

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

Vol 91

1993

No 1

Published for the Society by

 **BLACKWELL**
Publishers

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Philological Society is the oldest learned society in Great Britain devoted to the scholarly study of language and languages. It was established in its present form in 1842, consisting partly of members of a society of the same name established at the University of London in 1830 'to investigate and promote the study and knowledge of the structure, the affinities, and the history of languages'. Publication by the Clarendon Press of the Society's *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, which has since come to be known as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, began in 1879, the Society having adopted the project in 1857 and having over a long period of time made itself responsible for the collection of material and the preparation of the *Dictionary* under its first editor, Sir James Murray.

The Society, while encouraging all aspects of the study of language, has a particular interest in historical and comparative linguistics, and maintains its traditional interest in the structure, development, and varieties of Modern English. The Society also commissions general papers on problematic or controversial topics in the theory of language.

The Society's journal, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, is published twice a year in May and November. Occasional volumes, such as *Publications of the Philological Society* and other separate titles, are issued as funds allow.

Membership

Application for membership of the Society should be made to the Hon. Secretary, Professor Th. Bynon, School of Oriental and African Studies, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG.

Members are entitled to receive a copy of all papers issued by the Society during the period of their membership; to purchase at reduced prices any of the Society's former publications, as long as available; and to attend, and introduce a friend to, the meetings of the Society. Student Associate Members are entitled to receive *Transactions* and to attend meetings of the Society.

Full Members are of two kinds, namely Institutional Members and Individual Members, paying £47.50 and £10.00 per annum respectively, subscriptions being payable immediately upon election to the Society and thereafter on 1st January of each year. The annual subscription for Student Associate Members is £2.00. Institutional Members should send their subscriptions, payable to Basil Blackwell Ltd, to:

Journals Subscriptions Department,
Marston Book Services,
PO Box 87,
Oxford OX2 0DT, England

Individual and Student Associate Members should make their payments to the Hon. Treasurer, Professor P. B. Salmon, 5 Rotha Field Road, Oxford OX2 8JJ. The *Transactions* are also available to non-members through the publisher (above) at the following:

1993 Prices	UK/Europe	ROW	North America*
Institutions	£81.50	£94.50	\$165.00
Individuals	£47.50	£57.50	\$99.50
<i>Single issues</i>			
Institutions	£45.00	£50.00	\$88.00
Individuals	£28.00	£32.00	\$55.00

*Canadian customers/residents please add 7% for GST.

[Continued inside back cover]

ADPOSITIONAL CLITICS AND WORD ORDER IN SOMALI

By JOHN IBRAHIM SAEED
Trinity College, Dublin

(Received 25 February 1992; Revised 29 July 1992)

1. INTRODUCTION¹

This paper emerges from an ongoing study of verbal derivational affixes in Somali. The discussion will touch on related languages, so, as background, the diagram in Figure 1 shows the position of Somali in East Cushitic, a subgroup of Cushitic, itself one of the Afroasiatic subfamilies.

Somali, in common with other Cushitic languages, has a productive series of affixes which alter the semantic and argument structure of verbs to which they are attached. Thus we find several causative affixes, passive, autobenefactive or 'middle', and inchoative affixes. These are described in Andrzejewski (1968), and Saeed (1987, in press). This paper grew out of an investigation of a group of

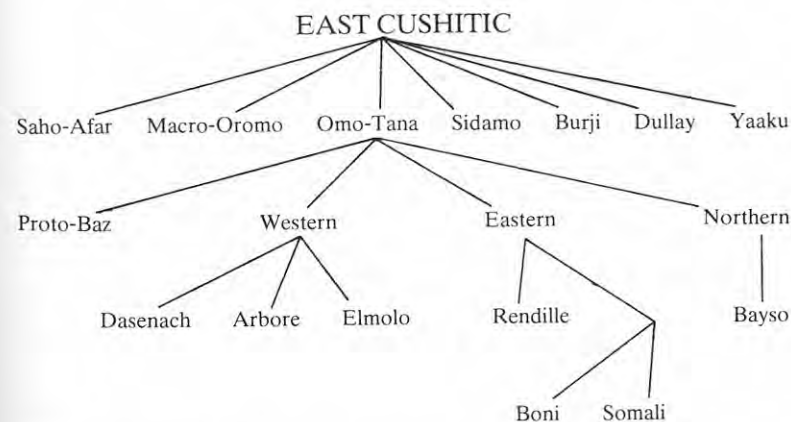


Figure 1. The Omo-Tana Subgroup within Eastern Cushitic

morphemes, associated with the verb, which have been variously called in English: prepositions, prepositional particles and locative particles; and in Italian, *preposizioni* (Panza 1974, Puglielli 1981a). As we will see, this terminology, though mnemonically convenient, is rather misleading. The original question at issue was whether these morphemes belong to the family of verbal derivational affixes or not; and if not, what their grammatical status might be.

These morphemes have been called prepositions because they assign to NPs a range of semantic or thematic roles similar to English prepositions; but in fact their grammatical status is quite different. In examining cross-linguistic correspondences to English sentences like (2), we are perhaps familiar with information about 'movement from a source' being marked in certain ways, such as (3a-3d).

- (2) We came from Somalia.
- (3) (a) included in the semantics of the verb;
 (b) marked by case on the noun;
 (c) marked by a preposition forming a unit with the nominal;
 (d) marked by a postposition forming a unit with the nominal;
 (e) marked by a morpheme satellite of the verb.

Somali seems to present us with an additional strategy (3e) as shown in (4-6).

- (4) *Soomaaliya ayaannu ka nimi*
 Somalia FOC+ we from came
 'we came from SOMALIA'
- (5) *waxaannu ka nimi Soomaaliya*
 what+ we from came Somalia
 'it was SOMALIA we came from'
- (6) *Cali baa Amina u keenay Shukri*
 Ali FOC Amina to brought Shukri
 'ALI brought Amina to Shukri', or less likely, 'ALI brought Shukri to Amina'

In (4) and (5) we see the morpheme *ka* 'from', remaining next to the verb regardless of the position of the NP *Soomaaliya*. In (5) the corresponding morpheme is *u* 'to'. Constructions with these

morphemes have the three characteristics in (7), as we will see in later examples.

- (7) (a) The morpheme remains in pre-verbal position regardless of the position of the NP it semantically 'governs';
 (b) This governed NP occurs in the basic absolutive form (the default case used for objects, isolation, etc.), whichever morpheme occurs;
 (c) When more than one non-subject NP is involved, these structures can give rise to ambiguity, which is resolved by contextual information.

