NOTES ON THE SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS IN SOMALI

By B. W. Andrzejewski

1. Introduction

The grammatical category which it is proposed here to call substantive pronouns and which Kirk and Bell call emphatic pronouns is of particular importance to the study of Somali grammar and presents some interesting semantic problems. The existing accounts in the literature on Somali[1] leave out some of the essential features and are often inaccurate. The aim of this article is to present a fuller description of the main characteristics of the substantive pronouns in various syntactic positions and to prepare the ground for further grammatical studies of Somali.

The spelling and accentual marks used throughout this article are the same as in the *Hikmad Soomaali*[2] and in my articles ' Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq dialect of Somali '[3] and ' Pronominal and prepositional particles in Northern Somali '.[4] The examples of sentences in this article are taken from continuous texts and from tape recordings of spontaneous speech obtained either from linguistic informants or from programmes broadcast by Radio Hargeisa. The abbreviations relating to texts are HS for *Hikmad Soomaali* and QA for *Qaalle Adduun*, a short novel by M. H. I. Galaal, as yet unpublished.[5]

The descriptive statements made in this article are based on Northern Somali, but with some modifications they are applicable to Southern dialects, except the Benadir and Rahanweyn groups.

2. Some of the Main Characteristics of Substantive Pronouns

The substantive pronouns are given in the list below. The significance of the arrangement and of the serial signs will become clear when the notional associations of these pronouns are explained in Sections 8–10. The optional alternatives

[1] For bibliographies of works on Somali see : A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, *The non-Bantu languages of north-eastern Africa* (Handbook of African languages, Pt. III), O.U.P., 1956, and M. H. I. Galaal, *Hikmad Soomaali*, edited with grammatical introduction and notes by myself (S.O.A.S. Annotated African Texts, IV), O.U.P., 1956. The term ' substantive pronouns ' is introduced here for the first time. It was suggested by the noun-like formal characteristics of this grammatical category.

[2] See preceding note.

[3] *BSOAS*, XVIII, 1, 1956.

[4] *African Language Studies*, I, 1960.

[5] Accessible at the Departmental Library, Department of Africa, S.O.A.S. Note that in examples from both HS and QA accentual marks have been added. They are based on my notes on accentual patterns occurring in these texts.

are given in brackets and the hyphens after the forms indicate that they occur only in combination with other words and never by themselves.

1	aní
2	adí
3m	isa- (usa-, asa-)
3f	iya-
1p 1pe	anna-
1p 1pi	inna-
2p	idin-
3p	iya-

The substantive pronouns share with nouns (and no other grammatical categories) the capability of combining with the definite articles which are :

Type	Group	
	A	B
General .	ka ta	ku tu
Remote .	kíi tíi	kíi tíi

All the substantive pronouns with the exception of 3f combine with the definite articles ka, kíi, ku and kíi, while 3f combines with ta, tíi, tu and tíi. The following junction features are present : the initial k- of the definite article is realized as -g- in combinations with 1, 2, 3m, 1pe, 1pi and 3p. It is realized as -k- in combination with 2p and as an optional alternative to -g- in combinations with 1pe, 1pi and 3p. The initial t- of the definite article is realized as -d- in combination with 3f.

Thus :

aníga	annága (annáka)
anígii	annágii (annákii)
	etc.
anigu	innága (innáka)
anígii	innágii (innákii)
	etc.
adíga	idínka
adígii	idínkii
etc.	etc.
isága (usága, asága)	iyága (iyáka)
iságii (uságii, aságii)	iyágii (iyákii)
etc.	etc.
iyáda	
iyádii	
etc.	

Examples have also been found of substantive pronouns combined, like nouns, with the demonstratives kán, tán ' this ' and káa, táa ' that ' and with the interrogative definitive kée, tée ' which ? '. In such combinations the junction features are the same as in combinations with the definite articles. Substantive pronouns combined with demonstratives are very rare and occur only as head-words of dependent relative constructions. The substantive pronouns combined with interrogative definitives are very rare.

When a substantive pronoun occurs without a definite article, demonstrative or interrogative definitive it will be said to be undefined. When, however, it occurs with one of these categories it will be said to be defined.

Of the undefined substantive pronouns ani and adi occur frequently and usually in combination with the following words :

(a) the conjunction na ' and ', ' but '

(b)   ,,   ,,   se ' but '

(c)   ,,   ,,   iyo ' and '

(d)   ,,   ,,   oo (introducing dependent clauses relating to time or condition) ' while ', ' when ', ' as ', ' unless ' [1]

(e) the unclassified word uun ' only ', ' simply ', ' just ' [2]

(f)   ,,   ,,   ba ' also ', ' even ' [3]

(g) the particle baa [4]

(h)   ,,   baa combined with a preverbal subject pronoun (for which see Section 7).

The remaining substantive pronouns occur infrequently and only in combination with the words enumerated above.

In the list which follows examples are given of all the undefined substantive pronoun forms observed in texts or in spontaneous speech. The individual components are put in square brackets and the sign + is placed between those components which cannot occur in a sequence but whose hypothetical separate existence is assumed through analogy.

