

Allaahbari. The two last mean literally 'to beseech God' (from *bari* (v.) 'beseech, beg') and are applied universally in Somaliland to any type of sacrifice or offering to God. In northern Somaliland, the Hawiye *Waaqda'in* is unknown, and indeed unintelligible, to the majority. Further research amongst the Hawiye (or the Dir),¹ especially amongst those Hawiye living relatively sheltered from external influence along the Ethiopian border of Somalia or in the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya, may reveal more definite traces of the cult of *Waaq* surviving from pre-Islamic times.

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ZUARA BERBER PERSONALS

In his interesting study (*BSOAS*, xv, 2, 1953, 375-90) of Zuara Berber particle-noun complexes, T. F. Mitchell lists (376) the 'exponents of ten categories': *nætta* y-, *nættat* t-, *ʃækk* t-əd, *ʃæmm* t-əd, *nætʃ* -əy; *nætnin* -ən, *nætninat* -næt, *næknim* t-əm, *næknimat* t-mæt, *nəʃnin* n-. It was not his purpose there to dwell on the internal analysis of these forms, but a conventional morphemic analysis offers an instance of interesting organization.

Each of the above exponents will be regarded as a complex of two entities: a personal pronoun and a personal affix. The analysis of the pronouns will be stated first.

The second person singular particle {ʃə-} stands apart from the following form-class; it combines with the two gender suffix morphemes {-kk} and {-mm}, and does not undergo any of the suffix combinations discussed below.

The personal pronoun base (P) is {nə-}, with but one allomorph. The suffixes of p(erson) may then be extracted: {-t-} '3rd', {-k-} '2nd', {-t)}(-) '1st'. It is convenient next to state the suffixes of n(umber). The morpheme 'plural' is {-nin ∞ -nim}, with two morphemically conditioned allomorphs, the latter occurring after '2nd'. The morpheme 'singular' is {-ta ∞ -ɔ}; it is most economical to extract a zero-allomorph as occurring after '1st' so that we may state that an n-suffix always occurs. There is but one suffix of g(ender): {-(a)t} 'feminine'; morphophonemic √(a)/ represents /a/ when not preceded by /a/. The g-suffix is non-obligatory with all suffixes, and non-occurring with '1st'.

The morphemic structure of the personal pronoun is, then, Ppn(g).

¹ The strongest and largest present-day representatives of the Dir clan-family are the 'Iise and Gadabuursi of northern Somaliland, who have, for the most part, lost their traditions of Dir origin. The Ishaq, who are considered by other Somali to be Dir, claim themselves to be *ashraf*, see Lewis, *The Somali lineage system and the total genealogy* (duplicated), Hargeisa, 1957, where these rival claims are discussed in their social contexts. Other small groups of Dir origin survive all over Somaliland and especially in southern Somalia. The Dir are generally regarded as the oldest Somali group.

The 'Iise and Gadabuursi, devout Muslims though they are, are probably the least deeply Islamized of the northern Somali and certainly many pre-Islamic Somali customs survive amongst them in greater clarity than they do amongst the Ishaq or Daarood. But while working amongst them I could find no traces of any cult of *Waaq*. More thorough and extended research into their religious practice might, although I doubt it, yield traces of religious beliefs connected with *Waaq*.

The personal affixes of the verb (V) offer a different segmentation. It should be noted preliminarily that a morphophonemic $\sqrt{\text{ə}}$ occurs such that throughout these affixes /ə/ appears automatically before final /-C/; it would be necessary to know more about the language in order to state whether $\sqrt{\text{ə}}$ is morphemically automatic or phonemically automatic. Aside from the points which will emerge in the statement which follows, this set, or system, of affixes differs from the pronoun set in being applicable to all numbers of all persons; this justifies treating the pronouns separately from the verbal affixes, and enables us to proceed to set up a fresh set of morphemes without seeking more involute complementations with the allomorphs already extracted and assigned above.

It is convenient to begin with the affixes of p(erson). The morpheme '3rd' is {y- ∞ ɔ -}, the zero-allomorph occurring when another affix is present; it will be seen that the behaviour of $\sqrt{\text{N}}$ below can be specified simply only by the assumption of a zero-allomorph here. The morpheme '1st' is {y ∞ - ɔ}, the zero-allomorph occurring with the plural; this zero-allomorph differs from the last in that it does not condition the allomorphic shape of any other morpheme, but permits us by its presence to state that a p-affix always occurs. The morpheme '2nd' is {t-}.

We proceed to the affixes of n(umber). The morpheme '2nd sg.' (the only occurring morphemic mark of singularity) is {-d}. The morpheme '2nd pl.' is {-m}. The morpheme 'non-2nd pl.' is the ambifix {N}; the morphophoneme $\sqrt{\text{N}}$ has the special sequence property of being phonemically prefixed /n-/ when no other prefix is present, and of being suffixed /-n/ in other environments.

The affix of g(ender) is the ambifix {T} 'feminine'. The morphophoneme $\sqrt{\text{T}}$ is realized as a second-order prefix /t-/ when no plural affix is present; in the 2nd sg. we may regard it as morphophonemically collapsing with '2nd' /t-/, or else we may simply state that {T} does not apply to this form. In other environments $\sqrt{\text{T}}$ is realized as a second-order suffix /-t/. The g-affix does not occur with the affix '1st'.

The morphemic structure of the personal affix is, then, Vp(n)(g).

A few closing comments are in order on the morphemic organization of these forms. Note that a prefixed /n-/ structures not with /t-/, but with /(\text{ə})-d/; and that suffixed /(\text{ə})-y/ structures not with /(\text{ə})-d/, but with /t-/. In this fashion, we see the crucial importance, if we are ultimately to account in an exhaustive and organized way for the total system and its sub-systems, of keeping a clear distinction, in both analysis and statement, of phonemic and morphophonemic properties.

Note the close tie-in of the formal organization with the semantics. Thus, though the seriation appears superficially to be in disorder, the structural order is close-knit and highly congruent with the meaning—though, of course, there is never total congruence between form and meaning, or else they would be but one system, and therefore not discriminable. Note, too, that despite seriation g is an outer-layer affix in both form-classes.