In fact there is only one nominal adposition in Standard Somali: the preposition *ilaa* 'towards, to', borrowed from Arabic and which forms PPs with NPs in the usual way as in (8):

- (8) [_{PP} [_P *ilaa*] [_{NP} *Berbera*]] 'towards Berbera'

In the rest of this paper we ignore this one preposition. The basic meanings of the preverbal morphemes are given in (9), and an idea of the semantic roles they assign to nominals is given by examples (10-18), where the morphemes are in bold type:

- (9) *u* 'to, for'
ku 'in, into, on, at, with (instrument)'
ka 'from, away from, out of'
la 'with (comitative)'
- (10) *bannaanka u saar!*
bannaan+ ka u saar
 out-of-doors+ the to release
 'release it to the outdoors!', 'make it all public!' (Mumin 1979: 162)
u: role assigned = GOAL
- (11) *maxaad ii weydiinaysaa?*
maxay+ baa i+u weydiinaysaa
 what+FOC+you me+for are asking
 'what are you asking me for?', 'why are you asking me?'
 (Mumin 1979: 62)
u: role assigned = REASON

- (12) *anigu waxaan ku cayilay waa miyigii baan tegay*
 I what+I from grew-fat(is) country+the FOC+I went
 'what I grew fat from is I went to the countryside' (Mumin
 1979: 78)
ku: role assigned = CAUSE
- (13) *Baricade iyo walaashiis waxay ku nasteen dhulkii weyna*
 B. and sister+his what+they in rested land+the big
 'Baricade and his sister rested in the great country' (Cartan
 Xaange 1988: 21)
ku: role assigned = LOCATIVE
- (14) *rajaynimaan ku weynaadey*
 orphanhood+FOC+I in grew-up
 'I grew up in orphanhood', '... as an orphan' (Cartan Xaange
 1988:15)
ku: role assigned = LOCATIVE (metaphoric)
- (15) *war aynu caday ku rumayanno...*
 hey us caday-plant with clean-teeth
 'hey, let's clean our teeth with *caday*-plant!' (Cartan Xaange
 1988:55)
ku: role assigned = INSTRUMENT
- (16) *haddaad iga muudsatid sunta maska...*
hadda + aad i + ka muudsatid sun + ta mas + ka
 if + you me + from suck poison + the snake + the
 'If you suck out the poison of the snake from me...' (Cartan
 Xaange 1988:20)
ka: role assigned = SOURCE
- (17) *ka firso hadalladaad leedahay!*
 about think talk + the + you say
 'think about the talk you are saying!', 'mind what you are
 saying!' (Mumin 1979:66)
ka: role assigned = THEME (or perhaps LOCATIVE in a
 metaphorical sense)
- (18) *war yaad la hadlaysaa?*
 hey who + FOC + you with talking

'hey, who are you talking with?' (Cartan Xaange 1988:64)
la: role assigned = COMITATIVE

As David Appleyard has reported (Appleyard 1990), close cognates of these preverbal morphemes are found in other languages of the Omo-Tana branch of East Cushitic (shown in Figure 1) and less commonly in other branches of Cushitic where case-endings and postpositions predominate. Preverbal morphemes exactly paralleling these Somali examples have been reported in Boni, Rendille, Elmolo and Dasenach. Bernd Heine in his survey of Eastern Omo-Tana (which he calls the 'Sam' languages: Heine 1978) left their status somewhat open:

- (19) 'Proto-Sam must have had a set of particles placed immediately before the verb. The function of these particles is intermediate between nominal prepositions and semantic verbal extensions' (Heine 1978:37-38).

In more recent work by Steve Pillinger on Rendille these morphemes have been identified as verbal derivational affixes: In Pillinger (1989:244f.) verbs occurring with *ka* (cognate with Somali *ka*) and *lee* (cognate with Somali *la*) are identified as derived verbs. We can see this in (20) which is Galboran & Pillinger's dictionary entry for *ka*, labelling it a verbal derivational affix. Indeed the dictionary has separate lexical entries for verbs with and without these morphemes as shown in the selection of entries in (21):

- (20) 'ká'- (VPX): at, in, from, with, by
 [Locative/ablative/instrumental verb prefix. Also has the function of adding an extra object: i.e., makes an intransitive verb transitive or a transitive verb ditransitive; cf. *riira* "shout", but *káriira*, "shout at (someone)" .. .] (Galboran & Pillinger 1990:43)
- (21) *abda* 'learn' *káabda* 'learn from'
jira 'be, exist' *kájira* 'be at (a place)'
 (Galboran & Pillinger 1990)

This approach would make these morphemes a Cushitic parallel to the applicative verbal affixes found in Bantu languages, e.g. Swahili (22):

SWAHILI

- (22) (a) *ni-me-lima shamba kwa ajili ya Musa*
 I-PERF-cultivate plantation for sake of Musa
 'I have cultivated the plantation for (the sake of) Musa'
- (b) *ni-me-m-lim-ia Musa shamba*
 I-PERF-him-cultivate-APPL Musa plantation
 'I have cultivated the plantation for Musa' (Comrie 1985:317)

In (22b) the applicative affix has made *lima* 'cultivate' into a so-called 'prepositional' verb, which, interestingly for our later discussion, then requires an object agreement affix within the verb.

In this paper I will examine the status of these morphemes in Somali. I will argue firstly that they are clitics and not affixes, and that consequently when they occur with verbs we are not dealing with lexically generated derived verbs. This leaves us with the problem of terminology. While the term 'preposition' is a useful mnemonic for speakers of English or Italian, the terms *preposition*, *postposition*, and *adposition* normally imply constructions where the element forms a syntactic unit with a nominal. This is clearly not the case with these Somali preverbal clitics. On comparative and historical grounds we might want to draw parallels with adpositions in other Cushitic subgroups, perhaps even positing a historical migration of adpositions to the verb in Omo-Tana, in which case a term like *adpositional clitic* might be defended. Looking at the functions of these clitics – marking comitative, instrumental, directional, locative, etc. roles on arguments of the verb – we might prefer a term like *oblique case clitic*, where 'case' refers to abstract or deep case in the spirit of Fillmore's Case Grammar (e.g. Fillmore 1968), rather than inflectional case. We might note Lyons's (1968:289–304) observations that similar semantic functions are marked in various languages by nominal adpositions, inflectional cases, and we might now add, preverbal clitics. We seem to be dealing with different grammaticalization strategies for similar semantic functions, and therefore the choice of terminology will reflect an emphasis on either the syntactic or semantic behaviour of the items. In this, the problem presented is reminiscent of the identification of adverbials in many

languages.² Since Somali does have nominal inflectional cases for marking, e.g., subject versus nonsubject, and for genitive (see Saeed 1987:128 ff.), we will not, for the present, adopt the term *case clitic*, but use instead the term *adpositional clitic*.

This first section concludes with a summary of the characteristics of these adpositional clitics which distinguish them from both words and affixes. Secondly, I will argue that these adpositional clitics should be assigned independent lexical status and that the constructions they occur in should be derived by syntactic rules. The final section of the paper is concerned with the interaction of these clitics with word order. While the discussion is of immediate relevance to the description of Cushitic languages, it is hoped that the conclusions will be of wider, especially typological, interest.

2. THE CLITIC STATUS OF ADPOSITIONAL CLITICS

Although the definition of clitics is one of the more controversial areas in syntactic theory, I will assume that for an element to be a clitic it must satisfy the conditions in (23):

- (23) (a) it must be a bound morpheme: for example, not be able to occur in isolation, as an answer to a question, etc.; and,
 (b) at least optionally, be phonologically attached to another element – a host word or other clitic; and,
 (c) be distinguished by its grammatical behaviour from morphological affixes.

These morphemes clearly satisfy (23a): they can only occur with a verb and, unlike full words whose order is free, as we will see, they must occur in a fixed position in a clitic cluster preceding the verb. We can call the verb and its preceding clitic cluster the verbal piece; and in (24a) the verbal piece, which needs a classifier or other element to form a clause, has only one permissible order of its elements, schematized in (24b), as (24c–24e) show:

- (24) (a) ... *uu kugu soo noqday*
 uu ku + ku soo noqday
 he you + to back came
 '... he came back to you'

- (b) [_{VP} SubPro AbsPro AdposClitic Deictic VERB]³
 (c) **uu soo kugu noqday*
 (d) **soo uu kugu noqday*
 (e) **ku uu ku soo noqday* etc.

