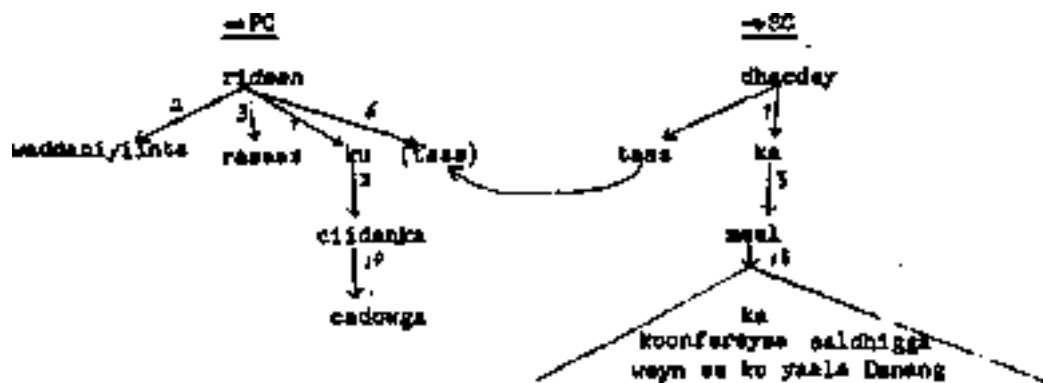
In the above diagram, the material within the triangle is not analyzed.

If the →PC and the →SC share a common element, then the following two
possibilities exist:

1) The shared element is not repeated during the process of transform-
ing the →SC into an adverbial clause.   It appears only one time in the
resulting complex sentence: at the juncture of the main clause and the
adverbial clause.

It is necessary, therefore, for the adverbial clause to come immediately
after the shared element and to appear in the same formal role as the shared
element.   It is precisely this situation which we had in mind above (see
p. 46) when we stated that the adverbial clause can function as the surface
modifier not of the main clause predicate, but rather of one of its noun
groups; e.g.:

(136)   Waxaan u ini gabadhaas oo maradeedii caddayd buwan.

                SP/I – to – came – girl/that – and – dress/her – white/was
                – was wearing

                I found this girl in her white dress.

(137)   Ninkaas oo qoslaya baa yimi.

                man/that – and – smiles – SP – entered

                This man entered smiling.

2) The shared element is not used as the connective word between the
→PC and the →SC, but rather a pronoun or pronoun-like word is introduced
to perform this function.   This PRO form is not the formal counterpart of
any constituent in either the →PC or the →SC.   In a specific sentence, we

would assign it to the latter, however.

Such pronouns or pronoun-like forms may be...

- <u>Personal Pronouns</u> (± article)

1 pers. sing.	aniga	ani
2 " "	adiga	adi
3 " " (masc.)	isaga	is
4 " " (fem.)	iyada	iya
1 pers. pl. (excl.)	annaga	anna
" " " (incl.)	innaga	inna
2 " "	idinka	idin
3 " "	iyaga	iya

The forms <u>is</u> and <u>iya</u> appear only with the following enclitic <u>na</u>
(and, but). Note that <u>iya-na</u> is both feminine singular and third pers.
plural. Third person pronouns may be used to replace inanimate nouns, but
not all Somali speakers will accept this usage in speech. See, for instance
the following:

(138) Maxaa yeelay wuxuu ahaa ninkii gabayeda Sayidka noo dhawray

       saag-oo aan af Soomaaligo dhigeyn...

       because - SP/he - was - man/the - poetry/the - Sayid/the
       - us/for - preserved - <u>it</u>/and - not - language - Somali
       - written/be

       Because he was the man who preserved the poetry of Sayid
       during the period when Somali was not (a) written (lan-
       guage)...

- <u>Demonstrative Pronouns</u>

       kaas   -   that (masc.)

taas	-	that (fem.)
kuwaas	-	those

- <u>Pseudo-PRO Forms</u>; e.g.,

ninkaas	-	that man
halkaas	-	that place, there
arrintaas	-	that problem/question

- <u>The Common Element Repeated</u>

Examples of 2) are:

(139)   Ninkan waxaan arkay <u>asag-oo</u> aqalka hareerihiisa socda.

man/this - SP/I - saw - <u>he/and</u> - house/the - circumference /its - walks

I saw this man walking around the house.

(140)   Shalayto madaxaweyne Naser wuxuu u tegey Dimishiq booqasho rasmi ah <u>halkaas</u> oo uu wadahadal kula yeelan doono madaxda Suuriya.

yesterday - president - Nasser - SP/he - to - went - Damascus - visit - official - is - <u>place/that</u> - and - he - talks - in/with - make - will - leaders/the - Syria

President Nasser left yesterday for an official visit to Damascus where he will be meeting with Syrian leaders.

Another regular means of turning an +SC into an adverbial modifier of the main predicate is to transform it into a relative clause which is then subordinated to one of the words <u>in</u> (that), <u>si</u> (way, manner), or <u>wax</u> (thing). The notation for this type of adverbial clause is Adv$_{in}$ + These words, together with the relative clauses attached to them, combine with the

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main predicate in the capacity of an adverbial modifier which denotes such
general circumstances as simultaneity, precedence, etc.; e.g.:

(141)   Raggti beledyaha ahaa ee la diray baa wax-ay ninkii (aaliyaaa

          ahaa doonaan-ba caghadii dambe helay oo keenay.

          group of men/the - city/the - was - and one - sent - SP
          - thing/they - man/the - soothsayer/the - was - seek/ba
          (a particle) - day/the - next - found - and - brought

          After seeking the soothsayer, the emissaries from the town
          found him a day later and brought him (back with them).

(142)   In-uu meeshii fadhiyo-ba mar damboo la kala jiitay buu

          kuhaankii tusbixii qaatay oo rogay.

          that/he - place/the - sits/ba (particle) - moment - next/
          and - one - apart - dispersed - SP/he - soothsayer/the -
          beads/the - took - and - sorted

          After sitting in that place for a while, and when the
          people had dispersed, the soothsayer took the beads and
          (started) sorting them.

The two adverbialization processes examined above (Adv_{oo} and Adv_{in})
are used basically when the dependant clause (being, so to speak, a
"metonymic" modifier; i.e., a modifer through continguity) describes
circumstances under which and among which the main action takes place.
However, adverbial clauses which bear upon the manner in which the main
action unfolds, the resemblance between the main action and some other action
(the so-called "metaphoric" modifiers), are formed in a different way.
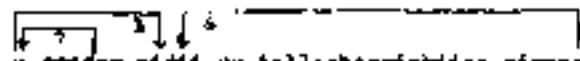
In view of the almost total lack of adverbs in Somali (including
adverbs of manner), this variety of adverbialization is accomplished in
two steps: first the verb is nominalised; i.e., transformed into a noun which is
deverbative derivationally, adverbial in meaning (indicating manner), but still

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and all a noun in terms of syntactic privileges of occurrence. Then it combines with the predicate of the principal clause by means of the preverb u with the meaning "like", "in the manner of", "in .... way". This meaning turns the nominalized form into an adverb of manner. To put it another way, if in English there were no adverbs, such as "slowly" or "aggressively", then such meanings could be conveyed by constructions like "at a slow pace" or "in an aggressive manner".

Thus, the kind of adverbialization that produces an adverbial clause of manner (which will be noted as S_{a1}) is similar to one of the forms of nominalization - not the most general one, the nominalization which has no concomitant change of meaning, but the one which adds the meaning "like". Such a nominalization is accomplished in Somali by transforming the $\rightarrow$ SC into a relative clause which modifies the word sida (manner, means, way).

There are several semantic variants within the set of adverbial clauses denoting manner:

1) The action of the main verb is being compared with the very fact of the other action (English "as if..."). In this case, the form sida is joined to the subordinate predicate by means of Pattern 6 ; i.e., as an adverbial modifier. The same form sida together with its attached relative clause is joined to the predicate of the principal clause by means of the preverb u ; e.g.:

(143) Wuxuu u socday siddi uu tallaabooyinkiisa qiyaasayo.

SP/he - in - walked - manner/the - he - steps/his
- measures

He walked as if he were measuring his steps.

(144)   Waxuu u jiifay gidii uu dhintay.

SP/he - in - lay - manner/the - he - died

He lay as if he were dead.

2) The action of the principal clause is being compared to the manner
in which the other action is unfolding, rather than the fact of its existence;
e.g.:

(145)   Waxuu u noolaa sidii uu u dhintay.

SP/ he - in - lived - manner/the - he - in - died

He lived as he died.

Translator's Note:

A comparison between the two variants of _sida_ constructions and
Russian adverbial usage is omitted at this point (see Zholkovskij, 2.3.2,
p. 47).

In variant 2), _sida_ is a full-fledged object (through the preverb _u_)
in both the principal and the subordinate clauses.

When there is no need to compare the action of the principal clause
with the action expressed in an →SC which possesses its own subject and
object, when there is only the adverbialization of an isolated predicate
(e.g., "be sharp"→ "sharply", "never be seen"→ "invisibly"), _sida_
will function as the subject or object within the relative clause modifying
it: subject - if the situation calls for a subordinate verb in the active
voice; object in combination with the indefinite-personal particle _la_ - if

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the situation calls for the passive; e.g.:

(146)   Si adag...

                (in) a manner (which) is strong, firmly

(147)   Si aan hore loo (=la+u) arkin...

                (in) a manner (which) no one has ever seen, in an
                unprecedented manner

It is worth noting that _sida_ may generally play the role in the main clause of not only an adverbial modifier, but also a _participant_ in the event, the subject or one of the objects; e.g.:

(148)   Sidaasu si ma aha.

                manner/this - manner - not - is

                It won't work this way.

(149)   Sid-uu u dhintay waa nago qarsoontahay.

                manner/the/he - in - died -- SP   - us/from
                - hidden/was

                How he died was not revealed to us.

(150)   Sid-ay ahayd buu nooga warramay.

                manner/the/it - was - SP/he - us/for/about - related

                He told us how it was.

This is not surprising if we consider that _sida_ and its modifying clause is on the formal level a noun group (phrase) and, thus, the role of participant is no less natural for it than the role of an adverbial modifier.

Noun groups denoting manner can also be formed with the word sida +
a following noun (the following noun represents the entire → SC) either...

1) in Pattern 10 if on the deep-structure level the second noun is a
true nominal (NOM or NOM$_1$) (see Appendix VI); i.e., if it denotes a tangible
object; e.g.:

(151)   Sidii dameer buu u shaqeeyaa.

                manner/the - donkey - SP/he - works

                He works like a mule.

(152)   Wuxuu u egyahay sidii wax soo noolaaday.

                SP/he - in - similar/is - manner/the - thing - to here
                - came to life

                He is like someone who has just been reborn.

(153)   Wuxuu iila egyahay sidii dugaag.

                SP/he - me/to/with - similar/is - manner/the - beast

                As far as I'm concerned, he looks like a beast.

... or 2) by means of the "auxiliary" verbs ahaan (to be) and lahaan
(to have) if the underlying noun is the name of an action or quality, etc.;
e.g.:

(154)   Si saaxiibnimado ah

                (in) a manner (which) is friendship, in a friendly way

(155)   Si xoog leh...

                (in) a manner (which) has strength, strongly

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(156)   Si aan sharci ku soconin...

                         manner - not - law - in - goes

                         in an unlawful manner...

    Of course, to the extent that one considers the "auxiliary" to be a full

lexical entity in its own right, the latter process could be included under

the adverbialisation of a verb (see pp. 54 and 55 above).

                              ****

    In Somali, as in European languages, one of the nominalization processes

used is the formation of nouns from predicates (verbs).   Such deverbative

nouns (noted as S_v) denote actions, relationships or qualities.

    There are several regular suffixes used:

Verb Conjugation	Suffixes	Examples
I	-id, -is -itaan	bilaabidda (beginning), baarista/ baaritaanka (investigation)
II	-in, is	baabi'inta, baabi'iska (destruction)
III	-asho	qabashada (seizure)
IV	-aan	waynaanta (bigness)

    The negative verb la'aan (to lack) is a productive formant of

abstract nouns; e.g.: lacag (money) + la'aanta = lacag-la'aanta (lack of

money; shuqul (work) + la'aanta = shuqul-la'aanta (unemployment).   Still

another negative suffix used to form abstract nouns is -darro; e.g.:

guul (victory) + darro = guuldarrada (defeat); gar (justice) + darro -

gardarrada (injustice).   There is another kind of S_v formed on nouns which denote agency; e.g.:   saaxlib (friend) + nimo = saaxiibnimada (friendship); nadax (leader) + nimo = madaxnimada (leadership).

Many S_v are formed in an unpredictable manner; i.e., lexically, and must be learned in association with the verb from which they are derived. Even here, however, some patterns can be discerned:

dagaallami (to struggle)	-	dagaalka, dagaalanka (fight, struggle)
weerari (to attack)	-	weerarka (attack)
tartami (to compete)	-	tartanka (contest, competition)
caawimi (to help)	-	caawinada , macaawinade (help)
xukumi (to govern, to judge)	-	xukunka (judgement)
khiyaamayn (to deceive)	-	khiyaamada (deception)
daaficid (to defend)	-	daafacaadda (defense)

Translator's Note:

A number of the words in the above examples are Arabic borrowings.

S_v appear in all the slots which are characteristic of the noun in general, but unlike verbs, they do not normally   combine with freely governed elements which denote the participants or the circumstances associated with an event (trans. note: presumably subjects or adverbial noun phrases).

The most common syntactic method of nominalising an →SC is to transform it into a relative clause subordinate to the word in (we shall note the whole construction as S_{in}). The word in (that, whether) together with its subordinate clause can function as an object in the principal clause or,

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quite rarely, as the dependant element in Pattern 9; e.g.:

(157)   Ninkii boqorka laga dhigo ama loo doorto inuu qabiilada

             wado...

             man/the - king/the - one/from - makes - or - one/for
             - chooses - that/he - tribe/the - lead

             The man who is chosen to be king; that is, the leader of
             the tribe...

(158)   Waydii bal inay fogtahay.

             ask - particle bal - that/it - far/is

             Why don't you ask whether it is (very) far?

(159)   Dayuuraddaasi inay burburtay macneheedu wuxuu yahay...

             airplane/that - that/it - crashed - meaning/its - SP/it
             - is

             The meaning of the disaster involving this aircraft is...

     They are less likely to appear as the subject of the sentence; e.g.:

(160)   Inaad tagtay way wanaagsanayd.

             that/you - went - SP/it - good/was

             It was good that you went.

     This is then the typical method of forming what, for the most part,
is an object noun clause.   In is the universal nominalizing conjunctive
word.   Depending upon the meaning of the verb governing in , it can be
translated as "that" or "whether" ("if").

     It should, however, be noted that as the dependent element in Pattern
5 (waa in...), the subordinate clause with in takes on the special meaning

of _obligation_ or _necessity_ (see also Section V); e.g.:

(161)   Sayid Moxamed waa inuu inoo noqdaa calaamaddii xorniimada.

Sayid Mohammed - SP/V_{cop} - that/he - us/for - become
- symbol/the - freedom/the

Sayid Mohammed _should_ become for us the symbol of freedom.

(162)   Xeerarka iyo caadooyinka iyo dhaqanka dadadka kale waa

inuu aqoon u leeyahay.

law/the - and - customs/the - and - lifeway/the - peoples/
the - other - SP/V_{cop} - that/he - knowledge - for - have

He _should_ know the laws, customs and way of life of other
peoples.

One nominalization device peculiar to Somali is turning an → SC into
a relative or adverbial clause which then modifies one of its own constituents
(we shall note this construction as S_{00}). This former constituent becomes
(on the formal level) the head of the construction, but on the content level
the whole construction "revolves around" its verb; i.e., functionally
nominalization is taking place here, even though the surface device used
is once again a form of adjectivalization; e.g.:

(163)   Reelwayada   shaqanoodu waa alaabta oo lagu qarto.

railroads/the - work/their - SP/V_{cop} - freight/the
- and - one/on - hauls

The mission of the railroads is the hauling of
freight (lit. ... freight which one hauls.).

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(164)   Sida qur ah ee lagu dhammeyn karayo arrintaa waxa weeyaan

hubka oo lagu isticmaalo.

Manner/the - only(ness) - is - and - one/by means of - solve - can - problem/that - thing/the - SP/V_{cop} - arms/the - and - one/by means of - use

The only way this problem can be solved is through the use of arms.

(165)   Dadka madowga ahi waxay codsaneyaan in loo oggolaado

xiqsuuqda la mid ah kuwa dadka caddaanka ah markii loo eego

guryaha la galo.

people/the - black/the - are - SP/they - demand - that - one/to - allow - rights/the - with - equal -are - ones/the - people/the - white/the - are - time/the - one/at - look - houses - one - moves into

Black people are demanding to have the same rights as whites in renting houses (lit. ...under the circumstances of houses which are moved into).

Translator's Note:

In (165) above, the string markа loo eego means "when" or "under time circumstances of".

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(166)   Dadka oo loo kala eexdaa colaada bay dhashaa.

people/the - and - one/to - apart - favors - fighting - SP/it - generates

Partiality breeds enmity.

The shift in meaning from participant in the situation to the situation itself is not particularly uncommon among the languages of the world; e.g., "He is bothered by noisy neighbors." can mean "The noise that his neighbors make bothers him.".   The two meanings are frequently difficult or even impossible

to differentiate.   In European languages, however, there are many cases
when one can not be used for the other, but in Somali such a meaning shift
is the basis for a regular nominalization process and is used with complete
freedom; e.g.:

(167)   Ciidanka MS wax weyn ayaa   wuxuu ka qabtay _Jermalkii_

                         fashiistaha ahaa oo la baabi'iyey.

                         army/the - USSR - thing - big/was - SP - SP/he - for -
                         do - Germany/the - fasciat/the - was - and - one -
                         destroyed

                         The Soviet army played a major role in the destruction
                         of fascist Germany.

    It is natural enough to assume that the extensive use of this method
of nominalizing a predicate can be explained by the necessity of reconciling two
vital requirements: 1) the need to have the syntactic equivalent of a noun
and 2) the need to preserve the valence of the original predicate (something
which a Somali noun is virtually incapable of doing).   Although there are
other solutions to this problem, the method shown here can be described in
the following terms: 1) a noun (one of the participants in the situation)
becomes the syntactic peak of the entire phrase (noun + relative clause)
while 2) verbal government is retained, since the verb does not formally
change into a noun, but rather it forms a relative clause.   Because the
semantic peak remains the verb, it then happens that the syntactic and the
semantic peaks do not coincide and this explains the peculiarity of this
construction in Somali.

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SECTION III

THE USE OF SURFACE PATTERNS TO EXPRESS DEEP-STRUCTURE RELATIONSHIPS

This section is devoted to the means which Somali uses to express deep-structure syntactic relationships. For each of the six deep-structure relationships outlined below, surface patterns will be given. The conditions under which one or another surface realization is selected will also be treated. There are four kinds of factors determining the expression of deep-structure relationships.

1. Each deep-structure relationship has a specific set of surface patterns which are used to express it on the surface level; i.e., while a single deep relationship can be realized in several different ways, not every surface pattern can correspond to every deep relationship. This point will be illustrated by several examples of the realization of deep relationship II (the object relationship):

(168)   Wuu goyn karaa.   (Pattern 8)
         He knows how to cut.

(169)   Lacag buu i siiyey.   (Pattern 3)
         He gave me money.

(170)   Wuu la hadlayaa aabaha.   (Patterns 7 + 3)
         He is talking to the father.

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(171)   Wuxuu bilaabey <u>inuu xisaabta barto</u>.   (Pattern 3)

SP/he - began - that/he - mathematics/the - study

He began studying mathematics.

(172)   Wuxuu bilaabey <u>xisaabta barashadeeda</u>. (Pattern 3 + 9)

SP/he - began - mathematics/the - study//its

He began the study of mathematics.

(173)   Wuu <u>dhex</u> galay <u>aqalka</u>.   (Pattern 7 + 3)

SP/(he) - inside - entered - house.

(174)   Wuu galay <u>aqalka dhexdiisa</u>.   (Pattern 3 + 9)

SP/(he) - entered - house - inside/its

He entered the house. (for 173 also)

(175)   <u>Mar</u> uu hadley wuxuu yidhi...   (Pattern 5)

time - he - spoke - SP/he - said

When he spoke, he said...

(176)   <u>jaarka Axmed afadiisa</u>...   (Pattern 10 + 9)

neighbor/the - Ahmed - wife/his

the neighbor of Ahmed's wife...

(in deep structure: Ahmed has a wife and the wife has a
neighbor.)

(177)   Wuxuu <u>ka soo dhex</u> baxay dhirta.   (Pattern 7 + 3)

SP/he - from - between - come out - trees/the

He emerged from among the trees.

(178)   <u>Bamboovinka</u> waxa <u>ka</u> dhintay dad badan.   (Pattern 7 + 3)

bombs/the - SP - from - died - people - many

Many people were killed by the bombs.

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Listed below are all the surface patterns capable of expressing the deep relationships I, II and V (III and IV are realized with the same surface patterns as II; VI or the conjoining relationship has some peculiarities of its own and will be treated below separately):

I	SUBJECT RELATIONSHIP		Patterns 2 (surface subject),
⟶	2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 15		4 (subject in an A · B), 7
			(particle marking an unspecified
			subject), 9 (e.g. A... his B),
			10 (S ⌢ Š), 15 (affixed possesive).
II	OBJECT RELATIONSHIP		Patterns 3 (surface object),
⟶	3, 5, 7, 7 + Part$_{prev}$ + 3, 8, 9, 9 + 7 + Part$_{prev}$; 10, 15, 15 + 7 + Part$_{prev}$, 18 + 6, 20		5 (complement in an A · B),
			7 (object within preverb string),
			7 + Part$_{prev}$ + 3 (object governed
			through a preverb), 8 (an infin-
			itive governed by a verb), 9 (see
			above), 9 + 7 + Part$_{prev}$ (in those
			rare instances of a noun govern-
			ing a preverb), 10 (see above),
			15 (see above), 15 + 7 + Part$_{prev}$
			(in a construction with 9, e.g.:
			isaga 6-ẓeedhkiisii, lit. he - to
			- calling/his), 18 + 6 (a so-
			called joining noun both governs
			a subordinate clause, pattern 18,
			and functions as a circumstance
			of that same predicate, pattern 6).

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	20 (conjunctions governing dependent clauses).
V MODIFYING RELATIONSHIP	Patterns 6 (usually a noun operating as circumstantial
$\longrightarrow$ 6, 7, 7 + Part$_{prev}$ + 3, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 18 + $\underline{sh}$ + 3, 21	modifier of a verb), 7 (pre-verbal), 7 + Part$_{prev}$ + 3 (so-called "weak" government; i.e., modification rather than government through a preverbal particle, 10 (see above), 11 (modification by means of the limited set of "true" adjectives), 13 (the naming construction), 15 (see above), 17 (a structure consisting of a conjoined element and a conjunction), 18 (see above), 18 + $\underline{sh}$ + 3 (the components of pattern 21, a noun + a special modifying clause containing the verb $\underline{ahaan}$, e.g.: lacagta warqadda ah, lit. money/the - paper - is), 21.

The selection of one or another of the possible surface patterns depends, in part, upon which surface word classes are used to represent the participants in an underlying relationship. And this in turn depends upon the following two factors:

2. A given deep-structure relationship can be realized only by certain (deep) lexical classes. Thus, relationship II (the object relationship) involves only...

PREDICATE + NOMINAL   (e.g. give money)

PREDICATE + PREDICATE   (e.g. know how to cut)

PREDICATE + ADJUNCT   (e.g. enter into)

NOMINAL + NOMINAL   (e.g. neighbor's wife)

ADJUNCT + NOMINAL   (e.g. into the house)

ADJUNCT + PREDICATE   (e.g. before going)

ADJUNCT + ADJUNCT   (e.g. from within)

NOMINAL + PREDICATE   (e.g. manager of the construction)

3. A given deep lexical class is realized only be certain surface word classes. For example, in our examples of the various surface realizations of relationship II (examples 166 to 173 above).

PREDICATE ⟶ finite verb, infinitive, noun

ADJUNCT ⟶ preverbal particle, conjunction, joining word, noun

NOMINAL ⟶ noun

However, a deep-structure nominal or PRO form could never become a surface verb.

4. Finally, there are constraints upon the specific distribution of surface word classes within surface patterns; namely, which word classes can operate as the head element or the dependent element within which pattern (see table in APPENDIX VI).

Thus, if we have (1) a listing of all the surface patterns that can be used to realize each of the deep-structure relationships (see above), (2) a listing of all the deep-structure classes capable of entering into each of the deep-structure relationships (not treated explicitly in this work), (3) a listing of all possible surface realizations of all deep-structure lexical classes (again see APPENDIX VI)..., then we should, in theory at least, be able to come up with all possible surface realizations of any deep-structure combination; i.e., any two deep-structure elements joined in a specific deep-structure relationship.   For instance, the underlying combination PREDICATE + NOMINAL can be realized as a surface verb with a surface noun.   A verb can be the <u>head word</u> in patterns 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 and 16 while a noun may be the <u>dependent element</u> in patterns 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 16.   If we superimpose one distribution upon the other, we will come up with the fact that a verb can be the head word and a noun can be the dependent element in patterns 2, 3 and 16.   Comparing this with the fact that relationship I (SUBJECT RELATIONSHIP) can be realized with patterns 2, 4, 7, 9, 10 and 15, we then discover only pattern 2 overlaps; i.e., only pattern 2 can be used to express the deep SUBJECT relationship when the PREDICATE is realized as a surface verb and the NOMINAL is realized as a surface noun.

This kind of algorithm would be perfectly adequate if all four factors

operated independently of each other, but in reality it is complex, multi-layered and rarely as obvious as the example shown above.   For this reason, any practical application requires a much more direct and obvious representation of the process of getting from deep structure to surface structure.

Every specific correspondence between deep and surface strings can be noted in the following manner:
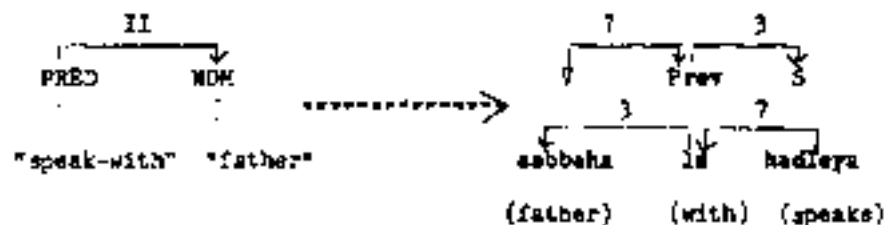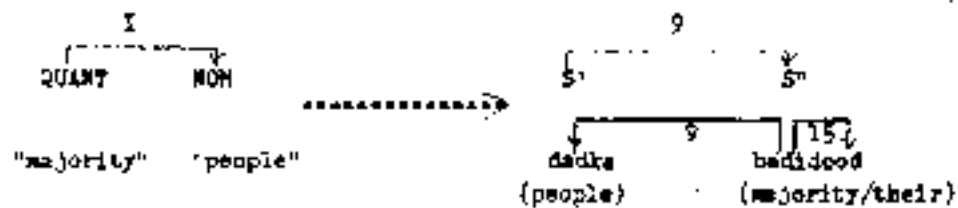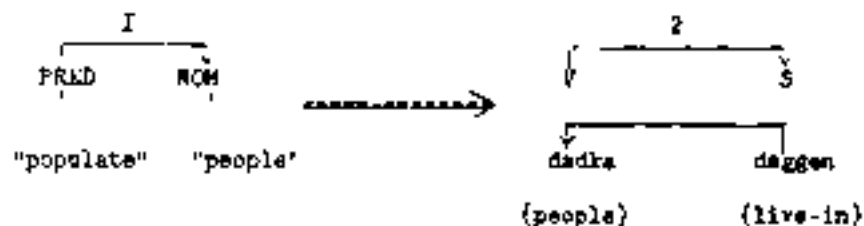
The problem then is to note all such transforms in one place, showing the link between deep relationships and surface patterns at the same time as we show the link between deep lexical classes and surface word classes.   This requirement would be met by a chart in which both the rows and the columns

would be labeled with two symbols - one for the surface word class and one
for the deep lexical class; e.g., V (PRED).   The cells of such a chart would
contain two numbers - an arabic numeral for the surface pattern and a Roman
numeral for the deep relationship:

Dependent	...	S (NOM)	...
Head			
...	...	...	...
V (PRED)	...	2 (I)	...
...	...	...	...

Such a chart would read: "If the head element in relationship I is a member
of the deep-structure class of predicates (PRED) and is realized on the
surface level as a verb (V) and if the dependent element is a member of the
deep-structure class of nominals (NOM) and is realized on the surface level
as a noun (S), then deep-structure relationship I will be expressed by
surface pattern 2 (surface subject)."

However, in the present analysis there are 10 deep lexical classes
and 18 surface word classes with 32 possible dual deep-surface combinations
(possible ways of realizing deep classes through surface ones; e.g.,
V (PRED), S (NOM), etc.).   We must add to this the six surface elements
which are the result of nominalization, adjectivalization and adverbialization
processes and which represent three deep-structure classes (PRED, PREP,
QUANT).   The resulting chart would have to have 50 lines and 50 columns —
$32 + (6 \times 3)$.

The solution is to break such an enormous chart into three parts, one

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(Translator's Note Continued)

There are, in addition, symbols for various subordinate clauses:

S_{in}, S_{oo}, S_{al} — Noun Clauses

Adv_{oo}, Adv_{in} — Adverbial Clauses

Ad — Relative Clauses

Deep-Structure Lexical Classes:

PRED	–	Predicates or deep-structure verbs
PREP	–	Valenced Adjuncts (prepositions or conjunctions)
QUANT	–	Quantifiers
TEMP	–	Temporals
IND	–	Demonstratives (deictics)
PRON	–	Pronouns
NOM	–	Nouns
NOM_1	–	Nomina Agentis
NUM	–	Numerals
COORD	–	Coordinating Conjunctions

+++++++++++++++++++++

We should note that the classes which are the product of verb nominalization (adverbialization, adjectivalization) operate like verbs as head elements and like nouns, adverbs or adjectives respectively as dependent elements.

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DEEP RELATIONSHIP I: The Subject Relationship

The ways in which the deep subject relationship is realised in Somali surface structure are shown in chart 3 on the following page.   In the examples given below, we shall first represent deep relationships and then surface patterns.   Deep structure representation will leave out those parts of the sentence that are not pertinent to the point being illustrated

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  ┌─I─┐      ┌─I─┐       ┌─I─┐                 │
│  V    S₂    V    Pron,  V    Sub ──→ Pattern 2│
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

(179)
```
        knows
       I╱  ╲II
  justice    God
```
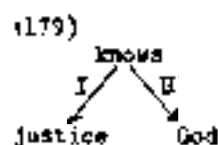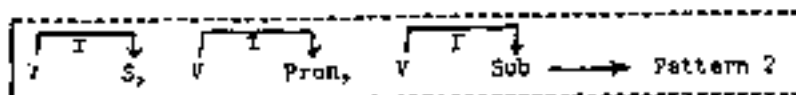
```
  ┌──────────────┐ a.
Gari Ilaah bay taqaan.
```
justice - God - SP/it - knows

(180)
```
      got hungry
     ╱
  spies
```
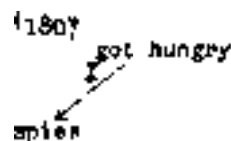
```
  ┌─1────────────────┐
Dialade-na markaa way gaajaysneyd.
```
spies/the-but - moment/this - SP/they - got hungry

(181) said
```
     I╱  ╲II
   she    "yea"
```

```
  ┌─2─┐
Markaas-ay tidhi: "Haa!"
```
Moment/that-she - said - "yes"

(182)
```
           generates
          I╱     ╲II
  to discriminate   ╲
                   to hate
```
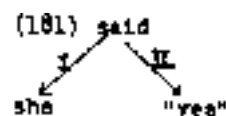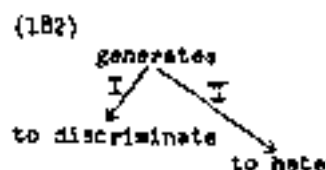
```
  ┌─2──────────────────────┐
Dadka oo loo kala eexdaa colaad bay dhashaa.
```
people/the - and - one/to - apart - placed - enmity - SP/it - generates

(183)
```
        useful
       I╱  ╲II
    went    you
    I│
   you
```
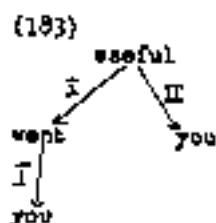
```
  ┌─2───────────────────┐
Inaad tektey baa kuu wanaag-sanayd.
```
that/you - went - SP - you/for - good/was

74

each for deep relationships I, II and V, and also to combine some of the dual deep-surface classes of elements wherever possible. The result would look something like this:

Relationship I

Head \ Dependent	...	S	...	
...	...	...	...	
V	...	2	...	
...	...	...	+++	

In place of a single chart (50 X 50 = 2500 cells) we shall then have three charts with an average of 89 cells each. To offset the loss of information resulting from combining several dual surface-deep classes under one heading (e.g. S), all the dual classes contained in each such combined classification will appear below the general heading with surface classes followed by deep classes in parentheses, e.g.:

S

$\sqrt{S}$num(NUM), Stemp(TEMP), S (NOM, NOM1, QUANT, PRED), SPF(PREP), Sphon (PRED), S_{ai}, S_{oo} (PRED, PREP, QUANT) $\sqrt{7}$

Translator's Note: It is obvious at this point that, although both surface and deep classes are treated by Zholkovalij in APPENDIX VI, it would be useful to have a kind of glossary of terms and notational symbols at our disposal right now. We shall attempt to present this information before proceeding any further.

75

(Translator's Note Continued)

<u>Surface Word Classes:</u>

Substantives (S)

S^l	-	Nominal Substantives
S^{pr}	-	Prepositional Substantives
S^{num}	-	Numeral Substantives
S^{temp}	-	Temporal Substantives
S^{suf}	-	Suffixed Substantives
S^{pers}	-	Personal Substantives
S^{phon}	-	Pieophones (onomatopoeic words)
S^{conj}	-	Joining Words (nouns)
Atr	-	Attributive Substantives (a special subclass of nouns which occur in the $X + Y - ah/ah1/ahaa$ construction)
Sub	-	*Short-Form Subject Pronouns*

Predicates

V^l	-	**Finite Verbs**
V^{waa}	-	Copula **waa**
V^{inf}	-	Infinitives

Adjectives

A	-	Adjectives

Preverbal Particles

Part	-	Preverbal Particles

Conjunctions

Coord	-	Coordinating Conjunctions
Conj	-	Subordinating Conjunctions

Sentence Particle

SP	-	Sentence Particle (Indicator)

76

DEEP RELATIONSHIP I: The Subject Relationship

Head \ Dependent	S /S^num (NUM), S^temp (TEMP), S (NOM, NOM_1, QUANT, PRED), S^pr (PREP), S^phon (PRED), S_ei, S_oo, (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/	Pron /S^pers (PRON), S_in (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/	La /the particle la of the class Part (PRON)/	Pos /S^pos (PRON)/	Sub /Sub(PRON)/
V /V, S_in, S_oo, Adv_in, Adv_oo, Ad (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/	2	2	7	---	2
Was /V^was (PRED)/	4	4	---	---	4
S /S, S^phon (PRED), S (NOM_1, QUANT)/	9; 10	9	---	15	---

(figure 3)

```
    ┌─── I ───┐
    V        la  ──────→  Pattern 7
```

(184)

```
        say
       I/  \II
  people    that...
```
Waxa la sheegey in...

SP - one - says - that

(185)

```
        need
       I/  \G
  people    that...
```
Waxa loo baahanyahay...   (loo = la - u)

SP - one/in - needs

(186)

```
   arrange ─── K ──→ in
    I/    \II         |
people    council    |II
                      ↓
                 a certain
                   place
```
Guddi ayya meel lagu qabtay.

council - SP - place - one/in - took

```
  ┌── I ──┐   ┌── ? ──┐   ┌── I ──┐
  Waa    3,  Waa   Pron,  Waa    Sub ──→ Pattern 4
```

(187)

```
    located-on
    I/    \II
house       hill
```
iqalku waa buurta.

house/the - SP/V_cop - hill/the

(188)

```
        is
     I/   \II
wife/your   that
```
Waa taa naagtaadii.

SP/V_cop - that - wife/your

(189)

```
      requires
    I/    \II
  it       that
           he go
```
Waa inuu tago Ø

SP/V_cop - that/he - goes

78

(190)
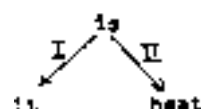
Waa kuleyl Ø

SP/V_cop - heat (It's hot.)

Note: The symbol Ø is used to denote an impersonal "it", since with
waa short-form subject pronouns are obligatorily deleted in surface
structure. This caveat applies more to the surface realization of pronouns,
rather than to the ways of expressing subjects. It is important to point out
in this latter regard the deep subject of waa can be realized as a short-
form subjective pronoun, but the surface "shape" of such a pronoun is Ø ; e.g.,

(191)
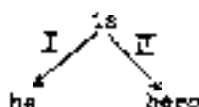
Ø Waa geesi.

SP/V_cop - hero

It is true that pronouns do not only appear as short-form subjectives.
There is the option of using Pron as the surface realization; e.g.,

(192)

Isagu waa geesi.

He is a hero.

(193)

Taasi waa kuleyl.

It is hot.

Another option is the use of the short-form subjective pronoun with
something other than waa ; e.g.,

(194)

Inuu tago buy aheyd.

He had to go.

79

Let us examine an example of the structure waa $\overline{S}_{oo}$, i.e., a structure

in which the deep subject is realized as a pattern 18 or 19 nominalization:

(195)
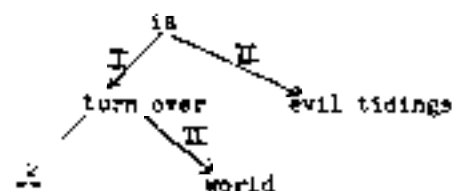
Dunida oo la rogayaa waa war dhiilo ah oo xun.

world/the - one - turns over - SP/M_{cop} - news - terrible - is - and - bad

(That the world is about to turn over is dreadful news.)

The structure waa $\overline{Z}$ is does not occur (is can never be the surface

subject of waa).

```
| I |
S     S  ———→  Patterns 9 or 10
```

(196)
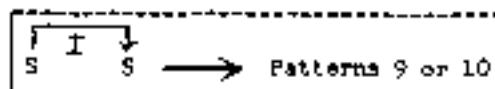
talk
I
women

hadal naagood

women's conversation

hadalka naagaha

the women's conversation

naagaha hadalkooda

women - conversation/their

(197)

do
I
railways

reelwayyeda shaqadooda

railroads/the - work/their

(198)

crunch
I
bones

qajajacda xubnihiisa

the crunching (cracking) of his limbs...

xubnihiisa qajajacdooda

limbs/his - cracking/their

80

(199)

be
    I   II
significance ←--
        I
    liquidate
    I   T
they   military
            bases

Saldhigyada militariga ah oo la baabi'ineyo macnahaado wuxuu yahay...

bases/the - military - are - and - one - destroys - significance/of this - 5P/it - is

The significance of the destruction of the bases is...

(200)

majority
    I
people
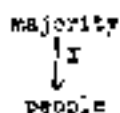
dadka badidoodu

people/the - majority/their

badida dadka

majority/the - people/the

When the deep subject is realized as S_{00} (as opposed to S_{in}, see below), pattern 10 is possible, but rarely encountered; e.g.,

(201)
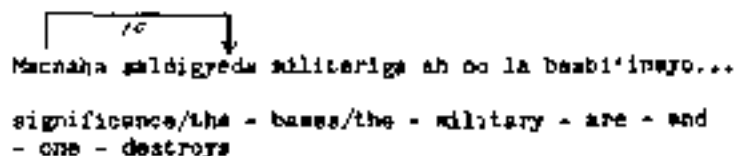
Macnaha saldigyada militariga ah oo la baabi'ineyo...

significance/the - bases/the - military - are - and - one - destroys

S I S_{in}, S I Pron ——→ Pattern 9 (but not 10!)

(202)

ask
    I
I
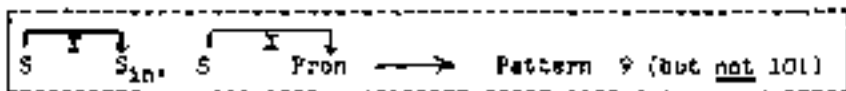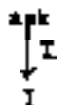
aniga su'ashayda

I - question/my

(su'ashayda = su'al + tayda)

81

(203)

means
↓ I
it

⌐ q ⌐ 15⌐
taa macneheeda

that - meaning/its

(204)

spoke
↓ I
he

⌐ q ⌐ 5 ↓
iSaga hadalkiisii

he - speech/his

(205)

means
⟩ I
went
↓ I
he

⌐ q ⌐ 15 ⌐
inuu tegey macneheeda

that/he - went - meaning/of this

⌐ I ↓   ⌐ I ↓
S   Sub;   S   la   do not occur.

⌐ I ↓
S   Pos ⟶ Pattern 15

(206)

I   is   II
it   correct
         ↓ I
         you

⌐ 15 ↓
ø waa runtaa.

SP/V_cop - truth/your

(You are right.)

(207)

ask
↓ I
I

⌐ 15 ↓
su'ashayda   (su'al + tayda)

my question

82

DEEP RELATIONSHIP II: The Object Relationship

$$7 \quad S, \quad V \quad \text{Pron}, \quad V \quad \text{Part} \longrightarrow \text{Patterns } 3/7, \; 3/7 + \text{Part}_{\text{prev}} + 3/7$$
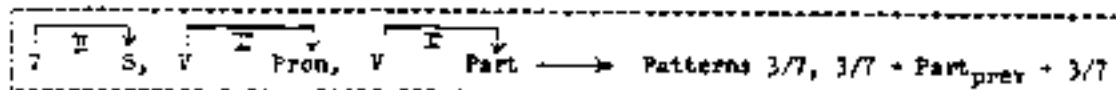
These constructions represent what is called <u>strong government</u>: i. e., Patterns 3/7 or 3/7 + Part$_{\text{prev}}$ + 3/7, depending on the specific verb selected. The same is true of deep relationships III and IV, which are not treated separately in this section.

Surface pattern 3, where the dependent element is a substantive, or surface pattern 7, where the dependent element is a preverbal element, can be seen as analogous to direct government in European languages.

(208)

gave

he money I

Lacag buu i siiyey Adiga.

money - SP/he - me - gave - me
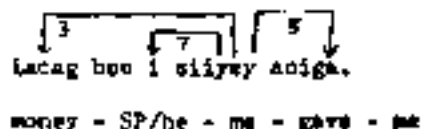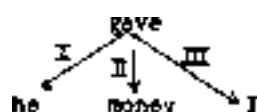
Surface patterns 7 + Part + 3 and 7 + Part + 7; i.e., constructions in which the verb is bound to a specific preverbal particle which in turn governs a substantive (pattern 3) or another particle (pattern 7), are analogous to "prepositional" government in European languages.

