

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

THE VERB MORPHOLOGY OF JIJIGA SOMALI

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**July, 2009
Addis Ababa**

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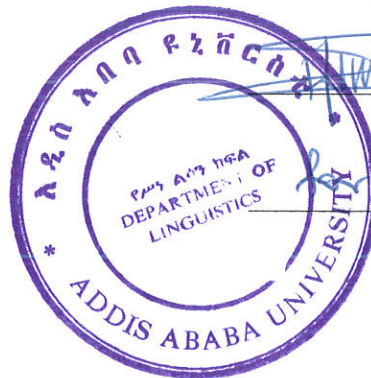
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List of Abbreviations

V	Vowel
C	Consonant
Foc	Focus
Ags	Subject Agreement
pst	Past Tense
sg	Singular
pl	Plural
Num	Number Marker
Prt	Present Tense
Inf	Infinitive
1sg	1 st Person Singular
2sg	2 nd Person Singular
3msg	3 rd Person Masculine Singular
3fsg	3 rd Person feminine singular
2pl	2 nd Person Plural
3pl	3 rd Person Plural
Prog	Progressive Aspect
Neg	Negative Marker
Q	Question Word
Aux	Auxiliary Verb
pas	Passive
CAUS	Causative Markers
Rec	Reciprocal
con	Conjunction

Abstract

This thesis attempts to investigate and describe the morphology of Jijiga Somali and the focus systems of the language. Somali is one of the East-Cushitic languages in the Afro -Asiatic phylum. The data were collected from native informants, and the methods used for data collection were elicitation along with transcription.

The thesis has five chapters. The first chapter gives general information about the language and the people. Chapter two and three deal with the inflectional and derivational morphology of verbs, and chapter four gives a brief discussion of the focus systems of the language. Finally, summary is given in chapter five.

In the study it is found out that verbs of the language are inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and agreement. Besides, it is indicated that verbs of the language can be derived from verbal stems and non verbal stems. Regarding the focus system, focus words and word order variation are used to show the focused information in the constructions.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. The Language and the People

Somali is one of the East-Cushitic languages in the Afro-Asiatic phylum. It is subgrouped in the proto-eastern branch of lowland Cushitic languages. Somali is spoken in the lowland of Eastern Ethiopia (Somali region) and across Somalia, Djibouti, and Kenya. Somali is influenced by Arabic Language and is written in Roman script (Bender 1976).

According to Lamberti (1984) and Ehret and Nuuh (1984), Somali has different dialects. For instance, Lamberti (1984) in his article tries to classify all the Somali varieties into five dialectal groups. These include: Northern Somali dialect which is spoken all over Northern Somalia, the Banadir dialect which is spoken along the coast of Southern Somalia, the Ashraf dialect which is spoken in Moqadishu, the May dialect which is spoken in the medium of upper and lower Juba, and the Digil dialects which are scattered all over the May-speaking territory. All the previous classifications made were aimed at the dialects spoken only in Somalia.

The other work on Somali dialectology is Ehret and Nuuh (1984). This work tries to classify all the dialects of Somali based on the patterns of cognition in the vocabulary and the patterns of shared innovations. Their classification was based on all varieties spoken in Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti. They classified the different dialects of Somali into five dialectal groups. These include: Bayso Jiddu dialects, Somali II dialects, Somali III dialects, Somali IV dialects, and Benadir Northern dialects.

Ehret and Nuuh (1984) didn't show clearly where the dialects are spoken. However, it is possible to understand from the description that the dialects spoken in Jijiga and Diredawa belong to Banadir Northern dialects.

The people call themselves and their language Somali. In the literature, the word Somali is used to refer to both the language and its speakers. In this study, the term Somali is used to refer to both the language and the people.

According to Skin (2006), the number of speakers of Somali language are estimated about 12.7 million. This number includes; the speakers who live in Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti.

The Somali people live in Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya. The Somali people are Muslims and they are followers of Sunni Islam. Islamic law is an important part of Somali legal and social system, and Quranic schools provide many Somalis with early basic education in religion, customs and ethics (Skin, 2006). Although Somali culture is homogenous, the society is highly classified into clans.

Since this study is limited to the dialects of Somali spoken in Ethiopia, specifically in Jijiga woreda, it is worthwhile to give information about the people of Somali Regional State. The Somali region is one of Ethiopia's largest region. The region has nine zones, and the capital of the region is Jijiga, which is situated 675kms far from Addis Ababa.

According to the 2008 population and housing census result, the population of Somali region is 4.3 million. Among these 95.7 percent of the population constitutes the overwhelming majority of Somali ethnic group, and Somali is the mother tongue of 95.9 percent of the population. According to the census result, the Somali ethnic group and very few highlanders (Oromo, Gurage, Amhara, etc) are followers of Muslim religion.

The economy of the rural Somali people is mainly based on pastoralism. For pastoralists camel, sheep, goats, and cattle are the main productive livestock reared. A few people also use sedentary and riverine farming in Jijiga and Shebelle weredas. The people who live in the urban areas conduct their life in small business and some are employers of the government.

At present, Somali has different official functions in the Somali regional state. It is regional official language, a medium of instructions in primary schools and teachers training institute; it also serves as language of the courts and mass media.

1.2. Review of Related Literature

So far, many theoretical and descriptive works may have been done on Somali language outside Ethiopia. However, it has been found to be difficult to access them. Only the following works are available in our library.

Hayward (1984) in his article entitled "NP focus in Somali and Dirayta" has tried to describe the comparison of the focus word 'baa' and 'pa' in standard Somali and in Dirayta. He examines the syntactic features of these focus words within the two languages. In conclusion the status of 'pa' and 'baa' is found to be some kind of copula.

Gebert (1984) is an article that deals with absolute constructions in Somali. Gebert tries to justify the label of absolute construction to Somali subordinate clauses. In the conclusion it is found that Somali complex NPs did not specify a precise relationship with the main clause, all manifested the formal characteristic of Indo-European absolute construction.

LeCarme (1984) tries to describe the Somali complement constructions. He describes the basic structure of complement construction by providing different examples. In the conclusion, he points out that complement constructions reflect a diachronic change and the autonomy of complement structures will be pursued in the diachronic development of the Somali syntax.

Another scholar who conducts a research on Somali language is Puglielli (1984) on derived nouns in Somali. In his analysis, he shows that nouns are derived from other nouns; and she formulates rules. She identifies five different suffixes that are used to derive nouns from other nouns.

The other work on Somali is Burno (1984): "Notes on denominal verbal derivation in Somali". This work tries to examine the morphological characteristics of simple noun stems in the derivation processes. The analysis part of the work indicates that simple nominal stem works as an input for a number of derived verbs, and the nominal stem which is the left most element, gives the basic lexical meaning to all the derived forms. In addition to this, he concludes that denominal verbs exhibit a syntactic and semantic behavior perfectly analogous with that of deverbal verbs.

All the aforementioned works are aimed on the dialects spoken outside of Ethiopia. Regarding the dialects spoken in Ethiopia, as far as I know, there are only two preliminary linguistic studies which have been done by undergraduate students of Addis Ababa University.

Ahmed (1988) in his senior essay entitled "The verb morphology of Dir-Somali of the Ogaden region" tries to describe the inflections and derivations of the verbs in Dir- Somali.

Ahmed (1988), tries to show the inflectional and derivational morphology of Somali verb which is spoken in Ogaden. In his analysis of inflectional morphology, he tries to show the tense, aspect, and mood systems of the language.

With regard to the tense system, there is no difference between the present work and Ahmed's work. However, in his analysis of aspect, he identifies two kinds of aspect: the compound perfect, and progressive aspect. Accordingly, the compound perfect is the same with his analysis of past tens form.

In the present study, two types of aspects are identified. These are progressive aspect and habitual aspect. The perfective aspect is not observed.

In his analysis of mood, he identifies two types of moods: jussive and imperative. However, in the present study five types of moods are identified.

With regard to negative construction, he shows that the negative marker /ma-/ occurs with the focus word /waa/. However, this phenomenon is not observed in this study. In this study, negative markers and verbal focus markers are excluded each other.

In the derivational part of his study, four types of derived verb stems are discussed. However, in the present study, the number of derived verb stems is six. Besides, in the present study, the focus system of Somali language, which is not included in Ahmed's work is discussed.

Merid (1988) also in "The phonology of Harar Somali" has tried to examine the phonology of Harar Somali. His analysis is focused on segmental and supra-segmental features of the language. At the end, he concludes that Harar Somali has 22 consonant segments, and five short vowels.

In general, no study has been done particularly on Jijiga Somali verb morphology. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyze and describe the structure of the verb morphology of Jijiga Somali.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to make a detailed description on the morphological structure of Somali verbs. The research specifically tries:

1. to examine the inflectional and derivational affixes of verbs in the language.
2. to identify the morphophonemic processes that occur in the inflectional and derivational processes.
3. to identify the different focus markers of the language.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The result of this study may:

- contribute in the preparation of pedagogical material like Somali text books for the purpose of mother tongue education.
- contribute to better understanding of the language.
- serve as source material for researchers doing further research on the language.
- provide further linguistic facts for students and teachers of Somali language.
- contribute to the understanding of the typological and theoretical position of the language.

1.5. Research Methodology

In carrying out this study different methods are adopted. First different books and works relevant to this study are reviewed. Next word lists, phrases, sentences and texts to be elicited from native speakers of the language were prepared. Then, data has been collected. The techniques which were employed to collect the data were tape recording and elicitation along with transcription. The data are transcribed phonemically and glosses are provided. Finally, analysis of the data is done.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This study is limited in two ways.

1. It is limited to morphology, particularly to the description of the verb morphology of the language.
2. The database is limited to the language which is spoken in Jijga Wereda.

Even though the database is Jijiga, it is believed that the findings might apply to the language which is spoken in other Weredas.

1.7 Notes on the Phonology of the Language

1.7.1. Consonant Phonemes

Somali has twenty two consonant phonemes. Below is presented the orthography followed by the corresponding IPA symbol together with a phonetic description of their basic form.

Orthographic symbol	IPA symbol	Phonetic description
b	[b]	voiced bilabial plosive
t	[t]	voiceless dental plosive
d	[d]	voiced dental plosive
dh	[d̥]	alveolar implosive
k	[k]	voiceless velar plosive
g	[g]	voiced velar plosive
q	[q]	voiceless uvular plosive
f	[f]	voiceless labio-dental fricative
s	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative
sh	[ʃ]	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
kh	[χ]	voiceless uvular fricative
x	[h]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
c	[ʕ]	voiced pharyngeal fricative
h	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative
'	[ʔ]	voiced glottal stop
j	[dʒ]	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
m	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal
r	[r]	voiced alveolar trill
l	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral
w	[w]	voiced labio-velar approximant
y	[j]	voiced palatal approximant
n	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal

The above chart is consistent with Saeed (1993). However, there are some discrepancies among the present inventory of consonants. The post-alveolar retroflex [ɖ] is found to be the dental implosive [ɗ], and the voiced alveolar trill [R] is found to be the voiced alveolar roll [r]. The chart presented below shows the consonant phonemes with their place and manner of articulation.

Table one

The chart of consonant phonemes

Manner of articulation	place of articulation									
	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd	vls vd
Plosive	b		t d				k g	q		
Nasal	m			n						
Trill				r						
Fricative		f		s	ʃ			χ	ħ ʕ	h ʔ
Approximant			w			j				
Affricate					dʒ					
Lateral				l						
Implosive				ɗ						

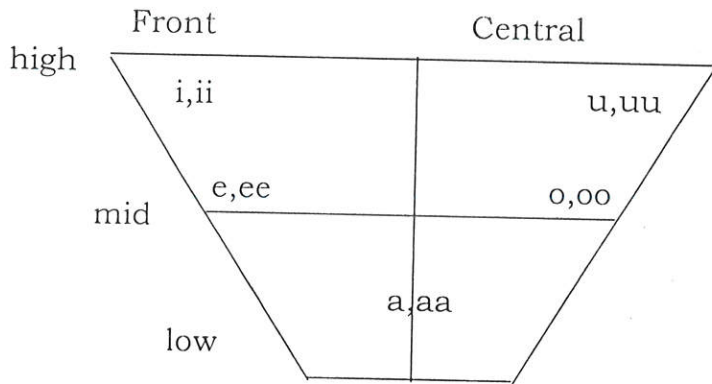
This chart is formulated based on the above phonemic descriptions.

