

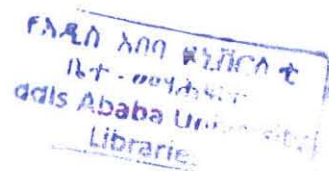
DEIXIS IN SOMALI DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Ahmed Yusuf Hirad, entitled: *Deixis in Somali: Documentation and Description* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Degree of Master of Arts (Documentary Linguistics and Culture) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with describing deixis in the Somali language. Deixis is the way referents are pointed to by means of linguistic expressions. Accordingly, Somali deictics include: personal, spatial, temporal, social, manner and quantitative, presentative, discoursal, and recognitional devices. In the category of Somali personal pronouns, the first person plural has two forms, inclusive (where the addressee(s) is/are included) and exclusive (where the addressee(s) is/are excluded). The demonstratives indicate proximal and distal objects from the speaker. There are two kinds of distal demonstratives of which one is contrastive to either the proximal or to another distal one. In Somali, there are two directional deictics that point to the concepts of space and time in reference to the sun. One directional deixis points to the sun as an entity coming toward the top of the horizon while the other directional deixis points to the sun going away. On the other hand, the concept of the movement of the sun could be considered temporal as ante-meridian and post-meridian. The language uses two tenses in time deixis—past and non-past marked on verbs, adjectives as well as nouns. Time deixis is also indicated by lexicalized calendric terms, which count preceding and following days and nights from the deictic center. Traditional clock terms (related to prayer time) are also used for the approximation of time. In addition, there are nouns and verbs that indicate travel points from temporal perspective. The speakers of the language also use presentative, as well as manner (the way something is done) and quantitative (showing amount) deictics. In social deixis, kinship and absolute terms are used. Kinship terms occur in referencing and addressing (tone is involved). Absolute terms are two types: address and response terms. Demonstratives or the definite article in combination with temporal terms can function as discourse deixis. The anaphoric expressions and distal contrastive demonstrative are used for tracking what has already been expressed or what is to be expressed.

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1.3 The Language

The Somali language (*Af Soomaali* in Somali meaning ‘Somali language’ or simply *Soomaali*) is one of the East Cushitic languages of the Afroasiatic super-family (Fleming 1976: 43). According to the recent classification, for instance, by Tosco (2012: 265), Somali is grouped under eastern Omo-Tana branch of East Cushitic together with Rendille and Boni (see Figure 1 below).

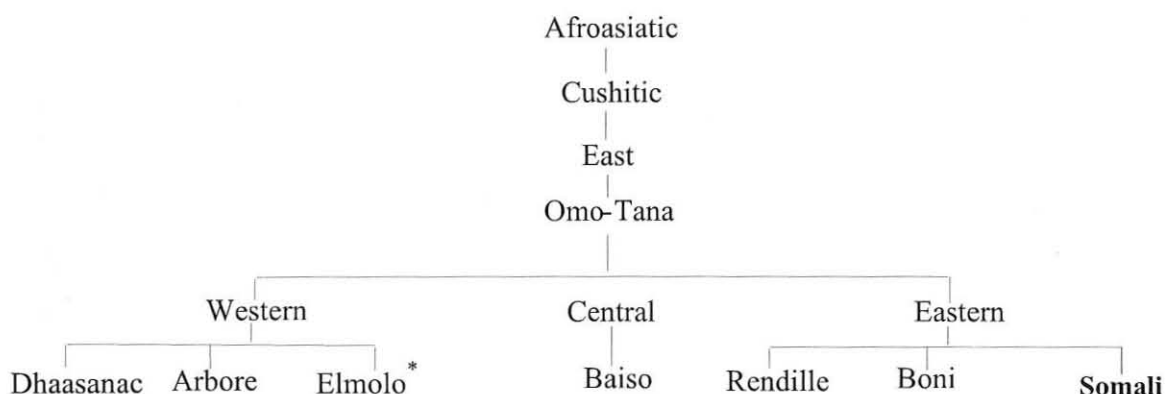


Figure 1: Omo-Tana languages in a partial classificatory tree (adopted from Tosco (2012:265))²

Based on its dialectal differences, traditionally, Somali is categorized into two: *mahaadtiqi* ‘what did you say’ and *maj* ‘what’. Nevertheless, different scholars classified the Somali dialects in ways different from that of the traditional point of view. According to the historical review of the Somali dialectal studies presented by Tosco (2012), the first scholar who classified the Somali dialects was the Italian Orientalist Enrico Cerulli in 1919, who using clan names, classified the Somali dialects into four: (1) Isaaq, (2) Daarood, (3) Hawije and (4) Sab. Many years later, Moreno (1955) divided the Somali dialects in the same way as Cerulli did, but changing Hawije into Banaadir, and Sab into Dighil. Furthermore, Andrzejewski (1971) challenged this clan-based classification and proposed a three-way distinction: Common, Coastal, and Central Somali. Although clan names were excluded, there were no pure classifications since both Common and Coastal Somali belong to what Somalis traditionally call *Mahaad-tiri* dialect. Later, Saeed (1982), in his grammatical sketch of ‘*Central Somali*’, replaced Andrzejewski’s ‘Coastal’ with ‘Banaadir’ like Moreno (1955) did (Tosco, 2012: 269ff).

Saeed (1993: 2) categorized the Somali dialects into three main groups: Northern (or Northern-Central), Banaadir (Coastal) and Maaj. Northern Somali forms the basis for the common Somali that is spoken in the Somali Regional State of Ethiopia (Ogaden), Djibouti, northern and central Somalia and parts of northern Kenya. Banaadir Somali is spoken in the southern coast of Somalia; and, on the

² The asterisk marks that the Elmalo language is extinct.

Table 2: Somali Vowels

Short Vowels	Long Vowels
i	ii
e	ee
a	aa
o	oo
u	uu

In addition, Somali has tone marking (HIGH, LOW, and HIGH-LOW). However, in the transcription, I have generally omitted the tone since it is not used so much to differentiate lexical items such as nouns and verbs but to mark grammatical differences of case, gender, number, etc. (Saeed 1993: 22f). Nonetheless, in one case, I have used tone to distinguish between citation and address forms of kinship terms. The transcription of the data is phonemic; and, where the need for phonetic representation is required, it is provided in square brackets [].

1.8.6 Cross-referencing

Examples from the corpus in chapter three have been cross referenced with the text corpus in the appendix and the ELAn corpus in the CD. Therefore, where there is an example from the corpus, that example is labeled with an alphanumeric identification. That is to direct to the location where the example is found within the documented corpus in the appendix as well in the CD. An alphanumeric looks like 'SED\04\12'. In this alphanumeric, 'SED' represents 'Somali ELAn Data'; '04' represents 'the text location in the corpus'; and '12' represents 'the location of the sentence/clause in the text'. It will be read like this: *the Somali ELAn Data\ the fourth text in the data\ the twelfth sentence or clause of the text*'.

1.9 Review of Related Literature

As pointed out above, although there are numerous works on the different aspects of the Somali language including works on grammar, there is no comprehensive research on the deixis of the language. However, there are some attempts on some features of the latter. For instance, Bourdin (2005) examines the Somali directional deictics of *soo* and *sii* which he assumes that they are 'come' and 'go' type—*ventive* (from Latin *venire* 'come') and *itive* (from Latin *ire* 'to go'), respectively. The *ventive* refers to a motion towards a deictic center, and *itive* refers to a motion away from the deictic center. In English, the statements *I am coming* denotes moving towards an addressee while *I am going* denotes moving away from where the addressee is found (Bourdin 2005:13).

In his *Somali Reference Grammar*, Saeed (1993: 212-14) presents four deictic prepositions. The deictic prepositions are *soo*, *sii*, *wada* and *kala*. According to Saeed, *soo* occurs before a verb and gives the verb the sense of motion towards the speaker while *sii*, again before a verb and gives the verb the sense of motion away from the speaker. On the other hand, *wada* occurs before a verb with

2.2 Types of Deixis

The traditional categories of deixis are: (1) person deixis—any expression used to point to a person, that is, *me, you*, etc.; (2) time/temporal deixis—expressions used to point to time: *now, then, tonight, last week*, etc.; (3) place/spatial deixis—expressions used to point to a location, for instance, *here, there, yonder*, etc.; (4) discourse deixis—any expression used to refer to an earlier or forthcoming segments of a discourse, that is, referring to what is in the previous or the next portion; for example *the former, the following*, etc.; (5) Social deixis—expressions which mark the social relationships of the discourse participants as employer vs. employee, old vs. young, female vs. male, etc. The sections that follow define the preceding types of deixis in more detailed. Mainly it illustrates person, place, time, social, presentative, manner, discourse, recognitional and the usages of these deictics that is exophoric and endophoric usages.

2.2.1 Person Deixis

Person deixis is the grammatical category of person that directly reflects the different roles that individuals play in a speech event. The individuals are the speaker, the addressee and others (Levinson 1983: 68). Similarly, Lyons (1977: 638) says that, the grammatical category of person depends on the notions about the roles of the participants. It is derived from the Latin word *persona* ‘mask’ which itself is derived from the Greek word for ‘dramatic character’ or ‘role’. Grammarians used the term for the metaphorical concept of a language event as drama in which the first and the second person play the main roles as speaker and addressee respectively and all other roles by the third person (Lyons 1977).

The expressions that contain person deixis encode information about gender, number, and social status of the referents. Among the linguistic items which express those pieces of information are included in the grammatical categories of first and second person pronouns regardless of their grammatical functions (subject or object, etc.) (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 260).

Regarding the first person, Anderson and Keenan (1985: 263) indicate that all languages differentiate between a first person singular pronoun *I* and first person plural pronoun *we*. However, according to Levinson (1983: 69), based on the information carried by the first person plural pronoun, there is a difference between the notions of plurality, which is applied to the speaker. Citing Lyons (1968), Levinson (1983: 69) states that “the traditional category of plural is not symmetrically applied to first person in the way it is to third: *we* does not mean plural speakers in the same way that *they* means more than one third person entity.” Since the speaker is singular, what is called first person plural pronoun is the speaker and some others. There are languages, which have two distinct first person plural pronouns—one as *inclusive* (i.e. includes the addressee) and another as *exclusive* (i.e. excludes the addressee but involves others). Somali, as we shall see in chapter three, is one such language.

Levinson (1983: 69) proposes that the traditional paradigm of the first, second and third person pronouns can be captured by the two semantic features of speaker inclusion (S) and addressee inclusion (A): first person (speaker inclusion) is (+S), the second person (addressee inclusion) is (+A), and the third person (speaker and addressee exclusion) is (-S, -A). The third person is quite unlike first or second person, in that it does not correspond to any participant-role in the speech event, and therefore is a residual non-deictic category.

As already mentioned, deixis is egocentric, “As speakers switch, so the deictic center, on which the rest of deictic system hangs, is itself abruptly moved from participant to participant” (Levinson 1983: 68). Thus, in the course of conversational turn-taking, when the role of the speaker shifts, the deictic center also shifts. A’s *I* becomes B’s *you*, A’s *here* becomes B’s *there* and so forth.

2.2.2 Place Deixis

Place deixis designates the locations of discourse participants and a referent in relation to their settings during the speech act. In other words, place deictics are linguistic expressions that indicate where discourse participants are located during the speech event (Levinson 1983: 62). Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives are among linguistic means of locating something. For example in *this is mine* and *that is yours*, ‘this’ and ‘that’ are spatial deixis of the demonstrative pronoun type. Similarly in *this book* and *that book* ‘this’ and ‘that’ are again spatial deixis but of the demonstrative adjective type. The spatial demonstratives of the majority of languages encode degrees of distance from the speaker or the addressee. As stated by Levinson “Probably most languages grammaticalize at least a distinction between proximal (or close to speaker) and distal (or non-proximal, sometimes close to addressee)...” (1983: 62). Such divisions are encoded in demonstratives as *this* vs. *that* (or *these* vs. *those*) and the deictic place adverbs as *here* vs. *there*.

Furthermore, linguistic terms that designate spatial meaning can be used non-deictically or deictically; for instance, Levinson’s (1983: 82) example “the cat is behind the car” could be interpreted in two different ways. On the one hand non-deictic in that the cat is at the rear end of the car, or on the other hand, deictic in that the cat is on the side opposite to the speaker.

2.2.3 Time Deixis

Time deixis functions to locate points or intervals on the time axis, using the moment of utterance as a reference point (Fillmore 1975: 28-37). In other words, time deictics are expressions that identify “the encoding of temporal points and spans relative to the time at which an utterance was spoken (or a written message inscribed)” (Levinson 1983: 62). Similar to other deictic features, Levinson (1983: 73) points out that time deixis references the role of the discourse participants, and he draws attention to by saying, “It is important to distinguish the moment of utterance (or inscription) or *coding time* (or CT) from the moment of reception or *receiving time* (or RT).” Furthermore, by citing

Lyons (1977), Levinson (1983) mentions that the receiving time of an utterance from its canonical situation (or the deictic center), can be assumed identical to its spoken time by the speaker. Generally, time deixis concerns the three major divisions of the time axis: (i) before the moment of an utterance (past), (ii) at the time of utterance (present), and (iii) after the time of utterance (future) (Levinson 1983: 73f).

In addition to that, time deixis depends heavily on calendric notions. This term is understood as subsuming both clock and calendar. For instance, *today*, *yesterday*, and *tomorrow*, designate, respectively, the period of 24 hours that includes the time of the speech act, the period of 24 hours preceding the one which includes the time of utterance, and the period of 24 hours which follows the one which includes the time of utterance. Thus, the preceding calendric temporal deictic expressions include both deictic information (past, present, or future) and non-deictic information—a 24 hour period, etc.—(Fillmore 1975: 73ff; Levinson 1983: 73f). Tense is also an important aspect of temporal deixis. However, its grammatical categories encode a mixture of deictic time distinctions and aspectual distinctions (Lyons 1977: 689).

Temporal deixis identifies times on co-ordinates connected with the utterance time just as spatial deixis indicates locations on co-ordinates connected with the place of utterance (Levinson 1983: 62). In English, apart from the type mentioned above, time deixis is in such deictic adverbs as *now*, *then*, *this year* and essentially in tense.

2.2.4 Social Deixis

Social deixis concerns linguistic expressions that mark the social relationships of discourse participants—superior vs. inferior, employer vs. employee, old vs. young, female vs. male, etc. In other words, according to Fillmore (1975: 76), social deixis “is the study of that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs.”

Levinson (1983: 90f) identifies two types of social deixis that may be encoded across languages; these are *relational* and *absolute*. Relational is variety of social deixis that points to a relational status between *speaker* and *referent* (referent honorifics e.g. titles.), *speaker* and *addressee* (addressee honorifics e.g. the address forms), *speaker* and *bystander* (bystander or audience honorifics or speaker to non-addressed participant e.g. taboo vocabulary) and *speaker* and *setting* (formality level, e.g. register). The absolute one refers to special forms that are reserved for certain speakers; it might be for *authorized speakers* or for *authorized recipients*. A typical example would be the words used by or addressed to a royal family such as the royal *we* as for authorized speaker and referring to a royal person *your highness* as the authorized recipient.

2.2.5 Presentative Deixis

Presentative deixis is used when a new discourse topic is to be introduced. Specially, when the speaker is presenting or handing over something, in his/her hands, to the addressee. There could be a few vocabulary items in a language that can be used as presentatives such as the French *voici* 'here is/are'. According to Diessel (1999: 79), presentative deixis is more commonly used as a single word utterance, which may stand, syntactically, independent or may be bordered to a nearer constituent.

2.2.6 Manner Deixis

Manner deixis is a category of *verbal demonstratives*, for instance, "Do it like this" with an accompanying gesture (Dixon 2010: 224). These demonstratives have three basic functions: first, they deictically refer to an actual or mimicked activity; second, they may have anaphoric function referring to an earlier mentioned activity; thirdly, they may function to introduce a direct speech (Dixon 2010: 229f). Similarly, Diessel (1999:74) maintains that, "Manner demonstratives seem to involve some sort of comparison and they are often used as discourse deictics". Manner demonstratives are category of vocabulary items that are usually glossed as 'in this way', 'like this' or 'thus' (Diessel 1999: 104).

2.2.7 Discourse Deictics

As mentioned before, discourse deixis deals with expressions within an utterance that refer to an earlier or forthcoming segment of the discourse in which the utterance itself is located (Lyons 1977: 657-77). Similarly as stated by Fillmore (1975: 70), "discourse deixis has to do with the choice of lexical or grammatical elements which indicate or otherwise refer to some portion or aspect of the ongoing discourse—something like, for example 'the former'." Fillmore (1975) compares the similarity between time deixis and discourse deixis saying that, "Most commonly, the terms of discourse deixis are taken from systems of deictic and non-deictic time semantics... [and thus] any point in a discourse can be thought of as a point in time...." Therefore, the current portion of discourse can be viewed as present in time, the preceding portion as past or earlier in time and the following portion as occurring later in time. In addition, discourse deixis uses terms of non-deictic time semantics, such as *earlier* and *later* as well as the phrases like *the preceding X* and *the following X*, to indicate the relation of the referred segment or the currently read sentence to the temporal locus of the moment of speaking or reading.

Place deictic terms of *this* and *that* can function as discourse deictics. The former can be used to point at a forthcoming portion of a discourse and the latter to point at a preceding portion of a discourse (Fillmore 1975: 71; Levinson 1983: 85).

Lyons (1977: 657ff) and Levinson (1983: 85) differentiate discourse deixis from anaphora. Anaphora concerns a pronoun that is used to refer to the same entity like a prior or a forthcoming

another expression that comes later in a discourse or text. For example, *I said this/the following...*, where, the meaning of *this* or *the following* is specified by the subsequent context (Crystal, 2008).

Discourse deixis is also endophoric. As pointed out above, in this situation, too, a pronoun refers back or forward within a discourse or text for its interpretation. In the case of anaphora/catephora, the entity referred to is the same as that the antecedent/following expression refers to. But in the case of discourse deixis, reference is limited to a preceding or following expression itself.

To sum up, based on the concepts discussed in this chapter that are related to deixis, I will describe in the next chapter the Somali deictics.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DEIXIS IN SOMALI

Deixis is about discourse participants, place, time, and the identification of entities, events, processes and activities that are indicated in a discourse (Hanks 2009: 11; Lyons 1977: 637). The discourse participants are the first person as a speaker, the second person as an addressee and the third person as a person who is neither the speaker nor the addressee but the one the speaker is pointing to or referring to in the discourse. Hence, the third person may be an individual or an entity that is present in the discourse situation; in other words, it is persons, entities, events, processes and activities that are indicated in the discourse. Place and time are the spatial and temporal points that are relative to the participants' location and the utterance's moment in a communication act. The Somali language categorizes these phenomena of deixis into different linguistic forms. There are different paradigms of personal pronouns for discourse participants and for entities that are talked about in the discourse. In addition to the personal pronouns, there exist words pointing place and time. In addition, there are words used as social, presentative, manner, and discourse deictics. In the following sections, the different types of deixis in Somali and their usages will be described.

3.1 Person Deixis

In Somali, there are four paradigms of personal pronouns. One paradigm is that of independent personal pronouns, for that they can syntactically stand independently. The other three paradigms of the pronouns are grammatical types and they are different from the independent pronouns in that they are clitics.

3.1.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

There are eight categories of personal pronouns: three in the first person, two in the second person and three in the third person as can be observed in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Independent pronouns

Person	Pronoun	Gloss
1S	<i>ani(-)</i>	'I, me'
1P (incl.)	<i>ina-</i>	'we, us'
1P (excl.)	<i>ana-</i>	'we, us'
2S	<i>adi(-)</i>	'you'
2P	<i>idin-</i>	'you'
3SM	<i>isa-</i>	'he, him'
3SF	<i>ija-</i>	'she, her'
3P	<i>ija-</i>	'they, them'

Syntactically these pronouns occur independently while morphologically they occur in combination with the determiners that suffix—except the first person and the second person singular pronouns, which can occur with or without the determiners as in the following example.

- (1). *ani/ani-ga ajaa u tagi doon-a adi-g-u-na i-ga daba kaalaj*
 I/ I-DEF.M FOC to go.INF wish-PRS you-DEF.M-NOM-and me-from behind come.IMP
 'I will go to, and come after me.'

In Table 3, the difference between the two forms of 1P is that, the form *ina-* 'we' includes the addressee(s), while the form *ana-* 'we' does not include. Though the 3SF and 3P have the same form *ija-*, usually the determiners⁶ that occur after these forms as well as verbal agreements differentiate them. The independent pronouns⁷ with the definite article are listed in the following table.

Table 4: Independent pronoun plus the Definite Article

Person	Pronoun+DEF	Gloss
1s	<i>ani-ga</i>	'I, me'
1P (incl.)	<i>ina-ga</i>	'we, us'
1P (excl.)	<i>ana-ga</i>	'we, us'
2s	<i>adi-ga</i>	'you'
2P	<i>idin-ka</i>	'you'
3SM	<i>isa-ga</i>	'he, him'
3SF	<i>ija-da</i>	'she, her'
3P	<i>ija-ga</i>	'they, them'

Regarding the initial consonants of the determiners, they undergo specific sound alterations⁸. The common determiners that suffix to the independent pronouns as well as to the nouns in the language are given in the following table.

⁶ The determiner's initial consonant identifies the gender of the referent: when it is *k-* the gender of the referent is masculine, and when it is *t-* the gender of the referent is feminine. However, most of the nouns in Somali reverse their gender when they become plural—that is known as gender polarity (Saeed 1993: 125).

⁷ The nouns of the language are differentiated by two genders: masculine and feminine, for example, *ṣadṣeed-da* lit. sun-DEF.F 'the sun' and *dajaḥ-ha* lit. moon-DEF.M 'the moon'; for the independent pronouns, only 3SF is feminine and all the remaining ones are formally masculine in gender.

⁸ Based on the last segment of the pronouns or nouns to which the determiners are suffixed, *k-* occurs as [k], [g], [h] or it is dropped. For instance /k/ becomes [g] after /g/, /j/, /w/, or /i/ e.g. *odaj-ka* lit. elder-the becomes [odaj-ga] 'the elder', *guri-ka* lit. house-the, becomes [guri-ga] 'the house', etc.; it becomes [h] after all vowels except /i/ e.g. *gabdo-ka* lit. girls-the becomes [gabda-ha] 'the girls'; and, it is dropped after /s/, /h/, /x/, /q/, /h/, or /ʔ/ e.g. *magaṣ-ka* lit. name-the becomes [magaṣa] 'the name', etc. When it occurs after all other sounds, it remains /k/. Similarly, the feminine determiner *t-* occurs as [t], [d] or [d]; for instances, /t/ becomes [d] after all vowels and /d, /h/, e.g.; it becomes /d/ after [d] e.g. *gabad-ta* lit. girl-the' becomes [gabad-dā] 'the girl'; it changes to with as /s/ after [l] e.g. *dabajl-ta* lit. wind-the becomes [dabaj-fā] 'the wind', etc.; and after all other sounds it remains /t/ (Saeed 1993: 161f).