(209)

handed

he money 1

Lacag buu ii (= i+u) dhiibay aniga.

money - SP/he - me/to - handed - me

83
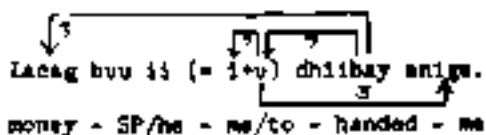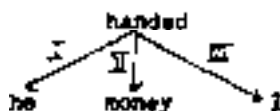
DEEP RELATIONSHIP II: The Object Relationship

Dependent / Head	S	Pron	Part	Pos	Ad	V	V_{inf}
	/S, S_{oo} (PRED, PREP, QUANT), S_{mbs} (NUM), S_{temp} (TEMP), S_{phon} (PRED), S_{pr} (PRED)/	/S_{pers} (Pron), S_{in}, S_{ai} (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/	/Part (PRON, PREP, NOM)/	/S_{suf} (PRON)/	/Ad (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/	/V (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/	/V_{inf} (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/
/V, V_{inf}, S_{in}, S_{oo}, Advin, Adv_{ooo}, Ad (PRED, PREP, QUANT)/	Strong govt. - Pattern 3/7 + $Part_{prev}$ + 3/7 with the particle bound to specific verbs.				---	---	8 (but only with a few verbs
/V_{vbs} (PRED)/	5	5	---	---	---	---	---
/Part (PREP NOM)/	3	3	7	---	---	---	---
/S (PRED, NOM), S_{pr} (PREP)/	9 (+ strong govt.); 10	9 (+ strong govt.)	7 (+ strong govt.	15 (+ strong govt.)	---	---	---
/S_{conj} (prep)/	---	---	---	---	18+6	---	---
/$Conj^{sub}$ (PREP)/	---	---	---	---	---	20	---

(figure 4)

In (209), _hacag_ is a direct object and _i_ is governed by a preverb, since the verb _dhiibi_ combines with an object through the bound particle _u_ . Note that we used the full substantive pronoun _aniga_ , which is obligatorily duplicated by the short-form _i_ in the preverbal string, to show a deep object relationship (III in this instance) realized as both...

$$\text{preverb + pattern 3} \quad - \quad \overset{\displaystyle 3}{u \qquad aniga}$$
$$\text{and preverb + pattern 7} \quad - \quad \overset{\displaystyle 7}{u \qquad i} \quad .$$
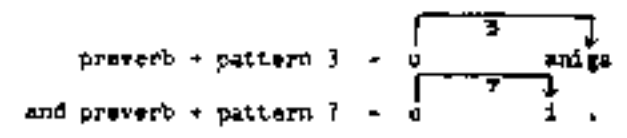
The ways in which deep-structure objects; i.e., objects in positions II, III and IV,[*] combine with a predicate depend on the specific verb. Each of these "slots" can be realized through the use of any one of the preverbs or through the use of direct government (3 without 7). On the other hand, the position could be left unfilled (again depending on the specific verb). There are no general rules for selecting the appropriate surface mechanism for combining verbs and objects and, therefore, this information should be included as part of the lexicon. A sample of this appears on the next page. Note that a dash indicates direct government, while a blank space means that the position is not occupied with a given verb.

----

[*]Translator's Note: Zholkovskij uses position I to indicate the deep subject position, II to indicate the deep first or direct object, III to indicate the second or indirect object and IV to indicate any other objects which may combine with a given verb.

Sample Lexical Entries for Verbs

Verb	II	III	IV
saari (to put)	-- what?	-- where?	
ridi (to put)	-- what?	ku where?	
taagan (to stand)	-- where?		
soli (to stand)	ku where?		
dhiman (to die)			
eg (to resemble)	u whom?		
diri (to send)	-- whom?	u where?	
dhawaaqi (to call, summon)	ku to what?	u whom?	
ashtakeyn (to blame)	-- whom? what?	ku for what?	
iibin (to sell)	-- what?	ka to whom?	
yaabi (to be surprised)	la at what?		

84

= g - - 5)

Verb	II	III	IV
hadli (to speak)	ka about what?	la with whom?	
talin (to advise, counsel)	ku what?	la to whom? whom?	
isticmali (to use)	ku what?	la for what? against what?	u for what?
dagaallami (to struggle)	la against, with what/whom?	u for what?	
baahan (to need)	u what?		

(Pearce 5, c.-4)

Of the nominalized forms, S_{in} has a strong tendency to appear as the object of a verb. Depending on the head verb's meaning, _in_ can correspond to English "that" or "whether" ("if"). S_{si} and S_{oo} nominalizations may also appear in position II; e.g.:

(220)
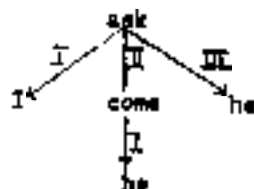
Waxaan isaga weydiin doona inuu imanayo.

SP/I – him – ask – will – that/he – comes

(I shall ask him whether he's coming.)

87

(211)

call upon

they   support   all
                   countries

(under support): peoples
of Africa

Waxey ugo (= u+ku) dhawaaqeen dalalka oo dhan inay taageeraan dadyowga Afrika.

SP/they - to/for - addressed - countries/the - all - that/they - support - peoples/the - Africa

(They called upon all countries to support the peoples of Africa.)

(212)

take
part in
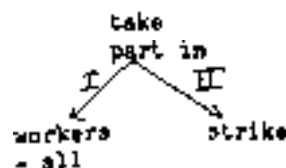
workers   strike
- all

Shaqada laga fadhistey waxa ka qaybgeleya shaqaalaha dhammaantood.

work/the - one/from - sat down - SP - from - take part - workers - entirety/their

(All the workers are taking part in the strike.)

(213)

stressed

he   needs
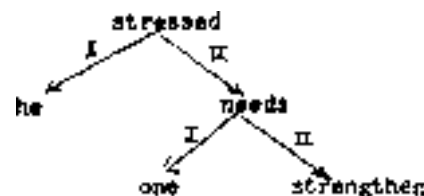
       one   strengthen

Wuxuu sooqaadey sida loogu bahaanyahay in la adkeyo...

SP/he - noted - manner/the - one/in/in - needs - that - one - strengthen

(He emphasized that there is a need to strengthen...)

The following three examples contain a governed dependent element (including the ∅ realization of the object pronoun) within the preverb string:

(214)

stick
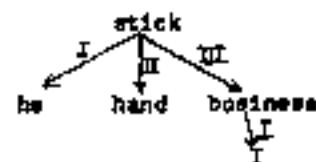
he   hand   business

Amuurtayda buu gacan gelineya.

business/my - SP/he - hand - sticks into

(He is interfering in my affairs.)

(215)

awore — Σ → stand

I

he   he   middle

Π

enclosure
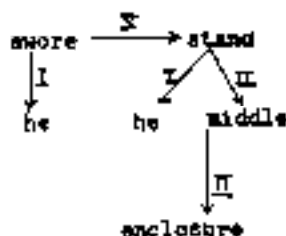
Markaasuu intuu is dhex taagay xeeradii
dhaartay.

moment/that/he - moment/he -himself - middle
- put -   circle/the - took an oath

(And then, stepping into the circle   he
took an oath.)

(216)

discuss

I   Π

they   relation

IV

exist-between

I   Π
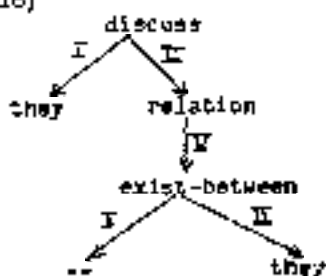
--   they

Waxay ka xaajooneyaan xiriirka u (= u+g) l
dhexeeyaa.

SP/they - about - discuss - relation/the
- to - go between - they

(They are discussing the relations between
them.)

In (215), a more consistent way of noting deep structure for the string
"relations between them" might look approximately like the following:

exist-between

I   Π   ΠI

relations   someone   someone

In general, with verbs which have this semantic feature of **mutuality**,
one word (e.g., "they") conceals two distinct participants in the situation
and, thus, two distinct elements in deep structure.   On the surface, however,
these two different elements are realized sometimes as a single constituent,
sometimes as two constituents (compare the English "relations between them" =
"relations between England and Rhodesia").   Therefore, all corresponding
surface patterns and lexical units should be included among the ways used
to express deep relations II, III and IV (sometimes I as well); e.g.:

Verb	I (Subject)	II (Object₁)	III (Object₂)
dhexeyn (be between)	Pattern 2	Pattern 7 + _u_ (for) + Pattern 3 + plural or A iyo B	
saxixan (sign, conclude an agreement)	1) Pattern 2	Pattern 7 + _la_ (with) + Pattern 3	Pattern 3
	2) Pattern 7 + _wada_ (together) + Pattern 2 + plural or A iyo B		

(figure 6)

The derivation of the Somali surface structures...

(217) Xiriirka u dhexeeya Ingeriiska iyo Rodesia...

relations between England and Rhodesia

(218) Heshiiskii Ingeriiska uu la saxiixday Rodesia...

the treaty which England signed with Rhodesia

(219) Heshiiskii ay wada saxiixdeen Ingeriiska iyo Rodesia...

the treaty signed by England and Rhodesia

... could be provided for in this manner.

90

Obviously, such devices are also associated with the idiomatic means; i.e., the means which are characteristic of a specific verb, of realizing deep relationships II (and also III and IV), which in figure 4 (P. 85) are called strong government.
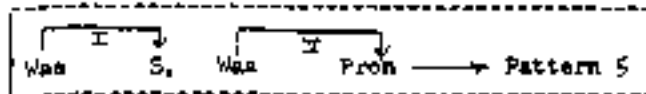
Where Pron in this construction is represented by the nominalisation S_{in}, the meaning of obligation ("It is necessary that...") is always present; e.g.:

(220)
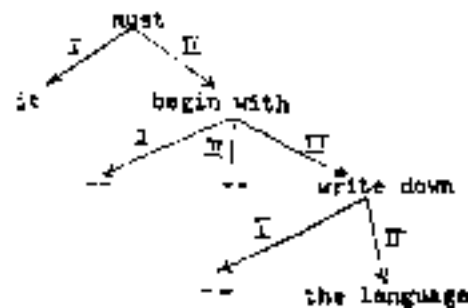
Waa in laga bilaabo afka dhigiddiisa,

SP/V_{cop} - that - one/from - begin
- language - writing/its

(It is necessary to begin with writing down the language.)

Other examples of the construction are:

(221)
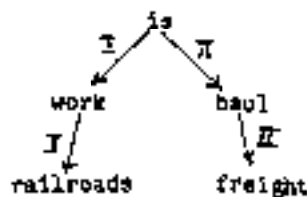
Reelwayeda shaqadoodu waa alaabta oo laga gurto.

railroads/the - work/their - SP/V_{cop}
freight/the - one/by means of - hauls

(The task of the railroads is to haul freight.)

91

(222)
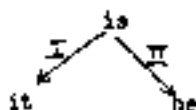
$\emptyset$ Waa kaa ee dhageysta.

SP/V_{cop} - that one - and - listen

(Here he is, listen to him!)

The word **waa** (and its variants **weeye/weeyaan**) does not combine with preverbal particles and for this reason, when the deep-structure verb "to be" governs a preverb, this government is transmitted in the surface structure to the noun which is the complement of **waa** (for the role of this kind see below, pp. 138-139); e.g.:

(.223)

Deep Structure	Surface Structure (with **ahaan**)	Surface Structure (with **waa**)
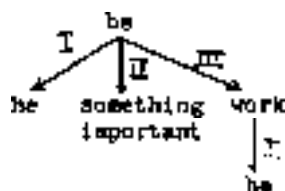
(He plays an important role in his job.)
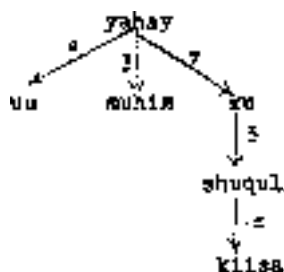
Shuqulkiisa buu ku muhim yahay.

work/his - SP/he
- on - important
thing - is
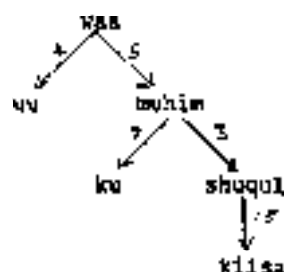
Shuqulkiisa waa ku muhim. - Shuqulkiisa ku muhim weeye.

work/his - SP/V_{cop}
- on - important
thing - work/his
- on - important
thing - SP/V_{cop}

92

(22L)

Deep Structure	Surface Structure₁	Surface Structure₂

Deep Structure: be — they, friends, we

Surface Structure₁: yihiin — ay, saaxiibbo, la — na

Surface Structure₂: weeyaan — iyyagu, saaxiibbo — la — na

Saaxiibbo bay nala
yihiin.

(They are our friends.)
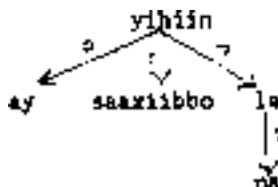
Friends - SP/they
- us/with - are
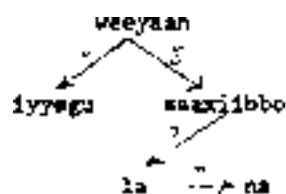
Iyyegu nala saaxiibbo
weeyaan.

they - us/with
- friends - SP/V_{cop}

(225)

Deep Structure	Surface Structure₁	Surface Structure₂

Deep Structure: (must) be — it, meeting, we

Surface Structure₁: doonta — ay, ahaan — shir, u — ina

Surface Structure₂: waa — ay, shir — u — ina

Waxay inoo ahaan doontaa
shir.
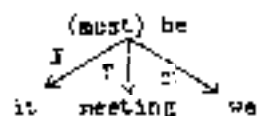
(We will (must) have
a meeting.)
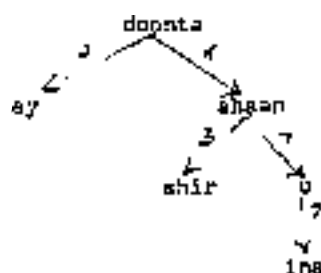
SP/it - us/for - be
- will - meeting
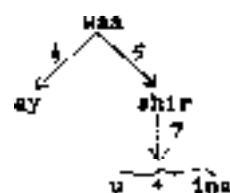
Waa inoo shir.

SP/V_{cop} - us/for
- meeting

V   V_inf ———▶ Pattern 8
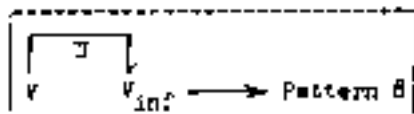
Infinitives combine only with certain verbs (see Section I); e.g.:

(226)

know how

I π'
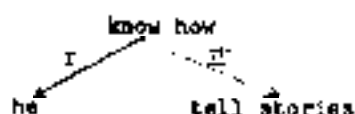
he   tell stories

Wuu warrami ogyahay.

SP/V$_{cop}$ - tell stories - knows how

(227)

elucidate

I π

you   thing $\overset{\Sigma}{=\!=}$ cannot

       I π π

      he   finish   for the reason

       I π π'
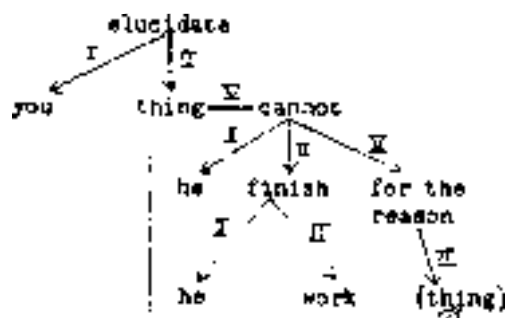
      he   work   (thing)

Waxa uu shuqulkii u dhammeyn waayey soo hubso.

thing/the - he - work/the - for - finish - cannot - find out

(Find out why he didn't manage to finish the work!)

S_{conj}, S $\overset{\pi}{\longrightarrow}$ V_{inf} does not occur; i.e., Somali does not have constructions of the type "before going" or "the desire to return", etc..

```
┌─ π ──┐    ┌─ π ──┐
│      ↓    │      ↓
S      S, S        S_oo ——→ Patterns 9 (= strong government) or 10
```

(228)

build

π
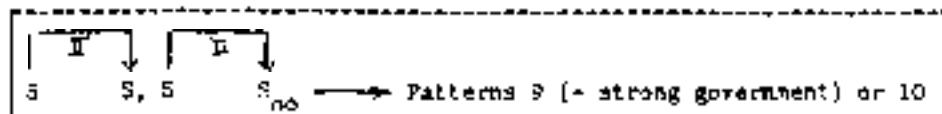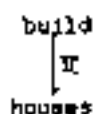
houses

aqallada dhismahooda - dhismaha aqallada

houses/the - construction/their - construction/the - houses

(229)

answer

I π

you   ask

       I

       I
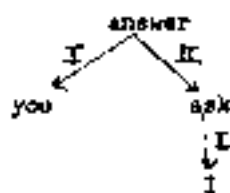
Maanta maalinta ku todoba ah baan su'aashayda jawaabteedii kaa doonayaa.

today - day/the - from - seven - is - SP/I - question/my - answer/its - you/from - want

(I need your answer to my question seven days from today.)

(230)

renounce
I   II
ᴵᴵ   religion

diinta diidniinteeda = diidniinta diinta

religion/the - renunciation/its +
   renunciation/the + religion/the

(the renunciation of religion...)

(231)

cease
I   II
     dropping (on)
     I   II   III
    bombs   peaceful inhabitants
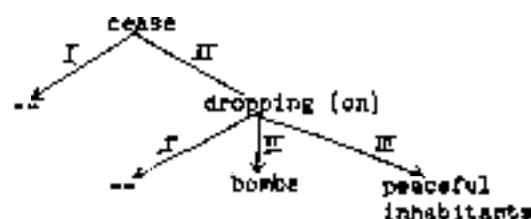
1) bomba (oo) lala dhacayo dadka
   rasciyedda ah joojintiisa/
   joojinteeda....

   bombs + (and) - one/with -
   attacks - people/the -civilians/the
   are - cessation/ its//cessation/
   of this

2) joojinta bomba (oo) lala
   dhacayo dadka rasciyedda ah

   cessation/the - bombs/the
   (and) - one/with - attacks -
   people/the - civilians/the - are

   (stopping the bombing of
   civilians...)

<u>Note</u>: The second way of realizing deep relationship II, given S_{DO} i.e.,
Pattern 10, is less frequently encountered than the first (Pattern 9).

(232)

spend the
night in
I   II
      city
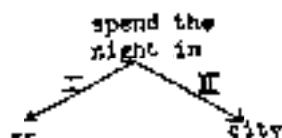
magaalada u-hooyadkaedii

city/the - in/spending the night/its

(+- spending the night in the city...)

This last example (232) illustrates strong preverbal government being
exercised by a Somali <u>verbal</u> noun. The substantive retains the preverb of

95

the original verb (u hooyan – "to spend the night in") and the structure
which is typical of the situation in which a substantive is exercising
strong government is used; i.e., Pattern 9.   Pattern 10 is not grammatical
in this situation (*u-hooyadka magaalada).

Of the various substantive subclasses in the dependent slot, Pron
and S_{oo} (rarely) are also possible in the formula $S \overset{\pi}{\longrightarrow} S$; Pattern 9 (+ Strong
Government) along with S_{sn} (see below).

Also associated with the $S \overset{\pi}{\longrightarrow} S$ structure are those situations in which
a deep-level preposition is realized by a surface noun; e.g.:

(233)

within
$\downarrow \Gamma$
house

aqalka dhexdiisa   (or gudihiisa)

house/the – internalness/its

(234)   under
$\downarrow \Gamma$
table

miiska hoostiisa – hoosta miiska

table/the – underness/the –

underness/the – table/the

(235)

Buurta shishadeeda baan ku arkay Ø.

hill/the – back/its – SP/I – in – saw

I saw (him) beyond the hill.

$S \overset{\pi}{\longrightarrow} $ Pron, S_{in}, S_{si} $\longrightarrow$ Pattern 9 (+ Strong Government)

96

(236)
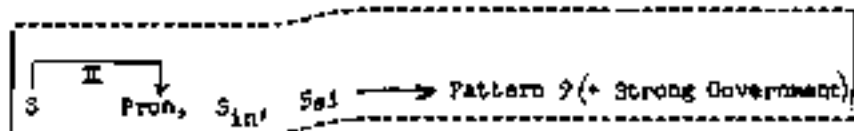
call
=|
him

isaga U-yeeshkiisii

he - to/summons/his

(his summons...)

(237)

be a reason (for)
I   II

this

tas sababteeda

that - reason/its

(the reason for that...)

(238)

stop
I   II

destroy
I   II

S.
Africa   resolution

JAK siday ogo gardarroon jirtey go'annadii
lagu qaatey UUN joojinteeda...

S. Africa - manner/it - in/on - violate
- was - resolutions/the - one/in - adopted
- U.N. - cessation/its

...putting an end to South Africa's habitual
violation of U.N. resolutions.

Note that Somali has no other way of realizing $S \quad S_{in}$, S_{si}; i.e.,
it is not possible to have a noun governing a substantive clause as an
object as in English...

I am of the opinion that it is necessary to...

the requirement that this be done...

$S \quad \pi \quad Pos \longrightarrow$ Pattern 15 (+ Strong Government)

This pattern is analoguous to $S \quad x \quad Pron \longrightarrow$ Pattern 9, but
without the full (substantive) pronoun; e.g.:

97

(239)   u-yeedhkinsii

to/summons/his

(240)   sababtaada

reason/of this

S   Part ——→ Pattern 7 (+ Strong Government)

In this realization, the dependent slot may not be filled with short
objective pronouns or substantive particles (see Appendix VIII); e.g.:

(241)   fara- gelinta

fingers - sticking into

(interference)

(242)   hoos-u-dhigga

down - to - putting

(subjugation)

It is important to stress that in such seemingly frozen phrasal structures
preverbs do not impart to nouns the ability to take objects (Pattern 3).
This is accomplished only through surface pattern 9 (+ strong government)
(see S   S above). The difference (from Pattern 3) consists in the
fact that a possessive pronoun is joined with the head element and the
position of the dependent element in relation to the head is fixed (see
example 218 above).

98

```
 ┌─────────────────────────┐
 │        II    V          │
 │  ┌──────┐  ↓            │
 │ S_conj      V  ──────→ Pattern 18+6
 └─────────────────────────┘
```
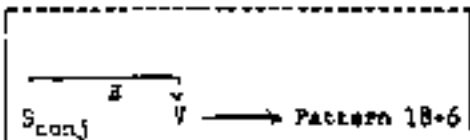
The conjunctive noun governs the verb of a subordinate clause (Pattern 18) and at the same time depends upon it as a circumstance of the verb's action (Pattern 6). S_{conj} also functions as a circumstance of the main predicate (see Section III/) V S_{adv}); e.g.:

(243)

```
         possible ──Ⅴ──→ if
      I                  II
                        build
                      I     II
```
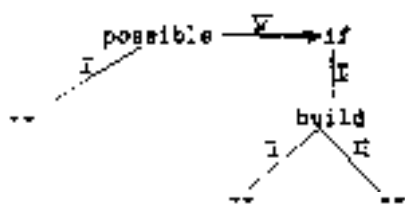
Tasso waxay ahortoobi kareyaa haddii la dhiso...

that – SP/it – become/possible – can
if – one – builds

(This is possible if (something) is built...)

(244)

```
       like ──Ⅴ──→ even
     I     II       though
     I     he        II
                   be-bad
                    I
                    he
```
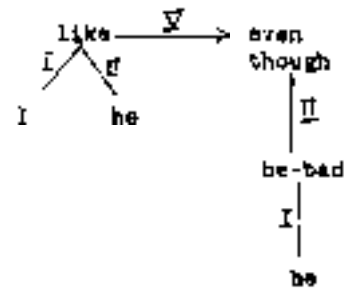
Inkaastuu xunyahay waan jaclahay.

although/he – bad/is – SP/I – like

```
 ┌─────────────────────────┐
 │      II                 │
 │  ┌──────┐  ↓            │
 │ Conj        V  ──────→ Pattern 20
 └─────────────────────────┘
```
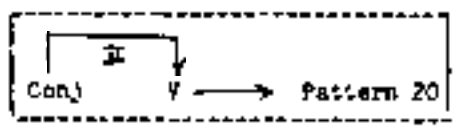
Subordinating conjunctions govern dependent clauses by means of Pattern 20 (they themselves combine with the verb of the main clause as circumstances; i.e., Pattern 6); e.g.:

(245)
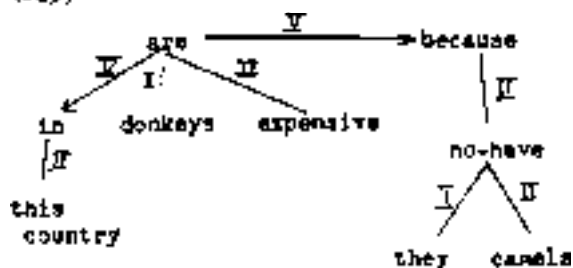
Arlacaasna dameeraha iyo eyda iyo baqaalku waa ku qaali muxaa-yeelay geel baanuy lahayn.

country/that - donkeys/the - and - dogs/the - and - mules/the - SP/V$_{cop}$ - in - value - because - camels - SP/NEG/they - have

(In this country, donkeys, dogs and mules are expensive, because there are no camels.)

The conjunction (Conj) in Somali is not a constituent of the dependent clause. It appears to govern it from outside. The so-called subordinate clause is independent structurally and, thus, has its own sentence particle. This is in direct contrast with conjunctive nouns (S$_{conj}$), which are shared by both clauses (in both of them the S$_{conj}$ is a circumstance of the verb - Pattern 6) and which govern the subordinate clause through Pattern 18+o (from within, as it were). The subordinate clause becomes a relative clause modifying the S$_{conj}$ and does not contain a separate sentence particle. In actual fact, the S$_{conj}$ must be considered as a special part of speech, since not all of the members of this class can be used as circumstances in simple sentences; e.g., haddii with the meaning "if" or inta with the meaning "while".
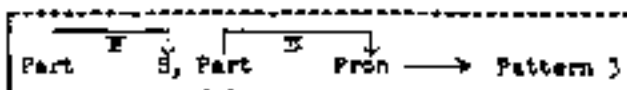
This means that preverbal particles which possess valence: i.e., deep-structure prepositions in the form of preverbal particles, are capable of taking substantives as objects. Such particles are the conduit by which the direct object relationship is conveyed from verb to noun and in this role they act as "expanders" of the verb, increasing and enhancing its ability to govern; e.g.:

100

(246)

till —Ⅴ→ instrument

Ⅰ　Ⅱ

-- 　fields

|Ⅱ
machines
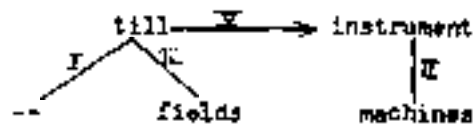
makiinadaha beeraha lagaga shaqeeyo...

machines/the - fields/the - one/
by means of/on - work

(the machines which are used to till the
fields...)

(247)

went —Ⅴ→ with
goal of

Ⅰ　Ⅱ

he　--

|Ⅱ
become
familiar

Ⅰ　Ⅱ

he　--
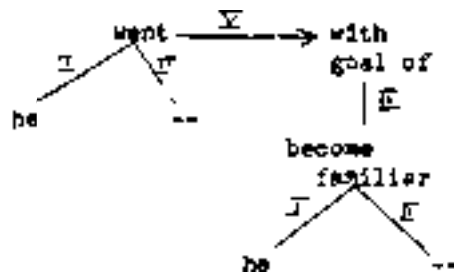
Wuxuu halkaa u tagay si uu aqoon uga
gaato tacliinta nidaamka uga dhisan.

SP/he - place/that - for - went - means
- he - knowledge - in/from - take
- education/the - system/the - for/in
- built

(He went there to acquire knowledge
about the organization of the
educational system.)

(248)

extract —Ⅴ→ from

Ⅰ　Ⅱ

-- 　oil

|Ⅱ
under

|Ⅱ
ground
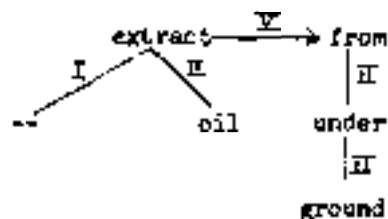
Saliidda dhulka baa laga soo hoos saara.

oil/the - ground/the - SP - one/from/
to here - under - bring

... from the original...
Saliidda dhulka baa laga hoos soo saara.

(Oil is extracted from under the
surface of the earth.)

From this latter notation, we can infer that the preverbal particle
hoos - down, under -, which governs the object dhulka - earth - is itself
dependent on another particle ka - from - in Pattern 7, a particle which
realises the same deep relationship II.　To put it another way, if the
dependent with a Part head is itself realised as a Part, then the deep
relationship II ends up being expressed by means of Pattern 7.

101

```
          ┌──────┐
          │  II  │
Part      Part ──────▶ Pattern 7
```
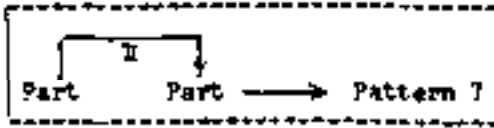
Here in the role of the governing particle only prepositional preverbs and substantive prepositional particles may appear, while in the role of the dependent particle substantive particles and short-form objective pronouns occur.   The impossibility of subordinating one substantive particle to another stems from the fact that there is only one slot (#11) in the preverb string for a preposed substantive (see Appendix VII).   Thus, by means of Pattern 7, a preverb (prepositional preverb) can govern a short-form objective pronoun or a preposed substantive and a substantive (if it has valence; i.a., if it is a prepositional substantive particle) can govern only a short-form object pronoun; e.g.:

(249)

Alaabtu wuu ii (i+u) iibiyey,

goods/the - SP/he - me/for - sold

(250)

Asag-oo nindii rear baadiyaha ahaa oo

subagga watay ku ag wareegeye ayya

waxa u yimid carab male.

he/and - man/the - tribe - nomads/the
- was - and - tallow/the - brought - in
- closeness - circles - SP - SP - to
- came - Arab - other

(And while he circled around the
  nomad   who had brought the tallow
  with him, another Arab came up to him.)

102
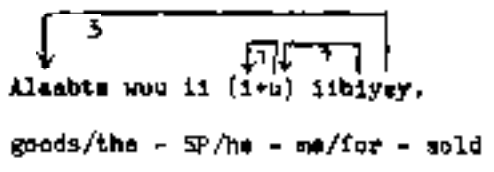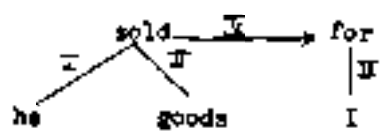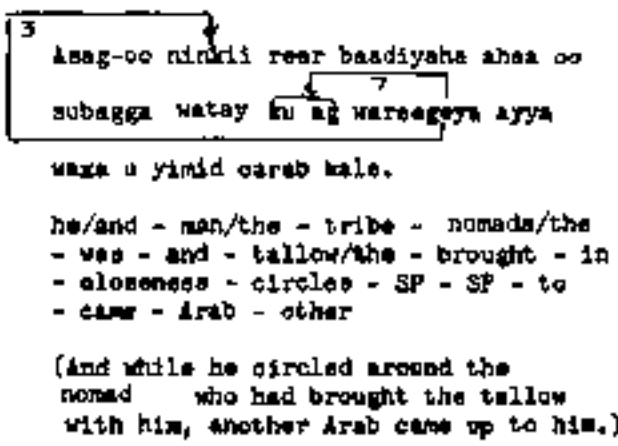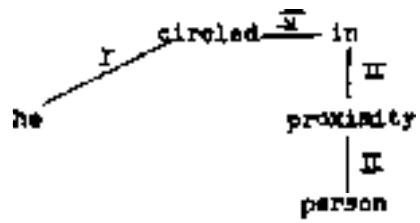
DEEP RELATIONSHIP V: The Modifying Relationship

First of all it should be noted that we have adopted the expedient of treating in some other fashion certain pairs of entities which could have been analyzed as being joined together in Relationship V.   Therefore, in the present section of our description they will not be discussed.   For example, the relationship between a number and that which is being enumerated (five books) is presented on the deep structure level not only with a modification link between them, but with a special deep structure semantic value in addition (i.e., with the deep structure "sub-word" - "in the quantity of").   Thus we have:

$$books \xrightarrow{\quad\quad V \quad\quad} \text{in the quantity of}$$
$$\downarrow \text{II}$$
$$five$$
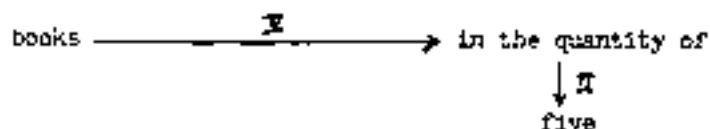
Now the shift from deep structure relationships and lexical items to surface realizations is accomplished is the topic of SECTION V, in that part which treats the corresponding deep structure value ("sub-word") - in this case, the meaning "in the quantity of".   Even though in general terms there are two deep relationships involved here (V and II) and specific deep word classes (deep S = "books" and deep $Prep$ - "in the quantity of"), it is easier to associate their realization with the expression of quantity itself and not with the general features of this deep syntax structure.

It must be noted in this regard that our description proceeds from the following conception of the meanings of _number_ and _quantity_ and the manner in which they are expressed: On the deep level there is a class of

Massawa

SAUDI ARABIA

Asmara

RED SEA

Aden

GULF OF ADEN

FRENCH
SOMALILAND

Jibuti   Zeila

Mait   Erigavo

Berbera

SOMALI
REPUBLIC

Bulhar
Borana

Burao

ETHIOPIA

Jigjiga   Hargeisa   Ainabo

Harar

Taleh

Addis Ababa

Las Anod

OGADEN

Galcaio

Imi

Obbia

Haradera

Afgoi

Mogadishu

Bardera   Merka

Shebgila

Juba   Brava

KENYA

INDIAN OCEAN

Kismayu

Tana

Nairobi

104
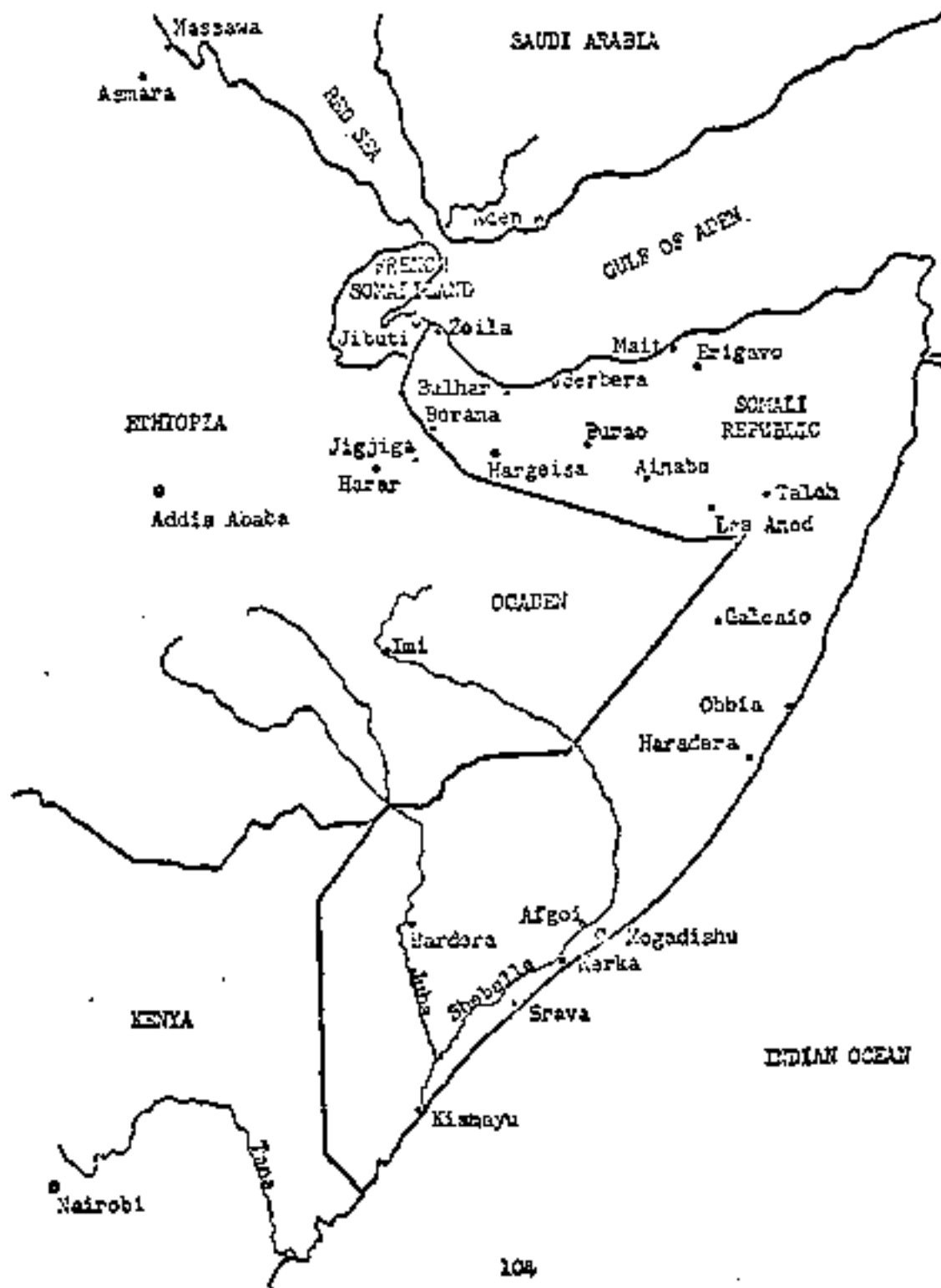
quantifiers (Quant) of the type "all", "some", "many", "a number of", etc..
Words of the class Quant combine with the names of objects in Relationship
I (the subject relationship) or they themselves are dependent on such elements
as modifiers (in Deep Relationship V).   In other words, in deep structure
both strings...

$$\text{Quant} \xrightarrow{\quad I \quad} \text{Nom}$$

$$\text{Nom} \xrightarrow{\quad V \quad} \text{Quant}$$
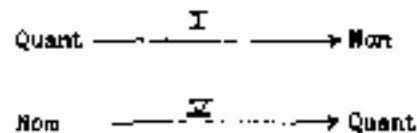
... are possible.   A special deep-level transformation establishes the
semantic equivalence of these deep structure strings (see P.   ) and their
surface realization is described with the patterns which correspond to I and
V.   The values of specific numbers, however, are related to the deep class
Num, which, as we have just seen, combines with the name of the enumerated
object by means of a special word "quantity" or "in the quantity of"

$$\text{books} \xrightarrow{\quad V \quad} \text{quantity} \xrightarrow{\quad II \quad} \text{five}$$
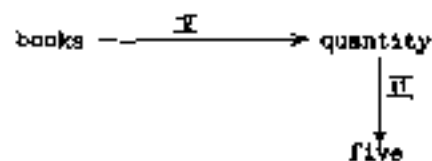
The surface expression of these meanings is treated on p.   below.

It is obvious that this is a debatable way to proceed.   If the
name of an object can directly govern the name of a quantifier (in the
deep-level construction Nom $\xrightarrow{\quad V \quad}$ Quant), then why is it that it cannot also
govern a cardinal number (isn't the notion of Num a lot like the notion
of Quant after all)?   In other words, why not allow something like

Num $\xrightarrow{\text{I}}$ Non ?   Finally, is there any sense in separating the *number* from the quantifier; i.e., why not combine the two deep classes (Quant and Num) into one?

Each of these alternative solutions, taken individually and together, appear to be perfectly acceptable.   Obviously, this would change certain parts of our description.   It is also obvious that this would not in any way contradict this description as a whole, however.   The inescapable distinctions between quantifiers and numbers could be explained as differences in surface classification (the difference between the words dhowr "some, several" and qaarka "some" would be especially interesting and significant: the former governs that which is being enumerated by means of surface Pattern 11; e.g.:

(251)   Dhowr arrinood...

             some questions

The latter governs by means of surface Pattern 9 or surface Pattern 10; e.g.:

(252)   Arrinaha qaarkood...

             some (of the) questions

Given our present classification, dhowr would be assigned to the deep-level word class Num , which is awkward since it is more or less of a synonym of the word qaarka , which was assigned to the class Quant.   Thus, the result-ant classes are either overlapping or not clearly delineated semantically).

     The basic motivation for our analysis was the desire to isolate numbers in a special class so as to be able to examine the structures involving numbers

106

and expressions which are synonymous to them, because these are governed by
special rules (in Somali as in many other languages).   At the same time, it
is not possible to separate this subject altogether from the way surface
syntax operates (Section I), since the quantitative relationship in Somali
has an obviously surface nature (even possessing its own morphological
realization).   All in all, as the above discussion demonstrates, our present
analysis is clearly defective in meeting the requirements of explanatory or
even descriptive adequacy and must be considered provisional.

The surface class of a dependent element is often an unambiguous indicator
of the pattern used to join it to a head word:

S   A   ———⟶   Pattern 11

(253)

house —— Σ ——⟶ behind
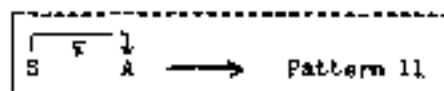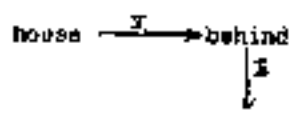
Aqalka shishe...

house/the - distant

(254)

east —— Σ ——⟶ middle

Bariga Dhexe...

east/the - middle

(255)

war —— Σ ——⟶ prior
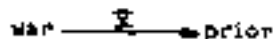
Dagaalladii hore...

wars/the - former

107

DEEP RELATIONSHIP V: The Modifying Relationship

Dependent / Head	A /A(PREP, QUANT)7	Atr /Atr(QUANT, NOM, NOM_i)7	Ad /Ad(PRED, PREP, QUANT)7	Adv_in /Adv_in (PRED, PREP, QUANT)7	Adv_oo /Adv_oo (PRED, PREP, QUANT)7	S_adv /S_phon (PRED), S^conj (PREP)7	S_temp /S (TEMP)7	Ind /S_suf (IND)7	Conj /Conj (PREP)7
S /S_temp(TEMP), S_phon(PRED), S(PRED, QUANT, NOM, NOM_i), S_oo (PRED, PREP, QUANT)7	11	21	8	---	---	---	10	15	---
V /V, V_inf, S_in, S_oo, S_si, Adv_in, Adv_oo, Ad (PRED, PREP, QUANT)7	---	---	---	6	19	6	6	---	6

(figure 7)

107 (a)

Dependent \ Head	Part /Part(PREP)7	S_qi /Ssi(PRED, PREP, QUANT)7	S_1 /S(NOM_i)7	S_prep /Spr(PREP)7	S_pred /S(NOM), S(PRED)7	S_quant /S(QUANT)	Conj_coord /Conj^coord (CCORD)
S (subclasses as on p. 107 (a))	---	---	18+2+ ah+3	---	10; 18+2+ ah+3	13	17
V (subclasses as on p. 107 (a))	7	7+u+3	7+u+3	3; 7+Part+ 3	7+Part+3	---	17

107 (b)

(figure 7 continued)

(256)

person $\xrightarrow{\bar{x}}$ each

Nin walba...

person – each

(257)   Week $\xrightarrow{\bar{x}}$ each

Toddobadkiiba...

week/the – each

$\overset{\bar{x}}{V \quad A}$ can not be realized; i.e., a verb cannot govern an adjective.

$\overset{\bar{x}}{S \quad Atr} \longrightarrow$ Pattern 21

(258)

council $\xrightarrow{\bar{x}}$ revolution

Golaha kawriga ah...

council/the – revolution(ness)/the – is

(revolutionary council)

(259)

meeting $\xrightarrow{\bar{x}}$ hurry

gadhi degdeg ah...

meeting – hurry – is

(an emergency meeting)

(260)

union $\xrightarrow{x}$ war

Gandiga militeriga ah...

bloc /the – military(ness)/the – is

(the militarist bloc)

$\overset{\bar{x}}{V \quad Atr}$ can not be realized.

$\overset{\bar{x}}{S \quad S_{adv}}$ can not be realised.

$\boxed{V \quad \overset{\overline{V}}{\longleftrightarrow} \quad S_{adv}; \quad V \quad \overset{I}{\longleftrightarrow} \quad S_{temp} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \underline{Pattern\ 6}}$

(261)

flashed $\overset{V}{\longrightarrow}$ zigzag

$\overset{I}{\swarrow}$

it
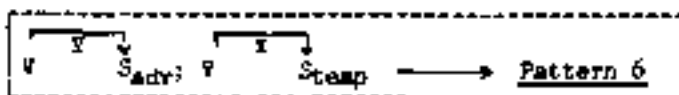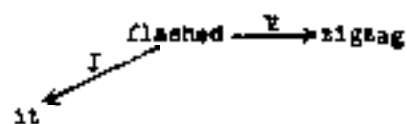
Bari bay ka hillaacday bilig.

east - SP/it - in - flashed - streak
(There was a streak of lightning in the
east.)

(262)

goes $\overset{V}{\longrightarrow}$ hiss

$\overset{I}{\swarrow}$
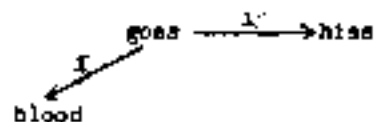
blood

Dhiigga baa iss soo daayay shalalalalalax!

blood/the - SP - self - here - flowed -
hissing or gushing sound
(The blood spurted out like a fountain.)