1.7.2 Vowel Phonemes

In Somali, there are five short vowels written as /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, and five long vowels written as /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, /uu/. The distinction between these vowel is very important, and there are many words distinguished by them (Saeed, 1993).

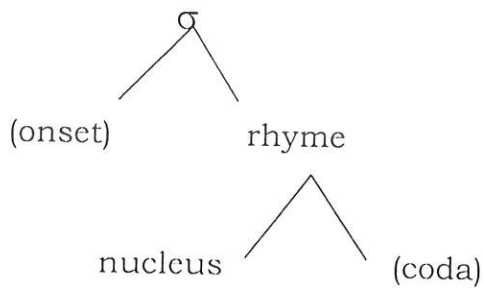
Table two

The chart of vowel phonemes



1.7.3. The Syllable Structure of the Language

The syllable structure of Somali language can be constructed from nucleus, nucleus and coda, onset and nucleus, and onset, nucleus and coda. The onset and the coda are optional constituents where as the nucleus is obligatory. This can be presented in the following syllable tree structure.



In Somali, the syllables are of the form V, VC, CV, and CVC. Vowels in the nucleus position can be short, long or diphthong.

1.7.4. Phonotactics

According to Saeed (1993), Somali syllables cannot begin or end with more than one consonant. In addition to this, (as all Ethiopian languages), /t/

and /k/ do not occur at the end of the syllable and /m/ and /j/ do not occur at the end of the words. Consonant gemination is common in the language, but not for all consonants. The following consonants can be geminated: /b/, /d/, /d/, /g/, /l/, /m/, /n/, and /r/.

1.7.5. Phonological Processes

In Somali, there are large numbers of phonological processes which can appear in the grammar. Of these, vowel deletion, assimilation fusion, and individual sound changes are observed.

In the grammar of Somali, some words delete their short vowels, when affixes are suffixed to the verb stem as in below.

- a. hadal → hadlaj
'speak' 'spoke'
- b. orod → ordaj
'run' 'run (past)'

In addition assimilation processes are observed both in vowels and consonants. For instance short vowels are changed into the vowel of affixes or the next vowel (Saeed, 1993). It is also called vowel harmony. Look at the example below.

- a. saʔ → siʔ-ii
'cow' → 'the cow'
- b. hoolo → hooli- hii
'cattle' 'the cattle'

As can be seen from the above examples, short vowels are changed into the vowels of affixes, or assimilated to the next vowels. In Somali, fusion of words into one is a common phenomenon. For instance, focus words are fused with pronouns in most cases. Look at the following examples.



- a. waa+an → waan
Foc -1person
- b. gabaḍ +baa → gabaḍaa
'girl' -Foc
- c. wahaḍ + uu → wuhuu
Foc -3msg

Regarding individual sound changes, it is very difficult to summarize the situation. Because, sound changes that occur in the grammar are not common in other languages. Saced (1993), states that most of the phonetic rules that occur in Somali language are specific to Somali. Below are the commonly observed sound changes in this work. Such phonological processes are known as devoicing.

- a. arag → arkaj
'see' 'saw'
- b. adag → adkee
'hard' 'harden'

In a and b above, /g/ → /k/ before a vowel, and the short vowel /a/ is deleted. And this process is called spirantisation.

- c. meelo+ ka → meelaha
'place' 'the place'
/k/ → /h/ between a vowel

- d. /l/ +/t/ becomes /ʃ/ as in below
dil → dishay
'kill' 'killed'

The word/dishay/ above is /dil+t+ay/.

e. Voiced stops become voiceless between vowels

eg. ilig → ilik-o

‘tooth’ ‘tooth - pl’

/g/ → /k/ intervocalically

f. /i/+/o/ becomes /jo/. /i/ is changed into glide /j/ before back vowel/o/.

eg. guri+o → gurjo

house-pl ‘houses’

As stated, many sound changes occur in this language. However, I have tried to show only a few of them that I could observe in the data analysis. Some of the phonological rules are also indicated in the analysis part.

CHAPTER TWO

Verb in Somali

Verb is a term used in the grammatical classification of words. Traditionally it was defined as doing or action words and feelings (Crystal, 1993). Verb can be defined in terms of form and function. Formally, verb refers to an element which can display morphological contrast of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person, etc. Functionally, it is the element which is used as the minimal predicate of a sentence, co-occurring with a subject.

Somali verbs can be grouped into three main classes based on morphology and the way they behave. According to Saeed (1997), they are grouped into weak verbs, strong verbs, and irregular verbs.

As to Saeed (1993), weak verbs are verbs that mark inflections on the right hand side of the root. Such verbs are considered as normal verbs. The root verb in Somali corresponds to the imperative singular form. Consider the following examples.

- 1) a, keen = 'bring!'
- b, tag = 'go!'
- c, qaad = 'take!'
- d, fid = 'light!'
- e, fur = 'open!'

Strong verbs are verbs that inflections are marked by a vowel change in the root. These verbs are limited in number, and are influenced by Arabic words (Bell, 1954). Such verbs are presented below.

Present	Past
2) a, iman = 'come'	imi= 'came'
b, oċan = 'say'	idīn= 'said'
c, aqaan = 'know'	iqiīn='knew'
d, ool = 'live'	iil = 'lived'

As we can see from the above example tense distinction is marked by a vowel change in the root. They are not subject to affixation processes.

According to Saeed (1993) the auxiliary verb /jahaj/ 'to be' is unique. Because its inflection is neither marked by a vowel change in the root nor by suffixation. It has distinct forms. For example the difference between past and present tense is marked by agreement affixes being prefixed in the present, and suffixed in the past tense as in below.

- 3) a, nahaj = (we) are
- b, ahajn = (we) were

In this research, all the inflectional and derivational morphological analyses are treated based on weak verbs (suffixed verbs) because weak verbs are very productive morphologically to show the various aspects of the language.

2.1. Inflectional Morphology of Verbs in Somali

In this research, attempts are made to describe Somali verbs from the point of view of their morphological characteristics. Hence, attention is given to a systematic investigation and subsequent description of the inflectional and derivational affixes.

Inflectional and derivational affixes are used to form words, but in different ways. Inflectional morphology deals with syntactically determined affixation processes while derivational morphology is used to create new lexical items (Katamba, 1993).

Regarding the classification of these two categories, various linguists proposed a number of criteria. As stated by Katamba (1993), obligatoriness is one criterion to distinguish inflections from derivation. Accordingly, inflection that occurs at different points in a sentence or syntax imposes obligatory choices from a list of affixes. If the right choice is not made, then, ungrammatical sentence results.

The second property that distinguishes inflection from derivation is productivity. Unlike derivation inflection is productive in the following senses.

- There is no restriction to the addition of particular inflectional affixes to the stem of the same word classes. In other words, stems that belong to a given class normally receive all the affixes that belong to that class.
- The words resulting from the addition of inflectional affixes have regular and predictable meaning.

The third property that is proposed to distinguish these two categories is syntactic. Katamba (1993), states that affixes serving a syntactic function are inflectional, while those which are used to create new lexical items are derivational.

In this study both inflectional and derivational morphology of Somali verbs are treated. Inflections are presented in this chapter followed by derivations in chapter three.

2.1.1. Agreement Markers in Somali

This part of the study focuses on some inflectional categories commonly occurring with verbs. The categories to be discussed here are nominal agreement markers such as person, number and gender. This is observed usually in sentences. Here, the term "nominal" refers to the subject of a given construction, when the verb is intransitive. But, in the case of transitive verbs, the term nominal implies to the subject and the object(s) of the constructions. According to Lyons (1974), it is not uncommon in the verbs of languages to have inflections indicating their subject, or both their subject and object.

2.1.1.1. Subject Agreement in Somali

In many languages, some of the qualities of a given subject (person, number and gender) can be inflected in the verb. Semantically, the category of person is clearly definable with reference to the notion of participant role (Lyons, 1974).

This category distinguishes speaker (1st person), addressee (2nd person), and non-participant (3rd person). In other words, first person is used by the speaker to refer to himself as a subject of discourse: the second person is used to refer to the hearer: and the third person is used to persons or things other than the speaker and hearer.

Somali verbs show subject person agreement. Verbs show their person agreement by using different affixes in the verb form, and by using the reduced form of pronouns. Consider the following example which is presented in the declarative mood of simple past.

- 4) a. (anigu) waa - an ḡun-aj
 I Foc -1sg eat - pst
 'I ATE'
- b. (annagu) waa- an ḡun- n - aj
 we Foc -1pl eat -1pl - pst
 'We ATE'
- c. (adigu) waa-ad ḡun -t - aj
 you(sg) Foc- 2sg eat - 2sg - pst
 'You ATE'
- d. (isagu) waa- uu ḡun - aj
 he Foc -3msg eat - pst
 'He ATE'
- e. (ijadu) waa-aj ḡun - t - aj
 she Foc -3fsg eat - 3fsg - pst
 'She ATE'
- f. (idinku) waa-ad ḡun - t - aj-n
 you(pl) Foc - 2pl eat - 2pl - pst -pl
 'You ATE'

g. (ijagu) waa-aj ʃun- aj -n
 they Foc - 3pl eat -pst-pl
 'They ATE'

In the above data, person is marked morphologically in the verbs with different grammatical morphemes. As I mentioned earlier, for all persons, the reduced form of pronouns are fused with the focus words to show agreement with the subjects of the construction, and for 1pl, 2sg, 2pl & 3fsg additional person agreement affixes are suffixed to the verb stems followed by tense and number markers. Other persons (third persons) do not show subject agreement on the verb. Their agreement affix is understood as zero morphemes. Consider the following paradigm in (5) below on the verb /keen/ 'bring'.

5) Full subject agreement paradigm in the simple past

Person	Reduced pronouns	Verb stems	Person agreement affixes	Tense markers	Number markers
1sg	an	keen	∅	-aj	-
2 sg	ad	keen	-t	-aj	-
3msg	uu	keen	∅	-aj	-
3fsg	aj	keen	-t	-aj	-
1pl	an	keen	-n	-aj	∅
2pl	ad	keen	-t	-aj	-n
3pl	aj	keen	∅	-aj	-n

In the sentences of the language, reduced pronouns which are the subject agreement markers in the above paradigm are often fused with the focus marker /waa/. Regarding the personal agreement affixes in the above paradigm, /-t/ occurs in three different places. So, when it occurs with the reduced pronoun /-ad/, it implies 2nd person singular and plural; their number is distinguished from the plural marker /-n/. On the other hand, when /-t/ occurs with the reduced pronoun /-aj/, it indicates 3fsg. When the morpheme /-n/ occurs preceding the tense marker, and next to the verb stem, it is a person agreement marker for 1stpl as can be seen in the above paradigm.

Contrary to the affirmative construction, the negative constructions of the declarative sentences in the simple past do not show agreement affixes in the verbal stems. (See also 2.1.2.2)

2.1.1.2. Number in Somali

Regarding number, the most common manifestation is the distinction between singular and plural, which is found in many languages of the world. Somali verbs distinguish between singular and plural. Such a distinction between the singular with plural forms can be understood from the given paradigm in (5) above. It indicates that the isolation of 1st person plural is understood as zero morpheme or no marker, and 2nd and 3rd person plural are indicated by the suffix /-n/. However, in the imperative mood of plural construction, plurality is formed by the suffix /-a/, though it is not a plural marker for other moods. (See also 2.1.4.4)

2.1.2. Tense System in Somali

Tense is a grammatical category along with aspect and mood. Tense primarily refers to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place (Crystal, 1997). In many languages it is usually expressed overtly on the verb.

According to Lyons (1974), the essential characteristics of the category of tense is that it relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred in the sentence the time of utterance (the time of utterance being now). Tense is therefore a deictic category, which is like all syntactic features partly or wholly dependent up on deixis. Deictic category refers to the 'orientation' features of a language which are relative to the time and place of utterances. It is simultaneously a property of the sentence and the utterance (Lyons, 1974). In relation to this, there are three types of tense distinction in Somali. These are the past tense, the present tense, and the future tense. In the following sections, each of them is presented with examples.

