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WEERAYNTA AFKA SOOMAAALIGA

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Readings

Selected chapters from:

Kroeger. 2005. *Analyzing grammar*.

Available as e-book through our university library.

Puglielli, Gebert & Antinucci. 1981. *Sintassi della lingua somala*.

Downloadable from <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/handle/2307/802>

Just for reference if someone likes to read in Italian.

Raabbi. 2014. *Buugga Weedhaynta*.

Can only be purchased in Hargeysa. Selected pages as pdf file in Canvas.

Saeed. 1999. *Somali*.

Only available as printed book. Selected pages as pdf file in Canvas.

Waasuge. 1990. *Weeraynta Soomaaliga*.

Downloadable from <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/handle/2307/2513>

Edited version downloadable from <http://morgannilsson.se/Waasuge1990Weeraynta.pdf>

Zholkovskij. 1979. *Somali syntax*.

Available as pdf file in Canvas: <https://canvas.gu.se/courses/57164/files/6253147?wrap=1>

Selected Articles.

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Unit 1 – What is Syntax?

Read:

Kroeger (2005), p. 1–6 + 7 + 26–38

Skim through:

Waasuge. 1990. *Weeraynta Soomaaliga*.

Downloadable from <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/handle/2307/2513>

Edited version downloadable from <http://morgannilsson.se/Waasuge1990Weeraynta.pdf>

1. Key concepts

Every expression has

Form + Meaning + Function (use)

Form + Betydelse + Funktion

This is true for all levels of language:

Sentence	Mening	Hawraar
Clause	Sats	Weer
Phrase	Fras	Oraah
Word	Ord	Eray
Morpheme	Morfem	Morfiim

Word classes = Parts of speech = Syntactic word-level categories = Lexical categories, e.g. Verbs, Nouns, Adjectives

Ordklasser = Syntaktiska ordkategorier, t.ex. verb, substantiv, adjektiv

Jaadadka Erayada (Qaybaha hadalka)

Phrasal categories, e.g. Noun phrase (NP), Verb phrase (VP), Prepositions phrase (PP), Adjective phrase (AdjP), Adverb phrase (AdvP)

Typen av fraser

Jaadadka oraahyada

Head versus dependents

Huvudord och bestämmningar

Eray-madaxeed iyo ...

Complements are dependents that are specifically selected by the head.

Prescriptive versus descriptive grammar

(Sentence) Constituents = **Satsdelar** = Konstituenten

= **Xubnaha Weerta** (Qaybaha Weerta)

Lexical ambiguity versus Structural ambiguity

Lexikal tvetydighet vs. **Strukturell tvetydighet**

Å ena sidan kan ett ord göra att en mening blir tvetydig, å andra sidan kan ibland meningens grammatiska struktur göra att den blir tvetydig.

Hierarchy – a clause (a higher level unit) consists of phrases (lower level units) and phrases consist of words (at an even lower level). This is shown in tree diagrams.

Hierarki – en sats (enhet på högre nivå) består av fraser (enheter på lägre nivå) och fraserna består av ord (på en ännu lägre nivå). Dessa visas i träd diagram.

Grammatical Relations – the relations between the constituents, e.g. the predicate is the head of the clause and the predicate verb has different relations to different noun phrases, one is usually a subject, another one might be an object, an adverbial etc.

Grammatiska relationer – förhållandet mellan konstituenten (satsdelar)

1. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

1.1. Vad är syntax?

1.2. Vilka ordklasser har somaliskan? Ge två exempel på ord i varje ordklass. Hur kan man avgöra vilken ordklass ett ord hör till?

1.3. Vilka "europeiska ordklasser" behövs inte i somaliskan? Varför inte?

1.4. Vilka satsdelar har somaliskan? Ge ett exempel på en sats som innehåller alla typer av satsdelar. Analysera satsen.

1.5. Ge ett exempel på en kort somalisk mening som kan förstås på två olika sätt, s.k. **strukturell ambiguitet** eller tvetydighet. Förklara vilka de två betydelserna är och försök förklara **varför** meningen är tvetydig. (Det får alltså inte vara något specifikt ord i meningen som har två betydelser, då blir det lexikal ambiguitet i stället.)

1.6. Översätt exempelmeningarna nummer 7 a-f och sätt ett snedstreck mellan satsdelarna på samma sätt som man har gjort i 8 a-f. (sid. 28-29)

1.7. Översätt exempelmeningarna 10a, 10c, 12a och se om man kan flytta runt satsdelarna på olika sätt och att man får olika möjliga ordföljder. (sid. 30-31)

1.8. Översätt exempel 13a och ersätt sedan olika satsdelar med passande frågeord. (sid 31)

Unit 2 – Nodes, Semantic Roles & Grammatical Relations

Read: Kroeger (2005), p. 38–47 + 51–63

Skim through:

Mansur & Puglielli. 1999. *Barashad Naxwaha af Soomaaliga*, p.

Downloadable from <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/handle/2307/2171>

2. Key concepts

2.1 Hierarchies & Nodes

Mother node – a dominating node at an immediately higher level.

Daughter node – a dominated node at an immediately lower level.

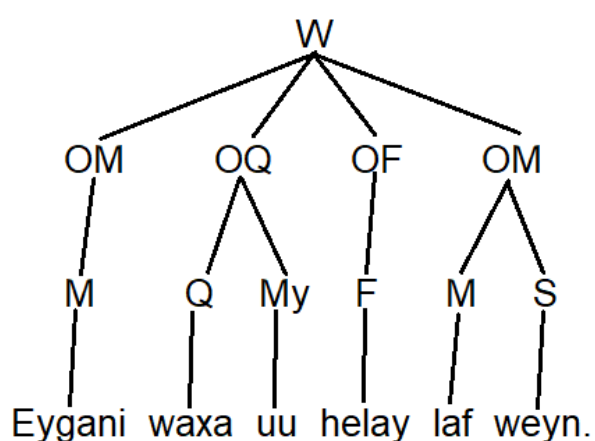
Sister nodes – two nodes at the same level with a common dominating mother node.

Terminal node – a node that does not dominate any daughter nodes.