[1] For further discussion on the constructions introduced by the conjunction oo see Note 8/7A in HS and the section on Participial Clauses in Bell's *Somali Language*, p. 110.

[2] Cf. Note 8/5 in HS.

[3] Cf. Note 1/14A in HS.

[4] This particle, which Bell calls ' indicator ', has various functions ; in the majority of contexts it emphasizes the word or cluster which precedes it.

(a) anná [aní + ná]   annaná [anna + ná]
    adná [adí + ná]   innaná [inna + ná]
    isná [isa + ná]   idinná [idin + ná]
    iyaná [iya + ná (3f)]   iyaná [iya + ná (3p)]

(b) ansé [aní + sé]
    adsé [adí + sé]

(c) aniyo [aní + iyo]
    adiyo [adí + iyo]

(d) anôo [aní + ôo]
    adôo [adí + ôo]

(e) anúun [aní + úun]

(f) ambá [aní + bá]

(g) anàa [aní + bàa]
    adàa [adí + bàa]

(h) adàan [adí + bàan = adí + bàa + aan]
    anàad [aní + bàad = aní + bàa + aad]
    anùu [aní + bùu = aní + bàa + uu]
    adùu [adí + bùu = adí + bàa + uu]

All the defined substantive pronouns whose second component is a definite article occur fairly frequently by themselves and when their last vowel is short (e.g. aniga) they often combine with the following words :

(a) the conjunction iyo

(b)   ,,   ,,   oo

(c)   ,,   ,,   oo combined with the negative particle aan

(d) the unclassified word uun

(e) the particle baa

(f)   ,,   ,,   baa combined with a preverbal subject pronoun.

The following combinations have been found :

(a) anigiyo [aniga iyo]
    adigiyo [adiga iyo]
    iságiyo [isága iyo]
        etc.

(b) anigôo [aniga ôo]
    adigôo [adiga ôo]
    iságôo [isága ôo]
        etc.

(c) anigáan or anigóon [aniga ôo áan]
    adigáan or adigóon [adiga ôo áan]
    iságáan or iságóon [isága ôo áan]
        etc.

(d) anigúun [aniga úun]
    adigúun [adiga úun]
    iságúun [isága úun]
        etc.

(e) anigàa [aniga + bàa]
    adigàa [adiga + bàa]
    iságàa [isága + bàa]
        etc.

(f) anigàad [aniga + bàad = aniga + bàa + aad]
    anigùu [aniga + bùu = aniga + bàa + uu]
    anigày [aniga + bày = aniga + bàa + ay]

    etc., i.e. all the other possible combinations of substantive pronouns
        + baa + a preverbal subject pronoun, except that the 1, 2, 1p
        and 2p forms of the substantive pronoun cannot combine with the
        corresponding forms of the subject pronoun.

All the substantive pronouns when they are combined with the definite articles
or the demonstratives have the Accentual Unit 3 on their first syllable and the
Accentual Unit 1 on the second syllable,[1] e.g. aní-ga, aní-gii, adí-ga, adí-gii, isá-ga,
isá-gii, aní-gán, adí-gán, etc.
    When they are combined with the interrogative definitive kę́e, tę́e they have
the Accentual Unit 3 on both syllables, e.g. ani-gę́e, adi-gę́e.

3. CASE SYSTEM IN SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS

As a preliminary step to the description of the case system in the substantive
pronouns, the positions in which they can occur will be classified into two types—
blocked positions and open positions.

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[1] For the description of these Accentual Units see ' Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the
Isaaq dialect of Somali ' and ' Pronominal and prepositional particles in Northern Somali ',
see p. 80, nn. 3, 4.

A substantive pronoun will be said to stand in the blocked position :

(i) when it is immediately followed by the particle baa or ayaa[1] combined or
    not combined with the negative particle aan and/or a preverbal
    subject pronoun ;

(ii) when it is immediately followed by the particle miyaa[2] combined or not
    combined with the negative particle aan ;

(iii) when it is accompanied by (normally immediately followed by) a word
    or construction dependent on it (e.g. a dependent clause) ;

(iv) when it is linked to another word by the conjunction iyo ;

(v) when it is immediately followed by a noun combined with a possessive
    pronoun which refers to the subject pronoun under discussion, e.g.
    isága áqalkjisa ' his house ' (lit. ' he house his ').

A substantive pronoun will be said to stand in the open position when it does
not fulfil any of the conditions specified in the definition of the blocked position
given above.
    A two-term case system operates in defined substantive pronouns but only in
the open position. It consists of an alternation between two sets of forms :

(α) The defined substantive pronoun forms whose second component is a
    definite article of Group A (see Section 2).

(β) The defined substantive pronoun forms whose second component is a
    definite article of Group B.

The forms of set (α) occur when the substantive pronoun in the open position
does not agree with a verbal form and is not the subject of a verbless predicative
construction.
    The forms of set (β) occur when the substantive pronoun in the open position
agrees with a verbal form or is the subject of a verbless predicative construction.
    It must be noted that no examples have been found of substantive pronouns
combined with the demonstratives kán, tán and káa, táa in the open position and
that the interrogative definitive kę́e, tę́e is always invariable.