2.1.2.1. The Simple Past Tense

The simple past tense is marked morphologically in the verbs of the language. It is indicated by the morpheme /-aj/ which is suffixed to the main verb stems. Consider the following examples:

- 6) a. (anigu) waa -an ʃun -aj
 I Foc- 1sg eat -pst
 'I ATE'
- b. (annagu) waa- an ʃun - n -aj
 we Foc- 1pl eat -1pl -Pst
 'We ATE'
- c. (adigu) waa-ad ʃun -t - aj
 you (sg) Foc- 2sg eat- 2sg -pst
 'You ATE'
- d. (isagu) waa-uu ʃun -aj
 he Foc- 3msg eat -pst
 'He ATE'
- e. (ijadu) waa-aj ʃun -t - aj
 she Foc- 3fsg eat -2fsg -pst
 'She ATE'
- f. (idinku) waa-ad ʃun -t -aj -n
 you (pl) Foc - 2pl eat -2pl -pst -pl
 'You ATE'
- g. (ijagu) waa-aj ʃun -aj -n
 they Foc- 3pl eat - pst - pl
 'They ATE'

As we can see from the above examples, the verbs of the language are marked morphologically for the simple past tense by the suffix /-aj/. In (6f & g) when the subject of the verb is plural, the past tense suffix is followed by a number agreement suffix /-n/.

2.1.2.2. The Negative Conjugation of Simple Past Tense

According to Saeed (1993), in standard Somali, the negative form of the verb in the simple past is expressed by the morpheme /ma-/ which is a prefix.

However, in this study, the negative form of the verb in the simple past is indicated by the morphemes /ma-/ and /-in/.

7) a. (anigu) ma- ʃun - in

I Neg- eat -pst:Neg

'I didn't eat'

b. (annagu) ma - ʃun - in

we Neg- eat -pst:Neg

'We didn't eat'

c. (adigu) ma - ʃun -t -id

you(sg) Neg- eat -2sg -pst:Neg

'You didn't eat'

d. (isagu) ma - ʃun - in

he Neg- eat pst:Neg

'He didn't eat'

e. (ijadu) ma - ʃun -in

she Neg- eat - pst:Neg

'She didn't eat'

f. (idinku) ma- ʃun -in

you (pl) Neg- eat -pst:Neg

'You didn't eat'

j. (ijagu) ma - ʃun - in
 they Neg - eat -pst:Neg
 'They didn't eat'

The morpheme /-in/ in the above examples is a portmanteau morpheme indicating two different grammatical phenomena (i.e the simple past tense and negative marker).

2.1.2.3. The Present Tense

Present tense is a sub-part of non-past tense along with future tense. Both are used for non-past time reference. Future tense expresses an action, which will be taken place at some future point in time. i.e one described in the future is subsequent to the moment of speaking where as present tense expresses an action or a situation described in the present moment which is located temporally as simultaneous with the moment of speaking (Comrie, 1976). Somali verbs are marked morphologically for the present tense. There are two morphemes that show the present tense. These are: the morpheme /-aa/ in affirmative sentences, and the morpheme /-o/ in negative sentences excluding 2pl and 3pl. The tense marker for 2pl and 3pl negatives is the morpheme /-aa/. The morpheme /-o/ also is a present tense marker for jussive mood. They are suffixed to the stem verbs. Again, as in the past, when the subject of the verb is plural, the present tense suffix /-aa/ is followed by /-n/ except for one plural. The conjugation of this form is presented as follows.

8) a. (anigu) waa -an ʃun -aa
 I Foc- 1sg eat -prt
 'I EAT'

b. (annagu) waa- an ʃun -n - aa
 we Foc- 1pl eat- 1pl - prt
 'We EAT'

- c. (adigu) waa-ad ḡun - t -aa
 you(sg) Foc- 2sg eat- 2sg -pr
 'You EAT'
- d. (ijadu) waa-aj ḡun -t - aa
 she Foc- 3fsg eat -3fsg - prt
 'She EATS'
- e. (isagu) waa-uu ḡun -aa
 he Foc- 3msg eat -prt
 'He EATS'
- f. (idinku) waa -ad ḡun -t -aa -n
 you (pl) Foc -2pl eat -2pl - prt - pl
 'You EAT'
- g. (ijagu) waa-aj ḡun -aa -n
 they Foc - 3pl eat - prt - pl
 'They EAT'

2.1.2.4. The Negative Conjugation of Present Tense

In Somali, the negative form of the present tense is expressed by two different grammatical morphemes /ma-/ and /-o/. The status of /-o/ is to show present tense in the negative conjugation. However, it excludes 2pl and 3pl. If we replace /-o/ by the morpheme /-aa/ the sentence will be changed in to interrogative. Consider the following examples.

- 9) a. (anigu) ma- ḡun - o
 I Neg - eat -prt:Neg
 'I don't eat'
- b. (annagu) ma - ḡun - n - o
 we Neg- eat - lpl-prt:Neg
 'We don't eat'

- c. (adigu) ma - ʃun -t - o
 you (sg) Neg- eat -2sg- prt:Neg
 ‘You don’t eat’
- d. (isagu) ma - ʃun - o
 he Neg- eat -prt:Neg
 ‘He does not eat’
- e. (ijadu) ma - ʃun - t -o
 she Neg- eat - 3fsg - prt:Neg
 ‘she does not eat’
- f. (idinku) ma - ʃun - t -aa - n
 you(pl) Neg- eat - 2pl - prt - pl
 ‘You don’t eat’
- g. (ijagu) ma - ʃun -aa - n
 you (pl) Neg- eat -prt - pl
 ‘They don’t eat’

2.1.2.5. Future Tense

The future tense in the language is not marked morphologically on the verb. Rather it is marked on the auxiliary /doon/ ‘will’. In the future tense, the base form of the verb is changed into the infinitive form by adding the morpheme /-i/ which is an infinitive marker in the verbs of the language. Consider the following examples.

- 10) a. (anigu) waa-an ʃun -i doon-aa
 I Foc- 1sg eat- Inf will- prt
 'I will EAT'
- b. (annagu) waa- an ʃun-i doon -n- aa
 we Foc- 1pl eat- Inf will- 1pl- prt
 'We will EAT'
- c. (adigu) waa-ad ʃun -i doon-t-aa
 you (sg) Foc- 2sg eat -Inf will- 2sg- prt
 'You will EAT'
- d. (isagu) waa-uu ʃun-i doon-aa
 he Foc- Ags eat -Inf will- prt
 'He will EAT'
- e. (ijadu) waa-aj ʃun-i doon-t-aa
 she Foc- 3fsg eat -Inf will - 3fsg- prt
 'She will EAT'
- f. (idinku) waa-ad ʃun-i doon-t -aa -n
 you (pl) Foc- 2pl eat -Inf will- 2pl- prt- pl
 'You will EAT'
- g. (ijagu) waa-aj ʃun-i doon -aa -n
 they Foc- 3pl eat-Inf will - prt - pl
 'They will EAT'

As can be seen from the above data, all inflectional markers; tense markers, agreement markers, and number markers are inflected on the auxiliary verb. The main verb has an invariable form.

2.1.2.6. The Negative Conjugation of Future Tense.

As stated in the above section the future tense of the language is expressed by an auxiliary /doon/ 'will'. The negative form of this tense is expressed by the morpheme /ma-/ which is prefixed to the main verb stem, and /-o/ is suffixed to the modal verb to show both the tense and the negative. Consider the following examples with the verb /ʃun/ 'eat'.

- 11) a. (anigu) ma - ʃun - i doon - o
I Neg- eat- Inf will -prt:Neg
'I will not eat'
- b. (annagu) ma - ʃun - i doon -n -o
we Neg- eat- Inf will -lpl - prt:Neg
'We will not eat'
- c. (adigu) ma - ʃun -i doon - t - o
you (sg) Neg- eat- Inf will -2sg - prt:Neg
'You will not eat'
- d. (isagu) ma - ʃun -i doon - o
he Neg- eat- Inf will -prt:Neg
'He will not eat'
- e. (ijadu) ma - ʃun - i doon -t - o
she Neg- eat -Inf will -3msg -prt:Neg
'She will not eat'.

2.1.3. Aspect in Somali

Contrary to the category of tense, which is a deictic category, aspect is not relative to the time of utterances. It is a grammatical category, which indicates the duration of actions denoted by the verb. Aspect indicates different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation connected with time,

though time is mainly the issue of tense (Comrie, 1976). Even if the notion of aspectual distinction is a bit philosophical, many linguists classify it in to perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect (inceptive, punctual, and completive) views the situation as bounded entity, and often put an emphasis on its beginning or end. The imperfective aspect in contrast do not view the situation as bounded, but rather as going in durative, continuative or habitual sense.

In Somali, as the system of tense, aspect is inflected morphologically in the verbs of the language. Accordingly, there are two types of aspect in the language. These are the progressive, and the habitual aspects. Each of them is discussed below in some details.

2.1.3.1. The Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect is used for activity which is continuing or in progress at the indicated time.

2.1.3.1.1. The Present Progressive Aspect

The present progressive aspect is expressed by the auxiliary /ahaj/ which occurs in its short form /-aj/. The following examples can illustrate this fact.

12) a. (anigu) albaab-ka waa-an fur - aj - aa
 I door -the Foc- 1sg open- prog- prt

'I am OPENING the door'

b. (annagu) albaab-ka waa- an fur -aj -n -aa
 we door -the Foc- 1pl open - prog -1pl -prt

'We are OPENING the door'

c. (adigu) albaab-ka waa -ad fur - aj - s - aa
 you (sg) door -the Foc -2sg open- prog- 2sg- prt

'You are OPENING the door'

- d. (isagu) albaab-ka waa-uu fur - aj - aa
 he door-the Foc- 3msg open -prog - prt
 'He is OPENING the door'
- e. (ijadu) albaab-ka waa-aj fur - aj - s - aa
 she door -the Foc- 3fsg open- prog - 3fsg - prt
 'She is OPENING the door'
- f. (idinku) albaab-ka waa-ad fur- aj - s - aa - n
 you (pl) door-the Foc- 2pl open- prog - 2pl- prt -pl
 'You are OPENING the door'
- g. (ijagu) albaab-ka waa-aj fur -aj -aa- n
 they door-the Foc- 3pl open -prog -prt- pl
 'They are OPENING the door'

2.1.3.1.2. The Negative Conjugation of Present Progressive Aspect

The negative form of present progressive aspect is formed by the morpheme /ma-/ and /-o/ except 2pl and 3pl. The status of /-o/ is to show the present tense in the negative conjugation. Consider the following examples.

- 13) a. (anigu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -o
 I door - the Neg- open-prog-prt:Neg
 'I am not opening the door'
- b. (annagu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -n -o
 we door -the Neg-open-prog-1pl-prt:Neg
 'We are not opening the door'
- c. (adigu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -s -id
 you(sg) door -the Neg-open-prog-2sg-prt
 'You are not opening the door'
- d. (isagu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -o
 he door -the Neg -open-prog-prt:Neg
 'He is not opening the door'

- e. (ijadu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -o
 she door-the Neg- open-prog-prt:Neg
 'She is not opening the door'
- f. (idinku) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -s -aa -n
 you(sg) door -the Neg-open-prog-2pl-prt-pl
 'You are not opening the door'
- g. (ijagu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -aa -n
 they door-the Neg-open-prog-prt-pl
 'They are not opening the door'

2.1.3.1.3. The Past Progressive Aspect

Like the present progressive aspect, the past progressive aspect is marked by the auxiliary /ahay/ which is followed by the past tense marker /-ay/. The following examples will make the above points clear.