Terminal element – the word dominated by the terminal node

Sentence Consituents = **Xubnaha weerta** – a string of words that are together dominated by a common node at some higher level.

Syntactic categories = **Word classes** = **Jaadadka erayada** (Qaybaha hadalka) – function as terminal node labels



Somali has **OQ** – **oraah qurubeed** – sentence particle phrase – which English and Swedish do not have.

Somali does not have PP – prepositions phrases. Instead Somali prepositions are part of the VP – verb phrase / OF – oraah faleed

Phrase structure rules

$W \rightarrow (OM) OQ (OM) OF (OM)$

A clause (W - weer) consists of an **obligatory particle phrase** (OQ) and an **obligatory verb phrase** (OF). There may also be a number of **optional noun phrases** (OM). The **particle phrase always comes before the verb phrase**.

$OM \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ My \end{array} \right\} (S)$

A noun phrase consists of an **obligatory noun or pronoun**, which may be followed by an **optional adjective**.

$OQ \rightarrow Q My$

A particle phrase consists of an **sentence particle** which is followed by a **pronoun**.

$OF \rightarrow (H) F$

A verb phrase consists of an **obligatory verb** which may be preceded by an **optional preposition**.

2.2 Arguments

A predicate needs a specific number of noun phrases in order to build clauses that make sense.

ORDAA + hal OM *Farasku waa uu ordayaa.*

CUNAA + laba OM *Farasku waxa uu cunayaa cawska.*

SIIYAA + saddex OM *Beerfaluhi waxa uu faraska siinayaa cawska.*

2.3 Semantic Roles

There is a large number of different functions that a noun phrase may fill in specific sentences. These functions are called **SEMANTIC ROLES**. This term clearly indicates that these roles are based on the meaning of the noun phrase in a specific sentence.

Agent

Experiencer

Recipient

Beneficiary

Instrument (Tool)

Theme

Patient

Stimulus

Location (Position)

Source

Goal

Path

Accompaniment

(You most probably recognize many of these labels from the traditional division of adverbials into different types.)

2.4 Grammatical Relations

Besides the meaning of the different noun phrases in a clause, we are interested in the grammatical relations between the predicate and its noun phrases.

The arguments are subdivided into **SUBJECT**, **OBJECT**, and **OBLIQUE**.

The traditional distinction between object and adverbial is not strictly grammatically relevant, since that distinction is not expressed in a clear grammatical way, e.g. through some endings or some small function words. The traditional distinction between object and adverbial is a somewhat unfortunate mixture of grammatical and semantic distinctions.

Let us therefore stick to grammar alone and leave semantics aside!

An highly relevant grammatical distinction can be noticed between

- noun phrases that are subject-marked, and
- noun phrases that are not subject-marked.

Beerfaluhu waxa uu faraska siinayaa cawska.

Another highly relevant grammatical distinction is between

- noun phrases that **determine** the form of the predicate verb, and

Cali (M) *ayaa faraska siinaya* (M) *cawska.*

Sahro (F) *ayaa faraska siinaysa* (F) *cawska.*

- noun phrases that **do not affect** the form of the predicate verb.

Sahro ayaa faraska (M) *siinaysa* (F) *cawska.*

Sahro ayaa bisadda (F) *siinaysa* (F) *caanaha.*

Another grammatically relevant distinction that is not marked in the noun phrase, but in the verb phrase, is the distinction between

- non-subject noun phrases connected directly to the predicate verb

Cali waxa uu Sahro siiyay warqaddan.

- non-subject noun phrases connected to the predicate verb by a preposition.

Cali waxa uu Sahro u diray warqaddan.

Based on these three grammatical distinctions, we may distinguish three different kinds of arguments:

Subject – the argument that determines the form of the predicate verb. In addition, this argument is often subject-marked, but not always.

Object – an argument, other than the subject, that is directly connected to the verb, without any preposition in the verb phrase.

Oblique – an argument, other than the subject, that is connected to the verb through a preposition found in the verb phrase.

Some verbs take two objects. That is the case if there are three necessary noun phrases connected to a verb that is not accompanied by a preposition, e.g.

Beerfaluhu waxa uu faraska siinayaa cawska.

The verb *siiyaa* requires a subject and two objects, but no oblique, since *siiyaa* is not used with any preposition. (The addition of the preposition *u* would make the clause ungrammatical: **Beerfaluhu waxa uu faraska u siinayaa cawska.*)

Besides **ARGUMENTS** (subjects, objects & obliques), which are necessary in order to build a sensible clause with any specific verb, there are other noun phrases that can be added optionally to clauses. Such optional noun phrases are called **ADJUNCTS**. Adjuncts are never obligatory.

The number of arguments is always limited to the exact amount required by the verb, whereas the number of adjuncts is not limited by grammar.

Adjuncts are often subcategorized based on their semantic roles (much like traditional adverbial phrases), e.g.

- time adjuncts
- place adjuncts
- manner adjuncts
- etc.

On exclusively grammatical grounds (disregarding semantics), the **noun phrases** in a clause can be sub-divided into a **subject, object(s), oblique(s)** and **adjuncts** (instead of the subject, direct object, indirect object, and adverbials in traditional grammar).

2.5 Well-formedness

GRAMMATICAL WELL-FORMEDNESS must be carefully distinguished from logical or semantic well-formedness. In syntax, we are only interested in grammatical well-formedness. Sentences may have strange meanings or no real meaning at all, but still be syntactically (= grammatically) well-formed.

*I am two years **older from** my sister.*

Ungrammatical – Our knowledge about grammar tells us that this is not okay.

*I am two years **older than** my mother.*

Grammatically well-formed – but our knowledge about the world tells us that the content of this sentence is somehow wrong.

*I am two **years smarter** than my brother.*

Grammatically well-formed – but our knowledge about the meaning of individual words tells us that this sentence is semantic non-sense.

2. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

2.1. Suggest two more verbs that require one argument, two other verbs that require two arguments and two other verbs that require three arguments, in addition to those mentioned in section 2.2 above. Use everyday verbs and write a simple example clause for each verb.