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[1] The particle ayaa has the same functions as the particle baa, but is used in a slower style of
pronunciation.
[2] miyaa combines the functions of baa with those of a question particle.

Examples [1] of the forms of set (α) :

Ha ú qaadánnin hádalka aan Kulá hádlayó ínaan adduun-dòon ahay, amma ínaan adíga wah Kaagá dǫonayó.

Do not take the words which I am saying to you as meaning that I am a wealth-seeker or that through them I am seeking something from *you.*

Hębel, wáhaan Kuugú yeeḍay wáh hád iyó góor adíga na Kúu fudúd annága na nagú ᶜulús. (HS 23/354-6.)

What I called you for is something that is always easy for *you* and difficult for *us.* [NOTE : Hębel means ' so and so ', i.e. a person whose name is known to the narrator but is not given—this word is left untranslated.]

Állaylèe iságii isagá tág. (HS 23/378.)

By God, simply go to *him.* [NOTE : isagá = iská ' simply ' + u ' to '; isagá must not be confused with the substantive pronoun isága.]

Examples of the forms of set (β) :

Shàah anígu u má baahní yé, wáhaan sé Kúu shẹegayaa, hạal yár ôo náftàada kú saabsán.

I do not need any tea, but what I am going to tell you is a small matter concerning yourself.

Waan Ku gụursánayaa, adígu diyàar má tahay ?

I am going to marry you, are *you* ready ?

Márkay áwrtii nóo soᶜón wẹydáy ayàa iyágii na garteen, wáháa ᶜulús é aannu sịdnaa ínuu dạhab úun yaháy.

When the camels failed us and could not move, *they* recognized that those heavy things which we were carrying were gold ! [NOTE : ' failed . . . move ', lit. ' failed to move for us '. ' They ' refers to robbers in the story.]

The case system outlined above does not operate in the defined substantive pronouns in the blocked position where forms of the definite articles of Group A are used throughout under all conditions.

Examples of defined substantive pronouns in the blocked position :

Súldaan, nínkán hębel annágàa naqáan oo waa nín ạbwáan áh é wah weydii. (HS 23/34-5.)

Sultan, *we* know this man, he is a wise person, ask him anything. [NOTE : annágàa = annága + bàa.]

[1] Often in these examples preverbal subject pronouns and object pronoun particles occur side by side with the notionally corresponding forms of the substantive pronouns. This is not shown in the translations, but the reader can identify members of these two categories by reference to Section 7 of this article and the article ' Pronominal and prepositional particles in Northern Somali ' (see p. 80, n. 4).

Wáar, hębel, mảanta ma adígii bàa méesha márayá? (HS 23/380.)

Are *you* coming here to-day ? [NOTE : ' coming here ', lit. ᐧ passing by the place '. The word wáar is an exclamation used for attracting the attention of a man or men and is left untranslated.]

Márkaasäa dádkii kale illayn dád abáarta kú taló galáy má ahá é iyága iyó hoolóhǫodii ba shúf yiḍaahdeen. (HS 23/326-8.)

Then the other people were not people who prepared for the drought and both *they* and their animals all perished.

Maalín ayaamáha ká mid áh bàan Kugú riyooday, adíga ôo nabadgẹlyó wẹyn qabá ayàan Kugú riyooday.

One day I dreamt about you, when *you* were in peace and safety, I dreamt about you. [NOTE : ' you . . . safety ', lit. ' you when you had great peace and safety '.]

There is no case system in undefined substantive pronouns in any position.

4. SYNTACTIC POSITIONS WHICH HAVE BEARING ON THE CONCORDIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS

In the next section an account will be given of the concordial characteristics of substantive pronouns, i.e. their potentialities of agreement (concord) with verbal forms. Before this is done, however, it is first necessary to introduce the concept of nominal cluster and to classify the syntactic positions in which a substantive pronoun can occur.

By nominal cluster [1] in Somali is understood a group of words which, taken as a unit, is equivalent to a noun in the sense that it occupies the same position in the sentence as a noun and is capable of being substituted for it. In other words, it fits into the same functional slot [2] as a simple noun. A nominal cluster consists normally of a nominal (i.e. a noun, numeral, definite article, demonstrative or substantive pronoun) accompanied by words or constructions dependent on it (e.g. relative clauses, attributives, etc.). Moreover a nominal cluster may consist of nominals linked to one another by the conjunction iyo or even of two or more nominal clusters joined to each other by that conjunction. A nominal cluster always contains at least one nominal capable of agreement with a verbal form outside the cluster itself. A nominal of this kind will be referred to as the headword of the cluster. Some nominal clusters have two or more headwords.

The last component of a nominal cluster plays an important role and will be referred to as its marker.

[1] In the introduction to HS nominal clusters are referred to as nominal complexes and are dealt with on pp. 24-8 of that book.
[2] See Kenneth L. Pike, ' Slots and classes in the hierarchical structure of behaviour ', *Bibliotheca Sacra*, II, Dallas, 1957.