- 14) a. (anigu) albaab-ka waa-an fur - aj - aj
 I door-the Foc- 1sg open - prog - pst
 'I was OPENING the door'
- b. (annagu) albaab-ka waa- an fur -aj - n - aj
 we door -the Foc - 1pl open- prog - 1pl - pst
 'We were OPENING the door'
- c. (adigu) albaab-ka waa-ad fur - aj -s -aj
 you (sg) door-the Foc- 2sg open -prog -2sg -pst
 'You were OPENING the door'
- d. (isagu) albaab-ka waa-uu fur - aj - aj
 he door -the Foc- 3msg open -prog -pst
 'He was OPENING the door'
- e. (ijadu) albaab-ka waa-aj fur -aj -s -aj
 she door -the Foc- 3fsg open -prog -3fsg -pst
 'She was OPENING the door'

- f. (idinku) albaab-ka waa-ad fur -aj -s -aj -n
 you (pl) door-the Foc -2pl open -prog -2pl -pst -pl
 'You were OPENING the door'
- g. (ijagu) albaab-ka waa-aj fur -aj -aj -n
 they door-the Foc -3pl open -prog -pst -pl
 'They were OPENING the door'

2.1.3.1.4. The Negative Conjugation of Past Progressive Aspect

In Somali, the negative form of past progressive aspect is indicated by the morpheme /ma-/ and /-in/. Consider the following examples.

- 15) a. (anigu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -in
 I door -the Neg- open-prog-pst:Neg
 'I was not opening the door'
- b. (annagu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -n -in
 we door- the Neg- open-prog-1pl-pst:Neg
 'We were not opening the door'
- c. (adigu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -s -in
 you(sg) door-the Neg-open-prog-2sg-pst:Neg
 'You were not opening the door'
- d. (isagu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -in
 he door-the Neg-open-prog-pst:Neg
 'He was not opening the door'
- e. (ijadu) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -s -in
 she door -the Neg-open-prog-3fsg-pst:Neg
 'She was not opening the door'
- f. (idinku) albaab-ka ma- fur -aj -s -in
 you(pl) door- the Neg-open-prog-2pl-pst:Neg
 'You are not opening the door'
- g. (ijagu) albaab-ka ma-fur -aj -in
 they door-the Neg-open-prog-pst:Neg
 'They were not opening the door'

2.1.3.2. The Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect is used to represent repeated or regular activities. In this language the habitual aspect is expressed by the combination of the main verb with auxiliary / dʒir/ 'to be'. The following example is verifying it.

- 16)a. (anigu) waa-an keen-i dʒir-aj
I Foc -1sg bring- Inf be -pst
'I used to BRING'
- b. (annagu) waa- an keen-i dʒir -n -aj
we Foc- 1pl bring - Inf be -1pl -pst
'We used to BRING'
- c. (adigu) waa -ad keen-i dʒir -t -aj
you (sg) Foc -2sg bring -Inf be -2sg -pst
'You used to BRING'
- d. (isagu) waa-uu keen-i dʒir-aj
he Foc- 3msg bring -Inf be -pst
'He used to BRING'
- e. (ijadu) waa-aj keen-i dʒir -t - aj
she Foc - 3fsg bring -Inf be -3fsg -pst
'She used to BRING'
- f. (idinku) waa-ad keen-i dʒir -t -aj -n
you (pl) Foc -2pl bring -Inf be -2pl -pst -pl
'You used to BRING'
- g. (ijagu) waa-aj keen-i dʒir -aj -n
they Foc -3pl bring-Inf be -pst -pl
'They used to BRING'

When the above examples occur in their negative counterparts, we find something like the following.

- 17) a. (anigu) ma- keen -i dʒir-in
I Neg-bring-Inf be -pst:Neg
'I was not used to bring'
- b. (annagu) ma- keen-i dʒir -in
we Neg-bring-Inf be -pst:Neg
'We were not used to bring'
- c. (adigu) ma-ad keen -i dʒir -in
you(sg) Neg-2sg bring-Inf be -pst:Neg
'You were not used to bring'
- d. (isagu) ma- keen-i dʒir -in
he Neg-bring-Inf be -pst:Neg
'He was not used to bring'
- e. (ijadu) ma- keen-i dʒir -in
she Neg-bring-Inf be-pst:Neg
'She was not used to bring'
- f. (idinku) ma- keen-i dʒir-in
you(pl) Neg-bring-Inf be -pst:Neg
'You were not used to bring'
- g. (ijagu) ma-aj keen-i dʒir -in
'they Neg-3pl bring-Inf be-pst:Neg
'They were not used to bring'

As can be seen from the above examples, the negative form of habitual aspect is formed by the morpheme /ma-/ being prefixed to the main verb, and by the morpheme /-in/ which is suffixed to the auxiliary / dʒir/ 'to be'. The morpheme /-in/ is a portmanteau morpheme by indicating two grammatical functions (i.e past tense marker and the negative marker).

2.1.4. The Mood System in Somali

The term mood refers to the way the speaker presents the truth of the proposition in the discourse and real world context. This includes expressions of probability, possibility, and certainty. In other words, it is a distinction in verb forms which expresses a speaker's attitude to what he is saying (Bybee, 1985). According to Palmer (1986), mood is not expressed in all languages with in the verbal morphology. It may be expressed through modal verbs.

In Somali, some of the mood types are expressed inflectionally in the verbs, and some of the verb forms alone can be responsible for marking part of the mood system. For example, the imperative mood is expressed through the root verb alone.

In the language, there are five different moods. These are declarative, interrogative, imperative, jussive, and subjunctive moods. In the following sections of this part, each of them will be discussed.

According to Lyons (1974), declarative sentences are types of sentence which express simple statements of fact, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying. In relation to this, Somali verbs are not inflected for declarative mood. However, it is inflected for its negative counter part. In the following section, the indicative mood will be discussed in relation to its negative counterpart. In Somali, when some constructions are uttered in

negative, the verbs of the construction are preceded by the morpheme /ma-/, and /-o/ is suffixed to the verb stems which is a tense marker for negative present tense forms. Consider the following examples.

- 19) a. (anigu) ma- ʎun - o
 I Neg- eat -prt:Neg
 'I do not eat'
- b. (annagu) ma- ʎun- n - o
 we Neg- eat -1pl -prt:Neg
 'We do not eat'
- c. (adigu) ma- ʎun -t -id
 you (sg) Neg- eat -2sg-prt
 'You do not eat'
- d. (isagu) ma- ʎun - o
 he Neg- eat -prt;Neg
 'He does not eat'
- e. (ijadu) ma- ʎun - t - o
 she Neg- eat -3fsg -prt:Neg
 'She does not eat'
- f. (idinku) ma- ʎun -t -aa -n
 you (pl) Neg- eat -2pl- prt -pl
 'You do not eat'
- g. (ijagu) ma- ʎun- aa- n
 they Neg- eat -prt - pl
 'They do not eat'

According to the above data, the prefix /ma-/ is used as negative marker, and the suffix /-o/ is used as a present tense marker in negative verb forms. Note that, in the affirmative sentences, the present tense marker is the morpheme /-aa/ which is suffixed to the main verb.

2.1.4.1. The Interrogative Mood in Somali

In linguistics, the term interrogative refers to the type of statements which are in question forms. It is known that all languages probably have devices for asking questions. Some languages have a syntactic device that does not belong to any interrogative pronouns.. Other languages have interrogative particles, and it is also often indicated by intonation (Palmer, 1986). Regarding this, in Somali the interrogative mood of a given construction is shown by the morpheme /ma-/ which precedes the main verb plus a final raising intonation. Look at the following examples

20) a. ma- keen-aa

Q - bring -prt

'Do I bring?'

b. ma- keen - n -aa

Q- bring -1pl -prt

'Do we bring?'

c. ma- keen -t -aa

Q- bring - 2sg- prt

'Do you bring?'

d. ma- keen -aa

Q - bring -prt

'Does he bring?'

e. ma- aj- keen -t -aa

Q- 3fsg- bring -3fsg - prt

'Does she bring?'

f. ma- keen -t -aa -n

Q- bring - 2pl -prt- pl

'Do you bring?'

g. ma- keen -aa -n

Q- bring -prt- pl

'Do they bring?'

As can be seen from the above data, all the constructions begin with the morpheme /ma-/, followed by the verb in its present form. Nevertheless, it is clear that the interrogative mood marker is the morpheme /ma-/ and it is prefixed to the verb in the constructions.

When the above examples appear in their negative counterparts, we find something like the following.

- 21) a. (anigu) ma- keen-o mijaa
 (I) Neg- bring- prt Q
 'Don't I bring?'
 b. (annagu) ma- keen -n -o mijaa
 we Neg- bring- 1pl-prt Q
 'Don't we bring?'
 c. (adigu) ma- keen -t -id mijaa
 you (sg) Neg- bring- 2sg - prt Q
 'Don't you bring?'
 d. (isagu) ma- keen -o mijaa
 he Neg- brings - prt Q
 'Does not he brings?'
 e. (ijadu) ma- aj keen -t -o mijaa
 she Neg-3fsg bring - 3fsg -prt Q
 'Does not she brings?'
 f. (idinku) ma- keen -t -aa -n mijaa
 you (pl) Neg- bring -2pl -prt - pl Q
 'Don't you bring?'
 g. (ijagu) ma- keen -aa -n mijaa
 they Neg bring -prt -pl Q
 'Don't they bring?'

Based on the examples in (21) the interrogative mood is expressed by the question word /mijaa/ which is used to create a Yes-No question in negative constructions. Note that the Yes-No question in the affirmative construction is formed by the morpheme /ma-/. In addition to this /ma-/uses to construct Yes-No questions, occurring with noun phrases and verb phrases. Consider the following examples.

- 22) a. ma- arday baa
Q - student Foc
'Is he a student?'
- b. ma - nadif baa
Q- clean Foc
'Is it clean?'
- c. ma- garat -aa
Q - understand-prt
'Do you understand?'
- d. ma- buuk-aa
Q- sick-prt
'Are you sick?'

All the above polar interrogative sentences are constructed in the use of /ma/. In (22a) and (22b) /ma-/ occurs with the focus word /baa/, however, in (22c) and (22d), (in the verb phrases)/ma-/occurs with the tense marker morphemes to form Yes-No questions. Because, in Somali, the verbal focus words and the morpheme /ma-/ which uses to construct polar interrogatives are excluded each other. (see also unit 4).

If we negate the examples in (22) above, the question word /mijaa/ is used to form negative interrogatives. Look at the following examples.

- 23) a. arday maʔaha mijaa
 student not Q
 ‘Is he not a student?’
- b. nadif maʔaha mijaa
 clean not Q
 ‘Is it not clean?’
- c. ma - garat -o mijaa
 Neg - understand -prt:Neg Q
 ‘Do you understand?’
- d. ma - buuk - o mijaa
 Neg- sick - prt:Neg Q
 ‘Aren’t you sick?’

All the above Negative polar interrogatives are constructed in the use of /mijaa/.

2.1.4.2. The Subjunctive and Conditional Moods in Somali

The term subjunctive usually applies to the special finite verb forms associated with certain types of subordinate constructions. It has a very general meaning such as "non-asserted" and then it takes more specific meanings from the context in which it occurs. Hence the subjunctive mood is usually found in subordinate clauses, but can be used in matrix sentence meaning 'may' or 'wish' (Bybee, 1985).

Bybee (1985) further explains the relationship between subjunctive and conditionals by stating that some languages have a special verb form for "if-clause". While others use a general subordinate verb form (a subjunctive) in "if-clauses". Some languages have a special verb form used in "then-clauses" and in these languages the same form can usually be used in the if-clauses (Bybee, 1985).

2.1.4.2.1. The Subjunctive Mood

In Somali, the subjunctive mood is expressed by auxiliary verb /kar/ 'may'. It appears in the final position of the construction in its present form. The main verb in subjunctive mood is in the infinitive form, and the sentence begins with the morpheme /ma-/which uses to form polar interrogatives. Consider the following examples.

- 24) a. ma -an tag-i kar-aa
Q- 1sg go -Inf may-prt
'May I go?'
- b. ma -an tag-i kar -n -aa
Q- 1pl go -Inf may-1pl-Prt
'May we go?'
- c. ma- ad tag-i kar -t -aa
Q- 2sg go-Inf may-2sg- prt
'May you go?'
- d. ma -uu tag-i kar -aa
Q- 3msg go-Inf may- prt
'May he go?'
- e. ma- aj tag-i kar -t -aa
Q - 3fsg go-Inf may -3fsg -prt
'May she go?'
- f. ma-ad tag-i kar -t -aa -n
Q- 2pl go-Inf may-2pl-prt- Num
'May you go?'
- g. ma-aj tag-i kar -aa -n
Q- 3pl go-Inf may -prt - Num
'May they go?'