Table 5: Determiners

		Gender		Gloss	
		M	F		
DETERMINERS	Article	Definite	<i>ka</i>	<i>ta</i>	‘the’
		Proximal	<i>kan</i>	<i>tan</i>	‘this’
	Demonstratives	Distal	<i>kaa</i>	<i>taa</i>	‘that’
		Distal Contrastive	<i>kaas</i>	<i>taas</i>	‘that’ (contrastive to this/that)
		Anaphor/ Anaphoric	<i>kii</i>	<i>tii</i>	‘that’ (anaphoric)
		Interrogative	<i>kee</i>	<i>tee</i>	‘which one?’
		Possessive Pronouns	1s	<i>kaj-</i>	<i>taj-</i>
	1p(incl.)		<i>keen-</i>	<i>teen-</i>	‘our’
	1p(excl.)		<i>kaajo-</i>	<i>taajo-</i>	‘our’
	2s		<i>kaa-</i>	<i>taa-</i>	‘your (s)’
	2p		<i>kiin-</i>	<i>tiin-</i>	‘your (p)’
	3SM		<i>kiis-</i>	<i>tiis-</i>	‘his’
	3SF		<i>keed-</i>	<i>teed-</i>	‘her’
	3P		<i>kood-</i>	<i>tood-</i>	‘their’

The independent pronouns can occur in a subject position as well as in the object position. For instance, *ani/ ani-ga* ‘I’ is the subject of example (1) above; on the other hand, *ani-ga* ‘me’ accompanied by a focus marker is the object in the following sentence.

- (2). *ani-ga ajaa uu i siin doon-aa*
 me-DEF.M FOC he me give.INF wish-PRS
 ‘He will give me.’

In addition, the independent pronouns can be heads of focused subordinate clauses as can be seen in the following example.

- (3). *ija-da oo qaad-aj-s-a, ajaa aanu arak-n-aj*
 she-DEFF CONJ take-PRG-3SF-PRS FOC we see-3P-PST
 ‘While she was taking, we saw.’

Furthermore, with regard to person marking on the verb, only 3SF and 3P are marked; and the present tense marker occurs as $-a^{10}$ as shown in Table 6 below.

⁹ The possessive personal pronouns agree with the gender of the possessed referent but not with gender of the possessor.

¹⁰ This form is the non-past tense form that occurs with focused subject in sentences as well as in relative clauses. By itself, it indicates present tense; and co-occurring with lexical aspects, it indicates both present progressive and future.

Table 6: Pronominal Agreement of the Independent Pronouns in Verbs

Person	Past	Gloss	Present	Gloss	Agreement
1s	<i>tag-aj</i>	'I went'	<i>tag-a</i>	'I go'	∅
1p (incl.)	<i>tag-n-aj</i>	'we went'	<i>tag-n-a</i>	'we go'	-n-
1p (excl.)	<i>tag-n-aj</i>	'we went'	<i>tag-n-a</i>	'we go'	-n-
2s	<i>tag-aj</i>	'you went'	<i>tag-a</i>	'you go'	∅
2p	<i>tag-aj</i>	'you went'	<i>tag-a</i>	'you go'	∅
3sf	<i>tag-t-aj</i>	'she went'	<i>tag-t-a</i>	'she goes'	-t-
3sm	<i>tag-aj</i>	'he went'	<i>tag-a</i>	'he goes'	∅
3p	<i>tag-aj</i>	'they went'	<i>tag-a</i>	'they go'	∅

In these functions, the personal pronouns are different from other nouns in that they deictically refer and again deictically contrast the discourse persons or objects. One can argue that, this must be the reason some scholars call the independent pronouns as 'substantive pronouns' (Andrzjewski, 1961: 80ff; Saeed, 1993: 171). Further, Saeed (1993: 171) refers to the independent pronouns as 'emphatic'. The following examples illustrate how the independent pronouns play an emphatic role. Note that forms in parentheses are optional, can move to different syntactic positions and also be dropped; also note that the word written in capital is focused.

- (4) a. (*ani-g-u*) (*isa-ga*) *buug baa-aan sii-j-aj*¹¹
 (I-the-NOM) (him-the) book FOC-I give-EP-PST
 'I gave him a BOOK.'
- b. (*isa-ga*) *buug baa-aan sii-j-aj* (*ani-g-u*)
 (him-the) book FOC-I give-EP-PST (I-the-NOM)
 'I gave him a BOOK.'
- c. *buug baa* (*ani-g-u*) *aan* (*isa-ga*) *sii-j-aj*
 book FOC (I-the-NOM) I (him-the) give-EP-PST
 'I gave him a BOOK.'
- d. *buug baa-aan* (*ani-g-u*) (*isa-ga*) *sii-j-aj*
 book FOC-I (I-the-NOM) (him-the) give-EP-PST
 'I gave him a BOOK.'

In examples set (4), except between the nominal focus particle *baa* and the focused noun *buug*, the pronouns occur freely in different syntactic positions within the sentences. In addition, when an optional pronoun occurs in a subject position, it is marked with the nominative case as in the form

¹¹ Concerning the epenthetic consonant *j*, in Somali, as stated by Saeed (1993: 29), "There is a general tendency to avoid sequences of independent vowels, i.e. V-V, by inserting a dividing or epenthetic consonant." For instances, *mindī* 'a knife' and plural *mindī-j-o* 'knives' (Saeed 1993: 29).

ani-g-u in the above set of examples. However, when a pronoun occurs as an object, it is not marked and is, in fact, absolutive as it can be seen from the form *isa-ga* in the above set, too. While, the object and the subject forms may be distinguished, the orders in which they occur are unpredictable. Furthermore, skipping the pronouns does not make the sentence lose its meaning. For instance, the sentences in set (4), without the pronouns, is repeated in example (5) below; and, pragmatically have the same meaning.

- (5). *buug baa-aan sii-j-aj*
 book FOC-I give-EP-PST
 'I gave a BOOK'

It is clear in (4) that the pronouns are optional elements, and, therefore, one could generalize in this syntactic positions, the personal pronouns function as only emphasis, and that must be the reason that some scholars called the pronouns as 'emphatic pronouns' (Saeed: 1993: 71f).

3.1.2 Dependent Personal Pronouns

The dependent pronouns differ from the independent pronouns in that, they are clitics which do not stand by themselves like the independent ones. They co-occur with a verb and their position, in relation to the verb piece is fixed¹² (Saeed 1993: 173). They occur only in a preverbal position (Andrzejewski 1961: 93f). They are two types: subject and object pronouns.

3.1.2.1 Dependent Subject Pronouns

The forms of the dependent subject pronouns are different from the forms of the independent pronouns we have seen in the preceding section for that they do not stand syntactically independent rather they are clitics which depend other syntactic constituents. The following table lists the forms of subject dependent pronouns.

Table 7: Dependent Subject Pronouns

Person	Pronoun	Gloss
1S	<i>-aan</i>	'I'
1P (incl.)	<i>-ajnu</i>	'we'
1P (excl.)	<i>-aanu/aan</i>	'we'
2S	<i>-aad</i>	'you'
2P	<i>-ajdin/aad</i>	'you'
3SM	<i>-uu</i>	'he'
3SF	<i>-aj</i>	'she'
3P	<i>-aj</i>	'they'

¹² According to Saeed (1993: 216), "the verbal piece is the basic element of a sentence and consists obligatorily of a verb and, optionally, of verbal pronouns, locative and deictic prepositions."

The 3SF and 3P of the subject pronouns occur with the same form *aj*; however, verbal agreements distinguish them as in the following examples.

- (6) a. *waa-aj j-imaad-ee-n*¹³ [waj jimaadeen]
 DCL-they EP-come-PST-3P
 ‘They have come.’
- b. *waa-aj t-imid*
 DCL-she 3SF-come.PST
 ‘She has come.’

In (6b), the third person singular feminine pronoun cliticized to the ‘classifier’¹⁴ and the third person singular feminine pronoun cliticized to the verb co-refer to the same person, that is, the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, *j-* in (6a), is an epenthetic consonant since it is preceded by the palatal approximant /j/—which has partially the quality of front high vowel /i/—and followed by a vowel.

In Somali, the pronominal agreements in the verbs of the 1s and 3SM occur in same form, that means, they are not marked at all. The table below shows the agreements of the dependent subject pronouns that are marked on the verb (cf. Table 6).

Table 8: Dependent Subject Pronouns as Agreement on a Verb

Person	Past	Gloss	Present	Gloss	Agreement	
					Person	Number
1S	<i>tag-aj</i>	‘I went’	<i>tag-aa</i>	‘I go’	∅	∅
1P (incl.)	<i>tag-n-aj</i>	‘we went’	<i>tag-n-aa</i>	‘we go’	-n-	∅
1P (excl.)	<i>tag-n-aj</i>	‘we went’	<i>tag-n-aa</i>	‘we go’	-n-	∅
2S	<i>tag-t-aj</i>	‘you went’	<i>tag-t-aa</i>	‘you go’	-t-	∅
2P	<i>tag-t-aj-n</i> [tagteen]	‘you went (P)’	<i>tag-t-aa-n</i>	‘you go (P)’	-t-	-n
3SF	<i>tag-t-aj</i>	‘she went’	<i>tag-t-aa</i>	‘she goes’	-t-	∅
3SM	<i>tag-aj</i>	‘he went’	<i>tag-aa</i>	‘he goes’	∅	∅
3P	<i>tag-aj-n</i> [tageen]	‘they went’	<i>tag-aa-n</i>	‘they go’	∅	-n

In the table, we can observe five persons and two numbers that are marked on the verb and the non-past tense form lengthens to *-aa*¹⁵.

¹³ I consider *j* as an epenthetic consonant since it is preceded by the palatal approximant /j/, which is the coda of the 3P of the subject pronoun *-aj* and followed by a vowel. This epenthetic process can be seen clearly in 1S and 3SM pronouns’ agreement which are not marked in the verb as : *waa-aan imid* ‘I have arrived’ vs. *waa-uu j-imid* ‘he has come’.

¹⁴ Classifiers are a group of words that occur with verbs and distinguish sentence types (statement, question, command, etc.). Classifiers do not have their own meanings (Saeed 1993: 6).

¹⁵ This form is the non-past nominative tense form. By itself, it indicates present tense and co-occurring with lexical aspects, it indicates both present progressive and future.

Apart from the personal subject pronouns there is an impersonal subject pronoun *la* ‘one’ and a reflexive pronoun *is* ‘self’. In the following set, in (7a) the pronoun is impersonal while in (7b) it is reflexive.

- (7) a. *waa la qaad-aj*
 DCL one take-PST
 ‘One took’
- b. *waa uu is dil-aj.*
 DCL he self kill-PST
 ‘He committed suicide.’ Lit. He killed self

The impersonal pronoun *la* agrees with the verb as 3SM and the reflexive pronoun *is* remains the same for all persons. The following section will illustrate the object dependent pronouns.

3.1.2.2 Dependent Object Pronouns

The dependent object pronouns make two paradigms which Saeed (1993: 175ff, 216) calls 1st and 2nd series object verbal pronouns. By that, he means direct object and indirect (prepositional). In this paper, I have indicated the two paradigms as direct and indirect dependent object pronouns. In the table below are given the Somali direct and indirect dependent pronouns.

Table 9: Dependent Object Pronouns

Persons	Pronouns		Gloss
	Direct	Indirect	
1S	<i>i</i>	<i>kaj</i>	‘me’
1P (incl.)	<i>ina</i>	<i>keen</i>	‘us’
1P (excl.)	<i>na</i>	<i>kaajo</i>	‘us’
2S	<i>ku</i>	<i>kaa</i>	‘you’
2P	<i>idin</i>	<i>kiin</i>	‘you’
3SM/3SF/3P	∅	∅	‘him/her/it/them’

The absence of a pronoun will be understood as the third person object pronoun, that is, 3SM, 3SF or 3P. In (8a), we have a dependent subject pronoun and a dependent direct object pronoun; while in (8b), we have a dependent subject pronoun and no formal third person object pronoun.

- (8) a. *waa-aan idin ark-aj* [waan idin arkaj]
 DCL I 2P see-PST
 ‘I have seen you.’
- b. *waa-aan ark-aj*
 DCL-I see-PST
 ‘I have seen.’

The dependent indirect object pronouns occur seldom, that is, only when two object pronoun forms meet in the verbal piece. In (9a), the indirect object *kiin* ‘you’ follows the direct object *i* ‘me’ and in the reverse order of the pronouns is observed in (9b).

- (9) a. *waa-aj i-ku kiin arag-t-aj* [waj igu kiin aragtaj]
 DCL-she 1S-LOC 2P see-3SF-PST
 (i). ‘She has seen me with you’
 (ii). ‘She has seen you with me’
- b. *waa-aj idin-ku kaj arag-t-aj*
 DCL-she 2P-LOC 1S see-3SF-PST
 (i). ‘She has seen you(P) with me.’
 (ii). ‘She has seen me with you (P).’

Although both (9a) and (9b) are acceptable, (9b) is pragmatically less favored. Beside the direct and the indirect object constructions there is also the reflexive pronoun construction as seen in (10) below.

- (10). *mar-kaas-aj t-iri waajahee, adi aan is-ku kaa bedelo ee*
 point-DST.M-FOC.she 3SF-say.PST ok.CONJ you I self-to you replace.MOD CONJ
 ‘Then she said, “Ok!” and (i). “let me replace myself to you.”/
 (ii). “let you replace me to yourself.” [SED\12\13]¹⁶

As also observed above, the same construction can have two different meanings due to the fact that the reflexive pronoun associates once with the first person singular of the dependent subject pronoun at another instance with the second person singular pronoun of the dependent indirect object pronoun.

Regarding person deixis, we have seen about both subject and object independent pronouns, both subject and object dependent pronouns as well as the direct and the indirect forms of the latter. Furthermore, we have seen the impersonal pronoun and the reflexive pronoun functioning as deictic elements.

3.2 Place Deixis

In Somali, place deixis is expressed in different deictic linguistic forms. These deictics include demonstratives, place adverbs, directional deictics of space and time as well as relational locatives. The following sections will illustrate the features of the Somali place deixis.

3.2.1 Demonstratives

These are deictic expressions that indicate the relative distance of a referent in speech situation in relation to the deictic center. The deictic center is defined by the speaker’s location at the time of

¹⁶ Cross-referencing code to annotations.

utterance. All languages have at least two demonstratives that indicate a deictic contrast between proximal (or close to speaker) and distal (far from the speaker, sometimes close to the addressee) referent, and there are languages that employ more than two distance terms (Diessel, 1999: 2f; Levinson, 1983: 62). In Somali, there are three spatial demonstrative forms: *kan*, *kaa*, and *kaas* (masculine) and the feminine counter parts *tan*, *taa*, and *kaas*. The distinction between the three demonstratives is illustrated by the sets of examples below.

(11) a. *kan qaad*
 this.M take.IMP
 'Take this.'

b. *tan qaad*
 this.F take.IMP
 'Take this.'

c. *ku-j-o-kan qaad* [kuwan qaad]
 IND.M-EP-P-this.M take.IMP
 'Take these.'

(12) a. *kaa qaad*
 that.M take.IMP
 'Take that'

b. *taa qaad*
 that.F take.IMP
 'Take that'

c. *ku-j-o-kaa qaad* [kuwaa qaad]
 IND.M-EP-P-that.M take.IMP
 'Take those'

(13) a. *kaas qaad*
 that.M take.IMP
 'Take that'

b. *taas qaad*
 that.F take.IMP
 'Take that'

c. *ku-j-o-kaas qaad* [kuwaas qaad]
 IND.M-EP-P-that.M take.IMP
 'Take those'

The forms in set (11) are proximal demonstrative differentiated by gender marked in the initial consonant of the demonstrative, that is, *k-* for masculine and *t-* for feminine. The form in (11a) refers to a masculine object while the one in (11b) refers to a feminine object. In terms of number, however, these demonstratives are neutral but the pronoun or the noun which they modify takes a number affix; for instance, in (11c), the indefinite pronoun *ku* is suffixed by the plural marker *-o*. On the other hand, the other two forms in sets (12) and (13) are distal demonstratives but are

different. In (12), the demonstrator just points to a distal object from the speaker location, while the form in (13) does not only point to a distal object but also does particularize it from or contrast to another proximal or distal object. The following Figure 3, schematically, demonstrates the distance of the objects referred by the demonstratives.

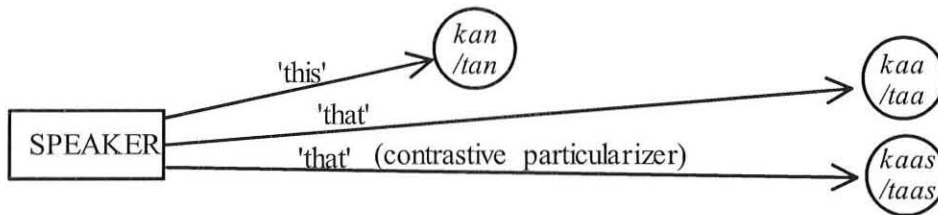


Figure 3: The Referents of the Demonstratives

In addition, the referents of the proximal demonstrative *kan/tan* and distal demonstrative *kaa/taa* and *kaas/taas* in the above figure may connote reverse meaning if the discourse participants are in different locations. That means what is near to the speaker is far from the addressee and what is far from the speaker is near to the addressee. The following example indicates the location of the speaker being far from or different from the location of the addressee.

- (14). *guri-gan adu soo gal*
house-this.M you.NOM VENTIVE enter.IMP
‘Enter this house.’ lit. Come and enter this house. [SED\013\010]

The form *kan/tan* that indicates an object near to the speaker also indicates an object far from the addressee in (14). On the other hand, the form *kaa/taa* that indicates an object far from the speaker also indicates an object near to the addressee. For instance, in (15) below, an individual who was looking for a fire to light his cigarette asks another one, who was nearby and smoking a cigarette, for fire.

- (15). *dab-kaa ii qiib*
fire-that.M me.for give
‘Give me that fire.’

The above demonstrative forms function, syntactically, as a pronoun as in (16a) below, and as a nominal modifiers as in (14) repeated in (16b) below.

- (16) a. *tan-i waa walaal-taj* [tani waa walaafaj]
this.F-NOM DCL sister-my.F
‘This is my sister.’
- b. *guri-gan ad-u soo gal...*
house-this.M you-NOM VENTIVE enter. IMP
‘Enter this house.’ lit. ‘Come on and enter this house’ [SED\013\010]

In (16a), the demonstrative pronoun occurs in a subject position and it is marked by nominative case *-i*, which is different from the nominative form *-u* that the independent pronoun *adi* in (16b) is marked by. Also, as a determiner and in an object position, the demonstrative can be observed in (16b) modifying the noun *guri* ‘house’.

3.2.2 Locative Adverbs

These locative adverbs indicate a deictic location or direction by occurring in combination with the demonstratives. The adverbs can be seen in the following examples.

(17) a. *hal-kan*
point-this.M
‘Here’

b. *ħag-kan* [ħaggan]
direction-this.M
‘This direction’ (sometimes ‘here’)

(18) a. *hal-kaas*
point-that.M
‘There’

b. *ħag-kaas* [ħaggaas]
direction-that.M.
‘That direction’ (sometimes ‘there’)

In (17a) and (18a), *hal* ‘a point in space’, and in (17b) and (18b) *ħag* ‘a direction’, together in combination with proximal and distal demonstratives, function as locative adverbs of *here* and *there*. There is always a gesture that accompanies the demonstratives except when the proximal *kan* follows the adverbs which may have a symbolic meaning (see symbolic usage in section 4.1.2).

3.2.3 Directional Deictics

The directional deictics *soo* and *sii* as well as their functions in the language can be summarized as conceptualized by Fillmore (1975: 28) by the movement metaphors of time and world. In the *moving time* metaphor, we can assume that the *next day* ‘tomorrow’ is coming to reach the world to its static points. On the other hand, in the *moving world* metaphor, we can assume the *next day* ‘tomorrow’ as static point and thus the world is going to reach that point. About these metaphors, Anderson and Kenaan (1985: 296) state, “Basically there are two distinct ways of representing the passage of time....” Concerning these two representations, they say “one may either think of ‘the world’ as constant, and of time as flowing past it from the future to the past; or one may think of time itself as constant, and of ‘the world’ as passing through it from the past in two the future”.

These two metaphorical are practical viewed by common people in terms of the sun moving toward or away from them; or time moving from the future to the present and then to the past. The Somali

directional deictics *soo* and *sii* function from the viewpoint of the preceding notions. Thus, the particle *soo* functions as:

- a) the sun rising and moving to the top of the horizon while our world is constant and the time moves from the future to the present;

On the other hand, the particle *sii* functions from the viewpoint of:

- b) the sun moving in the post-meridian direction away from us to the future. Our world also moves in that direction through time.

From the perspective of the above notions, the Somali particles of *soo* (VENTIVE) and *sii* (ITIVE) are deictic elements that are used to indicate spatial and temporal directionality of a moving entity that is coming to or going from the deictic center. In the following two examples, the verb is a motion verb *sofod* 'movement'. The particle *soo* has only one contextual meaning while *sii* has four different contextual meanings. NB: the speaker and the addressee are in a face to face communication.

(19). *soo sofod*
VENT walk.IMP
'Move to here.' (come here)

(20). *sii sofod*
ITIV walk.IMP
i. 'Move (until you reach your habitat)'
ii. 'Move (I am coming after you)'
iii. 'Move (someone else is coming after you)'
iv. 'Move (until you meet someone who is coming)'

In (19), the moving entity is the subject of the sentence and the deictic center is the constant world and is hypothesis (a). In (20), all interpretations are that of hypothesis (b) where the moving entity is the sun to the post-meridian direction while the world is moving toward the sun. However, the moving world is defined by the situational context.

On the other hand, when the semantics of the verb is motionless, the function of the directional deictics may or may not differ from their functions on a motion verb. For instance, in the following example, the verb has non-motion semantics, and the particle *soo* brings two contextual meanings of a same expression. In the first context, the speaker is talking via telephone and suggesting to his friend, who is coming to the speaker's location, to have his dine during on the way to the speaker's location; and in the second context, the speaker is telling to the addressee (in face to face communication) to go and have his dine (at somewhere) and then come back to the speakers location.

(21). *soo sun*

VENT eat.2S.IMP

- i. 'eat! (while you are on the way to here)'
- ii. 'eat! (go and come back to here)'

The above two interpretations are from hypothesis (a) in that the subject of the sentence (the addressee) is the moving sun to the horizon while the deictic center (the speaker) is the constant world.