Strong evidence for these morphemes' satisfying criterion (23b) comes from the collapsing or coalescence rules which apply to these elements causing the host and clitic to merge into a new phonological form. See for example (25) and (26) where adpositional clitics coalesce with absolute pronoun clitics.

- (25) *wuu noo qaaday*
waa + uu na + u qaaday (*na + u → noo*)
 CLASS + he us + for took
 'he took it for us'
- (26) *ii sheeg!*
i + u sheeg (*i + u → ii*)
 me + to tell
 'tell (it) me!'

As described in detail in Andrzejewski (1960), adpositional clitics and pronominal clitics merge into preverbal clitic clusters which are sometimes quite complex, as in (27):

- (27)
 ... *rarka igala dhiga!*
rar + ja i + ka + la dhiga (*i + ka + la → igala*)
 loads + the me + from + with take-down
 '... take the loads down from (them) with me!' (Andrzejewski 1960: 107)

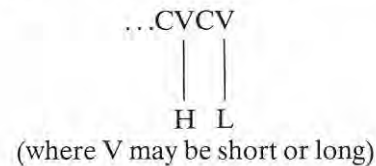
To satisfy criterion (23c) we must show the divergence of these elements from morphological affixes, and the most likely contenders here are verbal derivational affixes. The clearest evidence of difference concerns attachment to the verbal root. Derivational affixes attach in a specific order to the root of the verb, relative to other affixes. As shown in (28), they occur closer to the root than inflectional affixes.⁴

- (28) (a) [_{VERB} ROOT + LEX + AGR + TNS]
 (b) *qaad + at + t + ay →*
 take middle 3fs past
qaadatay '(she) took for herself'

There are a number of phonological arguments for distinguishing adpositional clitics from affixes, and derivational affixes in particular. They all take the following form: lexical affixes in their position in (28) undergo various phonological rules which show them to form a phonological word with the root: these include tone assignment, assimilation, syllable simplification, and other rules. The clitics on the other hand are inert to all of these processes. I will not deal with this form of justification in any great detail here, for two reasons. The first, very practical reason, is that relatively little is yet known of the details of Somali phonological rules. This means that any arguments are likely to be based on shifting sands. The second reason is that it is not *a priori* clear that inertness is a characteristic which would disqualify a morpheme from affix status. We might remember Dorothy Siegel's (1979) study of English affixes where she distinguished two classes of affix precisely on the basis that CLASS II affixes were relatively inert to phonological processes with the stem.

Nonetheless I might suggest one or two arguments of this type. One concerns the assignment of tone patterns to verbal roots. As Andrzejewski (1956) has shown, particular paradigms of verbs are marked by specific tone patterns, the choice of pattern cross-cutting with morphological classes. So, for example, in first and second conjugation verbs (to employ the most commonly used terminology, e.g. Bell 1953, Andrzejewski 1956, Saeed 1987 amongst others), the imperative forms have a HIGH-LOW pattern on the last two syllables, as in (29a). If two syllables are not available, we find the following realizations in (29b and c):

- (29) (a) polysyllables:



(b) long monosyllables:

CVV(C)

||

HL

(realized as FALL)

CVC

|

HL

i.e. a HIGH

(c) short monosyllables:

Examples of this can be seen in (30)⁵

- (30) *engéji!* 'dry (it)!'
hagáaji! 'straighten (it)!'
órod! 'run!'
jóoji! 'stop (it)!'
kéen! 'bring (it)!'
qàad! 'take (it)!'
tág! 'go!'
már! 'pass!'

If grammatical rules add affixes inside this paradigm, the tone shape shifts to reflect the extra syllables, as shown in a single example in (31):

- (31) *kéen!* [base form] 'bring (2sg) it!'
kéena! + [plural affix] 'bring (2pl) it!'
kéenin + [negative affix]:
ha kéenin! 'don't (2sg) bring it!'
keenína + [negative and plural affixes]:
ha keenína! 'don't (2pl) bring it!'

It seems clear that the rules for applying tone patterns to verbal forms treat the affixes as part of the same word. By contrast the preverbal clitic cluster has no effect on this process, as shown in (32):

- (32) *ú kèen!* 'bring (2sg) it to him!'
igá qàad! 'take (2sg) it from me!'
ká tág! 'go (2sg) away from it!'
ká bák! 'get (2sg) out of it!'

It has to be said that without specific phonological analyses, this kind of evidence is not conclusive: one might in the end want to argue that there are different kinds of affixation at work here, only one type of which is 'visible', so to speak, to the rules which match tonal shapes to paradigms. Nonetheless, in the absence of such arguments these data do mark a significant difference between affixes proper and our proposed clitics. We might use just one more example of this type of data to show that one of the phonological rules of assimilation – the voicing of intervocalic stops within a word – treats affixes as part of a word with the verbal root (33 below), and adpositional clitics as part of a word with pronominal clitics (34), but each as separate, as the surviving voiceless stops in (35) show:

- (33) *joog + s + at + Ø + aan →*
 stop + CAUS + MIDDLE + AGR + INFL
joogsadaan '(they) stop themselves'
- (34) *wuu iga qaaday (i + ka → iga)*
 CLASS + he me + from took
 'he took it from me'
- (35) *wuu kuu keenay*
 CLASS + he you + for brought
 'he brought it for you'

As mentioned earlier, similar arguments can be made using a variety of phonological processes, all of which do not 'see' adpositional clitics as part of the verbal word.

Clearer perhaps than this phonological evidence, and supporting it, are morpho-syntactic arguments based on evidence of continuity, or perhaps better, intrusion. Derivational affixes are always attached next to verbal roots 'inside' inflection, and permit no intrusive elements. Adpositional clitics on the other hand may be separated from the verb by a number of elements, most significantly certain sentence-level elements. We see examples of this in (36) to (39), where the intrusive element is in bold type:

- (36) *waan kuu **soo** celin doonaa carrabkaaga ...*
 CLASS + I you + to back return will tongue + your
 'I will give you back your tongue ...' (Cartan Xaange 1988: 79)

- (37) *sonkori kuma jirto*
sugar in + NEG be (NEG)
'sugar is not in it', 'there's no sugar in it'
- (38) ... *sii uu weysha uga qabto saca inta*
way he calf + the in + from seized cow + the before
ayan uba soo dhowaan
she + NEG to + even towards neared (NEG)
'in such a way that he seized the calf from
the cow before she even got near it' (Cartan
Xaange 1988: 59)
- (39) (a) *wuu tegay gurigiisa dabadeedna wuu*
CLASS + he went house + his then + and CLASS + he
ka soo noqday
from back came
'he went to his house and then came back from it'
- (b) *wuu tegay gurigiisa wuuna ka*
CLASS + he went house + his CLASS + he + and from
soo noqday.
back came
'he went to his house and he came back from it'
- (c) *wuu tegay gurigiisa wuu kana*
CLASS + he went house + his CLASS + he from + and
soo noqday
back came
'he went to his house and he came back from it.'
- (d) **wuu tegay gurigiisa wuu ka soona noqday*
(e) **wuu tegay gurigiisii wuu ka soo noqdayna*

In (36) the adpositional clitic is separated from the verb by the deictic element *soo* 'towards the speaker'; in (37) by the main sentence negative word *ma* 'not', which must be distinguished from negative verbal inflection; in (38) by the clausal parenthetical element *ba* 'even'; and most tellingly in (39) by the sentence coordinator *-na* 'and'. This links clauses but not NPs, and generally follows the quite common cross-linguistic tendency to take up a position after the first

constituent of the second clause, or 'Wackernagel's position' as it is often called. The only variability we find, as shown in (39), concerns elements of the verbal piece, where speakers can identify a constituent boundary either after the cluster of CLASSIFIER + subject pronoun clitic, or after the adpositional clitic. The coordinator cannot be placed after the deictic element or the verb, as (39d-e) shows. Needless to say, it cannot be placed between the verb root and any of its affixes. The point here of course is that the placement of *-na* seems sensitive to constituent boundaries and the possibility of placing it after the adpositional clitic is more evidence that the latter is not an affix of the verb.