As can be seen from the above examples, the subjunctive mood is expressed by the auxiliary /Kar/ 'may' and it shows polite expressions.

2.1.4.2.2. The Negative Conjugation of Subjunctive Mood.

In this language, the negative form of subjunctive mood is expressed by the question word /mijaa/ which is supported by low intonation to show politeness. In the sentences below, /ma-/ is not a question marker, rather it is a negative marker, and the present tense marker /-aa/ is changed in to /-o/ to show negativity.

- 25) a. ma - tag - i kar - o mijaa
Neg- go - inf may - prt Q
'May he not go?'
- b. ma- tag -i kar - n -o mijaa
Neg- go -Inf may -lpl - prt Q
'May we not go?'

In the above data, the use of /ma -/ and /- o/ is to negate the sentences in their present tense form, and the use of /mijaa/ is to form interrogatives.

2.1.4.2.3. The Conditional Mood

In Somali, the conditional mood shows the possible conditions. It can be considered as the equivalent of the English if-clause. Conditional expressions are realized in a subordinate or if-clause, and introduced by the word/haddi/ followed by person agreement markers with the verb in its present tense form. The word /haddi/ in Somali is equivalent to "if" in English. The conditional clauses in Somali will be illustrated by using /ʃun/ 'eat' in the following sentences.

- 26) a. haddi -an- ʃun-o waa-an nool-aa doon-aa
if -1sg eat-prt Foc- 1sg live-prt will -prt
'If I eat, I will LIVE']

- b. haddi -an- ṡun-n-o waa-an nool-aa doon-n-aa
 if 1pl- eat -1pl-prt Foc- 1pl live-prt will -1pl- prt
 'If we eat, we will LIVE'
- c. haddi -ad- ṡun -t -o waa-ad nool-aa doon-t-aa
 if - 2sg- eat-2sg-prt Foc- 2sg live -prt will- 2sg- prt
 'If you eat, you will LIVE'
- d. haddi -uu- ṡun-o waa-uu nool-aa doon-aa
 if - 3msg- eat -prt Foc - 3msg live-prt will-prt
 'If he eats, he will LIVE'
- e. haddi - ad- ṡun-t -aa-n waa-ad nool-aa doon-t-aa-n
 if - 2pl- eat -2pl-prt-pl Foc- 2pl live-prt will-2pl- prt-pl
 'If you eat, you will LIVE'
- f. haddi - aj- ṡun -aa -n waa- aj nool-aa doon -aa -n
 if - 3pl- eat- prt- pl Foc -3pl live -prt will - prt - pl
 'If they eat, they will LIVE'

In the above conjugation the present tense marker in if-clause is /-o/ for singular, and /-aa/ for 2nd and 3rd person plural.

To negate the if-clause /-aan/ is suffixed to the reduced subject agreement elements, and it is supported by the morpheme /-o/ which is a present tense marker in negative clauses. In addition to this, the verb in the matrix clause changes into infinitive form. The matrix clause is constructed with the auxiliary /doon/ 'will'. Consider the following examples.

- 27) a. haddi an-aan ṡun-o ma -nool-i doon-o
 if 1sg- Neg eat-prt Neg- live- inf will -prt:Neg
 'If I do not eat, I will not live.'

- b. haddi an-aan ʃun -n -o ma- nool -i doon-o
 if 1pl- Neg eat-1pl-prt Neg- live -Inf will-prt:Neg
 'If we don't eat, we will not live.'
- c. haddi ad-aan ʃun -t -o ma-nool-i doon-o
 if 2sg- Neg eat-2sg-prt Neg- live -Inf will-prt
 'If you don't eat, you will not live.'
- d. haddi uu-s-aan ʃun-o ma-nool-i doon-o
 if 3msg- Neg eat-prt Neg- live-Inf will- prt
 'If he does not eat, he will not live.'
- e. haddi aj-aan ʃun-o ma-nool-i doon-o
 if 3fsg- Neg eat-prt Neg- live will -prt
 'If she does not eat, she will not live'
- f. haddi ad-aan ʃun-o ma- nool-i doon-o
 If 2pl- Neg eat-prt Neg- live-Inf will-prt
 'If you don't eat, they will not live'
- g. haddi na- ʃun-o ma- nool-i doon-o
 if Neg eat -prt Neg- live-Inf will -prt
 'If they don't eat, they will not live'

As can be seen from the data, the negative constructions in conditional clauses are marked by the morpheme /-aan/, which is suffixed to the subject agreement element.

2.1.4.3. The Imperative Mood

The imperative form of a verb expresses a command given to the second person singular and plural forms. In Somali, for 2nd person singular imperative, there is no overt imperative mood marker affixed to the verb, but rather this mood is expressed by an independent verb root accompanied with raising intonation. As stated earlier the verb roots in Somali correspond to second person singular imperative verb forms. Look at the following examples

- 28) a. tag
 'go!'
 b. qaad
 'take!'
 c. gal
 'enter!'
 d. dir
 'send!'
 e.]eeg
 'tell!'

In the plural counterparts of the above examples, /-a/ is suffixed to the verb root to show the second person plural imperative mood of the verb as in (29) below.

- 29) a. tag-a = 'go!' (2pl)
 b. qaad-a = 'take!' (2pl)
 c. gal-a = 'enter!' (2pl)
 d. dir-a = 'send!' (2pl)
 e.]eeg-a = 'tell!' (2pl)

The imperative negative is expressed by the morpheme /ha-/ which is prefixed to the verb stem both in the second person singular and plural forms. However, when the negative marker /ha-/ is prefixed to the verb stem, the morpheme /-in/ is suffixed to the root verb to show the present tense in the negative conjugation of imperative mood. In this case, the morpheme /-in/ is a homophonous morpheme indicating two grammatical functions (i.e negative marker in the negative conjugation of simple past; and negative marker in the negative conjugation of imperative moods. Consider the following examples

- 30) a. ha- tag-in
 Neg- go-prt:Neg
 'Don't go!'
- b. ha- qaad-in
 Neg- take-prt:Neg
 'Don't take!'
- c. ha- dir -in
 Neg- send-prt:Neg
 'Don't send!'
- d. ha- [eeg -in
 Neg- tell -prt:Neg
 'Don't tell!'
- e. ha- gal -in
 Neg- enter-prt:Neg
 'Don't enter!'

As can be seen from the above examples, the negative marker for imperative mood is /ha-/ and /-in/. See also the plural form of negative imperative moods in (31) below.

- 31) a. ha- tag -in -a
 Neg - go-prt:Neg-Imp
 'Don't go!' (you pl)
- b. ha- qaad-in-a
 Neg- take-prt:Neg-Imp
 'Don't take!' (you pl)
- c. ha- dir -in -a
 Neg- send-prt:Neg-Imp
 'Don't send!' (you pl)

- d. ha- ʃsheeg -in -a
 Neg- tell -prt:Neg-Imp
 'Don't tell!' (you pl)
- e. ha- gal -in -a
 Neg enter -prt:Neg-Imp
 'Don't enter!' (you pl)

The form of the negative imperative plural verb consists of the verb, the morpheme /ha-/, the morpheme /-in/ which is a present tense marker for negative sentences and the plural imperative mood marker /-a/.

2.1.4.4. Jussive Mood

Jussive mood is used to express command or request in the sense of 'let' or 'may' but not in the real sense of strong command. In Somali, verbs are inflected for jussive mood when /aan-/ or /ha-/ is prefixed to the verb stem in its present tense form. In this case, the present tense marker is /-o/, which is suffixed to the negative verb forms. Recall that the present tense is marked by /-aa/ for affirmative moods. Consider the following examples.

- 32) a. aan- ʃun-o
 let- eat- prt
 'Let me eat'
- b. aan- ʃun- n- o
 let- eat- 1pl-prt
 'Let us eat'
- c. ha- ʃun - t - o
 let- eat -3fsg - prt
 'Let her eat'
- d. ha- ʃun- o
 let- eat- prt
 Let him eat

e. ha- ʕun-aa- n
let- eat- prt- pl
'Let them eat'

Note that in Somali, jussive mood is not inflected for 2nd person constructions. In the above data the jussive mood is marked by the morpheme /aan-/ for 1st persons, and with morpheme /ha-/ for 3rd persons. Remember that in the imperative mood of negative construction, the morpheme /ha-/ is a negative marker, and in conditional mood of negative construction, the morpheme /aan-/ is a negative marker. However, when we construct a jussive mood, these morphemes are found to be a jussive marker.

CHAPTER THREE

Derivational Morphology of Verbs in Somali

Unlike inflectional morphology, which specifies the grammatical function of words in phrases without altering their meaning, derivational morphology usually results in the derivation of a new word with new meaning (Spencer, 2001)

Derivation does change the meanings of words so as to allow the derivate to become a lexical entry in the lexicon. As stated in Scalise (1984), in some languages the output of some word formation rules require overt derivational markers before they can appear in surface structures, implying that the level of derived verbs is that of stems just like that the bases from which they are derived.

In this language, verbs can be derived from the three word classes: verbs, nouns, and adjectives. In Somali, the derived verb stems which are derived from verb stems include; passive, causative, reciprocal, frequentive, auto-benefactive (reflexive), and infinitive. Each of them is discussed below.

3.1. Verbs Derived From Verb Stems

3.1.1. Passive Verb Stems

In this study, passive formation is found to be a controversial issue. Because, in Jijiga Somali, the passive marker is identified as a prefix morpheme, whereas in standard Somali and in most of East Cushitic languages passive verbs are formed by a suffix morphemes.

According to Saeed (1993), in standard Somali, passive verbs are formed by a suffix /-am/. However, in Jijiga dialect passive verbs are formed by the prefix /la-/ which is prefixed to the verb stems. Consider the following examples.

- 33) a. la-ʃab-aj = 'was drunk'
 b. la-hel-aj = 'was found'
 c. la-ʃeeg-aj = 'was told'
 d. la-majd -aj = 'was washed'

when the above passive verb stems appear in sentences, the direct object of the sentence becomes the subject of the sentence. Consider the following examples.

- 34) a. ʃaano-hii waa la- ʃab-aj
 milk -the Foc pas- drink pst
 'The milk was DRUNK'
- b. laʃaag-tii waa la- hel -aj
 moey-the Foc Pas- find -pst
 'The money was FOUND'
- c. dar-ka waa la- majd -aj
 cloth-the Foc pas- wash -pst
 'The cloth was WASHED'

In the above data, all the verbs in their progressive form are preceded by the morpheme /la-/ which is a passive marker.

In Saeed (1993:179), the morpheme /la-/ is described as "a passive construction with no agent specified". Accordingly, /la-/ is impersonal pronoun that fills the agent position in the construction. However, in the present study, /la-/ is considered as a passive marker.

In addition, Saeed (1993) states those passive constructions are found in past progressive aspects. However, in the present study passive constructions can be seen in past tense form as well as in the past progressive form. But, the passive marker is /la-/ not /-am/. In Jijiga Somali, when /-am/ is suffixed to

the verbs, it is ungrammatical. So, I strongly argue that the passive marker in Jijiga Somali is the prefix /la-/ as can be seen from the above examples. Of course, this phenomenon is new among the East- Cushitic language. Because East Cushitic languages such as Afan Oromo, Gidole, and Konso show their passive markers by suffix morphemes, whereas Jijiga Somali shows its passive marker by the prefix morpheme. It needs further investigation. So, I recommend researchers to conduct research on this issue.

3.1.2. Causative Verb Stems

The causative verb stems can be formed from both transitive and intransitive verb stems and change the form of the verb into mono and di-transitive verbs respectively (Katamba, 1993). Accordingly, the effect of the causative morpheme is that it changes intransitive into transitive and transitive into causative. The causative verb stem in Somali is formed by suffixing the morpheme /-in/ or /-siin/ to the verb roots as in (35) and (37) below.

35)	Intransitive Verb Stems	Causative (Transitive) verb stems
	a. seeh 'sleep'	seeh -in 'cause to sleep'
	b. istaag 'stand'	istaag-in 'cause to stand'
	c. orod 'run'	ord-in 'cause to run'
	d. tag 'go'	tag-in 'cause to go'

Note that, in example (35c) above /orod/ is subject to vowel deletion. In the language, bi-syllabic words delete their short vowel when they become tri-syllabic words by adding affixes. In the above data, when the affix /-in/ is added to intransitive verb roots, they are changed into transitive so as they require a

direct object. Look at the large constructions in (36) below.