After these preliminary observations it is now possible to classify the positions of nominals (including the substantive pronouns) into four types : restrictive, extensive, construct and divergent. The first two positions are relevant only from the point of view of agreements between nominals and main verbs, while the remaining positions are relevant only from the point of view of agreements between nominals and verbs in dependent constructions.

A nominal will be said to stand in the restrictive position :

(i) when it is not a component of a nominal cluster and is immediately followed by :

(*a*) the particle **baa, ayaa (yaa)** or **miyaa** ;
(*b*) a combination of any of the above particles with the negative particle **aan** ;

(ii) when it is the headword of a nominal cluster and when either its marker or itself (which happens rarely) is immediately followed by any of the particles or combinations of particles enumerated above under (i).

A nominal will be said to stand in the extensive position when it does not fulfil the conditions specified in the definition of the restrictive position.

A nominal will be said to stand in the construct position when it is the head-word of a nominal cluster. When a nominal is a component of a nominal cluster, but at the same time is not its headword, it will be said to stand in the divergent position.

5. CONCORDIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS— AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Substantive pronouns, as has been said in the preceding section, are capable of agreement (concord) with verbal forms. A detailed statement of all these concordial potentialities would be outside the scope of this article. In the next section, however, an attempt will be made to give a general outline of the system of agreement between substantive pronouns and verbal forms by means of a few selected specimen paradigms.

The serial signs of substantive pronouns, as given in Section 2, will be placed against the members of each paradigm in order to indicate which verbal form agrees with which substantive pronoun. Thus the serial sign 2p will indicate that that particular verbal form agrees with the 2p form of the substantive pronoun. It must be noted, however, that when 1, 2, 3m and 3f forms of the substantive pronoun are joined to another nominal by the conjunction **iyo** ' and ', the substantive pronoun and the other nominal jointly require agreement with verbal forms marked as 1p, 2p and 3p respectively.

Three representative verbs **ḍéh** ' speak ', **óg** ' know ' [1] and **már** ' pass ' will be

[1] For information on verbs of this type see HS, p. 62, under (A and v4) and § 9 of ' Accentual patterns . . .' (see p. 80, n. 3).

used in the specimen paradigms. It is important to note that the forms of the same tense usually differ according to the syntactic position of the substantive pronoun with which they agree. Thus the Present General Tense form of the verb ' to pass ' agreeing with the 2p form of the substantive pronoun will be **mará** when the substantive pronoun stands in the restrictive position and **martaan** when the substantive pronoun stands in the extensive position.

The verbal forms which agree with substantive pronouns in the construct and divergent positions will each be subdivided into Set A and Set B.

The verbal forms of Set A occur [1] :

(i) always when the verbal form is not the marker of a nominal cluster ;
(ii) always when the verbal form occurs in the open position (see Section 3) and at the same time is the marker of a nominal cluster whose head-word neither agrees with a verb outside the nominal cluster nor is the subject of a verbless predicative construction ;
(iii) as an optional alternative to a form of Set B when the verbal form occurs in the blocked position of type (i) specified in Section 3 and is at the same time the marker of a nominal cluster, irrespective of whether its headword agrees or does not agree with a verbal form outside the cluster or whether its headword is or is not the subject of a verbless predicative construction.

The verbal forms of Set B occur :

(i) always when the verbal form occurs in the open position and at the same time is the marker of a nominal cluster whose headword either agrees with a verb outside the cluster or is the subject of a verbless predicative construction ;
(ii) as an optional alternative to forms of Set A, when the verbal form occurs in the blocked position of type (i) specified in Section 3 and is at the same time the marker of a nominal cluster, irrespective of whether its headword agrees or does not agree with a verbal form outside the cluster or whether its headword is or is not the subject of a verbless predicative construction.

The substantive pronouns in the construct position seldom agree with verbal forms of set B. Examples of such forms have been found only in sentences which were uttered in response to direct questioning by means of test frames and not in spontaneous speech ; to indicate this fact forms of this kind will be placed in square brackets in the specimen paradigms given in the next section. Forms of Set B occur frequently in agreement with nominals other than substantive pronouns, both in the construct and the divergent positions.

[1] The rather involved problem of clauses dependent on the words **in** and **wáh** is omitted from this brief formulation.

6. CONCORDIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS—SPECIMEN PARADIGMS

(i) Substantive pronouns in the restrictive position :

Substantive pronoun forms	Agreeing verbal forms		
	ḍéh speak	óg know	már pass
	Present General Tense		
1	iḍaahdá		
2	yiḍaahdá		mará
3m			
3f	tiḍaahdá	óg	martá
1p	niḍaahná		marná
2p	yiḍaahdá		mará
3p			
	Past General Tense		
1	iḍí		
2	yiḍí	ogáa	maráy
3m			
3f	tiḍí	ogáyd	martáy
1p	niḍí	ogáyn	marnáy
2p	yiḍí	ogáa	maráy
3p			

(ii) Substantive pronouns in the extensive position :