(263)

arrived $\overset{V}{\dashrightarrow}$ yesterday

$\overset{I}{\swarrow}$

he
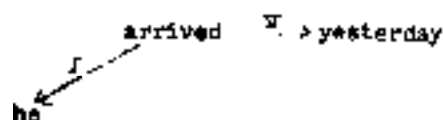
Shalay buu yimid.

yesterday - SP/he - arrived

(264)

comes $\overset{V}{\longrightarrow}$ week $\overset{L}{\longrightarrow}$ each

$\overset{I}{\swarrow}$

he
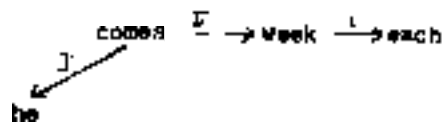
Toddobaadkiiba mar buu yimaadda.

week/the/each - time - SP/he - comes
(He comes once a week.)

(265)

built $\overset{\overline{V}}{\longrightarrow}$ three
years

$\overset{I}{\swarrow}$ $\overset{\overline{\overline{II}}}{\searrow}$
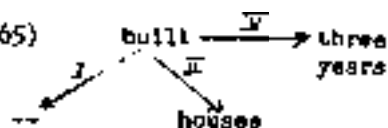
-- houses

$\boxed{I}$
Sadexdii sanadood ee ugu dambeeyey halkaa

waxa laga dhisay aqallo badan.

three/the - years - and - most - last
- place/that - SP - one/in - built -
houses - many
(Many houses have been built there in
the last three years.)

(266)

waited $\overset{\overline{V}}{\longrightarrow}$ while $\overset{\overline{II}}{\longrightarrow}$
worked

$\overset{I}{\swarrow}$ $\overset{II}{\searrow}$ $\overset{I}{\swarrow}$

he me I
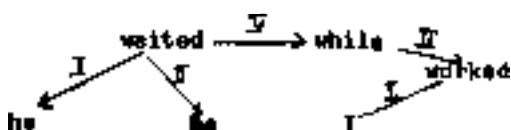
Intaan shaqeynayey buu i sugay.

segment(time)/I - was working - SP/he
- me - waited

(267)
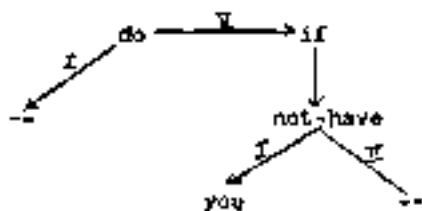
Waxaad jaceshahay haddaad waaydo waxaad
ka maarmi waaydo baa la yuelaa.

thing/you - like - if/you - cannot -
thing/you - from - do without - cannot
- SP - one - does
(If you can't get what you want, then
you must make do with what you need.)

It should be noted that the conjunctive noun (S_{conj}) combines with the
verb which governs it in the same fashion as a conjunction. The only differ-
ence between the two is the selection of surface structure used to realise the
bond between the deep structure conjunction and its verb; With Conj surface
pattern 20 is used, while with S_{conj} it is surface pattern 18 + 6.

$S \quad S_{prep}$ cannot be realized; i.e., it is not possible to render
word for word...

            "house by the road..."

            "building in the center of town..."

in Somali.
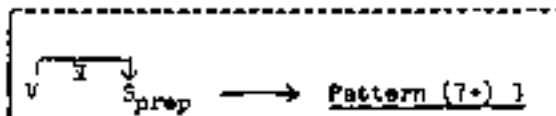
$V \quad S_{prep} \longrightarrow$ __Pattern (7+) 3__

The prepositional noun (S_{prep} - usually with a locative meaning) combines
with a verb like any other noun denoting place (see Section V); i.e., as a
direct object (__Pattern 3__) or through the use of one of the preverbs __ku__ or
__ka__ (__Pattern 7 + 3__); e.g.:

(268)

speak ——Ⅴ——→ before
ↂ I   ↓ Ⅱ
he   officers
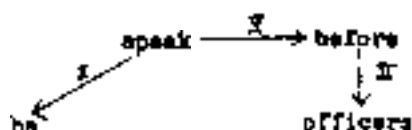
... mar uu ka hadlay saraakiisha hortooda.

moment – he – in – spoke – officers/the
front/their
(...when he spoke before the officers)

(269)

met ——Ⅴ——→ behind
I / Ⅱ \   ↓ Ⅱ
I   he   hill
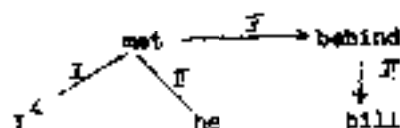
Waxaan kula kulmay isaga buurta

shishedeeda.

SP/I – in/with – met – him – hill/the
rear/its
(I met him beyond the hill.)

(270)

sat down ——Ⅴ——→ under
↓ I   ↓ Ⅱ
he   tree
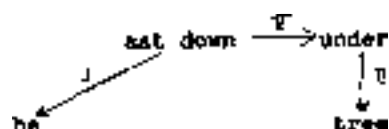
Geed hoostii buu fadhiistay.

tree – under/its – SP/he – sat.

As far as the subordination of prepositional elements to head words is
concerned (S ⎺Ⅴ⎺ Prep, V ⎺Ⅴ⎺ Prep), the following should be noted. We
started by assuming that it would be perfectly natural to represent such
prepositional values as "in front of", "between", "in back of", etc. in our
notation of deep structure by means of Relationship V (the modifying relation-
ship):

stood ——Ⅴ——→ between   border– ⎺Ⅴ⎺ >between   saw ——Ⅴ——→ behind
             ↓ Ⅱ   ↓ Ⅱ   ↓ Ⅱ
           houses   countries   hill
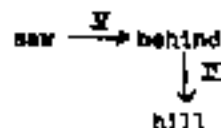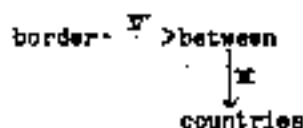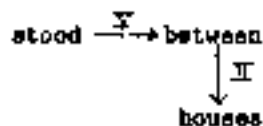
Somali, however, requires the explicit surface representation of certain
general features of locative meaning, features which are not usually explicitly
marked in other languages.   Locative meaning in Somali is divided into two

segments: 1) that which is expressed by a preverb and 2) that which is expressed by a prepositional noun (S_{prep}). The former indicates the most general position or direction: "in" a certain place (ku, ka), "toward" a certain place (u, ku), "from" a certain place (ka) and "through/across" a certain place (ka). The latter denotes a more specific position vis-a-vis some other object: "in front of", "behind", "between", "on/at", "over", "under", etc.. This is, of course, completely in keeping with what many theoretical linguists have said about the locative (see L. Hjelmslev, La Categorie de Cas, Aarhus, 1936); namely, that any realization of locative meaning will account somehow for these two aspects of its meaning.

The fact that Somali uses noun forms to express the second aspect of locative meaning with preverbs realizing the meanings of the first type makes the following situation mandatory: 1) There must be a clear distinction in deep structure notation between these two aspects of locative meaning and 2) each specific locative relationship must be represented in terms of a combination of the both of them. Thus, the deep structure notations used above are not explicit enough and should be replaced by the following:

stood ————→in   border ————→in   saw ————→in
     ↓   ↓   ↓
between   between   back of
     ↓   ↓   ↓
houses   countries   hill
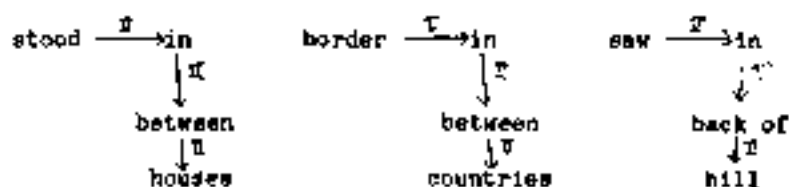
Two conclusions may be drawn from this:

1) It is only the locative meanings of the first type (the ones which are marked by preverbs on the surface) which actually "modify" (in Relationship Y) a head word. Locatives of the second kind (the ones which are marked by

112

noun forms) are subordinated to the preverb and the bond at this juncture is one of government (Relationship II), or are realized in some special manner which is limited to locative constructions (see Section V). What is true of S_{prep} is true in principal of V_{prep} also; i.e., of such locative verbs as dhexeyn (be between) and hooseyn (be under).

2) Combinations of the "in-between" type should be regarded as members of a set which also includes "toward-between", "from-between" and "through-between".

We should probably examine as possible V_{prep} forms such as dhex galay (to-between entered) also.

3) A similar stratification of meaning is theoretically possible for temporal constructions as well as locative ones (up to now we have accepted temporal modification as a simple bond between head and modifier:

$$\text{meeting} \xrightarrow{\quad Y \quad} \text{yesterday}$$

Such direct modification will continue to be used for temporal structures, because the realities of Somali do not dictate any more complex analysis. Thus, we shall continue to regard temporal adverbs in Somali as paratactic; i.e, as elements which operate in terms of placement and not in terms of other joining words.
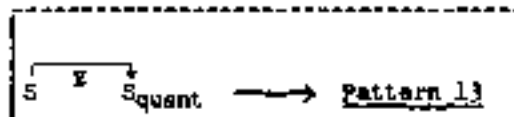
$$S \xrightarrow{\quad Y \quad} S_{quant} \longrightarrow \text{Pattern 13}$$

See the following page for examples of this construction.

113

(271)

sent
  I ╱ ╲ II
 ...   people ——𝕏—→ all

Dadka baa kulli loo diray.

people/the - SP - all - one/in - sent

(272)

returned
  I ╱   ╲ II
men ——𝕏—→ each   their
                      houses
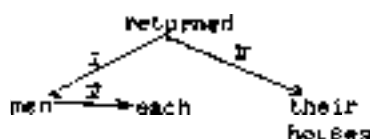
Nimankaasi waxay ku soo noqdeen guryo-
houda qof wa.ba. [1]

men/those - SP/they - to - here -
returned - houses/their - person - each
(These men returned, each to his own
 house.)

$$V \quad S_{quant} \quad \text{cannot be realized.}$$

S   (V*)Ad ——→ **Pattern 18**
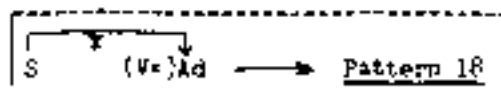
For examples of relative clauses joined to noun heads and for a detailed
treatment of such constructions see Section II, pp. 34-45.

S   Conj   cannot be realized.

Translator's Note:

At this point Zholkovskij notes that a similar construction would also
be ungrammatical in Russian (see p. 92).

V   Conj ——→ **Pattern 6**

See the following page for examples of this construction.

114

(273)

entera —I→ however
into
         II
I   II   entera
         into
sculpture   art
         I   II
      astronomy science
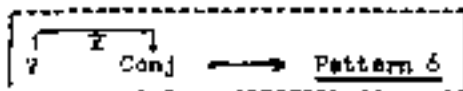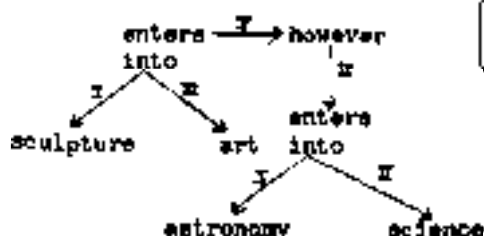
Sanaaku wuxuu ka mid yahay xaradka lashin xiddiggu wuu ciluu.

sculpture/the - SP/it - from/one - is
-art - however - astronomy/the - SP/V_cop
-sciences

(Sculpture is one of the arts, while astronomy is one of the sciences.)

S —II→ Ind ——→ Pattern 15
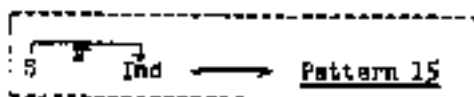
Examples of this construction are...

(274)

war —II→ this   Dagaalkaasu...

(275)

         I→ the
year
         II→ last   Sannadkii hore...

(276)

book —II→ his   Buuggiisu...

V —II→ Ind cannot be realised in Somali (this is apparently true of most of the languages of the world). As far as "demonstrative" meanings being attached to verbs is concerned, we might possibly consider the various temporal and modal modifications of verbal meaning to be a form of deep-structure demonstrative; e.g.:

this war	-	They are (now) fighting.
that war	-	They were fighting (in the past).

```
 _____
|  _____                          |
| |  Σ   |                        |
| | V  Part  ----→  Pattern 7     |
|_____|
```

What is at issue here are the free (as opposed to the bound; i.e., governed or valenced) combinations of verb and modifiers, where such modification is realized in surface structure in the form of preverbal particles. These may be the adverbial particles (positions 9 and 10 in the string of preverbal particles — see Appendix VII) or they may also be prepositional particles (positions 3 - 6) when these appear not as 'conduits' of strong government, but rather as the surface realizations of independent (free) prepositions in deep structure.

Translator's Note:

By "independent" here, Zholkovskij apparently means deep-structure prepositions which are not included in a given verb's valence.

Examples of $V \overset{\Sigma}{} Part. — > Pattern 7$ are:

(277)

```
burn ──Σ──→instrument
            │II
            ↓
          bombs
```

```
     ┌──Σ──┐ │↓ 7┐
...bombcoyinka lagu gubay.
```

bombs/the - one/by means of - burned

(...bombs used to burn...)

(278)

```
      ⅴ
  do ──→for
  I │II │ⅴ
 ↙  ↓   ↓
I  this  you
```

```
    ┌↓7┐┌↓ ⅴ ┐
Waa kuu (= ku+u) sameyey.
```

SP - you/for - I - did

126

(279)

returned $\xrightarrow{x}$ to   Way soo noqdeen.

they   here   SP/they – hither – returned

Preposed noun forms (i.e., nouns which appear in the preverbal string) cannot be used in the surface realisation of the $V\ ^{x}\ \overrightarrow{Part}$ structure; they can only be strongly governed objects.

$S\ ^{x}\ Part \longrightarrow$ **Pattern ?**
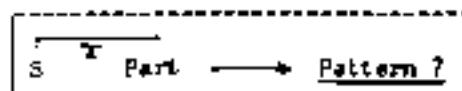
It is a rare phenomenon for a noun to govern a preverbal particle. When this does occur, the result is virtually a compound; e.g., wada-jirka (solidarity – "together-being").

$S\ ^{x}\ \bar{S}_{s}\ ;\ S\ ^{x}\ \bar{S}_{pred}\ ;\ S\ ^{x}\ \bar{S}_{temp} \longrightarrow$ **Pattern 10**
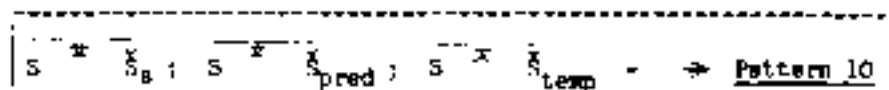
In our description, many of the relationships which are usually treated as modifiers (because, apparently, they are normally rendered as adjectives in translation into European languages) are analysed under such distinct semantic headings as "place", "possession", "material", "name", etc., see Section V. What remains are the most general, the "unspecified" modifiers which are realised in the form of noun + noun in surface **Pattern 10**; e.g.:

(280)

week $\xrightarrow{x}$ peace   Toddobaadka nabadgelyeda...

                   week/the – peace/the

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(281)

conference $\xrightarrow{Y}$ Havana   Shirkii Kabana...

(282)

men $\xrightarrow{\overline{Y}}$ olden times   Raggii waagii hore ...

group of men/the - time/the - other

(283)

committee ^{9} $\twoheadrightarrow$ decolonial-   Guddiga gumaysiga baabi'intiisa
ization

committee/the - colonialism/the -
destruction/its

(284)

revolution $^{\tau}$ > October   Tawraddii Oktoobar...

(285)

women $\xrightarrow{}$ there   Gabdhaha halkaa...

women/the - place/that

$$S \xrightarrow{T} S_s \; ; \; S \xrightarrow{9} S_{pred} \; ; \; S \xrightarrow{T} S_i \longrightarrow \text{Pattern } 18 + \overleftarrow{2} + \underline{ah} + 1$$
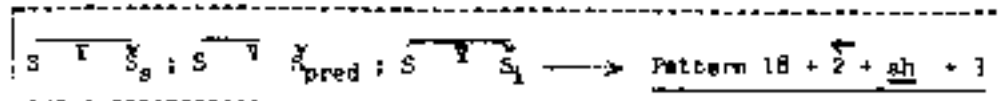
This is another way of realizing "pare" modification (i.e., semantically
no more specific than what was given above for _Pattern 10_); e.g.:

(286)

weapon $\xrightarrow{Y}$ danger   Hubka halista ah...

weapon/the - danger/the - is
(the weapon of mass destruction)

(287)

man $\xrightarrow{Y}$ lazy person   Nin caajis ah...

man - lazy person - is
(a lazy man)

118

(288)

relations - ^{N} >friendship   Xiriirka saaxiibnimada ah...

relation/the - friendship/the - is
(friendly relations)

It should be noted that in Somali the relationship between two nouns is much less likely to remain non-specific than in European languages; that is, Somali characteristically expresses semantic relationships in the form of explicitly marked predication (the _ah_ construction is but the first step in this direction). Compare...

(289)   the Havana meeting   ------>   Shirka ka socda Habana...

meeting/the - in - proceeding - Havana

(290)   militarist bloc   ------>   Cahdiga dagaalka loo dhigay...,

bloc/the - war/the - one - created

(291)   atomic war   ------>   Dagaalka hubka halista ah lagu

dagaalamo...

war/the - weapon/the - danger/the - is - one/by means of - fights

```
V        Y        (V=)Adv_{oo}   ----> Pattern 19
```

This is one of the two most frequent ways of realizing a deep-structure combination of two predicates in a modifying relationship. The mechanics of Adv_{oo} (how it is put together and how it is embedded in a larger construction) are treated in detail in Section II.

Omitted at this point is a comparison of Adv_{oo} structures with the Russian DEEPRICHASTIE (verbal adverb or coverb) form, particularly with an ungrammatical usage of the Russian form which is a lot like an English "dangling" participle.   See Zholkovskij, p. 95.

$$\downarrow \quad \overset{\Sigma}{\quad} (V=)Adv_{in} \longrightarrow \text{Pattern 6}$$
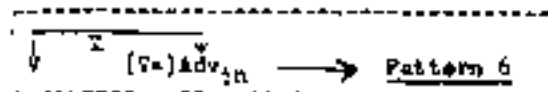
A relative clause modifying the words in (lit. "a quantity"), si (manner) or waxa (thing) combines with the predicate of the main clause by means of Pattern 6; e.g.:

(292)
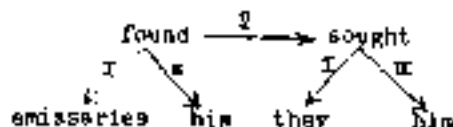
Raggii beledyaha ahaa ee loo diray baa
waxay ninkii faaliyaha ahaa doonaan-ba
cashadii dambe helay oo keenay.

group of men/the - city/the - were
and - one to - sent - SP - thing/they -
man/the - soothsayer/the - was - seek
(+ particle ba) - day/the - next -
found - and - brought
(After having sought the soothsayer,
the emissaries from the town found
him and brought him back.)

$$\boxed{V \xrightarrow{\overline{\underline{q}}} \ \overset{Y}{S}_{pred}} \longrightarrow \underline{\text{Pattern 7 + Part + 3}}$$

The particles ku or la (depending on various factors) are used to join verbal nouns to a predicate.   It appears that la (with) is selected when the logical subjects of both the main verb and the verbal noun are the same (as in European languages).   Examples of this construction are...

(293)
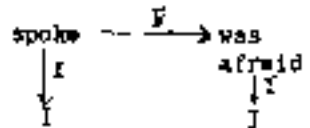
spoke --$\xrightarrow{\overline{V}}$ was
    $\downarrow_I$ afraid
    $\downarrow$ $\downarrow_{\overline{z}}$
    I   I

Cabsi baan la hadley.

fear - SP/I - with - spoke

(294)

did --$\underline{\hspace{1cm}\overline{z}\hspace{1cm}}$ not
  $\downarrow_I$ know
            $\downarrow_{\overline{z}}$
  he   I
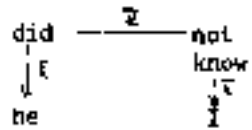
Ogaanshala'aantey buu ku sameeyey.

not knowing/my - SP/he - in - did
(He did this without my knowledge.)

(295)

gave --$\xrightarrow{\overline{z}}$ conditions
  1 $\diagup$ $\overline{\underline{II}}$ $\overline{z}$
$\swarrow$ $\searrow$ $\downarrow$
--   this   him   good
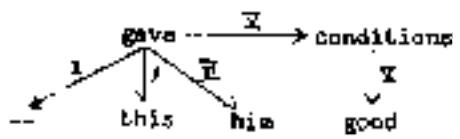
Shuruud wanaagsan baa lagu siiyey.

conditions - good/are - SP - one/in
- (him) - gave
(He was given this under favorable
conditions.)

However, the rule governing the selection of la is not by any means hard and fast; e.g.:

(296)

Orod buu igu dhaafay.

a run - SP/he - me/in (or "by means of") - passed
(He ran past me. / He passed me running.)

12.

There is also a tendency for nouns which themselves denote manner to be joined to the verb by means of the preverb u (toward, for, in); e.g.:

(297)

not-said $\xrightarrow{\;v\;}$ clarity 　　　　Hadalka baanad fasiix u odhanayn.

speech/the - SP/not/you - clarity - in - said
(You didn't say this clearly.)

(298)

teach $\xrightarrow{\;v\;}$ without payment　　Ardadaa bilaash baa wax loogu (=la+u+ku) baraa.

students

students/those - no money - SP - thing - one/in/on - teaches
(Those students are being taught for free.)

(299)

go $\;\dashrightarrow\;$ directly　　Hagaag u soco!
(Walk straight ahead!)

(300)

loves $\xrightarrow{\;\;}$ very

this　　Aad iyo aad baa loo (=la+u) jacelyahay.

much(ness) - and - much(ness) - SP - one/in - (this) - likes
(This is very much loved.)

As a rule, the preverb u is used to join a verb and the product of an adverbialization process (Nom$_{S1}$); i.e., $V\;\;\overset{\Sigma}{}\;\;S_{S1}\;\longrightarrow\;$ Pattern 7 + u + 3; e.g.:

(301)

Si aan hore loo arkin bay ugu gardarrooneysan xuquuqda unuudaha u dhexeeya.

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manner - not - before - one/in - dee - SP/they - in/by
means of - violate - sovereignty/the - nations/the - in
- between/are

They are violating international law in an unprecedented
manner.

The situation with $V\ S_2$ and $V\ S_1$ is essentially similar to
$V\ S_{si}$,because these noun subclasses can normally appear as verb qualifiers
only in one or another of the <u>object</u> meanings - location, goal, etc.. So the
closest thing to the deep relationship V, which we are examining here (i.e., the
relationship of general modification), would appear to be the notion of manner
(of the $X - BE - like - Y$ variety, that is). The S_2 or S_1 will represent an
abbreviated form of a more elaborate string (which includes a predicate) -
"...in the manner that S usually does.". First the original noun undergoes
an S_{si} nominalization (see Section II, p. 54). The S_{si} (S) structure thus
obtained is then joined with the main verb by means of the preverb u like
any other S_{si} ; e.g.:

(302)

Sidii nin buka buu wax u cuhuu.

manner/the - man - sick - SP/he - thing - in - eats

He eats like a sick man.

(303)

Sidaydii hore baan u nool ahay.

manner/my/the - before - SP/I - in - live

I live as I did previously.

A stipulation should be added to these last statements (about the

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realization of $V \quad S_{pred}$, $V \quad S_{si}$, $V \quad S_i$ and $V \quad S_s$): with three verbs — ahaan (to be), noqon (to become), yeeli (to make) — nouns functioning as modifiers are joined not by means of preverbs, but rather as direct objects; e.g.:

(304)

Buuggani sida horraantiisu tahay buu dhammaantii wada yahay.

book/this - manner/the - beginning/its - is - SP/it entirety/its - all - is (in this manner)

The way this book begins is the way it is all the way through.

It should be noted, however, that such a "preverb-less" way of joining the word sida to the verbs ahaan , yeeli , and noqon is possible only when sida is the sole object. If the object slot of any one of these three verbs is already occupied by something else, then sida and the verb are joined by the preverb u. Compare (305) and (306) below.

(305)

Ma aqaan siduu noqday.

not - I know - manner/he - became

I do not know what became of him.

...but:

(306)

Sarkaal siduu u noqday ma aqaan.

officer - manner/he - to - became - not - I know

How he became an officer I do not know.

We shall note in conclusion that between $V \quad Adv_{oo}$ and $V \quad Adv_{in}$ on one hand and $V \quad \tilde{S}_{pred}$, $V \quad \tilde{S}_s$, $V \quad \tilde{S}_i$ and $V \quad \tilde{S}_{sd}$ on the other there exists a certain general distinction in meaning: In the first two structures, the main predicate is modified in a metonymic way; i.e., paratactically.   These two constructions denote the general conditions under which an event occurs, the other events which precede or which are coterminous with it.   The second group of structures, however, contain a predicate which is being modified in a metaphoric way; i.e., according to a certain resemblance between an event an some other (dependent) object or event.   The latter group of structures denote the manner in which the main action transpired (in such a case, Somali uses the preverb construction - 7 + Part + 3)


$V \quad Coord$, $S \quad Coord \longrightarrow$ Pattern 17
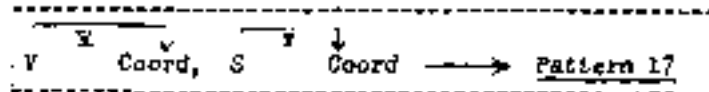
A coordinating conjunction is joined to the dependent conjoined element by means of Pattern 17.   For examples of this see below in that part of Section III devoted to the ways in which deep relationship VI are realized.

##########

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DEEP RELATIONSHIP VI: Coordination

It is a perfectly acceptable expedient to formulate a deep structure
for coordination which is identical to surface structure in every respect
save one. In such a formulation, the first constituent of the construction
governs the second (Deep Relationship VI, Surface Pattern 16), while the
second constituent is simply modified by the conjunction (Deep Relationship
V, Surface Pattern 17). The sole difference between the deep structure
proposed for coordination and the surface structures already described (see
Section I) is the lack of any special relationship between the second conjoined
element and the conjunction. Otherwise, the deep and surface levels look
pretty much alike:

(307)   books   and   newspapers   kutubta iyo jaraa'iidka

(308)   came   and   saw   yimi   oo   arkay
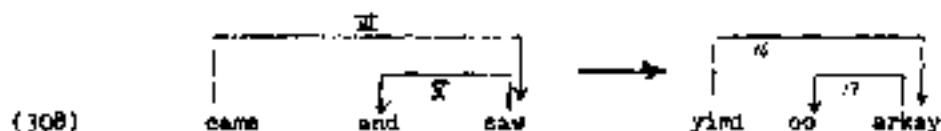
There are some special features of Somali coordination structures that
should be pointed out:

1) Somali has several conjunctions which are glossed as "and". The
selection of one over the other depends on the syntactic status of the
conjoined elements.

    a) If the conjoined elements are independent predicates of one or of
different subjects, then the conjunctions _oo_ or _-na_ (an enclitic) are
used to join them.

b) If the conjoined elements are subordinate clauses, the conjunctions
oo , ee or -na are used.

c) If the conjoined elements are the predicates of a declarative
and an imperative (joined in one construction), then only the conjunction
ee can be used and it will appear at the end of the declarative.

d) If the conjoined elements are first-rank dependents of a single
verb, then the conjunction iyo is used.

Subordinate clauses operating as first-rank sentence constituents are
treated like simple words in a coordination structure, but the S_{conj} (the
so-called joining noun) which introduces them may be moved out of the clause[*]
and then their predicates will be joined by the conjunctions oo or -na.

Translator's Note:

[*] Literally... "go out beyond the bracket". The joining word, normally
a noun form is moved to the left of the conjunction. For another view of
this, see Section II, p. 48 (134).

Examples of Somali coordination structures are given below:

(309)

Qof walba xeelad bau kaga baxaa iyo khiyaano oo qof waliba
wuxuu ka tagaa isag-oo farxaan ah een wax-na la siin.

person - each - cunning - SP/he - by means of/from - goes
out - and deception - and - person - each - SP/he - from
- leaves - he/and - satisfied - is - not - thing/and - one
- gave

He gets around everyone through acts of slyness and through
the use of deception, and yet everyone goes away from him
satisfied without having obtained anything.

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(310)

Waxa la yidhi libaax iyo mas iyo mas iyo dab iyo daad iyo
reelad iyo daacad baa beri hal wada lahaa.

thing/the - one - said - lion - and - snake - and - wattle
- and - fire - and - torrent - and - cunning - and - honor
- SP - one day - female camel - together - had

Once (upon a time) a lion, a snake, wattle, fire, torrent,
cunning and honor all owned a she-camel.

(311)

War hor ma adaa ninka bakhaylka ah ee la sheegaa?

listen - in front - QUEST - you/SP - man/the - miser/the
- is - and - one - (about) - speaks

Are you not the famous miser?

(312)

War, ninyohow, bakhaylnimadan is ka daa yaan lagu
cadaabiin ee.

listen - man/(address form) - miserliness/this - self -
from - put - in order/not - one/you - punish

Listen, man, put aside your miserliness and you will not
be punished.

(313)

Waxa loo baahanyahay in la joojiyo dagaalka halkaa ka
socodeya iyo in laga saaro (= in-na laga saaro = oo laga
saaro) ciidammada shishayaha u jooga.

SP - one/in - needs - that - one - cease - war/the - place
/that - in - goes on - and - that - one/from - take -
troops - foreigner - for - are

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It is necessary to put an end to the war which continues
to be waged there and to withdraw foreign troops from that
place.

2) The repetition or deletion of coordinating conjunctions and of
the conjoined elements themselves in Somali is quite similar to that which
occurs in European languages.   Conjunctions can be inserted between all
conjoined elements or only before the last element in a series (in example
310 above, the conjunction iyo could have been omitted in every instance ex-
cept before dacad.).   Also, most elements common to conjoined constituents
can be moved to the head of the sequence and expressed only once; e.g.:
(314)

Madaxaweyneyaasha Suriya iyo Ciraq...

The presidents of Syria and Iraq...

(315)   Maraakiibta Fransiiska iyo Ingeriiska,...

French and English ships...

There are, however, strings in which this kind of deletion is not
permitted.   Where the common element is modified by an adjective (Pattern 11)
or by a relative clause (Pattern 18), it is neither repeated within each of
the conjoined constituents nor deleted, but rather replaced by such
demonstrative PRO-forms as ka (that one), kan (this one), kuwa (those),
etc.; e.g.:

(316)

Sannadkii la soo dhaafay iyo kii ka horreyay...

year/the - one - here - passed - and - the one - from
- preceded

Last year and the year before last...

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(317)

Farasa=ada khimiyada ah iyo ta makdinadsha soo-saarta...

industry/the - chemistry/the - is - and - the one - machines/the - produces

The chemical and the machine-building industries...

(318)

Meeaha labaad iyo ta saddexaad-na...

place/the - second - and - the one - third/and...

Second and third places...

3) Somali does have one form of ellipsis involving conjoined constituents which does not occur in European languages.   Let us assume that we have a sentence in which one of the conjoined subjects is a personal pronoun; e.g.:

(319)

Ballankii (ay) maskii iyo isagu dhigteen...

agreement/the - (they) - snake/the - and - he - entered into

It is possible to say:

(320)

Ballankii ay maskii dhigteen...

agreement/the - they - shake/the - entered into

One of the conjoined constituents, the personal pronoun isaga is deleted, but the subject pronoun ay (they), which referes to both conjoined constituents, becomes obligatory.

Translator's Note:

Zholkroskij cites comparable occurrences in Russian and in Old Icelandic

****

FINDING ALL POSSIBLE REALIZATIONS OF A DEEP-STRUCTURE COMBINATION

In Figures 4, 5 and 6 and in the corresponding subdivisions of Section III, we have shown what surface means can serve to express deep-structure relationships.   Given a particular deep-structure, what will the transition to surface structure look like?   This question is not merely of theoretical interest, since in many instances (as indicated by the dashes in many of the cells in these figures) this process is often checkmated and we must try to find some other avenue.

Translator's Note:

What is generally involved in "finding some other avenue" is going back and trying some other surface word class as the realization of a deep-structure lexical class.

The general rule for this is as follows:

Let us state that the deep construction underlying a given pattern is...

$$X \ - \ \xrightarrow{\ \ i\ \ } \ Y$$

..., where X and Y represent deep-structure (lexical) classes and i represents the number (Roman) of a particular deep-structure relationship.   In the figure labelled i , we take all the lines which have in their headings a dual symbol with X in parentheses; i.e., all lines with headings of the type n(X), and we also take all columns which have in their headings a dual

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symbol with Y in parentheses; i.e., all columns with headings of the type $n(Y)$. Where these lines and columns intersect are found all the surface-structure patterns (expressed in Arabic numerals) which we are seeking. The surface word classes corresponding to the symbols in front of the parentheses are what is joined in the numbered surface realizations of the deep structure $X \xrightarrow{\quad 1 \quad} Y$.

We shall analyze two examples.

1) Let's say that we have to find a surface realization for the deep structure...
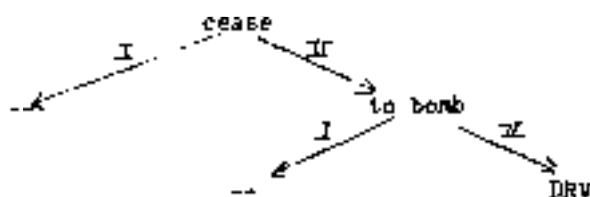
We can begin by attempting to use the infinitive construction (as in English "begin to bomb"). Thus, we have a deep structure...
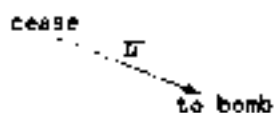

as one instance of...
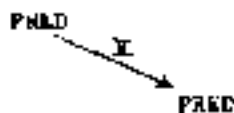
Figure 4 (p. 85) shows us that there is a surface pattern (Pattern 8) which corresponds to...

$$V(PRED) \xrightarrow{\text{II}} v^{inf}(PRED)$$
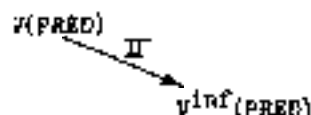
..., but it is limited in occurrence to a small number of verb forms in the head-word slot. The verb _joojiin_ (to cease) is unfortunately not one of these (a fact which is not immediately evident from consulting Figure 4).

Another avenue is to start with the head word realized as a noun, i.e., S(PRED). Once again, however, we are frustrated, because the combination...

$$S(PRED) \xrightarrow{\text{II.}} v^{inf}(PRED)$$
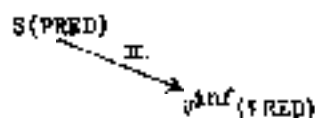
... cannot be realized in Somali (as indicated by the dash at the appropriate intersection).

Retaining S(PRED) as the head, we can try S(PRED) as the dependent and the first column of Figure 4 indicates that, given the various means of nominalizing both the head and the dependent, the resultant combination can be realized as either S $\overset{\text{V}}{\longrightarrow}$ S (+strong govt.) or S $\overset{\text{rs}}{\longrightarrow}$ S ;e.g.:

(321)

Joojinta bombareynta...

cessation/the - bombing/the

(322)

Joojinta JDV oo la bombareyo...

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(323)

Bongareynta joojinteeda...

bombing/the - cessation/its

(324)

JDV oo la bongareyo joojinteeda...

DRV - and - one - bombs - cessation/its

If we had selected another path and retained a verb form in the head-word slot; i.e., V(PRED), Figure 4 shows us that we could have used S_{in} or S_{si} as the realization of the dependent. Thus, an acceptable variant might have been found even sooner; i.e.,....

$$V(PRED) \xrightarrow{\quad \text{II} \quad} S_{in}/S_{si}(PRED)$$

..., the surface realization of which is strong government (Pattern 3); e.g.:

(325)

Joojiya in la bongareyo...

ceases- that - one - bombs

(326)

Joojiya sida loo bongareyo...

ceases - manner/the - one/in - bombs

2) Let's say that we have to find a surface realization for the deep structure...

$$house \xrightarrow{\quad V \quad} below$$
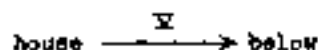
...; i.e., the construction:

```
        ┌──────────Σ──────────┐
        │                     │
       NOM                  PREP
```
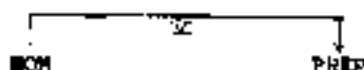
If we turn to figure 7 (DEEP RELATIONSHIP V, the modifying relationship),
we find that NOM is realized only as a noun, S(NOM).   Thus, we are limited
to the upper line on the figure.   Somali locative meanings are often expressed
by nouns of the S(PREP) class and there is such a noun with the meaning
("below") we need: hoosta .   However, when we get to the intersection of
the S(NOM) line and the S(PREP) column, we find a dash and we must, therefore,
look for some other method of expressing a deep-structure PREP modifying a
deep-structure NOM .   Further scrutiny of possible combinations yields at
least one realizable combination:

```
   ┌────────Σ────────┐                    ┌────────A────────┐
   │                 │                    │                 │
 house            below    ──────→        S                 A (adjective)
```
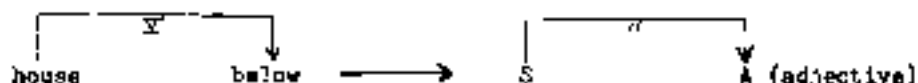
...; i.e., aqalka hoose (the lower house).

    But if we assume that the original structure was somewhat more complex:

```
   ┌───────Σ───────┐ ┌───────II───────┐
   │               │ │                │
 house          below           village
```

..., then we soon discover that we cannot add the governed noun (deep
relationship II) to what we already have, that adjective heads do not
govern nouns in Somali. In fact, there are no adjectives at all in the
head word list in figure 7.   The deep structure we want is partially
realizable where the PREP ("below") is realized as an S(PREP) ("hoosta) or a

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Part(PREP) ("hoos"), but then we will be stymied when we try to join the resultant combination to an S(NOM) head (as we have already seen).

We can take a different tack and try realizing the deep-structure PREP as a surface verb - V(PREP), which can then undergo adjectivalization and emerge as the dual class Ad(PREP); i.e., a deep-structure preposition (PREP) realized as a surface verb (V), which is then transformed into a surface relative clause (Ad).   In such as case, the deep structure:

$$
\overline{\text{V}} \qquad \underline{\text{II}}
$$

NOM	PREP	NOM
house	below	village
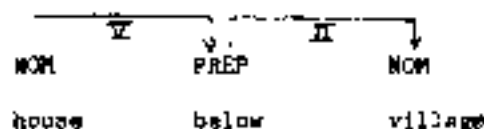
is realized by the surface patterns:

$$
\text{S} \qquad \text{Ad} \qquad * \qquad \text{S} \qquad (* = \text{some form of strong government.})
$$

which corresponds to the Somali:

(327)   Aqalka tuulada ka hoosaya...

                    house/the - village/the - from - lower/is
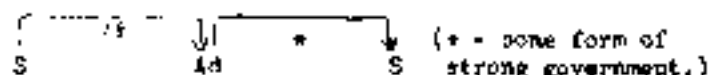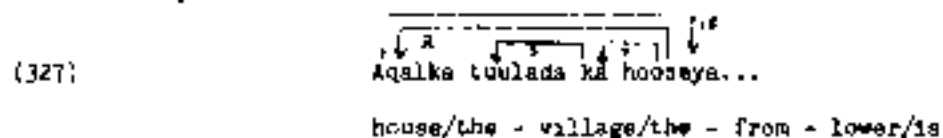
There will be instances in which the figures (3, 4 and 7) will not yield any surface realization for a given deep-structure combination.   This means that that particular deep structure has no direct way of being expressed in Somali surface structure and must be first be transformed into some other deep structure which is synonymous with it (see Section IV).

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THE ORDERING OF A RESULTANT SURFACE STRUCTURE

There are any number of cases in which the surface structures which are obtained by applying the rules set forth in this Section are not in final form (see the most recent example given above).   The three following types of surface elements require "fine tuning":

1) Preverbal Particles

We noted earlier that all preverbal particles can be said to form a "single syntactic word" which depends on the verb.   All of the valence properties which these particles possess are transferred to the verb itself. The following two rules can be used to explain the mechanics of this process:

a) Any arrow emanating from a word which is the "destination" of another arrow labelled "7" is automatically transferred to that word from which the "7" arrow came; e.g.:

(328)
...ka ordaya dabadiisa ⟶ ka ordaya dabadiisa

in - is running - back/his

is running behind him

(329)
...isaga ka daba ordaya ⟶ isaga ka daba ordaya

he - in - back - is running

is running behind him
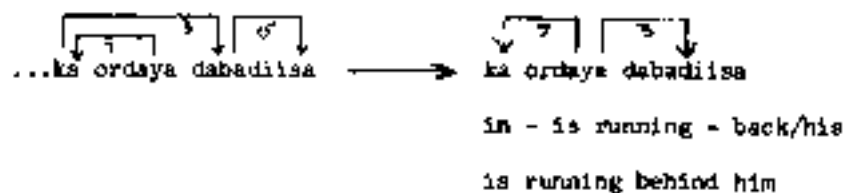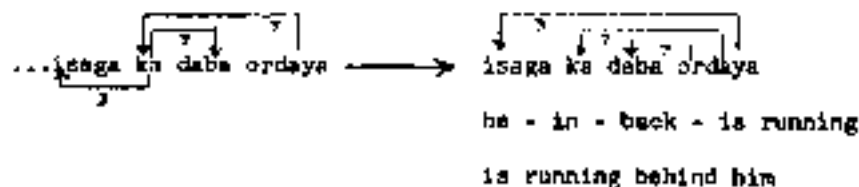
Translator's Note:

The "fine tuning" involved in the examples above appears to consist of moving the arrow labelled "3" from ka to ordaya.

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b) All words which are the destination of arrows labelled "7" emanating from a single word are grouped together under the symbol ⌒ and the resulting string becomes the destination of but a single "7" arrow; e.g.:

(330)

...isaga ka daba ordaya ⟶ isaga-ka daba ordaya

(331)

Warkaa cad waxa lagu soo wada qaadey...

⟶

Warkaa cad waxa lagu soo wada qaadey...

news/that - clear - SP - one/in - here - together - noted

In the joint declaration it was emphasized...

The dependents of <u>Pattern 7</u> can in this form enter into other construct-ions with their internal ordering determined not by their syntactic relationships, but solely on the basis of the slot each one of them occupies in the sequence of preverbal particles (see Appendix VII).

2) Suffixed Pronouns

An analogous, but far simpler operation is performed on the dependents of <u>Pattern 15</u> ; e.g.:

(332)

faras-kayaga-kan - - faras-kayagakan

horse/our/this

3) Preverbal Particles with the Copula waa

<u>waa</u>, which is one of the surface realizations of <u>ahaan</u> (to be), cannot govern preverbal particles. Such particles are transferred to the

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predicate complement of waa - a noun -, which is governed by waa in

Pattern 5 .   The following transformation must, therefore, take place:

(333)
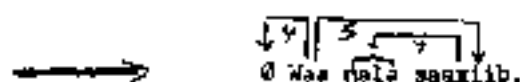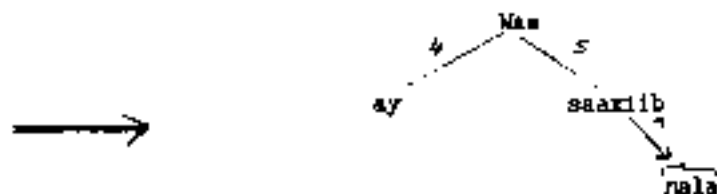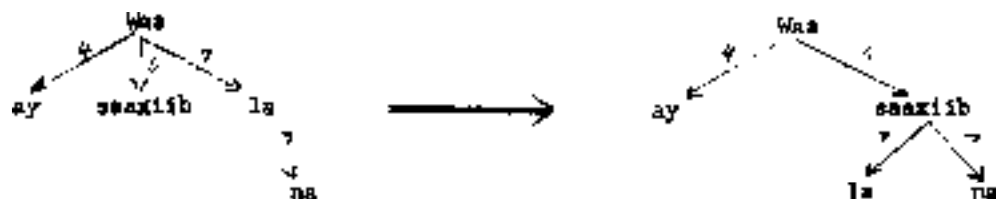
$\emptyset$ - is - us/with - friend

The application of rules 1) a) and b) above yield a string with a

single Pattern 7, but with a subject pronoun before waa .   The pronoun

is deleted in surface structure.

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NOTES:

[1] The ordering in this example (272), specifically the placement of
qof walibs , was felt to be unacceptable by two different native speakers.