- 36) a. ali waa-uu sech -ay
 A Foc-3msg sleep -pst
 'Ali SLEPT'
- b. isagu ali baa-uu sech -in -ay
 he A Foc- 3msg sleep -CAUS - pst
 'He made ALI slept'

On the other hand, when the causative affix /-siin/ is added to the transitive verb roots, it makes them causative as in (37) below. Note that, /-in/ is used to form causative verb stems from intransitive verbs.

(37) Transitive Verb Roots	Causative Verbs
a. ʃab 'drink'	ʃab-siin 'cause someone to drink'
b. ʃun 'eat'	ʃun-siin 'cause someone to eat'
c. ʃeeg 'tell'	ʃeeg-siin 'cause someone to tell'
d. dʒab 'break'	dʒab-siin 'cause someone to break'

In Somali, transitive verb stems become causative by suffixing the morpheme /-siin/. This phenomenon is true also in sentences. Consider the following examples.

- 38) a. wiil-ku bijo baa-uu ʃab -aj
 boy- the water Foc-3msg drink -pst
 'The boy drunk WATER'
- b. ali wiil-ka bijo baa-uu ʃab -siin -aj
 A boy- the water Foc-3msg drink- CAUS- pst
 'Ali made the boy drink WATER'

In (38b) above, the transitive verb /ʃab/ 'drink' is changed into causative because of the morpheme /-siin/. The causative affix /-siin/ is bounded with the main verb /ʃab/ 'drink'. It is inseparable from the main verb. In English this phenomenon is indicated by independent word 'cause', whereas in Somali, and even in Amharic it is a dependent morpheme that shows causativeness.

3.1.3. Reciprocal Verb Stems

The reciprocal verb expresses an action performed by two or more participants who are both agents and patients at the same time. In other words, the reciprocals are characterized by the fact that the subjects are involved not only in performing the actions but also in undergoing them, thus, they are both agents and patients simultaneously. Furthermore, reciprocals are inherently plural since reciprocal actions presuppose the presence of two or more participants in the action denoted by the verb. In Somali, reciprocal verb stems are formed by the morpheme /is-/, which is prefixed to the main verb roots as in (39) below.

39) Verb Stems	Reciprocal Verb Stems
a. dunko 'kiss'	is- dʌnk-aj-n Rec- kiss- pst- pl 'Kissed each other'
b. dil 'kill'	is - dil -aj-n Rec-killed- pst- pl 'Killed each other'
c. hadal 'speak'	is- hadl -aj-n Rec+ spok -pst pl 'Spoke each other"
d. dagajso 'listen'	is- dagajs-aj-n Rec- listen -pst -pl 'Listened each other"

As is possible to understand from the above example, the morpheme /is-/ is used to form reciprocal verb stems, i.e, the verb that takes the morpheme /is-/ as prefix expresses an action performed by two or more participants.

When the reciprocal verb stems appear in sentences, the subjects of the sentences are third person plural, and they are both agents and patients. Consider the following examples.

- 40) a. (idinku) waa- aj is- dunk-aj-n
 they' Foc-3pl Rec-kiss-pst-Num
 'They KISSED each other'
- b. (idinku) waa-aj is- dil -aj-n
 they Foc-3pl Rec-kill-pst-Num
 'They KILLED each other'
- c. (idinku) waa-aj is- hadl-aj-n
 they Foc-3pl Rec-speak-pst-Num
 'They SPOKE each other'

3.1.4. Frequentive Verb Stems

The frequentive verb is used to express frequent actions. Aikhenvald (1988), cited in Tadesse (2007), points out that in most of the Cushitic languages, frequentives or intensives are formed by reduplication of a whole verbal stem or part of it. This fact is true in Somali, that intensive are formed by reduplicating their verbal stem. Consider the following examples.

41) Verb Stems	Frequentive Verb Stems
a. goo 'cut'	googoo 'cut into pieces'
b. kudufo 'hit'	kududufo 'hit again and again'

c. ʕun	ʕunʕun
‘eat’	‘eat repeatedly’
d. arag	ararag
‘see’	‘see again and again’
e. qaad	qaadqaad
‘take’	‘take again and again’

In the above data, frequentive verb stems are formed by reduplicating the whole verb stem as in (41) a, c, and e or by reduplicating part of the verb stems as in (41) b and d. The partial or total duplication of the stem is to show that the action of the verb is done frequently, intensively, or repeatedly.

3.1.5. Auto-Benefactive /Reflexive/ Verb Stems

The auto-benefactive or reflexive verb expresses an action performed for oneself. In auto-benefactive, the subject of a sentence does the action or participates in the action for his/her own benefit. Consider the following examples.

42) Verb Root	Derived Stems
a. sid	sid-o
‘carry’	‘carry for one self’
b. qaad	qaad-o
‘take’	‘take for one self’
c. majd	majd -o
‘wash’	‘wash one self’
d. bar	bar-o
‘teach’	‘teach oneself, learn’
e. hiir	hiir-o
‘shave’	‘shave yourself’

In (42) above, the auto-benefactives are formed by the morpheme /-o/ which is suffixed to the main verb stems. The adding of /-o/ results in auto-benefactive verb stems. On the other hand, in verbs that end in a vowel, the auto-benefactives are formed by the morpheme /-so/ as in (43) below.

43) Verb Stems	Derived Stems
a. sii 'give'	sii-so 'give for oneself'
b. iibi 'sell(buy)'	iibi-so 'sell (buy) for oneself'
c. fadi 'sit down'	fadi-so 'sit for oneself'
d. bihi 'pay'	bihi-so 'pay for oneself'

3.1.6. Infinitives

Infinitive is a special invariable form of a verb. It expresses simply the notion of the verb without predicating any subject. The infinitive verb usually interpreted as a mood, through strictly a substantive with certain verbal functions, especially those of governing an object, and being qualified by an adverb (Crystal, 1997). In Somali, the infinitive verb stems can be derived from verb stems by the morpheme /-i/ which is suffixed to the main verb stems. Consider the following example.

44) Verb Roots	Infinitive Verb Stems
a. keen 'bring'	keen-i 'to bring'
b. tag 'go'	tag-i 'to go'

c. [ceeg	[ceeg-i
‘tell’	‘to tell’
d. hadal	hadl-i
‘speak’	‘to speak’
e. aχir	aχir-i
‘read’	‘to read’

All the verbs in the above data take the suffix /-i/ to form infinitives. When the infinitive verbs occur in a sentence, they usually occur with auxiliary verbs, and the different agreement affixes are suffixed to the auxiliary. The infinitive verb remains unchanged. Look at the following examples on the verb /keen-i/ 'to bring'.

- 45) a. waa-an keen-i doon -aa
 Foc- 1sg bring-Inf will -prt
 ‘I will BRING’
- b. waa-ad keen-i doon -t -aa
 Foc-2sg bring-Inf will - 2sg - prt
 ‘You will BRING’

As can be seen from the above data, both the person agreement marker /-t/ and the tense marker affix /-aa/ are inflected in the auxiliary /doon/ 'will'. The infinitive verb /keen-i/ 'to bring' remains unchanged.

3.2. Verbs Derived From Non-Verbal Stems

As stated earlier, derivation in its broadest sense refers to any process which results in the creation of a new word. Among the different grammatical characteristics of derivation, changing the category or word class of a stem is one property. Thus, verbs derived from non-verbal stems are belong to derivational processes which changes a category of a stem. The following verb stems are derived from simple nouns, and adjectives respectively.

46) Simple Noun Stems

Derived Verb Stems

a. bijo 'water'	bij-ee 'fetching water with sth'
b. haram 'weed'	haram-ee 'taking weeds out of something'
c. koore 'saddle'	koor-ee 'to lift something on a horse'
d. Saano 'milk'	Saan-ee 'to make whiten using milk'
e. milih 'salt'	milih-ee 'act of adding salt into sth'
f. sonkor 'sugar'	sonkor-ee 'act of adding sugar into sth'

47) Adjectival Stems

Derived Verb Stems

a. adag 'hard'	adk-ee 'to become hard; harden'
b. deer 'long'	deer-ee 'to become long, lengthen'
c. wejn 'big'	wejn-ee 'to become big'

d. maʕaan	maʕaan-ee
'sweet'	'to make sweet'
e. ʕas	ʕas-ee
'red'	'to become red'

As can be seen from the above data (46) and (47), verbs can be derived from nouns and adjectives by using the morpheme /-ee/ which is suffixed to the main nouns and adjectival stems respectively. In the noun stems that end in short vowels /-o/ and /-e/, the derivation process is the adding of /-ee/ and the deletion of short vowels, where as in nouns that end in consonant phonemes they take the morpheme /-ee/ to form verbs. The basic lexical meaning of derived verbs in the above data is obtained from the nominal and adjectival stems respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

The focus system in Somali

4.1 The concept of focus

Different scholars have defined focus from different perspectives. According to Taha (1990), focus is one of the clause internal pragmatic functions in any natural language. It is the increment of information in a sentence which the speaker signals either structurally or contextually to the most important information. The increment of information may be anything from a specific lexical item to the entire sentence. The importance of this increment is relative to the speaker's understanding of the addressee's pragmatic knowledge of the world. The speaker believes that the addressee needs this information in order to correct and reaffirm his present knowledge.

According to Halliday (1967), who provides the systematic discussion of focus, it was related to pitch and stress. In other words, he uses pitch and stress to signal focus. Halliday's account was very common in that pitch and stress contains at least one potential component in order to show emphasis or focus in the constituents. Accordingly, one information unit is realized as one tone group, and the number of the information unit in a given utterance reflects how the speaker has divided the message into blocks of information. Within each information unit the speaker selects a certain element as points of prominence within the message.

Like Halliday, Chafe (1976) regarded the pitch phenomena as of primary importance and the use of syntactic constructions as secondary. However, unlike Halliday, he has limited focus to contrastiveness. For Halliday, contrastiveness is only one property of focus in that new information can be cumulative to existing information or in contrast with it.

In addition to the above scholars, Vallduvi (1994), cited in Miller (2006) stated that focus is incorporated as new information handling model. According to him, sentences encode a logico-semantic proposition and an information packaging instruction. For instance in the sentence “what did Sally give Andrew for his birthday?”, the proposition is GIVE, SALLY, SOMETHING, and ANDREW. The rest of the constituents that are associated with the given proposition convey new information. So, his idea of focus lies on the transmission of new information.

The other mechanism of focus has to do with words or focus particles (Miller, 2006). According to him, “even,” “only” and “just” are focus words in English.

The concept of focus is invoked in accounts of how a given speaker and listener shift attention from one entity to another in a given context. On the other hand, in linguistic structure, it has to do with the salience of entities, properties, relations, and discourse purposes and intentions.

In attentional structure (speech), the important concepts of focus are focus space and transition rule (Dik, 1989). Focus space is associated with entities that are mentioned explicitly. All the focus mechanisms that are mentioned above are relevant to focus space. As discourse is built up, speakers pass from one focus space to another. Thus, as a transition rule, time or place phrase is put in the first position of a clause and these phrases connect and contrast with the previous text.

In general, the term focus has to do with making constituent salient, but for different reasons. As mentioned above, focus can be used to carry new information, to signal a change of attention and to signal some other important meaning such as attitude. As stated in Miller (2006), focus has various purposes especially for speakers. For instance, they use: to highlight the information using the constituents, to introduce new information, to reintroduce information that has already been mentioned but dropped, and to shift the listeners attention to another topic of conversation, or to emphasize a piece of information.

The use of different types of focus correlates with different syntactic structures and with the focal accent falling in different places. In languages, constituents are made less salient or more salient, and they use different mechanisms to show the salient part.

4.2 Types of focus system in Somali

Different languages have different types of focus system and use different formal strategies in differentiating them. Thus, Somali has its own focus system and focalizing devices. In Somali, the focus system is described through focus words or focus particles and special word orders

4.2.1 Focus words in Somali

According to Gast (2006), focus particles are invariant scope-bearing elements that interact with the focus background structure of a sentence.