One final argument for clitic rather than affix status for these morphemes derives from an observation made by several linguists, for example Zwicky and Pullum (1983), that clitics are less selective in their choice of hosts than affixes. Somali adpositional clitics contrast with verbal affixes in this regard: we have seen examples of them cliticizing onto absolutive pronoun clitics (examples 11, 16, 24 etc.), other adpositional clitics (27), the negative word *ma* 'not' (37), and the coordinator *-na*, 'and' (39c). Moreover whereas affixes are very rigidly attached to verbal roots, we have adpositional clitics cliticizing onto hosts both leftwards (pronoun clitics) and rightwards (negative *ma* and coordinator *na*).

Perhaps here we can summarize in (40) the differences these adpositional clitics exhibit from both words and affixes:

- (40) (a) *Un-wordlike behaviour*
1. they are bound morphemes;
 2. they position in clitic clusters which have a fixed sequence unlike Somali's free word order;
 3. these clusters are attracted to the verb;
 4. these morphemes cliticize onto hosts.
- (b) *Un-affixlike behaviour*
1. phonological rules treat clitic clusters as words, but not sequences of clitic cluster plus verb;
 2. they may be separated from the verb by various elements, some clausal;
 3. they do not exhibit high selectivity in hosts;
 4. their attachment is directionally variable.

On a different level, a point that was recently made to me in Nairobi by Somali speakers, when discussing this topic, was that since the adoption of an orthography in 1972, clitics have consistently been written separated from the verb, and that this is not an area where Somali writers generally show indecision in word division.

We can end this section by noting that compared to clitics cross-linguistically, these adpositional clitics are perhaps unusual in exhibiting high tone,⁶ often with accompanying stress, but we might note that this does not prevent coalescence with other elements, both high and low tone, e.g. (41):

- (41) (a) *ú* 'in' + *ká* 'from' → *ugá* 'in-from'
sidée biuu ugá baxay?
 'in which way did he go out from it?', 'how did he get out from it?'
- (41) (b) *na* 'us' + *ká* 'from' → *nagá* 'from us'
wuu nagá qaaday
 'he took it from us'

3. THE LEXICAL STATUS OF ADPOSITIONAL CLITICS (ACs)

If we grant then that the evidence seems to support the identification of these morphemes as clitics in preverbal position, there arises the question of their lexical status. While allowing them to be clitics, it might still be argued that the clitic-verb combinations should be listed in the lexicon as forming phrasal semantic units, e.g. as in (42):

- (42) *qaad* 'take'
u ... qaad 'take for'
ka ... qaad 'take from'
la ... qaad 'take with'

I will argue against this, and for adpositional clitics being listed in the lexicon separately from verbs, i.e. that phrases as in (42) should be created by syntactic rules. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, through some AC-verb combinations do have idiosyncratic meanings as in (43), for the most part the ACs contribute consistent meanings to the AC-verb combinations, as in (44):

- (43) *la ... bax* 'to elope'
 with leave
ka ... celi 'to defend'
 from send-back
- (44) *ka ... tag* 'to go from'
ka ... yimi 'to come from'
ka ... keen 'to bring from'
ka ... qaad 'to take from', etc.

Moreover there are a number of constructions involving these clitics which can occur with any verb in the language. One such construction forms adverbial expressions, involving *u* 'in' assigning a MANNER role to an NP, as in (45).

- (45) *sidan u samee!*
 way + this in do
 'do it this way!', 'do it thus!'

In fact manner adverbials are generally formed by using *u* to govern an NP, with or without use of *si* 'way, manner', as shown in (46).

- (46) *si dirran ... u* 'warmly'
 way warm in

si xun ... u 'badly'
 way bad in

degdeg ... u 'quickly, hastily'
 haste in

sahal ... u 'easily'
 ease in

In exactly parallel constructions, adverbials of direction are also regularly formed with *u*:

- (47) *sare ... u* 'upwards'
hoos ... u 'downwards'
hor ... u 'forwards'
dib ... u 'backwards'
gees ... u 'sideways'

Since these adverbial constructions can be used with any verb, and since the clitic *u* can govern an infinite number of NPs, including relative clauses (as in example (48) below *sidaad doonto* 'the manner which you want'), it seems reasonable to assume that the clitic has to be listed separately in the lexicon, and not together with either the verb or any listable nominals.

- (48) *sidaad doonto u samee!*
 way + the + you wish in do
 'do it in the way you want!', 'do it how you want!'

A second, similar argument arises from an examination of comparative constructions, where another adpositional clitic *ka* is used, as in (49):

- (49) *aqalkan aqalkaas wuu ka weyn yahay.*
 house + this house + that CLASS + it than big is
 'this house is bigger than that house'

Here the NP semantically governed by *ka* corresponds to the complement of 'than' in English comparatives (hence the gloss in (49)). Once again this is a maximally productive construction: any adjective can occur with this clitic in this construction; a few examples are in (50):

- (50) *ka ... dheer* 'taller than ...'
ka ... yar 'smaller than ...'
ka ... badan 'more than ...'
ka ... qabow 'colder than ...'

Once again the regularity of the process and the fact that it can occur with any adjective and any verb in the language suggests that the most economical approach is to list *ka* independently in the lexicon, and form these constructions by regular rules.

To conclude this brief section, then: adpositional clitics (with some exceptions) combine with verbs and nominals in a semantically predictable way, and furthermore, in adverbials and comparatives they participate in productive phrasal rules, which involve an infinite number of complex constructions, like relative clauses. This suggests that, on a fairly reasonable division of labour between the lexicon and syntactic rules, these clitics are best assigned independent

lexical status, and the constructions in which they are involved are to be derived by syntactic rules.

4. ADPOSITIONAL CLITICS AND WORD ORDER

To recapitulate the discussion so far: these morphemes assign semantic or thematic roles to NPs but show up as clitics in preverbal clitic clusters. We could deal with their syntactic derivation by constructing verbal pieces (with their preverbal clusters) by a combination of constituent and linearization rules. But what might seem somewhat odd about this is that such an approach leaves us with no syntactic marking of the association between the adpositional clitic and the NP it semantically governs. This is odd, because, of course, in various grammatical theories it is expected that thematic role assignment will have some syntactic, preferably structural, basis. So in Government & Binding (or Principles & Parameters) Theory, for example, theta-roles have classically been assigned under a configurational relation of government (Chomsky 1986a, 1988).