Substantive pronoun forms	Agreeing verbal forms		
	Present General Tense		
1	iḍaahdaa	ógahay	maraa
2	tiḍaahdaa	ógtahay	martaa
3m	yiḍaahdaa	ógyahay	maraa
3f	tiḍaahdaa	ógtahay	martaa
1p	niḍaahnaa	ógnahay	marnaa
2p	tiḍaahdaan	ógtjhiin	martaan
3p	yiḍaahdaan	ógyjhiin	maraan
	Past General Tense		
1	iḍi	ogaa	maray
2	tiḍi	ogayd	martay
3m	yiḍi	ogaa	maray
3f	tiḍi	ogayd	martay
1p	niḍi	ogayn	marnay
2p	tiḍaahdeen	ogaydeen	marteen
3p	yiḍaahdeen	ogaaÿeen	mareen

(iii) Substantive pronouns in the construct position :

Substantive pronoun forms	Agreeing verbal forms		
	Set A		
	Present General Tense and Past General Tense		
1–3p	The same agreements and forms as when the substantive pronoun stands in the restrictive position.		
	Set B		
	Present General Tense		
1	[iḍaahdaa]		
2	[yiḍaahdaa]		[maraa]
3m		[ogi]	
3f	[tiḍaahdaa]		[martaa]
1p	[niḍaahnaa]		[marnaa]
2p	[yiḍaahdaa]		[maraa]
3p			
	Past General Tense		
1	[iḍi]		
2	[yiḍi]	[ogaa]	[maray]
3m			
3f	[tiḍi]	[ogayd]	[martay]
1p	[niḍi]	[ogayn]	[marnay]
2p	[yiḍi]	[ogaa]	[maray]
3p			

(iv) Substantive pronouns in the divergent position :

Substantive pronoun forms	Agreeing verbal forms		
	Set A		
	Present General Tense		
1	iḍaahdó	ógaháy	maró
2	tiḍaahdó	ógtaháy	martó
	(tiḍaahdíd)		(martíd)
3m	yiḍaahdó	ógyaháy	maró
3f	tiḍaahdó	ógtaháy	martó
1p	niḍaahnó	ógnaháy	marnó
2p	tiḍaahdàan	ógtjhlin	martàan
3p	yiḍaahdàan	ógyjhlin	maràan
	Past General Tense		
1	iḍí	ogáa	maráy
2	tiḍí	ogáyd	martáy
3m	yiḍí	ogáa	maráy
3f	tiḍí	ogáyd	maráy
1p	niḍí	ogáyn	marnáy
2p	tiḍaahdèen	ogaydèen	martèen
3p	yiḍaahdèen	ogaaÿéen	marèen

Substantive pronoun forms	Agreeing verbal forms
1–3p	Set B *Present General Tense and Past General Tense* The same agreements and forms as when the substantive pronoun stands in the extensive position.

Examples :

(i)

Anàa dunída kéligáy léh, bùu Koofil eersaday é. (From a gábay poem by Ismaaᶜiil Miré.)

It was through thinking that he alone owned the world that Corfield was killed. [NOTE : lit. ' Corfield blamed (the words) " *I* alone own the world " '. The poet refers to Richard Corfield, who commanded the Camel Corps in the battle of Dul Madoba (Ðul Maðóobe) on 9th August 1913. Corfield had the reputation of great bravery, which according to the poet, led to his untimely death. Anàa = aní + bàa.]

Ilàahòw, adàa wèyn ! (A formalized expression.)

Oh God, *you* are great. [NOTE :. adàa = adí + bàa.]

Riyǒ iyágàa lúgtooda shabèel kú doontá. (Proverb.)

Goats, *they* look for a leopard on their own feet. [NOTE : iyágàa = iyága + bàa.]

Ma adàa sídáa yeeláy ? (QA 1548.)

Did *you* do that ? [NOTE : ' that ', lit. ' that way '. Adàa = adí + bàa.]

(ii)

Nínkíi Hámar tegay hàj u má baahná é, Hálwòoy, ambá hàaji bàan ahay. (From a héello love poem.)

The man who has been to Mogadishu need not go on a pilgrimage, oh Sweet One, *I* also am a Pilgrim. [NOTE : Hámar is the Somali name for Mogadishu. Hálwo ' the Sweet One ' is a girl's name of Arabic origin. Hàaji is translated here as Pilgrim, a title of honour to those who have performed the Muslim pilgrimage.]

Márkaasày hoolli ú ɖaqaaqday, iságii na gèedkii tegay. (QA 414–5.)

Then she went to the animals and *he* went to the tree.

Bérigii aad bádda kú maqnáyd, anígii iyo aabbahàa wàannu kulannay.

At the time when you were at sea *I* and your father met. [NOTE : The substantive pronoun adígii is joined by the conjunction iyo to the noun aabbahàa ' your father '.]

(iii)

Adígôo gaajó qabá, gèedkíi miɖǒ wèyn inɖúhu wah ma Kaagá gooyaan ? (Proverb.)

When *you* are hungry do your eyes pluck anything for you from the tree which has large fruit ? [NOTE : ' are hungry ', lit. ' have hunger '. Adígôo = adiga + ôo.]

Ínaanán adôo i geyeysiiyá má ahá é Ku daarín waa Walláahay ôo Billáahay ôo Talláahay. (HS 23/115–7.)