2.2. Suggest suitable translations of the terms for semantic roles listed in section 2.3 above. Also give an example sentence for each semantic role and highlight the relevant noun phrase with boldface.

2.3. Build two simple Somali sentences with three argument: **a subject and two objects**, but no oblique and no adjunct.

2.4. Build two simple Somali sentences with **a subject, one object and one oblique**, but no adjunct.

2.5. Build two simple Somali sentences with **one oblique and one adjunct**. Subject & object may be added if suitable.

2.6. Build two simple Somali sentences with **one object and two adjuncts**. A subject may be added if suitable, but no oblique.

2.7. Translate the three sentences in section 2.5 (Well-formedness) into Somali. Give one more Somali example of each kind of ill-formed sentence, where two should still be grammatically well-formed, but odd.

Unit 3 – Lexical Entries and Well-Formed Clauses

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter 5, pages 66–83.

3. Key Concepts

3.1 The Lexicon

The **lexicon** is the mental storage of a speaker's vocabulary and certain grammatical information about the individual words.

A **lexical item** is an individual word in the lexicon.

A **lexical entry** is an individual word in the lexicon together with all the necessary information about that word, e.g. pronunciation, meaning, word class (=syntactic category), irregular inflection (e.g. *il*, pl. *indho*), as well as syntactic information about how it can be combined with other words into phrases and clauses.

3.2 Argument Structure

In the lexicon, every verb needs to be specified for its argument structure. Both the argument's semantic role and its grammatical relation to the verb need to be specified, e.g.

siiyaa + AGENT=**SUBJ** + THEME=**OBJ** + RECIPIENT=**OBJ**₂

... **Turkiga** *ayaa* **deeq waxbarasho** *siinaya* **500 arday** *sanad walba*...

u diraa + AGENT=**SUBJ** + THEME=**OBJ** + RECIPIENT=**OBL**

Wuxuu **tacsi** *u diray* **ehelada dadkii ku geeriyooday dagaalkaasi**...

An **intransitive** verb is a verb that does not take any object, e.g. *hurdaa*.

A **transitive** verb is a verb that requires one object, e.g. *u diraa*.

A **ditransitive** verb is a verb that requires two objects, e.g. *siiyaa*.

Terms or **direct arguments** are the subject and the object(s).

The **valence** of a verb is the number of terms or direct arguments that the verb takes, e.g. the valence of *u diraa* is TWO (SUBJ+OBJ), whereas the valence of *siiyaa* is THREE (SUBJ+OBJ+OBJ) and the valence of *hurdaa* is ONE (SUBJ).

Some linguists also include the oblique arguments in the valence, not only the subject and object(s). This way of treating valence can be referred to as SEMANTIC VALENCE.

3.3 Valence Alternations

Some languages don't always explicitly express all the arguments, even if they are semantically at hand in the situation that is describe by a clause.

English and Swedish can suppress (not specify) the object if it is not relevant to the situation, e.g. *I am eating*. Somali, on the other hand, tends to insert the indefinite word *wax* in such contexts, e.g. *Wax baan cunayaa*.

Actually, when an object is suppressed in Somali, i.e. not expressed explicitly by any word, that object is very specific and well established through the preceding context. This is connected to the fact that Somali doesn't use or even have clitic (unstressed) 3rd person object pronouns corresponding to English *her, him, it, them* or Swedish *honom, henne, den, det, dem*. Therefore, when a transitive Somali verb is used in a clause without an object, that absence needs to be interpreted as expressing a specific object, and therefore translated into English with one of the object pronouns, e.g. *Maryan ma aragtay? Haa, waan arkay*. 'Yes, I saw **her**.'

Furthermore, languages like Italian and Arabic can suppress (not explicitly have a word for) the subject, e.g. *Vengo*. English, Swedish and Somali, on the other hand, usually have a subject word, at least a clitic (short, unstressed) subject pronoun (*aan, aad, uu, ay, la, aannu, aynu, aydin*), e.g. *I'm coming; Jag kommer; Waan imanayaa*. Somali can however suppress the subject in questions and negative statements, e.g. *Cali ma aragtay? Maya, ma arkin*.

This kind of absence of pronouns is generally referred to as **pro-drop**.

These variations are so called **surface variations**. The semantic structure is stable, but the syntactic "surface" structures exhibit variation.

Another type of valence alternations can be observed between different closely related verbs, but here the alternations express semantic differences between the different interrelated verbs.

Biyuhu way karayaan. theme=**subj** + *karaa*
Iyagu waxay karinayaan *biyaha*. agent=**subj** + *kar**yaa* + theme=**obj**

This type of verb pairs are based on the addition of the suffix *-i-*.

The simple, basic verb is **intransitive**, the derived verb with *-i-* is **transitive**.

English and Swedish differ a lot from Somali, since the same verb is often used in both meanings and both syntactic constructions.

The water is boiling. *Vattnet kokar.*
They are boiling the water. *De kokar vattnet.*

A less frequent way of creating this kind of pairs of verbs in Somali is the suffix *-m-*, but this suffix has the opposite effect, it changes a transitive verb into an intransitive.

Ardayga ayaa bilaabay waxbarashadiisa. agent=subj + bilaabaa + theme=obj
 Casharku wuu bilaabmay. theme=subj + bilaabmaa

The simple, basic verb is **transitive**, the derived verb with *-m-* is **intransitive**.

3.4 Oblique Arguments and Adjuncts

Oblique arguments are "connected" to the verb through a preposition that "points" to the oblique argument. They are a necessary part of the verbs argument structure because they are a natural part of the situation that the verb describes.

Dawladda ayaa foostadii biyaha ah ku iibsan jirtay laba doollar...

Certain verbs may also be used with two prepositions and two obliques.

Dad baa beero lacag kaga iibsan doona dawladda.

Adjuncts, on the other hand, do not have any closer connection to the specific situation that the verb describes. Adjuncts can be freely added to most verbs and clauses. Very common adjuncts are those that express **time**, **place** and **manner**, e.g.

Sannadkii 1947kii ayaa la dilay Sheekh Bashiir.

3. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

3.1. Translate the sentences (13a,b), (16a,b) and (17a,c) on page 71. Explain the structural difference between the two sentences in English and Somali.

3.2 Think of two Somali verbs that are **intransitive**. Write a simple sentence with each verb. Don't choose verbs that have been mentioned in the text above!

3.3 Think of two Somali verbs that are **transitive**. Write a simple sentence with each verb. Don't choose verbs that have been mentioned in the text above!

3.4 Think of two Somali verbs that are **ditransitive**. Write a simple sentence with each verb. Don't choose verbs that have been mentioned in the text above!

3.5 Think of one Somali verbs that is **intransitive**, but also takes an **oblique** argument. Write a simple sentence with this verb. Don't choose a verb that has been mentioned in the text above!

3.6 Think of one Somali verbs that is **transitive**, but also takes an **oblique** argument. Write a simple sentence with this verb. Don't choose a verb that has been mentioned in the text above!

3.7 Repeat all the eight sentences in 3.2–3.5 and add an **adjunct** to each sentence.

3.8 Give three **pairs of verbs** where one is transitive and the other is intransitive. Two pairs should make use of the morpheme *-i-*, and one pair should make use of the morpheme *-m-*. Write short sentences with each verb, 6 sentences in total. For each sentence, write in parentheses if it is transitive or intransitive. Don't choose verbs that have been mentioned in the text above!

3.9 Choose three verbs that you have not mentioned before. Write down their argument structure according to the pattern:

u diraa + AGENT=SUBJ + THEME=OBJ + RECIPIENT=OBL

Also write a simple sentence that supports your argument structure template.

Unit 4 – Noun Phrases & Word Order

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter 6, pages 87–98.

Add:

mass nouns, measure words, itemizers (xabbo), se Kroeger § 8.1.2
numerative case

4. Key Concepts

Determiners, Complements, Adjuncts

4.1 Determiners, Complements and Adjuncts

In previous courses we have not made this distinction. We have just talked about endings (suffixes) that are added to nouns, and about modifiers (Sw. *attribut*, *faahfaahiyayaasha*) that can be added to nouns in order to create longer noun phrases.

In linguistics it is however common practice to make a distinction between these three categories:

Determiners are not so important to discuss in Somali, since they are endings that are added to the nouns (definite, demonstrative and possessive suffixes). (In English and Swedish they are independent words, and their role in word order is a complex issue.)

baska, baskii, baskan, baskooda

Complements are additional words that are strictly chosen by the head noun itself, in similar ways as verbs choose their complements.

Adjuncts (or **modifiers**) are additional words that can be **added freely** to any noun, just like they can be added freely to any verb.

As a rule, the Somali noun phrase starts with the head noun (and its determiner endings) and all complements and adjuncts follow after the head noun. There are very few exceptions to this principle.

Complements and adjuncts are made up of nouns, adjectives or subclauses with a verb. Somali does not have any preposition phrases (prepositions belong to verb phrases). Therefore there are no such complements or adjuncts in Somali.

Juxtaposition – Nouns as Complements and Adjuncts

When a noun is added as an adjunct or complement after a head noun, there is usually no morphological suffix to mark this relation.

When two nouns are simply placed together in a phrase, they are said to be in **juxtaposition** with each other.

Juxtaposition is often used to express possession or association between two nouns. In this kind of construction the head noun does not have any special requirements on the other noun, which is then an adjunct.

qoyska Xasan, baarlamaanka Soomaaliya, madaxweynaha dalkaas

When the second noun in a juxtaposition fills a grammatical relation similar to that of the subject or object of a verb, such nouns are generally considered to be complements.

Juxtaposition can also serve to express the agent or the patient/theme of the action that is expressed by the head noun. In this kind of construction the head noun has special requirements on the other noun, which is then a complement.

maamulaha dugsiga (waxa uu maamulaa dugsiga)

The school can be said to be the theme both in relation to the verb *maamulaa* and to the noun *maamule*.

In the following example the complement noun has the semantic role of the agent.

qosolka ardayda iyo macallinka (ardayda iyo macallinku waa ay qoslayaan)

baahida korontada 'the need for electricity' – the electricity would be the object/theme of a verb that would correspond to the noun *baahida*.

baahida ciidanka 'the army's needs' – the army would be the subject/experiencer of a verb that would correspond to the noun *baahida*.

Adjectives as Adjuncts

gaari cusub,

An adjective may be preceded by an intensifier which is then part of an adjective phrase, e.g. *aad u fiican* 'very nice'.

baaskiil aad u fiican

Noun phrases as Adjuncts

baaskiil qurux badan, qofka ugu timo dheer adduunka

Subclauses (with a verb) as Adjuncts

baaskiil buluug ah

Adjectives and subclauses as Complements are not common in Somali.

4.2 Inalienable Possession

Relations between two persons that can never be changed, or usually are not changed, are expressed in slightly different ways than other types of possession or relation.

Words like *hooyo*, *aabbe*, *walaal*, *eeddo*, *awoowe* take shorter possessive ending than other nouns.

hooyaday (**hooyadayda*), *aabbahaa* (**aabbahaaga*)

but *gabartayda*, *wiilkaaga*

They can not be followed by an adjunct expressing the “owner”. Instead they must be followed by a possessive suffix that points to the “owner” that occurs before the head noun.

Xasan hooyadiis (**hooyada Xasan*), *Maryan aabbaheed* (**aabbaha Maryan*)

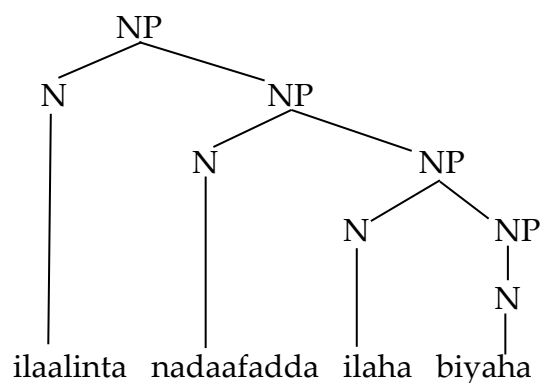
but *gabarta Xasan* = *Xasan gabartiisa*, *wiilka Maryan* = *Maryan wiilkeeda*

4.3 Recursion

Recursion is a phenomenon in syntax that means that a rule may be repeated indefinitely. This happens if the same element occurs on both sides of the arrow.