On the other hand, the particle *sii* in the following example of a same expression brings four different meanings in four different contexts. In the first context, the partners are waiting to watch a match that is going to start after two hours from the TV (face to face communication). In the second context, the subject of the sentence is in a trip and the speaker is suggesting to the addressee to have his dine some time before reaching his destination point (via telephone or face to face communication). In the third context, the speaker is involved linguistically unspoken motions, which is outgoing and returning to the addressee's location (face to face communication); and in the fourth context, the discourse partners do not involve any movement but a third person who is coming to their location (face to face communication).

(22). *sii qadee*

ITIVE dine.IMP

- i. 'have a dine! (until the game begins)'
- ii. 'have a dine! (before the time you reach there)'
- iii. 'have a dine! (before the time I will come back to here)'
- iv. 'have a dine! (until the someone comes to here)'

Concerning with the interpretations of (22), all are from hypothesis (b) in that the moving entity is the world while the time is constant and of the world passing it through from the present to the future. For instance, in interpretation (i), the deictic center is passing constant two hours from the present to the future in which the game begins.

Lastly, for descriptions and illustrations of the directional deixis of the Somali language and the different notions in space and time of the particles that are presented in this paper are left for further research. The following sub-section presents the linguistic expressions that function for locating spatial relative sides and directions of entities.

3.2.4 Locatives of Relative Sides and Directions

In Somali, there are locative linguistic expressions that indicate spatial references of entities. The locatives point to the relational sides and directions of entities without a fixed deictic center. These locatives may occur as nouns, as adverbs, as adjectives and as verbs. The following table lists the locative nouns, and adverbs.

Table 10: Locative Nouns and Adverbs of Place

№	Noun	Literal	Gloss	Adverb	Gloss
1.	<i>hor-tiis-sa</i> [hortiissa]	front-his.F-DEF	'the his/its front'	<i>hor</i>	'in front'
2.	<i>dabo-tiis-sa</i> [dabodiissa]	tail-his.F-DEF	'the his/its tail'	<i>dabo</i>	'behind'
3.	<i>hoos-tiis-sa</i> [hoostiissa]	beneath-his.F-DEF	'the his/its bottom'	<i>hoos</i>	'underneath'
4.	<i>kor-kiis-sa</i> [korkiissa]	above-his.M-DEF	'the his/its top (space)'	<i>kor</i>	'above'
5.	<i>dul-tiis-sa</i> [dushiissa]	top-his.F-DEF	'the his/its top (surface)'	<i>dul</i>	'on top'
6.	<i>ag-tiis-sa</i> [agtiissa]	near-his.F-DEF	'the his/its near (proximity)'	<i>ag</i>	'near proximity'
7.	<i>bidih-tiis-sa</i> [bidihdiissa]	left-his.F-DEF	'the his/its left'	-	-
8.	<i>midig-tiis-sa</i> [midigtiissa]	right-his.F-DEF	'the his/its right'	-	-

When the place locatives function as nouns, in the Somali language, an object is assumed as it has a front side, backside, top surface, upper space, lower space and a surrounding near space. Thus, each relative side and direction is expressed by a noun. The noun, together in combination with the possessive pronouns, points to an object's relational side, a direction, or its spatial location. Therefore, the locative noun locates a subject location in relation to the object's relative coordinate sides of space and time as *in front of X* or *after X* as in set (23) below.

(23) a. *guri-ga hor-tiis-sa*
house-DEF.M front-his.F-DEF.F
'In front of the house'

b. *Ɔasar-ka dabo-dii*
asr-DEF.M tail-his.F
'Late afternoon, after the *asr*¹⁷.' (lit. The tail of the *asr*.)

Furthermore, these spatial and temporal locative nouns agree with the different persons. The following table lists different persons and the locative nouns of place and time.

Table 11: Locative Nouns of Place and Time

Person	Place	Gloss	Time	Gloss
1S	<i>hor-taj-da</i>	'the my front'	<i>hor-taj</i>	'my front'
1P (exc.)	<i>hor-tajo-da</i>	'the our front'	<i>hor-tajo</i>	'our front'
1P (incl.)	<i>hor-teen-na</i>	'the our front'	<i>hor-teen</i>	'our front'
2S	<i>hor-taa-da</i>	'the your front'	<i>hor-taa</i>	'your front'
2P	<i>hor-tiin-na</i>	'the your front'	<i>hor-tiin</i>	'your front'
3SM	<i>hor-tiis-sa</i>	'the his/its front'	<i>hor-tii</i>	'his/its front'
3SF	<i>hor-teed-da</i>	'the her/its front'	<i>hor-teed</i>	'her/its front'
3P	<i>hor-tood-da</i>	'the their front'	<i>hor-tood</i>	'their front'

In Table 10 above, except (7) and (8) the locative nouns occur as locative adverbs. The locative adverbs point to an action of a subject or a state of an object to the relational side of another object as 'the action or state of Y locates in relation to the relational side of X'. In the following sentence, the

¹⁷ The Arabic terms for the prayer at 3:00 pm—4:00 pm.

locative adverb *dabo* ‘tail’ locates the verb *sofod* ‘motion’ of the subject to a location behind another object.

- (24). *waa-uu daba sofod-aa*
 DCL-he tail move-PRS
 ‘He/it is walking behind’

On the other hand, first four locative nouns and adverbs, in Table 10, function also as locative adjectives and verbs. The locatives are listed in the table below together with other locative adjectives and verbs.

Table 12: Locative Adjectives and Verbs

	Adjective	Gloss	Verbs	Gloss
1.	<i>hore</i>	‘former/front/ early’	<i>horee</i>	‘be front’
2.	<i>danbe</i>	‘last/back/latter/later’	<i>danbee</i>	‘be last’
3.	<i>hoose</i>	‘lower’	<i>hoosee</i>	‘be lower’
4.	<i>kore</i>	‘top’	<i>koree</i>	‘be top’
5.	<i>sare</i>	‘higher’	<i>saree</i>	‘be higher’
6.	<i>fog</i>	‘far’	<i>fogee</i>	‘make far’
7.	<i>qaw</i>	‘near’	<i>qawee</i>	‘make near’
8.	<i>soke</i>	‘nearer’	<i>sokee</i>	‘be nearer’
9.	<i>fiife</i>	‘farther’	<i>fiifee</i>	‘be farther’

The locative verbs indicate to the positional state or action state that a subject occurs in relation to the position or action of another subject of a similar state based on their coordinating instinct sides or the speaker’s point of view. For instance, the expressions would be as *X precedes Y* and must be at the same time *Y follows X* as in (25) below.

- (25) a. *waa-uu ka danbee-j-aa*
 DCL-he from back-EP-PRS
 ‘He/it is following’
- b. *waa-aj ka horee-j-s-aa*
 DCL-she from front-EP-3SF-PRS
 ‘She/ it is leading (space).’

On the other hand, a locative adjective locates two objects from their instinct relative sides plus the viewpoint of the speaker; or, from their positional order in relation to the speaker side. For examples,

- (26) a. *gaadi-ga danbe*
 car-the back
 ‘The back car’
- b. *nin-ka soke*
 man-the nearer
 ‘The nearer man’

By using the locative adjective *danbe*, in (26a), the speaker locates a car by referring at the backside of another car. It could mean the actual position and order of the two objects based on their instinct relational orientations plus the direction of the speaker from the two objects. Alternatively, it could be the case that one car locates between the referent and the speaker. However, in (26b), the adjective *soke* ‘nearer’ locates an individual with a fixed deictic center that means two individuals are located based on their distance to the speaker’s location as ‘nearer’ and ‘farther’. In addition to the place deictics that has been discussed in the preceding sections, the following sections will discuss types of time deixis that are observed in the Somali language.

3.3 Time Deixis

In Somali, there are different types of temporal deictic terms that function as time deixis. Some of the time deictics are adverbs that point to specific temporal points in relation to the deictic center. One is *had* ‘now’; which points to the time of the deictic center and of its relative coordinates; another is *mar* ‘time point’, which specifies time points in the time line to the deictic center. There are also lexicalized time adverbs, which count the coordinating calendric diurnal and nocturnal cycles of the deictic center. Further, there are clock time words as well as other words, which indicate specific journey types and their starting points. Besides these temporal deictic lexical terms, the language employs also tense.

3.3.1 Time Adverbs

As noted above, in Somali, several time adverbs specify the relative time coordinates of the deictic center. The most important words are *had* ‘now’ and *mar* ‘time point’.

3.3.1.1 *had* ‘now’

The word *had* ‘now’ designates three different time points when it occurs in combination with a definite article *-ta*, the middle distance demonstrator *-teer*¹⁸ and the adjective *dow* ‘near’ as diagrammatically shown in the following time line figure.

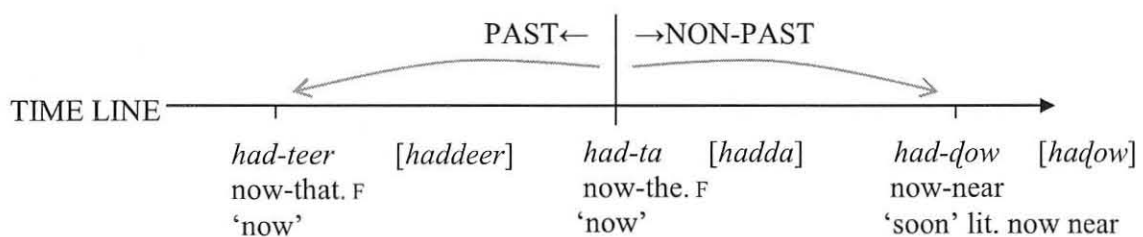


Figure 4: *had* 'now'

¹⁸ Though it is not observed elsewhere in this paper, according to Saeed (1993), it is a medial distal demonstrator of a feminine object.

The word *had* is modified by the feminine definite article *ta* which makes the adverb the central time point, which refers to the time of the speech act. The other two are relative coordinates of the central point: one as past and the other as future. In the past coordinate, the medial demonstrative *teer*, which is observed only in this function, modifies the word *had* and makes it past; and in the future coordinate, the adjective *qow* ‘near’ modifies the word *had* and makes it point to a future time. In (27a), the individual arrived just at the time of the utterance while, in (27b), he arrived a little before the time of the utterance.

(27) a. *had-da ajaa-uu j-imid*
 now-DEF.F FOC-he EP-come.PST
 ‘He has come just now’ (the person can be seen)

b. *had-deer ajaa-uu j-imid*
 now-that FOC-he EP-come.PST
 ‘He has come now’ (just a little before the moment of the utterance)

There are other lexical words that substitute the central temporal adverb *hadda* ‘now’. These are adverbs like *imika*, *eega* and *haatan* each of them meaning ‘now’.

3.3.1.2 *mar* ‘time point’

In addition to the time adverbs of *had*, in Somali, the deictic adverb *mar* ‘a point in the time line’; functions as time adverb as well as discourse connector (see section 3.7). As a temporal adverb, together with the adjectives *fog* ‘far’ and *qaw* ‘near’, it locates a coordinate time point to deictic center. Schematically, the following figure shows the time adverbs of *mar*.

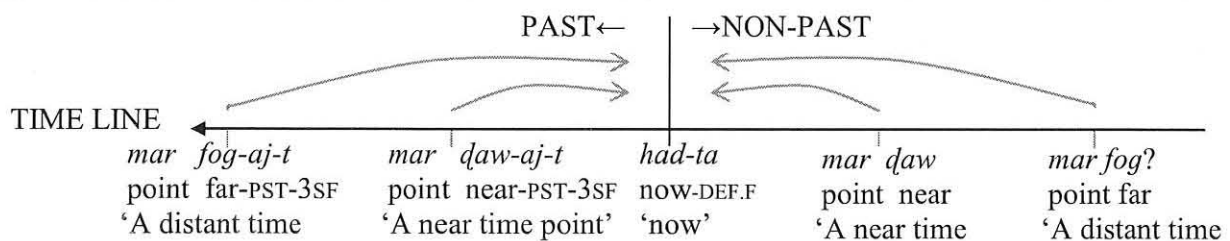


Figure 5: *mar* ‘time point’

When the adverb indicates an earlier time, the adjective forms mark the past tense and agree with *mar* as 3SF¹⁹. However, when the adverbs indicate later time points, the combined adjective form occurs in its absolute form. In short, these functions of *mar* are similar to that of *had*, shown in the preceding sub-section. The adverbs of *had* indicate the relative time coordinates of *now*, while the adverbs of *mar* indicate relative coordinate points to the deictic center.

¹⁹ Actually *mar* ‘time point’ is a masculine noun; however, in this function the adverb *mar* references, represents and points to the past of the current time point *had-ta* ‘now’ which is a feminine noun. Thus, the past tense of the adjectives agrees with the current deictic center as 3SF.

In addition, some temporal words can substitute the functions of *mar*; these words are: *goor*, ‘time/hour’ *wakhti* (Arabic) ‘time’, *bari*, ‘time/day/month/year’ and *waa* ‘time/year’. Beside these time point adverbs, there are also calendric time adverbs that the subsequent sub-sections present.

3.3.2 Lexicalized Time Adverbs

In addition to the time adverbs in the preceding sub-sections, the Somali language, also, has different lexicalized time adverbs. One is the words that are used for reckoning diurnal (day) and nocturnal (night) time points. In the nocturnal time, the language counts four nights back and four nights ahead, including *this night*. In the diurnal time, it counts three days back and three days ahead, excluding *today* and *this morning*. The diurnal time words are provided in the following table.

Table 13: Diurnal Reckoning Terms

	Deictic Term	Gloss
1.	<i>saakuun-tii</i>	‘three days back’
2.	<i>daraad</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
3.	<i>felaj</i>	‘yesterday’
4.	<i>saaka</i>	‘this morning’/ today’s morning
5.	<i>manta</i>	‘today’
6.	<i>barri</i>	‘tomorrow’ (lit. East or sunrise)
7.	<i>saadanbe</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
8.	<i>saakuun-ta</i>	‘three days later’

In the above table, the terms *saakuun-tii* and *saakuun-ta* have similar connotations, but are differentiated by their determiner suffixes; that is, the anaphoric *tii* and the definite article *-ta* as correlative past and non-past nominal tenses respectively.

The word *saaka*, in the above table, points to the early time of the day in which the utterance occurs as in (28).

- (28). *reer-kii saaka guur-aj*
 family-ANPH.M this_morning migrate-PST
 ‘The family that migrated this morning’ [SED\011\008]

The language also counts nocturnal time by four nights back and four nights ahead including the current nocturnal point. The following table lists the nocturnal time reckoning terms of which some are not lexicalized words.

Table 14: Nocturnal Reckoning Terms

	Deictic term	Gloss
1)	<i>habeen afraad-kii</i>	'that fourth night' lit. night fourth-the.M.PST
2)	<i>habeen seddehaad-kii</i>	'that third night'
3)	<i>habeen hore</i>	'the night before last night' lit. night front
4)	<i>halaj</i>	'last night'
5)	<i>saawa</i>	'tonight'
6)	<i>habeen danbe</i>	'the night after tonight' lit. night tail
7)	<i>habeen seddehaad-ka</i>	'the third night'
8)	<i>habeen afraad-ka</i>	'the fourth night'

In the above table, the coordinates of the third and fourth nights of the past that is (1) and (2) and of the future that is (7) and (8) are differentiated by *kii* for their past and *ka* for the non-past tenses. On the other hand, the second night backward in (3), the adjective locative *hore* 'fore/front' gives the past connotation; and, the second night ahead in (6), the adjective *danbe* 'hind/tail' gives the non-past connotation. (4) and (5) are the coordinate nocturnal points of the current diurnal time. In the following sentence, the word *halaj* points to the first night backward from the time in which the speech is uttered.

- (29). *salool-kii-aan halaj sun-aj-aj ajaa aan saaka waa-j-aj*
 popcorn-ANPH.M-I lastnight eat-PRG-PST FOC I this.morning miss-EP-PST
 'The popcorn I was eating last night, I missed this morning' [SED\02\15]

3.3.3 Clock Time Terms

In Somali, there is diurnal and nocturnal clock time specifying words. These words specify some specific segments of the cycles of the day and night. They are used for approximation of the clock time, and speakers may be fairly specific about the time of the day and night even when they do not have a watch. These clock terms are listed in the table below.

Table 15: Clock Terms

DAY TIME	GLOSS	APPROXIMATE O'CLOCK	NIGHT TIME	GLOSS	APPROXIMATE O'CLOCK
<i>waa bari</i>	'sun rise' lit. time/ bright/day/year East	'5:30 am—6:00 am'	<i>gabal qaŕ/ saŕseed qaŕ</i>	'sun set' lit. sun fall	'5:30 pm—6:00 pm'
<i>mina subah</i>	'in the morning' (from Arabic)	'6:00 am—7:00 am'	<i>maqaariib, fiid</i>	'prayer (Arabic)', 'dusk'	'6:00 pm—7:00 pm'
<i>barqo gaaban</i>	lit. watering (time) short	'7:00 am—8:00 am'	<i>ŕifaaŕi</i>	'prayer (Arabic)'	'7:00 pm—8:00 pm'
<i>barqo</i>	watering livestock	'8:00 am—9:30 am'	<i>saano maal</i>	lit. milking	'7:00 pm—8:35 pm'
<i>barqo deer</i>	lit. watering (time) long	'9:30 am—10:30 a m'	<i>saawajs</i>	lit. party	'8:30 pm—10:00 pm'
<i>haq/duhur</i>	'shadow, day'/ 'prayer (Arabic)'	'12:00 pm—1:30 pm'	<i>saq dehe/ saq baq</i>	lit. night mid/ night half	12:00 am
<i>saasar deer</i>	lit. prayer (Arabic) long	'2:00 pm—3:00 pm'	<i>suhuur</i>	'diner for fasting (Arabic)'	'3:00 am—4:30 am'
<i>galab/saasar</i>	'afternoon'/ 'prayer'	'3:00 pm—4:00 pm'	<i>salaad</i>	'prayer (Arabic)'	'4:30 am—5:30 am'
<i>saasar gaaban</i>	lit. prayer (Arabic) short	'4:00 p m—5:00 pm'	<i>waa bari</i>	'sun rise'	'5:30 am—6:00 am'

3.3.4 Verbs and Nouns of Temporal Deictic Points

In Somali, there are verbs and nouns that differentiate travel motion and its time juxtapositions. The verbs indicate the traveling action of specific time points; and, the nouns usually indicate the starting temporal points of the actions. The time points can be diurnal or nocturnal. The terms are given in the following table.

Table 16: Verbs and Nouns of Temporal Deictic Points

Verb form	Gloss	Noun form	Gloss
1. <i>tfarmaadid</i>	'to travel (before or at sunrise)'	<i>tfarmaado</i>	'travel (sunrise)'
2. <i>kalahid</i>	'to travel (in the early morning to reach the destination early)'	<i>kalahe</i>	'travel (early in the morning)'
3. <i>baqoolid</i>	'to travel (in the mid-day to habitat)'	<i>baqoole</i>	'travel (midday)'
4. <i>saraabid</i>	'to travel (in the afternoon to habitat)'	<i>saraabe</i>	'travel (afternoon)'
5. <i>deelmad</i>	'to travel (to reach the habitat at sunset)'	<i>deelmasho</i>	'travel (sunset)'
6. <i>gudid</i>	'to travel (at mid night to somewhere)'	<i>gudaal</i>	'travel (at mid night to somewhere)'
7. <i>guurid</i>	'to travel (whole night)'	<i>guure</i>	'travel (whole night)'

3.3.5 Tense

In addition to various time expressing terms, in Somali, tense is also used for indicating the time point of an event in relation to the time of the speech act. Essentially, there are two basic forms of tense system in the language: past tense and a non-past tense. The past tense form is marked by *-aj* suffix form as it can be seen in Table 6 and Table 8 above; and, the non-past form is marked by *-a* or *-aa*, again, as in Table 6 and Table 8 respectively. However, some lexical aspect indicators co-occur with these tense forms as an auxiliary verb. These lexical aspect indicators are *tfir* 'to exist' for past habitual aspect; *haj* 'hold' for progressive aspect and *doon* 'wish', for intended action.

(30). *wahaan u-gu heesi tfir-n-aj dibi-da.*
 FOC.we for-to sing.INF AUX-1P-PST oxen.P-DEF.F
 'We used to sing for the oxen' [SED\04\01]

(31). [*jaa*] *laba san-o ajaa uu hoola-ha uun keen-aj-aj*
 [DM] two year-P FOC he livestock-DEF just bring-PRG-PST
 '[can you hear me] for two years, he was just bringing the livestock.' [SED\17\38]

The auxiliary verbs *tfir* and *doon* stand independent from the main verb and are inflected for agreement as well as tense. The progressive lexical aspect *haj* always suffixes to the main verb and the person agreement as well as the tense follows it; but also it may sometimes stand independent from the main verb as seen below.

- (32). *hibib-kaa kar-sam-aj-a ajaan ku sugi haj-aa*
 meat-DST.M boil-MAF-PRG-PRS FOC.I at wait.INF AUX-PRS
 “I am waiting for that boiling meat.”

[SED\12\09]

In addition, the anaphoric *kii/tii* and the definite article *ka/ta* function for nominal tenses as past and non-past tense respectively. For instance, in Table 13 above, the temporal noun *saakuuntii* is a past in the three days back from now; while, the same temporal noun *saakuunta* is the expectation after three days from now. The following table presents the tense and aspect patterns in the Somali language.

Table 17: Tense and Aspect

	Past		Non-past	
Tense Form	past tense <i>-aj</i>		present tense <i>-a/aa</i>	
Lexical Aspect + Tense Form	past habitual <i>tʃir+aj</i>	past progressive <i>-(h)aj+aj</i>	present progressive <i>-(h)aj+aa/a</i>	future <i>doon+aa/a</i>
Nominal	anaphoric <i>kii/tii</i>		definite <i>ka/ta</i>	

3.4 Presentative Deixis

This is a situation where a speaker presents something to an addressee; and, the object presented is pointed at by the utterance of the speaker, which is the presentative deixis. In Somali, the linguistic expression *hoo* ‘here it is’ functions as presentative deixis. It shows something that the speaker is presenting in hand to a single addressee by using *hoo* ‘here it is to you (S)’; and multiple addressees by using *hooja* ‘here it is to you (P)’.

- (33). *hoo (ʒaana-ha)*
 presentative (milk-DEF)
 ‘here it is (the milk)’ (the speaker presents the milk to the addressee)

The function of this deixis can be depicted by a metalinguistic explanation of a folktale in which animal characters in the folktale ask a hyena if he knows ‘milk’ and its color. The hyena answers to the animals’ enquiry incorrectly, indicating the color of the milk as black. Then, the narrator explains why the hyena answered so by pointing out when people pass milk to each other and say *hoo* ‘here it is’, they pass the milk in a black container and it is that container the hyena considered milk (see Text 9 in the appendix).