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SECTION IV

SYNONYMOUS TRANSFORMATIONS OF DEEP STRUCTURES

Section III dealt with the simplest, most direct forms of correspondence
between deep and surface structures – situations in which deep elements are
transformed into corresponding surface elements with both the number of units
and the direction of dominance preserved in the process of going from the deep
to the surface level. However, in Somali, as in most of the languages of the
world, there are instances of interrelationships between conceptualization
and its surface realization which are far more complex, situations in which
the number of lexical units changes or the direction of dominance is reversed.
Where this occurs, it is more convenient to talk in terms of synonymous trans-
formations from one deep structure to another, rather than a direct deep to
surface derivation, as long as the "new" deep structure is then realized in
a way which is completely congruent with the known rules of "direct" express-
ion of deep structures through surface forms. Of course, there is at best
a hypothetical line between a "direct" expression and a "complex" transformat-
ion of a given linguistic formulation. Thus, we have assigned to the former
category the transformation of a given deep relationship (II or V) into an
entire complex of surface elements and structures (7 + Part + 3, 18 + 2 + ah
+ 3, 18 + 6, 9 + Strong Government; i.e., 9 + 7 + Part + 3). Another example

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of such a complex transformational process is the way Pattern 9 is used (see figures 3 and 4). This pattern involves a change in the number of elements from deep to surface structure; i.e., a possesive pronoun (considered to be an independent constituent) appears in surface structure (see Pattern 15). However, its quasi-morphological and grammatical role (i.e., a role which is dictated by other syntactic factors) in Pattern 9 is obvious.

In the present section, we shall introduce several regular transformational processes which link one deep structure to another. In some cases, only one of the two synonymous deep structures can be realized (through a direct derivational process - translator's note) in the form of one of the surface patterns, while the existence of the other one is suggested by such considerations as symmetry and generality of rules - in terms of Somali or even in terms of language in general. We shall cite examples of such transformations and attempt to indicate the conditions under which they are possible and and feasible. However, a full and technically rigorous description of the transformation system is a separate and highly difficult task, which makes up one of the segments of the semantic description of a language. For this reason we have limited ourselves to a more or less detailed attempt at describing only one type of transformation (see Appendix VIII and Zholkovskij, Materials for a Russian-Somali Dictionary).

And so, let us examine the most important kinds of synonymous deep-structure transformations.

Somali, like many other languages, uses a kind of transformation in which a predicate is replaced by a form with a converse meaning and, thus, the participants in the event exchange roles in such a way that the meaning of the proposition remains unchanged; e.g.:

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#1:

(334)
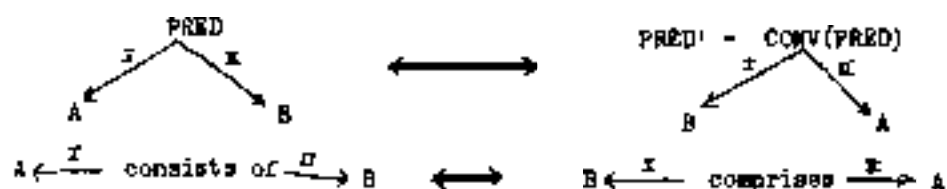
Guddigaasu wuxuu ka koobnaa lix ⟷	Guddigaa waxa ka mid ah lix
dal oo afrikaan ah.	dal oo afrikaan ah.
committee/that - SP/it - from - consists - six - country - and - Africa(ness) - is	committee/that - SP - from - one - is - six - country - and - Africa(ness) - is
This committee consists of six African countries.	Six African committees make up this committee.

As in other languages, a converse predicate can be expressed in Somali grammatically – with a passive verb (V_{pass}). However, it should be noted that when this is the case, Deep Relationship I (Subject Relationship) can not be realized; i.e., with a V_{pass} the subject of the original active verb cannot be realized in Somali.[1]

There are relatively few passive verbs in Somali. These are forms with the suffixes -an, -gan ; e.g.:

|	
furi:	open (trans)
furmi:	open (intrans)
furan:	be opened (pass)
dhici:	rob
dhacan:	be robbed

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samoeyn: make

ka samaysan   be made of

Inasmuch as the deep-structure subject with passives is never overtly marked, the distinction between the passive ("be made") and the instransitive-reflexive meaning ("become") is not at all clear. It depends to a great extent upon the lexical meaning of the verb base. Thus, it is clear that samaysan (be made) is passive in meaning, because only some kind of agent can "make" something, but in the case of such verbs as furan (be opened) and furmi (open - intrans), there are some doubts as to whether one or the other is the passive of furi (open - trans) or whether, on the contrary, furi is a causative of furan.

Given an inpersonal agent ("one") in the active, then the passive and the intransitive-reflexive become indistinguishable; e.g.:

(335)

DEEP STRUCTURE	SURFACE ACTIVE	SURFACE PASSIVE
opened conference	Shir baa la furay. meeting - SP - one - opened	Shir baa furmay. meeting - SP - opened
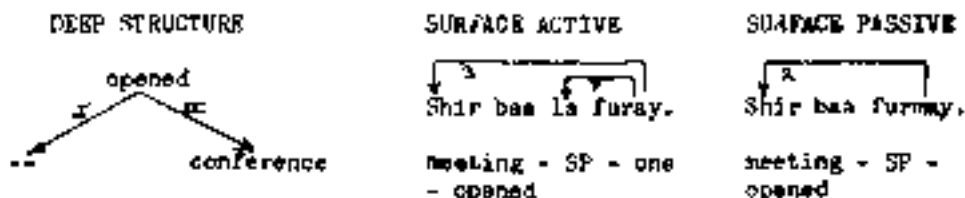
NOTE:

As with any intransitive verb, these "passives" can have a marked inanimate instrument which is linked to the verb by the preverb ku (by means of); e.g.:

(336)

Bombooyinka waxa ku gubtay aqallo badan.

bombs - SP - by means of - burned - houses - many

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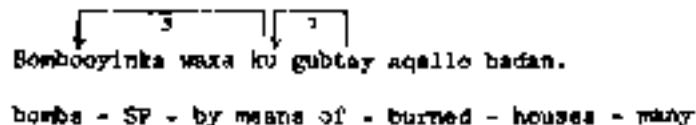
(337)

Amarka Ilaahay baa dunida ku abuurantay.

command/the – Allah – SP – world/the – because of – was created

The normal counterparts of these sentences in the active would be:

(338)

Bombooyinka waxa lagu gubay aqallo badan.

bombs/the – SP – one/by means of – burned down – houses – many

(339)

Dunida amarke Ilaahay baa lagu abuuray.

world/the – command/the – Allah – SP – one/by means of – created

The active forms contain an overt subject (la = "one") and an instrument
(bombs, the will of Allah).   There is, however, an even freer usage in which
instruments become surface subjects; e.g.:

(340)

Bombooyinku aqallo badan bay gubeen.

bombs/the – houses – many – SP/they – burned down

Do we not then have a pair of sentences with a mirror-image inter-
relationship of the active-passive type?

Bombooyinku aqallo badan bay gubeen. ⟷   Bombooyinka waxa ku gubtay
aqallo badan.

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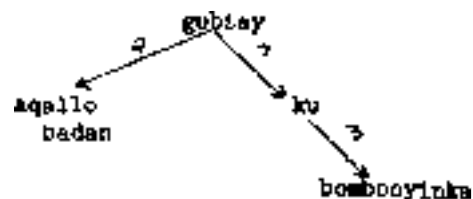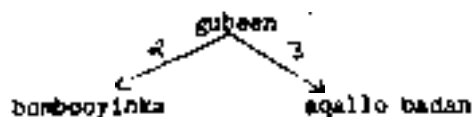
It is perfectly natural to ask at this point if at least in certain cases
we could not consider it possible to mark the agent with a passive construct-
ion.   In our view, it is better to say that with a Somali passive the agent
is never marked, but that the instrument can be expressed as a surface subject
(in any case, this kind of information belongs in the Section which treats
the most common meanings and the way that they are expressed; i.e., in Section
7).   It is possible to go even farther and say that Somali doesn't have any
passives as such, but rather paired intransitive - causative verbs; e.g.:

Intransitive			Causative		
guban	–	to burn	gubi	–	to (cause to) burn
furan	–	to open	furi	–	to (cause to) open
samaysan	–	to be made	samayn	–	to make (to cause to be made)

It is also possible to say that there is a transformational process whereby
semantically equivalent deep structures are equated:

Aqallada bombooyinka   Bombooyinku waxay gubeen aqallada.
bay ku gubteen.

Aqallada bombooyinka baa lagu gubay.
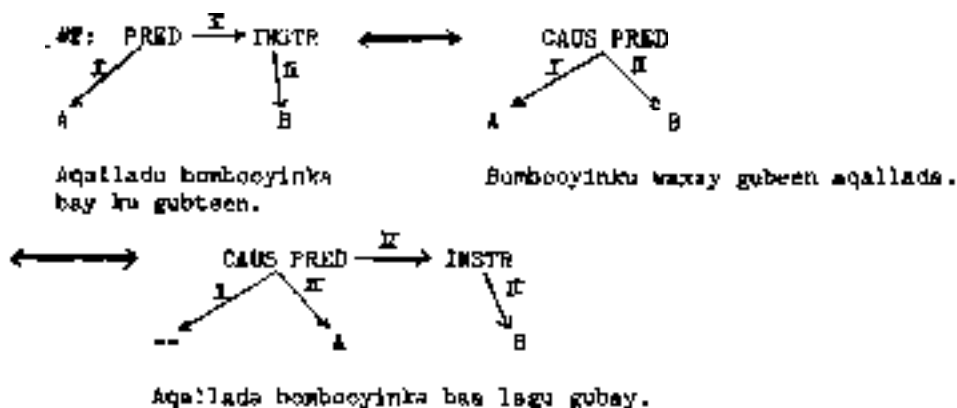
It should be noted that in the last instance the indefinite-impersonal
subject la is used; i.e., precisely that subject which without any change
of meaning can be obtained by transforming a structure in which there was
an indication of the instrument, but none of any specific agent.

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The la construction (comparable to the French "on" or the German "man")
often appears in Somali with a meaning which is equivalent to a European
passive. La is placed at the beginning of the preverb string and the
surface predicate agrees with it in the third person singular. La marks
an indefinite, animate subject and it belongs to the system of Somali personal
pronouns. There are instances, however, of la denoting an inanimate
subject as well. This occurs quite rarely (see R.C. Abraham, Somali-English
Dictionary, London 1964, p. 159). Compare the following:

(341)

        Wax baa i haayo.

        thing - SP - me - has

(342)

        Waa lay haayaa.

        SP - one/me - has

Both sentences mean "Something is wrong with me.". Abraham cites other
examples as well. One of the reasons for noting this construction is its
connection with the problem of deep subject-object relationships in Somali.
La is both the deep and surface subject and when it occurs, object relation-
ships are expressed by means of complements (Patterns 1/7 + Part + 3). No
further specification of the deep subject of the verb's action is possible
when the verb has la as a surface subject. The reason why this structure
can serve as the functional equivalent of a European passive is the fact
that with an indefinite subject all attention is focused on the object(s).
In addition to la , the second person pronoun aad - you (sing.) - may
be used as an indefinite-animate surface subject (in sentences of a modal or

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conditional nature); e.g.:

(343)

      Waxaad jaceshahay hadaad waaydo...

      If you can't get what you want,...

Aad and _la_ are interchangeable to such an extent that they can both be used in the same complex sentence to realise the same deep subject; e.g.:

(344)

      Mar ha neesha _aad_ joogtid baa camalkeeda _la_ yeeshaa.

      time - (indef. particle) - place/the - you - be located
      - custom/its - one - owns

      When in Rome, do as Romans do.

There is in Somali a kind of equivalence (found in many languages of the world) between a verb on one hand and a cognate deverbative plus an "empty" verb on the other (compare the English "help" = "render assistance", "investigate" = "conduct an investigation"). This general form of lexical equivalence forms the basis for a number of more specific transformations in Somali, transformations which are used to solve a number of problems (see Vs 3 through 3 below).

In all of these cases, one of the two elements, which make up the realization of a single deep predicate, turns out to be a member of one or another subclass of deverbative noun ($S_v \Longrightarrow S_{pred}, S_{phon}$). Sometimes the deverbative figures in the left-hand part of the transformation (see Vs 4 and 6). However, our description does not include S_v as a deep-structure class (see Appendix VI). So what is the significance of the presence of surface class designators in a Section on deep structure

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transformations?

Inasmuch as the deverbative noun (S_{pred}) and the ideophone (S_{phon}) are nothing more than the surface realization of a deep structure predicate, then, obviously, the universal equivalence in question can assume the following form on the deep structure level:

#3:   PRED $\longleftrightarrow$ $PRED_e \overset{\Pi}{\longrightarrow} PRED$

where $PRED_e$ is a subclass consisting of "empty" verbs; i.e., verbs which add nothing to the meaning of the original (left-hand) PRED. This "empty" predicate is realized on the surface level in the form of such verbs as "to render", "to conduct", "to proceed", "to occur" while the actual meaning of the original (left-hand) PRED is carried by a member of one of the subclasses of S_V; i.e., by some form of deverbative noun (in accordance with figure 4).

In theory, PRED (of the structure $PRED_e \overset{\Pi}{\longrightarrow} PRED$ that is) can be realized as a surface verb, but this rarely happens in Somali, because the use of the infinitive as a dependent is so limited (see Pattern 5, Section I, pp. 11-14)

The analytic (compound) verb form _samayn jirey_ (lit. "to do was); i.e., "was in the habit of doing (something) in the past" is an example of the realization of both constituents of the construction in the form of verbs (compare with the English form _do_ + infinitive (unmarked)). However, for all practical purposes in Somali we are dealing with surface noun forms in the PRED slot of the right-hand part of #3, particularly since one of the principal problems which equivalence #3 helps solve is the way in which a noun can be imparted the ability to govern other words (an ability which a noun would not normally possess); i.e., the way in which valence can be

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imparted to a noun.

In the paper "Toward a Lexicographic Description of Somali Nouns"
(Zholkovskij in NARODY AZII I AFRIKE, No. 1, 1967), we have already written
that it is not normal for Somali to have two or more participants and/or
circumstances expressed at one time with a deverbative noun.   In such cases
Somali regularly uses a relative clause, in which the (surface) predicate
is one of the set of "empty" verbs (V_e) operating with the given noun —
$Oper_{1,2}$, $Func_{1,2}$, V_0, Syn A_0 (see Appendix VIII and Zholkovskij 1967).[2]

Where we know the specific circumstances under which transformation #3
is to be used and the surface classes by means of which, given these particular
circumstances, the constituents of the deep structure are to be realized, then
this can be reflected in our notation.   In other words, a higher-frequency
transformation can be applied:

or a transformation like it (one, for instance, where S_{pred} in the right-
hand part is not the deep subject, but one of the objects of the empty verb).
On the surface level, the S_{pred} V_e link (node) is realized in the form
of Pattern 18 (figure 6, p.107a - S Ad); e.g.:
(345)
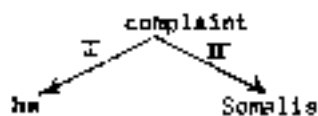
Sidaas daraaddeed waxaan ku aragnaa
gabayadiisa calaacal uu ka calaacalayo
soomaalida.

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way/that - reason/its - SP/we - in - see
-poetry/his - complaint - he - about -
complains - Somalis/the

This is why we see in his poetry a
complaint about the Somalis.

(346)

revolution $\xrightarrow{\text{V}}$ 1917

Tawraddii dhacdey sannadku markuu ahaa
1917-kii...

revolution/the - occurred - year -

when/it - was - 1917

This very transformation is the one which is used to overcome the
problem posed by the fact that nouns cannot govern infinitives or subordinate
clauses (e.g., as in English - "the proposal to table the motion" or "the
need to get this done", etc.).   There are idiomatic (i.e., "bound" verbs
- translator's note) of the func $\boxed{2}$ type, but what is very often used is
the most common func - the verb ahaan (to be); e.g.:
(347)

proposal
$\downarrow$ _ir_
to convene...

Taladii ahayd in la isu yeedho...
proposal/the - (which) - was - that -
one - convene

It should be noted that with an "empty" verb the participants in the
action are expressed in the same fashion as with any other verb.   Information
about how exactly each relationship is expressed (i.e., which empty verb and
which preverbs are required in any given situation) should be contained in
the lexicon under the heading of the deverbative noun, the place in which
both the verbal noun and empty verbs which are used with it are collocated.

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(see Zholkovskij, 1967 and Appendix VII).

The use of "empty" verbs which such additional meanings as "begin",
"end", "continue" or "broaden" in a similar fashion to join participants
to an S_{pred} is becoming widespread in Somali. Thus, to express the meaning
"...began the war against colonialism", instead of something like "began the
war (which) he is conducting against colonialism" we get "against began the
war colonialism":

(348)

> Sayid Moxammed markii uu dagaalka ku bilaabay gumeystiga dadka
>
> Soomaalida shi uma bisleyn middaas.
>
> Sayid Mohammed - moment/the - he - war/the - against - began
> colonialism/the - people/the - Somalis/the - are - for/NEG
> - ripened - this (one)
>
> It was not the right time for Sayid Mohammed to begin the
> war against colonialism.

The rule can be formulated in the following way:
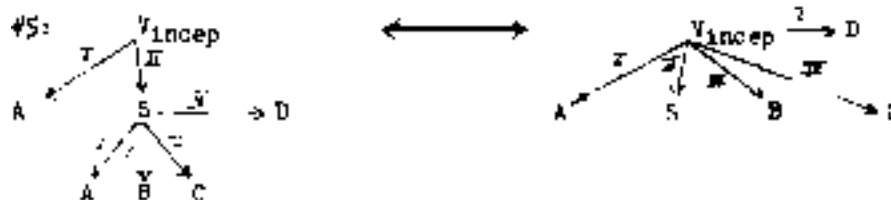
...instead of
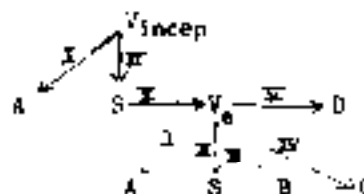
...where V_{incep} is a provisional notation for an entire group of inceptive
(continuative, etc.) verbs.

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A completely different, but also specific instance of the general
equivalence rule #) is found in the use of so-called ideophones (S_{phon}).
Ideophones in Somali do not have corresponding verbs; i.e., they are not
derived morphologically. Thus, their meanings can only be expressed in
substantive or in adverbial form (S_{phon} can function as an adverbial modifier),
and not in the form of a verb. The problem of how to "verbalise" an S_{phon}
is resolved by means of the following transformational rule:

#6: S_{phon} $\longleftrightarrow$ $V_{\#} \xrightarrow{\hspace{0.3em} II \hspace{0.3em}} S_{phon}$

There are three special "empty" verbs used with ideophones: odhaan   and
lahaan   (speak, say) if the predicate which is being expressed by the
ideophone is a simple one (without modification) and   siin   (give)
with the preverbs ku+ka-kaga if this predicate is complex; e.g.:

(349)

hide (oneself) $\longleftrightarrow$ V_e (= to make)
   ;I   II
   ∨
snake   snake   →passat! (sound)
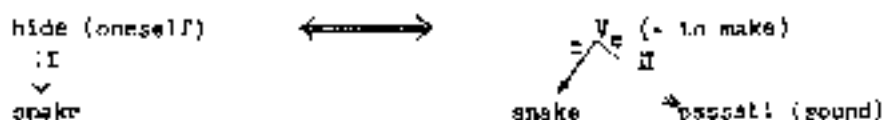
Maskii kaa miliq yidhi.

snake/the – SP – passat – said

(350)

cut quickly ―$\xrightarrow{\hspace{0.3em}Y\hspace{0.3em}}$→ with the $\longleftrightarrow$ $V_e \xrightarrow{\hspace{0.3em}M\hspace{0.3em}}$ with the
and skillfully   help of   help of
   Y   II   II
he   meat   knife
                         II   he   hsast! meat   │F
                         knife   ∨
   │Z   new
                         ∨
                         new
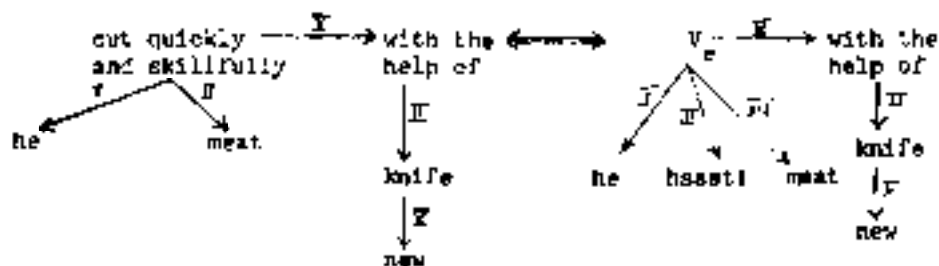
Mindidii cusbayd buu hilibka xaf kaga siiyey.

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knife/the - new/was - SP/he - meat/the - hasati - with the help of/from - gave (off a sound)

The surface structure of this sentence would be:
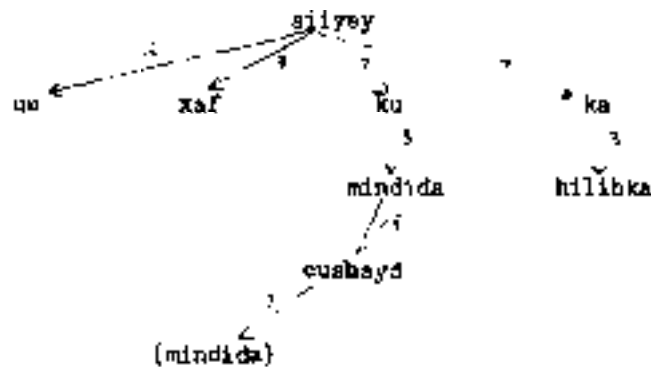
The way spatial relationships are marked represents still another instance of a predicate being broken down into a deverbative noun and a regular "empty" verb. As we have already stated, the deep relationships $S \xrightarrow{V} Part$ and $S \xrightarrow{S} S_{prep}$ cannot be realized in Somali. In other words, a deep-structure preposition which depends on an S may not assume either the form of a prepositional noun or the form of a preverbal particle. It, therefore, appears as a verb (V_{prep}) and thus the resulting deep structure $S \xrightarrow{V} V_{prep}$ is realized like any other verb modifying a noun head; i.e., it is realized in the form of a relative clause (Pattern 18); e.g.:

(391)

Saldhigga u dhow magaalada...

base/the - to - near - city/the

(352)

$$\text{house} \xrightarrow{\ x\ } \text{below}$$
$$\downarrow y$$
$$\text{village}$$

Aqalka tuulada ka hooseeya...

house/the - village/the - from - lower/is

It should be noted that the surface verbs u dhow (be close to) and
ka hooseyo (be lower than) may be viewed both as realizations of a deep-
structure preposition (PREP) and as realizations of a deep-structure predicate
(PRED).   This is precisely what we have done in our description, which does
not attempt to eliminate completely synonymy of deep structures and the
ultimate semanticization of this level of the representation of meaning.   In
our description (as in Zholkvoski) and Mel'chuk, 1967) the same meaning (e.g.,
"under", "lower", "close", "beside" or "neighboring") may be represented
either as a deep-structure predicate (PRED) or as a deep-structure preposition
(PREP) with appropriate rules to to reflect this kind of synonymy; e.g.:

#7: $S \xrightarrow{\ x\ } PRED$ $\longleftrightarrow$ $S \xrightarrow{\ x\ } PREP$

This duplicates at the deep-structure level the shift from PREP to
V_{prep} and Ad(PREP), which is set forth in figure 6 (P. 107a - see
$h \xrightarrow{\ x\ } Ad$).

However, with a deep level predicate which is locative in meaning
(i.e., PRED synonymous to PREP) we can then apply transformational rule
#3 to it.   The locative predicate is split up into a prepositional noun
(S_{prep}) plus an "empty" verb of location (i.e., "to be located") - Somali
has two basic variants: joogi for animates and (ku) jiri for inanimates
(with abstract nouns a Func plays this role):

#8: S_{prep} $\longleftrightarrow$ $V_{loc} \xrightarrow{\ x\ } S_{prep}$ ...;e.g.:

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base $\xrightarrow{\pi}$ is neighboring $\longleftrightarrow$ base $\xrightarrow{\pi}$ is located in

to

$\downarrow \pi$ $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ $\downarrow \pi$

city $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ vicinity

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad\downarrow \pi$

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ city

(l-l)

       Saldhigga ku yaala agta magaalada...

       base/the - in - is located - vicinity/the - city/the

...or

       Saldhigga ku yaala magaalada agteeda...

       base/the - in - is located - city/the - vicinity/its

...or

       Saldhigga ku ag yaala magaalada...

       base/the - in - vicinity - is located - city/the

A number of transformations are based on the following equivalency:

#9 $\qquad\qquad$ PRED $\qquad\longleftrightarrow\qquad$ $\overset{\displaystyle\pi}{\overbrace{\text{PRED}_{cop} \qquad\qquad \text{Nom}_1}}$ (PRED)

...;i.e., the replacement of a verb by its agent (or its object) plus the copula "to be". Note that once again, as in the case of PRED_{loc} and PREP, a single predicative meaning can be represented by one of two possible lexical classes on the deep level: PRED or NOM_1.

In Somali, as in many other languages, there are such synonymous strings as...

      u sarreyn-hoggaamin   ·   madax u ahaan

      (to head, to lead)   (head - for - to be)

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There are also analytic expressions for which there exists no parallel simple verb; e.g., wakiil uga ahaan - lit. representative for in be; marqaati u ahaan - witness for be, etc.. The role which the former expressions and especially the latter expressions play in the realization of meaning in Somali is obvious.

A regular means of deriving S_i (agent or patient) in Somali is to construct a relative clause (containing the original verb) modifying the words mid (-ka, -dii), waxa (wixii) and also qofka, ninka, ragga, etc..in the appropriate syntactic role; i.e., subject or one of the objects.

The word waxa - "thing" - is used to form an $S(NOM_1)$; i.e., S_i with an inanimate meaning. The words qofka - "man, person" - and ninka - "man" - are used with animate meanings. The word midka is not marked in respect to animateness. The phrases which result from this process are common in Somali and they form both expressions which are synonymous to verbs; e.g.:

(354)

...inay khatargelineyso	=	inay khatar u tahay	=	inay tahay mid khatargelineysa
that/it - threatens		that/it - threat - for - is		that/it - is - one - (which) - threatens

...and expressions which are the sole means of rendering the needed meaning; e.g.:

(355)

Eriberto Mara oo ku weyn nolosha dhaqanka e Meksiko, ah-na nin la siiyey bilaadda Lenin ee lagu bixiyo nabadgelyeda u dagaalan-keeda....

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Eriberto Jara - and - in - big/be - life/the - and - Mexico -
ia/and - man - one - gave - prize/the - Lenin - and - one/for
-gives - peace/the - for/struggle/his

Eriberto Jara, a major public figure in Mexico and a Lenin peace
prize laureat...

We have already considered the replacement of an active by a passive (see
transformation # 1 above).   Now let us examine still another phenomenon which
relates to the category of voice - the impersonal; i.e., verb forms whose
surface subject is the word "it" (without any specific referent).   As a rule,
verbs appearing in this voice possess a normal active voice form as well.
Thus, there is the opportunity for equivalence between two constructions
containing the same verb; i.e., a kind of "impersonal transformation" (analog-
ous to the passive transformation) is possible:

#10:
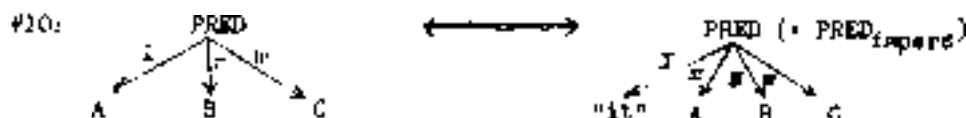
...for example:

(156)

"axa ila ah inuu dhintay. $\longleftrightarrow$ Waxay ila tahay inuu dhintay.

SP - ma/with - is - that/he   SP/it - ma/with - is -that/he
-died   -died

It seems to me that he died. (in both instances)

Note:

In the second (left-hand) sentence, the subject ay (it) does not
duplicate the clause inuu dhintay (that he died), since in sentences
with the SP waxa where the surface subject follows the surface predicate,

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the short-form subjective pronoun is not used (this is the case in our first
sentence where inuu dhintay operates as the surface subject.

When the similar impersonal verb ahaan (to be) functions as an "empty"
verb with deverbative nouns, then impersonal transformation #10 is, so to
speak, superimposed upon transformation #3 (the "splitting" transformation),
so that the result is:

#11:
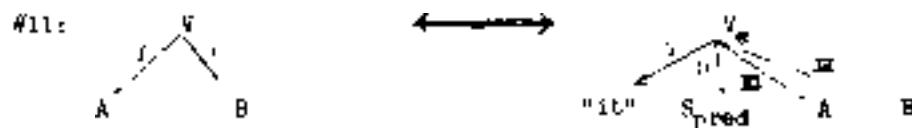
...for example:

(157)

Maanta iyo maalin walba waa inoo (=ina+u) shir.

today - and - day - each - S?/V_con - us/for - meeting

Today and every day we have a meeting.

Note:

In the most basic and the simplest deep structure, "we" and "meeting"
(more precisely "to meet", 'to hold a session") are joined in (deep)
Relationship I (the Subject Relationship), while in the surface structure
cited - patterns 7+u+3 are used; i.e., the kinds of structures which,
according to our description (fig. 3), cannot be used to express the
Subject Relationship. This is the result of a two-stage transformational
process ("splitting" + impersonal), whereby the subject is moved from the
first position to the third. However, the realization of Deep Relationship
III (see fig. 4) involves the appearance of patterns 7+Part+3, which then

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(by means of a special rule which switches the third dependent from *waa* to its predicate complement — see Section III, pp. 138-139) is imparted to the word *shir* (meeting):
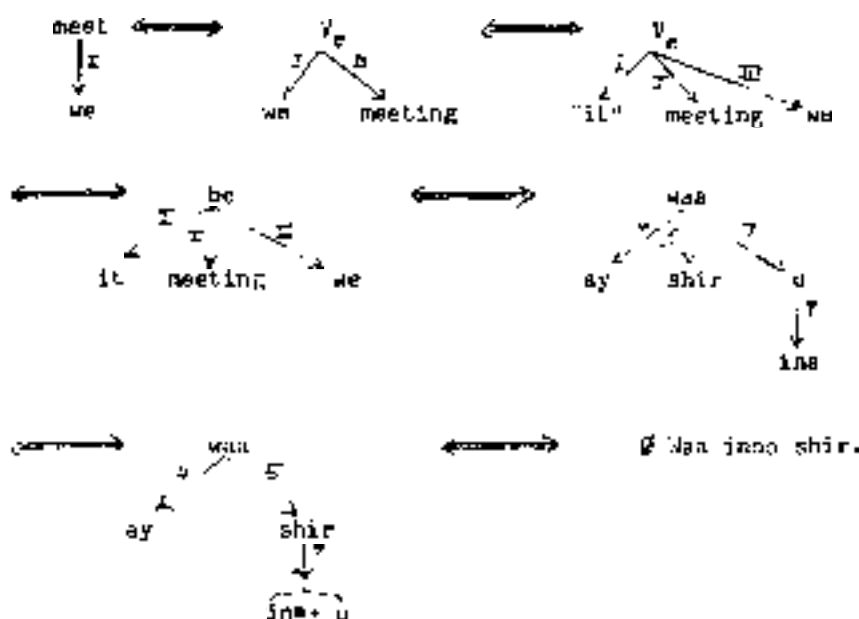
Let us illustrate the interdependence of these two transformations:

(Fig. 5)

|			
SIMPLE VERB	personal	Waannu shireyna. (SP-we-are meeting)	----------------
	impersonal	----------------	Waa kuluushahay. (SP-(it)-is hot)
"SPLIT" STRUCTURE	personal	Shir baannu leenahay. (meeting-SP/we-have)	Kulayl bae jooga. (heat-SP-is)
	impersonal	Waa inoo shir. ((it)-SP/V_{cop}-us/for -meeting)	Waa kulayl. ((it)-SP/V_{cop}-heat)

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There is in Somali a unique transformation which not only introduces an impersonal subject and an empty verb, but also conjoins the name of the action, event and its subject. The formulation of such a transformation is:

#12:

$$V \downarrow I \downarrow A \quad \longleftrightarrow \quad V_e (= \text{"to be"}) \quad I \downarrow \quad \text{"it"} \quad A \xrightarrow{n} S_{pred} \xrightarrow{n} \text{"anc"}$$

...for example:

(358)

is (must be)
I / n
it   choose
I
you
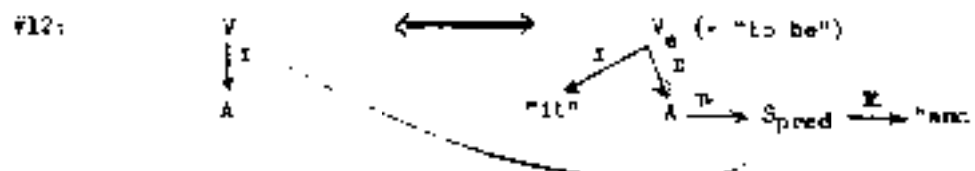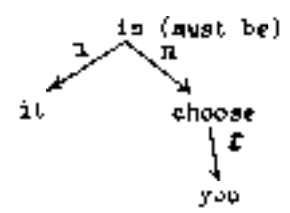
Waa adiga iyo doorashadaa.

SP/V_cop - you - and - choice/the

Adiga iyo doorashadaa bay tahay.

you - and - choice/the - SP/it - is

It's for you to choose.

(359)

is
I / II
it   do
I
he
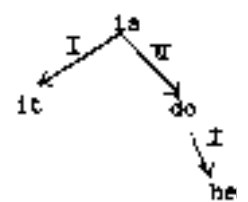
Waa isaga iyo danclisa.

SP/V_cop - he - and - business/his

It is for him to do. (That's his business.)

(360)

is (must be)
I / II
it   relate
I / II
Ahmed   world
politics
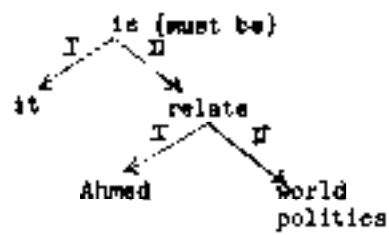
Waa warkii dunida iyo Ahmed.

SP/V_cop - news/the - world/the - and - Ahmed

Ahmed will report the international news.

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Note:

There is associated with this structure an apparent meaning of (mild) obligation – one of the meanings of _ahaan_ (to be) (see Section VI. This is like the English "He is to go."

There is still another group of transformations which can be found in many languages and which are widely used in Somali. They depend upon a kind of "equivalence" between a property (or an action) and its "repository";
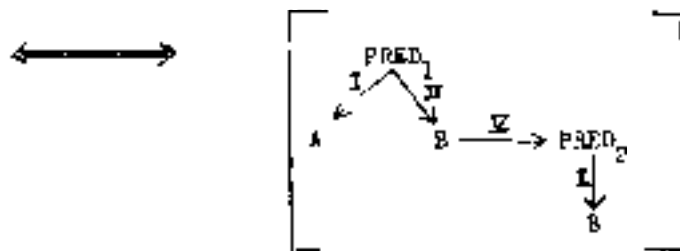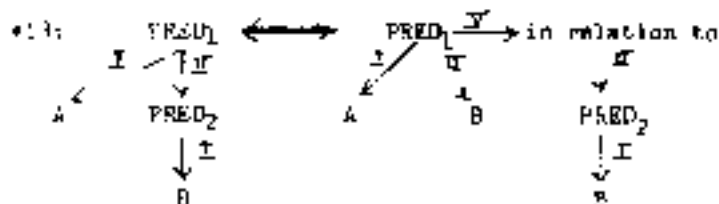
(That which is enclosed in square brackets is a rough approximation of equivalency and it does not apply to all predicates.)

...for example:

(361)

NS wuxuu tangeerayaa dagaallanka dadka Vietnam ay ugu jiraan gobannimadooda.

USSR - SP/it - supports - struggle/the - people/the - Vietnam - they - in/for - are located - independence/their

→ MS wuxuu dadka Vietnam ka taageereyaa dagaallanka ay ugu jiraan gobannimadood.

USSR - SP/it - people/the - Vietnam - in - supports - struggle/the - they - in/for - are (located) - independence/their

→ MS wuxuu taageereya dadka Vietnam ee u dagaallameya gobannimadooda.

USSR - SP/it - supports - people/the - Vietnam - and - for - struggles - independence/their

(The USSR supports the Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence.)

Not all verbs can figure in this type of transformation - only those which can be collocated with the preverb which means "in relation to"; e.g.:

ceebeyn	-	condemn
caawimi	-	help
ashtakeyn	-	complain
mahadiin	-	thank

Information concerning how and when such a preverb can be collocated with a given verb belongs in the lexicon.

A uniquely Somali problem which is related to the use of this kind of equivalence is associated with the description of one of the basic constructions of the type...

(362)

Way qurux badan tahay.

SP/she - beauty - much - is

She is very beautiful.

163

(363)

Nin xikmad badan...

man – wisdom – much

A very wise man...

This a regular device for expressing quality at a high (or low) level
(see Section J). There is a small number of verbs – badan (much/many), adag
(strong), xun (bad) and a few others – which combine with the name of that
"in relation to" which something/someone is great, beautiful, etc., i.e.,
which have the appropriate valence (Pattern 7 without a proverb). With other
verbs (and even with these) the meaning "in relation to" may be realized through
the use of a proverb; e.g.:

(364)

Wuu dagaal weynaa.

SP/it – war – big/was

AND

'Waxuu ku weynaa dagaalka.

SP/it – in – big/was – war/the

A detailed description of this construction and the transformations
associated with it would require a special study, since it is one of the major
areas of Somali syntax. Somali is different here from, let us say, Russian
in terms of which construction, of a set of synonymous constructions, is
considered to be the "basic", the "normal" means of expressing quality to a
high degree. Each of the two languages has such a set of synonymous
structures which are transformationally related:

#14:

$$P_2 \xrightarrow{\Sigma} P_1 \qquad\Longleftrightarrow\qquad P_1 \qquad\Longleftrightarrow\qquad P_1 \xrightarrow{\Sigma} \text{"in relation to"}$$

$P_2 \downarrow I$, $\downarrow A$ ... $P_1 \downarrow I$, $P_2 \downarrow \Sigma$, $\downarrow A$ ... $P_1 \downarrow I$, $\downarrow A$, "in relation to" $\downarrow X$, $P_2 \downarrow I$, $\downarrow A$

And bay u quruxsan tahay.	Quruxdeedu way badan tahay.	Way qurux badan tahay.
muchness – SP/she – to – beautiful)/is	beauty/her – SP/it – great/is	SP/she – beauty – much – is
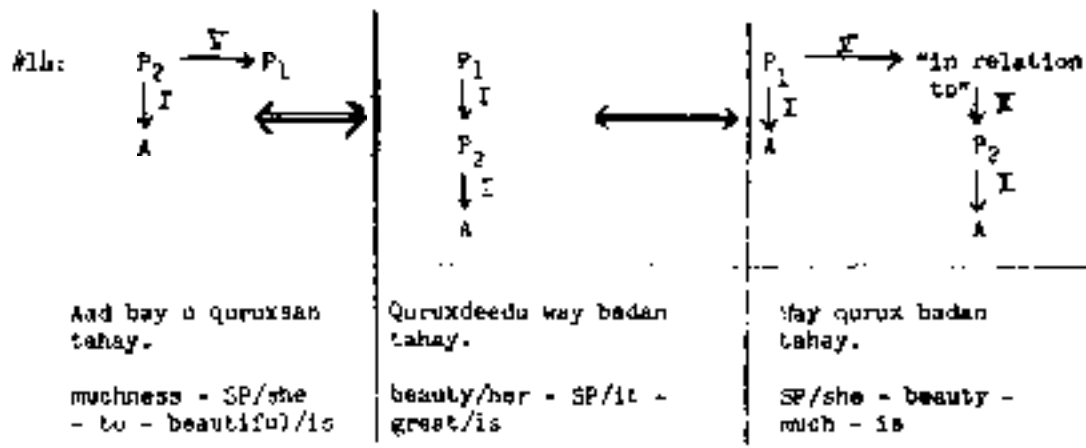
The first option is the most natural for Russian, whereas the last one is the most natural for Somali.   We should note that the option which requires the use of the verb "to be beautiful" is not normal for Somali.   What is typical for Somali is the use of a noun plus a regular auxiliary (almost "empty") verb, a verb which is a member of a class of V_e like lahaan , but which has the additional meaning of quality of a high degree (compare the two structures qurux leh and qurux badan and note that leh and badan are performing similar syntactic functions). Apparently, the meaning "in relation to" which these verbs possess can be considered to be part of their inherent meaning and, accordingly, one may analyze P_2 with them as an object and, thus, use the following notation for sentences of the type... Way qurux badan tahay:

$$\begin{array}{c} V_{magn} \\ {}_I \diagup \quad \diagdown {}_{II} \\ \text{she} \qquad \text{beauty} \end{array}$$
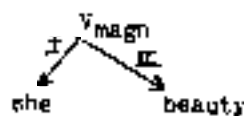
...where $P_1 = V_{magn}$

$P_2 = $ "beautiful"

$A = $ "she"

...where V_{magn} is a subclass of verbs which denote the possession of a

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quality to a high degree.

There is one final semantic equivalency to be described here, one which
is associated with the notion of quantification:

#15:

NOM   QUART   ⟵⟶   NOM   QUART

people   majority   people   majority
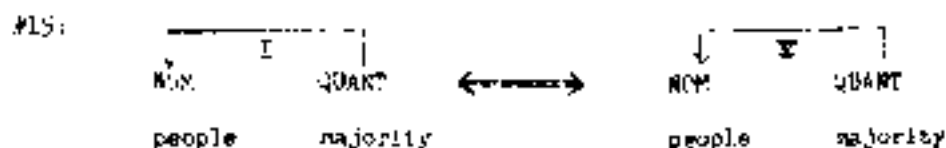
The left-hand side of the equation is represented in English by such phrases
as:

the majority of the citizens

a large number of books

a group of tourists

a number of questions

... and in Somali by patterns 9 and 10 (see Section III: the expression of
the deep subject relationship with S ⌐ S, pp. 81-82); e.g.:

(365)

Dadka badidooda...

people/the - majority/their

OR

Badida dadka...

majority/the - people/the

The right-hand side of the equation is represented in English by such phrases
as:

many people

some questions

all the books

...and in Somali by means of patterns 13 and 18 (see Section III: the expression

of $S \overline{} S_{quant}$ and $S \overline{} Ad$, pp. 113-114); e.g.:

(366)

Dad badan...

people (who are) numerous = many people

(367)

Dadka... qof waliba...

people/the - person - each = each person

****

NOTES:

[1]What was actually stated in text was that Relationship II cannot be
realized with V_{pas}, but it is obvious that Zholkovskij meant to say
"Relationship I".

[2]This notation is explained in Appendix VIII.

[3]This sentence was questioned by a native speaker.

THE USE OF SPECIFIC SYNTACTIC AND LEXICAL MEANS TO EXPRESS PARTICULAR MEANINGS

In this Section we shall examine ways of expressing a number of the most important meanings: (1) logical accent, (2) belonging, (3) inclusion, (4) quantity (=number), (5) the existence of a given quality to a high degree, (6) comparative degree, (7) superlative degree, (8) same degree, (9) different degree, (11) locative meaning, (12) temporal meaning, (13) instrumentality, (14) goal or finality, (15) matter or substance, (16) condition, (17) concession, (18) the appositive meanings of identity and (19) designation, and (20) the notion of obligation or necessity. Even though these are obviously independent notions and in this sense they relate to the lexicon of deep structure, their expression on the other hand is often linked to syntax as well: On the surface level either they are associated with individual surface patterns, which are a direct means of expressing the appropriate meaning (e.g., Patterns 9 and 10 expressing the notion of possession or Pattern 14 - the notion of number) or they are realised in a more complex fashion, imposing, however, a number of specific requirements upon the syntactic structure of the sentence, since in these cases it is impossible to get by through the application of the rules of syntax and dictionary usage alone. It is quite possible that our

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description fails to cover the entire range of possibilities for Somali. The basic principles by which we were guided in setting forth these meanings was as follows: To take the meanings which are expressed by means of surface syntactic relationships and also those which are realized by syntactic means which are beyond the scope of our description and to examine to the extent possible all the ways in which such meanings are expressed. In this manner, we shall report for each of the meanings specified both the syntactic means of expression and the most frequently encountered lexical means as well; i.e., the full range of synonymous possibilities. Taken as a whole, the present Section is the least formalized from a methodological point of view of the five and the least comprehensive. It is directed, for the most part, at a practical goal: To make available to the learner of Somali at least some kind of rough sketch of the way in which basic meanings are expressed. The sole theoretical interest which this sketch may aspire to possess is the very principle of its inclusion under the heading of syntax and the enumeration of a number of synonymous means of expression (see Brunot, 1922, in this regard).