$NP \rightarrow N (NP)$

A noun phrase may consist of a noun followed by another noun phrase, which in turn may consist of a noun followed by another noun phrase etc.



4.4 Somali noun phrases with numerals

Noun phrases with numerals as their heads have a different structure. The numeral takes all the determiner endings, and the following noun (what is counted) cannot take any such endings. Instead it has to be in the COUNTING FORM (or the NUMERATIVE form). Feminine nouns with the plural ending *-o* has a special counting form ending in *-ood*. All other nouns use the singular form as their counting form.

<i>bil, bisha, pl. bilo</i>	<i>shan bilood</i>	FEMININE
<i>hooyo, hooyada, hooyooyin</i>	<i>shan hooyo</i>	FEMININE
<i>aabbe, aabbaha, aabbayaal</i>	<i>shan aabbe</i>	MASCULINE
<i>bas, baska, basas</i>	<i>shan bas</i>	MASCULINE
<i>albaab, albaabka, albaabbo</i>	<i>shan albaab</i>	MASCULINE

4.5 Multiple Adjuncts

In Somali, a noun can only be directly followed by **one** adjunct. When there is a need to add more than one adjuncts, a conjunction must be used before the second, third etc. adjunct. That conjunction is either *oo* or *ee*. The choice between *oo* and *ee* is a complicated issue that has been discussed by several scholars.

Review the chapter about Noun Phrases in Mansur & Puglielli's (1999) [*Barashada naxwaha af Soomaaliga*](#), p. 192–202. Also read the pages 225–228 about *oo* and *ee*.

Also Saeed (1993) discusses *oo* and *ee* in his grammar on pages 246–253.

Proper name + *oo* + adjunct (+ *oo* + adjunct)

Waxaan arkay Cali oo kubbad cayaaraya.

Indefinite noun + adjunct + *oo* + adjunct (+ *oo* + adjunct)

War-mooge waxa uu ahaa nin xun oo naxariis daran oo dadku neceb yihiin.

With definite nouns it is important to distinguish between two different kinds of adjuncts. Descriptive adjuncts only give some additional information about a person or object that we have already identified and know who or what it is. A defining adjunct, on the other hand gives additional information about a still not identified person or object, and it is exactly this additional information that helps us identify the person or object referred to by the head noun.

Definite noun + *oo* + descriptive adjunct (+ *oo* + descriptive adjunct)

Warbaahinta dalka Iswiidhan waxay sheegayaan in ninka oo 39 sano jir ah uu ka soo jeedo Uzbekistan.

Definite noun + defining adjunct (+ *ee* + defining adjunct)

...*ninka* waallan *ee* xukuma dalka Eriteriya...

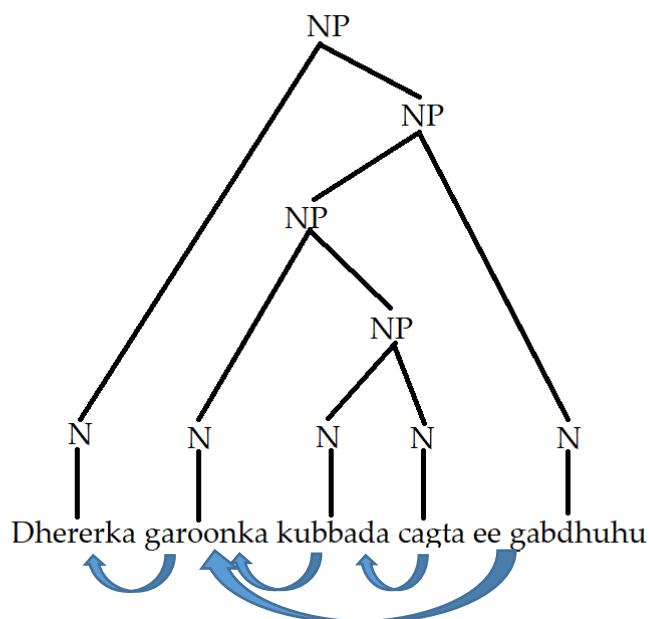
Waxayna la kulmeen Guddoomiyaha Baarlamaanka dalkaa oo ah *ninka* 2aad *ee* dalka Iswiidhan...

A summary of these rules is given in the following table.

If the head noun is	a definite noun, e.g. <i>ninka</i>	a proper name, e.g. <i>Cali</i>	an indefinite noun, e.g. <i>nin</i>
the adjunct describes the noun	use <i>oo</i> before every adjunct	use <i>oo</i> before every adjunct	
the adjunct defines the noun	add first adjunct directly to the noun and use <i>ee</i> before subsequent adjuncts		add first adjunct directly to the noun and use <i>oo</i> before subsequent adjuncts

Every adjunct has to point to the directly preceding head noun. In order to point to another word, further away, *oo* or *ee* needs to be used.

Dhererka garoonka kubbada cagta ee gabdhuhu waa 79.25 m.



4. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

4.1. xxx

4.2 Give three examples of a noun phrase containing a complement that would be the subject of the corresponding verb, such as *qosolka ardayda*, *baahida ciidanka*. Also write the sentence with the verb. **Förtydliga instruktionerna!!**

4.3 Give three other examples of a noun phrase containing a complement that would be the object of the corresponding verb, such as *maamulaha dugsig*, *baahida korontada*. Also write the sentence with the verb. **Förtydliga instruktionerna!!**

4.4 Give three examples of juxtapositions that can also be expressed with the adjunct preceding the head noun, which is followed by a possessive determiner suffix. Underline the head noun, e.g. baabuurka *Xasan*, *Xasan* baabuur-kiisa. At least one example should not express possession.

4.5 Give three examples of noun phrases where a juxtaposition is not possible, and the only possible construction is that the adjunct precedes the head noun, which is followed by a possessive determiner suffix. Only one or two of the examples should express possession, the other ones should express some other kind of meaning.