3.5 Manner and Quantity/Size Deictics

In Somali, these deictic categories are formed by specific deictic terms together in combination with a demonstrative and a following gesture. The following table lists these deictic terms.

Table 18: Manner and Quantity/Size Deixis

Manner term	Gloss	+this	+that
<i>si-</i>	'manner'	<i>-tan</i>	<i>-taas</i>
<i>in-</i>	'amount'	<i>-tan</i>	<i>-taas</i>

With the gesture that accompany the terms in the above table, for instance, *si* designates the manner of an action/state; and, *in* indicates a size or quantity of an entity. Example:

- (34) a. *si-dan u goo-goo*
 manner-this.F for cut-cut.IMP
 'Cut (it) like this [+ gesture demonstrating the manner to cut]'
- b. *in-tan ajaa aj le?eg -aj-d*
 amount-this.F FOC she equal-PST-3SF
 'It was this size [+ gesture demonstrating the size]'

3.6 Social Deixis

In Somali, there are no pronouns to express social deixis, except that the first person plural differentiates the inclusion and the exclusion of the addressee. However, like any other language, in Somali, social deixis is expressed in relational and absolute deictic terms. The following subsections will illustrate the relational and absolute social deixis.

3.6.1 Relational Social Deictics

The relational social deictics are indicated in kinship terms listed in Table 19 below, which can be grouped in three categories. The first category is the terms that are used between a child and his parents and are listed in (1) up to (8). The second category is the terms that are used for parallel relations between the offspring of relative parents and are listed in (9) up to (12). The third category is the terms that indicate intermarriage relationships and these terms are listed in (13) up to (16). Note: tone marking—acute (´) for High and grave (`) for Low—is used for the first time in this paper to differentiate the reference and address forms of the kinship terms.

Table 19: Kinship Terms: Reference and Address Forms

	Reference	Gloss	Addressing	Gloss
PARENT AND CHILD	1. <i>aabo</i>	‘father’	<i>aábò</i>	‘Father!’
	2. <i>hoojo</i>	‘mother’	<i>hoójò</i>	‘Mother!’
	3. <i>awoow</i>	‘grandfather!’	<i>awoówò</i>	‘Grandpa!’
	4. <i>ajeej</i>	‘grandmother’	<i>ajeejò</i>	‘Grandma!’
	5. <i>habarjar/habo</i>	‘maternal aunt’	<i>habarjarò/habò</i>	‘Aunt! (maternal)’
	6. <i>abti</i>	‘maternal uncle’	<i>abtijò/abtì</i>	‘Uncle! (maternal)’
	7. <i>eddo</i>	‘paternal aunt’	<i>eddò</i>	‘Aunt! (paternal)’
	8. <i>adeer</i>	‘paternal uncle’	<i>adeérò/adeèr</i>	‘Uncle! (paternal)’
CHILDREN OF ONE’S PARENTS	9. <i>walaal(o)</i>	‘brother/sister’	<i>walaálò/walaàl</i>	‘Brother!/Sister!’
	10. <i>habro wadaag</i>	‘cousin (of maternal aunt)’	<i>habrawádaàg</i>	‘Cousin! (maternal aunt)’
	11. <i>ilmo abti</i>	‘cousin (of maternal uncle or paternal aunt)’	<i>inaábtì</i>	‘Cousin! (maternal uncle/paternal aunt)’
	12. <i>ilmo adeer</i>	‘cousin (of paternal uncle)’	<i>inaádeèr</i>	‘Cousin! (paternal uncle)’
INTER- MARRIAGE RELATION	13. <i>sodoh</i>	‘mother in-low’		
	14. <i>sodog</i>	‘father in-low’		
	15. <i>dumaafi</i>	‘sister in-low’	<i>dumaáfi</i>	‘Sister in-low!’
	16. <i>seedi</i>	‘brother in-low’	<i>seédi</i>	‘Brother in-low!’

There are no specific addressing forms for (13) and (14), but for their address forms, one may use the corresponding ones of (1) and (2), to express polite relationship to the addressee. In addition to that, the reference forms of *husband*, *wife*, *son*, and *daughter* do not occur in Somali rather they are referred to as */nin-kaj-ga/* lit. man-my-the ‘my man’, */naag-taj-da/* lit. woman-my-the ‘my woman’, */wiil-kaj-ga/* lit. ‘boy-my-the’ ‘my boy’, and *inan-taj-da* lit. girl-my-the ‘my girl’. Furthermore, a speaker may address these relatives by using an absolute address form (see section 3.6.2) and by calling their proper names. Alternatively, for expressing an extreme affection, a speaker may use his/her body parts. A parent to his /her child and sometimes vice versa as well as between married couples uses these body part terms. The body part terms are listed in the following table.

Table 20: Body Parts used as Social Relations and Politeness

	Body Part Expressions	Gloss
1.	<i>inqo-kaj-kii</i> eyes-my-the. PST	[<i>inqahajgii</i>] ‘my eyes’
2.	<i>diig-kaj-kii</i> blood-my-the. PST	[<i>diggajgii</i>] ‘my blood’
3.	<i>wadne-kaj-kii</i> heart-my-the. PST	[<i>wadnahajgii</i>] ‘my heart’
4.	<i>tfiid-kaj-kii</i> heart-my-the. PST	[<i>tfiidkajgii</i>] ‘my flesh’

On the other hand, the address forms of referring to *son* and *daughter* may occur in the same form in which a child addresses his relatives. That means, a mother calls her son ‘mother!’, and a son calls his mother, the same. Regarding this phenomenon, Fillmore (1975: 82) points out that when a mother

uses ‘mom’ to refer to her child, it “can best be thought in terms of the speaker’s taking the addressee’s point of view.” Address kin terms can be used as respect when the speaker assumes an individual being the same age with his/her relative parents or his/her relative children. The kin terms could be also used symbolically for building an intimate relationship with an individual, or ironically, to show favoritism to an individual as near relative while in reality the individual is a relative at a remote point of lineage tree. Address forms inflect with the vocative suffixes of *-ej* and *-ow* for female and male respectively. For instance, in the following expressions, the kin term *walaal* ‘brother/sister’ is inflected with the vocative suffix *-ej*, and also the noun *wan* ‘ram’, as a proper name, is suffixed with the vocative suffix *-ow*.

(35). *naa walaal-ej run ii feeg*
 hey.F sister-VOC.F truth me.for tell.IMP
 “Hey my sister, tell me a true.” [SED\012\010]

(36). *waar wan-ow hada-na jaa ku-la tfoog-a*
 Hey.M ram-VOC.M now-and who you-with stay-PRS
 “Hey Ram!” Again, “who is staying with you?” [SED\008\006]

Furthermore, the reference forms of the kinship terms may occur in combination with the possessive pronouns. This could be generalized as Fillmore (1975: 81) states, “The use of a possessive pronoun with a kinship term, or kinship term plus name, depends on whether or not the two partners in conversation belong (in reality or symbolically) in the same family.” Accordingly, this could be true in Somali, but also it can be that the partners may belong in the same family and one of them may not have kinship relation with the referent of the possessive pronoun as in (37) said by a speaker who is referencing his maternal aunt to his paternal cousin as his addressee.

(37). *habarjar-taj baa ii keen-t-aj*
 Aunt_maternal-my.F FOC me.for bring-3SF-PST
 ‘My maternal aunt brought (it/him/her/them) to me’

What is interesting in (37) is that, the possessive pronoun *-taj* ‘My.F’ that occurs after the kin term *habarjar* ‘maternal aunt’ and which indicates the kin relation between the speaker and the referent is different from the one that occurs after other nouns. For instance, in the following example, the noun *guri* ‘house’ is suffixed with the locative *dabo-* ‘tail’ and the possessive pronoun *tiis* ‘F.his’ which occurs in combination with the definite articles *-ta* ‘F.the’.

(38). *guri-ka dabo-tiis-ta* [guri-ga dabodiisa]
 house-DEF.M tail-his.F-DEFF
 ‘The tail of the house’

Scholars on Somali have pointed out the possessive phenomenon of the kinship relation terms as inalienable possession (Saeed 1993: 166f, 1996: 43; Lecarme 1999). However, the explanation of

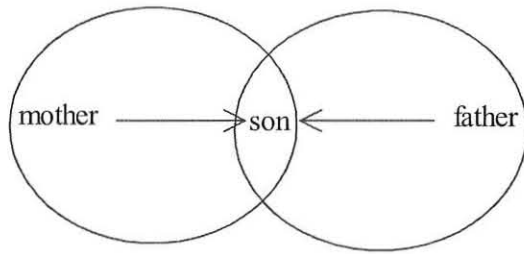


Figure 7: The parents' relation to their son as 'Many to one' relationship

However, in the figure below, the relationship is 'one to many'.

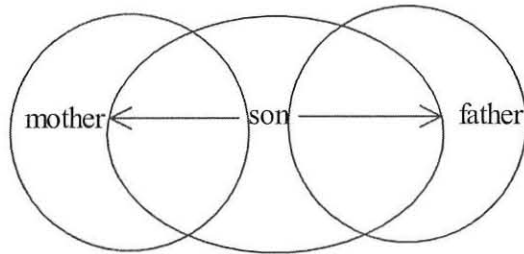


Figure 8: A 'son' and the relation to his parents as 'One to many'

In Somali, the possessive without a definite suffix indicates the latter connotation, that is, 'one to many' relationships in Figure 6 and Figure 8 above.

As mentioned before, kinship terms in a family line are similar to temporal points on a unidirectional time line. However, kin relationships are not necessarily to be a unidirectional but usually are multi-dimensional. Related to this, there are puzzles that are made from kinship terms and that are played by the Somalis. The following weird puzzle is among many I have collected during a fieldwork. It is about a woman who addresses her brother and references her son being the brother of the addressee's father.

- (40). *wiil-ow walaal kan aan sid-aa waa aaba-haa walaal-kii.*
 boy-VOC.M brother this.M I carry-PRS DCL father-M.your brother-his.M
 'Boy, brother! This [+pointing to her son] whom I am carrying is your father's brother'

The linguistic form of the kinship terms in the puzzle is 'one to many' relationships; and to answer the puzzle one must search into their 'many to one' relationships and then tell the possible and the acceptable relationships in which the kinship relations of the characters in the puzzle must be true.

The solution of the puzzle should be sought in a situation where a single mother and her daughter and a single father and his son are involved. The son marries the single mother and they begot a son. The single father marries the daughter and they begot a son, too. Now, in (40), the daughter is talking to her step-brother and she is pointing to her baby son who is the brother of the addressee's father.

That is the correct answer. The following picture presents the characters in the puzzle and discourse partners and are represented the 'S' speaker, the 'A' addressee and the 'R' referent.

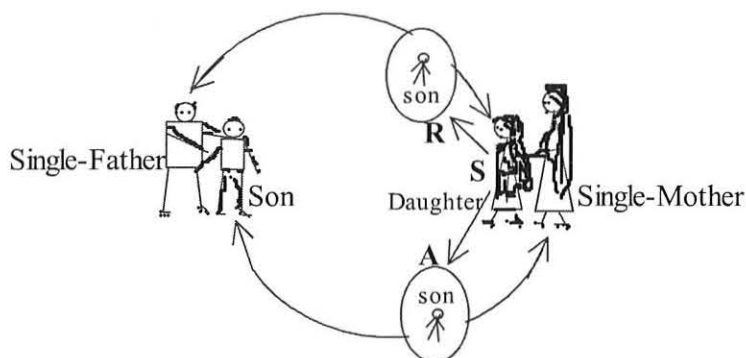


Figure 9: 'One to many' and 'Many to one' relationships of kinship terms

3.6.2 Absolute Social Deictics

There are two types of absolute social deictics: address terms and response terms. The address terms involve linguistic forms that are used for addressing while the response terms are for responding. Below are descriptions of the two absolute social deixis.

3.6.2.1 Address Terms

The address absolute social deixis involves, on the one hand, a relative person addressing another one whose kinship address term does not exist in the language such as to address one's spouse, or one's son/daughter. If the address term of the individual occurs in the kinship address terms, the use of an absolute address term will be dis-honorifics; for example, addressing with an absolute term for one's parent or one's sister. On the other hand, it involves a person addressing another one of the same status who is not a relative of him/her and does not warrant the use of a kinship address term. The absolute address terms differentiate gender without considering the age of the addressee or the age without considering the gender of the addressee. The table below lists the absolute address terms.

Table 21: Address Terms

	Morphological Variants			Gloss	Explanation
a.	<i>war/waar/</i>	<i>warjaa!!</i>	<i>warjaahee</i>	Hey!	'calling a male person'
b.	<i>naa/</i>	<i>naajaa!!</i>	<i>naajaahee</i>	Hey!	'calling a female person (sometimes impolite)'
c.	<i>eel</i>	<i>eejaa!!</i>	<i>eejaahee</i>	Hey!	'calling an old person in both gender (sometimes impolite)'
d.	<i>aa/</i>	<i>aajaa!!</i>	<i>aajaahee</i>	Hey!	'calling a female person' (polite)

The morphological variants of the linguistic forms significantly differ in their pragmatic uses, but I have left them for further researches.

3.6.2.2 Response Terms

The response absolute social deixis concerns linguistic reactions opposite to the address terms. In the table below are given response terms to the kinship address terms or to the absolute address deictic terms.

Table 22: Response Terms

	Forms	Gloss	Explanation
a.	<i>hoow</i>	'Yes!'	the response of a female person from a distance when she is called
b.	<i>hooj</i>	'Yes!'	the response of a male person from a distance when he is called
c.	<i>hee</i>	'Yes!'	the response of any person nearby when called or talked to

The meaning of the forms is symbolically 'I hear you' or 'I am listening to you, so keep talking to me.'

3.7 Discourse Deixis

Kiss (1995: 5f) terms the Somali language as 'discourse configurational language' and as Saeed (1999: 229) points out, this is could be due to its grammar of pragmatic uses; for instance, the particles that are used for focus and topic. Therefore, the focus and the topic particles are beyond the scope of this paper and are left for further researches. However, I would like to list some discourse lexical terms that are taken from the time deictics of *had* 'now' and *mar* 'time point'.

Regarding these temporal terms, Fillmore (1975: 70) points out that the words that are used in the discourse deixis are always taken from the lexical words of the time deixis, and they are similar according to their meanings. Thus, any point in a discourse can be thought as a point in time: the current portion of discourse as present in time, the preceding portion as past or earlier in time and the following portion as occurring later in time. Anderson and Keenan (1985: 296) also consider time analogous to space where one event is before or after the other.

In ways similar to these concepts, the Somali *had* 'now' and *mar* 'time point' are used in the discourse but differ in their functions. The adverb *had* functions to point the time of the deictic center (i.e. deictic now) and its coordinates, while the adverb *mar* functions to contrast coordinate time points to the current deictic time. For instance, the adverb *had* is used to derive sentences' subordinators that function for the logical consistencies between discourse expressions that precede and follow the current expression as shown in Table 23 below.

Table 23: Sentence Subordinators from Time Adverb *had* ‘now’

Word	Gloss	Combination
<i>haddii</i>	‘if’	<i>had-</i> ‘now’ + <i>-tii</i> ‘ANPH’
<i>haddii kale</i>	‘otherwise’ (lit. other if)	<i>had-</i> ‘now’ + <i>-tii</i> ‘ANPH’ + <i>kale</i> ‘other’
<i>haddiise</i>	‘but if’	<i>had-</i> ‘now’ + <i>-tii</i> ‘ANPH’ + <i>-se</i> ‘but’
<i>haddaa</i>	‘so...’	<i>had</i> ‘now’ + <i>-taa</i> ‘that’
<i>haddaase</i>	‘why not!’	<i>had</i> ‘now’ + <i>-taa</i> ‘that’ + <i>-se</i> ‘but’
<i>haddaba</i>	‘if so then...’	<i>had-</i> ‘now’ + <i>-ta</i> ‘the.F’ + <i>-ba</i> ‘emphasis’
<i>hadana</i>	‘again’ lit. ‘and now’	<i>had-</i> ‘now’ + <i>-ta</i> ‘the.F’ + <i>-na</i> ‘and’

The following expression is an example of the temporal adverb *had*, which also functions as discourse element as indicated in bold.

- (41). ***haddii*** *hada la ina soo weeraro guri-gaj-ga ani-ga meel walba waa irid*
 if now ONE us VENT attack house-M.mine-ART I-M.ART place every DCL door
 “If one, now, attacks us my house everywhere is a door;”

waanana ka bihi kar-aa
 DCL.and.I from exit.INF able-IMP
 “and I am able to exit (the doors).”

[SED\13\07]

On the other hand, the adverb *mar* functions together with the demonstratives *kaas* for contrastive preceding time points or *kaa* for similar preceding time point to the current deictic time, and also with the anaphoric particle *kii* for past reference point and the definite article *ka* for non-past reference point. The subordinating discourse adverbs are listed in the following table.

Table 24: Sentence Supordinators from the Adverb *mar* ‘time point’

TIME	TERM	GLOSS
contrastive	<i>mar-kaas</i>	‘and’
non-contrastive	<i>mar-kaa</i>	‘so’
past	<i>mar-kii</i>	‘when’
non-past	<i>mar-ka</i>	‘when’

The following text is taken from a folktale about a tied up jackal under a tree and a hyena that asks the jackal who tied it under the tree. The narrator introduces and starts with the speech of the hyena and the conversation of the characters goes on. When the characters swap their conversation, the sentences begin with *mar-kaas* to point to the contrastive time points of each conversation turn as can be seen from the forms in bold.

- (42). *ileen qurwaa-na hunguri-humo waa la-gu og-aa, wuħuu j-idi*
 because hyena-and throat-bad DCL ONE-to know-PST FOC.he EP-say.PST
 ‘Because the hyena is known with gluttony, he said,

naa daŕawo maħaa meefan ku-gu ħiq-aj?
 VOC.F Jackal Q.FOC place.this you-to knot-PST
 “Hey Jackal, what has tied up you this place?”

[SED\012\005]

mar-kaas-aj tiri waha la ii soo wad-aan-ad og-aj
 timepoint-DST.M-FOC.she 3SF.say.PST FOC ONE me.to VENT bring-FOC.NEG-you know-NEG.MOD
 ‘She said, “You do not aware of what one is bringing to me.”’

seddeh gool ajaa ii qal-an.
 three camel FOC me.for slaughter-MID
 “Three camels are slaughtered for me.” [SED\012\006]

si aan kala qaho ma hajo.
 manner I apart say.MOD NEG have.MOD
 “I do not know how I could manage (them).” [SED\012\007]

mar-kaas-uu j-idi naa walaal-ej run-ta ii feeg.
 timepoint-DST.M-FOC.he EP-say.PST VOC.F sister-F.VOC true-DEF.F me.for tell.IMP
 ‘He said, “Hey my sister, tell me the truth?” [SED\012\008]

mar-kaas-aj t-iri wahaan ku sug-aj-aa meefa
 occasion-DST.M-FOC.she 3SF-say.PST FOC.I at wait-PRG-PRS place.DEF
 ‘She said, “What I am waiting at the place (is)...”’

hiblib-kaa kar-sam-aj-a ajaan ku sug haj-aa.
 meat-DST.M boil-MID-PRG-PRS FOC.I at wait AUX-PRS
 “I am waiting that boiling meat” [SED\012\009]

mar-kaas-uu j-idi naa walaal-ej run ii feeg
 occasion-DST.M-FOC.he EP-say.PST VOC.F sister-F.VOC true me.for tell.IMP
 ‘He said, “Hey my sister, tell me the true?” [SED\012\010]

3.8 Recognitional Deixis

The anaphoric *kii/tii* functions as recognitional Deixis when it occurs as pronoun or as a modifier for the entities that are mentioned for the first time. The particle functions to alert or make the hearer remember an unspecified referent in the discourse from his memory. The following example is taken from the folktale in which the animal characters ask the hyena if he knows what is called ‘milk’. The hyena answers to the animals’ enquiry incorrectly, indicating the color of the milk as black. Then, in the following sentence, by using the recognitional deixis, the narrator points out that the hyena saw the black milk container, which the addressees already know. Thus, when people present it to each other, the hyena thought the black container to be the ‘milk’.

(43). *wuhuu ark-aj qiil-kii saanu-hu ku tfir-ee-n ee madoob-aa.*
 FOC.he see-PST milk.container-ANPH.M milk-DEF.M.NOM in contain-PST-3P CONJ black-PST
 ‘He saw that milk container which (you know it) was black’ [SED\009\007]

The word *qiil* ‘milk container’ occurs in the discourse for the first time and takes the anaphoric particle *kii* to refer to the shared familiarity of the referent that the noun *qiil* refers to. In addition to that, the anaphoric particle as a pronoun also functions recognitional for 3SM as can be seen in the following example.

- (44). *kii baa j-imid*
 that.M FOC EP-arrive.PST
 ‘That man (the man whom you and I know) has arrived’

In the preceding sections, I discussed the different deictic elements that are observed in the Somali language. In the following section, I will discuss deictics and their usages.

3.9 DEICTICS AND THEIR USAGES IN SOMALI

Following Halliday and Hasan (1976: 57-76), Diessel (1999: 6) categorizes the usages of the deictics into two functions: exophoric and endophoric. For the exophoric function, the deictics are used with referencing entities in the situation of the context while in the endophoric function they are used with referencing entities that can be found within the discourse expressions that the deictic terms occur.

3.9.1 Exophoric usages

In the exophoric usages, the interpretation of the deictic term depends on the speech situation—this could be gestural or symbolic.

3.9.1.1 Gestural

This is the gesture made by the speaker, who points to the referent; and, to interpret it, the addressee needs to monitor the physical movements that accompany the expression of the speaker. In (45), the speaker makes a gesture which points to the speaker’s body while narrating a folktale.

- (45). *lah-da in-taa hore ajaa-aj madoob-aj-d oo*
 sheep-DEF.F QNT-DST.F front FOC-3SF black-PST-3SF CONJ
 ‘The sheep, that front part (the speaker makes a gesture pointing to the body part) was black.’
 [SED\011\020]

3.9.1.2 Symbolic

Symbolic use involves expressions in which their interpretation depends on having some knowledge of the speech act situation. Therefore, while the speaker does not use gestural pointing, the hearer may infer the referent from contextual coordinates available to participants. In other words, in symbolic usage, deixis can be interpreted only by the knowledge of the basic spatio-temporal parameters of the speech event as well as the role of the participants in the discourse and their social status (Levinson 1983: 65).