Somali uses /ajaa/, /baa/, /waha/, and /waa/ to show the focused constituent in the constructions. Of these focus words, /ajaa/and /baa/are used to show the focused noun, adjective, and adverb, whereas /waxa/and /waa/ are used to show the focused verb.

According to Dik (1989), cited in Taha (1990), in languages, new information may be introduced through the following focalizing devices. These are:

- a. prosodic or intonational prominence which involves extra stress, higher tone or emphatic accent.
- b. special constituent order which includes special positions for focus constituents in the linear order of the clause, and
- c. special focus marking particles which mark off the focus constituent from the rest of the clause.

However in Somali, new information can be exhibited through focus words and special word order. Intonation is not used. Consider the following example.

(1) a, abdi gaadi ajaa - uu soo iibsad -aj
 A car Foc- 3msg con buy -pst
 'Abdi bought A CAR'

b, abdi waħa - uu iibsad -aj gaadi
 A Foc - 3msg buy -pst car
 'Abdi BOUGHT a car'

As can be seen from the above data, the salient information is highlighted through the focus words /ajaa/ and /waħa/. /ajaa/ in (1a) focalizes the noun /gaadi/ 'car' which carries the salient information in the given construction. This type of focus is used to fill information in a gap. Usually, this kind of focus is observed in wh-word questions. For instance /gaadi/ 'car' in the above data fills the information gap to the question "What did Ali buy?". Similarly, the focus word /waħa/ in (b) above introduces new information about "What did Abdi do?" /waħa/ is a focus word for verbs. One new phenomenon to this focus word is that when the focus word /waħa/ is added to the predicate, the word order of the language changes from SOV SVO. In (1b) above, /gaadi/ is the object of the sentence. But it appears in the final position of the constituent because of the focus word /waħa/. /waħa/ never appears in the SOV word order as in (2) below.

(2) a, * abdi gaadi waħa - uu iibsad-aj
 A car Foc -3msg buy - pst

b, *nin -kii kubad waħa-uu fiyaar -aj
 man -the ball Foc - 3msg play -pst

However in Somali, new information can be exhibited through focus words and special word order. Intonation is not used. Consider the following example.

(1) a, abdi gaadi ajaa - uu soo iibsad -aj
 A car Foc- 3msg con buy -pst
 'Abdi bought A CAR'

b, abdi waħa - uu iibsad -aj gaadi
 A Foc - 3msg buy -pst car
 'Abdi BOUGHT a car'

As can be seen from the above data, the salient information is highlighted through the focus words /ajaa/ and /waħa/. /ajaa/ in (1a) focalizes the noun /gaadi/ 'car' which carries the salient information in the given construction. This type of focus is used to fill information in a gap. Usually, this kind of focus is observed in wh-word questions. For instance /gaadi/ 'car' in the above data fills the information gap to the question "What did Ali buy?". Similarly, the focus word /waħa/ in (b) above introduces new information about "What did Abdi do?" /waħa/ is a focus word for verbs. One new phenomenon to this focus word is that when the focus word /waħa/ is added to the predicate, the word order of the language changes from SOV SVO. In (1b) above, /gaadi/ is the object of the sentence. But it appears in the final position of the constituent because of the focus word /waħa/. /waħa/ never appears in the SOV word order as in (2) below.

(2) a, * abdi gaadi waħa - uu iibsad-aj
 A car Foc -3msg buy - pst

b, *nin -kii kubad waħa-uu Siyaar -aj
 man -the ball Foc - 3msg play -pst

However in Somali, new information can be exhibited through focus words and special word order. Intonation is not used. Consider the following example.

(1) a, abdi gaadi ajaa - uu soo iibsad -aj
 A car Foc- 3msg con buy -pst
 'Abdi bought A CAR'

b, abdi waħa - uu iibsad -aj gaadi
 A Foc - 3msg buy -pst car
 'Abdi BOUGHT a car'

As can be seen from the above data, the salient information is highlighted through the focus words /ajaa/ and /waħa/. /ajaa/ in (1a) focalizes the noun /gaadi/ 'car' which carries the salient information in the given construction. This type of focus is used to fill information in a gap. Usually, this kind of focus is observed in wh-word questions. For instance /gaadi/ 'car' in the above data fills the information gap to the question "What did Ali buy?". Similarly, the focus word /waħa/ in (b) above introduces new information about "What did Abdi do?" /waħa/ is a focus word for verbs. One new phenomenon to this focus word is that when the focus word /waħa/ is added to the predicate, the word order of the language changes from SOV SVO. In (1b) above, /gaadi/ is the object of the sentence. But it appears in the final position of the constituent because of the focus word /waħa/. /waħa/ never appears in the SOV word order as in (2) below.

(2) a, * abdi gaadi waħa - uu iibsad-aj
 A car Foc -3msg buy - pst

b, *nin -kii kubad waħa-uu Siyaar -aj
 man -the ball Foc - 3msg play -pst

The sentences in example (2) above are ungrammatical. Because verbs in SOV word order should take the focus word /waa/. The focus particle /waxa/ is used in SVO word order. Look at the examples below

(3) a, abdi ʃaano waa - uu ʃab -aj
 A milk Foc -3msg drink- pst
 ‘Abdi DRUNK milk’

b, wiil -ku dar ʃusub waa - uu qab-aa
 boy -the cloth new Foc - 3msg wear -prt
 ‘The boy WEARS new cloth’

In (3) above verbs are focused by the focus word /waa/. /waa/ usually occurs in the declarative mood, and its function is to express ideas which the speaker believes, assumes, or knows that the hearer does not share with him or her. For instance in (3a) above, the person who DRUNK a milk is expressed to be Abdi and in (3b) the person who WORE a new cloth is expressed to be the boy

This kind of focus can be considered as assertive focus, since assertive focus gives prominence to a part of an utterance without presuming any background knowledge on the part of the listener (Binyam, 2008).

As can be seen from the above discussion, the focus word /waa/ occurs in SOV word order. If it appears in SVO word order the construction will be ungrammatical as in (4) below .

(4) a, *abdi waa - uu , ʃab - aj ʃaano
 A Foc - 3msg drink - pst milk

b, *wiil - ku waa- uu qab - aa dar ʃusub
 boy - the Foc -3msg wear -prt cloth new

In this language, in addition to verbs, nouns and adjectives also convey new information through focus particles. Consider the examples below.

(5) a, abdi baa gaadi iibsad - aj
 A Foc car buy - pst
 ‘ABDI bought a car’

b, abdi ajaa gaadi iibsad - aj
 A Foc car buy -pst
 ‘ABDI bought a car’

c, libaaḥ - ii baa ali dil - aj
 lion -the Foc A kill -pst
 ‘THE LION killed Ali’

d, libaaḥ-ii ajaa ali dil - aj
 lion -the Foc A kill pst
 ‘THE LION killed Ali’

In the above data the subject of the constructions are focused by focus words. To show the prominence of the nouns, the language uses /baa/ and /ajaa/ interchangeably. The speakers of the language use one of the two focus words to introduce the information which is new to the hearer or addressee. Here, the focus particles show selection. Which means, the focus marker in (5 a & b) above is used to show the man who bought a car. In other words the focus word shows that it is ABDI who bought a car, not somebody else. Similarly, in (5c&d) also the focus word shows that it is THE LION that killed Ali, and it is not another animal. This kind of focus system that shows selection among others is known as counter assertive (Taha, 1990).

With regard to the focus word /baa /, Hayward and Saeed (1984), state that the focus word /baa/ is found in cleft structures, and in relative clauses. Accordingly, structures in /baa/ are reduced cleft constructions, and syntactically complex.

Their description is grounded on the following points. Firstly, they state that verbs agreeing with subject NPs focused by /baa/ do not show the full set of person agreements. The example below is taken from Hayward and Saeed (1984).

- 6) a, niman- kii waa-ay iimaad- aj -n
 men -the Foc -pl come -pst- pl
 'The men CAME'
 b, *niman-kii baa iimi
 men -the Foc come

In the above examples (a) shows full- set agreement, and (b) not. However, it is because of the verb type that example (b) becomes ungrammatical. The verb /iimi/ 'come' is one of the irregular verbs or strong verbs that are not productive morphologically. Such verbs show full set agreement when they uttered only with the focus word /waa/. However, in suffix verbs, NPs focused by /baa/ can show full set agreement as the examples below.

- 7) a, abdi sheelay baa-uu tag-ay
 A yesterday Foc- 3msg go -pst
 'Abdi went YESTERDAY.'
 B, (annagu) baarti baa-an tag-ay-n
 we party Foc -pl go-pst pl
 'We went to PARTY'

The above examples show full set agreement, and they are grammatical. The second point of Hayward and Saeed (1984) is the notion of cleft construction. Accordingly they formulated rules of cleft construction which is derived from /waha/ clefts. Look at the following examples taken from them.

8) a, silsilad-ii baa-ay dʒab -t -ay
 chain the Foc -3fsg break- 3fsg -pst
 'The CHAINwas broke'

b. waħa dʒab -t -ay silsiladi - ii
 Foc break- 3fsg -pst chain- the
 'what broke was the CHAIN'

Based on the above examples the structures with/ baa/ are subject to cleft constructions because the same NP in (a) is focused by the focus word /waħa/ in (b) which is the cleft construction. However this phenomenon is not observed in the present study. In this study, /waħa/ is not Np focus word, it is verbal focus word in cleft constructions. Because /waħa/ is adjacent to the verb in example (b) above, not to the Np. Regarding the distribution of focus words, Gast (2006), states that in many languages of the world, focus particles are adjacent to the focused constituents in the constructions; and this phenomenon is true in Somali. So I strongly argue that structures in /baa/ are not restricted to cleft constructions.

In Somali, when nouns are modified by adjectives, the focus particles are attracted by adjectives as in the data below.

(9) a, nin -kii deer baa kubad ŕijaar - aj
 man - the tall Foc ball play -pst
 'The TALL man played foot ball'

b, gaadi wajn baa halka staag - aj
 car big Foc there stop - Pst
 'The BIG car stopped there'

c, nag - tii meel fog baa tag - t -aj
 woman - the place far Foc go -3fsg -pst
 'The woman went to FAR place'

As can be seen from the data, it has been noted that if an adjective occurs in a sentence, it is the first element to take the focus marker. In other words, if an adjective is part of the sentence, then the noun focus marker is automatically assigned to it. However in the absence of an adjective, the next element to carry the focus marker is the noun. Consider the following examples.

(10) a, *nin -kii deer kubad ajaa - uu ſijaar - aj
 man -the tall ball Foc - 3msg play - pst

b, *nin - kii baa deer kubad ſijaar -aj
 man - the Foc tall ball play -pst

The data presented in (10) above are ungrammatical. This is because the focus marker is not assigned in its appropriate place. Their appropriate place is next to the adjectives in sentences. So, it shows that if adjectives are part of sentences, then the focus markers should occur with them.

Similarly, if an adverb occurs in a sentence, then the focus marker may appear in it. Consider the following examples.

(11) a, maſaalin - kii ſeelaj baa -uu tag - aj
 teacher -the yesterday Foc - 3msg go -pst
 ‘The teacher went YESTERDAY’

b, nin - kii daqso ajaa - uu tag - aj
 man - the quickly Foc -3msg go -pst
 ‘The man went QUICKLY’

In the above data, focus markers fall on the adverbs. However, in a sentence, when both the noun and the verb are modified by adjectives and adverbs respectively, it is the salient information that carries the focus element as in (12) below.

As can be seen from the data, it has been noted that if an adjective occurs in a sentence, it is the first element to take the focus marker. In other words, if an adjective is part of the sentence, then the noun focus marker is automatically assigned to it. However in the absence of an adjective, the next element to carry the focus marker is the noun. Consider the following examples.

- (10) a, *nin -kii ḍeer kubad ajaa - uu ḥijaar - aj
 man -the tall ball Foc - 3msg play - pst
- b, *nin - kii baa ḍeer kubad ḥijaar -aj
 man - the Foc tall ball play -pst

The data presented in (10) above are ungrammatical. This is because the focus marker is not assigned in its appropriate place. Their appropriate place is next to the adjectives in sentences. So, it shows that if adjectives are part of sentences, then the focus markers should occur with them.