The Meaning of Logical Accent

Pattern 1, which links one of the sentence particles (SP) to the logical predicate of the sentence, is the normal grammatical device for expressing logical predication (= rheme; i.e., that which is being communicated about a given topic or theme). Pattern 5, whose dependent (i.e.; the dependent of the words was/weeye/weeyaan) is both the predicate complement and the logical predicate at the same time, plays a similar role in equating sentences.

If the surface predicate is to become the logical predicate, then the SP waa is used. If the logical predicate turns out to be the surface

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subject, an object or an adverbial modifier, then the SP is baa (= ayaa/yaa)
or waxa .   Special devices or procedures are required to have other
modifiers operate as the logical predicate or emphasised constituent of the
sentence (see below).

Existing literature describes waxa in less detail, because it is not
generally accepted as a sentence particle (in the same word class as waa
or baa/ayaa/yaa).[1]   For more on waxa , see Appendix V.

The use of the particle waxa becomes mandatory in those cases when
(1) the logical predicate is reported speech (indirect discourse) introduced
by verbs of the "say", "think", etc. category and also (2) when the surface
subject is both the surface subject and the sentence/clause-final constituent
at the same time; e.g.:

(368)

>   Madaxweynuhu wuxuu caddeeyey in loo baahanyahay...
>
>   The president declared that it is necessary...

(369)

>   Shaleyto Mosko waxa timi ergo ka socota dawladda Mali.
>
>   Yesterday the delegation from the government of Mali
>   arrived in Moscow.

In general, waxa is used to construct the extended sentences which
are most like the written varieties of European languages, sentences which
have large numbers of constituents and layers of embedding; e.g.:

(370)

>   Sheeko waxaan ku haynaa dadka Ogadeen la yiraahdo oo
>
>   Soomaaliya ka mid ah waxa xumkumi jirey nin Ugaas Xashi
>
>   la yiraahda oo dadkii dulmiyey oo dhac iyo dilniin
>
>   labadaba ka dhergiyey.

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tale - SP/we - in - have # people/the - Ogaden - one - names
- and - Somlia - from - one - is - SP - govern - was - man
- Ugaas - Nashi - one - names - and - people/the - oppressed
- and - pillage - and - killing - two/the/particle ba -
saturated

There is a story that the Somali people of the Ogaden were
once ruled by a man called Ugaas Nashi, who oppressed them
and subjected them to pillage and murder to the point that
they could no longer endure it.

The contrast between waa (with the logical accent on the surface pred-
icate) and baa (with the logical accent on one of the other first-rank con-
stituents) is apparently not always sufficiently clear.   Abraham notes that
"In the case of adjectives (i.e. attributive verbs - Zholkovskij} baa
emphasizes the word preceding it (i.e., Ninka baa weyn. 'It is the man
who is big' and not, e.g. the woman), whereas waa is unemphatic with
adjectives (i.e., Ninku waa weyn yahay. 'The man is big.')...   But, in
the case of verbs Ninku waa dhimaneyaa = Ninka baa dhimaneyaa (as a statement)
'The man is dying.' (there being no emphasis on man).   But in reply to a
question ('Who is going?') we say: - Ninka baa tageyaa 'It is the man who is
going.'). (Abraham, 1964, p. 308).

We should like, first of all, to make two comments about Abraham's
formulation.   First, from his reasoning it is clear that in a situation where
emphasis on the logical predicate is mandatory - in answering a question - ,
there is direct evidence of the classical contrast between waa and baa
(concerning the link between the meaning of the logical predicate and the
'question-answer' situation, see Sheglov, 1964).   Second, when he writes
that waa with an adjective is "non-emphasizing", this can also be under-
stood to mean that he does not see a specific accent in those situations
where the logical predicate and the grammatical predicate coincide.

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However, the fact of the matter, taken as a whole, appears to be that since in Somali the logical predicate is marked grammatically; i.e., it is an obligatory expression device in every sentence, it loses its categorial meaning, because it is used even in sentences where the speaker has no specific emphasized element in mind. While a non-grammatical device (such as a given lexical device like the Russian word _imenno_) always retains its direct meaning (in the case of _imenno_ the very function of emphasizing a logical predicate), this meaning seems to "erode" in the case of an analogous grammatical device (Somali sentence particles). Such "erosion" of grammatical meaning is not uncommon: plural number does not mean "many", but only "more than one"; reflexivity is characteristic not only of action returning upon an subject, but also simply of an intransitive action (concerning reflexivity in this regard, see particularly Jakobson, 1957). In other words, it is necessary to envisage the Somali sentence as one in which a word with a meaning like "namely" - a sentence particle - must obligatorily be joined to some other word. It is clear that in such a situation this obligatory word will cease to retain its strict (lexical) meaning, since it will often be joined to a particular constituent for the sole reason that this alternative is less absurd than attaching it to some other.

Bell (1953, p. 26) notes the interesting interdependence between the meanings of logical accent and /± definiteness/.

> As the use of waa assumes previous knowledge of
> of the noun, Somalis do not use it with an undefined noun
> as subject of a simple sentence. In the English sentence "a
> camel has died," we know nothing of the camel or we should have
> said "the camel has died." Awr waa dhintay is not therefore good
> Somali and will only occur in such a sentence as:

(371)

Xoolaha, awr waa dhintay, saddex waa lumeen, inta

kaleso waa nabad qabtaa.

stock/the # camel - SP - died # three - SP - got lost #
quantity/the - other/particle sa - SP - peace - hold
(= are OK)

As for the stock, a camel has died, three others are
unaccounted for and the rest are OK.

It should be noted that in this carefully chosen example awr actually
means not " a certain unspecified camel", but rather "one camel".   Since
we are discussing quantities, "one" as well as "three" are quite definite in
meaning.

If it becomes necessary to place a personal pronoun in the emphasized
slot, then the "long" form (+ article) of the pronoun is used in the sentence
together with the appropriate short form (subjective or objective).   A list
of long forms is given in Section II, p.51.   Long forms without the article
appear only with enclitics: in the role of the logical predicate - with baa;
in the role of the logical subject - with the conjunction -na (and, but); e.g.: (

(372)

Waxa loo baahanyahay in dadka Vietnam loo oggolaado inay

iyagu dharmaystaan halkaay doonayaan inay maraan.

SP - one/for - needs - that - people/the - Vietnam - one/for
-permit - that/they - they - decide - place/the/they - want
-that/they - go

The Vietnamese people should be allowed the right of
determining their own destiny.

(373)

       Anaa warrameya.

       I/SP (baa) - will tell - (it)

       I'll tell (the news).

(374)

       Soomaalida iyadoo kala fidiidsan   ayuu asagu isku daray.

       Somalis/the - they/and - apart - scattered - SP/he - he
       - self/to - added

       It was he who united the Somalis who had been separated.

  It is not possible to put the logical accent on a modifier within the
limits of a simple sentence in Somali.   Therefore, if it is necessary to
stress a modifier, the sentence must be restructured in such a way that one
of its parts contains that which is being modified and the other... the
modifier which is being emphasized, either as a surface predicate or as a
modifier relating to an empty pronominal for such as kii, ka (that - masc.),
taa, tii (that - fem.), mid (-ka/-kii/-ta/-tii) one, kuwo (those).

     Let us assume that in the sentence "I saw a tall officer" it is the
modifier "tall" that we want to stress.   There is no way to use the usual
device (i.e., a sentence particle) to emphasize this modifer apart from that
which it modifies, since sentence particles refer to the entire group
as a whole of the noun which is a first-rank dependent; e.g.:

(375)

       Sarkaal dheer baan arkay.

...or   Waxaan arkay sarkaal dheer.

       I saw a tall officer.

    However, the emphasis of dheer apart from sarkaal can be accomplished

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by using the restructuring procedure described above; e.g.:

(376)

Sarkaalkaan arkay waa dheerryahay.

officer/I - saw - SP - tall is

I saw the TALL officer. (- The officer I saw was tall.)

(377)

Ninkaan arkay ee sarkaalka ahaa waa dheeryahay.

Person/I - saw - and - officer/the - was - SP - tall/is

(378)

Sarkaalkaan arkay waa mid dheer/waa nin dheer.

officer/I - saw - SP/V_{cop} - one - tall// SP/V_{cop} - man - tall

If, however, the word sarkaal has already been mentioned in preceding
context, then the use of the copula waa + mid dheer or the SP waa + the
predicate dheeryahay is not obligatory. The sentence can retain its
original structure, but the modified element will be replaced by a PRO-form;
e.g.:

(379)

Waxa yimi laba sarkaal, waxaanse arkay kii dheeraa.

SP + came - two - officers # SP/I/particle ag - saw
the one - tall/was

Two officers came in, but I only saw the tall one.

The logical subject (the "theme") in a Somali sentence does not have
to be accented.

The word which is functioning as the logical subject gravitates toward
the beginning of the sentence. The stress which is placed upon it is quite

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clearcut when its link to the rest of the sentence is somehow weakened; for
example, when a place designator is connected to the sentence without a
preverb (see below, p. 224) or if it is a "quantifier" sentence; e.g.:
(380)

> Xoolaha awr waa dhintay.

> As far as the stock is concerned, one camel died.

Apparently, the left-hand parts of a sentence containing waxa ; i.e.,
that which precedes waxa , have a strong tendency to represent the logical
subject; e.g.:

(381)

> Ninkaas gabayaaga ahi wuxuu lahaa xoog weyn.

> man/that - poet/the - was - 3P/he - had - strength - much/is

> That poet was a powerful man.

Should an even stronger emphasis be needed for the logical subject,
the particle ayaa is introduced into the initial part of a sentence which
contains waxa . In this way, the logical subject or theme is emphasized,
rather than the logical predicate or rheme (the rheme being that part of the
sentence which follows waxa). Apparently, in this instance the general
principle that lexical means "outweigh" grammatical means, changing the
functions of the latter, is once again operative. To be specific, the word
waxa , which has not entirely lost its noun features (see Appendix V),
attracts the ayaa , thrusting upon it in general terms a role which it
would not normally play. Ayaa can accept (as a logical subject or theme) not
the entire initial part of the sentence, but rather a more specific segment

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of it; e.g.:

(382)

> Sannadka cusub sawadiis ayaa xoogga u daguullame Vietnamta
>
> Koofureed gobanninadeeda waxay toddoba maalmood u joojiyeen
>
> weererkii ay ku dhufan jireen cadowga.
>
> year/the - new - connection/its - SP - strength/the - for
> - struggles - Vietnam/the - South - independence/its -
> SP/they - seven - day - for - stopped - attack/the - they
> - on - strike - were - enemy/the
>
> In observance of the New Year the national liberation
> forces of South Vietnam have suspended their offensive oper-
> ations for seven days.

In a broader context, the logical subject can be delineated by the
enclitics -na (and, but) and -se (but; e.g.:

(383)

> Dadkoo idilna wuu ka biqi jiray ninkaas gabayaaga ahaa.
>
> people/the/and - all/particle na - SP/it - from - to be
> afraid - were - man/that - post/the - was.
>
> And (also) all the people were afraid of that post.

However, the question whether it is the logical subject that these
particles mark or simply the preceding constituent of the sentence is very
difficult to answer and it remains open at the present time.   Apparently,
many factors are interacting at this point: the contrast between new and old
information, the position of the grammatical logical accent, the specific
meaning of the sentence, etc..   Note the following example in which the
enclitic -na appears to mark the rheme, even though the particle waa
is found in the same sentence; e.g.:

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(384)

Meel walba-na magaciisu wuu gaari jiray.

place - each/particle -na - name/his-SP/it - to reach - was

And his fame used to extend throughout the land.

The sequence markii/haddii loo eego...(As far as...is concerned) is a special lexical means of setting the logical subject (or theme) apart; e.g.:

(385)

Siyaasadda dibedda-na marka loo eego US hed iyo goor bu waxuu

u dagaallami doonaa nabadgalyada iyo amniga dadyowga.

Policy/the - exterior/the/and - moment/the - one/to - will look - USSR - moment - and - time - each- SP/it - for - to struggle - will - peace/the - and - security/the - peoples/the

As far as Soviet foreign policy is concerned, it will continue to strive for the peace and security of (all) nations.

This part of Section V is probably the most convenient place to point out certain ways of attracting attention to an entire sentence. To this end, an entire sentence can be turned into a relative clause modifying some "empty" word like wax (thing), taa (this) with the empty word itself becoming the predicate complement of the impersonal waa (Pattern 5); e.g.)

(386)

Waa wax lagama maarmaan ah in la ilaaliyo ama loo kaydsho

dadka Soomaalida ah xeerkiisa iyo martidiisa iyo aqoontiisa

SP/V_{cop} - thing - necessity - is - that - one - defend - or - one/for - preserve - people/the - Somali/the - are - law/its - and - culture/its - and - knowledge/its

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It is necessary to defend and safeguard the laws, literature and culture of the Somali people.

(387)

Waa taa aynu nabadda ahayn ee aad gooysey.

SP/V_cop - that - we - peace/the - were - and - you - disturbed

But the fact was that we were at peace and you shattered it.

[Example 387 is taken from Andrzejewski - 1956, p. 78, where he cites a whole series of examples of the waa + taa construction and states that this construction is used to emphasise the assertion which it introduces in somewhat the same fashion as the English expression "indeed", "in fact".)

In these examples (386, 387), the sentence which is attached to waa or taa has the logical stress on the predicate. If it should be necessary to put the accent on some other first-rank constituent, then such a constituent would be moved to the predicate complement slot (after the copula waa) and the rest of the sentence would be turned into a relative clause modifying this constituent; e.g.:

(388)

Nebel, waxaan kuugu yeedhay dee waa adigii kal hore ina nabad geshay ee sannadku wuxuu noqon doono inoo sheegay ee, bal sannadkan-na ka warran.

Sir # SP/I - you/to - summoned - because - SP/V_cop - you year/the - past - us - peace - brought - and - year/the - what (thing)/it - become - will - ne/for - said - and # and so - year/this/and - about - tell

See here, I called you here, because it was you who saved us last year and who foretold what would happen this year, so now tell us about the year to come.

<u>Translator's Note</u>: Omitted at this point is a discussion of the differences between Russian and Somali sentence structure where these __was__ constructions are concerned. English sentence structure is closer to Somali in this instance that it is to Russian: "It was you who saved us."

The Meanings of Belonging, Inclusion and Quantity

That X belongs to Y can be expressed syntactically (Patterns 9 + 15, 10 and 15) where that which is denoted by the head word belongs to that which is denoted by the dependent; e.g.:

(389)

Sarkaalka faraskiisa...

officer/the - horse/his

(390)

Faraska sarkaalka...

horse/the - officer/the

(391)

faraskiisa

horse/his

The lexical marker for the notion of belonging is the verb __lahaan__ (to have) in the role of the predicate of a subordinate clause modifying the owned object. The subject of this clause is the name of the owner; e.g.:

(392)

> Faraska sarkaalku uu leeyahay...
>
> horse/the - officer/the - he - has

(393)

> Dayuuradaha Mareykanku uu leeyahay...
>
> aircraft/the - America/the - it - has

There is another form of belonging expression which is the lexical equivalent of such European adjectivals as "bearded", "toothless", etc.. It is also expressed with a form of the verb _lahaan_ or its negative counterpart _la'aan_, but with subject and objects transposed in comparison with the examples given above; e.g.:

(394)

> Nin gadh leh...
>
> man - beard - has
>
> a bearded man

(395)

> Ninkii ilkaha la'ee...
>
> man/the - teeth/the - not has
>
> the toothless man

In the predicative form (i.e., as a surface predicate and not as a relative clause), the notion of belonging/possession is expressed with the verb _lahaan_; e.g.:

(396)

> Buugan aniga ayaa leh.
>
> book/this - I - SP - have

Patterns 10 and 15 can be transformed into full predicates with the predicativised relationship (belonging) assuming the emphatic accent. When Pattern 10 underogoes this process, the name of the owned object is replaced in the predicate complement slot by a pronominal form. When Pattern 15 is predicativized, the possessive pronoun itself forms the entire predicate complement and appears as a free-standing form with such meanings as "mine", "yours"; e.g.:

(397)

       Faroskaasu waa midka sarkaalka.

       horse/that - SP/V$_{cop}$ - one/the - officer/the

(398)

       Faraskaasu waa kayga.

       horse/that - SP/V$_{cop}$ - mine

(399)

       Sariirtani taada weeye.

       bed/this - yours - SP/V$_{cop}$

The combination of Patterns 9 + 15 cannot be transformed into a full predicate.

There is an additional means of expressing the notion of belonging: the use of verbs which denote the appearance or disappearance of the owned object. With verbs which denote appearance, the notion of belonging is expressed with the preverb u (for, to). With verbs denoting disappearance of the owned object, the preverb ka (from) is used; e.g.:

(400)

       Wiil baa u dhashay.

boy - SP - to (him) - was born

<u>Translator's Note</u>:   Babys are born in Somalia in the same way as anywhere else, but the male gets all the credit; i.e., a baby is usually born to the father.

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(401)

Ninkii naagtii ka dhimatay...

man/the - woman/his - from died

the widower...

<u>Pattern 13</u> can be used to express the idea of class membership; i.e., the name of a given set can appear in apposition to the name of a given member of that set (subset ——→ set) and thus a verb will govern both of them within a single valence slot; e.g.;

(402)

Xoolaha awr waa dhimtay saddex wey lumeen inta kale-se waa nabad qabtaa.

stock/the - camel - SP - died # three - SP/the - were
lost # quantity/the - other/particle <u>se</u> - SP - peace - hold

As for the stock, one camel died, three were lost and the rest are OK.

(403)

Labada mindiyood tanu waa weyntahay.

two - knives/these - this one - SP - great is

Of these two knives this one is the bigger.

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The possessive relationship (Pattern 15 = Substantive Head + Determiner
Dependent) can be used to express membership in a class where a plural pronoun
is functioning as the designator of the class ("one of us" = middeenna, literally
"one-our"); e.g.:

(404)

> Markaasay waxay yidhaahdeen: "Ninkeenna wuxuu rabaa intuu
>
> boqol adhi ah helo; ninkeenna wuxuu rabaa intuu boqol dhurwaa
>
> helo...
>
> moment/that/they - SP/they - said # man/our - SP/he - wants
> - that/he - hundred - sheep and goats - are - find #
> man/our - SP/he - wants - that/he - hundred - hyenas - find
>
> And then they said, "one of us wants to have a hundred
> sheep and goats while the other wants a hundred hyenas..."

It is also possible to mark class membership explicitly - with the
preverb ka (from), especially where the verb has to do with the notions
of apperance or disappearance; e.g.:

(405)

> Cadowga waxa laga dilay shan iyo toban askari.
>
> enemy/the - SP - one/from - killed - five -- and - ten -
> soldiers
>
> Fifteen enemy soldiers were killed.

(406)

> Nin-na kama tagin.
>
> man/particle na - from/not - went
>
> Not a one of them went.

Note a typical Somali tendency to mark in a predicate string the kinds of
meanings which a European language would mark within the boundaries of a noun

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phrase.

There are some special verb strings which denote membership in a class:

ka mid ahaan	-	from - one - be
ka tirean	-	from - be considered
ku jiri	-	in be (located)

The expression of class membership in the opposite direction (set ——▶ subset) is covered by the string:

ka koombi	-	to consist of, to number

Some examples of these expressions are:

(407)

Waxa dhintay dad badan oo ay ka mid ahaayeen caruurta iyo dumarko.

SP - died - people - many - and - they - from - one - were - children/the - and - women/the

Many people died including the women and children.

(408)

Nin ku jira Barlamaanka Mareykanka aqalkiisa sare...

man - in - is - Parliament/the - America/the - house/its Upper

an American senator...

(409)

Dalalka ka tirean Ummadaha Midoobay...

countries/the - from - are numbered - nations - have united

members of the UN...

(410)

> Ouddigaasu wuxuu ka koobmaa shan dal oo Afrikaan ah.
>
> committee/that - SP/it - from - consists - five - country
> Africa(ness) - are
>
> This committee is made up of five African countries.

Special note should be taken here of the use of __ahaan__ (to be) with
the meaning of membership in a class, since in this respect it is quite
different from the "to be" of European languages. Actually, the Somali
verb __ahaan__ contains the notion of membership in a class as one of its
inherent semantic features,(something which is not unknown in other languages;
e.g., English "He is a mathematician." = "He belongs to the set of all
mathematicians,"). The verb "to be" can be the direct link between the name
of a single entity and the name of a set of entities in the plural (or a set
which is denoted by a collective); e.g.:[1a]

(411)

> Wiilkaasu waa wiilalkayga/caruurtayda.
>
> boy/that - SP/V_{cop} - sons/my (or) children/my
>
> This is one of my sons.

(412)

> Kiyev waa magaalooyinka ugu waaweyn MS.
>
> Kiev - SP/V_{cop} - cities/the - most/for - great/are -
> USSR
>
> Kiev is one of the biggest cities of the USSR.

(413)

> Balomares oo ah magaalooyinka Isbaniyia...
>
> Palomares - and - is - cities/the - Spain

or even...

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Balomares oo ah dalka Isbaniya...

Palomares - and - is - country/the - Spain

The Spanish city of Palomares (in both instances)

(414)

Nin ah ragga jeraayidka qora...

man - is - people/the - press - writes

a journalist

In a similar fashion the verb _ahaan_ is often used in a situation where it is necessary to name one member of a set and the language only has a word for the set as a whole; e.g.:

(415)

Nin Soomaali ah...

a Somali

(416)

Nin reer Uganda ah...

man - tribe - Uganda - is

a Ugandan

There is in Somali a syntactic means of expressing number: Pattern 14:

(417)

Saddex gabdhood...

three girls

(418)

Sagaal boqol oo kun oo tan...

nine - hundred - and - thousand - and - ton

900,000 tons

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This device, however, can only be used with nouns which are capable of having a singular form; i.e., it cannot be used with collectives, a large subclass of nouns covering many extremely important meanings.

The fact that there is a theoretical link between the meaning of number and the meaning of membership in a class forms the basis for handling collective nouns. This link is quite transparent in Somali where numbers constitute a subclass of substantives. The Somali word _saddex_ is not so much "three" as it is "a group of three", "a trio". Thus, with a collective noun its meaning is something like "a three of children" or "a three of the detachment", etc.. The meaning of membership in a class, here as in general, is expressed with the verb _ahaan_ ; e.g.:

(419)

> Saddex dumar ah...
>
> three- woman(kind) - is
>
> three women

(420)

> Boqol ah askarta la soo kiraystey ee caddaanka ah...
>
> 100 - are - soldier(y) - one - hired - and - whiteness - are
>
> 100 white mercenaries...

This device can also be used for plural nouns which also have a singular form; e.g.:

(421)

> Saddex ah nimankii halkaa joogay...
>
> three - are - man/the - place/that - were (at)
>
> Three of the men who were there...

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The number can be modified directly by a subordinate "adjectival" verb; e.g.:

(422)

> Waxa la xirxiray tobannaal kun oo madow.
>
> SP - one - arrested - tens - 1000 - and - black.
>
> Tens of thousands of blacks were arrested.

Multiple events can be expressed by using a number plus a deverbative noun (lix weerar - six attacks), but the verb form plus an adverbial modifier consisting of a number together with the word jeer , mar or goor (time, instance) is more natural; e.g.:

(423)

> Shan goor baa la weeraray.
>
> five - time - SP - one - attacked
>
> There were five attacks.

With personal pronouns, the meaning of number is expressed by using Pattern 15; e.g.:

(424)

> labadayada
>
> two of us   (lit. "two/our)

(425)

> boqolknod
>
> hundred/their
>
> a hundred of them

Among the lexical means of expressing number, we shall note:

(1) the verb ahaan which is capable of joining an enumerated (surface) subject with a number-predicate complement; e.g.:

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(426)

Toban baanu nahay.

ten - SP/we - are

There are ten of us.

(2) the word tirada (number), which Somalis use extensively; e.g.:

(427)

Baqaabadaha shaqaalaha ee NS oo ay dadka ku jira tiradiisu

tahay 80 mln oo ruux...

organizations/the - workers/the - and - USSR - and -
they - people - in - are(located) - number/their - is -
80 - million - and - person

Soviet labor organisations with their 80 million members...

(428)

Dayuuradaha Mareykanka uu leeyahay ee la soo riday oo dhan

tiradoodu waxay gaaraysaa 2564.

planes/the - America/the - it - has - and - one - shot down
- and - entire - number/their - SP/they - is reaching -
2564

Altogether 2564 American aircraft have been shot down.

Let us examine at this point the notion of ordinality, a meaning
which is contiguous with the meaning of number.   The normal way of marking
this notion, the ordinal, is in Somali a (true) adjective and, therefore, it
functions as a noun modifier in Pattern 11; e.g.:

(429)

Minguuraagii labaantanaad...

anniversary/the - twentieth

The twentieth anniversary...

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(430)

Ka-hooseeyaha koowaad...

the first deputy...

With compound numerals only the final word assumes the ordinal form; e.g.:

(431)

Dayaxgacmeedkii laba boqol iyo toddoba iyo afartanaad...

moon/artifice/the - two - hundred - and - seven - and - fortieth

The two hundred and forty-seventh earth satellite...

(Note that the form which appears as an ordinal is often different from that of its English counterpart: while the lowest whole number assumes the ordinal form in English, in Somali the ordinal is the number denoting the lowest ten. Compare... "two hundred and forty seventh" with laba (2) boqol (100) iyo toddoba (7) iyo afartanaad (fortieth). Also compare both English and Somali with Polish in which both the units and the tens assume ordinal form; e.g.:

dwieście czterdziesty siódmy

The meaning "first in time" is normally expressed with some form of the verb horreyn (be earlier, before) plus ugu. The resulting string has a superlative meaning (see below) and is joined with the noun being modified by means of Pattern 18 (the relative clause); e.g.:

(432)

Markii ugu horreeyey...

The first time...

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(433)

> Madaxweynihii ugu horreeyef waddanka Marwykanka....
>
> president/the - most/for - came before - country/the - America/the
>
> The first American president....

Horreyn can also be used as a (full) predicate; e.g.:

(434)

> MB waxuu ugu horreeyey dalalka kala hawada sare Baytxgunmeed-
>
> yedii loo diray.
>
> USSR - SP/it - most/for - went before - countries/the - other - air/the - upper - satellites/the - one/in - sent
>
> The USSR was the first country to launch earth satellites into space.

Somali has in addition to ordinal numbers a periphrastic means of expressing the notion of order, one which is based on the fact that the absolute number of items equals the ordinal of the last item in an enumerated sequence. In Somali, which typically leans toward transparent predicate relationships, the fact of this semantic (even mathematical) relationship is reflected directly on the level of (surface) linguistic structure; e.g.:

(435)

> Maanta maalinta ku toddoba ah baan ab'aashayda jawaabteedii
>
> kaa doonayaa.
>
> today - day/the - (added)to - seven - is SP/I - question/my - answer/its - you/from - await
>
> I'm expecting your answer to my question in seven days.

Thus, "seventh day" = "day which is added to today equals seven". The preverb *ku* with an incremental meaning appears here in precisely the same kind of usage as it does in such sentences as:

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(436)

Anigu waxaan toban ku shay sagaalkan halaad.   Idiinkuna

waxaad toban ku tihiin ratiga yarka ah.

I - SP/I - ten - (added)to - am - nine/these - female camel
/ You/but - SP/you - ten - (added)to - are - baby camel/the
small - is

I with these nine female camels form a group of ten and
you (nine people) with this baby camel (male) (also) form
a group of ten.

In keeping with its general tendency to predicativise, Somali has a set

of "ordinal verbs" which are formed with the suffix -eyn:

toban (ten) ———⟶ tobmeyn (be tenth, make ten)

soddon (13th) ——⟶ soddumeyn (be 13th, make 13)

Compare these verbs with ka koonfureyn (be south of).   An example of an

ordinal verb is given immediately below:

(437)

Anigu waxaan tobmeeyaa sagaalkan halaad.

I - SP/I - tenth/am - nine/these female camel

I'm the tenth of the group which consists of these nine
female camels plus myself.

OR...   With these nine female camels, I form a group of ten.

Translator's Note: I have omitted a paragraph in which Zholkovskij compares

time expressions containing a Russian ordinal with their Somali counterparts

which have a cardinal number which is "one unit less".   The problem here

lies primarily with the Russian.   See Zholkovskij, p. 143, para. 4.4.)

The meaning of approximate amount; e.g., "about 10", approximately 20",
etc., can be rendered by a separate expression which is joined to the quantity
marker; e.g."

(438)

> In ku dhowdhow labaatan qof...
>
> quantity - to - close - twenty - person
>
> about twenty people...

(439)

> In lagu qiyaasay labaatan qof...
>
> quantity - one/by means of - estimated - twenty - person
>
> About twenty people...

(440)

> Dad ku dhowdhow labaatan qof...
>
> people . to - close - twenty - person
>
> about twenty people

However, there is also a morphological process in Somali whereby approximate
numbers are formed.   They are formed by means of the suffix -eeyo and are
associated with the feminine gender.   The structure used with numbers,
Pattern 1h, or the verb "to be" is used to join that which is being enumerated
to the form ending in -eeyo ; e.g.;

(441)

> Soddomeeyo sanndood...
>
> about 30 years

(442)

> Soddomeeyo rag ah...
>
> approximately 30 men...

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Somali uses these same -eeyo forms to express something like "the thirties", "the forties", etc.; e.g.:

(443)

Sanooyinkii soddomeeyo...

years/the - about 30

the thirties

OR... Sannadku markuu ahaa kun iyo sagaal boqol iyo soddomeeyo...

year/the - time/it - was - thousand - and - nine - hundred - and - approximately thirty

The Meaning of Degree: High, Comparative, Superlative, Same, Differing

Let us begin with the comparative (more precisely the "greater") degree, since its meaning forms the basis for deriving this entire group. High degree denotes a level which is greater than the norm for a given class of objects or for a quality (see Sapir/Mandelbaum, 1951, and Zholkovskij, 1964); superlative degree is the greatest among all objects in question, while differing degree involves an object which possesses a given quality to a different degree from some other object. Identical degree involves the possession of a given quality to no greater degree than some other object.

Somali has no morphological means of expressing comparative degree. The syntactic device used is a construction which can be diagrammed as follows:

A   and   B, A - P

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... where A and B are the objects being compared and P is a verb denoting the quality involved. The A and B string appears at the beginning of the sentence in apposition to the subject or object of the verb (A and B or "these two", etc.). The verb denotes the quality which forms the basis for the comparison and the object possessing the quality to the greater degree is A, the surface subject or object in the construction; e.g.:

(444)

> Ninka iyo naagta ninka baa ka wanaagsan.
>
> man/the - and - woman/the - ninka - SP - than - good/is
>
> The man is better than the woman.

(445)

> Labadan nin kii saakey yimi waa weynyahay.
>
> two/these - man - the one - today/morning - came - SP - old/is
>
> Of these two men, the one who arrived here this morning is the older.

(446)

> Qorniinka iyo akhriska wuu qaban jirey qorniinka.[2]
>
> writing/the - and - reading/the - SP/he - take hold of - was - writing/the
>
> He used to occupy himself with writing more than reading.

This structure can apparently be used for any qualities or actions in the role of P and any objects in the roles of A and B, as long as A and B are nouns and P is a verb (and, moreover, the verb of an independent clause). There is one additonal condition: the mention within the construction of both terms of comparison. Otherwise, the formula A and B, A - P is reduced to A - P; i.e., the simple expression of normal (or high) degree; e.g.:

(447)

Wuu qaban jirey qorniinka.[3]

SP/he - take hold of - was - writing/the

He used to occupy himself with writing (a lot).

There are two ways of expressing comparison lexically:

(1) the preverb ka (than, in comparison) with the "greater" meaning marked by a verb form (adjectives as such are rare in Somali - such forms as sare, "upper", hore, "front, forward", etc. do not appear with preverbs). Such verbs characteristically have meanings which are subject to gradations of degree; e.g.:

weyn	-	be great, big, old (of people)
badan	-	be many, much
wanaagsan	-	be good

Some examples of comparison expressed lexically follow:

(448)

Ninka baa naagta ka wanaagsan.

man/the - SP - woman/the - than - good/is

(449)

Ninkaa baa iga weyn.

man/that - SP - me/than - old/is

That man is older than I am.

(450)

Wuu ka sareeyaa sarkaalkaas.

SP/he - than - important/is - officer/that

He outranks that officer.

There are some constructions which have the meaning of high degree (see below) and which are associated with the set of verbs permitting gradations in quantity. The verbal element in such constructions is one the verbs noted above (weyn, badan, wanaagsan, etc.) and the preverb ka continues to appear with them; e.g.:

(451)

Wuu iga ood wanaagsanyahay.

SP/he - me/than - singing - good/is

He sings better than I.

(452)

Wuu ka xoog badanyahay walaalii.

SP/he - than - strong - much/is - brother/his

He is stronger than his brother.

The use of ka in the meaning of "than" is also possible with the inceptives and causitives which are derived from the quantitative verbs noted above; e.g.:

(453)

Soortan soortii shaleyto ka wanaaji.

food/this - food/the - yesterday - than - make

Make today's food better than yesterday's!

(454)

U sug intay ka weynaato.

to - wait - moment/she - than - grows

Wait until she gets bigger (grow up)!

This last example is a relatively rare occurrence of ka without any second term of comparison. Generally, the absolute use of the comparative

degree in Somali is not desirable (unlike English where such sentences as "I'd like something a little bigger." are possible.

Certain other verbs, e.g., jecel (jacayl), "to love", with the comparative meaning "to prefer, are also used with ka; e.g.:

(455)

> Inaan is dhiibo inaan dhinto baan ka jeclahay.
>
> that/I (my)self - give up - that/I - die - SP/I - than like
>
> I prefer to die rather than surrender.

The string denoting the quality of the higher degree ("that I die") is not the surface subject. It is set off (emphasized) by means of the SP baa.

There is another lexical means of expressing comparative degree: verbs with the meaning "to surpass", "to be bigger", etc.; e.g.:

> badin   -   win, surpass
>
> sidan   -   be superior

... with the preverbs u + ka . The preverb u is joined to the noun denoting quality P and ka to the noun denoting that which possesses the quality to the lesser degree. The element which possesses quality P to the greater degree turns up in the surface subject slot of the sentence; e.g.:

(456)

> Waxay dadka waaweyn uga badiyaen tacliinta.
>
> SP/they - people/the - old/are - in/than - great/are - education/the
>
> They are better educated than their elders.

Expressions containing the preverb ka represent the shortest and most convenient means of expressing the notion of comparative degree in Somali.

However, such constructions are limited to a narrower range of contexts than
their counterparts in European languages.   The preverb ka cannot be used
with verbs whose inherent meanings are not subject to quantitative gradation;
e.g.: "He writes more than I do.", nor can it be used with verb modifiers, since
Somali preverbs can relate only to the verb (see Zholkovskij, 1966, and consider
such sentences as "He comes here more often than I do,").

When either of these limitations apply, other ways of expressing compar-
ison must be sought:

(1) Syntactic means may be used; e.g.:

(457)

Qorniinka iyo akhriska wuu qaban jirey qorniinka.[4]

He used to be occupied more with writing than with
reading.   (see 446 for the literal gloss)

(458)

Labadayada asag-aa had iyo goor yiimaadda.

two/our - he/SP - time - and - time - comes

Of the two of us, he comes here more often.

(2) A verb which permits the use of the preverb ka can be worked
into the sentence; e.g.:

(459)

Akhriska qorniinka buu ka jeclaa.

reading/the - writing/the - SP/he - than - liked

He preferred writing to reading.

(3) Constructions with the verbs badan, weyn, adag , etc. can be used
to represent the meaning of quality P and they can have the preverb ka
connected to them.   For example, let us assume that we are trying to express

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the thought:

> "A fights better than B."

The preverb ka (than) cannot be connected with the Somali equivalent of
the verb "to fight" - dagaallami .   Thus, the following procedure may be
adopted:

> "A fights better than B" ⟶ "A is more combatitive
> than B" ⟶ "A is fiercer than B" or in the Somali
> pattern...
>
> "A - than - war - much/is - B"; i.e.;

(460)

> "A" waa ka dagaal badanyahay "B"

Consider a real Somali sentence from Iftiinka Aqoonta, Nrs. 1-6, 1966-1967:
(461)

> Wuxuu ka dagaal badnaa njmankii kale oo Afrikada woqooyi
>
> iyo woqooyibari ka dirireyey.
>
> SP/he - than - war - much/was - men/the - other - and -
> Africa/the - North - and - Northeast - in - fought
>
> He fought better than the other (troop commanders) of
> Northern and Northeastern Africa.

(4) One can resort to the use of lexical means - one of the verbs
badan, sidan, haaysan (to surpass); e.g.:
(462)

> Oo hatanna waxay kula tahay inuu aabahay ka sito.   Bal
> ii sheeg siduu uga sito.   - ma wuxuu uga sitaa intuu
> raganimo ka qabo.
>
> Well, now - SP/it - you/with - is - that/he - father/my

- than - surpasses # So - I/to - say - manner/he - in/than
surpasses # QUEST particle - SP/he - in/than - surpasses -
quantity/he - courage - from - has
Well now, in your opinion he is better than my father.   So
tell me: in what way is he better?   Is it that he surpasses
him in courage?

Superlative Degree

The superlative is a great deal like the comparative in terms of the
ways in which it can be expressed.

It does not have any morphological means of expression.

A syntactic structure, which is analogous to the formula...

A and B, A - P

for the comparative degree is constructed along the following lines:

PLURAL a, A - P; e,g,:

(463)

Tobanna nin kanu waa ugu wansagsanyahay.

ten/the - man - this one - from/most - good/is

Of these ten men, this one is the best.

In this formula "PLURAL a" is represented by a number, a collective, a
(count) noun or pronoun in the plural or an enumeration of (singular) nouns.
"Quality P" must be a verb and, moreover, it must be the predicate of an
independent clause with "PLURAL a" functioning as its surface subject or
object.   There do not appear to be any other constraints on this formula.

Like the comparative, the superlative can be marked lexically by using
preverbs and verbs.

The same verbs which combined with the preverb ka to produce the
comparative can be used to express superlative degree as well; i.e., those

verbs which denote the kinds of "Quality P" which are subject to gradations
on a scale; e.g.: "be big", "be long", "be hard", etc.,

To express possession of a similar "Quality P" to the superlative degree,
the appropriate verb takes the preverb u (most); e.g.:

(464)

     Kii u wanaagsanaa...

     then (one) - most - good/was

     The best one...

(465)

     Waqtigan u dambeeyey...

     time/this - most - followed

     In recent times...

"Plural a"; i.e., the class of items from which "Item A" is being
singled out; i.e., the object which possesses "Quality P" to the greatest
degree, is governed by still another preverb u (from) with $u_1 + u_2$ equalling
ugu (in accordance with general morphophonemic rules); e/g/:

(466)

     Tobankan nin kanu waa ugu wanaagsanyahay.

     ten/these - man - this (one) - SP - from/most - good/is

     Of these ten men, this one is the best.

(467)

     Intaan qalmaan yeeshay baa kanu ugu xumyahay.

     quantity/I - pens - had - SP - this (one) - from/most -
     bad/is

     Of all the pens I had, this one is the worst.

We should note that, unlike the comparative, the superlative which is
formed by means of the preverb u (most) can be used in an absolute way; i.e.,
without any reference to a second term of comparison ("Plural a").   This
is obvious from the examples of its use (see above).   In the same situations
both preverbs (u₁+u₂=ugu) can be used without a "Plural a" if the latter
is clearly implied; i.e., kii u wanaagaanaa (the best one) + kii ugu wanaag-
sanaa (the best one of them).

There is another preverbal means of expressing superlative meaning, one
which is based on a theoretical link between the superlative and the comparative:
"bigger" in comparison with any member of a class + "the biggest" of the
class.   Therefore,...

(468)

> Nin ka wada weyn,...
>
> Man - than - all - big/is (where wada is a preverbal
> particle with the meaning "all, everyone, together")

means the "biggest man among them...".

Both preverbal means (u₁+u₂=ugu and ka+wada) can of course be used in
in compound constructions of the socod wanaagsan (walking + good/is) or
xoog badan (strength + great/is) type; e.g.:

(469)

> Wiilkani waa ka ugu fahmad badan giddigood.
>
> Boy/this - SP - the (one) - from/most - understanding -
> great/is - all/their
>
> This boy is the brightest (quickest) of all of them.

(470)

> Ninkii ka wada xoog badnaa...

man/the - than - all - strength - great/was

The strongest man...

The same proverbs (u_1+u_2=ugu and ka+wada) can be used with the verbs
badin, sidan and haaysan (to surpass, to be greater); e.g.:

(471)

Qorniinka buu ka wada sitaa.

He is an outstanding writer.

(472)

Aabbahay rag oo dhan buu ugu sitaa.

My father is superior to all (other) men.

The use of a special verb to express superlative meaning is apparently
always possible in any situation where such a meaning makes sense. However,
the following syntactic conditions must be met: "Quality P" must be expressed
by a noun. An overt "PLURAL a" need not be present in the string.

Quality to a High Degree

Somali (like Russian, by the way) has no morphological means of express-
ing quality to a high degree.

There are not syntactic devices dedicated solely to the expression of this
meaning either.

___

Translator's Note: In the next few paragraphs, Zholkovskij is comparing the
Somali word aad with such Russian counterparts as OChEN' and BOL'ShOJ.
What I have done is to adapt this material as best I could.

___

The Somali word aad is one of the lexical means used to express the

notion of quality to a high degree. It combines with nouns through the use
of the verbal form _ah_ (is) and with verbs through the use of the preverb
_u_ (in; e.g.:

(473)

       Aad buu u jecelyahay gabdhaha!

       much(ness) - SP/he - in - loves - girls/the

       He really loves the girls!

(474)

       Saaxiibbo aad ah baanu nahay.

       friends - much(ness) - are - SP/we - are

       We are the best of friends.

(475)

       Si aad ah ayey u taageersanyihiin dadka Angola.

       manner - much(ness) - is - SP/they - in - support -
       people/the - Angola

       They strongly support the people of Angola.

(476)

       Magaalo aad iyo aad u weyn...

       An extremely big city...

The expression _wax badan_ is used as a paratactic dependent (i.e., a
dependent whose role is not marked by any connective, such as a preverb) with
verbs; e.g.:

(477)

       Ninku-na wax badan ayuu jeclaa naagtaa.

       man/the/and - thing - big/is - SP/he - loves - woman/that

       And the man loves this woman very much.

There are of course idiomatic expressions in Somali which also express the meaning of quality to a high degree, various "quantitative" verbs with nouns; e.g.:

> fiiro weyn - attention - big/is
>
> xudhad dheer - speech - deep/is

and also expressions of the type...

> si adag - manner - strong/is
>
> si badheedh ah - manner - abrupt, crude,- is

An example of such an expression is...

(478)

> Si badheedh ah ayey ugu gardarroodeen gobanimada Kuuba.
>
> manner - crude - is - SP/they - in/against - violated - independence/the - Cuba
>
> They committed a flagrant violation of Cuba's sovereignty.

Such ways of expressing the meaning of quality to a high degree should be learned as part of the lexicon.

Somali has still another way of expressing the notion of quality to a high degree, one which is relatively more regular than its counterparts in some European languages.

We discussed earlier the verbs badan (be many), weyn (be big), etc. and noted that their meanings represent values which are subject to gradations on a scale. Actually, any quality which can be present to a greater or lesser degree can be viewed in this way. The designator of the specific quality indicates the scale involved and the designator of the degree which is attributed to this quality indicates a specific point on this scale. To put it another way, "tall" means a high mark on the "height" scale, "hot"... a high mark on

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the "temperature" scale, "smart"... a high mark on the "intelligence" scale,
"love dearly"... a high mark on the "love" scale, "bright/quick"... a high
mark on the "able-to-understand" scale, "having jet-black hair"... a high mark
on the "brunette" scale and "bellicose"... a high mark on the "inclination-
toward-war" scale, etc..