- (46). *hal-kan ajaa aan ku nool ah-aj*
 point-this.M FOC I at live be-PRS
 ‘I live at this place’

In (46), the place adverb *hal* ‘point’ takes the proximal demonstrative *-kan*. Though the speaker does not use gestural pointing during the utterance, the hearer understands where the speaker lives. The

proximal demonstrative that refers to where the speaker is during the speech act indicates where he/she lives.

3.9.2 Endophoric usages

In these usages, the referents of the deictic terms can be found within the text or within the conversation in which they occur. The function of the deictics can be an anaphoric or cataphoric. Dealing with the cataphoric tracking is left for further research. However, the anaphoric tracking is illustrated in the following subsection.

3.9.2.1 Anaphoric Tracking

In Somali, the anaphoric particle *kii/tii* ‘that/the (in the past)’ and the contrastive distal demonstrative *kaas/taas* ‘that (contrastive)’ are used in the discourse tracking. Both particles can stand as pronouns or can modify nouns to track back previous mentions of the entities in the discourse. For instance, on the one hand, the distal contrastive demonstrative *kaas/taas* occurs in the anaphoric usages. It is used when an entity is mentioned second time immediately after the first mention as in (47).

- (47) *geed baa la waab-aj-aa. geed-kaas-aa la is-u-gu iman-aj-aa.*
 tree FOC ONE shack-PRG.PRS tree-DST.M-FOC ONE self-for-to come-PRG.PRS
 ‘One fences a tree. One comes to one another at **that tree**.’ [SED\17\08] & [SED\17\09]

In addition to the contrastive demonstrative, on the other hand, the anaphoric demonstrative *kii/tii* is used when an entity is mentioned for the second time due to a gap occurred between the first and the second mentions as can be seen in the flowing text (a–d).

- (48) a. *bari baa waḥaa tḥir-i tḥir-aj diin ijo dawaso.*
 time FOC FOC.DEF exist.INF AUX-PST tortoise and jackal
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a tortoise and a jackal.’ [SED\013\001]
- b. *waa-aj is raaf-ee-n*
 DCL-they self follow-PST-3P
 ‘**They** walked together.’ [SED\013\002]
- c. *mar-ka aj sofd-aa-n sofd-aa-n ajaa diin-kii waḥa-uu hel-aj*
 time-DEF.M they walk-PRS-3P walk-PRS-3P FOC tortoise-ANPH.M FOC-he find-PST
 ‘When **they** walked and walked **the tortoise** found...’
- guri aan dul-duleel-in oo fiisan*
 house NEG RDP-hole-NEG CONJ good
 ‘a house that does not have holes and which is nice.’ [SED\013\003]
- d. *dawasa-dii-na waḥa-aj hef-aj guri dul-duleel-a*
 jackal-ANPH.F-and FOC-she find.3SF-PST house RDP-hole-PRS
 ‘and **the jackal** found a house that has holes.’ [SED\013\004]

In the narration, *diin* ‘tortoise’ and *dawafo* ‘jackal’ are introduced in (48a). In the second mentions, *diin* is tracked by the masculine anaphoric particle *kii* in (48c), and *dawafo* is tracked by the feminine anaphoric particle *tii* as in (48d) to keep the hearer track the referents.

The anaphoric demonstrative also functions between as tracking or recognition deixis in the following example, which is taken from a folktale about a hyena that listens to the talk of two women who were talking about another hyena, which ate their anonymous live-stoke at anonymous place. Then at that point in the discourse, the narrator speaks out the following expression.

(49). *kii* *ʒun-aj-na* *waa-uu-ba* *ah-aa-ba* *laftar-kiisii*.
that.M eat-PST-and DCL-he-CONJ be-PST-CONJ bone-his.ANPH.M
‘That one who ate, it was he himself.’

[SED\010\006]

In (49), it is difficult to decide the function of *kii* because in the discourse it occurs consists of two stories of which one is a story within story—a narration of a hyena that listens to a narration of another hyena. Following then, in (49), the narrator combines the two hyenas, as they are the same referent, by using *kii*.

Thus, it is worthwhile to consider Himmelmann’s (1996: 232) statement that, “The major evidence for the claim that these so-called ‘anaphoric’ demonstratives are not anaphoric (tracking) in a strict sense is the fact that they allow for first mention uses.” Additionally, he says that the use of an anaphoric demonstrative after the first mention may have ‘recognitional’ function rather than ‘tracking’; and points out that it is difficult to distinguish and determine in a particular occurrence (Himmelmann 1996: 236).

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The scope of this study was concerned with description and documentation of the deixis in the Somali—an east Cushitic language of the Afro-asiatic super family. Somali employs deixis such as person, place, time, social, presentative, manner and quantitative, discourse, and recognitional. In the person deixis, there are four different paradigms of personal pronouns. One paradigm makes independent personal pronouns that can occur in subject as well as object positions. In a subject position, the agreements of 3_{SF} and 1_P are marked on the verb. The other three paradigms of the personal pronouns are grammatical pronouns that are different from the paradigm of the independent pronouns for that they are dependents. These are two types: subject and object pronouns. The agreements of the 3_{SF}, 2_S, 1_P, and 2_P of subject pronouns are marked on the verb. The object pronouns, further divide into two: direct and indirect dependent object pronouns. The third persons in both paradigms do not occur and therefore the absence of any other object pronouns will give the connotation of the third persons. However, an indirect object pronoun only occurs when there is another object pronoun.

With regard to the demonstratives in Somali, three spatial demonstrative forms exist: *kan/tan*; *kaa/taa*; *kaas/taas*. These forms refer a masculine object based on their initial consonant being *k-* and feminine objects based on their initial consonant being *t-*, but are neutral in terms of number. Pragmatically, the three demonstratives are organized into proximal-distal dimensions from the location of the speaker. The form *kan/tan* is a proximal demonstrative, which always indicates a near object to the speaker. The form *kaa/taa* is a distal demonstrative, which indicates far object from the speaker. The form *kaas/taas* is, also, a distal demonstrative, but it differs from the form *kaa/taa* in that the object referred by *kaas/taas* is contrastive to another proximal or distal object. Syntactically, the demonstrative forms can occur as pronouns as well as nominal modifiers. In addition, as a place adverb, the demonstratives occur in combination with expressions of spatial point *hal* and direction *ħag* in relation to the speaker location.

Furthermore, there are directional words used for the movements of space and time. These are *soo* as a VENTIVE particle and *sii* as ITIVE particle. The *soo* particle is used for the concept of the moving sun or time and constant world while the *sii* particle is used for the moving world and the constant time.

In addition to that, in Somali, there are place and direction locating expressions that indicate the relative sides and orientations of entities without a fixed deictic center. These locatives occur as nouns, as adverbs, as adjectives and as verbs.

Regarding time deixis, In Somali, there are different temporal adverbs that indicate temporal points. One is *had* 'now'; which indicates the current time point and its relative time coordinates; and another is *mar* 'time point', which indicates coordinate points in relation to the deictic center.

Besides these adverbs, there are also lexicalized time adverbs that count the preceding and following nocturnal and diurnal points based on the deictic center. There are also verbs and nouns that differentiate a travel motion and its juxtapositions of different temporal points. The verbs indicate the traveling action of specific time points and the nouns indicate the starting temporal points of the actions. The time points can be diurnal or nocturnal. In addition to that, Somali employs two tenses: past and non-past. Social deixis is expressed relational and absolute terms. The relational deixis are expressed in kinship terms, and the absolute one are expressed in independent forms.

In Somali, there is a presentative deixis, which is used when a speaker presents something to an addressee; thus, the object presented is pointed at by the utterance of the speaker, which is the presentative deixis. The presentative is the expression *hoo* 'here it is' for presenting in hand an object to a single addressee or *hooja* 'here it is' to multiple addressees.

Furthermore, there are deixis of manner and quantity/size. These deictics are formed by the deictic terms of *si* 'manner' and *in* 'amount' in combination with the demonstratives and a following gesture.

Concerning the discourse deictic usage, the temporal adverbs of *had* 'now' and *mar* 'point', together in combination with the determiners, are used in the discourse deixis. The adverb *had* is used to derive sentence subordinators that point to the current discourse point and to its coordinates that precede and follow the current discourse e.g. *if*, *otherwise*, *so*, etc. On the other hand, the adverb *mar* derives the sentence subordinators that function for connecting coordinate events to the current discourse point.

The anaphoric *kii/tii* is used for recognitional deixis. For this function, the particle functions to alert or make the hearer remember the shared knowledge of the unspecified referent in the discourse.

The Somali demonstratives occur in both exophoric and endophoric references. The former is when the referents are found in the non-linguistic situational context; it can be gestural or symbolic. The latter is when the referents can be found in the text or in the conversation; it can be an anaphoric tracking, a discourse deictic or a recognitional.

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APPENDIX A ANNOTATIONS

RIDDLES

Text 1: Riddles 1²⁰

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 01 (Riddles 1)\Riddles 1.eaf²¹

SED\01\01

googaa!

challenger

(challenger's inquiry)

SED\01\02

figalee!

challengee

(Challengee's reply)

SED\01\03 (Q)²²

adi-giin-nii saad u soo wad-d-aj u soo wad-d-aj ajaa wan-kii u-gu...
sheep-your.M-ANPH manner.DEF.you to VENT continue-2S-PST to VENT continue-2S-PST FOC ram-DEF.M for-at...

wajn-aa galgaf-aj.

big-PST roll.MID-PST

"While you were bringing your sheep and goats back home, the biggest ram turned over and over."

SED\01\04 (A)

waha weejaan een gofane...

FOC is DM tick...

"It is a tick."

gofane in-tuu adi-gii ka go?-aj oj adi-gu ku istaag-ee-n oo din-t-aj.
tick QNT-DEF.he sheep-DEF.M from cut-PST CONJ.they sheep-DEF.M.NOM at stand-PST-3P CONJ die-MID-PST
"A tick that fell down from the sheep, trampled over and then died."

SED\01\05

googaa!

challenger

SED\01\06

figalee!

challengee

SED\01\07 (Q)

hera-diin-nu waa wada ul-oo ul la qaato ma leh.

fence-your.F-DEF.NOM DCL all stick-CONJ stick ONE take NEG have

"Your fence is full of sticks, yet there is no stick that one can take." (See also SED\02\19 below.)

SED\01\08 (A)

waha weejaan waa gees-a-ha ri-j-a-ha

FOC is DCL horn-P-DEF goat-EP-P-DEF

"It is the horns of the goats."

²⁰ The numbering indicates that there is other riddle sessions recorded from different informants.

²¹ .eaf = ELAn file

²² Q = Question; A = Answer.

SED\02\02 (Q)
siniin-miniin sabarad aas-an
forever crowbar bury-MID
“Forever, a buried crowbar.”

SED\02\03 (A)
waa hunguri-ga.
DCL throat-DEFM
“It is the throat.”

SED\02\04 (Q)
googooje sadaawe, laalaabe sasaanje, u gudbije odaj
cutter Mr.White roller Mr.Red to passer Elder
“Mr White the cutter, Mr Red the roller, Mr Elder the passer.”

SED\02\05 (A)
waa ilka-ha ijo sarab-ka ijo hunguri-ga.
DCL teeth-DEF and tongue-DEFM and throat-DEFM
“It is the teeth, tanguer and the throat.”

SED\02\06 (Q)
wah sir-ka taar ku leh, qul-ka taar ku leh, togoogo orgi leh
thing sky-DEFM telegram at have land-DEFM telegram at have neck goat have
“Something that has a telegram in the sky and on the land, and a goat’s neck.”

SED\02\07 (A)
waa haad-ka.
DCL howk-DEFM
“It is a vulture.”

SED\02\08 (Q)
sariir-taj-dii adk-aj-d baan halaj ku seehan kari waaj-aj
bed-F.mine-ANPHF hard-PST-3SF FOC.I last night at sleep-INF able-INF miss-PST
“I couldn’t sleep on my hard bed last night.”

SED\02\09 (A)
waa bad-da.
DCL sea-DEF.F
“It is a sea.”

SED\02\10 (Q)
wah deer oo deeraan qoj-an
something toll and tall-MID wet-MID
“Something which is deep and that is wet.”

SED\02\11 (A)
waa feel-ka.
DCL well-DEFM
“It is a well.”

SED\02\12 (Q)
laan jar-eej daba dalool
branch small-VOCF tail hole
“Miss Small Branch, a hole at your tail.”

SED\02\13 (A)
waa irbad-da.
DCL needle-DEF.F
“It is a needle.”

SED\02\14 (Q)
ajaj-daj hiidmo jar rag-ga ajaj is-ku laab-laab-t-aa
granma-mine guts small men-DEF.M FOC.she self-with RDP-roll-3SF-PRS
“My grandma, Miss Small Guts, she rolls herself with the men.”

SED\02\15 (A)
waa kaneefa-da.
DCL mosquito EFF
“It is a mosquito.”

SED\02\16 (Q)
uur-baan leejahee aajar i dig
pregnant-FOC.I have slowly me put.IMP
“I am pregnant; so, put me down slowly.”

SED\02\17 (A)
waa uba-da.
DCL flask-DEF.F
“It is a flask.”

SED\02\18 (Q)
hera-daj-du waa wada ul, ul la qaato ma leh
pen-mine-DEF.F.NOM DCL all stick stick ONE take.MID.MOD NEG own
“My pen (animal enclosure) is full of sticks, yet there is no stick that one can take.”

SED\02\19 (A)
waa geesa-ha adi-ga.
DCL horn.P-DEF sheep.goats-DEF.M
“It is the horns of sheep and goats.” (Compare also SED\01\07 above).

SED\02\20 (Q)
awow-gaj madoobe mus-kuu ka bood-aa
grandpa-M.mine Mr.black fence-DEF.M.FOC.he from jump-PRS
“My grandpa, Mr Black jumps over the fence.”

SED\02\21 (A)
waa qiiq-ga.
DCL smoke-DEF
“It is smoke.”

SED\02\22 (Q)
awow-gaj {adaawe wuu bood-bood-aa
grandpa-M.mine Mr.white DCL.he RDP-jump-PRS
“My grandpa, Mr White jumps up and down.”

SED\02\23 (A)
waa salool-ka.
DCL popcorn-DEF.M
“It is popcorn.”

SED\02\24 (Q)
guntin ma{aan geed la fiul
bundle sweat tree with climb.IMP
“A sack of candies, you escape with (it) climbing onto a tree.”

SED\02\25 (A)

waa naf-ta.
DCL soul-DEF.F
“It is life”.

SED\02\26 (Q)

wah labi ka boodi, laan ka boodi, libaah laa ilaaha ka-ga siin
thing tree(name) from jump.INF branch from jump.INF lion *laa ilaaha*.ARABIC from-at give.INF
“Something that jumps over a tree branch and makes the lion say ‘*laa ilaaha*’.”

SED\02\27 (A)

waa qori-ga.
DCL gun-DEF.M
“It is a gun.”

SED\02\28 (Q)

salool-kaan halaj sun-aj-aan saaka waa-j-aj
popcorn-ANPH.M.I lastnight eat-PRG-PST.IS.FOC this_morning miss-EP-PST
“The popcorn that I was eating last night, I missed this morning.”

SED\02\29 (A)

waa hidig-a-ha.
DCL star-P-DEF
“It is the stars.”

SED\02\30 (Q)

hasan-jare hus ku-la gal
Hassen-Small gate you-with enter.MOD
“Let Mr Small Hassen let you enter through the gate of a fence”

SED\02\31 (A)

waa haar-ka.
DCL excrement-DEF.M
“It is the call of nature.”

SED\02\32 (Q)

hal madoobi howd-kaj mar-t-aa
shecamel black jungle-DEF.M.FOC.she crosses-3SF-PRS
“A black she camel walks in the jungle.”

SED\02\33 (A)

waa intfir-ta.
DCL lice-DEF.F
“It is a louse.”

SED\02\34 (Q)

seddeh nin oo saf waal-an wat-t-a
three man CONJ cow mad-MID carry-MID-PRS
“Three men who are carrying a mad cow.”

SED\02\35 (A)

waa qeri-ga, waa qandaar-ka.
DCL cooking.pot-DEF.M DCL fire.stones-DEF.M
“It is the fire stones that carry the cooking-pot.”

SED\02\36 (Q)
ququn aqi qul ku libiq
forearm sheep earth in disappear.MOD
“The sheep’s fore-arm disappeared in the earth.”

SED\02\37 (A)
waa lika-ha.
DCL tree(name)-DEF
“It is the root of the *lika* (plant).”

Text 3: Riddles 3

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 03 (Riddles 3)\Riddles 3.eaf

SED\03\01 (Q)
laba tfir laba tfir deeq-a.
two old two old suffice-PRS
“A two year old (ewe) that satisfies (with milk) a two year old (human babay).”

{SED\03\02}
waajo laba tfir laba tfir deeq-a muñuu j-ah-aj?
because two old two old DM what.3SM EP-be-PST
“Because, what two year old can satisfy a two year old?”

SED\03\03 (A)
waa seeraan jar-oo laba tfir ah-oo daf-aj,...
DCL lamb small-CONJ two old be-CONJ bear-PST
“‘It is a two year old lamb, which gave birth’,”...

ilmo laba tfir ah ajaa loo lis-aj-aa {buu ku lee-j-ah-aj}.
baby two old be FOC ONE-for milk-PRG-PRS FOC.he you say-EP-be-PST
“and is milked for a baby which is two year old,” {“he says.”}

SED\03\04 (Q)
hafa wajn nirig-ta aj daf-aj meefaj ka wajn t-ah-aj ma t-aqaan-aa?...
She-camel.DEFF big baby-camel-DEFF she bear-PST place.DEF.3SF from big 3SF-be-PRS Q 2S-know-PRS
“Do you know the place where the baby camel is bigger than its mother?”

{*baa la is-ku halhiqaaale-ej-aa.*}
FOC ONE self-to riddle-PRG-PRS
“It is puzzling.”

{SED\03\05}
wahaj tfawaab-tu t-ah-aj haa. (A)
FOC.3SF answer-DEF.F.NOM 3SF-be-PRS yes
“The answer is ‘yes’.”

SED\03\06 (A)
waa mahaj? kol-ka la j-iqaaqdo waa dogor-taa la j-iq-aa;...
DCL Q time-DEF.M ONE EP-say DCL fur-DEF.F.FOC ONE EP-say-PRS
“When one says, ‘what is it? One answers, ‘It is the fur’,”...

oo waj ka dogor badan t-ah-aj-oo nirig-tii baa ka dogor badan.
CONJ DCL.3SF from fur many 3SF-be-PRS-CONJ baby camel-ANPH FOC from fur many
“because, the baby camel has more fur than its mother.”

SED\03\07 (Q)
meef-ku sanad hal-ka uu maro uunan mari karin sanad-ka labaad.
a livestock-DEF.M.NOM year place-DEF.M he walk he.NEG cross.INF able.NEG year-DEF.M second
“The first year an animal can pass through, but in the second year it can’t.”

SED\03\08 (A)
waa nirig-tu meef-aj ka dus-t-aj sanad-kii hore...
DCL babycamel-DEF.F.NOM place.DEFF-she from go_through-3SF-PST year-ANPH.M last
“It is the passage where the baby camel went through last year” (passing through between the front and hind legs of its mother)....

sanad-ka danbe dee hal wajn baj noqo-t-aj oo ka-ma dusi kar-t-o.
year-DEF.M latter DM camel big FOC.she become-3SF-PST and from-NEG go_through.INF able-3SF-MOD
“In the later years, it becomes a big camel and it can’t pass through.”

SONGS

Text 4: *Heesta Dibida*²⁴

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 04 (The Song for Oxen)\Heesta Dibida.eaf

SED\04\01
waḥaan u-gu heesi tfir-n-aj dibi-da.
FOC.we for-to sing.INF AUX-IP-PST oxen-DEF.F
“We used to sing for the oxen.” (The narrator introduces his recitation that follows).

SED\04\02
laba-daad waḥ ku ḍowri.
two-DEF.F.you thing to see.INF
“The two that you watch,” (the eyes)

SED\04\03
afar-taad ku ḍaqaaqi.
four-DEF.F.you to move.INF
“The four that you move,” (the legs)

SED\04\04
ijo laba-daad ku ḍeg-aj-san.
and two-DEF.F.you to ear.PRG.MID
“and the two that you listen with,” (the ears)

SED\04\05
rabi kaa-ma ḍantaalo
God you.for-NEG split.MODNEG
“May God protect them!”

SED\04\06
hadaad tḥiidi-na tḥiid.
if.you pull.INF-and pull.IMP
“If you can pull, pull (it)!”

SED\04\07
{*hadaad*} *hadii aanad tḥiidi karajn.*
{if.you} if NEG.you pull.INF able.NEG
“But, if you can’t pull,”

²⁴ *Hees-ta Dibi-da* (lit. song-DEF.F oxen-DEF.F) ‘the song of the oxen’. This song is recited when one is ploughing the farm with oxen.

SED\04\08

kol-ba tfeeni ku tfoog-so.
time-each leg to stand-MID.IMP
“Step with a leg each time.”

SED\04\09

waadi-gii farana-aj-aj.
DCL.you-ANPHM anger.INF-PRG-PST
“You were angry,”

SED\04\10

fid-da reer-ka ka laaj-aj.
people-DEF.F family-DEF.M from kill-PST
“Killed the people of the family,”

SED\04\11

far i taabo lah-aa-j-e.
how.dare me touch.INF have-PST-EP-CONJ
“Saying, ‘how dare are you, don’t touch me!’”

SED\04\12

baguu farjn-ku ku goo-j-aj.
INTRJ(be).FOC.he robe-DEF.MNOM to cut-EP-PST
“Be it that, the robe (yoke) cut you.”

{SED\04\13}

waa mar-ka dibi-da beer-ta aan qod-aj-n-o.
DCL point-DEF.M oxen-DEF.F farm-DEF.F we plough.PRG-IP-MOD
“This is when we plough the farm with the oxen.”

{SED\04\14}

ilajn beer godaal un-baan wali-gaja ah-aj-n-e,...
because farm farming just-FOC.we still-our.M be-PST-IP-CONJ
“Because we were farmers ever,”

wah-kal-oon gar-an-aj-n-aa ma tfir-ee,
thing-other-CONJ.we know-MID-PRG-IP-PRS NEG exist-CONJ
“there is nothing else we know.”

SED\04\15

geela hees-tii-sa-na ma n-aqaano, lo?da hees-tee-da-na ma n-aqaano.
camels.DEF song-his.F-.DEF-and NEG IP-know.NEG cattle-DEF.F song-her.F-DEF.F-and NEG IP-know.NEG
“We don’t know the camels’ song or the cattle’s song.”