4.6 Given three other examples of a noun phrase containing
Proper name + oo + adjunct (+ oo + adjunct)

4.7 Given three other examples of a noun phrase containing
Indefinite noun + adjunct + oo + adjunct (+ oo + adjunct)

4.8 Given three other examples of a noun phrase containing
Definite noun + oo + descriptive adjunct (+ oo + descriptive adjunct)

4.9 Given three other examples of a noun phrase containing
Definite noun + defining adjunct (+ ee + defining adjunct)

4.10 Can you think of any exceptions to the four rules about the use of oo and ee?

Unit 5 – Case, Gender & Agreement

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter 7, **Case and agreement**, pages 102–119, but you don't need to read § 7.1.3 (Split ergativity) and 7.2.2 (Ergative agreement systems).

+ Chapter 8: § 8.1–8.1.1 (p. 128-131)

For reference: Corbett 2022 talk and references therein

5. Key Concepts

Case, subject, object, nominative, accusative

Agreement, NP, verb, pronoun, gender, number

Focus, reduced verb forms

5.1 Grammatical relations of NPs

When a verb occurs together with its arguments and adjuncts, there is a need to express which NP plays which semantic role, i.e. what is the grammatical relation between the verb and each one of the NPs in the clause. Above all it is important to know which NP is the subject (and which is the object) of the verb.

Languages have three important strategies to show these relations between the verb and the NPs.

– **WORD ORDER.** This is the most important tool in English and Swedish. The subject usually comes before the verb, and the object after the verb.

In most Somali sentences, the subject precedes both the verb and the object, but this is not a strict rule. Somali sentences may very well end with the subject. So there is no way to be sure about the grammatical roles of NPs in Somali only based on the word order.

– **CASE FORMS.** This is the most important tool in Classical Arabic, Latin and Slavic languages. The words in the subject NP have different endings when they function as the subject and the object.

In Somali the last word of the subject NP is usually marked with one of the three **SUBJECT CASE ENDINGS**, *-u*, *-i*, or *-aa*.

– **AGREEMENT.** This is a very important tool in a very large number of languages. Many languages have different forms of the verb when the subject NP is singular and plural. Some languages, like Somali, also have different verb forms when the singular subject is feminine and masculine.

It is also important to notice that a variation is often possible between **GRAMMATICAL** and **SEMANTIC AGREEMENT** between the subject NP and the verb. Grammatical agreement means that the verb agrees with the grammatical form of the head noun in the subject NP. Semantic agreement means that the verb agrees with the meaning of the word(s) in the subject NP.

In Somali two more tools are quite important.

– **SUBJECT PRONOUNS**. The subject is usually expressed by a subject pronoun, even if it is at the same time expressed by an NP.

– **FOCUS PARTICLES**. The subject is usually the focused NP if there is no subject pronoun in a main clause. The predicate verb is in the reduced form when the subject is focused.

In some languages prepositions at the beginning of NPs help identify the semantic roles of these NPs.

*She gave the book **to** the student.*

This is however not a tool that works in Somali, since the prepositions are placed in the predicate VP directly in front of the verb. There is no formal way to know which NP a preposition refers to. We only know that based on the meaning in the context.

5.2 Case

If the subject NP is **focused**, the subject case endings are **not used**.

Wiilka baa ordaya.

Only if the subject is **not focused**, the subject case endings are **used**.

Wiilku wuu ordayaa.

The subject ending is only added to the last word in the subject NP.

Wiilka iyo gabadhu way ordayaan.

-u is added to nouns and pronouns instead of the final -a found in the basic form.

-i is added to adjectives, pronouns, indefinite feminine nouns and some verb forms that end in a consonant.

Maalin dambe ayaa balanbaalisi ubaxii soo dul martay.

-aa is added to many verb forms ending in a vowel, and to the adjective *kasta*.

Sida Jubba oo kale ayaa bahallo wax cunaa ku jiraan webi Shabelle.

In many other instances the subject case is not marked in writing.

Isla markiiba waraabihii waxa uu ku soo boodey gabadhii.

Maxaa ay Maryan dugsiga u tagi weydey?

It should be noted that Somali, just like English and most European languages, makes a distinction between subject and object, which are marked by different cases. In many European languages as well as Arabic these two cases are called the nominative (for subjects) and the accusative (for objects). In the Somali tradition the terms nominative and accusative are not used very much.

Instead the subject case is a very common label. The other case, the one that is used in all other functions, for objects, obliques and adjuncts as well as citation form (when a word is not used in a clause, but just mentioned on its own, e.g. in a wordlist or dictionary) has been called many different things, e.g. the absolutive case, the absolute case or the base form. The base/basic form is a very good label since it tells us that this is the most widely used form, and that the subject form is “special”.

The term **absolutive** is misleading since it implies that Somali would not be a nominative–accusative language, but an ergative–absolutive language, which is something completely different, which Somali is definitely not.

5.4 Agreement

The predicate verb agrees with the subject NP and takes the same gender and number form. If the subject NP is plural the verb will be plural, if it is masculine singular or feminine singular, the verb will take the same form.

Dawacadii ayaa aragtay eygii. Since *eygii* is masculine, it cannot be the subject.

Sometimes the form of the head noun of the subject NP and the meaning of the subject NP are in conflict. Then the predicate verb can often be used in two different forms, even though individual speakers may have a strong preference for one or the other form. Sources of such variation are above all collective nouns and numerals, but also masculine words for professions when used about a woman.

Sidee carruurta xoolaha u kala raaci jirtey?

Xaggee ayaa ay carruurta sheekada ka soo dhegeysan jireen?

Also notice that a similar kind of agreement is found in pronouns that refer back to a noun or NP.

In many other languages, also adjectives, and sometimes numerals, agree with their head noun in gender and number. This is not the case in Somali.