It is quite clear that many English adjectives - "bellicose", "bright",
"smart", "hot" - contain at the same time both an indication of a scale of some
sort and an indication of a high mark on that scale; i.e., these words simul-
taneously contain both "Quality P" ("inclination toward war", "ability to
understand", "intellectual ability", "temperature") and the fact that this
quality is possessed to a high degree. Incidentally, this fact is evident
when one considers the transformational possibilities inherent in these words:

$$\text{hot} \longrightarrow \text{of a high temperature}$$
$$\text{smart} \longrightarrow \text{of a high degree of intelligence}$$
$$\text{pretty} \longrightarrow \text{of a high degree of attractiveness}$$

In the equivalent phrases on the right side of the transformation, "Quality P"
and the notion of high degree are expressed by separate words.

In most instances, Somali will express the meaning of quality to a high
degree analytically; i.e., with separate markers for both the notion of
"Quality P" and the notion of "much", "very", etc. (with the exception of
verbs with meanings like "be big", "be long", "be hot", "be far"). In addition,
the number of distinct words expressing the meaning "much" or "very" is
relatively small - the same five to ten verbs which have quantitative meanings.
Thus, an analytic structure with little possibility for variation in lexical
make-up is what normally appears; e.g.:

nin xoog badan   -   a strong man

nin dagaal adag   -   a great warrior

gabadh qurux badan -   a pretty girl

faras orod dhear   -   a fast horse

An example of such a structure is:

(479)

Fardo badan oo orod dhear-na buu lahaa.

horses - many - and - running - fast/are/and - SP/he
- had

And he had many fast horses.

While in terms of being analytic, this construction is like such English

expressions as...

of a high temperature

of great strength

..., it is syntactically distinct from them and a lot more like the expression...

wide in the shoulders

We should in this regard remember that Somali has no adjectives as such and

the words which most closely correspond to adjectives are verbs like adag

(be strong), fog (be distant), etc..   Therefore, the strings which even more

closely resemble Somali adjectivals are such expressions as...

a person burning with impatience

In Somali there are, relatively speaking, a goodly number of such verbs

(of the sematic class MAGN).   They can be applied to any quality which (1)

is subject to degrees of quantification and (2) can be realised in the form

of a surface nominal (socod - going, walking -, orod - running -, qurux -

appearance, beauty -, etc.).   Apparently, there is the added requirement that
such a noun not be overly long or a suffixed deverbative, since the noun in this
construction appears within the preverb string where only relatively short
words can be used.   It goes without saying that this formulation could use
additional clarification.

Sometimes the meaning of quality to a high degree is expressed with the
semantically neutral verb _lahaan_ - to possess -   (This is one of the most
widespead Somali expressions of the lexical function $Oper_1$; the semantic
neutrality of the form consists in the fact that it is a realization of $Oper_1$
as opposed to $Magn_1$ + $Oper_1$); e.g.:

(48c)

> Nin caqli leh...
>
> man - intelligence - has
>
> an intelligent man

This example is analogous to the English expression...

> a man of principles...

where the notion of high degree is some way or other a feature of the quality
itself.   It remains to be determined what the relationship is between these
two kinds of expressions; i.e., in effect... who is really stronger...

> nin xoog leh

OR

> nin xoog badan

This problem becomes all the more acute when we consider such more or less
synonymous possibilities for, say...

> an intelligent person...

(481)

> Nin caqli leh...
>
> Nin caqli badan...,
>
> Nin caqli aad ah leh...
>
> Nin caqli aad u badan...

Same and Different Degree

The meaning of quality possessed by two or more to the same degree is expressed by using a noun to denote the scale involved and the verb ahaan (to be). There are two basic constructions expressing this meaning predicatively: (1) a comparative construction where...

> A possesses quality P to the same degree as B

and (2) a mutual construction where...

> A and B to the same degree possess quality P

In the first (comparative) formula, A is the surface subject, P is a noun preposed to the verb ahaan along with the preverb la (with) and B is governed by la ; e.g.:

(482)

> Wuu ila wanaag yahay.[6]
>
> SP/he - me/with - good - is
>
> He is as good as I am.

(483)

> Shan dhowlis buu la dherer yahay.
>
> five - well ropes - SP/it - with - long - is
>
> It is the length of five well ropes.

In the second (mutual) formula, the (surface) subject is A and B, the (surface) predicate is the verb "to be" (in the form of _ahaa_ OR _waa/weeye_) and the valenced dependent is the noun P with the preverb string _isku_ (self/to).   This formula expresses the meaning not only of quality to the same degree, but also any kind of sameness; e.g.:

(484)

       Waa isku lib.

   = Waa isku qiimad.

       SP/V_{cop} - Self/to - price

       They are the same price. (They cost the same.)

(485)

       Waa isku dhar.

       SP/V_{cop} - self/to - dress

       They are dressed the same way.

(486)

       Dadka annu isku dhol nahay...

       people/the - we - self/to - land - are

       our compatriots...

   To express the complete identity of two objects, the word _mid_ (one) is used as the P element; e.g.:

(487)

       Waa isku mid.

       SP/V_{cop} - self/to - one

       They are identical

The possibility of transforming _Waa isku dhar_ into...

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(488)

Dharkoodu waa isku mid.

Their clothing is identical.

... is obvious.

It is also possible to use a noun + preverb string isku combination
with verbs other than ahean . When this occurs, the noun is the surface
subject or a paratactic dependent; e.g.:

(489)

Isku maalin bay dheesheen.

self/to - day - SP/they - were born

They were born on the same day.

(490)

Isku gabarth bay la haasaaween.

self/to - girl - SP/they - with - were chatting

They were chatting with the same girl.

(491)

Isku nin baa nala hedlay.

self/to - man - SP - us/with - talked

The same man talked to us.

In a modifying slot, these sentences become relative clauses; e.g.:

(492)

Dad isku shuqul ah...

people - self/to - work -are

fellow workers (or colleagues)

(492)

Dad isku jir ah...

People of the same race...

(494)

Alaabta isku giimadda ah...

Goods of the same cost...

(495)

Saddex caruur ah oo isku mar dhashy...

three - child - are - and - self/to - time - born

triplets

The meaning of different degree and the notion of difference in general
is expressed by using the preverb kala (apart) which is used in front of
a noun or a verb denoting the given quality (like isku); e.g.:

(496)

Waa kala macaanyihiin.

SP/V_{cop}- part - sweet are

They are not equally tasty.

(497)

Waa kala dherer.

They are of unequal length.

(498)

Waa kala qiimad.

They are different in price.

(499)

Kala mid bay yihiin.

apart - one - SP/they - are

They are not the same.

The verb <u>kala duwan</u> (to be different, to differ) and the construction kala jaad ah/kala jaadjaad ah (to be of a different kind) are two lexical means of expressing quality to a different degree; e.g.:

(500)

Alaab badan oo kala jaajaad oh...

Many different kinds of goods...

(501)

Magaalooyinka kala duwan (=kala duduwan)...,

Various cities...

In a modifying slot, the transformation...

of a different length ———————> length of which is
different

... is often used, hence the expressions:

(502)

Dawladaha dhaqankoodu kala duwanyahey...

states - structure/their - apart - different/is

Countries with different social structures

(503)

Miisaska dherekoodu kala duwanyahay...

tables - length/their - apart - different/is

Tables of different length...

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A Summary of the Ways of Expressing the Meanings Associated with the Degree to Which One Possesses a Quality

An overview of these devices is given below in Figure 9.

The absence of a morphological way of expressing comparative and superlative degrees in Somali (as opposed to the English -er/-est, for example) and the possibility of expressing them by using syntactic structures in which the designation of quality to a high degree and certain other factors play a role suggest that the semantic basis for degrees of comparison is somewhat different from that which characterizes European languages; namely, for Somali, the simplest and most natural reflex appears to be to compare something to some norm rather than to some other object. Of course, this is an observation which needs to be subjected to further scrutiny and careful development.

In view of the fact that Somali has no adjectives other than the limited number of words that appear as dependents in Pattern 11, the expression of degree is associated with verbs and, thus, Somali once again displays a somewhat greater degree of "verbness" or "predicateness" than most European languages. This is in keeping with what is observed in Appendix VIII and in Zholkovskij, 1967, on the subject of the ways in which participant roles are expressed. However, in the matter of degrees of comparison, we are also required to recognize the great "noun-ness" of Somali, inasmuch as nouns with the meaning of quality P turn out to be more widely used thet in European languages.

To express the notion of identical degree, Somali uses the word isku, which is derived from the preverbal elements is (self) and ku (to).

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The Expression of Degrees in Somali

(Figure 9)

Degree / Means	Comparative Degree	Superlative Degree	High Degree	Rare Degree	Different Degree
Morphological	--	--	--	--	--
Syntactic	A and B, A - P	M(a), A - P	--	--	--
Lexical (with functors)	A ka P B	A ugu P M(a); A ka wada P M(a)	A - S(P) badan (weyn), adag, etc.)	A la S(P)B; A and B isku P/S(P)	A and B kala P/S(P)
Lexical (with contextuatives)	A ugu badin (sidan, haaysan, etc.) S(P)	A ugu (ka wada badin (sidan, haaysan) S(P)	S(P) aad ah, weyn (badan, etc.)	S(P)A and B isku mid	S(P)A and B kala duwan

...where A and B are the terms of comparison, P is the quality involved, M(a) a multiplicity or collection of A, S(P) apparently a form which combines both quality and degree.

Translator's Note: A second chart showing the ways in which degree is expressed in Russian has been omitted (see Zholkovskii, p. 159).

However, it is used in this instance in slots where preverbs are not permitted
(in front of non-predicative nouns which are not predicate complements – see
Zholkovskij, 1966). Therefore, in this role _isku_ cannot really be called
a preverb. It is a special modifer which is placed in front of (not after)
a noun.

Locative Meanings

The pages devoted to the modifer relationship and also to synonymous
transformations already contain much information about the meaning of place.
We shall at this point attempt to present a more or less complete picture of
the syntactic and lexical conditions and means of marking place. That which
has already been discussed above will only briefly be reiterated, but we
shall give a more detailed account of that which was either slighted in
earlier Sections or not covered at all.

The element denoting place is an object and it is expressed without the
use of any preverb (Pattern 3) with a number of verbs which have a locative
meaning; e.g.:

joogi	-	to be (located)
tegi	-	to go
aadi	-	to go
dhigi	-	to put
saari	-	to put (on top)
geyn	-	to transport, convey
fadhiyi	-	to sit
jiifi	-	to lie
ooli	-	to stand

taagan	-	to stand
deggen	-	to reside, inhabit
geli	-	to enter

With other verbs, preverbs are used to express the most general locative meanings with the selection of the preverb dependent not only on the meaning being expressed, but also on the specific verb being used:

(1) Location "in" - ku, ka ; e.g.:

(504)

   Lagu dilay magaalada...

   killed in the city

(505)

   Laga dagaalamaysaa magaalada...

   are fighting in the city...

(2) Motion "toward" - u, ku; e.g.:

(506)

   Loo (la+u) diray magaalada...

   sent to the city...

(507)

   Lagu noqday magaalada...

   returned to the city...

(3) Motion "from" - ka; e.g.:

(508)

   Ka yimi magaalada...

   came from the city...

(4) Motion "through" - u, ka; e.g.:

(509)

> Loo mariyey magaalada...
>
> (someone) was taken through the city...

(510)

> Laga tallaabay magaalada...
>
> (someone) went through the city...

This also holds for the abstract-locative meanings "in the area of", "in relation to"; e.g.:

(511)

> Melka uu ka teaganyahay arrinteaa...
>
> place/the - he - in - stands- question/that
>
> His position on this question...

(512)

> Macaawinadda loogu geeysaneyo dagaalanka...
>
> help/the - one/to/in - relates - struggle/the
>
> Help in the struggle...

    Thus, it is clear that the means by which general locative meanings are expressed are the property of specific verbs and the information about this should be given along with these verbs in the lexicon.   The same is true of verbs which in essence take a zero preverb (joogi, tagi, etc.); i.e., this information should also be noted in the lexicon.

    The possibilities for combining preverbs with any single verb are limited by a number of general rules (see Andrzejewski, 1960; Zholkovskij, 1966 and also Appendix VII) and these limitations are even more stringent where locative meanings are involved.   In particular, given a single verb,

it is not desirable to use preverbs denoting both the source and the goal of motion at the same time (e.g.,...returned _from_ Mogadiscio _to_ Moscow).

Where the goal of motion is the same as the place in which the speaker is located, this fact is indicated by using the preverbal particle _soo_ (hither) and thus the situation is "saved"; e.g.:

(513)

> Shaleyto Muqdisho waxa ka soo noqotay ergadii ka socotay
>
> Barlamaanka NS.
>
> yesterday - Mogadiscio - SP - from - hither - returned -·
> deletation/the - from - came - parliament - USSR
>
> The parliamentary delegation from the Soviet Union returned here (to Moscow) from Mogadiscio yesterday.

Otherwise, either only one of the terminal points is mentioned within the limits of a single clause, or the preposition _ilaa_ is used (see below), or two verb forms are used - one with the marker of source and the other with the marker of destination; e.g.:

(514)

> Nayroobi waxa ku noqday wasiirka arrimaha **dibedda ee**
>
> Keenya asagoo ka noqday (or ka tegey) Muqdisho.
>
> Nairobi - SP - in - returned - minister/the - matters/the
>
> - outside/the - and - Kenya - he/and - from - returned
>
> (or from - came) - Mogadiscio
>
> The foreign minister of Kenya returned to Nairobi from Mogadiscio.

Separate adverbs of place, one of which is "embedded" (spatially) within the other, are joined to the verb with a single preverb; e.g.:

(515)

> Saayiir magaalada Kinshasa shir lagu dhigay waxa laga
>
> caddeeyey...
>
> Zaire - city/the - Kinshasa - **meeting** - one/in - held -
> SP - one/in - announced
>
> At a meeting in Kinshasa, Zaire, it was announced...

This rule does not extend to the names of objects and their parts; e.g., the

human body and its organs; e.g.:

(516)

> Mindii bso gacanta igaga (=i+ku+ka) dhiftay.
>
> knife/the - SP/he - hand/the - me/by means of/on - struck
>
> He cut my hand with a knife.

The verb dhifan takes "me" as a direct object while "hand" is governed by the

preverb ka .   Compare the following examples:

(517)

> Nin waliba siduu u socdo ayaa qodaxi u muddaa.
>
> man - each - manner/he - in - goes - SP - thorn - to(him)
> - pricks
>
> The echo responds to the call.[*]

(Here "he (who) is pricked" is a direct object .)

(518)

> Far baa wax iga mudeen.
>
> finger - SP - something - me/in - pricked
>
> One of my fingers has been pricked.

[*]This, an English gloss of a Russian proverb which Zholkovskij proposed as
a functional equivalent of a Somali proverb.

(Here "me" is a direct object and "finger" is governed by the preverb ka .)

(519)

> Xaggee baa dadka kelyuhu kaga jiraan?
>
> place/which - SP - people/the - kidneys/the - in/in -
> are located
>
> Where (in the body) are a person's kidneys located?

The same applies to the figurative or abstract meanings of locative preverbs;
e.g.:

(520)

> Waajibka dadka oo dhan dushooda saaran...
>
> task/the - people/the - and - whole - back/their - put
>
> The task which the people have wholeheartedly taken on...

(No preverb is used here, because there is only one object group involved -
"people/the - back/their".)

(521)

> Waajibka dadka oo dhan dusha ka saaran...
>
> task/the - people/the - and - whole - back - on - put

(The preverb ka is used here, because "people" and "back" represent two
distinct object noun groups here.)

An adverb of place in sentence-intitial position with one or more first-
rank constituents between it and the verb can (in actuality) be joined without
a preverb, particularly if the verb already has preverbs attached to it; e.g.:

(522)

> Magaalada Saygon agagaareheeda maanta waddaniinta weerar
> hor leh ayey ku (kaga is also possible, however) dhifteen
> cadowga.

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city/the - Saigon - vicinity/its - today - patriots/the
attack - before - have - SP/they - on - struck - enemy/the

Today for the first time the Viet Cong attacked in the
vicinity of the city of Saigon.

(here weerar ku dhifan - "to attack" and "the Saigon vicinity" are joined
paratactically.)

Translator's Note: What Zholkovskij actually says here is that they "are joined
without valence."

The meanings "to", "up to", "as far as" and "from...to" can be expressed
by means of a device which represents a kind of anomaly in Somali syntax and
which for this reason has not figured in previous statements about syntactic
classes and patterns. These are the prepositions (1) ilaa and iyo . We
are stressing the word "prepositions"; i.e., those words which can (1) govern
one or two nouns; (2) depend not only on a verb, but also on a noun; (3) in
general not depend on anything at all, forming a prepositional group with the
meaning "distance from...to"; and, finally, (4) be freely distributed in the
sentence (unlike the preverb); e.g.:

(523)

Ilaa buurta tag.

Go toward the hill!

(524)

Buugga ilaa sakhirtenka akhri.

Read the book all the way through!

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(525)

Burco ilaa Sheekh roob baa ka da'ay.

Burao - to - Sheikh - rain - SP - in - went

It rained the whole way from Burao to Sheikh.

(Here the group Burco ilaa Sheex is treated like a noun denoting place.)

(526)

Ubax ilaa ubax bay duulaan.

They flit from flower to flower.

(527)

Halkan ilaa Burco intey jirta?

How far is it from here to Burao?

(528)

Halkan ilaa Burco iyo halkan iyo Sheekh halkan iyo Burco

ka fog.

place/this - to - Burao - and - place/this - and - Sheikh
- place/this - and(=to) - Burao - then - far/is

It is further from here to Burao than it is (from here)
to Sheikh.

In order to fit, so to speak, these prepositions (ilaa and iyo) into
our surface syntax, we would have to consider them to represent a special
class of words. These words combine with verbs either as participants or as
adverbial modifiers and they themselves govern (two) dependent nouns, one of
which precedes and one of which follows ilaa or iyo.

Another syntactic rarity involving locative meaning are the adverbs
sare (up), hore (forward, front, earlier), dib (back), which combine with
a verb as if they were nouns; i.e., by means of the preverb u , but which do

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not appear in any other positions or functions typical of the noun; e.g.:

(529)

Sare u qaad.

up - to - take

Lift (it) up!

(530)

Dib u noqo.

back - to - return

Come back!

(531)

Hore u soco.

front - to - go

Move to the front.

(532)

Ninka aan hore u soconayni dib buu u soodaa.

man/the - not - forward - to - goes   - back - SP/he - to - goes

The man who is not moving forward is falling back.

(533)

Waddanka dhaqaalikiisa hore ayaa loo marineyaa dadka nolo-

shiisa-na sare ayaa loo qaadayaa.

country/the - economy/its - forward - SP - one/to - is moving # people/the - life/their/and - up - SP - one/to raises

As the country's economy develops, the people's living standard goes up.

Prepositional nouns which govern their dependent nouns by means of

Patterns 9 or 10 and which themselves combine with verbs as objects or as

prepositional (i.e. preverbal) particles (position 11 in the ordering of the
proverb string) are the normal means of expressing such specific spatial
relationships as "near, around", "within", "under", "beyond", "behind", etc.
(see Section III).   There is one additional widely used noun which has a locative
meaning, the noun xagga (side, direction, place).   It governs a dependent
noun in Pattern 10; i.e., it precedes its dependent.   At the same time, however,
it can be subordinated not only to a verb, but also to a noun (also through the
use of Pattern 10).   Thus, the following string is possible:

$$\overbrace{S \qquad\qquad \underset{xagga}{\downarrow}}^{10} \quad \overbrace{\qquad\qquad \underset{S}{\downarrow}}^{10}$$
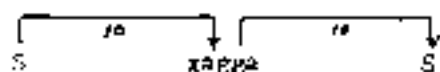
...; i.e., what is in effect a prepositional construction.   Moreover, the
word xagga can be subordinated to the verb not only through the use of the
preverbs u , ku , ka (i.e., as a locative noun), but also without any
intervening preverb.   This means that xagga itself appears as a kind of
preposition.   In other words, xagga is the embryo of a form of prepositional
government which is the same for verbs and nouns alike and which is developing
on the basis of a spatial noun, "direction", in the very core of a system
which almost completely excludes prepositions.   Xagga is widely used in the
meaning of abstract location ("in the realm of", "in the area of", "in relation
to"); e.g.:

(534)

                Socodka xagga Burco...
                trip/the - direction - Burao
                the trip to Burao...

(535)

                Taageerilista xagga dhaqaalaha...

support/the - area - economy/the

economic support...

(536)

Macaawinadda looga geeysaneyo xagga dhaqaalaha...

help/the - one/to/in - gives - area - economy/the

economic assistance

(Here xagga is joined through the preverb ka .)

(537)

Macaawinadda loo geeeaneyo xagga dhaqaalaha...

(Same meaning as 536, but no preverb ka.)

(538)

Tallaabooyinka lagu cidhiidhi galineyo taliska Ismith

xagga dhaqaalaha...

steps/the - one/by means of - quality of being constrained
- introduces - regime/the - Smith - area - economy/the

economic sanctions against the Smith regime...

(Here xagga combines with the verb without any preverb.   If the conjunction
ee is placed before xagga , then xagga will be the modifier not of the verb,
but of the noun tallaabooyinka.).

In keeping with the general Somali tendency to express predicative
relationship explicitly, locative verbs occupy an extremely important place
among the ways of realizing spatial concepts.

It has already been stated above that there are two basic verbs with
the meaning "to be located" - one for animate subjects: joogi and one for
inanimate subjects: oolli . There are several other verbs in which the notion
of location is combined with other semantic features (see the list on p. 219 of

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the present Section).   Two recurring forms of preverbal government can be observed with these verbs:

(1) Place/destination can be indicated without using a preverb if the form used actually denotes a place.   However, when place/destination is marked by a form which denotes some person (see Bell, 1955; Zholkovskij, 1966), a preverb is used; e.g.:

(539)

> Alaabtii la geeyey Pietnam...
>
> goods/the – one – sent – Vietnam
>
> Goods sent to Vietnam

(540)

> Alaabtii loo geeyey dadka Pietnam...
>
> goods/the – one/to – sent – people/the – Vietnam

(541)

> Sheekh buu tegey.
>
> Sheikh – SP/he – went

(542)

> Cali buu u tegey.
>
> Ali – SP/he – to – went

(2) Verbs which combine with a designator of place/destination when literal location is involved will take a preverb where the subject is an abstract concept and the verb itself takes on a figurative meaning; e.g.:

(543)

> Sariirta maqsinkan taalla...
>
> bed/the – room/this – stands

(544)

      Magaalada webigan ku taalla...

      city/the - river/this - on - stands

(545)

      Ninkii halkaa taagnaa...

      man/the - place/that - stood

(546)

      Xaaladdii ka taagnayd Bariga Dhexe...

      situation - in - stood - East - Middle

The verb _ahaan_ merits special attention in any treatment of verbs of location. It is capable of being used in this meaning without preverbs or other markers of location; e.g.:

(547)

      Berbera waa xaggaa.

      Berbera - SP/V$_{cop}$ - direction/that

      This way to Berbera.

(548)

      Magaaladu waa buurta.

      city/the - SP/V$_{cop}$ - hill/the

      The city on the hill.

It is possible that structures like...

(549)

      Magaalada Jikago ee waddanka Maraykanka ah

      city/the - Chicago - and - country/the - America/the - is

      The American city of Chicago...

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... should be included under the same heading, although we have already seen them as particular subsets of meaning under the general concept of membership in a class (see p. 187 of the present Section).

The Somali language is rich not only in "general-locative" verbs (i.e., in predicative ways of expressing the meanings "in", "to", etc.), but also in predicative ways of expressing such specific meanings as "between", "beyond", "behind", "under", etc..   This trait marks an important difference between Somali and the languages of Europe.   Somali has and extensively uses such verbs as:

ka fog	-	to be far from
u dhow	-	to be close to
ka hooseyn	-	to be lower than, to be under
u/ka dhexeyn	-	to be between
ka shisheyn	-	to be behind/beyond
ka sarreyn	-	to be over
ka horreyn	-	to be before, to be in front of
ka dambeyn	-	to be after to be following
ka xigi, u jiri	-	to be at a distance from

and even a verb with an especially specific meaning:

ka koofureyn	-	to be south of

It is not difficult to associate the fact that such verbs exist in Somali with the fact that prepositional nouns cannot be dependent on noun heads.   Therefore, the Somali equivalents of such S   Prop   S   structures contain verbs; e.g.:

(550)

Aqalka buurta ka shisheeya...

house/the - hill/the - from - behind/is

the house beyond the hill)

(551)

Magaalada ka xigta Saygon laba kilomitir...

city/the - from - follows - Saigon - two - kilometer

the town which is two kilometers from Saigon

(552)

Saldhigga militeriga ah ee ka koofureeya gobalka hubka

laga memnuucay ee Fietnamta Koofureed iyo Fietnamta

Woqooyi u dhexeeya...

base/the - militariness - is - and - from - south/is -

region/the - armament/the - one/from - banned - and -

- Vietnam/the - South - and - Vietnam/the - North - for

- between/is

The military base which is south of the demilitarized zone
between North and South Vietnam...

Temporal Meanings

It is useful to begin the ways in which time is expressed with an account
of the Somali tense system; i.e., with an account of those temporal contrasts
which must be noted in every sentence and which are marked with the inflected
forms of verbs.   These contrasts are grammatical and morphological in
expression (in the meaning used by I.A. Mal'chuk, 1960).   They are also in
part grammatical and not morphological to the extent that analytic tense forms
play a part in the Somali verb system (see Section I, Pattern 8).   This account

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will) of necessity be brief, since we did not make any special study of the tense system. There are three tenses: present, past and future. In the present and past tenses, there are also two aspects: general (habitual) and continuous, but not all verbs have continuous forms. The continuous present possesses the added capability of marking an event which will take place in the near future, a meaning very much like the use of the English "...going to". The past tense (continuous if possible) also expresses a kind of past perfect meaning (like the English present perfect continuous); e.g.:

(553)

> Mosko saddex maalmood waxa joogtey ergedii Fraans.
>
> Moscow - three - day - SP - was being - delegation/the - France
>
> The French delegation has been in Moscow for three days (now).

Finally, there is a separate past tense form which denotes something similar to the English "...used to".

There is no agreement of tenses in Somali; i.e., the tense of a verb in a subordinate clause does not change with that of the principal verb; e.g.:

(554)

> Wuxuu doonayaa inuu yimaadde.
>
> SP/he - wants - that/he - come
>
> He wants to come.

(555)

> Wuxuu doonayey inuu yimaadde.
>
> He wanted to come.

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NOTE: The notion of an obligatory tense contrast in Somali relates not only to verbs, but also to nouns. What we have in mind in this connection is the contrast between the -ii form of the article and the -a form. The meaning involved in this contrast is not, however, purely temporal. Rather it contains any and all aspects of manifestness, including spatial and conceptual. For this reason, it cannot, strictly speaking, be examined here. This problem has yet to be the object of serious study.

Temporal meaning; i.e., the meaning "fact A is related to time segment B", is expressed through the use of syntactic means only when the word denoting the time segment is a modifier of the word denoting "fact A". To put it another way, syntactic means can be used only when the features relating to time segment B are, so to speak, "packed" into the dependent word and the features relating to fact A... into the head word. Thus, the syntactic relationship itself covers nothing more than the meaning of modification in general, not temporal modification per se. Then Pattern 10 is used with a noun as A, or Pattern 6 with a verb as A. This means that temporal nouns combine freely with verbs, without being a part of the verb's valence, even where such complex meanings as "within five days" or "in the course of a month" are involved; e.g.:

(556)

Aqalkaa shan maalmood ayaa la dhisay.[7]

house/that - five - day - SP - one - built

That house was built in five days.

(557)

Sannadkii la soo dhaafay halkaa waxa laga soo saaray boqol
kun oo tan oo maliid ah.

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year/the - one - hither - passed - place/that - SP - one/from - hither - extracted - hundred - thousand - and - ton - and - oil - is

In the past year, 100,000 tons of oil were extracted there.

True, the preverb ku can also be used; e.g.:

(558)

Toddoba casho ku keena.

seven - day - in - bring

Deliver (it) within seven days.

Should it be desirable to stress the limits of the time segment, then the words in (segment) or muddada (period) can be used. The 18 + ah + 3 construction joins the actual designator of the time segment to in or muddada and the resultant phrase combines with the verb without any intervening preverb (i.e., by means of Pattern 6); e.g.:

(559)

In hal bi) ahayd MG waxa marti u joogtay ergedii ka joogtay Barlamaanka Soomaalida.

segment - one - month - was - USSR - SP - guests - for - were located - delegation/the - from - came - Parliament - Somali/the

The Somali parliamentary delegation visited the Soviet Union for a period of one month.

The concept of the "simultaneity" (and also of the not always contrasting notion of "sequentiality") of two events is expressed (1) with Pattern 17 and (2) with the words mar(ka), goor(t..), wax(a), in(ta), which serve to introduce a subordinate relative clause (Pattern 18). In both the main clause and the subordinate clause, Pattern 6 is used to join these words to the verb; e.g.:

(560)

Wasiirku mar uu ka hadlay shirkaa ayaa wuxuu caddeeyey...[6]

minister/the - moment - he - at - spoke - meeting/that -
SP - SP/he - announced

When the minister spoke at the conference, he announced...

⟶ Wasiirku asagoo ka hadlay shirkaa ayaa wuxuu caddeeyey...

Speaking at the conference, the minister announced...

(561)

Markaasuu intuu is dhex taagay xeradii dhaartay.

moment/that/he - segment/he - self - - middle - put -
enclosure/the - took an oath

Upon entering the enclosure, he took an oath.

Since with both of these means of expression it is assumed that the
simultaneity involved is expressed by means of verbs and not nouns, then in
rendering such expressions as "during the war", some way has to be found to
translate the noun as a verb:

during the war ⟶ Markii la dagaallameyey...
(When they were fighting...)

during the war ⟶ ...iyadoo la dagaallamayo...
(...with them fighting...)

during the war ⟶ dagaalku markuu/intuu socday...
(When the war was going on...)

In the last instance, the transformation...

$$S_V \longrightarrow V_e + S_{pred}$$

is used (see Section IV, transformation # 4).

There are quite a few ways of expressing such temporal meanings as
"before", "after", "from", "to", "beginning with", "still", "at the beginning",
"at the end".

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Some of these means correspond to nouns which govern a dependent word through the use of Patterns 9 or 10 or which are used without dependents:

horta	-	beginning, right before, before
horraanta	-	the beginning
bilowga	-	the beginning
dabaynaqada	-	the end, at the end
dabada	-	the end, after
kabbacdiga	-	the end, after

Like all temporal nouns they combine with verbs by means of Pattern 6; e.g.:

(562)

Habeenka hortiisa yeel.

night/the - beginning/its - do (this)

Do this before nightfall!

(563)

Horta adiga buuggan akhri, dabadeed-na anigu waan akhriyi
doonaa.

beginning/the - you - book/this - read # after/and - SP/I
- read - will.

You read this book first and then I'll read it.

(564)

Sannadkii la soo dhaafay dabaynaqadiisii/bilowgiisii...

year/the - one - hither - passed - end/its OR beginning/
its

At the end (or the beginning) of last year...

(565)

Shirkii dabadiis/kabbacdigiis way kala tegeen.

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meeting/the - end/its - SP/they - apart - went

After the meeting, they went their separate ways.

(566)

Boqol sano hortood buu dhintay.

hundred - year - before/their - SP/he - died

He died a hundred years ago.

The meanings "after" and "before" are also expressed by the postpositions
ka dib , ka hor , a phenomenon which is quite rare for Somali. They consist
of the preverb ka placed before the prepositional nouns dib (back) or hor
(front), something which normally does not happen to a Somali preverbal particle.
The words ka dib or ka hor are either used in an absolute sense - meaning
"then" or "before" OR they are placed after a dependent noun. They are
not, however, joined to this dependent noun through Pattern 9 (unlike preposit-
ionals and temporals - compare dagaalka hortiisa with dagaalka ka hor ,
both of which mean "before the war"). Pattern 6 rather than any preverb is
the bond between these postpositions and a verb; e.g.:

(567)

Dagaalkii labaad ee addunka ka dhacay ka hor halkas waxa
ku tiiley magaalo weyn.

war/the - second - and world/the - in - took place - in -
front - place/that - SP - in - stood - city - big/is

Before the Second World War there was a big city in that
place.

The meanings "from", "until", "up to", "from...to" (in the non-inclusive
sense as indicated by the Russian equivalents given, OT...DO) are expressed by
the word ilaa ,which has the characteristics of a preposition or joining word,

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since it can govern both a noun and a relative clause (in the latter case the combination _ilaa iyo_ is also possible); e.g.:

(568)

Ilaa labada sug.

until - two - wait

Wait until two!

(569)

Waxan baan iqiin ilaa bilowgeedii.

thing/this - SP/I - knew - from - beginning/its

I knew this thing from its very inception.

(570)

Ilaa aad timaadid baan ku sugi doonaa.

right up until - you - arrive - SP/I- for (you) - wait - will

I'll wait until you arrive.

(571)

Waxay cadowga la dagaallami doonaan ilaa iyo intay guul

dhan ka gaareyaan.

SP/they - enemy/the - with - struggle - will - right up to - and - segment/they - victory - whole - from - get

They will continue to battle the foe until they achieve total victory.

There is still another way of expressing the meaning "to", "until". It involves using the joining word _inta_ (segment), (a while) and a subordinate clause with a negated predicate; e.g.:

(572)

Wadahadal laleme yeelan karayo intaanay ciidankooda ka

qaadin dhulalkay qabsadeen (= ilaa ciidankooda ay ka

qaadaan dhulalkay...).

talks - one/with/NEG - make - can - while/not/they - army/
their - from - took - lands/they - captured (= right up until
army/their - they - from - take - lands...)

There can be no talks until they withdraw their troops from
the territory which they occupy.

(573)

Wasiirku intaanuu ka duulin Qaahira ayaa wuxuu caddeeyey...

minister/the - while/not/he - from - flew - Cairo - SP -
SP/he - announced

Before departing Cairo, the minister announced...

(574)

Cali shuqulka buu dhammaynayaa intaanu dibedda qaban.

Ali - work/the - SP/he - is finishing - while/not/he -
outside/the - went

Before leaving, Ali will finish the work.

The notion of precedence, but without any indication of a point of refer-
ence; i.e., without a valenced dependent, is also expressed with the adverb
hore , which combines with the verb by means of the preverb u ; e.g.:

(575)

Hore buu u yimi.

He arrived earlier.

It should be emphasized that the preverb in this case is motivated by the
presence of the adverb, since any noun with the same meaning would be joined
directly (i.e., without an intervening preverb); e.g.:

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(576)

> Waxa laga magacaabi jiray shirkaas markii hore "Iran",
>
> kaddibna waxa laga magacaabay "Goob".
>
> SP - one/by means of - call - was - meeting/that - moment/the
> - past - "Iran" # then/and - SP - one/by means of - called -
> (it) "Goob"

The adjectives <u>hore</u> (previous) and <u>dambe</u> (subsequent, following) are
widely used as modifiers of both event nouns as well as nouns which denote
time segments; e.g.:

(577)

> Shirkii hore...
>
> the previous meeting

(578)

> Markii hore...
>
> previously, the time before

(579)

> Waaqi hore...
>
> a long time ago

(580)

> Mar dambe...
>
> then

As was the case with <u>hore</u> as an adverb (see above), such adjectives do not
combine with a form which designates some point of reference (<u>Translator's
Note</u>: the "what" in "previous to what", the point at which we start counting).

There are verbs which express temporal meanings:

bilaabi	-	begin (trans.)
bilaabmi	-	begin (intrans.)
dharmaan	-	finish (intrans.)
dharmoyn	-	finish (trans.)
horreyn	-	precede
dambeyn	-	follow
dhexeyn	-	be between

Let us cite some typical examples of these verbs:

(581)

Intay ka bilaabantay sannadkii la soo dhafay (- Inta ka

bilaabantay sannadkii la soo dhafay...)...

segment/it - from - began - year/the - one - hither - passed
(- segment/the (no subject pronoun) - from - began - year/
the - hither - passed)

Beginning last year...

(582)

Intii u dhexeysey labadii dagaal ee addunka ka dhacay...

segment/the - in - was between - two/the - war - and -
world/the - in - took place

During the period between the two world wars...

(583)

Waxayaabihii ka horreeyey afgembigii halkaa ka dhacay...

events/the - from - preceded - coup/the - place/that - in
- took place

Events preceding the coup which took place there...

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(584)

Shirkii markuu dhammaaday...

meeting/the - time/it - ended

After the conference...

(585)

Intii ka dambeeysey tawraddii...

segment/the - from - followed - revolution/the

In the time following the revolution...

Let us direct our attention to two more instances of the use of verbs in marking a point in time:

(586)

Sannadkii markuu ahaa (gaareyo) kun iyo sagaal boqol iyo saddex iyo afartankii (toddobaatanka)....

year/the - time/it - was (will reach) 1943 (...73)

In 1943 (1973)

Translator's Note: The use of gaareyo ... saddex iyo toddobaatanka illustrates a *year* in the future (SYNTAXIS SOMALI was published in 1971).

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(587)

Saacaddu markay ahayd labadii...

hour/the - time/it - was - two/the

At two o'clock (in the past)...

(588)

Saacddu markay gaareyso labada...[9]

hour/the - time/it - will reach - two/the

At two o'clock (in the future)...

(589)

Bishii markay ahayd Januari...[10]

month/the - time/it - was - January

In January (in the past)...

Here, however, modification structures (Patterns 9 and 10) are also possible;

o.z.:

(590)

Bishii Januari ee sannadkii la soo dhaafay...

January of the past year...

(591)

Bishii Januari labiyo tobankeedii...

- Labiyo tobankii Januari...

- Bishii Januari markay ahayd labiyo tobankeedii...[11]

The 12th of January...

The examples presented immediately above make it clear that with each noun denoting a segment of time, the vocalisation of the article (-ii vs -a) indicates whether this segment is already a matter of record (see note at the top of page 235).

Meanings of Cause, Instrument, Purpose, Material (Matter), Condition and Concession

Somali differs sharply from European languages in the way that it expresses the meaning of cause (causation). It has no causal subordinate clauses (those which would be comparable to English "because" clauses) nor does it have such causal prepositions as "because of" "of" (as in..."he died of fright"), etc.

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On the other hand, causative verbs are formed through a regular morphological process and causation is frequently implicit in particular structures; i.e., it is conveyed paratactically rather than overtly marked.

When the _effect_ is expressed with a verb and the _cause_... with a noun, the preverb ku is used to mark causation; e.g.:

(592)

Ninkij baa ku toosay urka xun.

man/the - SP - from - awoke - smell/the - bad

The man awoke because of the bad smell.

(593)

Rasaasta waxa ku dhintay dad badan.

shells/the - SP - because of - died - people - many

Many people died from the shells.

(594)

Ninkii baa naagtii jeclaatay, waxaayna ku jeclaatay

aqoonta uu cayaarta u leeyahay.

man/the - SP - woman/the - loved # SP/she/and - because of
- loved (him) - knowledge/the - he - dancing/the - for -
had

The woman loved the man because he knew how to dance.

It is interesting to note that the causal meaning of the preverb ku "stems" from its instrumental meaning; e.g.:

(595)

Rasaastaa baa lagu dilay dad badan.

shells/the - SP - one/by means of - killed - people - many

Many people were killed by these shells.

(596)

Mindida baa lagu gooyey.

knife/the - SP - one/by means of - cut

(Something) was cut with a knife.

In this connection, we should remember that in Section IV we noted the possibility of expressing instrumentality with a surface subject (Pattern 2); e.g.:

(597)

Rasaastaasu dad badan ayey dishay.

shells/those - people - many - SP/they - killed

Those shells killed many people.

There are in Somali two prepositional nouns (S_{prep}) which possess the meaning of cause (and goal): aawada and daraada (darta). They combine with verbs through the use of the preverb u; e.g.:

(598)

Lacagla'aan aawodeed waxaas u ma yeeli karo.

lack of money - cause/its - thing/that - for - not - do (I) can

I can't do that, because I don't have any money.

(599)

Jacayl aawodeed isaga xumaantaeda u ma arko.

love - cause/its - he - faults/her - for - not - see

He doesn't see her faults because of love.

(600)

Sidaa daraadeed waxa loo caddeeyey in...

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manner/that - cause/its - SP - one/for - declared - that

Therefore, it was announced that...

(601)

Kinguuraagii shannad ee ka soo waraegey markii lagu

dhammaaqay gobannimada waddanka aawadiis waxa loo dhigay

shir rasmi ah oo weyn oo loogu dabbaldegay.

anniversary/the - fifth - and - from - hither - was fulfilled
- time/the - one/about - proclaimed - independence/the -
-country/the - cause/its - SP - one/for - held - meeting -
solemnity - is - and - big - and - one/for/by means of -
commemorated

There was an official mass meeting held to commemorate the
fifth anniversary of the country's declaration of independ-
ence.

It must be stressed that the nouns <u>aawada</u> and <u>daraada</u> together with
the preverb <u>ku</u> express the meaning "for the reason" only when the cause is marke
by a noun and the effect...by a verb.

There is no conjunctive noun with a causal meaning, but the causal link
between two clauses (i.e., two verbs) can be realized in the form of the
coordinating conjunctions <u>maxaa yeelay</u>, <u>waayo</u>, <u>illayn</u>, which join independent
clauses (see Section I, <u>Pattern 20</u>); e.g.:

(602)

lacag ku siin kari maayo maxaa yeelay lacag ma hayo.

money you - give - be able - (I) will not - because -

money - not - (I) have

I won't be able to give you any money, because I don't have
any.

Markaasay habartii, illeyn waa habar inan qudh ah leh, ee ay

ka naxday oo tidhi...

moment/that/SP - woman/the # because - SP/V$_{cop}$ - woman -
son - one(ness) - is - has # and - she - from - got fright-
ened - and - said...

Then the woman got scared, for she had but one son, and she
said...

In Somali, the causal link between clauses often remains implicit with
the clauses being joined either by coordinating conjunctions and enclitics, or
by temporal conjunctive words, or through the use of Pattern 19; i.e., such
structures as Asagoo (=asaga + oo); e.g.:

(604)

Waddadii baa xumayd oo waannu raagney.

road/the - SP - bad/was - and - SP/we - were delayed

We were delayed because of the poor condition of the road.

(605)

Waxaan ogeyahin hayaa dadka inaanan mas'uul u ahayn wixii

galaf ah oo buugan ka yimaadda dinac walbaba ama gabay

nin kale si u yaqaan ha ahaatee ama sheeko.   Wax inoo

qoran oo af Soomali noogu qoran oo ama sheeko ah ama gabay

ah la na arko.

SP/I - report - (I) have - people/the - that/I/not -
responsible - for - am - thing/the - mistakes - are -
and - book/this - from - goes - side - each/every - or -
verse - man - other - manner - in - knows - let (it) be -
or - a tale # thing - us/for - written/is - and - language
- Somali - us/for/in - written/is - and - or - tale - is -
or - verse - is - one - not - sees

I must openly state that I am not responsible for (all) the

various possible errors in the book or for the fact that others know those verses or tales in some other form, whatever it might be. There is nothing, neither stories nor verses written in the Somali language.