SED\04\16

jaa waadi-gii far-an-aajee, fid-da reer-ka ka laa-jee...
DM DCL.you-ANPHM anger-MID-PRG.PST.CONJ people-DEF.F family-DEF.M from kill-PST.CONJ
“You were angry, killed the people of the family,” (going back to the song)

far i taabo lah-aaje, baguu farjn-ku ku goo-j-aj.
how dare me taabo.IMP have.PST.CONJ INTRJ(be).FOC.he robe-DEF.MNOM to cut-EP-PST
“and were saying ‘How dare are you. Don’t touch me,’ be it that, the robe (yoke) cut you!”

SED\04\17

hiraab-tii daba-deed ma ani-gaa haqimeej-aj maħaad hoos ug-u ooji.
eating in the down-ANPHF tail-her.F Q I-DEF.M.FOC lunch-PST what.FOC.you slow for-to cry.INF
“After eating in the dawn, did I eat lunch? Why are you crying silently?”

{SED\04\18}

wah-jaalo fajn-kaasaan jaan ku heesi tfir-n-aj.

thing-P sort-DST.M.FOC.we FOC.we with sing.INF AUX-IP-PST

“We used to sing like that” (the narrator refers back to his preceding recitation).

{SED\04\19}

wah ku dar, wah uun ku dar.

thing to add thing just to add

“Add something, just add something” (the narrator asks a friend to participate in the recordings).

Text 5: *Heesta Lo?da*²⁵ 1

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 05 (The Song for Cattle 1)\Heesta Lo'da 1.eaf

SED\05\01

{lo?-da wa?aanu u-gu heesi tfir-n-aj} lo?-da wa?aan u-gu heesi tfir-n-aj.

{cattle.DEFF FOC.we for-to sing.INF AUX-IP-PST} cattle-DEFF FOC.we for-to sing.INF AUX-IP-PST

“We used to sing for the cattle.”(The narrator introduces his recitation that follows).

SED\05\02

feelalja-da hore.

watering.place-DEFF early

“In the early days at a watering place”

SED\05\03

fiidan adag ijo feel ma ku lah-aj-d.

arm strong and well Q at have-PST.2S

“Did you have a strong army and water well?”

SED\05\04

{adoo haqaana ah} adoo hooto ah oo haqaa-na ah.

{you.CONJ remainder be} you.CONJ spear be CONJ remainder-and be

“Since you are thin and lag behind,”

{SED\05\05}

{oo hirdi badan}.

{CONJ butt many}

“Butt always”

SED\05\06

oo hirdi-na badan oo horqasa j-aqaan

CONJ butt-and many CONJ beingfirst EP-know

“Butt always and know coming first.”

SED\05\08

ha la i-soo horo si-deed ku hef-aa?

IMP ONE me-VENT forward manner-Q.FOC.you to find.2S-PRS

“‘Let one bring me first’ (to the well), in which manner you could be that?”

Text 6: *Heesta Lo?da*²⁶ 2

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 06 (The Song for Cattle 2)\Heesta Lo'da 2.eaf

SED\06\01

geesa kala jare, geedi-gaa dab-a, oo la kala guur.

horn.P differ small-AGN migration-DEF.M.FOC real-PRS CONJ ONE appart migrate.PST

“(Hey) the one whose horns differ in size, the migration is real and one departed from another.”

²⁵ *Heesta lo?da* lit. song.DEF.F COWS.DEF.F ‘song for cattle’: The song is recited when the cattle is watered (note that the comment in SED\04\05 is by a farmer).

²⁶ The numbering indicates that the song is the same genre as the preceding one but recorded from a different informant.

SED\06\02

hareera sad hagar, howd uu falaj mar-aj, huumsi bahal ijo haad-ku ku-ma lale.
edge.P white tree jungle he yesterday cross-PST roar wild and howk-DEF.M.NOM at-NEG soar.AGN
“Mr White Edge (white cattle) like the *Hagar* (a kind of tree), a jungle it (the cattle) crossed yesterday, let the wild never roar and the vulture never soar.”

SED\06\03

mar-na wuhuu j-idi
one-and FOC.he EP-say.PST
“And once he said:”

SED\06\04

madooba-haj-oow, madooba-ha qudaʃ oo man-kii rid-aj jaad la midab t-ah-aj.
black-mine-VOCM black-DEF tree(name) and flower-ANPH drop-PST FOC.you with colour 2S-be-PST
“Hey, my Blackie! (black cattle) the black *Qudaʃ* (a kind of tree) that dropped its flowers. You are equal with the color”

SED\06\05

hillaaʃ-ja-da bari, is-ku-ma hefid-e, mid uun ku hagaag buu oʃan.
lightning-PDEF East self-with-NEG get.NEG-CONJ one just to direct.IMP FOC.he says
“ ‘The east lightnings, you cannot find all for yourself, go just to one,’ he says”.

{SED\06\06}

heesa-ha loʔ-du waa saas.
song.P-DEF cattle-DEF.NOM DCL manner.DST
“The songs for the cattle are like that.” (The narrator refers to his preceding recitation).

Text 7: *Heesta Kabadda*²⁷

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 07 (Song-Heesta Kabada)\Heesta kabada.eaf

{SED\07\01}

kabad-da wahaj oʃan-aj-aa-n kol-ka la sam-ajn-aj-o.
boulding_material-DEF.F FOC.they say-PRG-PRS-3P time-DEF.M ONE make-INF-PRG-MOD
“They will say when making the *Kabad*”:

SED\07\02

kol-kaj sabato sajlaan-eej, sajmo roobaad-eej, sagal aroorj-ooj bay oʃan-aj-aa-n.
time-DEF.M.she start.MOD quick_raining-VOCF cloud.P rain-VOC colour morning-VOC FOC.they say-PRG-PRS-3P
“When it is started’ the one comes down like the drops of the rain, the one which is like clouds of rain, you are the morning color (of the sun rise)”, “they say.”

SED\07\03

geed-ka geeda-ha u qeer la-ga garaaʃ-jeej, galool muq-aj mulaah-dii-jeej.
tree-DEF.M tree.P-DEF for tall ONE-from cut.PST-VOCF tree(name) grown-PST softbark-his.F-VOCF
“The tallest one among the trees, (the one) which someone cut from it. A well grown *Galool* (a kind of tree), its soft bark,”

SED\07\04

geesi geel keenijo, gob iyo ʃulimaa galool loo-gu daah-aa-jeej.
brave camels bring-PST.CONJ nobility and scholars.FOC tree ONE.for-at curtain-PRS-VOC
“Only for a brave person who brought camels, noble persons and scholars curtain their home with *Galool*,”

SED\07\05

baranbarfaa-lee-jeej, buul fareeraaj bah ijo bilis-ba kuu lihi.
spots-own-VOCF smallhouse cover.AGN.VOC family and women-CONJ you.for own.1S
“The one (*kabad*) of different spots, the one that fully covers a house, I have a family and friends for you.”

²⁷ *Heesta kabada* lit song-DEF.F *kabad*-DEF.F. (*kabad* means material made from the soft membrane bark of the trees used for house buildings). The song is recited when women prepare the material for house building.

{SED\07\06}

wahaa imaan-aj-s-a mar-kaa naag haafad-da kale ah oo aan imanin...
FOC come-PRG-3SF-PRS timepoint-DST.M woman household-DEFF other be CONJ NEG come.NEG
“In the meantime, a woman of the neighbouring household who did not arrive (participate),...”

kol-ka aj u dig-aj-aa-n jaj oqan-aj-aa-n:
time-DEF.M they for warn-PRG-PRS-3P FOC.they say-PRG-PRS-3P
“when they are warning her, they say,”

SED\07\07

midaan iman-eej la idlee-jeej, uubhumo u tfoog-jeej, ehel xajaam-ooj.
one.ANPH.NEG arrive.MID-VOC ONE finish.PST-VOC bad.hardship for stay-VOC relative.Arabic betray.Arabic-VOC
“Hey the one who did not arrive (participate)! One finishes (*kabad*). Hardship is awaiting you (since we, too, won’t participate yours as you did); you are a friend of betrayal”.

{SED\07\08}

tan kale wahaj oqan-aj-aa-n:
PRXF other FOC.they say-PRG-PRS-3P
‘At the end, they say,’ (when all the people participate)

SED\07\09

bah-baan kuu hel-aj-oo, waa la-guu birmad-aj-oo, bood-ka ijo siiga-da-ba...
family-FOC.I you.for find-PST-CONJ DCL ONE-you.for assis-PST-CONJ sand-DEF.M and dust-DEFF-CONJ

waa la-gaa-ga ba?aj-oo bood-ka ijoo baj oqan-aj-aa-n.
DCL ONE-you-from devastate-PST-CONJ sand-DEF.M and FOC.they say-PRG-PRS-3P
“‘I (the singer) got a family for you (the *kabad*). You (the *kabad*) are urgently protected from the devastating sand and dust’ they say”.

{SED\07\10}

waa kol-ka gabagaba-da kaba-da la damajn-ajo.
DCL time-DEF.M conclusion-DEFF material-DEFF ONE finish.INF-PRG.MOD
“That is when finishing weaving of the *kabad*.”

{SED\07\11}

saasaa kabda-ha-na loo-gu hees-aa loo-gu damee-j-aa-na.
manner.DST.FOC boulding_material.P-DEF-and ONE.for-at sing-PRS ONE.for-at finish-EP-PRS-and
“In that manner, one sings and accomplishes (weaving of) the *kabads*”.

Folktales

Text 8: The Hyena and the Ram

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 08 (Folktale-the Hyena and the Ram)\The Hyena and the Ram.eaf

SED\08\01

bari-baa wahaa {soo} wado soo qaad-aj waraabe...
day-FOC FOC {VENT} road VENT take-PST hyena
“Once upon a time, a hyena walked to a raod,”...

SED\08\02

isa-ga oo feel ku soo sofd-a.
he-DEF.M CONJ well to VENT walk-PRS
“and came to a well.”

SED\08\03

mar-kii-uu feel-kii soo gaaq-aj ajaa waha uu u j-imid...
timepoint-ANPH.M.he well-ANPH.M VENT reach-PST FOC FOC he to EP-come.PST

wan keli-gii tfooga ŧeel-ka duŧiisa.
ram alone-his.M stay.PRS well-DEF.M top.its
“When he arrived at the well, he came across a lonely ram.”

SED\08\04
mar-kaa waraabi-hii-baa wuĥuu j-iđi
timepoint-DST.M hyena-ANPH-FOC FOC.he EP-say.PST
“Then, the hyena said,”

wan-jah-ow jaa ku-la soŧ-da jaa ku-la tfoog-a.
ram-be-VOC.M who you-with wolk.PRS who you-with stay.PRS
“Ram! Who walks with you? Who stays with you?”

SED\08\05
wan-kii baa j-iđi ŧid-na i-la-ma tfoog-t-o waa keli-gaj.
ram-M FOC EP-say.PST people-and me-with-NEG stay-3SF-MOD DCL alone-my.M
“The ram said, ‘No one is staying with me, I am alone’.”

SED\08\06
waraabi-hii ajaa isa-ga oo la jaab-an wan-ka keli-gii ŧeel-ka tfoog-a ku-na farah-san...
hyena-ANPH FOC he-DEF.M CONJ ONE wander-MID ram-DEF.M alone-his.M well-DEF.M stay-PRS to-and happy-MID
“The hyena was wondering and felt happy about the loneliness of the ram at the well,”...

ajaa wuĥuu j-iđi waar wan-ow hadda-na jaa ku-la tfoog-a.
FOC FOC.he EP-say.PST VOC.M ram-VOC.M now-and who you-with stay-PRS
“ ‘Hey Ram! Who is staying with you?’ asks again”

SED\08\07
wan-kii baa j-iđi keli-gay-baa meefa tfoog-a ŧid-na i-la-ma tfoog-t-o.
ram-ANPH.M FOC EP-say.PST alone-my.M-FOC place.DEF stay-PRS people-and me-with-NEG stay-3SF-MOD
“The ram said, ‘it is only me who stays at the well; no one is with me’.”

SED\08\08
wuĥuu qaad-an waa-j-aj waraabi-hii in-uu wan-ku keli-gii j-ah-aj.
FOC.he take-MID miss-PST hyena-ANPH QNT-he ram-DEF.M.NOM alone-his EP-be-PST
“The hyena could not believe that the ram was alone.”

SED\08\09
wuu ku dul war-wareeg-aj ku dul war-wareegaj.
DCL.he to top RDP-round-PST to top RDP-round-PST
“He went around the ram, repeatedly.”

SED\08\10
mar-kuu {ŧid la tfooga uu wa ŧid la tfoog} ŧid la tfoog-ta wan-ka...
timepoint-ANPH.M.he {people with stay.3SM he people with stay} people with stay-3SF-PRS ram-DEF.M

uu waa-j-aj ajaa in-tuu qosol đig đag đag đag ka sii-jaj ajuu wuĥu j-iđi
he miss-EP-PST FOC QNT-DEF.F.he lough SYM SYM SYM SYM from give-EP-PST FOC.he FOC.he EP-say.PST
“When he discovered that there was no one looking after the ram, the hyena laughed again and again and said,”

alla ajaan-kaj-ga wan buur-an oo aan ŧid-na la tfoog-in ajaa aan maan-ta hel-aj.
INTRJ day-my.M-DEF.M ram fat-MID CONJ NEG people-and with stay.NEG.MOD FOC I today.DEFF find-PST
“Oh my luck! Today I found a fatish ram which no one is looking after.”

SED\08\11
wan-kii ajaa is-na nah-aj oo j-iđi waraabe maĥaad i-ga rab-t-aa.
ram-ANPH.M FOC he-and scare-PST CONJ EP-say.PST hyena.VOC what.FOC.you(s) me-from want-2S-PRS
“The ram was shocked and said, ‘Hyena! What do you want from me?’”

SED\08\12

mar-kaas-uu j-idi waḥ-ba kaa-ma rabo...
timepoint-DSTM-he EP-say.PST thing-no you(s).from-NEG want-NEG.MOD
“The hyena said, ‘I want nothing from you’...”

SED\08\13

wahaan la jaaban-ah-aj ani-ga oo waraabe ah oo waḥ-aan ḥuno raadin-aj-a...
FOC.I with wander-be-PRS I-DEF.M CONJ hyena be CONJ thing-I eat search-INF-PRG-PRS
“I am wondering myself, that I am a hyena looking for what to eat”...

ajaan ku ark-aj adi-ga oo keli-gaa meel tfoog-a.
FOC.I you(s) see-PST you(s)-DEF.M CONJ alone-your.M place stay-PST
“I saw that you are alone.”

SED\08\14

feeka-dii-na hal-kaas ajuu wan-kii waraabi-hii ku ḥun-aj ku-na gabagabow-d-aj.
story-ANPH.F-and place-DSTM FOC.he ram-ANPH.M hyena-ANPH.M at eat-PST to-and conclusion.MID-3SF-PST
“The hyena ate the ram; and the story ends.”

Text 9: The Hyena and about the Milk

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 09 (Folktale-the Hyena and the Question about the Milk)\The Hyena and The question about Milk.eaf

SED\09\01

waraabe ajaa reer soo kor istaag-aj.
hyena FOC household VENT top stand-PST
“A hyena stood near a place where a family resides.”

SED\09\02

mar-kaas-aa waḥaa u j-imid ḥajawaan kale oo habar dugaag ah.
timepoint-DSTM-FOC FOC to EP-com.PST animal other CONJ mother wild be
“Then, other animals of the wilderness came (to him).”

SED\09\03

suḥaal baj wajdii-j-ee-n-oo waḥaj ḍah-ee-n waar waraabe ḥaanaha ma t-aqaan-aa.
question FOC.they ask-EP-PST-3P-CONJ FOC.they say-PST-3P VOC.M waraabe.VOC milk.DEF Q 2S-know-PRS
“They asked a question, ‘Hyena! Do you know what is called ‘milk’?’”

SED\09\04

mar-kaas-uu j-idi haa waan aqaan-aa.
timepoint-DSTM-FOC.he EP-say.PST yes DCL.I know-AGR.PST
“He replied, ‘Yes, I do.’”

SED\09\05

mar-kaas-aa la j-idi waa kuwee.
timepoint-DSTM-FOC ONE EP-say.PST DCL INDP.Q
“Then, one said, ‘what is it?’”

SED\09\06

waa kuwa mad-madow ee reer-u-hu mus-ka is-ka-ga ḍiib-aa-n.
DCL INDP.DEF RDP-black CONJ hamlet-P-DEF.NOM fence-DEF.M self-from-from give-PRS-3P
“It is the black thing which members of a household pass to each other across the fence (of a pen).”

SED\09\07

wuhuu ark-aj ḍiil-kii ḥaanu-hu ku tḥir-ee-n ee madoob-aa.
FOC.he see-PST milkvessel-ANPH.M milk-DEF.NOM in contain-PST-3P CONJ black.PST
‘He saw the black milk container.’

SED\09\08

daba-deed dee reera-ha oo isu fid-fidin-aj-a mar-kuu ark-aj Saani-hii...
tail-F.its DM hamlet-P-DEF CONJ self-for RDP-give.INF-PRG-PRS timepoint-M.he see-PST milk-ANPH

Saana-ha hoo-da mar-ka la lee-j-ah-aj wuhuu mood-aj-ba...
milk-DEF presentative-DEF.F timepoint-DEF.M ONE have-EP-be-PST FOC.he assume-PST-CONJ

weel-kan modow-giisu in-aj Saani-hii oo madow j-ih-iin.
instrument-PRXM black-his.M-DEF.NOM QNT-they milk-ANPH CONJ black EP-be-PRS-3P
“He assumed the black milk container which the family members present to each other as the milk.”

SED\09\09

in-aj Saanu-hu Sad-j-ih-iin meefa ma-ba uu-na soo dig-an.
QNT-they milk-DEF.NOM white-EP-be-3P.PRS place.DEF NEG-CONJ he-NEG VENT put-MID
“He never thought milk is white.”

Text 10: The Hyena and the Woman

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 10 (Folktale-the hyena and the woman)\The Hyena and the Woman.eaf

SED\10\01

qurwaa ajaa wado deer soo qaad-aj.
hyena FOC road long VENT take-PST
“A hyena walked along a long road.”

SED\10\02

daba-deed wuhuu j-imid reer.
tail-its.F FOC.he EP-come.PST household
“Then he arrived at (the residence of) a household.”

SED\10\03

wuhuu maql-aj qof dumar ah oo ka feekejn-aj-s-a qurwaa-ga...
FOC.he hear-PST person woman be CONJ from story.INF-PRG-3SF-PRS hyena-DEF.M
“He heard a female person talking about a hyena...”

SED\10\04

oo leh tfaba-dii hebla ee bari-gii uu qurwaa-gu na-ga-ga Sun-aj neefkii hebel.
CONJ have place-ANPH anonymous.F CONJ time-ANPH.M he hyena-DEF.NOM us-from-to eat-PST livestock anonymus
“Who is saying, ‘at that place the hyena ate our animal (known to the household)’.”

SED\10\05

wuu jaab-aj.
DCL.he wander-PST
“He wondered.”

SED\10\06

kii Sun-aj-na wuu-ba ah-aa-ba laftar-kiisii.
ANPH.M eat-PST-CONJ DCL-he-CONJ be-PST-CONJ bone-his.M
“The one that ate was he himself.”

SED\10\07

wuhuu j-idi walee ijo bile ijo talee hadaan hoola-ha haween-ka hoola-ha ka aqaano...
FOC.he EP-say.PST walee and bilee and talee if.I livestock.DEF women-DEF.M livestock-DEF from know
“He said, ‘I swear, if I could have identified the woman’s livestock,’...”

ma-ba Sun-ee-n.

NEG-CONJ eat-PST-NEG.MOD
“I would not have eaten them”.

SED\10\08
{*islaan*}
{OLD PERSON}
{oldwoman}

SED\10\09
ani-gii ħun-aj baa iloob-aj-e islaan-tii aan ka ħun-aj...
I-ANPH.M eat-PST FOC forget-PST-CONJ oldwoman-ANPH.F I from eat-PST

wali waj ħusuus-san t-ah-aj.
still DCL.she remember-MID AGR-be-PRS
“I ate and forgot, but the old woman whose animal I ate, she still remembers”.

SED\10\10
walee ijo bilee haween-ku ma samraan.
walee (Arabic *wallahi*) and *bilee* (Arabic *billahi*) women-DEF.M.NOM NEG patience.AGR.NEG
“I swear, women never forget”

SED\10\11
nin-kii waħ ka taab-t-a-na ma daa-j-aa-n.
man-M thing from touch-MID-PRS-and NEG leavealone-EP-PRS-3P
“and the one who touches their property, they do not let him be free.”

Text 11: The three Hyenas that found a Lamb

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 11 (Folktale-the three hyenas that found the lamb)\Three Hyenas and the lonely Lamb.eaf

SED\11\01
seddeħ qurwaa ajaa tfiri tfir-aj.
three hyena FOC exist.INF AUX-PST
“There were three hyenas.”

SED\11\02
waħaj ku soo baħ-een een reer meel ka guur-aj.
FOC.they to VENT out-3P.PST DM household place from migrate-PST
“They came across a place where a family migrated from.”

SED\11\03
reerku kol-kuu meefa ka guur-aj hilli tfiilaalaj ah-aj-d.
family-DEF.M.NOM occasion-M.he place.DEFF from migrate-PST season winter-FOC.3SF be.PST-AGR
“When the family migrated, it was dry season.”

SED\11\04
reer-ku meefa wuħuu ka-ga guur-aj...
family-DEF.M.NOM place.DEFF FOC.he from-at migrate-PST
“The family left behind...”

SED\11\05
laħ baxtij-aj-s-aj meefa ka-ga guur-een.
sheep die-PRG-3SF-PST place.DEF from-at migrate-3P.PST
“a dying sheep.”

{SED\11\06}
kol-kaas-aj waħaj ark-een
occasion-DST.M-FOC.they FOC.they see-PST.3P
“Then, the hyenas saw.”

mid ka-mid-a wuħu ark-aj seddeħ-doo-dii...
one from-one-be FOC.he see-PST three-their-ANPH
“One of them saw,”...

SED\11\07

lahdii...

sheep-ANPHF
“that sheep...”

lah meel taag-an

sheep place stand-MID
“The sheep standing.”

SED\11\08

kol-kaas-uu wuhuu j-idi
occasion-DSTM-FOC.he thing-he EP-say.PST
“Then, the hyena said,”

waar reer-kii saaka guur-aj. waar lah-baj inoo-ga tag-ee-n
VOCM family-ANPHM this.morning migrate-PST VOCM sheep-FOC-they us.for-from leave-PST-3P
“Hey, the family that migrated this morning left a sheep for us.”

SED\11\09

alla! waj farh-eeen-oo waj ku soo jaaf-ee-n
INTRJ DCL.they happy-PST-3P-CONJ DCL.they to VENT run-PST-3P
“They (the hyenas) felt happy and ran towards (it).”