<i>un piccolo ragazzo</i>	<i>wiil yar</i>
<i>una piccola ragazza</i>	<i>gabar yar</i>
<i>piccoli ragazzi</i>	<i>wiilal yaryar</i>
<i>piccole ragazze</i>	<i>gabdhoo yaryar</i>

Somali adjectives may however agree in number with their head noun, but it does not seem to be an instance of grammatical agreement, but rather of semantic agreement, e.g.

<i>dad waaweyn</i>	both these nouns are singular nouns!
<i>caws dhaadheer</i>	

Add more about

Agreement in number & gender, but not in case

Grammatical or semantic agreement

Subject – Predicate agreement

Verbs agrees with subject NP

Only verbs in past/reduced subjunctive do not agree.

Noun – modifier/determiner agreement

Possessum – possessor agreement (also relational noun – its dependent)

5.5 Subject pronouns

Subject pronouns are used in most Somali clauses. The subject pronouns agree with the subject NP and thereby help identify the subject NP.

5.6 Focus and reduced verb forms

Usually the focused NP is the subject in clauses without a subject pronoun.

When a focus NP is the subject, the predicate verb must occur in the reduced form.

Gurigayga marti baa caawa joogta.

Madaxa ayaa i xanuunaya.

Gabaygan waxa curiyey Xaaji Aadan.

Dawacadii ayaa aragtay eygii.

Notice that the reduced verb forms ending in *-a*, *-ay* are both plural and masculine singular, whereas *-ta*, *-tay* is feminine singular.

The only exception is that the subject may occur between the focus particle and the predicate verb even though there is no subject pronoun. Also, the verb is in the full form.

Maalin dambe ayaa balanbaalisi ubaxii soo dul martay.

Sida Jubba oo kale ayaa bahallo wax cunaa ku jiraan webi Shabelle.

5.7 Possession

In Somali possession can usually be expressed through simple juxtaposition of the possessed object and the possessor.

guriga Sahro

It can also be expressed through the use of a possessive suffix doubling and referring back to the possessor noun. In linguistics this is referred to as possessor agreement.

Sahro gurigeeda

aniga walaalkay

Dege walaalkiis

Some words, above all those representing close relatives, do not allow the juxtaposition construction, but only the use of the possessive suffixes (in their short form).

5. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

5.1 Give one example each of clauses with the four different word orders: Subject Verb Object, SOV, OSV, OVS.

5.2 Give examples of clauses with the subject ending *-u* added to words in two different word classes.

5.3 Give examples of clauses with the subject ending *-i* added to words in four different word classes.

- 5.4 Give examples of clauses with the subject ending -aa added to two different types of verb forms.
- 5.5 Give examples of clauses where no subject ending can be added to the NP. Give examples with three different word classes at the end of the NP.
- 5.6 Give examples of clauses where the same subject NP can be followed by a verb in both the singular and the plural. Explain why, and state which verb form shows grammatical and which shows semantic agreement.
- 5.7 Give examples of clauses where the same subject NP can be followed by a verb in both the masculine and the feminine form. Explain why, and state which verb form shows grammatical and which shows semantic agreement.
- 5.8 Give two different examples of positive statement clauses without a short subject pronoun where the object is focused.
- 5.9 Give an example of a focused plural NP with a verb in the reduced plural form.
- 5.10 Give another example where two different reduced forms are possible with the same subject NP due to the variation between grammatical and semantic agreement.

Unit 6 – Pronouns, Particle Phrases & Word Order

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter 8: § 8.1–8.1.1 (p. 128-131) and § 8.2–8.2.5 (p. 135–143).

6. Key Concepts

pronoun, deixis, anaphora, gender, number, reflexive, reciprocal, emphatic

5.3 Gender

Somali has a two gender system, where nouns are either masculine and feminine. Only in a handful of Somali nouns biological and grammatical gender do not coincide: *sac*, *xaas* are masculine nouns with feminine biological gender. In collective nouns there is no connection between biological and grammatical gender: *haween*, *dumar* are masculine, while *carruur* is feminine.

Gender determines the inflectional patterns of nouns, such as plural formation and determiner suffixes (definite, demonstrative and possessive determiner suffixes, subject, numerative and vocative case suffixes).

Gender also determines the agreement forms of pronouns and verbs, but only in the singular. Pronouns and verbs do not distinguish between genders in the plural. They have only one plural form. This means that there is no gender agreement in the plural, and it is therefore irrelevant to discuss the gender of a plural noun. Gender is only relevant in the singular.

<i>gabarta</i>	→ SING. FEM.	<i>iyada</i>	<i>way heesaysaa</i>
<i>wiilka</i>	→ SING. MASC.	<i>isaga</i>	<i>wuu heesayaa</i>
<i>gabdhaha</i>	→ PLUR.	<i>iyaga</i>	<i>way heesayaan</i>
<i>wiilasha</i>	→ PLUR.	<i>iyaga</i>	<i>way heesayaan</i>

6.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are a special kind of NP. The reference or semantic interpretation of pronouns is not fixed. Everything depends on the context. They may refer to something in the situation, or something that has been mentioned in the text or discourse.

Deixis, or deictic use of pronouns (and certain other words, often with determiner suffixes), means pointing to something outside the discourse, something in the real world, in the **speech situation**, i.e. the time and place of the discourse, e.g.

aniga, adiga, kan, tan, kaas, taas...

hadda, halkan, halkaas...

Waar, ii keen mindidaas!

Anaphora, or anaphoric use of pronouns, means referring back to something that has been previously mentioned in the discourse or in the text. The word that one refers back to is called the **antecedent**. An anaphoric pronoun (or other word) refers back to the same referent (person, object, place...) as the antecedent.

Faadumo hooyadeed saddex maalmood ka hor ayaa ay umushay.

Sometimes the antecedent follows after the anaphoric pronoun.

Midabbadee ayaa ay kala lahaayeen dibiyadu?

Many pronouns and determiner suffixes can be used both for deixis and anaphora. The so called referential pronouns and determiners *kii, tii, kuwii* are however only used anaphorically. They cannot be used to point at an object that is present in the speech situation.