Since causal meaning is a factor in the overall meaning of causative verbs, it is natural to have the following equivalence:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\underset{A}{\overset{I}{\rule{1em}{0pt}}} & \underset{V}{\overset{V}{\rule{1em}{0pt}}}\ \text{because} & \underset{S}{\overset{II}{\rule{1em}{0pt}}} \\
\end{array}
$$

$$
\longrightarrow \quad
\begin{array}{ccc}
\underset{S}{\overset{I}{\rule{1em}{0pt}}} & \underset{V_{caus}}{\overset{II}{\rule{1em}{0pt}}} & A \\
\end{array}
$$
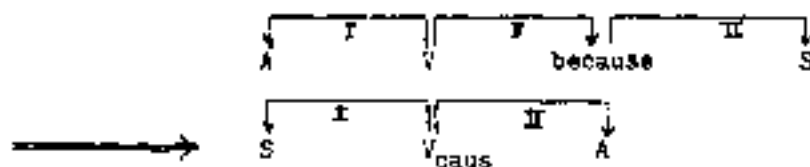
... for example:

(606)

(A)   (S)   (because) (V)

Dad badani rasaastaa bay ku dhinteen.

people - many - shells/those - SP - they - because of - died

(607)

(S)   (A)   (V_caus)

Rasaastaasu dad badan bay dishay.

shell's/those - people - many - SP/they - killed

(608)

Urka xun buu ku toosay.

smell/the - bad - SP/he - because of - awoke

(609)

Urka xun baa toosiyey.

smell/the - bad - SP - woke (him) up

There are, in addition, verbs which have a purely causative meaning:

ka imaan	-	occur because of
keeni	-	bring (i.e., to cause)
mahad(da) lahsan	-	(be) owing to, thanks to

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ka dhalan	-	to stem from
dhalin	-	to generate

... and others; e.g.:

(610)

Taasina waxay ku timid (=waxa keentay) dayuuraddii bomka

haliata ah sidday ee burburtay.

that/and - SP/it - because of - came (= SP - brought)
plane/the - bomb/the - danger/the - is - carried - and
- broke

This was caused by the plane crashing with a hydrogen bomb
on board.

(611)

Waxaynabihii ka dhashay weerarkaas...

things/the - from - stemmed - attack/that

The consequences of that attack...

(612)

Heshiis wanaagsan baa la wada saxiixay, waxana aahadda leh

guddigii umadaha u dhexeeyey ee dhexdhexaadineyey wada

hadalkii la wada yeeshay.

agreement - good/is - SP - one - together - signed # SP/and
- thanks/the - has - committee/the - nations/the - for -
were between - and - mediated - talks/the - one - together
- made

Thanks to the talks which were mediated by the international
commission, a useful agreement was signed.

The preverb u (for) is used with a verb to signify the goal or purpose

of an action.   It combines with nouns which denote (1) a person or an action

or (2) a subordinate clause, the product of a nominalization process, and joins

them to the conjunctive words in and (especially often) ei ; e.g.:

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(613)

Waa wax lagamamaarmaan ah in la ilaaliyo ama loo kaydsho

dadka Soomaalida ah xeerkiisa iyo murtidiisa iyo aqoontiisa.

SP/V$_{cop}$ - thing - necessity - is - that - one - safeguard
- or - one/for - preserve - people/the - Somali/the - are
- law/their - and - culture/their - and - knowledge/their

It is necessary that the law, literature and culture of the
Somali people be saved and preserved.

(614)

Ergadaasu daawasho bay u tagtay magaalada gabalkeedii

gaboowbay.

delegation/that - inspection - SP/it - for - went - city/

the - part/its - old/is

That delegation took an inspection tour of the old part
of the city.

(615)

Waxay u tegeen inay (si ay u) daawodaan kiniisaddii

gabooeley ee halkaa ku tiilley.

SP/they - for -went - that/they (manner - they - in) -
inspect - church - old/became - and - place/that - in -
stood

They went to inspect the old church in that place.

(616)

Waxa loo baahanyaha in xoog loogu isticmaalo si loo

baabi'iyo taliska Iamit ee midabkalasooca ku dhisan.

SP - one/in - needs - that - strength - one/for/to - apply
- manner - one/in - destroy - regime - Smith - and -
racism - on - is - built

Efforts must be made to destroy the Smith regime which is
built on racism.

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(6.7)

...si ay aqoon uga qaataan nidaamka tacliinta.

manner - it - knowledge - in/from - take - system/the
- education/the

...with the goal of becoming familiar with the
educational system.

The prepositional nouns _daraada_ and _sawada_ possess, in addition to
the meaning of cause, the meaning of goal of an action (this is consistent
with the essential link between these two meanings): "goal" - "acknowledged
cause" (e.g., in Italian _perchè_: "because, in order that"); e.g.:

(618)

Aawaday u yeel.

reason/my - for - do

Do it for my sake!

(619)

Aaawodeed baan aqalka u joogaa.

reason/her - SP/I - house/the - for - am located

I am home because of her.

We have already noted (pp. 39 - 40 above) that it is not correct to
assign the meaning of goal to the use of the subjunctive in relative clauses.
In reality, relative clauses (in the subjunctive as well as the indicative
moods - see Bell (1951), Andrzejewski (1960) and Section II of the present
work) express final meaning only implicitly, not explicitly.   To put it
another way, in the kinds of situations where other languages may mark final
meaning or simply leave it to be suggested by context, Somali leaves such
meaning unmarked and uses Pattern 18 (the relative clause).   The analogy

with the kind of parataxis (i.e., implicit or contextual meaning) which imparts
the meaning of causation is evident here; e.g.:

(620)

> Waxa la ururineyaa lacagta lagu caawimo dadkii wax ku
>
> noqday dhulkii geriiray.
>
> SP - one - is collecting - money/the - one/by means of
> - helps - people/the - something - because of - became -
> earth/the - shook
>
> A collection is being taken up for the earthquake victims..

With the preverb u the same meaning can be conveyed in a more transparent
form in the following way:

(621)

> Lacag baa loo ururineyaa si loo caawimo dadkii...
>
> money - SP - one/for - is collecting - manner - one/in
> help - people/the

There is a verb - (ugu) tala geli , "intend", "designate", "earmark for"
- which is widely used; e.g.:

(622)

> Waxa la ururineyaa lacag loogu talo galay dadkii wax ku
>
> noqday dhulkii geriiray.
>
> SP - one - is collecting - money - one/for/in - intended
> - people/the - something - because of - became - earth/the
> - shook

The meaning of condition is expressed in Somali by means of the joining
word haddii , which introduces a relative clause; e.g.:

(623)

Haddii la doonayo in wada hadal la wada yeesho waa in la

joojiyaa bomka lala dhaco.

if - one - want - that - talks - one - together - make -
SP - that - one - stop - bomb/the - one/with - attack

If there are to be talks, the bombing must be stopped.

(624)

Hadaan weydiiyo wuo yeelayaa.

if/I - ask - SP/he - do

If I ask him, he will do it.

With a negative condition ("if...not") the predicate of the relative clause
follows the general rule and appears in the negative subjunctive; e.g.:

(625)

Haddaanad tegin isaga arki maysid.

if/not/you - go - him - see - won't

A shorter way of expressing negative condition is haddii (lit, "the
moment") modified by kale (other); e.g.:

(626)

Immanka tag, haddii kale waad dib dhacaysaa.

now go # moment/the - other - SP/you - be late

(627)

Haddii dalkaasi cabsi leeyahay iyo haddii kale waan tegeyaa.

moment/the - country/that - fear - has - and - moment/the
- other - SP/I - go

Whether it's dangerous there or not, I'm still going there.

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The link between conditional like the latter example and concessives is **obvious** (see below).

An unreal condition relating to the past is expressed by the **same joining** word _haddii_ with the subjunctive mood in the conditional clause and an analytic form of the conditional (infinitive + _lahaan_) in the principal clause; e.g.:

(528)

> Haddaan weydiiyo wuu yeeli lahaa.
>
> IF/I - ask - SP/he - do - have
>
> **If I had asked him, he would have done it.**

In a negative principal clause, in this situation, the negative conditional mood (with -_een_) is used; e.g.:

(529)

> Shaley haddaanad iman lacagtii ku maan siiyeen.
>
> yesterday - if/not/you - had come - money/the - you -
> not/I - would have given
>
> If you hadn't come yesterday, I would not have given you the money.

Concessive meaning is expressed by means of the word _kasta_ (no matter what/which) which may be affixed as a modifier to:

(1) the joining word _in_, thus forming with it an concessive conjunction: e.g.:

(530)

> Inkastoo aan jeclahay isaga iyada ma jecli.
>
> although - I - like - him - her - not - like
>
> Although I like him, I don't like her.

(631)

> Inkastoo ay reeaae ku rideen, way quuleysan waayeen.
>
> although – they – shells – on – threw – SP/they – gain victory – were unable

(2) any noun, which in such a case is used with the verb _ahaan_ (to be), _noqon_ (to become) or with its own bound func$_0$. Such combinations form a modifying clause (modifying a given noun) or they form a kind of third-person imperative (hortative) containing a subjunctive with the word _ha_ ("let", "have"); e.g.:

(632)

> Wax kastoo dhaca muraadkeennu waa inoo qumayaa.
>
> thing – any/and – occurs – desire/our – SP – us/for – will be realised
>
> Come what may, we shall achieve our goal.

(633)

> Marka sidii wax lagu ilaalin lahaa ama ama laga kaydin
>
> lahaa waxa weeye in wax laga dhigo nurtida Soomaaliyeed
>
> far kasta ha lagu dhigo ee.
>
> moment/the – manner/the – thing – one/by means of – save – had – or – one/by means of – guard – had – SP – there is – that thing – one/from – write down – culture/the – Somalis – writing/any – let (it be) – one/by means of – write down – and
>
> To preserve and keep the Somali culture, it is necessary to record something of (its riches) in some kind of written form – it doesn't matter which kind.

(634)

> Si kasta ha noqoto ee, wax ba u ma tari karayn iyaga.
>
> manner – any – let (them) – become – and – thing – any – for – not – help – can – them

No matter what they might resort to, it won't do them any good.

It goes without saying that the concessive meaning may also be expressed by paratactic means; i.e., it may be contextually motivated rather than marked overtly; e.g.:

(635)

Maxaa yeelay wuxuu ahaa ninkii gabayada Sayidka noo dhawray asagoon af Soomaaliga dhigayn...

Because - SP/he - was - man/the - poetry/the - Sayid/the - us/for - preserved ≠ he/and/not - language - Somali/the - wrote

Because he was the person who preserved for us the poetry of Sayid and (even though) he did not write in Somali...

The meaning of material or substance is expressed in Somali by the verb ahaan in both a predicative and modifying role; e.g.:

(636)

Miis qori ah...

table - wood - is

(637)

Billaawe bir ah...

spear - iron - is

(638)

Lacag warqad ah...

money - paper - is

(639)

Billaawuhu waa bir.

spear/the - is (made of) - iron

The spear is made of iron.

The notion of making something out of some material is expressed by using the preverb ke (from) with the verbs samayn (make, do), samaysan (be made), dhis. (build), dhisan (be built); e.g.:

(640)

> **Miiskan qori baa laga sameeyey.**
>
> · Miiskaa qori buu ka sameysan yahay.
>
> table/that - wood - SP - one/from made
>
> "   "   "   - SP/it - from - is made

The Meanings of Identity and Designation (Naming)

The syntactic means of expressing the meaning of identity in a modifier that is Pattern 12 (the modified element ——⟶ an element in apposition). This pattern is used in Somali only when there are several elements in apposition and they are given in the form of an enumeration; e.g.:

(641)

> Markii caanihii la chummy baa raggii shirka joogey oo chani dhallinyaro iyo waayeel wayso u qalqaashay.
>
> time/the - milk/the - one - drank - SP - people/the - meeting/the - attended - and - all - young people - and - elders - wayso - for - prepared
>
> After they had (drunk) the milk, all the people who were attending the meeting, young and old, started preparing for wayso (ceremonial ablutions prior to prayer).

(642)

> Muxuu ugu yeedhay dadkii Soomaalida ahaa oo dhan inay la dkrtraan saddex cadow - Ingriis iyo Talyaani iyo Armaaro - oo dhan mar keli ah.
>
> SP/he - self/to/for - summoned - people/the - Somali/the -

were - and - all - that/they - with - are fighting - three
- enemy # English - Italians - Ethiopians # all - moment -
unity - is

He summoned all the Somali people to do battle against all
three enemies - the British, the Italians and the Ethiopians
- simultaneously.

Under these same conditions as well as with only one element in apposition,

a relative clause containing the verb ahaan (bo) is possible; e.g.:

(643)

...inay la diriraan saddexdoodii cadow ee ahaa Ingriiska,

Talyaaniga iyo Amxaarada...

that/they - with - fight - three/their - enemy - and -
were - English/the - Italians/the - and Ethiopeans/the

Of course, the verb ahaan (and its equivalent in Patterns 4 and 5) is

used to express identity as a full-fledged predicate as well; e.g.:

(644)

Ninkaasu waa macaalin.

man/that - SP/V_{cop} - teacher

There is one additional (and special) means - Pattern 15; e.g.:

(645)

Waryaa, ninkaaga dheer!

hey # person/your - tall/is

Hey, you, tall guy!

A special construction, Pattern 12, is used to express the meaning of

designation or naming; e.g.:

(646)

Magaalada Qaahira...

the city of Cairo...

(547)

Madaxweyne Naser...

President Nasser...

The lexical means used to express designation are verbs meaning "to
name", "to call", "to be named", to be called", etc., the noun _magaca_ (name)
and the expression _ku_ _sheeg_ _ah_ (so called). They are quite common in Somali;
e.g.:

(648)

Jariidedda la yidhaadho "Ngurume"...

The newspaper called "Nkrumah"...

(649)

Ninka magaciisu yahay Axmed Xaashi...

person/the - name/his - is - Ahmed Hashi

(650)

Jaamacadda lagu magacaabay Lumumba,...

university/the - one/by means of - called - Lumumba

(651)

Siyaasaddii loo bixiyey midda Kalshteyn,...

doctrine/the - one/for - called - one/the - Nallstein

(652)

Niman duqow ku sheeg ah oo aan dadka wakiil ka ahayn
ayuu sameeyey,

man - elder - on - name - are - and - not - people/the -
representative - from were - SP/he - made

He created so-called elders, who were not representatives
of the people,

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These words and phrases connect the designation (denoted by the dependent element) to the common noun (operating as the head element).   The converse; i.e., designation = head, while common noun = dependent, can be achieved by using the verb ahaan ; e.g.:

(653)

Naser oo ah madaxweynaha JCM...

Nasser - and - is - president/the - UAR

or... Naser oo madaxwayne u ah JCM...

Nasser - and - president - for - UAR

Nasser, the president of the UAR,...

(654)

Muqdisho oo xaranka u ah Jamhuuriyadda Soomaalida...

Mogadiscio, the capital of the Somali Republic,...

The Meaning of Obligation (or Necessity)

Somali often uses the waa in... construction to indicate obligation or necessity; i.e., Pattern 5 with an in noun clause in the complement slot; e.g.:

(655)

Sayid Moxamed waa inuu inoo noqdaa calaamaddii xornimada.

Sayid Mohamed - SP/V_{cop} - that/he - us/for - become - symbol)/the - freedom/the

Sayid Mohamed must become for us the symbol of freedom.

(656)

Xeerarka iyo caadooyinka iyo dhaqanka dadadka kale waa
inuu aqoon u leeyahay.

laws/the - and - customs/the - and - life-way/the -
peoples/the - other - SP/V$_{cop}$ - that/he - knowledge -
for - have

We should have a knowledge of the laws, customs and way
of life of other peoples.

The expression _waa in..._ is usually described as a special modal const-
ruction (see Bell, 1953). However, it turns out that this structure can be
readily transformed into other surface realizations of the verb "be" and, thus,
what we are dealing with here is not a syntactic, but a lexical means of
expressing modality, one which involves the use of "be" (compare this with the
English: "He _is_ to go."). There is some justification for the hypothesis that
waa in... sentences contain an impersonal subject _ay_ (it is that...). With
other realizations of the verb "be" this subject is overtly marked in text; e.g.:
(657)

Inaan tago _bay_ ahayd.

that/I - go - SP/it - was

I had to go.

Another obligation structure involving the use of the verb "be" is also
possible - one in which the subject of "be" is not an impersonal "it", but
rather the actual subject of the obligation (i.e., the person obligated); e.g.:
(658)

Wuxuu ahaa inuu tago.[12]

SP/he - was - that/he - go

He had to go.

(659)

Aakartayado waxey ahayd inay dib u gurato

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soldiers/our - SP/they - were - that/they - back - to - move

Our soldiers were forced to retreat.

The verb <u>lahaan</u> (have) is also used in expressions denoting obligation;
e.g.:

(660)

Malkaas inaan tago baan leeyahay.[13]

place/that - that/I - go - SP/I - have

I have to go there.

Finally, there are various special words denoting some aspect of
obligation: <u>u baahan</u> (need, require), <u>ka maarmi</u> (not require, get by without),
<u>lagama maarmaanka</u> (necessity), <u>khasab noqon</u> (to need to become), <u>khabsi</u>
(compel, force, require); e.g.:

(661)

Waxayse u baahantahay in la noolaeyaa oo laga bilaabaa

afka dhigiddiisa.

SP/it/however - in - needs - that - one - revive - and -
one/from - begin - language/the - writing/its

But it should be revived, beginning with (the creation)
of a writing system for the language.

(662)

Adiga waxa lagaaga baahaanyahay inaad baratid afka

Soomaalida.

you - SP - one/you/from - that/you - study - language/the
- Somali/the

You are required to study the Somali language.

(663)

Wuxuu soo qaaday sida loogu baahaanyahay in la adkeeyo...

SP/he - noted - manner/the - one/in/in - needs - that -
one - strengthen

He emphasized the need to strengthen...

(664)

Waxaad jeceshahay hadaad weydo, waxaad ka naarmi weydo baa

la yeelaa.

thing/you - love - if/you - not get # thing/you - without
- manage - not/can - SP - one - does

When what you want cannot be gotten, you make do (with
what you have).

(665)

Waxan kama maarmi karo.

thing/this - without/not - manage - not/can

(I) can't manage without this.

(666)

Inkastaba waa wax lagama maarmaan ah in la ilaaliyo ama

loo kaydsho dadka Soomaalida ah xeeriiso iyo aqoontiisa.

whatever/each - SP/V$_{cop}$ - thing - one/without/not -
manage - is - that - one - preserve - or - one/for -
safeguard - people/the - Somali/the - is - laws/its -
and - culture/its

No matter what, there is a necessity for the laws and
culture of the Somali people to be preserved and safe-
guarded.

(667)

Khasab bay noqtay inuu sirtiisa kashifo.

compulsion - SP/it - became - that/he - secret/his - uncover

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He was forced to **reveal his** secret.

(608)

Waa lagu **khasbay** inuu yeelo.

SP - one/in - forced - that/he - do

He was forced to do this.

<center>∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗∗</center>

NOTES:

[1] Zholkovskij's position on the status of **waxa** as an indicator or sentence particle has since been adopted by Andrzewski (see "Indicator Particles in Somali," _Afro-Asiatic Linguistics_, R. Hertzen (ed.), 1975.

[1a] This statement has been challenged by **several linguists** and examples (411), (412) and (413) was rejected as ungrammatical by at least one native speaker.

[2] The collocation of **qaban** + **gorniika** (and also **akhriska**) was not acceptable to a native speaker.

[3] See fn[2] above.

[4] See fn[2] above

[5] The example cited by Zholkovskij did not contain the preverb string **ugu.** A native speaker suggested that it would be more acceptable with the preverbs, but this tends to blur the distinction made between lexical and syntactic means of expressing the superlative.

[6] This example was challenged by a native speaker, who suggested instead **Waa ilo wanaag.**

[7] It is not clear from the Somali whether the building of the house was completed in five days. The use of the preverb **ku** would clarify this point.

[8] A native speaker expressed some reservations about having both **ayaa** and **waxa** (in the combining form **wuxuu**) in one sentence (both variants of example 560).

[9] The use of **labadii** in (587) and **labada** in (588) may relate to what Zholkovskij was talking about at the beginning of his treatment of temporal meanings (see p. 235, Section V).

[10] A native speaker rejected this alternative in favor of Pattern 10; i.e., bishii Januari.

[11] This example was not acceptable to a antive speaker, who suggested instead bishii Januari markay ahayd labiyo toban...

[12] A native speaker preferred...

       waxay ahayd imuu tago.

This tends to contradict what Zholkovslij said about a personal subject for the principal clause.

[13] This example was not accepted by a native speaker, who suggested instead

      Halkaas wee inaan tagaa.   (with no form of ishaan)

APPENDIX I

RULES FOR THE USE OF SHORT-FORM SUBJECT PRONOUNS

The appearance and positioning of the subject pronoun in the
sentence depend on a number of factors associated with its surface
structure and even its word order.   This means that we need rules
governing the so-called "insertion" of subject pronouns in an exist-
ing sentence.   From a theoretical point of view there is an addit-
ional advantage in removing these pronouns (in a majority of
instances; i.e., when they are not the only means used to express
the surface subject) from the surface structure, which they to a
large degree render more complicated (see Section I).   A practical
approach is to formulate separate rules for each kind of principal
clause (according to the SP used) and for relative clauses.

In a principal (i.e., independent) clause the subject pronoun,
if it occurs, is normally placed immediately after the SP, often
combining with it to form a single word.

With the SP baa/ayaa/yaa a number of things can happen.
The main distinction is between situations in which baa relates
to the surface subject, (1) below, and those in which baa relates
to some constituent other than the surface subject, (2-4 below).

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(1) If baa/ayaa/yaa relates to the surface subject, a subject pronoun is never used; e.g.:

(669)

> Nin kale baa soo iibsaday.
>
> man - other - SP - for self - bought
>
> Some other man bought this.

(670)

> Anaa sameynaa.
>
> I/SP - do
>
> I'll do this.

(2) If with baa/ayaa/yaa (relating not to the surface subject, but to some other constituent) the subject pronoun is the sole realization of the subject, then its use becomes obligatory; e.g.:

(671)

> Adhi badan buu u qalqalay.
>
> sheep and goats - many - SP/he - for - slaughtered
>
> He slaughtered many sheep and goats for him (her, them).

(3) If baa/ayaa/yaa relates to a first-rank constituent which appears after the surface subject, then the use of the subject pronoun is obligatory; e.g.:

(672)

> Reerku-na sabool buu ahaa.
>
> family/and - poor - SP/it - was
>
> And the family was poor.

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(673)

Anigu sabool baan ahay.

I - poor - SP/1 - am

I am a poor person.

(674)

Nimankaasi danaha gumeysteyaasha ayey ilaalin
jireen.

persons/those - interests/the - colonialists/the
- SP/they - protect - were

Those people used to protect the interests of the
colonialists.

(4) If baa/ayaa/yaa relates to something other than the surface
subject and the subject stands after the verb, then the use of a
subject pronoun is obligatory; e.g.:

(675)

Meeshii keli ah oo Ingriisku dayuurado uu u cuskaday
ayey ahayd Soomaaliya.

place/the - onliness - is - and - English/the -
airplanes - he - to - resorted - SP/it - was -
Somalia

The only place where the English resorted to the
use of aircraft was Somalia.

(5) If baa/ayaa/yaa relates to something other than the
surface subject and that subject appears after baa, but before
the verb, then the use of the subject pronoun becomes optional;
e.g.:

(676)

Faarax baa (or buu) Cali ku dhuftay ul.

With the SP <u>waa</u> the use of the subject pronoun is always
optional, even in those cases where the subject pronoun would be
the only overt marking of the surface subject; e.g.:

(677)

        Waa tegey.   (or) Wuu tegey.

        SP — left   SP/he — left

        He left

(678)

        Nin khayaano badni waa nabad galaa.

        person — cunning — much/is — SP — safety — enters

        A cunning man never gets into trouble.

(679)

        Waa <u>sarkaal</u>.

        SP/V_{cop} — officer

        He is an officer.

Were <u>waa/wee,</u>/<u>weeyaan</u> represent the copula, the subject
pronoun is never used, even in those instances where it would be
the only overt realization of the surface subject; e.g.:

(680)

        Waa inoo shir.

        SP/V_{cop} — us/tor — meeting

        We are having a meeting.

(681)

        Halkani waa Raadyow Mosko.

        place/this — SP/V_{cop} — Radio — Moscow

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This is Radio Moscow.

With the SP waxa two things can happen:

(1) If the surface subject precedes the verb and if waxa relates to something other than the surface subject, then the use of the subject pronoun is obligatory; e.g.:

(682)

> Qolo qasaarto wax u ah qolo kale waxay u tahay fayido.
>
> tribe - harm - thing - for - is - tribe - other - SP/it - for is - benefit

One man's misfortune is another man's fortune.

The sole exception to this is the kind of a sentence in which both waxa and some form of waa/weeye/weeyaan representing the copula appear. With waa/weeye/weeyaan the subject pronoun is never used; e.g.:

(683)

> Qasdigaygu waxa weeyaan inaan imaaddo.
>
> intention/my - SP - is - that/1 - come

It is my intention to come.

(2) If the surface subject follows the predicate and if waxa relates to the subject, then the subject pronoun is never used; e.g.:

(684)

> Maanta Qaahira waxa ka furmeya shir ay wada yeel-aneyaan madaxda Carabtu.
>
> today - Cairo - SP - in - is - opening - meeting - they - together - make - leaders/the - Arab/the

A meeting of the Arab leaders began today in Cairo.

NOTE: The basic point of (1) and (2) above is whether or not
waxa relates to the surface subject; one or another word order
usually depends on this factor.   However, constituent inversion
can disrupt this tendency; e.g.:

(685)

> Wuxuu dooneyaa Mareeykanku (instead of Mareeykanku
> wuxuu dooneyaa) inuu si qotto dheer u qalo qaaradda
> Afrika dhaqaaleheeda.
>
> SP/it - wants - America/the (instead of America/
> the - SP/it - wants) - that/it - manner - bottom -
> deep - into - enter - continent/the - Afrika -
> economy/its
>
> America is striving to penetrate deep into the heart
> of the economy of Africa.

In relative clauses it is above all necessary to make a dis-
tinction between two basic situations:

(1) If the word to which the subordinate clause relates
is functioning as the subject of that clause, then the subject
pronoun is never used; e.g.:

(686)

> Qolo qasaarto wax u ah...
>
> tribe - harm - thing - for - is

(687)

> Nabad go'day...,
>
> peace - shattered

(688)

> Ninkii boogta qabay...

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man/ the - ulcer - had

(2) If the word to which the subordinate clause relates is not functioning as the subject in that clause, then the subject pronoun usually appears in the subordinate clause (although it can still be left out).

The subject pronoun is not omitted in subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunctions _in_ (that), _marka_ (when), _haddii_ (if), etc., but in subordinate clauses which modify contentives (i.e., words other than _in_, etc.), the presence of a subject pronoun is not obligatory; e.g.:

(689)

Dowladaha dhaqankoodu (uu) kala duwanyahay...

states/the - systems/their - (it) - different/is

(690)

Ninkii ilkaha la'aa ee naagtii (ay) ka dhimatay...,

man/the - teeth/the - lacked - and - wife/the - (she) - from - died

The toothless widower...

Let us make a few additional remarks regarding subject pronouns:

(1) The indefinite-personal pronoun _la_ (one,they, people) can be assigned to the set of pronouns under discussion. Strictly speaking, however, it is not a pronoun, but rather a specail kind of noun. It is always used in surface structure and it precludes the occurrence of other subject pronouns.

(2) The pronoun _ay_ (she) and, less frequently, _uu_ (he) and

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ay (they) with impersonal meanings are assigned to the set of subject pronouns. They come under the rules already noted above, particularly when even as the only realization of the subject they are nonetheless omitted in strings with waa (see p. 272 above).

(3) We should note the fact that where a subject is emphasized by baa or waxa or where a subordinate clause relates to such a subject, the subject pronoun will not occur. In these instances "second" forms of predicates are used (see Appendix III).

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APPENDIX II

MORPHOLOGICAL INDICATORS OF THE SUBJECT

This theme has been fully developed in the original research
done by B. Andrzejewski (see 1964 and also Palmer's review -
1965).   Only the briefest (and somethimes oversimplified) treat-
ment of the subject will be given here.

Somali makes the distinction between two cases: the _general_
case and the marked _subjective_ case.

The subjective case is usually the marked form; i.e., that
form which is distinct from the form the word would assume in
isolation.   The general case is marked for only one subclass
of nouns (the fifth declension according to Andrzejewski's system;
i.e., masculine nouns in -e and feminine nouns in -o).   Nouns
without a determiner are marked for the subjective case by (1)
a change in the noun's tonal pattern or (2) the ending -i.
Depending upon the way in which the tonal pattern changes, word
forms are broken down into eight declensions (word _forms_, not
words, since the singular and the plural of the very same word will
normally fall into different declensions (see Palmer - 1965).
The -i marker (also accompanied by a tone change) is displayed

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only by fourth declension nouns (for the most part, feminine nouns which end in a consonant).

In Somali the last word of an entire word group modifying the subject assumes the subjective case marker.   This means that if the subject is governing patterns 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18 or 19, then it itself remains in the form of the general case. The subjective case marker is then assumed (if certain other conditions are met, see below) by the final word of the entire group.   This takes place with...

(1) dependent patterns 10, 11, 14, 15 and 16 clearly distinguishing between one case form and the other;

(2) dependent patterns 18 and 19 (both subordinate clauses) making such a distinction only if the predicate is the final element of the string (see Appendix III for the subjective form of the verb);

(3) dependent pattern 12 assuming the subjective form as the exception rather than the rule.

A general rule concerning the situation in which the subject is not marked with the subjective case can be stated thus: the subject group remains in the general case form when it comes under the logical accent.

For an independent clause logical accent means that the particle baa/ayaa/yaa or waxa relates to the subject.   For a dependent clause, it means that the subject of such a clause is at the same time the word (or constituent) which is modified by the dependent clause it heads.

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APPENDIX III

TYPES OF AGREEMENT OF PREDICATES WITH SUBJECTS

In Somali the predicate agrees with the subject in gender,
person and number. Not every form distinguishes all of these
categories, however. Only third person singular forms make the
contrast between masculine and feminine. There are three persons
in the singular, as in European languages; and four in the plural:
1st person exclusive and 1st person inclusive, 2nd person and
third person. Finally, there are two systems of forms according
to number - singular and plural.

Nouns are divided into agreement classes according to the
categories of gender and number. Collective nouns occupy a
special place in this scheme.

Plural nouns take plural verbs; singular nouns... singular
verbs of the appropriate gender. Collective nouns combine with
both singular and plural verbs - optionally. If the singular
number is selected, then there is also agreement in gender between
the subject and the verb (collectives are both masculine and
feminine).

Pronoun-verb agreement operates according to person, number
and gender in a most natural and straightforward manner. The

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indefinite-personal pronoun _la_ (one, they, people,etc.) takes
a verb in the 3rd person singular.   The pronoun _ay_ (it) in the
role of an impersonal subject takes third person singular, femin-
ine gender.   The word _waxa_ (thing) usually takes third person
singular, masculine agreement, but third person singular, feminine
agreement and even third person plural agreement are permitted.

One of two possible types of agreement of predicates with
subjects is selected, depending on the role of the subject in
the sentence:

Type I or "full" agreement is marked by maximum differenti-
ation of all categories in all forms (i.e., person, gender, number
and the category of subordination vs. non-subordination).

Type II or "reduced" agreement does not make the distinction
between singular and plural in third person forms.   It has the
same forms in both independent clauses and subordinate clauses.
Where attributive verbs are concerned (i.e., the so-called "radi-
cal" adjectives), Type II agreement makes no distinction among
the three persons in the singular.

Thus we have three different systems of forms – one for
Type II and two for Type I (independent and subordinate).   The
"reduced" type of agreement is used where there is agreement with
the kind of subject which is the logical peak of its clause; i.e.,
(1) in an independent clause if the SP _baa/ayaa/yaa_ relates to
the subject or (2) in a subordinate clause if the subject is also
the word modified by the clause.   In all other situations the
"full" type of agreement is used – one group of forms or the other.

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depending on whether the clause in question is independent or subordinate.

Furthermore, for a subordinate clause as it is for any modifier of a noun (if this noun turns out to be the subject in its clause and if the conditions for putting it; i.e., the entire subject group, into the subjective form have been met) there arises the question of transforming it into the subjective form. A subordinate clause; i.e., its predicate, is transformed into the subjective form only if the predicate is the last constituent of the clause. The form used to mark the subjective case for all verbs except those ending in a consonant is identical to the independent form of the full type of agreement (Type I). Radical attributive verbs which are in the present tense, singular number with Type II agreement forms and also (optionally) other forms ending in a consonant for the subjective case by adding the ending -i together with a change in tone. Past tense feminine, third-person singular forms in -ayd represent an exception to this rule. They do not add -i, but rather they behave like forms which do not end in a consonant. Agreement types are set forth in figure 10 on the next page.

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AGREEMENT TYPES: TYPE I (Full)
(subject ≠ logical pred

	in an independent clause	
Verb Types:	rad. attr. verb "to know"	normal verb "to arrive"
Verb Categories:		
pres. tense		
3rd. PSM	ogyahay	maraa
" ""F	ogtahay	martaa
" "Pl.	ogyihiin	maraan
past tense		
3rd. PSM	ogaa	maray
" ""F	ogayd	martay
" "Pl.	ogaayeen	mareen
3rd. PSM		
" ""F		
" "Pl.		
past tense		
3rd. PSM		
" ""F		
" "Pl.		

		TYPE II (Reduced) (subject = logical pred.)	
.)			
in a subordinate clause		in both independent and subordinate clauses	
rad.attr. verb "know"	normal verb "arrive"	rad. attr. verb "know"	normal verb "arrive"
ogyahay	maro	og	mara
ogtahay	marto	og	marta
ogyihiin	araan	og	mara
ogaa	maray	ogaa	maray
ogayd	martay	ogayd	martay
ogaayeen	mareen	ogaa	maray
subjective form		subjective form	
all forms like those in the independent clause, Type I agreement		ogi ogi ogi	all forms like like those in the independent clause, Type I agreement

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(figure 10)

CONCERNING THE ABSENCE OF SENTENCE PARTICLES FROM THE SENTENCE

The sentence particle (SP) may be omitted from an independent declarative sentence under the following circumstances:

(1) The predicate is expressed by means of patterns 4+5; i.e., the verb BE and the SP are combined in a single form - waa/weeye/weeyaan; e.g.:

(691)

Iyada weeye tan ninkeeda u talisaa.

she - is - the one - husband/her - bosses around

She's the one who bosses her husband around.

(2) The predicate appears in a form of the so-called short past...

(a) in answers; e.g.:

(692)

Haa, ninkaas caawinay,

Yes, we helped that man.

(b) or with the indefinite-personal subject _la_; e.g.:

(693)

Ninkii xoolihii laga hel...

man/the - stock/the - one/from - got

(3) The particle baa can be omitted in sentences containing the preverb ka with the meaning of comparison; e.g.:

(694)

>Hawadu maanta ka xun tii shaley.
>
>weather/the - today - from - bad - the one - yesterday
>
>Today's weather is worse than yesterday's.

(4) The particle waa is omitted in sentences where the subject pronoun appears immediately following the verb, e.g.:

(695)

>Waa aan soo noqday. = Soo noqdayaan.
>
>SP - I - here - returned = here - returned/I

waa...

THE PROBLEM OF THE PARTICLE waxa

Our treatment of waxa as an SP differs from the convention-
al view. Other linguists (see Bell - 1953 and Andrzejewski -
1964) view a sentence containing waxa as essentially verbless,
with the copula BE and the SP waa understood (our patterns 4
and 5). The first part of the sentence described in this fashion
is the word waxa (thing) with a relative clause attached, while
the second part is a kind of nominal structure; e.g.:
(696)

> Waxaan u sheegey (waa) war wanaagsan.
> thing/I -him - said - (V_{cop}) - news - good
> I told him the good news.

(697)

> Waxaan u sheegey (waa) inuu yimaaddo.
> Thing/I - him - said - (V_{cop}) - that/he - come
> I told him to come.

These examples are comparable to the French construction...
> C'est que...

The second part of the sentence is obligatory. It always appears at the end and is unmarked for case; i.e., it is in the general rather than the subjective case.

Such a description has considerable merit. First of all, it presents a simple explanation of the agreement type exhibited by the predicate and of the presence or absence of a subject pronoun. This tends to bring this situation closer to that of a relative clause (see AppendixIII). Secondly, in treating _waxa_ as a noun with a modifying relative clause, this description allows us to give an effective explanation of the fact that subsequent modifiers of the "noun" _waxa_ are joined by means of the conjunction _oo_ ; that is, according to the general rule for substantive modifiers (Section I, pp. 24-27); e.g.:

(698)

Waxa kaloo ay dooneyaan..., Waxa kalo oo ay dooneyaan....

thing/the - other - and -(which) - they - want

Besides this, they want...

However, for a number of reasons we prefer to view _waxa_ as a sentence particle and the sentence, taken as a whole, as a simple sentence containing a verb. In doing so we consider the verb with _waxa_ to be the predicate. The arguments supporting this view are as follows.

(1) In those cases where the second part of the sentence is the logical subject (and in our analysis, the formal subject as well) the predicate agrees with it and not with the word _waxa_, the

word to which it would relate if we were treating waxa as the
subject (of the relative clause); e.g.:

(699)

> Waxa yimi madaxweynaha...
>
> SP - came - president/the

(700)

> Waxa timi ergeda...
>
> SP - came - delegation/the

(2) In a like manner, the selection of the prepositional
preverb which goes with the verb is determined (in those cases
when the selection depends on the object) not by the word waxa,
but by the second part of the sentence; e.g.:

(701)

> Wuxuu tegey Burco.
>
> SP/he - went - Burao

(702)

> Wuxuu u tegey Axmed.
>
> SP/he - to - went - Ahmed

(3) In the first part of the sentence, which, when waxe is
treated as a noun, is a relative clause, the particle ayaa=baa can
appear; e.g.:

(703)

> Asagoo ka hadkay shirkaa ayaa madaxweynuhu wuxuu
> caddeeyey...
>
> he/and - at - spoke - conference/that - SP -
> president/the - SP/he - announced
>
> Speaking at the meeting, the President announced...

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Of course, a special rule will still be needed to permit us to introduce _ayaa_ into a sentence containing _waxa_, but this represents less of a contradiction of our entire description than a rule which would permit the introduction of a sentence particle into a subordinate clause.

(4) The following quasi-semantic argument appears to us to be quite important. _Waxa_ introduces not only second parts of sentences which to some extent are "things" and answer the question "what?", "who?" (_waxa_ means "something", "thing"), but also the denotation of place, time, condition and even an adverbial clause of the verbal adverb* type (_Pattern_ 19); e.g.:

(704)

        Waxay guriga weerareen annagoo meel kale jadhinna,

... i.e., if one holds to the accepted view of _waxa_, literally:

        Thing (which)/they – house/the – attacked –

        (it is) – we (who) – place – other – were situated

From this example, it is clear that _waxa_ is used not as a semantic, but rather as an archtypically formalizing component, one which requires that some (!) first-rank constituent follow the predicate. In such situations, it is obvious that there can be no talk of "restoring" an allegedly deleted element _waa_.

(5) Finally, classifying _waxa_ as a sentence particle is fully in accord with the rule that every independent declarative sentence must contain a sentence particle.

*Also adverbial participle (see Akhmanova, _Slovar' Lingvisticheskikh Terminov_, Moscow, 1966)

(6) As far as the first argument in support of treating waxa as a noun with a relative clause attached, its advantages can be retained in our analysis as well, since in joining waxa (as a sentence particle) to the second part of the sentence through the use of Pattern 1, we can obtain virually the same results: the subjective form of the subordinate clause almost always coincides with the form of the "full" type (of agreement) in an independent clause (see Appendix III).   It is true, however, that a special stipulation must be made for radical attributive verbs (og-ogi, ah-ahi).

(7) Even if we treat waxa as a noun, it would still have to be defined as a special syntactic unit, since it cannot itself inflect (e.g., assume such forms as *wixii, *waxayaabaha, *waxa-yaabihii, etc.) nor can it be replaced by other nouns which are synonymous to it (arrinta, xaajada, xaalka — "thing", "problem", "state of affairs"); i.e.,it actually ends up emerging as a par-ticle capable of introducing a sentence anyway.

So, although the derivation of a sentence containing waxa from the construction waxa+Pattern 18+waa... is certainly defensible, from a purely synchronic point of view waxa is one of the sentence particles, one which, however, possesses a number of special features:

(1) waxa is joined with modifiers (especially kale — "other, another") through the use of the conjunction oo;

(2) with waxa in the first part of the sentence, the par-

ticle <u>ayaa</u> = <u>baa</u> is permitted;

(3) the first part of the sentence can be formally marked as the subject group in the subjective form.

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WORD CLASSES IN SOMALI

Word classification is not in itself as interesting as the objectives
which motivate it.   The basis of any classification stems from the given set
of objectives which have been adopted.

Morphological classification, which is necessary to describe the various
ways in which syntactic bonds are realized in the transition from the syntactic
level to the morphological level, presents no particular interest in Somali in
view of the paucity of morphological markers in the language (see, however,
Andrzejewski, The Declension of Somali Nouns, University of London, 1964,
which is the basic reference in this area).

Moreover, Somali has a special feature, a so-called "sub-level" of des-
cription which lies somewhere between morphology and syntax.   This sub-level
distinguishes Somali from the languages whose data have formed the basis for
those linguistic descriptions and models which draw a clear line between
morphology and syntax.   The preverb string in Somali is an example of this
(see Appendix VII).   Such a string does not combine with the verb to form a
single word.   It is clearly segmented into morphemes which, however, are
neither prefixes nor full-fledged free forms.   In one sense the preverb

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string forms a kind of "syntactic word": (1) it is subordinate to the verb in the manner of a single syntactic unit; (2) its internal structure is far more reminiscent of an agglutination of morphemes in fixed order rather than a more or less free arrangement of words according to the syntactic bonds between them. Our description, therefore, omits the syntactic bonds within the string of preverbal particles (Section III). It does, however, allow for the only possible classification of preverbal particles - the indication for each particle of its position or slot in the string (Appendix VII).

As far as a syntactic classification is concerned, it can have several different objectives and thus assume several different forms:

1) <u>A surface classification is possible</u> ; i.e., it is possible to assign words to different classes according to their ability to enter into head-word or dependent-word slots in each of the surface patterns which were described in Section I.

A rigorous way of obtaining such a classification would consist of checking each individual word for its ability to be the head and the dependent in each and every surface pattern. We did not do this. Our surface classification was obtained in a less rigorous and demanding manner. We checked the distributional capabilities of whole classes of words, classes which for one reason or another had already come to the fore in the course of describing Somali syntax. It is obvious that for this reason those classes are not irreducible; i.e., <u>what is said of the class as a whole is not always true of each of the members of the class.</u> The classification of substantives (nouns and other words which operate syntactically like nouns) comes quite close to this ideal, however. This can be explained by the fact that the

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classes which emerge during other classifications (see below) often proved to be distinct from a purely distributional or surface point of view as well. results of the surface classification are presented below:

SURFACE WORD CLASSES IN SOMALI		
Means; i.e., the surface patterns in which a given class may appear as a		
Classes	head word...	or as a dependent.
Substantives (S) including:	1, (7), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21
nouns (S^1)	1, (7), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21	2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16
prepositional nouns (S^{pr})	1, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 16
numerals (S^{num})	1, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16
temporals (S^{temp})	1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16,	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16
suffixals (S^{suf})	1, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19	2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16
personal pronouns (S^{pron})	1, 13, 15, 17, 19	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 13, 16
ideophones (S^{phon})	1, 9, 10, 11, 15, (17), 18	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, (9), (10), (16)
conjunctives (Sconj)	1, 15, 17, 19	3, 6, 16
attributives (Atr)	15	21
short-form subjectives (Sub)	--	2
Predicatives	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 6	8, 16, 18, 19, 20

(Figure 11)

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class	head word	dependent
Predicatives include:		
Verbs (V^1)	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16	17, 18, 19, 20
vaa (V_{cop})	4, 5, 6, 16	16, 20
Infinitives ($Vinf$)	3, 7, 8	8
Adjectivals:	--	11
Preverbal particles (Part)	3, 7	7
Coordinating conjunctions (Coord)	17*	17
Subordinating conjunctions (Conj)	20	6
Sentence particles (SP)	--	1

(Figure 11 — continued)

*Translator's Note:

There appears to be a serious inconsistency between Zholkovskij's analysis of coordination as presented above and his treatment of the same subject in Section I (pp. 24 - 26) where many different word classes appear in the head word slot of Pattern 17, but the coordinating conjunction appears only as the dependent.

A number of comments are in order in connection with this display of surface word classes:

(1) Nouns can appear as head words in Pattern 7; i.e., they can govern preverbal particles, but only under a limited set of circumstances (see Appendix VII).

(2) Prepositional nouns and numerals can be dependents in Pattern 6 (i.e., they can operate as adverbial modifiers of a verb) only if in turn a temporal substantive is dependent upon them; e.g.:

(705)

Saddex bilood...

three months...

(706)

Bishatan dhexdeeda...

month/this - middle/its

during this month...

In each example the entire phrase would operate as an adverbial modifier of time at the clause level.