For our Somali adpositional clitics one of the obvious ways to save this expectation might be to assume that an adpositional clitic and an NP do form a structural unit at some level and that the clitic is moved to the verb by a rule of adposition incorporation, in the spirit of rules proposed for other languages by Baker (1988). There might even be a cross-linguistic glimmer of hope for such an approach: Steve Pillinger has told me that the morpheme *ka* 'from, with, etc.' in Rendille which normally occurs as a preverbal particle as in (51a) may also show up as a nominal postposition, as shown in (51b) (both given with Pillinger's transcription and glosses) which reflect different emphases, the details of which are not yet clear:

RENDILLE

- (51) (a) *wúl ínam á kájahe*
 stick boy FOC with-hit
 'he hit the boy with a stick'
 (b) *wúl ká ínam á jahe*
 stick with boy FOC hit
 'it was with a stick that he hit the boy'

But note that this option seems not to be true for other Rendille pre-verbal particles, nor to be true of any of the Somali clitics.

But before examining whether a GB-style movement rule is justified, perhaps by testing whether the postulated rule obeys the expected constraints like the Empty Category Principle or its derivative, the Head Movement Constraint (see Baker 1988, Ouhalla 1989 for discussion of these in relation to incorporation), we might save some time and effort by reviewing in general the role of government in case and theta-role assignment in Somali. As I argued in Saeed (1984) there are good reasons for assigning Somali sentences a flat structure without a VP constituent, i.e. something like (52) for a simple sentence with a transitive verb, where again VPC is the verb and its accompanying template of clitics.

(52) $S \rightarrow NP, NP, VPC$

Any linearization rules which might apply to the constituents in (52) will be driven not by grammatical relations, but by discourse-based rules of information structure, or 'functional-sentence perspective' as Hans-Jürgen Sasse has shown for the closely related language Boni (Sasse 1981). To take a Somali example paralleling rule (52) and with no NP focus (for now), we find the possibilities in (53) for the sentence 'the man reached his house', each belonging to a different conversational context.

(53) 'the man reached his house'

- (a) *nínkii áqalkiisii wúu gaadhay*
 man + the house + his CLASS + he reached
 SUBJ OBJ V
- (b) *áqalkiisii nínkii wúu gaadhay*
 OBJ SUBJ V
- (c) *nínkii wúu gaadhay áqalkiisii*
 SUBJ V OBJ
- (d) *áqalkiisii wúu gaadhay nínkii*
 OBJ V SUBJ
- (e) *wúu gaadhay nínkii áqalkiisii*
 V SUBJ OBJ

- (f) *wúu gaadhay áqalkiisii nínkii*
 V OBJ SUBJ

If an NP is focused by a focus particle *baa* or *ayaa*, then there is one word order constraint which operates, namely, the focused NP must occur to the left of the verb. This is what I called 'Focus Fronting' in my study of focus and topic (Saeed 1984), and is one of the reasons that Somali has been called a verb-final language. But the relative order of NPs is still quite free and there is no evidence for a VP. If we, for example, focus the object in (53) we can form the contextually distinct sentence in (54):

- (54) (a) *nínkii áqalkiisii búu gaadhay*
 man + the house + the FOC + he reached
 SUBJ OBJ V
 'the man reached HIS HOUSE'
- (c) *áqalkiisii búu nínkii gaadhay*
 OBJ SUBJ V
- (b) *áqalkiisii búu gaadhay nínkii*
 OBJ V SUBJ

Note that the grammatical relations of subject and object are marked by the NP's morphological shape (in this case tonally marked) and by agreement with the verb, but not by their syntactic configuration.

So the problem of explaining how case and thematic roles are assigned to NPs by a discontinuous adpositional clitic is actually the same task as explaining how case and thematic roles are assigned to subject and object NPs when they stand in no fixed configurational relationship to the verb. The fact is that in Somali and closely related languages, as far as the syntax is concerned, NPs 'float' free around the verbal complex, their order being determined by conversational principles. This means that the governing of NPs from within the verbal complex by an adpositional clitic or verb appears to have no structural conditions; in other words, it seems that governors like V and what would be P in other languages do not form constituents with their governed NPs.

One conclusion from this might be that such dependencies have to be represented at a separate level. Whether this level might best be seen as a separate syntactic level of functional structure as in

Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan 1982), or a semantic representation which would recombine the units, as Hale suggested for Warlpiri in Hale (1983), is a question that I shall not try to settle here.

Instead I would like to sketch in a somewhat different analysis which may go some way to explaining the freedom of NP ordering. This is that the free floating of NPs around the verbal piece is licensed by the verbal piece containing in clitic form the argument structure needed to satisfy the verb.

Firstly note that the verbal piece with a classifier can be a whole sentence, if all the NPs are known or deictic, as in (55):

- (55) *way naga kaa qaadeen*
 CLASS+ they us +from you took
 'they took you away from us'

Now, tracing whether clitics are always there to satisfy the verb's argument structure is complicated by the fact, long recognized in Somali grammars, that the absolutive pronoun clitics include a gap in their paradigm. As shown in (56) the 3rd person absolutive form of these clitic pronouns is realised as zero: i.e. the omission of an absolutive pronoun clitic is interpreted as a third person argument, the choice being contextually determined. In other words, any unfilled position in the argument structure of a verb or adpositional clitic will be interpreted as this empty pronoun. In (56) the lack of an overt object argument for the verb *arag* 'see', will result in one of the interpretations given as glosses:

- (56) *waan arkay*
 CLASS+I (3pro) saw
 'I saw him', 'I saw her', 'I saw it', 'I saw them'

If we have a sentence lacking an overt argument for a case clitic, the result will be as in (57):

- (57) *waan u siiyey lacagtii*
 CLASS+I (3pro) to gave money+the
 'I gave the money to him/her/them'

This means that, if we are to see whether the floating NPs always have a clitic copy in the verbal complex, we will need to use examples

with non-3rd person arguments governed by verbs and case clitics. The tests will presumably have to show:

- (a) whether doubling of arguments can occur, i.e. whether there can be both a clitic in the verbal complex and a coreferential NP 'floating free', so to speak; and,
 (b) which of the two satisfies the argument structure requirements of the governor, say, for now, the verb; that is, which of the two *has* to occur.

Examples (58)–(60) use the independent pronouns, which are syntactically and morphologically full nouns, as the second non-clitic argument. So, sentences (58a–d) use a second person singular verbal object, (59a–d) a second person plural, and (60a–d) a first person plural. The (a) and (b) examples show part of the full NPs' 'floating' behaviour around the verbal complex (with other permutations omitted for brevity). The (c) examples show that just the clitic pronoun satisfies the verb's argument structure, while the (d) examples show that just the full NP cannot.