SED\11\10

deed-na mid-baa wuhuu j-idi, waar nijow hee-daja
then-and one-FOC FOC-he EP-say.PST VOCM man.VOC hee-say.IMP.P
“Then, one of the hyenas said, ‘Hey! say *hee* (expression to show one is ready to listen).’”

SED\11\11

war wajnu fun-aa uun wah alla waha ajnu aragna-ba...
VOCM DCL.we eat-PRS just thing every FOC we see.1P-ever
“Hey, we eat whatever we come across...”

ee hoolo a wajnu fun-aa uune....
CONJ livestock be DCL.we eat-PRS just.CONJ
“livestock, we just eat...”

majnu daqano si-da dad-ka oo kale inaguba.
Q.we raise-MID manner-DEF people-DEF CONJ other we-CONJ
“Why don’t we rear (them) the way people do?”

SED\11\12

mar-kaas-aa mid-kii kalaa wuhuu j-idi warjaa waa run-tii.
occasion-DSTM-FOC one-ANPH other.FOC FOC.he EP-say.PST hey DCL true-his.F
“Then the other one said, ‘Hey, he is right!’”

SED\11\13

seddeh-doo-dii-ba waa aj is-ku raa-eeen in-aj daqd-aan.
three-their-ANPH-CONJ DCL they self-to follow-3P.PST QNT-they raise-3P.PRS
“All three agreed to rear.”

SED\11\14

deed-na maalin-kii danbe mid-baa wuhuu j-idi...
then-and day-ANPHM latter one-FOC FOC.he EP-say.PST
“Then, in a later day, one (of them) said,”...

waajahee ajnu raafo seddeh-deenu-ba ajnu wada raafo
ok.CONJ we follow.1P.MOD three-our-CONJ we together follow.1P.IMP
“Ok, let three of us together look after (the sheep).”

SED\11\15

illeen is-ma aamin-aj-aa-n-oo mid-baa ħunij-e.
because self-NEG trust-PRG-PRS-3P-CONJ one-FOC eat-INF.CONJ
“They do not trust each other; one of them may eat (it).”

SED\11\16

{waa is} waj wada raaf-een.
{DCL self} DCL.they together follow-3P.PST
“They all together looked after (it).”

SED\11\17

mar-kaj wada raaf-een. ajaa kol-kii aj ħasar gaab-ad-kii ah-ajd-buu...
occasion-ANPH.M.they together follow-3P.PST FOC occasion-ANPH.M 3SF *Asr.* Arabic short-MID-ANPH be-PST-FOC.he

wuħuu mid-i j-idi
FOC.he one-NOM EP-say.PST
‘When they were looking after (it) and it was late afternoon, one of them said,’

SED\11\18

waar nijow dejlo waj ii-soo ur-ur-aj-s-aa....
VOC.M man.VOC *dejlo* FOC.she me.to-VENT RDP-smell-PRG-3SF-PRS
“Hey! *Dejlo* smells to me....”

waar dejlo waan soo naħ-naħ-aj-aa-buu j-idi midi.
VOC.M *dejlo* FOC.I VENT RDP-hate-PRG-PRS-FOC.he EP-say.PST one.NOM
“Hey! I am about to hate *Dejlo*.”

{SED\11\19}

dejlo wuħuu ka wad-aa laħ-duu ka wad-aa.
dejlo FOC.he from mean-PRS sheep-DEFF.FOC.he from mean-PRS
“By saying ‘*Dejlo*’, he meant the ‘sheep’.” (the narrators explains the word ‘*Dejlo*’ in the following recitation)

SED\11\20

laħ-da in-taa hore ajaj madoob-aj-d oo.
sheep-DEFF QNT-DST.F front FOC.she black-PST-3SF CONJ
“That front part of the sheep (the speaker makes a gesture indicating the front body part) was black.”

SED\11\21

qajb-taa hore ee garab-ka ilaa garab-ka ajaj madoob-aj-d.
part-DST.F front CONJ shoulder-DEF.M upto shoulder-DEF.M FOC.she black-PST-3SF
“That front part (pointing) up to the shoulder was black.”

SED\11\22

mar-kaa neef-ku kol-kuu in-taa kur-ka keli-j-a uu-na madoob-ejn-ee...
time-DST.M animal-DEF.M.NOM occasion-DEF.M.he QNT-DST.F neck-DEF.M only-EP-be he-NEG black-PST.NEG-CONJ

ilaa ijo garab-ka is-la wada madow-d-ah-aj ajaa dejlo la qah-aa.
upto and shoulder-DEF.M self-with all black-3SF-be-PRS FOC *Dejlo* ONE say-PRS
“When a sheep, not only its head but also up to its shoulders, is black, it is called ‘*Dejlo*’.”

SED\11\23

waar dejlo waan soo naħ-naħ-aj-aa-buu j-idi.
VOC.M *Dejlo* DCL.I VENT RDP-hate-PRG-PRS-FOC.he EP-say.PST
“‘Hey! I am about to hate *Dejlo*’, he said.” (the narrator resumes the folktale)

SED\11\24

kii kalaa j-idi an-na waan soo naħ-naħ-aj-aa
ANPH.M other.FOC EP-say.PST I-and DCL.I VENT RDP-hate-PRG-PRS
“The other one said, ‘me too, I am about to hate (it).’”

SED\11\25

kol-kaas-uu j-idi ma-bejnu is-ka suno de.
occasion-DST.M-FOC.he EP-say.PST Q-CONJ.we self-from eat.MOD DM
“Then he said, ‘let us eat (it).’”

SED\11\26

kol-kaas-aj j-idaah-d-ee-n wajahee ajnu suno
occasion-DST.M-FOC.they EP-say-AGR-PST-3P ok.CONJ we eat.MOD
“Then they said, ‘Ok, let us eat (it).’”

SED\11\27

lah-dii baj deed-na waha-aj j-idaah-d-een wajahee ajnu sunee,...
sheep-ANPHF FOC.they then-and FOC-they EP-say-AGR-3P.PST ok.CONJ we eat.MOD.CONJ
“They said, ‘Ok, but to eat’,...”

wahajnu samajni si-da dad-ka oo kale
FOC.we make.INF manner-the people-DEF.M CONJ other
“we will do the way people do.”

oo wajnu karin-dee, hilib-ka wajnu karsan.
CONJ DCL.we cook.INF-DM meat-DEF.M DCL.we cook.MID
“That means, we will cook (it); we will cook the meat for ourselves.”

SED\11\28

kol-kaas-aj wahaj j-idaah-d-ee-n nijow waa run-tii....
occasion-DST.M-FOC.they FOC-they EP-say-3P-PST-3P man.VOC DCL true-his.F
“Then, they said, ‘He is right.’”

ajnu kar-san-o waha qajdiin-ka un-b-ajnu wahn ku sun-n-aa-j-e.
we cook-MID-MOD thing.the row-DEF.M just-CONJ-we thing to eat-1P-PRS-EP-CONJ
“Why should we eat raw! Let us cook (it) for ourselves.”

SED\11\29

wahaj samee-j-ee-n...
thing.they made-EP-PST-3P
“They went...,”

meel waa hore la-ga guur-aj...
place time before ONE-from migrate-PST
“a place that people have migrated from a long time ago,”

danbas waa hore la-ga guur-aj.
ash time before ONE-from migrate-PST
“there was ash at the place from where people migrated.”

SED\11\30

ajaj deed-na ajaj in-taj hilib-kii saa u goo-j-ee-n...
FOC.they then-and FOC.they QNT-DEF.F.they meat-ANPHM manner.DST to cut-EP-PST-3P
“Then they cut the meat in that manner (the narrator makes gesture indicating the manner of cutting);”

ooj neef-kii kala goo-goo-j-ee-n.
CONJ.they animal-ANPHM separate RDP-cut-EP-PST-3P
“and made slices of the animal’s meat.”

SED\11\31

ajaj hilib-kii saa u huluuli-j-ee-n....
FOC.they meat-ANPH manner.DST to slither-EP-PST-3P
“They put the meat in that manner (showing by gesture) into the ash.”...

SED\11\32

kol-kaj saa u huluuli-j-ee-n hadda waa danbas dan-san.
occasion-ANPHM.they manner.DST to slither-EP-PST-3P DM DCL ash off-MID
“When they put in that manner, there was no fire.”

SED\11\33

{ajaa mid-baa wuhu j-idi. ajaa} wuu ka-la bood-aj.
{FOC one-FOC FOC.he EP-say.PST FOC } DCL.he from-with jump-PST
“The hyena swiftly took (the meat) out from (the ash).”

SED\11\34

kol-kuu ka-la bood-aj baa wuhuu j-idi...
occasion-ANPHM.he from-with jump-PST FOC FOC.he EP-say.PST
“The hyena said, when he took (it) out from (the ash),...”

wuu huurfoobi lah-aa-je rag-baa ka haleel-aj.
DCL.he destroy.MID have-PST-EP-CONJ men-FOC from save-PST
“It was about to be consumed, but men saved (it).”

SED\11\35

maʕna-hii wuu guban lah-aa buu ka wad-aa.
meaning-ANPH DCL-he burn.MID have-PST FOC.he from mean-PRS
“He meant ‘it was about to burn’.”

SED\11\36

hilib-ku wuu gub-an lah-aa-j-e. rag-baa ka haleel-aj buu ka wad-aa.
meat-DEF.MNOM DCL.he burn-MID have-PST-EP-CONJ men-FOC from save-PST FOC.he from mean-PRS
“The meat, it was about to burn, but men saved it from (the fire) that is what he meant.”

Text 12: The Tied up Jackal and the Hyena

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 12 (Folktale-the Arrested Jackal and the Hyena)\the Arrested Jackal and the Hyena.eaf

SED\12\01

daʕawo ajaa bari reer wañ ka ʕun-t-aj hoolo ka ʕun-t-aj.
jackal FOC time family thing from eat-3SF-PST livestock from eat-3SF-PST
“One day, a jackal ate something of a family.”

SED\12\02

ka dib-na waj qab-t-ee-n
from hind-and DCL.they catch-MID-PST-3P
“Then, they caught (it).”

SED\12\03

geed baj ku hiq-hiq-ee-n.
tree FOC.they to RDP-knot-PST-3P
“They tied (it) up at a tree.”

SED\12\04

ija-ga oo bijo u soo kar-kar-san-aj-a ajaa wañaa u j-imid qurwaa.
they-DEF.M CONJ water to VENT RDP-boil-MID-PRG-PRS FOC FOC to EP-come.PST hyena
“While they were boiling water, a hyena came to (the jackal).”

SED\12\05

ileen qurwaa-na hunguri humo waa la-gu og-aa, wuhuu j-idi...
because hyena.and throat bad DCL ONE-to know-PST FOC EP-say.PST
“The hyena who is known for gluttony, said,”...

naa daɣawo maħaa meefan ku-gu hiq-aj?
VOC.F jackal.VOC Q place.PRX you-to knot-PST
“Hey Jackal, who tied you up here?”

SED\12\06
mar-kaasaj t-iri waħa la ii-soo wad-aan-ad og-ajn
timepoint-DST.M-FOC.she 3SF-say.PST FOC ONE me.to-VENT bring-FOC.NEG-you know-NEG.MOD
“Then she (the jackal) said, ‘You are not aware of what one is bringing to me.’”

seddeħ gool ajaa ii qal-an.
three camel FOC me.for slaughter-MID
“Three camels are slaughtered for me.”

SED\12\07
si aan kala qaho ma hajo.
manner I apart say.MOD NEG hold.NEG.MOD
“I don’t know how to mannage (them).”

SED\12\08
mar-kaasuu j-iqi naa walaal-aj run-ta ii feeg.
timepoint-DST.M-FOC.he EP-say.PST VOC.F sister-VOC.F true-DEF.F me.for tell.IMP
“Then he (the hyena) said, ‘Hey sister, tell me the truth?’”

SED\12\09
mar-kaasaj t-iri waħaan ku sug-aj-aa meefa...
timepoint-DST.M-FOC.she 3SF-say.PST FOC.I at wait-PRG-PRS place.DEF.F
“Then she said ‘I am waiting here...’”

hib-kaa kar-sam-aj-a ajaan ku sug haj-aa.
meat-DST.M boil-MID-PRG-PRS FOC.I at wait hold-PRS
“I am waiting for that boiling meat.”

SED\12\10
{*mar-kaa*} *mar-kaas-uu j-iqi naa walaal-aj run ii feeg?*
{timepoint-that} timepoint-DST.M-FOC.he EP-say.PST VOC.F sister-VOC true me tell.IMP
“He said, ‘Sister, tell me the truth?’”

SED\12\11
Mar-kaas-aj t-iri waa run-taj walaahi {statering} mijaan waħ kaa sii-j-aa.
timepoint-DST.M-FOC.she 3SF-say.PST DCL true-mine.F swearing QI thing you.for give-EP-PRS
“She (the jackal) said, ‘I swear, it is true. May I give you some of (it)?’”

SED\12\12
haa buu j-iqi.
yes FOC.he EP-say.PST
“‘Yes’ he replied.”

SED\12\13
mar-kaas-aj t-iri waajahee adi aan is-ku kaa bedelo ee
timepoint-DST.M-FOC.she 3SF-say.PST ok.CONJ you I self-to you change.MOD CONJ
“Then she said, ‘Ok, you replace me’.”

ħadi-ga i-ga fur-fur.
robe-DEF.M me-from RDP-open.IMP
“Untie the rope from me.”

SED\12\14
{*waj ka*} *wuu ka fur-fur-aj isa-gii baa is-ku hiq-hiq-aj.*
{DCL-she from} DCL.he from RDP-open-PST he-ANPHM FOC self-to RDP-knot-PST
“He untied (her); and he tied up himself.”

SED\12\15

biji-hii kulul-aa ee loo soo kar-kar-san-aj-aj dafawo isa-gaa dufa la-ga-ga fub-aj...
water-ANPH hot-PST CONJ ONE.for VENT RDP-boil-MID-PRG-PST jackal he-DEF.M.FOC top.DEFF ONE-at-to pour-PST
“The hot water, which has been boiled for the jackal, was poured onto him;”...

ka-dib-na dub-kaa ka mudh-ad-aj.
from-then-and skin-DEF.M.FOC from tear.MID-PST
“Then the skin (of the hyena) scalded.”

SED\12\16

hal-kaas ajuu-na ku din-t-aa qurwaa-gii.
place-DST.M FOC.he-and at die-MID-PRS hyena-ANPH.M
“At that point (of the story)/at that place, the hyena died.” (Narrator indicates where or how the hyena in the folktale died)

SED\12\17

dawaṣa-dii-na hal-kaas ajaj ka-ga badbaad-aj...
jackal-ANPH.F-and place-DST.M FOC.she from-at save-PST

wihii loo-gu talo gal-aj ee ah-aa in bija-ha kulul dufa la-ga-ga fubo.
FOC.ANPH ONE.for-to decision enter-PST CONJ be-PST QNT water-DEF hot top.DEFF ONE-at-to pour.MOD
“And the jackal was saved from what was awaiting her which was pouring the hot water onto her.”

SED\12\18

qurwaa-gii-na hunguri ħumo ajaa u gaj-s-aj...
hyena-ANPH-and throat bad FOC to bring-MID-PST
“Being gluttonous brought him the hyena to (the trap);”...

SED\12\19

oo is-na biji-hii dufa la-ga-ga fub-aj.
CONJ him-and water-ANPH top.DEFF ONE-at-to pour-PST
“and someone poured the (hot) water onto him.”

Text 13: The Tortoise and the Jackal

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 13 (Folktale-theTortoise and the Jackal)\Tortoise and Jackal.eaf

SED\13\01

bari baa waḥaa tfir-i tfir-aj diin ijo dawaṣo.
time FOC FOC exist-INF AUX-PST tortoise and jackal
“Once upon a time, there were a tortoise and a jackal.”

SED\13\02

waj is raaḥ-ee-n
DCL.they self follow-PST-3P
“They walked together”

SED\13\03

mar-ka aj soḥd-aa-n soḥd-aa-n ajaa...
time-DEF.M they walk-AGR-PRS-3P walk-PRS-3P FOC

diin-kii waḥuu hel-aj guri aan dul-duleel-in oo fiisan
tortoise-ANPH.M FOC.he find-PST house NEG RDP-hole-NEG CONJ good
“When they walked far away, the tortoise found a house that has no holes;”

SED\13\04

dawaṣa-dii-na waḥaj hef-aj guri dul-duleel-a
jackal-ANPH.F-and FOC.she find.3SF-PST house RDP-hole-PRS
“and the jackal found a house that has holes.”

SED\13\05

mar-kaa dawaḥa-du waḥaj damaḥ-d-aj in aj sir-t-o diin-ka...
timepoint-DST.M jackal-DEF.F.NOM FOC.she initiate-3SF-PST QNT she deceive-3SF-MOD tortoise-DEF.M

ka-na qaad-at-t-o guri-ga fiisan
from-and take-MID-3SF-MOD house-DEF.M good

“So, the jackal intended to deceive the tortoise in order to take the nice house for herself.”

SED\13\06

waḥaj t-iqi waar diin diin. dii diin ḥali...

FOC.she AGR-say.PST VOC.M tortoise tortoise RDP tortoise Ali

“She said, ‘Hey Tortoise! Tortoise! Mr. Tortoise of Ali’,”...

SED\13\07

haddii hadda la ina soo weeraro...

if now ONE us VENT attack.MOD

“if one attacks us now,”...

guri-gaj-ga ani-ga meel walba waa irid waanan ka bihi kar-aa.

house-my.M-DEF.M I-DEF.M place every DCL door DCL.and.I from out.INF can-PRS

“me, in my house, every place is a door and I can exit.”

SED\13\08

adu-se guri waḥaad gaf-aj aad-an ka bihi karin ma-na ordi kartid.

you.NOM-but house FOC.you enter-PST you-NEG from out can.NEG NEG-and run.INF can

“But you, you entered a house that you can’t exit; and (it is obvious that) you can’t run away.”

SED\13\09

dee ani-ga un-baa ḥarari karee...

DM I-DEF.M just-FOC run.INF can.CONJ

“Only I can run away,”...

SED\13\10

guri-gan adu soo gal dul-duleel-a...

house-PRX.M you.NOM VENT enter RDP-hole-PRS

“you, come and enter this house that has holes,”...

si aad meel kasta oo irid-a aad u-ga baḥ-d-o.

manner you place every CONJ door-be you for-from exit-2S-MOD

“so that you will be able to exit everywhere which is a door.”

SED\13\11

si-dii baj ku sir-t-aj.

way-ANPH.F FOC.she to deceive-3SF-PST

“In that manner, she deceived (the tortoise).”

PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

Text 14: Proverb 1

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 14 (Proverb 1)\Proverb 1.caf

SED\14\01

ḥamamar haween nin-kii diid-aa ḥaruur laʔaan buu ku ḍaḥ-aa.

suggestion women man-M refuse-PST children lack FOC.he to fall-PRS

“A man who refuses the advice of women becomes childless.”

{SED\14\02}

maḥna-ha.

meaning-DEF

“The meaning”

{SED\14\03}

ilmi-hii hamuun-baa haj-a waa hadaad diidood ku t-iqaa bal daxtar ijo waahuun.
child-ANPH decease-FOC hold-PRS DCL if.you refuse.CONJ.you to AGR-say.PRS DM doctor and thing.just
“The child who has an illness (diagnosed by the mother), if denied treatment would die,”

{SED\14\04}

haa wañ-baa haj-a wañ-jaalo fajn-kaasa.
yes thing-FOC hold-PRS thing-P sort-DST.be
“The child has got something; things of that sort” (the narrator presents the diagnostic results of the mother as follows)

{SED\14\05}

fusbaa hajsaa
salt.FOC hold.AGR.PRS
“It has got salt disease.” (a disease cured with salt)

{SED\14\06}

hilib dalqa ku jaal-a
flesh pharynx at located-PRS
“There is meat in its throat.”

{SED\14\07}

wañ-jaalo fajn-kaas-a oo daawo daxtar-ku sii-j-aj-a
thing.P sort-DST.M-be CONJ medicine doctor-DEF.MNOM give-EP-PST-be
“Things (syndromes) of that sort which also imply the cure,”

{SED\14\08}

wadaad-aa haj-a.
spirit.P.FOC hold-PRS
“It has got spirit” (this should have followed SED\14\06).

SED\14\09

famamar haween nin-kii diid-aa faruur la?aan buu ku qa?aa.
suggestion women man-ANPH refuse-PRS children lack FOC to fall-PRS
“A man who refuses the advice of women, becomes childless” (the narrator reiterates the proverb).

{SED\14\10}

haween-kaa si-daa ku maahmaah-a.
women-DEFM.FOC manner-DST.F to proverb-PRS
“Women say that proverb.”

Text 15: Proverb 2

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 15 (Proverb 2)\Proverb 2.eaf

SED\15\01

maahmaaha-ha soomali-da waña ka mid ah
proverb.P-DEF somali.P-DEF FOC from one be
“One of the Somali proverbs is.”

SED\15\02

hilib fajdiin-i in-tuu faro ka qaad-o, ajaj gabaq-i-na feeb ka qaad-d-aa...
meat row-NOM QNT-DEFF.3SM sand from take-MOD FOC-she lady-NOM-and shame from take-AGR-PRS

baa la j-idi.

FOC ONE EP-say.PST

“‘The amount (of dust) that a raw meat takes from the soil, a woman (who made a mistake) takes shame’ one says.”

{SED\15\03}

in-taa in le?eg.
QNT-DST QNT equal
“An amount which equals that.”

{SED\15\04}

utfeeda-du waha weeji, waj u nuguf-ah-aj gabaḍu feeb-ta ...
purpose-DEF.F.NOM FOC is DCL.she to sensitive.3SF-be-PRS lady.DEF.NOM shame-DEF.F
“The meaning is ‘a woman is vulnerable to disgrace’ ”...

dee oo rag-ga oo kale ma ah-a.
DM CONJ men-DEF.M CONJ another NEG be-PRS
“and (she) is not like the men.”

Text 16: Saying

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 16 (Saying-‘three are not sought a Shelter’)\Seddex la ma dugsado.eaf

SED\16\01

seddeh la-ma dugs-a-d-aa la j-iḍi.
three ONE-NEG takerefuge-MID-PRS ONE EP-say.PST
“One said, ‘One does not seek refuge with three (people)’.”

SED\16\02

feex aad t-iḍi feex-ow na waḍdi.
sheik you 2S-say.PST sheik-VOC.M us preach
“A Sheik you said to, ‘Sheik! Preach us,’”

SED\16\03

walaal-kaa oo aad t-iḍi walaal-ow ii hiili.
brother-your.M CONJ you 2S-say.PST brother-VOC.M me.for favour
“Your brother whom you said to, ‘Brother! Favor me,’”

SED\16\04

naag-taa-dii oo aad t-iḍi maad wah i siisid.
wife-your.F-ANPH.F CONJ you AGR-say.PST Q.you thing me give.MOD
“Your wife whom you said to, ‘Why don’t you give me something (to eat)’.”