(3) Personal pronouns; i.e., substantives of the _aniga_ or _isaga_ type, can appear as dependents in Pattern 6 only if they in turn are the head words in Pattern 19; e.g.:

(707)

Colkii inagoo meel fadhiina buu guriga weararay.

enemy/the - we/and - place - were (at) - house/the - attacked

The enemy attacked the house while we were away.

(4) Short-form subjective pronouns (Sub) can appear as dependents in Pattern 4 (i.e., as the subject of waa) only in syntactic structure (only at a given stage of the derivation of a given sentence). In actual text they are obligatorily deleted (see Appendix I).

(5) Some of the possible combinations contained in figure // above are hypothetical; i.e., while not ungrammatical, they do not usually occur (e.g., ideophones in coordination structures or as dependents in patterns 9 or 10).

(6) It is evident from figure // that the subclasses of substantives (and for that matter predicatives as well) vary widely in terms of distribution, that no single position is common to all of them. However, if the last 3 or 4 subclasses of substantives are excluded from consideration, then there will be a far greater similarity of distribution among the remaining subclasses. It would be possible to demonstrate that in all but a few cases substantives are able to operate as headwords in patterns 7, 15, 17, 19 and as dependents in patterns 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17.   To put it another way, substantives are members of a class of forms which...

(a) as head words - can govern sentence particles (rarely), assume suffixal pronouns (if they are not already suffixals themselves), join in structures of coordination and be modified by relative or (syntactically) by adverbial clauses (with personal pronouns, the latter two statements are are equivalent and with ideophones, - only relative clauses are possible.),

(b) as dependent elements - can operate as subjects/objects, complements of the copula waa , as "genitival" modifiers of other substantives (this is not true of prepositional nouns, but it is true of personal pronouns in Pattern 9, but not in Pattern 10) and can appear in apposition with other substantives (Pattern 13).

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Each subclass has distributional properties which distinguish it from others and which characterize its usage in sentences. Prepositional nouns usually appear with dependents in patterns 9 and 10, but they are themselves dependent elements in Pattern 3. Numerals usually govern Pattern 14. Temporal and conjunctive substantives are dependents in Pattern 6. Ideophones are dependents in patterns 6 and 3.

2) Another kind of classification is a dual classification of the kind which results from the shift from deep to surface classes and which is discussed in Section III.

On the deep level we make the distinction between:

PRED - predicates (deep-structure verbs),

PREP - valenced adjuncts (deep-structure prepositions and subordinating conjunctions),

QUANT - quantifiers,

TEMP - temporal words,

IND - deictics,

PRON - pronouns,

NOM - nouns as such,

NOM₁ - "nomen agentis"

NUM - numerals,

COORD - coordinating conjunctions.

On the surface level we have 18 classes (as shown in figure //). In figure 12 we have used lines to join the 10 deep classes to the 18 surface classes by which they are realized and each line represents to a specific class of a dual, deep-to-surface classification:

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NOM$_1$ - "nomen agentis"

Dual Word Classes

IND   PROM   PREP   PRED   QUANT   NOM   NOM₁   TEMP   NUM   COORD

Sp   S^suf   Spers   Sub   Conj   S^hr   S^con.   Part   1   V   V_cop   vinf   sphon   Atr   S   stemp   snum   Conj   cuord

(figure 12)

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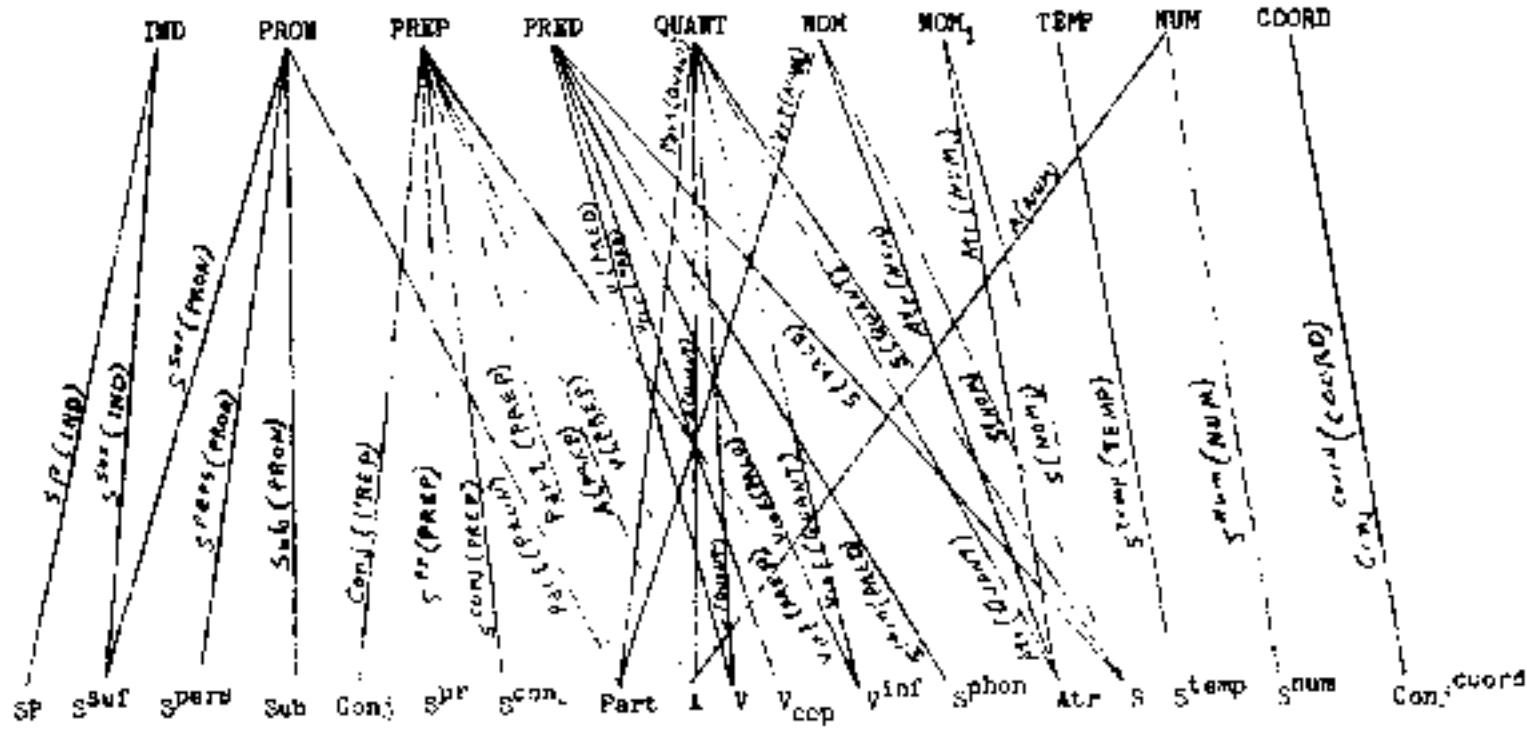
We shall cite examples of all of the dual classes noted in figure 12 .

(1) V(PRED) - a personal (i.e., finite) verb derived from a deep predicate; e.g.: soconeya (goes), dilay (killed), qabsaneya (catches) yahay (is), weynaa (was big).

Note: It is to the dual class V(PRED) that we assign all so-called Somali adjectives (with the exception of the limited class of words which occur as dependents in Pattern 11); i.e., words of the weyn (be big), cas (be red), etc. type.   There are (other than noted) no adjectives as such in Somali surface structure and as far as deep structure is concerned, the existence of such a class is problematic; it would require a deeper analysis of meaning, far deeper than that which we have undertaken. Generally speaking, the class of "adjectives" operates in much the same way as the class of verbs in terms of expressing deep-structure relationships.   For this reason, to consider the adjective as a distinct deep-structure class would amount to projecting into Somali a syntactic category belonging to other languages, particularly European languages - a category, moreover, whose deep-structure status evokes the most serious doubts.   It is an accepted fact that the presence of adjectives is one of the basic differences between natural languages and machine languages.   There was at one time a proposal for a project to develop a machine language with modifiers (to make it more closely resemble a natural language).   Somali, on the contrary, can apparently   be considered an example of a natural language which is closer to machine languages in that nearly all of its predicates are expressed in the most obvious way; i.e., they are expressed as verbs.

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(2) V^{inf}(PRED) - a verb in the infinitive: e.g. socon (to go), dili
(to kill), etc..

(3) V_{cop}(PRED) - waa/wayye/weeyaan as a copula, from the deep predicate
"to be".

(4) S(PRED) - a deverbative noun; i.e., a noun derived from a deep-
structure predicate; e.g., socotka (going, trip) from socon (to go);
diliista (killing, murder) from dili (to kill); qabsashada (seizure,
capture) from qabsan (to capture).

(5) S^{phon}(PRED) - an ideophone or an onomatopoeic noun which indicates
the manner in which an action is accomplished. Ideophones are used in two
surface patterns : (a) as paratactic modifiers of verbs (in Pattern 6);
e.g.:

(708)

> bari bay ka hillaanday bilig:
>
> There was a flash of lightning in the east.

They may also be nouns which function as objects of so-called "empty"
verbs (see Section IV): e.g.:

(709)

> Badda waa bilig leedahay.
>
> The sea is shimmering.

(6) S(NOM) - the noun as such; i.e., a surface noun form realizing a
deep-structure nominal; e.g.: ninka (person), hubka (weapon), dhagaxa
(stone), etc..

(7) Atr(NOM) and Atr(NOM_i) - the special subclass of noun which appears
in Pattern 2i, but which cannot be inserted in other constructions characteristic

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of nouns in general; e.g.:

(710)

    Xiriirka baayacmushteriga ah...

    trade relations

(711)

    Nin caajis ah...

    a lazy person

There are (a) nouns which have both an attributive form (Atr) and a free-standing noun form (S) - this is particularly true of Arabic borrowings -; there are (b) nouns which have only the attributive form - this is particularly true of English borrowings -; and finally there are (c) nouns which have a single form which occurs both in Pattern 21 and in other constructions:

	(a)	(b)	(c)
S	baayacmushterka (trade)	----	warqadda (paper)
Atr	baayacmushteriga (trade)	militeriga (the quality of being military)	warqadda (paper)

Note: C. R. V. Bell views relative clauses containing the verb forms ahaan (to be), lahaan (to have) and la'aan (not to have) as adjectives; i.e., in our terminology as attributive verbs. We should note, however, that the fact that these forms are made up of two parts is not only a morphological or lexical phenomenon. Indeed, it has a bearing upon the way they operate on the syntactic level as well. Thus when these verb-adjectives are transferred from the role of modifiers into the role of full-

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fledged predicates, the verbal part of the construction (ah, leh, la') behaves like an independent verb and the substantive part behaves like a noun; namely, the substantive part has a strong tendency to be set off by the sentence particle baa; e.g.:

(712)

> Nin gadh leh...
>
> a bearded person

------->   Ninkaasu gadh buu leeyahay.

> That man has a beard.

(713)   Nin hodan ah...

> a rich man

------->   Ninkaasu hodan buu yahay.

> That man is rich.

True attributive verbs, the forms which are conjugated by means of the suffixed verb ahaan (to be) cannot be separated in this fashion. Therefore, strings of the type...

(714)

> *Weyn buu yahay.
>
> He is rich.

are ungrammatical. To put it another way, the verb ahaan (to be) is present in attributive verbs only on the morphological level, whereas in the compound forms discussed above, it exists on the syntactic level as well. Another indication of the same phenomenon is the inadvisability of using the compound forms with the sentence particle waa , which, as we have seen, tends to associate with intransitive verbs and cause the emphasis

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to be placed on the verb; e.g.:

(715)

> *Wuu gadh leeyahay.
>
> *Wuu leeyahay gadh.
>
> He has a beard.

(716)

> *Wuu hodan yahay.
>
> *Wuu yahay hodan.
>
> He is a rich man.

Instead, the substantive part of forms with _ah_ can be used in Pattern 5; i.e., in a role which is typical of nouns. The verb _ahaan_, which is present on the deep level, is deleted (or subsumed in _waa_) in accordance with a general rule; e.g.:

(717)

> Waa hodan.
>
> (He) is a rich man.

Therefore, once again from the syntactic point of view we are dealing with a noun separately and with a verb separately. All of this leads us to the conclusion that modifying structures with _ah_, _leh_, _la'_, while semantically the equivalent of adjectives, are from a (morphological and) syntactic point of view normal relative clauses with a verb and an object. As far as their distribution and usage in the modifying role is concerned, this is completely compatible with the general Somali tendency to express predicative relationships in an explicit (i.e., verbal) manner.

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Attributive nouns, which we have set aside as a distinct syntactic class, differ from such quasi-adjectives as _gadh_ , _hodan_ , etc. in that they cannot appear in any of the other surface patterns.   The Atr can be neither a subject, nor a genitival modifier (the second noun in _Pattern 10_).   Moreover, _Pattern 21_ cannot be transformed into a full predicate of the type:

(718)

> *Cahdigaasu waa militeri (ah, yahay)
>
> *Cahdigaasu militeri buu yahay.
>
> *Cahdigaasu waxa weeyaan militeri(ga).
>
> That block is (a) military (one).

Constructions of this type are, as noted, ungrammatical.   We should keep in mind the fact that it is necessary to treat the _ah_ construction as a distinct surface pattern for the very reason that words of the Atr class are not only permissible in such a context, but indeed mandatory where such a noun variant exists.

(8) Part(NOM) - a preverbal particle derived from a deep- structure nominal, a preposed substantive; e.g.:

(719)

> Awrta buu _ceel_ gaynayaa.
>
> He is leading the camel to the watering place.

(9) S(NOM₁) - a surface noun derived from a deep "nomen agentis";
e.g.: _hodanka_ (rich man), _madaxda_ (leaders), _geesiga_ (hero)

(10) V(QUANT), V^{inf}(QUANT) - the quantifier-verb (or infinitve); e.g.:
dhan (be whole), _badan_ (be many)

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(11) S(QUANT) - the quantifier-noun; e.g.: dhammaanta (all), badida (majority), qaarka (part, some).

(12) Atr(QUANT) - the quantifier-attributive noun; e.g.: keli (ah) (only, sole), qudh (ah) (only, sole, alone)

(13) A(QUANT) - the quantifier-adjective; e.g.: walba (each, every), kaasta (every, each), alla (any), kale (other, another)

(14) Part(QUANT) - the quantifier-preverb; e.g.: wada (all, together), kala (all, separately)

(15) V(PREP), V^{inf}(PREP) - the "prepositional" verb (and infinitive); e.g.: dhexeyn (be between), sarreyn (be above), horreyn (be before), etc.. These are surface verb forms which realize deep-structure prepositions or conjunctions (what Zholkovskij calls "valenced adjuncts").

(16) S^{pr}(PREP) - the prepositional noun; i.e., a surface noun form which realizes a deep-structure preposition/conjunction (valenced adjunct); e.g.: dhexda (middle = between), agta (nearness = next to), gudaha (interior = within).

(17) A(PREP) - the prepositional adjective; i.e., a surface adjective which realizes a deep-structure preposition, e.g.: hore (forward), shishe (rear, which is behind).

(19) Part(PREP) - a surface preverbal particle from a deep preposition; e.g.: soo (here, hither), sii (there, thither), kala (separately), wada together, with), ag (next to), dhex (between), hoos (below), ke (from), ku (on, toward, to), u (to, for), etc..

(20) Conj(PREP) - a surface subordinating conjunction from a deep preposition/conjunction which joins only whole independent clauses; e.g.: maxaa yeelay-waayo (because), haase yeeshe-laakin (however, but)

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(21) S^{conj}(PREP) - a surface noun from a deep preposition; e.g.: inkaasta (although), haddii (if), inta (while), etc..

(22) S^{suf} (IND) - the suffixed pronoun which realizes a deep-structure deictic; e.g.: kaas (that), tan (this).

(23) SP(IND) - the sentence particle or indicator: waa, baa/ayaa/yaa, waxa. We have provisionally assigned surface SPs to deep structure demonstratives (IND).

Translator's Note:

I have omitted Zholkovskij's discussion of the possible merits of assigning SPs to deep-structure QUANT. He appears to be justifying both analyses by the Russian translation used to gloss SPs. See page 208 (original).

(24) S^{pers}(PRON) - the surface pronominal noun from a deep personal pronoun (the substantive pronoun in Andrzejewski's terminology); e.g.: aniga (I), iyaga (they), iyada (she), etc..

(25) S^{suf}(PRON) - the suffixed pronoun which realizes a deep-structure possessive; e.g.: -kayga (my), -tooda (their), etc..

(26) Sub(PRON) - the short-form, subjective pronoun; e.g.: aan (I), idin (you), etc..

(27) Part(PRON) - short-form, objective pronouns: "first" objects such as i (me), ku (you); "second" objects such as kay (me), kaa (you); the indefinite-personal subject form la (Engl. "one", French "on", German "man", Russian NEKTO).

(28) S^{temp}(TEMP) - a temporal noun which realizes a deep-structure lexical unit with the general meaning of a slice of time; e.g.: shalayto

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(yesterday), __muddada__ (period of time), __sannadka__ (year), __inta__ (portion of time), __mar danbe__ (then).

(29) S^{num}(NUM) - a quantitative noun derived from a deep-structure number name; e.g. __shan(ta)__ (five, group of five), __bogol(ka)__ (hundred, group of a hundred).

(30) A(NUM) - an adjectival form derived from a deep-structure numeral; e.g.: __shanaad__ (fifth), __tobnaad__ (tenth), __bogolaad__ (hundredth). A(NUM) represents the ordinal number.

(31) Conj(COORD) - the coordinating conjunction (surface from deep); e.g.: __iyo__ (and), __ama__ (or).

It should be noted that the above listing does not include the products of syntactic word formation (see Section II, etc.), nor does it take in a small number of individual words which have special syntactic characteristics. The latter words are not assigned to any syntactic class, but rather they are treated in the section which deals with the means of expressing a number of the most important meanings (Section V). There are a few such words as __sare__ (upwards), __hore__ (forward), __weli__ (still, as well), __ka hor__ (previously, first), __ka dib__ (subsequently, afterwards) and a number of others.

3) Finally, a classification can emerge from the way various words act not exclusively on either the deep or the surface levels and not from the simple intersection of both of these classifications, but rather from the way they behave in the process of going from deep structures to surface structures. This is basically the working classification which is used in Section III and which is presented in the lines and columns of figures 3, 4 and 6. The notation within brackets in the headings of lines and columns

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in figures 3, 4, and 6 show the interrelationship of this kind of classification with both deep and surface classifications.

****

PREVERBAL PARTICLES

We are calling preverbal particles all those words which
cannot be separated from the verb by a noun with a modifying art-
icle or by an adverbial modifier.   Thus sentence particles and
subject pronouns which are not covered by this rule are excluded
from the set of preverbal particles.   Preverbal particles follow
one another in a definite order and they form in the ideal
schema of the Somali sentence a kind of immutable sequence.
Every particle, if it is present in the sentence, occupies its
own permanent position, irregardless of the arrangement of other
sentence constituents.   The structure of this string is the same
for independent declaratives as it is for all other clauses -
interrogatives, negatives and various kinds of subordinates.

Initial Preverbal Particles

B.V. Andrzejewski's articles about those particles which
appear at the head of the string and which combine into a whole
group by means of the stress on the final syllable (see Andrzejew-
ski - 1960) contains, in particular, a complete listing (217)
of their correct combinations (consisting of from one to five

particles).   We shall begin by investigating initial preverbal
particles (IPP), to which we shall then add the rest; i.e., those
which appear between the IPP and the verb.   The group of IPP con-
sists of preverbal indicators of object, indefinite subject and
prepositional government.

Here is an example of their use in discourse (with the IPP
underlined):

(720)

Miyaad ii (=i+u) cadhootay?

Haa, yoo waan kuu (=ku+u) cadhooday.

Oo maxaad iigu (=i+u+ku) cadhootay?

Oo aniga reer la dhisayo baa layga (=la+i+ka)
talo geliyaa...

Are you angry with me?

Yes I'm angry with you.

And what reason do have to be so?

1 am being consulted about creating a family
(and not destroying it)

Let us examine these particles:

(1) Preverbal indicators of object are the so called short-
from object pronouns (i - "me", ku - "you", etc.).   The Somali
language has in addition to these short forms full-form or empha-
tic object pronouns (aniga, adiga, isaga, etc.).   There are
important differences between these two groups of pronoun forms.

Short-form object pronouns enter into the sequence of pre-
verbal particles, while full-form pronouns are associated with

...the fullest possible answer would be...

(723)

> Haa, lacag baan kuu (=ku+u) soo diray adiga.
>
> Yes, I sent you the money.

Reducing it as much as we can while keeping it grammatically
intact, we get...

(724)

> Waa kuu soo diray.
>
> '(1)- SP - you/to - sent - (it)

The verb u diri (send) has, as we can see from the full
answer, two valences for combining with objects. They show
what is being sent to whom. The short answer only has one of these
valences realized overtly - "you/to". The absence of an object
filling the other valence serves in Somali as an indicator of a
third person pronoun object (accurate even as to gender and number):
"him","her", "them". Therefore, if we eliminate from the example
under discussion the short-form, second person pronoun, then the
meaning of the sentence is not only expressed less fully and accur-
ately, but actually changed:

(725)

> Waa u soo diray.
>
> SP - (0 = him, her, them)/to - sent - (it)

Thus, the number of zero indicators of short-form object
pronouns in a Somali sentence is equal to the number of unfilled
valences.

Short-form object pronouns (including 0) are mutually

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nouns (Andrzejewski calls them "substantive pronouns", see - 1961)
and possess the corresponding distributional freedom in the sentence.

In denoting a particular object, the presence of the approp-
riate short-form pronoun is obligatory, while the presence of the
full-form pronoun of the same person is optional.   This means that
in translating the sentence:

> He gave me some money.

...the pronoun form i is obligatory, while <u>aniga</u> is not.   It
is possible to say...

(721)

> waxa uu i siiyey lacag.
>
> SP - he - me - gave - money

or...

> Aniga waxa uu i siiyey lacag.

but not...

> *Aniga waxa uu siiyey lacag.

There are no short-form object pronouns for the third person,
even though third person full forms exist (isaga - "him", iyada -
"here", iyaga - "them").   Actually, third person short-form
object pronouns are realized in the form of Ø (zero), since
the category of object is grammatical in Somali: the absence of an
object indicator in a position where it is <u>syntactically necessary</u>
is significant and it denotes third person.

Let us analyze an example.   For the question...

(722)

> Miyaad lacag ii (=i+u) soo dirtay?

exclusive with a single verb, while full-form pronouns are not;
e.g.:

(726)

>Wuxuu aniga iiga warramay adiga.
>
>SP/he - I - me/to/about - told - you
>
>He told me about you.

We should note that this alters somewhat a statement made
above, inasmuch as the second full-form object pronoun <u>adiga</u>
has no counterpart short form, since <u>ku</u> (you) cannot occupy the
same slot as <u>i</u> (me).

The reflexive pronoun <u>is</u> (self) belongs to the set of
short-form object pronouns. It is used when the object is identi-
tical with the subject or with another object and it also excludes
the use of another short-form object pronoun in the same string.

(2) The indicator of an indefinite subject <u>la</u> belongs to
a construction which is regularly used to convey the passive voice
in many languages; e.g.:

(727)

>Intii kale baa la wada laeyay.
>
>quantity/the - other - SP - one - together - killed
>
>All the others were killed.

(728)

>Ninkii la dhaawacay...
>
>man/the - one - wounded
>
>The wounded man...

In spite of this fact, the la construction is not a
passive and the "patient" (in the examples above intii kale -
"the rest" and ninkii - "the man") is not the subject of a passive
form.   On the contrary, la itself can be considered the (surface)
subject inasmuch as...

- the "patient" cannot assume the marker of a grammatical
subject (e.g., -u, -ii);

- The "patient" cannot either be replaced by or combine with
a short-form subject pronoun (the regular means of expressing a
subject), so that the particle la and the subject pronoun are
mutually exclusive;

- the verb in the la construction always appears in the
same form, one which is identical to the third person singular,
regardless of the person, number or gender of the "patient";

- the object of the passive form - the "actor" - cannot be
expressed in the la construction;

- The verb in a la construction making up a subordinate
clause which modifies the object of the principal clause assumes a
subjunctive form in accordance with the condition that the "modif-
ied word is not the subject of either the main clause verb or the
subordinate clause verb."

Thus it is clear that the particle la is a (surface)
subject, the indicator of an indefinite (deep) subject ("they"
or "one") along the lines of German "man" or French "on".   More-
over, the fact that la and short-form subject pronouns exhibit
complementarity in a given string would seem to indicate that they

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belong to the same word class. It is important to note, however, that in terms of position the particle <u>la</u> differs from the short-form subject pronouns and belongs to the initial group of particles under discussion.

(3) There are only four markers of "prepositional" government; i.e., preverbs in the preverbal particle sequence: <u>u</u> (to, for), <u>ku</u> (in, on, by means of), <u>ka</u> (from, through, about) and <u>la</u> (together with). Preverbs cover only the most general of the prepositional meanings. In terms of syntax, these particles are significantly different from that which is usually thought of as a preposition. We, however, are calling them "prepositional" particles in view of the fact that...

- they convey meanings expressed by prepositions in other languages;

- they, like prepositions, increase the number of valences, serving as conduits of government from the verb to the noun (with some verbs, the particle is mandatory - compare Somali <u>ku dufan</u> ("to strike, hit") with English <u>depend on</u>);

- unlike prepositions, preverbal particles are not a part of the verb, but separate words which are dependent upon a verb and at the same time govern a noun.

The Syntactic Properties of the Preverb String

The syntactic properties of this initial group of particles, the group under discussion, consist of which words in the sentence they can depend on, which words can depend on them and which position they occupy in relation to other words and to each other.

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(1) Preverbal particles are used only with predicates. This assertion is realized in the following rules:

- Preverbal particles cannot be used by themselves, without a word governing them - as opposed, for example, to such verbless structures as "in the country", "to the sea", "without language", etc.,

- Preverbal particles are normally used with verbs, verbs which are operating both as the predicates of main clauses; e.g.: (729)

Maxaa laiigu (-la+i+u+ku) cadhooday?

What - one/me/to/on - became angry

What did they become angry at me for?

..., as well as predicates of subordinate clauses; e.g.: (730)

Ninkii loo (=la+u) cadhooday...

man/the - one/to - became angry

The man at whom they became angry...

Preverbs increase the number of valences that a verb has ("got mad" - who?, at whom?, for what reason?). The marker of the indefinite subject (if there is no subject - noun or subject pronoun) occupies the subject slot and the object particles fill the other valences; i.e., turn out to be dependents of the verb itself or of other prepostional particles.

- Preverbal particles can, quite infrequently it is true, be governed by nouns in "impersonal" predicate constructions with waa or ma...baa?) In such a case the preverbal particle appears

immediately before the noun" (see Andrzejewski - 1960, pp 101-102);
i.e., the nominal part of the predicate; e.g.:
(731)

>Maanta waa inoo (=ina+u) shir.
>
>today - SP/V$_{cop}$ - us/c - meeting
>
>We are having a meeting today.

- Preverbal particles can be used with deverbative nouns as a result of the transformation of an entire verb phrase (the verb with preverbal particle(s), a subject and an object) into a noun phrase; for example, the verb structure...

(732)

>Waxay amuurtaas kala talisay aabbeheed.
>
>SP/she - question/that - about/with - advised - father/her
>
>She advised her father on that question.

transformed into the nominal structure...

(733)

>Aabbaha amuurtaas kala talikeedii...
>
>father/the - question/that - about/with - advice/her
>
>Her advice to her father on that question...

Object pronouns may appear in this construction; e.g.:

(734)

>Amuurtaas igala taliskeedii...
>
>question/that - me/about/with - advice/her
>
>Her advice to me on that question...

The subject marker la may not, however. This is in keeping
with the representation of la as a subject. As we have seen,
the subject in such a transformation becomes a possessive pronoun
- talis-keed-ii   There is no possessive pronoun which corresp-
onds to the subject marker la and so the verb structure...
(735)

        Amuurtaas waxa lagala taliyey aabbaha.

        question/that - SP - one/about/with - advised -
        father/the

        The father was advised on that question.

becomes a nominal structure...

(736)

        Amuurtaas aabbaha kala taliska...

        question/that - father/the - about/with -
        advice/the

        The advice (given) to the father on this point...

in which there is no marking of the subject at all.

    In general, a nominal structure containing a preverbal
particle is rare; basically it occurs with a deverbative noun, one
which is formed from verbs which do not appear without preverbal
particles; for example,

        ku isticmali (to use)

      ⟹ ku-isticmalidda hubka (the use of weapons)

    - Preverbal particles cannot be governed by non-derived
(i.e., non-deverbative) nouns as such.   Thus Somali does not have
constructions of the type:

S   Part_{prep}   S
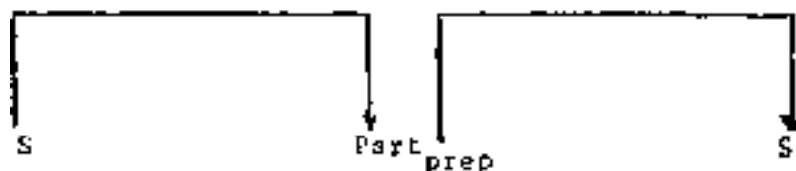
which are like such prepositional constructions as ...

the delegation from the USSR

places for the handicapped

(2) The position of initial preverbal particles is fixed
in relation to the predicate and to other preverbal particles;
i.e., in essence the position of preverbal particles, which serve
as the conduits of government from verb to objects, is determined
by the verb and is no way connected with the location of the objects
which depend on the particles.   Compare...

(737)

          Waxaan lacag u dhiibay Axmed.

          SP/I - money - to - handed - Ahmed

          I handed (some) money over to Ahmed.

with...

(738)

          Waxaan Axmed u dhiibay lacag.

or...

(738)

          Axmed lacag baan u dhiibay.

all of which have the same meaning, differing arrangements of

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the words <u>Axmed</u> , <u>aan</u> and <u>lacag</u>, but the recurring sequencing
of particle plus verb - <u>u dhiibay</u>.

This makes Somali different from both Russian, in which
the position of a preposition is fixed in relation to its depend-
ent word (its object), and English, a language in which in some
situations the position of a preposition is fixed in relation to
a verb and in others - in relation to the preposition's object.

The Components of the Preverb String

Andrzejewski (1960) notes that between the initial preverbal
particle and the verb or adjective only the following words can
appear:

(1) the negative particle <u>ma</u> with a subject pronoun (<u>aan</u>
- I, <u>aad</u> - you) or without one;

(2) the conjunction <u>na</u> (and, but);

(3) possessive pronouns (<u>kaa</u> - your, <u>kiin</u> - your);

(4) the adverbial particles <u>soo</u> - (to) here, <u>sii</u> - (to)
there; i.e., from the speaker;

(5) the adverbial particles <u>wada</u> - together, <u>kala</u> -
apart.

Let us examine the words from this list and their relation to
the concept of the preverbal particle which was introduced at the
beginning of this discussion (see page 309).

(1) The negative particle <u>ma</u> (indicative mood) is not
the only negative, adverbial particle. With the negative particle
<u>ha</u> (imperative mood) and <u>aan/san</u> (subjunctive mood) it forms a
complete limited paradigm of negation particles. Their positional

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qualities differ, however: _ma_ is placed directly after the initial preverbal particle, _ha_ immediately preceding the initial preverbal particle, while the particle _aan/san_ also precedes the initial preverbal string, but in such a way that it can be separated from it by an object or even a subject. The same is true of a subject pronoun. Therefore, one should not assign the negative particle to the preverbal particle string, but rather it is more convenient to assume that after the preverbal particles have been placed in their various slots, separate positioning rules for negation markers are activated, rules which govern, in particular, the placement of _ma_ with a subject pronoun in a specific slot within the string.

(2) The conjunction _na_ (and,but) is an enclitic capable of occurring at virtually any point in a Somali sentence. It is clear, therefore, that putting _na_ between the initial preverbal particles and the predicate does not make it a preverbal particle itself, particularly since it does not satisfy the definition of a preverbal particle: in general (i.e.,except in those cases when _na_ is standing among preverbal particles) one or even more than one noun with an article attached can come between _na_ and the predicate.

The possibility of putting the conjunction _na_ in virtually any slot in the sentence, regardless of any condition other than the meaning being expressed, motivates us to examine where it is that _na_ cannot occur, given the general rule that it is a modifier capable of relating to any morpheme after which it appears in text.

The conjunction _na_ can appear after any word, but it cannot occur between the morphemes of a single word, for example, after a stem and before a suffix (by the way, testing the privilege of occurrence of _na_ helps us make an intuitively desirable distinction between the preverbal particle with the verb _lataliyey_ - "advised"(whom) - _na_ can be inserted, _la_ is a separate word - and a prefix on the noun _lataliyaha_ - "adviser" - _na_ cannot be inserted, _la_ is not a free form, but part of the noun). If this notion of Somali word boundaries is extended to the preverbal particle string (concerning which, in general, it is not clear whether such a string consists of separate words or makes up a part of the verb base), then it turns out that, inasmuch as _na_ can separate any of the particles

other than those which make up the initial group, this latter set would seem to form a single word. In any event, inserting _na_ between the particles and the predicate makes it possible for us to consider them to be words apart from the verb and not prefixes.

(3) The possessive pronoun particles _kaa_ and _kiin_ are inserted into the preverb string not in their possessive role, but as a second pronominal object of the verb; e.g.:

(740)

> Wuu ii (=i+u) kaa ammaanay.
>
> SP/he - me/to - your - praised
>
> He praised you to me.

(741)

Suldaankii baa noo (=na+u) soo koa diray.

Sultan/the - SP - us/to - here - your - sent

The Sultan has sent us here to you.

(742)

Anigu waa isaga (*is+u+ka) kaa warrameya.

I - SP - self/for/about - your - am telling

I am telling you about myself.

Let us clarify the conditions under which these pronouns are used.

The short-form subject pronouns (<u>i</u> - "me", <u>ku</u> - "you", <u>is</u> - "-self", etc.) are syntagmatically mutually exclusive; i.e., no two of them can be present with a single predicate (true, this does not pertain to the zero third person object pronouns). Second person singular and plural pronouns, <u>kaa</u> and <u>kiin</u>, respectively, are used when it is necessary to mark two non-third person objects at the same time (i.e., when neither object is represented by a zero). Apparently, no specific "case" meaning is assigned to these second object pronouns: one should not say that short-form object pronouns function as direct objects, while <u>kaa</u> and <u>kiin</u> function as indirect objects. They are completely equal in status to other pronouns. The question of which valence of the verb each one of them fills will either be resolved on the basis of some other indicators in the clause or by the general meaning of the context or it will remain open to more than one interpretation.

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And so these pronouns are "second" not in meaning, but rather in the order in which they are retrieved from the lexicon: if one object is needed, then 'first' (i.e., short-form object) pronouns are selected; if two objects are needed, then "second" object pronouns (kaa and kiin) are also selected.

Another basic difference between second object pronouns and first ones is the fact that when a corresponding object is marked, their presence is no more obligatory than the presence of a full-form pronoun: either one or the other is used, but not both together (see above p.312).   Thus, for example 726 above, the following synonymous variation is possible:

(743)

> Aniga wuu iiga kaa warramay.
>
> me - SP/he - me/to/about - your - told
>
> He told me about you.

..., but not:

(744)

> *Wuxuu aniga iiga kaa warramay adiga.
>
> SP/he - me - me/to/about - your - told - you

And so in terms of position, second object pronouns are typical preverbal particles.   Their resemblance to second person possessive pronouns is only skin deep.   In meaning, they are identical to short-form object pronouns, but they are distinct from them syntactically; i.e., in terms of the syntactic conditions under which they are used.

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(4) the adverbial particles _soo_ and _sii_ and also _wada_
meet all the criteria for inclusion in the class of preverbal
particles. However, unlike initial particles, they are simple
verb modifiers and do not participate in the process of govern-
ment: i.e., they do not increase the number or diminish the
number of free valences.

(5) The noun in the preverbal position cannot take an art-
icle and it appears immediately preceding the verb (it can be
separated from the verb only by the conjunction _na_). From the
point of view of deep syntax, it operates as an object. No
verb may take any more than one such preverbal noun. We are
not dealing here with the kind of noun which precedes a verb
and which in fact forms together with this verb a compound word;
e.g., _ka gayib galay_ - "took part in" (literally "from - part
-entered"). Such a compound is characterized by the fact that
(a) the conjunction _na_ cannot come between the nominal part
and the verbal part and (b) unlike a normal noun object, the nom-
inal part cannot occupy any other slot in the sentence.

Most nouns in the preverbal position are adverbial in
meaning: _ag_ (proximity=near), _hoos_ (bottom=under), _kor_
(top=over), _dhex_ (interior=within/between), _daba_ (rear=behind/
following), etc.. In terms of their sentential role, they are
like prepositional particles and so it is desirable to view
them as preverbs. Other nouns rarely occupy this slot and it
is obvious that not all objects can be moved to this position.

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Unfortunately, we cannot present anything in the way of more precise data at this time.

The Structure of the Preverbal Particle String

(1) Preverbal particles are arranged in front of the predicate in a set order which can easily be presented in the form of a chart (see fig. 13).   Particles standing in one verticle column on this chart are mutually exclusive in text except in the instance stipulated below (see Rule III).   A correct preverbal sequence is one which corresponds to any route crossing this chart from left to right and observing the following rules:

I. Any column (slot) is filled or left empty independently of any other with the exception of column 9 which is filled only when column 2 is occupied.

II. The total number of items in a sequence made up of elements from columns 3 through 6 may not exceed three (two).

III. The contents of any of the columns 3 through 5 can be represented in the preverbal sequence two times in a row if in doing so Rule II is not violated.

IV. If the contents of columns 3 through 6 are represented in text by only one element from column 3 ($\underline{u}$), then column 2 is not filled (a nominal is placed outside the preverbal string).

V. If in the sentence there appears a subject pronoun or another overt subject, then column 1 is left empty.

INSERTION RULES:

VI. The negative particle $\underline{ma}$ (with or without a subject

pronoun) can be inserted between columns 6 and 6.

VII. Only the combined string of elements from columns 1 through 6 may not be interrupted by the conjunction na.

MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES:

The special rules governing morphophonemic changes which occur within the boundaries of the preverb string (more precisely within the boundaries of columns 1 through 6) and not elsewhere under the same phonetic conditions are:

VIII. u+u= u+ku

IX. ku+ku=ka+ka

X. ku+ka-ka+ka

XI. Ku (col. 2) +ka=Ka+a

XII. ku+u+ka-ka+a+ka

XIII. is+u+ka=is+a+ka

XIV. i+u=i)

XV. idin+u=idiin

XVI. la+na=na+la

XVI. a+u=oo

XVIII between vowels k———g

The substance of Rules II and III is that, unlike other pre-verbal particles, the prepositional particles are not mutually exclusive in text: u, ku and ka can be repeated in strings with the only constraint being the overall number of preverbal part-icles in the sequence.   The number 3 corresponds to all 217 possible combinations cited by Andrzejewski (1960, pp. 98-101).

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THE PREVERBAL PARTICLE STRING

Indef. Subject	Short-Form PRO	Prepositional Particles				Negative Particle	Second Obj. PRO	Adverbials		Nominals
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
la (one, they)	i (me)	u (for, to)	ku (on, in, by)	ka (from, through, about)	la (with)	ma (not)	kay (my)	sii (to there)	kala (apart)	hoos (under)
	Ku (you s.)						kas (your)	soo (to here)	wada (to-gether)	ag (near)
	na (us excl.)						keen (our)			dhex (within, between)
	ina (us incl.)						kiin (our)			hor (before, in front of)
	idin (you pl.)									kor, dul (over, along, etc.)
	is (self)									

(fig. 13)

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The number 2 selects from these combinations the 157 possible
strings which he calls the m t widely used.

The possibility of using the same prepositional morphemes
more than once in the same string is associated with the fact
that they can have more than one meaning (a fact which has been
noted in the literature).   Two different meanings of a given
prepositional particle are used in a single clause (see Andrzejcwski
-1960, p. 101).   For example, in combining the two sentences...
(745)

> Cali haa madaxa ku dhuftay.
>
> Ali - SP - head/the - on - struck
>
> Ali struck him on the head.

(746)

> Cali ul buu ku dhuftay.
>
> Ali- stick - SP/he - on - hit
>
> Ali hit him with a stick.

we get a single sentence containing the following preverb string
ku+ku=kaga:

(747)

> Cali ul buu madaxa kaga dhuftay.
>
> Ali - stick - SP/he - head/the - on/by - struck
>
> Ali hit him on the head with a stick.

Of the prepositional particles there is only one with but
a single meaning - la (with) (col. 6) and it cannot be used more
than one time in the string.   A specially selected pair of

sentences with la could, if they were combined, be expected to yield the string "lala...

(748)

> Waxaan la hadleyey gabadhdhaas.
>
> I spoke with that girl.

(749)

> Waxaan la hadleyey cabsi.
>
> I spoke fearfully (with fear).

Instead of the expected...

(750)

> *Waxaan cabsi lala hadleyey gabadhdhaas.
>
> I spoke fearfully with that girl.

the informant while retaining the intended meaning said either...

(751)

> Anigoo cabanaya gabadhdhaas ayaan la hadleyey.
>
> [/and - am afraid - girl/that - SP/I - with - spoke
>
> While I was afraid, I was speaking with that girl.

Translator's Note: An English speaker somehow wants to reverse subordination and say something like: "I was afraid when I was talking to that girl."

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or left the two clauses uncombined:

(752)

> Waxaan la hadleyey gabadhdhaas cabsi-na ayaan la hadleyey.

SP/I - with - spoke - girl/that - fear/and - SP/I

- with - spoke

I was speaking with that girl and I was speaking
fearfully.

Thanks to Rules II and III, the Somali clause generally
contains a sequence of preverbal particles in front of the verb
with a resulting increase in the number of governing valences.
It appears that this can happen without any objects filling these
valences; e.g.:

(753)

Waa loogala (-la+u+ka+la) hadlay.

SP - one/for/about/with - spoke

The actual structure of sentences like this one is not all that
exotic: in reality each of the prepositional particles has an
object - the third person Ø object pronoun.   The example cited
above does not simply state that someone spoke with some unspec-
ified person about some unspecified thing in behalf of some other
unspecified person, but rather it relates these objects to the
third person (otherwise there would have been overt realizations
for the other persons).   The meaning does remain largely undef-
ined (the example can mean: Someone spoke with her about him in
their behalf." or "Someone spoke with him about her in his behalf.",
etc.), but this is no longer the "raw" indefiniteness of nothing
being said, but rather a kind of incomplete indefiniteness, one
which is often encountered in natural language where some things
are spelled out (in this case the person of the objects) and some

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things are not (their gender and number).

The rules for constructing and transforming the preverbal particle string do not in any way depend on the nature of the syntactic relationships withing the resulting sequence of morphemes. Many of their combinations have more than one meaning. For example, in the sentence...

(754)

      Wuxuu iiga (*i+u+ka+ warramay gabadhdhaas.

      He told me about this girl].

or...

      He told that girl about me![1]

The object pronoun _i_ can be treated as the object of either the prepositional particle _u_ (with gabadhdhaas as the object of _ka_) or as the object of _ka_ (with gabadhdhaas as the object of _u_). However, these syntactic relationships do not in any way affect the structure of the string: the morphemes are still arranged in the standard order. While they may be juxtaposed without there being any syntactic bond between them, they are nonetheless transformed according to morphophonemic rules; i.e., i+u→ii. There are many occurrences of two possible readings of the syntactic relationships within a preverbal string (including the kind of string in which morphophonemic transformations have taken place). One particular instance is associated with syntactic homonymy between first and second person short-form object pronouns. The problem of disambiguating the relationships between the verb and the participants in

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the event (the subject and object) represents a whole separate area of inquiry, one which is not especially related to the use of a pronoun as opposed to a noun to express the object.

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NOTES of APPENDIX VII:

[1]The thrust of Zholkovskij's argument to the extent that it is supported by (754) appears to be weakened by the fact that both a native speaker and a non-native specialist in Somali disagree with the assertion that this sentence can be read two ways.

Translator's Note:

APPENDIX VIII was not translated, because it is for the most
part a contrastive study of Russian and Somali lexical items.
A satisfactory account of its contents for English speakers would
necessitate a comparable contrast between English and Somali,
something which was beyond the limits of our original purpose.

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