I swear by God that I shall not harm you unless *you* provoke me. [NOTE : ' I swear ', lit. ' it is by God (repeated three times with different Arabic prefixes) that I . . .'. Adôo = adí + ôo.]

Hébel wáhaan Kuugú yeeɖay dee waa adígii kál horé ina nabád gesháy é sánnadkán wúhuu noqón doonó inóo sheegáy é, bal sánnadkán na ká wárran. (HS 23/246–8.)

Why I called you is this : well, it is *you* who last year brought us into safety and told us what the year would turn out to be, now tell us about this year.

(iv)

Wáh yár oon anígu kú jiró ayàa méeshii bahsadáy.

A small group in which I was escaped from the place.

7. SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS COMPARED WITH OTHER PRONOMINAL CATEGORIES

There are two grammatical categories in Somali which are comparable with substantive pronouns on notional grounds, although they differ from them greatly in their formal characteristics. These two categories will be referred to as preverbal subject pronouns and object pronoun particles, terms which correspond to Bell's verbal pronouns and object pronouns respectively.

The preverbal subject pronouns are given below and before each form the serial number of the corresponding substantive pronoun is given :

1	aan	I
2	aad	you (singular, subject)
3m	uu	he, it
3f	ay	she, it
1pe	aannu or aan	we (exclusive)
1pi	aynu	we (inclusive)
2p	aydin or aad	you (plural, subject)
3p	ay	they

The main formal differences between the substantive pronouns and the preverbal subject pronouns are :

(i) The substantive pronouns are capable of occurring in verbless sentences, while the preverbal subject pronouns are not.

(ii) The substantive pronouns may or may not agree with verbal forms while the preverbal subject pronouns always agree with verbal forms.

(iii) The substantive pronouns are capable of agreement with all verbal forms, while the preverbal subject pronouns are limited in that respect. They cannot, for example, agree with those verbal forms which are capable of agreements with nominals in the restrictive or construct position.

(iv) The substantive pronouns can combine with the definite articles, demonstratives and interrogative definitives, while the preverbal subject pronouns cannot.

The object pronoun particles are given below and before each form the serial sign of the corresponding substantive pronoun is placed :

1	i	me
2	Ku	you (singular, object)
3m	—	him, it
3f	—	her, it
1pe	na	us (exclusive)
1pi	ina	us (inclusive)
2p	idin	you (plural, object)
3p	—	them

It is important to note that absence of an object pronoun particle corresponds to the 3m, 3f and 3p forms of the substantive pronoun.

The main differences between the substantive pronouns and the object pronoun particles are :

(i) The substantive pronouns are capable of either agreeing or not agreeing with verbal forms while object pronoun particles are not capable of such agreements.

(ii) The substantive pronouns are capable of being combined with the definite articles, demonstratives or interrogative definitives, while the object pronoun particles are not.

(iii) The object pronoun particles are capable of combining with pronominal particles while the substantive pronouns are not.

8. THE NOTIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS CONCERNED WITH PRONOMINAL REFERENCE

The substantive pronouns have the following notional associations concerned with pronominal reference :

1   aní   denotes the person who is speaking, i.e. making the utterance in which this pronoun occurs. 1st person singular.

2   adi   denotes the person spoken to, i.e. the person to whom the utterance is addressed. 2nd person singular.

3m   isa-   denotes a person, animal, object or notion which :
(a) is normally referred to by a singular, masculine [1] noun
(b) and has been mentioned shortly before the particular utterance or is known to the speaker and the listener from the context of situation.
3rd person singular masculine.

3f   iya-   denotes a person, animal, object or notion which :
(a) is normally referred to by a singular feminine noun
(b) and satisfies the conditions given under (b) above. [2]

1pe   anna-   denotes a person speaking and all the persons of a group with which the speaker identifies himself or herself as ' we '. The other members of that group may or may not be present at the time of the utterance. The minimum number in such a group is two, including the speaker. The person or persons addressed by the speaker are excluded. 1st person plural exclusive.

1pi   inna-   denotes a person speaking and all the persons of a group with which the speaker identifies himself or herself at the time of the utterance, as well as the person or persons whom he or she is addressing. 1st person plural inclusive.

2p   idin-   denotes two or more persons whom the speaker is addressing. 2nd person plural.

3p   iya-   denotes two or more persons, animals, objects or notions who or which :
(a) are normally referred to by a plural or collective noun (irrespective of gender)
(b) and which satisfy the conditions specified under (b) in the account of isa-. 3rd person plural.

It must be observed that in fables and in poetry the concept of person is often extended to animals, objects and notions. When direct speech is quoted the statements referring to a person or persons speaking or spoken to have to be modified by such expressions as ' quoted as speaking ', ' quoted as spoken to '.

When people are speaking in chorus, e.g. in prayers or during demonstrations, anna- and inna- also denote all the persons who are speaking.

[1] Noun forms which can combine with the definite articles beginning with the consonant k- are considered as masculine and those beginning with the consonant t- as feminine.