SED\16\05

seddeh-daa mid-na la-ma dugs-ad-aa la j-iḍi.
three-DST.F one-no ONE-NEG takerefuge-MID-PRS ONE EP-say.PST
“One said, ‘neither of those three, should one refuge with’.”

Narrations of Cultural Matters

Text 17: Somali Marriage (Part 1)

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 17 (Narration-Somali Marriage (Part 1))\A narration about somali marriage 1.eaf

SED\17\01

{een labaa guur-ku} guur-ku labuu noq-d-aa, laba arim-ood.
“{DM two.FOC marriage-DEF.M.NOM} marriage-DEF.M.NOM two.FOC.he become-MID-PRS two case-P
“The marriage is two types”.

SED\17\02

laba-da arim-ood ee guur-ku noqdo waha weeji een...
two-DEF.F case-P CONJ marriage-DEF.M.NOM becomes FOC is DM
“The two types of marriage are:”...

SED\17\03

mid geed faqi-baa la j-iqaah. waa laga balam-aa.

one tree sit-FOC ONE EP-say.PRS DCL ONE-from appoint-PRS

“geed-faqi: People (families) choose each other.”²⁸ (the second type of marriage will appear in Text 18)

SED\17\04

mar-ka la-ga balamo geed faqi-ga wuhuu noqon-ajaa geed faqi-gaasi.

timepoint-DEF.M ONE-from appoint.MOD tree sit-DEF.M FOC.he become-PRG.PRS tree sit-DST.M

“When one chooses (another) in the *geed faqi*, the *geed faqi* will be as follows.”

SED\17\05

warbal waħaad jeef-aa-n...

VOC.M.CONJ FOC.you accept.2P-PRS-2P

“Hey men, you have to wait...,”(the family of the girl talking)

wah-baanu is-ku hagaatfi-san-aj-n-aa-j-oo soorja-daanu dijaarin-aj-n-aa-j-e...

thing-FOC.we self-to prepare.INF-MID-PRG-1P-PRS-EP-CONJ invitation-DEFF.FOC.we prepare.INF-PRG-1P-PRS-EP-CONJ

“We are preparing ourselves for the ceremony,”

wahaad noo iman-aj-s-aa-n ajaan-ta ajaan-tee-da.

FOC.you us.for come-PRG-2P-PRS-2P day-DEFF day-her.F-DEFF

“You will come back a week from today”.

SED\17\06

ajjan-ta ajaan-tee-du waa toddobaad.

day-DEFF day-her.F-DEFF.NOM DCL week

“A day from today’ is a week.” (the narrator)

SED\17\07

toddobaad-kaa mar-ka la-ga ballamo,...

week-DST.M timepoint-DEF.M ONE-from appoint

“When one makes an appointment with another for a week from today,”...

balan-kii ajaan-taa ajaan-teed la is-ku qabto...

NP appointment-ANPH day-DST.F day-her.F ONE self-to catch

and that appointment is agreed on,”...

qaraar-tii la balam-aj baa la is-ku iman-aj-aa.

group-ANPH.F ONE appoint-PST FOC ONE self-to come-PRG-PRS

people meet each other, accordingly.”

SED\17\08

geed baa la waab-aj-aa.

tree FOC ONE shack-PRG-PRS

The host people make an enclosure around a tree.”

SED\17\09

geed-kaas-aa la is-u-gu iman-aj-aa.

tree-DST.M-FOC ONE self-to-at come-PRG-PRS

In that enclosure, people meet each other.”

SED\17\10

waha qas-aj-s-a in aj qolo kale t-imaado ija-na...

FOC fall-PRG-3SF-PRS QNT she group other 3SF-come.MOD she-and...

ooj gabaqa waanu geed faqi-n-aa t-iqaahdo.

CONJ.she lady.DEFF DCL.we tree sit-1P-PRS 3SF-say.MOD

“Another group may come and say, ‘We need to sit under the tree for the girl’.”

²⁸ *geed-faqi* (lit. tree-sit ‘sitting under a tree’) is a type of marriage where the two families meet to agree on the engagement of their children.

SED\17\11

qolo kala-na aj t-imaado.
group other-and she 3SF-come.MOD
“Yet, another group may come.”

SED\17\12

wahaa la-gu kala saar-aa wah-jaabo faro-badan mar-kaa dad-kaa
FOC ONE-to separate put.PRS thing-P finger.P-more timepoint-DSTM people-DEFM
“There are many ways of adjudicating between those people (at the tree).”

SED\17\13

jaa soo horee-j-aj baa la oqan-aj-aa
who VENT first-EP-PST FOC ONE say-PRG-PRS
“‘Who came first?’ One asks.”

SED\17\14

qolo-da geed-ka ku soo hore-j-s-aj taj ah-aj-d.
group-DEFF tree-DEFM at VENT early-EP-3SF-PST Q.FOC.3FS be-PST-3SF
“Which group came first to the tree?”

SED\17\15

qolo-danaa ku soo hore-j-s-aj
group-PRXF-FOC at VENT early-EP-3SF-PST
“This group came first.” (the family of the girl says)

SED\17\16

maadaama ooj qola-dan-i ku soo hore-j-s-aj,...
since CONJ.she group-PRXF-NOM at VENT early-EP-3SF-PST
“Since this group came first”...

qola-dan-aa la siin-aj-aa ajaa la lee-j-ah-aj.
tribe-PRXF-FOC ONE give-INF-PRG-PRS FOC ONE have-EP-be-PRS
“It is said, ‘One gives (the girl) to this group’.”

SED\17\17

waa la siin-aj-aa.
DCL ONE give-INF-PRG-PRS
“One gives (the girl to the first group).”

SED\17\18

loo-ma meherin-aj-o mar-kaa.
ONE.to-NEG wedlockt-INF-NEG.MOD timepoint-DSTM
“But, the marriage is not yet approved.” (the narrator)

SED\17\19

wah meher la j-idaahi ma jiro.
thing wedlock ONE EP-say NEG exist.NEG.MOD
“Marriage does not happen”

SED\17\20

waad siin-aj-s-aa.
DCL.you give-INF-PRG-2S-PRS
“One should give away the girl.”

SED\17\21

waahaad lee-d-ah-aj hidid barxadeed hoolo u-ma naño u-ma deheejo.
FOC.you have-2S-be-PRS root of bless livestock for-NEG fear for-NEG middle.NEG.MOD
“One says, ‘blessed relatives do not fear and share (i.e. paying or receiving) livestock’.”

SED\17\22

gabaqii waan idin siin-aj.
lady.ANPHF DCL.we you give-PST
“We gave you the girl.”

SED\17\23

hasejeefee waḥaad sama-j-s-aa-n...
but FOC.you make-EP-2P-PRS-2P
“But, you have to...”

SED\17\24

ḥoolo noo keen-a. jarad-ka in-taa leʔeg noo keen-a.
livestock us.for bring.IMPP bride price-DEF.M QNT-DST.F equal us.to bring.IMPP
“bring livestock to us. Bring the dowry which equals that amount to us.”

SED\17\25

jarad baa la is-la ṣadm-aj tiraa la is-la ṣadmaj ajaa la is-la garan-aj-aa.
dowry FOC ONE self-with define-PST number.FOC ONE self-with defined FOC ONE self-with know-PRG-PRS
“The people defined a dowry together. Together they defined the number and the two parties know (it).”

SED\17\26

tira-daas-aa la-gu soo dijaar garoob-aj-aa.
number-DST.F-FOC ONE-at VENT ready become-PRG-PRS
“Accordingly, one is prepared.”

SED\17\27

ḥooli-hii baa la keen-aj-aa.
livestock-ANPH FOC ONE bring-PRG-PRS
“Then, one brings the livestock.”

SED\17\28

waḥaa la lee-j-ah-aj noo noqo waḥaad noo keen-t-aa...
FOC ONE have-EP-be-PST us.for return.IMP FOC.you us.for bring-2S-PRS

qori in aad keen-t-o weejaa la lee-j-ah-aj.
gun QNT you bring-2S.MOD is.FOC ONE have-EP-be-PRS
“One (the family of the girl) says, ‘you should go back and bring a gun.’”

SED\17\29

wuu noqon-aj-aa hadda-na.
DCL.he return-PRG-PRS now-and
“One returns back to one’s place.”

SED\17\30

qori-gii baa loo keen-aj-aa.
gun-ANPH FOC ONE.for bring-PRG.PRS
“One brings the gun.”

SED\17\31

waḥaa la lee-j-ah-aj waḥaad noo keen-t-aa faras-ka ṣajn-kaa ah.
FOC ONE have-EP-be-PRS FOC.you us.for bring-2S-PRS horse-DEF.M sort-DST.M be
“Then one says, ‘Bring a horse of that type.’”

SED\17\32

faras-kii buu hadda-na keen-aj-aa.
horse-ANPH FOC.he now-and bring-PRG.PRS
“He brings that horse, too.”

SED\17\33

faras-kaa mar-kuu biñijo gabaqii waa la meherin-aj-aa hada-ba.
horse-DST.M occasion-DEF.M.he give lady.ANPH DCL ONE engagement-PRG-PRS now-CONJ
“When one gives the horse to them, the marriage gets approved.”

SED\17\34

faras-kii u danbee-j-aj buu keen-aj.
horse-ANPH for tail-EP-PST FOC.he bring-PST
“The horse was the last.”

SED\17\35

waa loo meherin-aj-aa mar-kaa nin-ka gabaqa.
DCL ONE.for wedlock-PRG-PRS timepoint-DST.M man-DEF.M lady.DEFF
“Then the engagement (of the man and the girl) takes place.”

SED\17\36

gabaqa mar-ka nin-kaa loo meheri-j-o...
lady.DEFF timepoint-DEF.M man-DST.M ONE.for engagement-EP-MOD

wahaa la samajn-aj-aa een aqal baa loo qis-aj-aa.
FOC ONE make-INF-PRG-PRS DM house FOC ONE.for build-PRG-PRS
“When the girl is engaged to the man, the family of the girl starts building a house for (them).”

{SED\17\37}

mar-kaa wahaa qas-d-aj {nin.}
timepoint-DST.M FOC happen-3SF-PST {man}
“Something happened eventually,”

SED\17\38

jaa {laba ijo tob..} laba san-o {ajaa naag-tii wa.} ajaa uu hoola-ha uun keen-aj-aj
DM {two and ten} two year-P {FOC woman-ANPH DCL} FOC he livestock-DEF just bring-PRG-PST
“He was bringing livestock for two years.”

SED\17\39

mar-kaas-aa la is-ma tus-aj-o in-taas. is-ma ark-aj-aa-n
timepoint-DST.M-FOC ONE self-NEG show-PRG-NEG.MOD QNT-DST.F self-NEG see-PRG-PRS-3P
“In that course of time, the family (of the girl) did not allow the man and the lady seen each other. They didn’t see each other.”

SED\17\40

waj meher-san t-ah-aj naag-taas-i.
DCL.3SF engagement-MID 3SF-be-PRS woman-DST.F-NOM
“That woman is engaged,”

hadda-na waa la-ga ilaalin-aj-aa oo naag-taa nin-kaa in-aj is ark-aa-n.
now-and DCL ONE-from protect-INF-PRG-PRS CONJ woman-DST.F man-DST.M QNT-they self see-PRS-3P
“Yet the family prevented that woman and that man for seeing each other.”

SED\17\41

dig ijo dakowba kol-kii loo dammeej-aj ee aqal-kii la dijaari-j-aj...
material and material occasion-ANPH ONE.for complete-EP-PST CONJ home-ANPH ONE prepare-EP-PST
“When the family completed the preparation for building the home,”...

SED\17\42

ee barri ha la qiso la lee-j-ah-aj.
CONJ tomorrow IMP ONE build.IMP ONE have-EP-be-PRS
“and they say, ‘One has to build (the home) tomorrow.’”

SED\17\43

ajuu wuḥuu ark-aj ija-da oo baḥ-d-aj oo owr soo ḥarejn-aj-s-a.
FOC.he FOC.he see-PST she-DEFF CONJ out-3SM-PST CONJ camel.P VENT bring.INF-PRG-3SF-PRS
“He (the bridegroom) saw her (the bride) while she went outside to bring back camels to the pen.”

SED\17\44

ḥasar weeji.
asr (hour) is
“It is in the afternoon.”

SED\17\45

gabaḍii buu ḥir-kaa u qaad-aj oo wuu ḍig-t-aj.
lady.ANPH FOC.he sky-DST.M to take-PST CONJ DCL.he put-MID-PST
“He took her up and put her on ground for himself.”

SED\17\46

gabaḍii-baa qajli-s-aj.
lady.ANPH-FOC shout-3SM-PST
“The lady yelled.”

SED\17\47

soddoh-dii ajaa ḍenged ku bilow-d-aj ija-na.
motherinlow-ANPH.F FOC stick at start-3SF-PST she-and
“The mother-in-law (of the man) came and hit with a stick.”

SED\17\48

wiil-kii
boy-ANPHM
“the man?” (listener)

haah

yes
“yes” (narrator)

SED\17\49

qajla-dii baa dee la is-u-gu j-imid
shout-ANPH.F FOC DM ONE self-to-at EP-come.PST
“People came hearing the shout.”

SED\17\50

oddej-gii ḍal-aj baa dee meefii j-imid.
oldman-ANPH beget-PST FOC DM place.ANPH EP-come.PST
“The father of the girl came to the place.”

SED\17\51

wuḥuu j-iḍi waar wiil-ka hal-baa seeg-aj.
FOC.he EP-say.PST VOC.M boy-DEF.M point-FOC miss-PST
“He said, ‘The boy missed a point.’” (Lit. a point missed the boy).

SED\17\52

gabaḍa-na hal-baa seeg-aj.
lady.DEF-and point-FOC miss-PST
“The girl missed a point.” (Lit. a point missed the girl).

SED\17\53

jaah soddoh-da-na hal-baa seeg-aj.
DM motherinlow-DEFF-and point-FOC miss-PST
“And the mother-in-law missed a point.” (Lit. a point missed the mother-in-law).

SED\17\54

ani-ga-se hal-na i-ma seeg-aj-o.
I-DEF.M-but point-even me-NEG miss-PRG-NEG.MOD
“But me, I miss no point.”

SED\17\55

wiil-ka hal baa seeg-aj-oo...
boy-DEF.M point FOC miss-PST-CONJ
“The boy missed a point,”...

SED\17\56

barri baa-ba aqal-kii-sa aan qis-aj-n-aa-je.
tomorrow FOC-CONJ home-his.M-DEF we build-PRG-IP-PRS-EP-CONJ
“we are going to build his home tomorrow (that he does not know);”

SED\17\57

in-uu saawa uun in-tan uun sug-aj ah-aj-d-e.
QNT-he tonight just QNT-PRXF just wait-FOC.3SF be-PST-3SF-CONJ
“if only he waited for this night.”

SED\17\58

hal-kaas-aa seeg-aj buu j-idi.
point-DST.M-FOC miss-PST FOC.he EP-say.PST
“He missed that point,” he said.”

SED\17\59

gabaqa-na hal-baa seeg-aj-oo...
lady.DEF-and point-FOC miss-PST-CONJ
“The girl missed a point, too,”...

SED\17\60

ta aqal-ka loo qis-aj-a-ba weiji nin-kii-ba weeje?e.
IND.F home-DEF.M ONE.for build-PRG-PRS-CONJ is man-ANPH-CONJ is
“She is the one whom one prepares to build a house; and he is the man (to whom she is engaged);”

SED\17\61

in-aj is-ka aamus-t-o ooj u hil qari-s-aj ah-aj-d
QNT-she self-from calm-3SF-MOD CONJ.she for shame hide-3SF-MOD-FOC.she be-PST-3SF
“She better kept silent and hid his shame.”

SED\17\62

{ma aj} ija-da-na hal-kaas-aa seeg-aj buu.
{NEG she} she-DEFF-and point-DST-FOC miss-PST FOC.he
“She missed that point.”

SED\17\63

soddoh-da-na hal-baa seeg-aj-oo.
motherinlaw-DEFF-and point-FOC miss-PST-CONJ
“The mother-in-law missed a point, too,”

SED\17\64

dee kii aj dig ijo dakowba u tfootfin-aj-s-aj weejee ku kale ma-ah-ee.
DM ANPH she material and material for stand-INF-PRG-3SF-PST is INDM.NOM other NEG-be-CONJ
“He is that one for whom she is going to build a house, and he is not another (man);”

SED\17\65

in-aj is-ka-ga noqo-t-o oo aj aamus-t-o waa-ba halaal buu u j-ah-aj-e.
QNT-she self-from-out return-3SF-MOD CONJ she calm-3SF-MOD DCL-CONJ lawful FOC.he for EP-be-PRS-CONJ
“She had better gone back and kept calm since he is a lawfull.”

SED\17\66

ajaa hal-kaas-aa ija-da-na seeg-aj.
FOC point-DST.M-FOC she-DEFF-and miss-PST
“She missed that point.”

SED\17\67

ani-ga se hal-na i-ma seegin-e wiil-ka ijo gabaqa aqal-kaa gee-j-a
I-DEF.M but point-no me-NEG miss.NEG-CONJ boy-DEF.M and lady.DEF home-DST.M take-EP-IMP.P
“But I missed no point; and now take the boy and the girl to that house,”

buu j-iqi.

FOC.he 3SM-say.PST
“He said.”

{SED\17\68}

een daqan-a-da soomaali-du waa fajn-kaa.
DM culture-P-DEFF somalis-DEF.F.NOM DCL sort-DST.M
“The traditions of the Somalis are of that sort.”

Text 18: Somali Marriage (Part 2)

File:Somali ELAn Data (SED)\ELAn 18 (Narration-Somali Marriage (Part 2))\A narration about somali marriage 2.eaf

SED\18\01

guur-ku labuu u kala baħ-aa.
marriage-DEF.M.NOM two.FOC.3SM for apart out-PRS
“(I said) marriage is categorized into two types.”

SED\18\02

mid-i waa kii aan ka soo feekee-j-aj oo waa geed faqiisi.
one-NOM DCL ANPH I from VENT story-EP-PST CONJ DCL tree sitting
“The first was the one that I had talked about and it is the *geed faqiisi*.”

SED\18\03

mid-ka kale waħaa la j-iqaah-aa labaħ.
one-DEF.M other FOC ONE EP-say-PRS *labaħ*
“The other is called *labaħ* ‘elope’”

SED\18\04

gabaqa ijo wiil-ku waj is-la quun-t-aa-n.
lady.DEFF and boy-DEF.M.NOM DCL.they self-with hide-MID-PRS-3P
“The girl and the boy hide from others.”

SED\18\05

mar-ka aj is-la quun-t-aa-n laba sabab-ood baa qaƣ-d-a.
timepoint-DEF.M they self-with hide-MID-PRS-3P two reason-P FOC happen-3SF-PRS
“When they hide, two optional things may happen.”

SED\18\06

in aj guulajs-t-aa-n oo aj is-la tag-aa-n
QNT they win-MID-PRS-3P and they self-with go-PRS-3P
“That they managed to escape together.” (the other option being to be caught)

SED\18\07

kol haddii la is-la taga-na waħa la kaħajj-aj-aa...
occasion if ONE self-with go.MOD-CONJ FOC ONE take.INF-PRG-PRS

wali-gee-da gabaqa kol-ka la-ga kaħeejo...
protector-her.M-DEFF lady.DEF occasion-DEF.M ONE-from takenout.MOD

lih ijo toban aqi foof baa la wad-aj-aa.
six and ten sheep outdoorgrazing FOC ONE continue-PRG-PRS
“If the two individuals managed to escape, they will go to a far away place from the girl’s parents.”

SED\18\08
kol-kaas-uu meher-ku sugnaan-aj-aa-j-oo
occasion-DST.M-FOC.he engagement-DEF.M.NOM certain-INF-PRG-PRS-EP-CONJ
“Then, the engagement will be certain.” (it is taken for granted)

maṣna-ha gabaqa la soo meherin-aj-aa masaafaa la j-iqaah
meaning-DEF lady.DEF ONE VENT engagement-INF-PRG-PRS elope.FOC ONE EP-say.PRS
“That means, the girl and the boy will be engaged. It is called *masaaf* ‘elope’ (by going to a distant place).”

SED\18\09
kaas-i masaafa-da ah ijo kaa geedfaqiisi-ga ah juu u kala baḥ-aa guur-ku.
DST.M-NOM elope-DEF.F be and DST.M treesitting-DEF.M be FOC.he for apart out-PRS marriage-DEF.M.NOM
“The marriage is categorized into *masaaf* ‘elope’ (also meaning *labah* ‘elope’) and *geed faqiisi* ‘sitting under a tree’.”

SED\18\10
mar-kaa waḥaj ku kala nasilan j-ihii-n
timepoint-DST.M FOC.they at apart different EP-be.PRS-3P
“These two differ from each other (interms of dowry).”

SED\18\11
geedfaqi-gu-na ḥoolo badan buu lee-j-ah-aj.
treesitting-DEF.M.NOM-and livestock many FOC.he own-EP-be-PRS
“In the *geedfaqi*, a lot of livestock is paid.”

SED\18\12
kan la is-la baḥ-aa-na ee la is-la qun-t-aa-na,...
PRX.M ONE self-with out-PRS-and CONJ ONE self-with hide-MID-PRS-and
“The latter one, where the individuals elope and hide themselves from others,”...

ixtijaar-kaa-ga waḥaad hefaad siin-aj-s-aa
choice-M.you-DEF.M FOC.you found.MOD.you give-INF-PRG-2S-PRS
“it is one’s choice to pay what one has got,”

mar-kaa ileen gabaqii baad gaṣan-ta ka-ga haj-sat-t-aa-j-e.
timepoint-DST.M because lady.ANPH FOC.you hand-DEFF from-at hold-MID-2S-PRS-EP-CONJ
“since one has the girl in one’s hands.”

APPENDIX B

Informants

No	NAME	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	RESIDENCE
1.	Shafee' Ow Yusuf	61	Amadle, Jigjiga, Faafan Zone,	Jigjiga
2.	Mohamed Jaama'	40	Amadle, Jigjiga, Faafan Zone,	Jigjiga
3.	Deyr Faarah	54	Kebri-Beyah, Faafan Zone	Jigjiga
4.	Najiib Abdihakim Reyed	12	Kebri-Beyah, Faafan Zone	Jigjiga
5.	Abdulahi Sofe	32	Kebri Deher, Korahey Zone,	Jigjiga
6.	AhmedShaafi Abdullahi	30	Awaare, Jarar Zone	Jigjiga