Similarly, if an adverb occurs in a sentence, then the focus marker may appear in it. Consider the following examples.

- (11) a, maḥaalin - kii ḥeelaj baa -uu tag - aj
 teacher -the yesterday Foc - 3msg go -pst
 ‘The teacher went YESTERDAY’
- b, nin - kii ḍaaqso ajaa - uu tag - aj
 man - the quickly Foc -3msg go -pst
 ‘The man went QUICKLY’

In the above data, focus markers fall on the adverbs. However, in a sentence, when both the noun and the verb are modified by adjectives and adverbs respectively, it is the salient information that carries the focus element as in (12) below.

(12) a, nin - kii deer |eelaj baa - uu tag - aj
 man -the tall yesterday Foc -3msg go - pst
 'The tall man went YESTERDAY'

b, nin - kii deer baa |eelaj tag - aj
 man -the tall Foc yesterday go - pst
 'The TALL man went yesterday'

In such cases, when both adjectives and adverbs occur in a single sentence, the focus marker will fall on the one with more salient information. It depends on the speaker's attitude, it is not grammatically controlled. For instance, in (12a) above, the focus marker falls on the adverb, whereas in (12b) it falls on the adjectives depending on the speaker's attitude.

4.2.1.1 The Scope of Focus in Somali

Scope is the question of whether the focus is assigned to the predicate as a whole or only to some constituents in the predicate.

In Somali, focus can fall on the predication as a whole or on some constituents of the predication. When focus falls on the predication as a whole, it concerns the illocutionary point of predication (Taha, 1990). According to Taha, if the predicate is presented as an assertion, then the focus will fall on the truth value of the assertion. In Somali, predicates that received a focus marker /waa/ are considered as focused truth value of proposition. Hence, /waa/ is a focus word that falls to the predicate as a whole. All the declarative sentences presented in this work can be considered as an example of focused predicate as a whole.

In this language like the predicates, the speakers can focalize only some of the constituents in a sentence. Except /waa/, all the other focus words discussed earlier are used to show the prominence of some of the constituents in a sentence.

The other point of scope regarding focus is that whether one focus word or more occurs with in a single sentence. In this language, focus words are in complementary distribution. The language does not allow the occurrence of more than one focus words in a single sentence. If there are more than one focus words in a sentence, it will be ungrammatical. Consider the following examples.

(13) a, ali baa gaadi iibsad -aj
 A Foc car buy - pst
 'ALI bought a car'

b, *ali baa gaadii waa - uu iibsad- aj
 A Foc car For - 3msg buy -pst

c, *ali baa gaadi ajaa - uu iibsad - aj
 A Foc car Foc - 3msg buy - pst

d, *ali baa waha iibsad - aj gaadi
 A Foc Foc buy - pst car

(13a) is grammatical. The data from (13b-d) are ungrammatical. Because these sentences consist of more than one focus words in each.

The other point worth mentioning with regard to focus is that in this language there is no utterance without focus words. Each of the sentences and utterances types has to do with focus words except commands (imperatives). Look at the conversation below.

(14) a, maŋaalin baa haage?

teacher Foc where

'Where is a TEACHER?'

b, klaas-ka waa - uu ku jir - aa

class-the Foc -3msg in exist - prt

'He is in the CLASS'

a, goorma waa - uu soo baah - aa

when Foc -3msg CON out -prt

'When does he COME back?'

b, iiminka waa - uu baah -i doon-aa

now Foc -3msg out-Inf will- prt

'He will COME now'

As can be seen from the conversation above, each of the utterances have received a focus word either on the nouns or on the verbs. However, commands or imperatives are not uttered with focus words. They are inherently focused because their natural illocutory force. Consider the following examples:

(15) a, orod

'run!'

b, ŋeeg

'tell!'

c, tag

'go!'

If we add a focus word /waa/ to the above data, the imperative mood will be changed in to declaratives like the following:

16) a. waa - uu orod -aa

Foc-3msg run-prt

'He RUNS'

b, waa - uu jeeg-aa

Foc-3msg tell-prt

'He TELLS'

4.2.1.2 The Unique Characteristics of /waa/

As discussed in the above section, /waa/ is a verbal focus word which occurs in the declarative mood. In addition to this, /waa/ can occur with nominal predicates to show the prominence of the noun phrases. Consider the following examples.

(17) a, abdi waa maƙaalin ahaj

A Foc teacher be

'Abdi is a TEACHER'

b, isagu waa abdi ahaj

he Foc A be

'He is ABDI'

c, ƙaarin - tii waa run ahaj

issue -the Foc true be

'The issue is TRUE'

The focus word /waa/ has to do with copula /ahaj/ to make the information more salient and grammatical. In such constructions, if we remove the focus word /waa/, the sentences will be ungrammatical. However, if we remove the copula and if the focus word occurs without copula, then the sentences will remain grammatical as the example below.

- (17) a, isagu waa asɣaar
 he Foc Soldier
 'He is a SOLDIER'
- b, *isagu asɣaar ahaj
 he soldier be

In (17) above, (a) is grammatically correct, where as (b) is incorrect. In (17b) the focus word /waa/ is missing. So, in Somali, the focus word /waa/ is an obligatory functional category both in nominal predicates and verbal predicates, and for nominal predicates the copula is optional, since /waa/ is assertive focus marker in Somali, it can occur in VP, NP, and AP.

Some scholars like Crass (2005), cited in Binyam (2008), states that the functional overlap between copula and focus markers is a common phenomenon among many Ethiopian languages. However, in Somali, this fact is not true. Because, in this language, the focus word /waa/ occurs in zero copula constructions as in (13 a) above, and with copula as in (12) above.

Saeed (1993) states that /waa/ is not a focus word in Somali. According to him, /waa/ is a classifier that occurs with verbs and adjectives. In addition to this, he farther pointes out that /waha/ is not verbal focus marker, rather it is a focus market for nouns and NPs. However, in this research, /waa/ is found to be a verbal focus marker for declarative sentences, and it is considered as an assertive focus marker. /waha/ is found to be a verbal focus marker that introduces new information, and it is considered as counter assertive focus marker.

4.2.2. Word Ordering

Dik (1978), cited in Taha (1990) states that the basic ideas of constituent order are the result of three forces. Among these forces, the preference for assigning certain specific positions to certain constituent have topic or focus function.

This principle implies that focused constituents may be placed in positions other than their linear syntactic positions for pragmatic reasons.

One such case in Somali is word order variations other than the usual syntactic positions in order to show the prominence of the information. Consider the following examples.

(18) a, ali dil -aj libaah - ii
A kill - pst lion - the
'Ali killed the LION

b, wiil -kii jab - aj muuraaʃid -ii
boy - the break -pst mirrer -the
'The boy broke the MIRROR'

According to Taha (1990), most discussions of constituent order explicitly or implicitly rely on the distinction between the unmarked order and the marked word order of constituents. Since Somali is an SOV language, any word order other than this pattern is the marked one. In (18) above the constituents in the final position are out side of the SOV pattern, representing the new information. That is, in(18a) 'what Ali killed' and in (18b) 'what the boy broke' are new informations. Since, /libaahii/ in (18a) and /muuraaʃidii/ in (18b) are not part of the predication; the only pragmatic function that assigned to them is focus. Of course this phenomenon is not commonly used by the speakers, but, such kind of a construction is grammatical

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusion

In this work, I have tried to examine the inflectional and derivational morphology of verbs and the focus system of Somali language.

The first part of this paper deals with the description of the people and the language, the literature, the purpose, the significance, the methodology, the scope, and the phonological description of the language. The consonant and vowel phonemes of Somali are shown in charts; and the syllable structure of the language, the phonotactics, and the phonological processes are presented.

The second part treats the inflectional affixes that mark the categories person, number, tense, aspect and mood on the verbs of the language. In this language three types of verbs are identified. These are weak verbs, strong verbs, and irregular verbs. In the language, there are bound morphemes that mark the different inflectional categories of Somali verbs. Some of the affixes are prefixes and some are suffixes. Some of the markers that have been identified are presented as follows:

- the person marker morphemes are marked by two different morphemes at the same time, i.e. by the suffix /-t/ both for 2nd person singular and plural, and for 3fsg; and by the suffix /-n/ for 1pl. In addition to these, the person marker morphemes are shown by the reduced form of pronouns for all persons which are prefixed to the main verb.
- number markers are shown by the suffix /-n/.
- the past tense marker morphemes for affirmative and negative sentences are /-aj/, and /-in/ respectively.
- the present tense marker morphemes for affirmative and negative sentences are /-aa/, and /-o/ respectively.
- the future tense is formed by the main verb in its infinitive form plus auxiliary /doon/ 'will'.

- negation is indicated by the morphemes /ma-/ and /-o/ in present tense; and by the morphemes /ma-/ and /-in/ in past tense constructions.
- polar interrogative is indicated by the morpheme /ma-/ which is prefixed to the main verb.
- negative polar interrogatives are formed by the question word /miyaa/
- the subjunctive mood is indicated by the auxiliary /kar/ 'may'.
- the conditional mood is formed by the word /haddi/ 'if'.
- the plural imperative mood is shown by the suffix /-a/.
- the jussive mood is indicated by the morpheme /aan-/ for first persons and by the morpheme /ha-/ for third persons.

The third part of the study deals with derivational affixes. In Somali, derived verb stems include passive, infinitive, reciprocal, auto-benefactive, causative, and denominal verb stems.

In chapter four the focus systems of the language have been examined. With regard to this point, four focus words are identified. These are: /ajaa/, /baa/, /waha/, and /waa/. In addition to these, word order variation is used to show the focused element in the language. These focus words have assertive and non-assertive functions. In Somali, focus has two scopes: focus on some constituents, and focus on some part of the sentence. Regarding focus distribution, noun focus markers follow the noun phrases, adjectives, adverbs; and verbal focus markers precede the verb.

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Appendix

diin ijo bakejle
tortoise and rabbit

'Tortois and Rabbit'

Speaker: Liben Abdulmelik

1. diin ijo bakejle ajaa tartam - aj
tortoise and rabbit Foc race pst
'Tortoise and rabbit were raced'
2. bakejle waa - uu la - jaab - aj diin - ka la - tartem
rabbit Foc -3msg pas - surprise -pst tortoise -the with race
aj - o
prog -prt
'A rabbit surprised when he was going to race with the tortoise'
3. bakejli - hii ajaa orod is - qaad - aj
rabbit -the Foc run Rec- take - pst
'The rabbit run away'
4. markaa soo -uu dib ajaa uu- soo eeg - aj
after that Con -3msg back Foc 3msg- con look -pst
'After that he looked back'
5. waha - uu ark - aj diink - ii oo -uu - soo daw - aj - n
Foc - 3msg see -pst tortoise- the that - 3msg conj near- pst -not
'The rabbit saw that the tortoise was not near'
6. dabadeedna bekejli - hii ajaa stag - aj.
then rabbit - the foc stop - pst
'Then the rabbit stopped'
7. waha - uu na seeh - t -ay geed - ka soo - keeja
Foc -3msg and sleep - 3fsg- pst tree - the conj- close
mee[-ii la - uu baratam - aj - aj.
place -the in - 3msg race - prog -pst

'And she slept under the tree which is located near to the terminal point of the race'

8. isagu waa -uu sug -aj - aa illaa din - ku soo qaad -aj - o
he Foc - 3msg wait- prog- prt uatil tartoise -the conj reach prg -prt
'He has waiting until the tortoise reaching to him'.

9. bakejli - hii huurdad - ii ajaa la tag - t - aj
rabbit - the sleep -the foc with go - 3fsg -pst
'The rabbit was slept.' d

10. diin - kii ajaa daaf -aj bakejli - hii oo- hurda
tortoise-the Foc pass - pst rabbit -the and- sleep
'When the rabbit was on sleep, the turtoise passed.'

11. bakejli - hii ajaa toos -aj diin -tii oo gaad -aj
rabbit - the Foc wake up- pst tortoise - the and reach - pst
meej- ii la -uu baratam - aj - aj
place - the at -3msg race - prog -pst

'When the rabbit woke up , the tortoise reached at the last place of the race, and she won the race.'