[2] Sometimes when iya- occurs as the headword of a dependent claused beginning with oo it has no direct notional associations at all. The substantive pronoun iya- together with the conjunction oo has then only the function of introducing a dependent clause. It might be argued, of course, that in such contexts iya- is a different word from the substantive pronoun iya-. For further information about such constructions see Note 8/7A in HS.

9. NOTIONAL ASSOCIATIONS CONCERNED WITH EMPHASIS

All substantive pronouns, defined or undefined, are associated with emphasis in the sense of making particularly and unmistakably clear the notional associations described in the preceding section. In this respect they stand in contrast with the preverbal subject pronouns and the object pronoun particles which are not associated with such emphasis.

When a substantive pronoun occurs in the blocked position of types (i) and (ii) (see Section 3), it is associated with even further emphasis, as normally that position has the function of centring the listener's attention on the nominal which occurs in it.

Moreover, substantive pronouns are associated with particular emphasis when they occur as headwords of relative constructions (which are rare and especially rare with the 3m, 3f and 3p forms of the substantive pronoun).

Examples :

Haddùu suˀáashàyda ká jąwaabó na dée, waa nín wah yąqáan ôo anná wah bàan síinayaa, haddíi kalé na waa kháayin ôo qóortàan ká járayaa. (HS 23/17–9.)

If he answers my question, well, then he is a man who knows something and *I* shall give him something, if not, he is an impostor and I shall cut off his head. [NOTE : anná = aní + na. ' Head ', lit. ' neck '.]

Yaa Kúu sheegáy ? Adígu má aad garán é. (QA 1521.)

Who told you ? *You* didn't know !

Dádku na ąad bùu ú jeᶜlaa ỹôo qófkíi wah kú yįmaaddaan ba iságùu ú tégi jįray ôo oǫán jįray : 'Ii fáali ! ' (HS 23/3–4.)

And the people loved him very much and everyone to whom something happened used to come to *him* and say, ' Divine for me from the beads of the rosary ! '. [NOTE : iságùu = isága + bùu = isága + bàa + uu.]

Dúmar kaléto, adíga má ahá é má aan ljhí.

Except *you*, I have no other wives.

Hębel, dádka kalé wúhuu Ku węydiiyó ba waad ú sheegtaa, ma anàad i djidaysaa ? (HS 23/36–7.)

You tell the other people whatever they ask you ; are you refusing *me* ? [NOTE : anàad = aní + bàad = aní + bàa + aad.]

Wáhaad ᶜuntó iyo méel aad seeható ba anàa ᶜàawa Ku síinayaa.

To-night, *I* shall give you something to eat and a place where you can sleep. [NOTE : anàa = aní + bàa.]

Má ahá é, àabbe, wah bàa Kugú ǫaᶜáy ôo waa adígán ǫúlka harríiqayá é ii shèeg wáha Ku heláy ! (QA 1536–7.)

It is not so, father ; something has happened to you and it is *you* who are drawing lines on the ground ; tell me what has happened to you ! [NOTE :

' it is you who ', lit. ' it is this you who '. To draw lines on the ground with a stick is considered as a sign of perplexity.]

Ịlàahòw Qáaniyòw, adígáan wah ba Káa qarsoonàyn, ' Aan qúusto é ', miyáan La ii qǫrin. (From a béello love poem.)

Oh God the Wealthy One,[1] as from *you* nothing is hidden, tell me whether it has not been written for me that I should give up hope ? [NOTE : adígáan = adíga ôo áan (negative particle). The literal translation would be : ' Oh God the Wealthy One, as from *you* nothing is hidden, has it not been written for me " Let me give up hope " ? '.]

10. SPECIFIC NOTIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF DEFINED SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUNS

In describing notional associations of this type comparison with defined nouns, i.e. nouns combined with the definite articles, demonstratives or interrogative definitives, provides a convenient starting point.

Nouns combined with the definite articles usually refer to what is already known, familiar or identified by a qualifying expression, while undefined noun forms, on the other hand, usually refer to what is newly introduced into conversation, not yet known or not familiar to the listener. A contrast of this kind does not occur between those substantive pronouns which are combined with the definite articles and those which are not. As has been shown in Section 8 the 3m, 3f and 3p forms of the substantive pronoun all refer to what is already known to the listener and the 1, 2, 1pe, 1pi and 2p forms refer to persons who are identified through the context of situation as participants in the conversation.

In noun forms there is also a contrast between those forms which are combined with the definite articles of the General Type (see Section 2) and those combined with the definite articles of the Remote Type. Apart from the notional associations already mentioned and common to all noun forms combined with the definite articles of any type, noun forms combined with the definite articles of the General Type have no specific notional associations. It must be noted, however, that in the majority of cases they occur in contexts from which it is apparent that what they refer to is present within the sight of the speaker at the time of the utterance.[2]

[1] Cf. I. M. Lewis, ' The names of God in northern Somali ', *BSOAS*, XII, 1, 1959.

[2] These contexts also suggest that when what is referred to is not physically present within the sight of the speaker at the time of the utterance or is not visible at all, it may be felt to be present in his imagination. This rather vague statement can be substantiated by the fact that the forms with the definite articles of the General Type are often used in vivid narrative, in describing the thoughts of the characters in a story and also when what is referred to is spoken of in general terms or considered as ever-present.