6.2 Proximity

There are different demonstrative pronouns depending on the distance to the object referred to by the pronoun (or determiner suffix).

close	<i>kan</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>kuwan</i>
distant	<i>kaa(s)</i>	<i>taa(s)</i>	<i>kuwaa(s)</i>

It has been suggested by Ahmed Y. Hiraad (2014: 22f) that the demonstratives ending in *-aa* are the unmarked ones, and that the forms in *-aas* are used for contrast.

6.3 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronoun *is* is always anaphoric. In Somali the antecedent may be in the 1st or 2nd person as well as the 3rd person, both singular and plural.

examples

The meaning is very often reciprocal if the antecedent is in the plural.

examples

In English there are different reflexive pronouns for each person (*myself, yourself, herself...*), and in Swedish the reflexive pronoun *sig* can only refer to a 3rd person antecedent. In Slavic languages the reflexive pronoun can refer to any person, just like in Somali.

Both English and Swedish have special reciprocal pronouns (*each other; varandra, varann*) that are not the same as the reflexive pronouns.

6.4 Emphatic pronouns

Light emphasis is expressed by the long forms of the personal pronouns which can be used as an addition to the short forms.

examples

Strong emphasis is expressed by certain nouns carrying the possessive determiner ending denoting the person, e.g. *laf-tayda, laf-taada, laf-tiisa, laf-teeda...*

Aniga laftayda waxa uu si adag ii weydiiyay xaaladdayda caafimaad.

Emphatic pronouns are not used anaphorically. Instead they are used together with the antecedent NP that they refer to, so to say 'doubling' it. This is referred to as **apposition**.

6.5 Agreement of Pronouns

The pronouns agree with their antecedent. They agree in number (singular or plural), and in the singular they also agree in gender (masculine or feminine).

The three forms *aan, aad, ay* are however special. They can be used with both singular and plural reference.

Somali also has exclusive and inclusive personal pronouns in the 1st person plural:

exclusive: *annaga, aannu, na, kayaga, tayada*

inclusive: *innaga, aynu, ina, keenna, teenna*

The long forms *isaga, iyada, iyaga* are mainly used to refer to persons, and only seldom to inanimate objects. Referring to objects, the demonstrative pronouns *kan, tan, kaa(s), taa(s)* are preferred.

6.6 The gap in Somali object pronoun inventory

There are no short 3rd person object pronouns in Somali that would correspond to him, her, it, them. There are only short object pronouns in the 1st and 2nd person:

i, ku, na, ina, idin

If a transitive verb is used in a clause without an object NP, this functions as an indication that a 'specific' object (in the third person) is intended, and a translation into English usually needs an object pronoun.

example

6.7 Particle Phrases

The short Somali subject pronouns *aan, aad, uu, ay, aannu, aynu, aydin* usually occur together with the sentence particle in main clauses. Together they form a particle phrase and they are often contracted into one word.

Notice that the short subject pronoun *la* does not occur together with the sentence particle, but in the predicate phrase, together with the verb.

6.8 Subject pronouns in subclauses

The short subject pronouns usually occur as the first word in subclauses that contain a subject NP. It is as if short subject pronouns that are not immediately preceded by a sentence particle, but occurring on their own, serve as indicators for subclauses.

examples

6.9 Phrase Order

The particle phrase must precede the verb phrase.

Noun phrases may occur anywhere.

These two rules give this scheme for the order of phrases in Somali:

(NPs) **PP** (NPs) **VP** (NPs)

NP = noun phrase, PP = particle phrase, VP = verb phrase

6. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

6.1 Give three examples of Somali sentences with different pronouns that are used anaphorically. What is the antecedent?

6.2 Give three examples of Somali sentences with different pronouns that are used deictically.

6.2 Give one example of a Somali sentence with an anaphoric pronoun that precedes the antecedent.

6.3 Can you think of any other noun than *laf* that can be used with possessive determiner suffixes to express emphasis in a similar way as English 'myself, yourself...'?

6.4 Do you agree with the claim that “the long forms *isaga, iyada, iyaga* are mainly used to refer to persons, and only seldom to inanimate objects. Referring to objects, the demonstrative pronouns *kan, tan, kaa(s), taa(s)* are preferred.” Can you think of an example or two where this is contradicted, and the long personal pronouns are used to refer to inanimate objects?

6.5 Give two examples of sentences with the reflexive pronoun where it is used to refer to an antecedent in the 1st and the 2nd person, respectively.

6.6 Give two examples of sentences with the reflexive pronoun where it is used in its reflexive meaning (not the reciprocal meaning) with an antecedent in the plural.

6.7 Give two examples of sentences with a gap indicating a 3rd person object.

6.8 Give one example each of clauses with the constituent structure

a. NP PP VP NP

b. PP VP NP

c. PP NP VP

d. NP PP VP

e. NP PP NP VP NP

6.9 Pick an authentic text and find in it five random complex sentences containing a subclause which contains a subject NP. Look for short subject pronouns in the subclauses. In what position do they occur?

Unit 7 – Verb Phrases, Predicates and Clitics

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 316-329.

7. Key Concepts

7.1

7. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

8.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 8 – Tense, Aspect and Mood

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 147–169.

8. Key Concepts

8.1

8. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

8.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 9 – Non-verbal predicates

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 173–190.

9. Key Concepts

9.1

9. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

9.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 10 – Sentence types, Negation & Word order

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 196–214.

10. Key Concepts

10.1

10. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

10.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 11 – Coordination & Subordination

Coordination of words, phrases and clauses.

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 218–220.

11. Key Concepts

11.1

11. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

11.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 12 – Subordinate complement clauses

Relative tense & aspect

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 220–227.

12. Key Concepts

12.1

12. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

12.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 13 – Subordinate relative clauses

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 227–241.

13. Key Concepts

13.1

13. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

13.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 14 – Valence-changing operations

Passivisation versus Anticuasativisation

Causativisation

Autobeneficiency

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages 270–283.

14. Key Concepts

14.1

14. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

14.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page

Unit 15 – Information packaging & Word Order

Topic, Focus

Read: Kroeger (2005), Chapter X, pages ??–??.

15. Key Concepts

15.1

15. Questions, Exercises & Assignments

15.1. Translate the sentences (1) on page