- (58) (a) *askartu adiga way ku raadinayeen*
 police+the you(sg) CLASS+they you(sg) were-seeking
 'the police were looking for you (sg)'
 (b) *askartu way ku raadinayeen adiga*
 police+the CLASS+they you(sg) were-seeking you(sg)
 'the police were looking for you (sg)'
 (c) *askartu way ku raadinayeen*
 police+the CLASS+they you(sg) were-seeking
 'the police were looking for you (sg)'
 (d) **askartu adiga way raadinayeen*
 police+the you(sg) CLASS+they were-seeking
 'the police were looking for you (sg)'
- (59) (a) *askartu idinka way idin raadinayeen*
 police+the you(pl) CLASS+they you(pl) were-seeking
 'the police were looking for you (pl)'
 (b) *askartu way idin raadinayeen idinka*
 (c) *askartu way idin raadinayeen*
 (d) **askartu idinka way raadinayeen*

- (60) (a) *askartu annaga way na raadinayeen*
 police + the us CLASS + they us were-seeking
 'the police were looking for us'
 (b) *askartu way na raadinayeen annaga*
 (c) *askartu way na raadinayeen*
 (d) **askartu annaga way raadinayeen*

The (d) examples above are ungrammatical because of the lack of an object pronoun clitic inside the verbal piece; we can speculate that the gap in the verbal piece causes the default 3rd person interpretation, which then clashes with the non-3rd person independent NP. If you like, the (d) examples are interpreted as having one too many arguments for the verb's required argument structure, something we could parallel in English by (61):

- (61) *the police were looking for him you

Exactly parallel examples occur with arguments governed by adpositional clitics:

- (62) (a) *askartu adiga way kaa qaadeen*
askar + tu adiga waa + ay ku + ka qaadeen
 police + the you(sg) CLASS + they you + from took
 'the police took it away from you (sg)'
 (b) **askartu adiga way ka qaadeen*
 'the police took it away from you (sg)'

In (62b) the adpositional clitic *ka*, 'from', is not interpreted as governing the independent pronoun *adiga*, 'you'; the adpositional clitic has to have a clitic pronoun in the clitic cluster. In other words it seems that it is the clitic within the verbal piece and not the NP outside it which satisfies the argument structure requirements of verbs and adpositional clitics.

The one exception to this is focused NPs. These cannot occur in clitic form in the verbal cluster as (63) and (64) show:

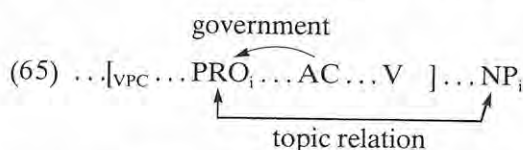
- (63) (a) *Cali baa ku raadinaya*
 Ali FOC you seek(pres)
 'ALI is looking for you', 'it's ALI who's looking for you'

- (b) **Cali buu ku raadinaya*
 Ali FOC + he you(sg) seek(pres)
 'ALI is looking for you (sg)'
- (64) (a) *adigay raadinayaan*
adiga + baa + ay raadinayaan
 you(sg) + FOC + they seek(pres)
 'they are looking for YOU', 'it is YOU they are looking for'
- (b) **adigay ku raadinayaan*
adiga + baa + ay ku raadinayaan
 you(sg) + FOC + they you seek(pres)
 'they are looking for YOU'

These examples show that focused NPs cannot occur with coreferential clitics in double-argument constructions. Sentence (63) shows this with a focused subject, and (64) with a focused object. This seems pragmatically plausible given that clitic pronouns are lexically underspecified and can participate in an argument structure only because of the recoverability of their referents. This is shown by their association with omissible, known NPs and deictic NPs. Focused NPs, on the other hand, must obligatorily be overtly present in the predication, as we would expect: NPs are given focus to be made prominent in the discourse, signalling amongst other things, new information and contrastive emphasis. They are thus maximally resistant to omission, deletion, or representation by clitics. We can describe the facts of (63) and (64) simply by stating that since focused NPs have to be present as part of the predication, there is no available position in argument structure for corresponding clitic pronouns. Thus this behaviour of focused NPs indirectly supports our analysis of doubled NP arguments as being external to the main predication, while clitic pronouns are arguments within it.

This requirement for focused NPs to be overtly present and not be represented by clitics perhaps presents us with a natural explanation of why it is just *here* that we find a word order constraint on NPs, i.e. that focused NPs must occur to the left of the verb, whereas there are no constraints on the order of NPs represented by clitics in the verbal piece.

If this analysis is correct then we can say that the governing categories of verb and adpositional clitic in Somali have their valency requirements satisfied, either: (a) by clitics in the verbal piece; or (b) by a focused NP. In both cases there are, contrary to our first impression, structural constraints at the level of syntax which make government subject to locality constraints: a very strict one with adpositional clitics, a looser one with focused NPs. In both instances, the governed elements have to occur to the left of their governor. Other NPs are completely free of structural constraints as long as they are coreferential with clitics in the verbal piece. Given the information status of these non-focus NPs, i.e. usually given or known, it seems reasonable to see a parallel between these structures and topic structures, i.e. to suggest something like (65) for the government of a non-focus argument by an adpositional clitic



We might note that the coreferentiality shown in (65) between pronominal clitic and floating NP puts this relationship at one end of the range for topic structures in Somali. As described in Saeed (1984) the relationship between the topic and the predication proper may range from coreferentiality with one of the predication's arguments, through set-subset relations, to purely pragmatic associations.

One piece of support for this analysis comes from agreement. My analysis basically claims that government by a verb or adpositional clitic in Somali is, with nonfocus NPs, a local relation onto clitics in the verbal piece, to which free-floating NPs are in a topic-like relation. Now Somali shows subject-verb agreement in features of number and gender. The question thus arises: is this agreement also a local relation between pronominal clitic and verb, assigned under government, as might be suggested by this analysis?

Some support for a positive answer comes from a consideration of focused subjects. As we have seen, these focused NPs cannot be represented by clitics in the VPC. So if agreement with non-focus

NPs is mediated through clitics in the verbal piece, how do we describe agreement between a focused subject NP and the verb, where no clitics are possible? In fact it is just here that the normal subject-verb agreement breaks down. As Andrzejewski (1968) described it, the normal five-way person differentiation in verb inflection is reduced when the subject is focused – an apparently strange irregularity. Andrzejewski called this impoverished agreement 'restricted paradigms'; an example is in (66):

(66) Past simple tense of *keen* 'bring' (see Saeed 1984: 83)

	<u>Full AGR</u>	<u>Reduced AGR</u>
1s	<i>keenay</i>	<i>keenáy</i>
2s	<i>keentay</i>	<i>keenáy</i>
3ms	<i>keenay</i>	<i>keenáy</i>
3fs	<i>keentay</i>	<i>keentáy</i>
1pl	<i>keennay</i>	<i>keennáy</i>
2pl	<i>keenteen</i>	<i>keenáy</i>
3pl	<i>keeneen</i>	<i>keenáy</i>

I argued in Saeed (1984) that this reduced agreement is in fact no agreement. I shall not go into details here, but basically what we find in reduced agreement is the base or simplest form, 3rd singular masculine, except for surviving 3f and 1pl agreements; these two forms are often triggered semantically in various contexts where the syntax predicts other masculine singular agreement, for example by nonlocal NPs outside the clause, by pragmatically understood entities overriding grammatical agreement, by semantically feminine nouns in apposition with grammatically masculine nouns with lesser lexical content, and so on (see Saeed 1984:90f. where this phenomenon is called fuzzy agreement). Whatever the details it seems clear that where no clitic subject pronouns occur in the verbal piece, normal subject-verb agreement breaks down, suggesting that agreement is essentially a local relation within the verbal piece.