The noun forms combined with the definite articles of the Remote Type have the following specific notional associations :

(a) They convey the information that what they refer to is out of sight of the speaker at the time of the utterance *or*

(b) they emphasize that what they refer to, although within the sight of the speaker at the time of the utterance, is to be considered as connected with some particular event or circumstances in the past or, rarely, in the future.

All that has been said about the notional associations of noun forms combined with the definite articles applies equally well to the substantive pronouns, with the restriction, however, that the 1, 2, 1pe, 1pi and 2p forms combined with the definite articles of the Remote Type can only have the notional associations specified under the heading (b) above.

Noun forms combined with the demonstratives **kán, tán** ' this ' and **káa, táa** ' that ' are always associated with deixis, e.g. **áqalkán** ' this house ', **áqalkáa** ' that house '. This again applies to the substantive pronouns, but it must be noted that the substantive pronouns combined with demonstratives can only occur as head-words of relative constructions and the deixis in such contexts may be considered as additional emphasis.

Noun forms combined with the interrogative definitive **kée, tée** ' which ? ' are always associated with selective questions, e.g. **aqalkée** ' which house ? '. In substantive pronouns combined with the interrogative definitives the selective question ' which ? ' does not imply that the Somali speakers view human personality as dual or multiple. Expressions like **anigée** do not mean literally ' which me ? ' but ' me as connected with what action, event or circumstances ? ' Forms of this kind are very rare.

Dée, <u>annága</u> wáhay nalá tahay ínaad waalláyd. (HS 22/81.)	It is our opinion that you were mad. [NOTE : ' our opinion ', lit. ' it is with *us* '. ' You were mad ', i.e. ' you were mad to act as you did.]
Wáagii gụduutá ba <u>adígàan</u> Kúu guntánayaa ẙe. (From a gábay poem.)	At every dawn that turns red, for *you* I gird myself. [NOTE : adígàan = adíga + bàan = adíga + bàa + aan (preverbal subject pronoun). In this line the poet refers to his going out to work very early to provide his wife with good conditions.]
Bisé ínanku <u>iságùu</u> u égyạhay. (QA 1712.)	Indeed, the boy resembles *him*. [NOTE : iságùu = isága + bùu = isága + bàa + uu.]

Márkii mụddádíi maalini ká hạḍḍáy bàa <u>iságôo</u> nafi ná haysó ôo kú taló gạláy ín hálkáa náftu kagá bahḍó ayúun bàa gẹ̀edkii uu hóos jiifáy jịrriddịisíi ábris gạboobay kagá sóo bahay. (HS 23/95–7.)	When only one day remained out of the appointed time and when *he* was in great fear and resolved that there his soul should depart, suddenly an old serpent came out of the trunk of the tree under which he lay. [NOTE : ' he was in great fear ', lit. ' fear was holding or assailing him '. ' The trunk of the tree ' can also mean in this context ' the shade of the trunk of the tree '. Iságôo = isága ôo.]
Bal <u>iságii</u> bàan gạạḍayaa ẙe, nabadgẹ́lyo, họ̀oyo.	Goodbye mother, I am going to *him*. [NOTE : ' going to him ', lit. ' reaching him '.]
Nin haddùu seehdó ôo sóo toosó waa <u>iságii</u> úun. (Proverb.)	When a man goes to sleep and then wakes up it is still *he* himself. [NOTE : ' it is still he himself ', lit. ' it is still only he ', i.e. still the same person as he was.]
Haddíi sẹ́benku abáar yạháy na wàa Lays wada qadínayaa ẙôo adigu ba waa <u>adígii</u> hoolli lá bahsadáy. (HS 23/457–8.)	And when the time is the time of drought people all refuse each other help and also it was *you* who had run away with the animals. [NOTE : ' it was *you*', who ', lit. ' it was *the you* who '.]
Shálayto waa <u>adigii</u> ugáạḍsi tẹgáy é áqalkàaga kẹ́ligáy iigagá tẹgáy.	Yesterday it was *you* who went hunting and left your house to me alone. [NOTE : ' it was *you* ', lit. ' it was *the you* '.]
Haddày barwaaqó taháy na wáh is qadínayá iyo wáh is qúuḍayá tòona árki mẹ̀ysíd ôo adigu ba waa <u>adígán</u> wíhii LaGu sjiyáy ôo ḍán ii wada keenáy. (HS 23/459–61.)	And when it is a time of prosperity you will not see people who refuse each other help and are mean to each other ; and it was *you* also who brought to me all the things which you were given. [NOTE : ' it was *you* also who ', lit. ' you also are *this you* who '.]
Súldaan, fàalkii ba wáhaan ú rọgáy ka má warramin é, beló anÍga igú sóo soᶜotáy bùu sheegay ôo waa <u>anigàa</u> ᶜunsurgụuriyáy. (HS 23/53–5.)	Sultan, the forecast did not tell me what I performed it for, but told me about a misfortune which was to come on me and it was *I* who did the acts of propitiation. [NOTE : ' It was *I* who ', lit. ' it was *that I* who '.]