It is interesting to note that the analysis I am outlining here falls in quite well with suggestions made by Doug Biber about the historical development of these morphemes (Biber 1984). He suggests that the synchronic situation in Omo-Tana languages is a result of two separate historical processes: firstly, the verbal incorporation of

pronouns which also moved combinations of pronoun + post-position towards the verb; and subsequently, the development of zero anaphora, or empty third person pronominal clitics. The present analysis might even explain one of the problems he reports in his survey: why it is that coalesced forms of pronoun and adpositional clitics sometimes mark government of the pronoun by the adpositional clitic but other times, government of an unrelated NP, i.e. the contrast or mismatch between (67) and (68) (adapted from Biber 1984:56):

(67) *wuu kaa yimid*
waa + uu ku + ka yimid
 CLASS + he you + from came

'he came from you'

(68) *maxaa arladiinii kaa keenay?*
maxay + baa arlo + diinii ku + ka keenay
 what + FOC land + your you + from brought

'what has brought you (here) from your land?'

My explanation would be that there is no mismatch and that (67) and (68) are in fact parallel structures. I would argue that (68) should in fact be described as in (69), where the adpositional clitic governs an empty pronoun just as it does an overt pronoun in (67). The external NP is *arladiinii* 'your land' which, as (70) shows, enjoys the usual positional freedom of external NPs:

(69) *maxaa arladiinii kaa keenay?*
maxay + baa arlo + diinii ku + [e] + ka keenay
 what + FOC land + your you + 3pro + from brought

'what has brought you (here) from your land?'

(70) (a) *arladiinii maxaa kaa keenay?*
 (b) *maxaa kaa keenay arladiinii?*

5. CONCLUSION

In examining the status of these adpositional clitics we have been led to try to account for the freedom of NP order in Somali sentences. Let me conclude by recapitulating the basic features of the analysis I am now proposing.

Firstly, I have tried to show that these adpositional morphemes are in fact clitics and not some kind of verbal affix, and that they participate in preverbal clitic clusters with other types of clitics. Secondly, I have argued that the clitics have to be assigned independent lexical status and that their constructions with verbs and adjectives have to be derived by syntactic rules. Turning to syntax, we have seen that the presence of pronominal and adpositional clitics in the verbal piece seems to license the extreme positional freedom of non-focused NPs. Focused NPs however cannot be represented by pronominal clitics and are more restricted positionally. I have suggested that, for non-focused arguments, it is the pronominal clitics in the verbal piece which satisfy the valency requirements of adpositional clitics and verbs, with optional 'doubled' free-floating NPs being in a topic relation with the clitics.

From a comparative point of view, we can see an interesting parallel between this type of verbal piece with its arguments encoded as clitics and the verb in Bantu, for example, where parallel elements – pronouns and an applied prepositional morpheme – occur as affixes in the verb, as shown in example (22b) earlier. It is tempting to speculate whether Somali and related Omo-Tana languages are evolving towards a Bantu-like verb. Nichols (1986) presents a language typology based on morphological marking: i.e. on whether dependency is morphologically marked on the head⁷ or on the dependent(s), or both. In her terminology, Somali, with its verbal clitic clusters encoding the whole predicate-argument structure, seems to employ *head marking* at the clause level. Interestingly, again as she claims for Bantu, Somali has mostly *dependent marking* at the phrasal level: for example, determiners are marked for gender and number agreement with their head noun, and adjectives agree in number with head nouns.⁸ Thus Somali, in this typology, seems to be a *split marking language*, the category that Nichols (1986) puts Bantu languages into. This raises the interesting question of whether

the head marking of argument structure on the verb in Somali, and its reflexes in the Omo-Tana subgroup of Eastern Cushitic, is a feature of areal interaction.

*Centre for Language and Communication Studies,
Arts Building,
Trinity College,
University of Dublin,
Dublin 2,
Ireland.*

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Axmed Xasan 'Cunaaye' and Maxamed Gees for discussions on the language material in this paper. Earlier versions of the paper were presented at the 22nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics, University of Nairobi, July 15–19, 1991 and to the Philological Society, 15 November 1991. I am grateful to those present at these meetings for their suggestions and comments, in particular, Steve Pillinger, Martin Mous and Ronnie Sim in Nairobi; Dick Hayward and Wyn Chao in London. I am also grateful to Theodora Bynon and the anonymous *Transactions* referees for their suggestions. Research for the paper was supported by the University of Dublin's Arts and Social Sciences Benefactions Fund.

Abbreviations: FOC, CLASS, NEG = focus particle, classifier, negative word; 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third persons; sg, pl = singular, plural; m, f = masculine, feminine; ABS, GEN, SUB = absolutive, genitive, subject cases; PERF, APPL, CAUS, MIDDLE = perfective, applicative, causative, middle (autobenefactive) affixes; LEX, AGR, INFL = derivational, agreement, tense/aspect affixes; pro = clitic pronoun.

2. Indeed, Theodora Bynon has made the suggestion to me that a label for these elements might be *adverbial clitics*.

3. This schema does not include all possible elements in the preverbal clitic cluster. For example, we omit here discussion of the effect on the linear order of adding a second or third pronominal clitic, as in example (55) below.

4. Here, for clarity, we deal only with the majority so-called 'weak' verbs in Somali; ignoring the four 'strong' verbs and the verb *yahay* 'to be', which have a different morphological structure and generally do not support derivational affixes (see Saeed 1987:98–108).

5. Tone is not normally marked in the Somali orthography, and it is only marked here when important to the argument; the usual conventions are followed, i.e.:

high tone is marked with an acute accent:	á
falling tone is marked by a grave accent:	àa
low tone is marked by the absence of accent:	a

Note that tone marks are only placed on the first letter corresponding to long vowel or diphthong, e.g. *àa*, or *ùu*.

6. Indeed in two cases the high tone of these adpositional clitics prevents homonymy with pronominal clitics:

kú 'in' vs. *ku* 'you sg. [abs. case]'
lá 'with' *la* 'one, someone'

where the latter is the impersonal subject pronoun.

7. Nichols's use of *head* differs from its use in some other current syntactic theories: for example in Nichols (1986), the verb is seen as the head of a clause and all the nominal arguments, including the subject, are dependent on the verb.

8. For NPs of possession, one of Nichols's criterial cases, Somali has both a dependent-marking and a head-marking construction, as shown in (a) and (b) respectively:

- (a) *gúriga Calí*
house+the Ali
[Gen]
'Ali's house' (lit. 'the house of Ali')
- (b) *Cáli gúrigiisa*
Ali house+his
[ABS]
'Ali's house' (lit. 'Ali his house')

The choice between the structures seems to be dependent on discourse-based notions of topic, or viewpoint. The other doubtful example, from this perspective, is the marking of subject case on nominals, which seems to be a matter of dependent marking at the clause level.

REFERENCES

- ANDRZEJEWSKI, B. W., 1956. 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq dialect of Somali', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies* 18.1, 103–129.
- ANDRZEJEWSKI, B. W., 1960. 'Pronominal and prepositional particles in Northern Somali', *African Language Studies* 1, 96–108.
- ANDRZEJEWSKI, B. W., 1968. 'Inflectional characteristics of the so-called weak verb in Somali', *African Language Studies* 9, 1–51.
- APPLEYARD, DAVID L., 1990. 'Prepositional particles in Somali and their cognates in other Cushitic languages', *African Languages and Cultures* 3.1, 15–32.
- BAKER, MARK, 1988. *Incorporation: a Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- BELL, C. R. V., 1953. *The Somali Language*, London: Longmans, Green & Company (Reprinted in 1968 by Gregg International, Farnborough).
- BIBER, D., 1984. 'The diachronic development of preverbal case markers in Somali', *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 6, 47–61.
- BOREK, HAGIT, 1983. *Parametric Syntax*, Dordrecht: Reidel.
- BREMEN, KLAUS VON, 1984. 'Anaphors: Reference, Binding and Domains', *Linguistic Analysis* 14.2–3, 191–229.
- BRENTARI, DIANE et al. (eds.), 1988. *CLS 24: Papers from the 24th Annual Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society. Part Two: Parasession on Agreement in Grammatical Theory*, Chicago: CLS.
- BRESNAN, JOAN (ed.), 1982. *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- BRESNAN, JOAN and MCHOMBO, SAM A., 1987. 'Topic, pronoun and agreement in

- Chichewa', in Masayo Iida, Stephen Weschler and Draga Zec (eds.), *Working Papers in Grammatical Theory and Discourse Structure*, Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information, 1-59.
- BYNON, THEODORA, 1990. 'Pronoun and verb agreement in typological and diachronic perspective', *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 1, 97-111.
- CARSTAIRS, ANDREW, 1981. *Notes on Affixes, Clitics and Paradigms*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- CARTAN XAANGE, AXMED, 1988. *Sheekoxariirooyin Soomaaliyeed. Folktales from Somalia*, Uppsala: Somali Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cooperation with the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM, 1986a. *Knowledge of Language, its Nature, Origin and Use*, New York: Praeger.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM, 1986b. *Barriers*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM, 1988. *Language and Problems of Knowledge. The Managua Lectures*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- COMRIE, BERNARD, 1985. 'Causative verb formation and other verb-deriving morphology', in Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Vol. 3*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 309-349.
- FILLMORE, CHARLES J., 1968. 'The case for case', in E. Bach and R. T. Harms (eds.), *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1-88.
- GALBORAN, F. L. and PILLINGER, S., 1990. *An Initial Rendille-English Dictionary and English-Rendille Dictionary*, Nairobi: Bible Translation and Literacy (East Africa).
- HALE, K., 1983. 'Warlpiri and the grammar of non-configurational languages', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1, 5-47.
- HEINE, BERND, 1978. 'The Sam Languages: a history of Rendille, Boni and Somali', *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 6.2, 1-39.
- KAYNE, RICHARD S., 1975. *French Syntax*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- KHAN, G. A., 1984. 'Object markers and agreement pronouns in Semitic languages', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17.3, 468-500.
- KLAVANS, J., 1985. 'The independence of syntax and phonology in cliticization', *Language* 61, 95-120.
- LIEBER, ROCHELLE, 1988. 'Phrasal compounds in English and the morphology-syntax interface', in Brentari et al. (1988: 202-222).
- LYONS, CHRISTOPHER, 1990. 'An agreement approach to clitic doubling', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 88.1, 1-57.
- LYONS, JOHN, 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MARANTZ, ALEC, 1988. 'Clitics, morphological merger, and the mapping to phonological structure', in Michael Hammond and Michael Noonan (eds.), *Theoretical Morphology: Approaches in Modern Linguistics*, London: Academic Press, 253-270.
- MUMIN, HASSAN SHEIKH, 1979. *Leopard Among the Women (Shabeelnaagood)*, translated by B. W. Andrzejewski, London: Oxford University Press.
- MUYSKEN, PIETER, 1981. 'Quechua word structure', in Frank Heny (ed.), *Binding and Filtering*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 279-327.
- NICHOLS, JOHANNA, 1986. 'Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar', *Language*, 62, 56-119.
- OUHALLA, JAMAL, 1989. 'Clitic movement and the ECP: evidence from Berber and Romance languages', *Lingua* 79, 165-215.

- PANZA, BRUNO, 1974. *Af Soomaali: Grammatica della lingua somala con piccolo vocabolario in appendice*, Florence: Le Monnier.
- PILLINGER, O. S., 1989. *Accent, Tone and Prosodic Structure in Rendille, with Particular Reference to the Nominal System* (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London).
- POLLARD, CARL and SAG, IVAN A., 1988. 'An information-based theory of agreement', in Brentari et al. (1988: 236-257).
- PUGLIELLI, ANNARITA, 1981a. 'Frasi dichiarative', in Puglielli (1981b: 3-46).
- PUGLIELLI, ANNARITA (ed.), 1981b. *Sintassi della lingua somala* (Studi somali 2). Rome: Ministero degli Affari Esteri-Dipartimento per la Cooperazione allo Sviluppo.
- SAEED, JOHN IBRAHIM, 1984. *The Syntax of Focus and Topic in Somali*, Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- SAEED, JOHN IBRAHIM, 1987. *Somali Reference Grammar*, Wheaton, Maryland: Dunwoody Press.
- SAEED, JOHN IBRAHIM, in press. 'Morphological causatives and verbal argument structure in Somali', in G. Banti (ed.), *Cushitic and Omotic Linguistics*, Rome: University of Rome 'La Sapienza'.
- SASSE, H.-J., 1981. '"Basic word order" and Functional Sentence Perspective in Boni', *Folia Linguistica* 15.3-4, 253-290.
- SCALISE, SERGIO, 1984. *Generative Morphology*, Dordrecht: Foris.
- SIEGEL, DOROTHY, 1979. *Topics in English Morphology*, New York: Garland.
- ZUBIZARRETA, MARIA-LUISA, 1985. 'The relation between morphophonology and morphosyntax: French causatives and conditions on representations', *Linguistic Inquiry* 16, 247-290.
- ZWICKY, ARNOLD M., 1977. *On Clitics*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- ZWICKY, ARNOLD M. and PULLUM, GEOFFREY K., 1983. 'Cliticization vs. inflection: English N'T', *Language* 59, 502-513.

Tables, charts and diagrams (though not simple rules, examples or formulae) must each appear on a separate sheet, and must be labelled 'Fig. 2', 'Table 4' or the like as appropriate. References in the text to the table or diagram should be made by citing this label.

Phonetic or phonemic transcriptions should make use of the symbols and conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Any departures from IPA practice should be made explicit, and justified.

References in the text should be of the following forms: '... applies also to nouns (see Matthews 1981:231-233)'; 'Rigter & Beukema (1985:116) distinguish between ...'.

Bibliographical references at the end should conform to the following models. (Mention one given name for each author, if you have the information; this aids readers following up your references in bibliographies, library catalogues, etc.) Titles of periodicals should be given in full, or abbreviated as in *Bibliographie Linguistique*. Give place of publication and publisher for books.

- Bolinger, Dwight, 1965. 'The atomization of meaning', *Language* 41, 555-573.
- Brugmann, Karl, 1906. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1, Strassburg: Trübner.
- Hudson, Richard, 1985. 'A psychologically and socially plausible theory of language structure', in Deborah Schiffrin (ed.), *Meaning, Form and Use in Context: Linguistic Applications*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 150-159.
- Jackson, Kenneth, 1953. *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh: University Press.
- Labov, William, 1987. 'The overestimation of functionalism', in René Dirven and Vilém Fried (eds.), *Functionalism in Linguistics*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 311-332.
- Lewis, Henry and Pedersen, Holger, 1961. *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*, 2nd ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Editorial Committee, 1991-92: Dr. M. W. Wheeler, Dr. G. C. Horrocks, Dr. J. H. W. Penney.

Copyright

All rights reserved. Apart from fair dealing for the purposes of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, this publication may not be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form or by any means without the prior permission in writing of the publisher, or in the case of reprographic reproduction in accordance with the terms of licenses issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency or the Copyright Clearance Center.