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Some aspects of verbal derivational morphology in Somali :
Remarks on the "causative" conjugation

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1. Introduction¹

(1) Verbal derivation in Somali.

(1.1) a. {N₁, V₁} + suff₁ + suff₂ -> V₂

b. 2 major suffixes: "causative" (Conj 2) & "autobenefactive" (Conj 3).

(1.2) Causative : suffix -i

luud	walk feebly [vb intr]	luudi	lead slowly [vb tr]
lal	fly [vb intr]	lali	cause to fly [vb tr]
maquur	swim under (water) [vb tr]	maquuri	make s.o. go under (water) [vb ditr]
har	shade [nm]	hari	shade [vb tr]
guhaad	anger [nf]	guhaadi	make s.o. angry [vb tr]
gor	colostrum [nm]	gori	produce colostrum [vb intr]

(1.3) Autobenefactive: suffix -o

adeeg	serve [vb intr]	adeego	do tasks for oneself [vb intr]
door	select [vb tr]	dooro	select for oneself [vb tr]
ballaar	width [nm]	ballaaro	become wide [vb intr]
cagaar	green [nm]	cagaaro	become green [vb intr]
canaan	reprimand [nf]	canaano	reprimand [vb tr]

(1.4) When combined, derivational suffixes appear in a strict order, namely:

CAUS + AUTOBEN

=> allomorphy of CAUS

=> issues: the representation of CAUS.

consequence on the so-called "strong causative" suffix -sii.

¹ Notation conventions: c = [ʕ], dh = [d], j = [tʃ], y = [j], x = [h]. Quotation form = imp2s.

2. Data

2.1. Derivational suffixation

(2)	CAUS in isolation:	-i				
	a. CVC base	kar	<i>boil</i> [vb intr]	kari	<i>boil</i> [vb tr]	
		deg	<i>descend</i> [vb intr]	deji	<i>cause to descend</i> [vb tr]	<i>PAL</i>
	b. CVVC base	joog	<i>stop</i> [vb intr]	jooji	<i>halt</i> [vb tr]	<i>PAL</i>
		duul	<i>fly</i> [vb intr]	duuli	<i>cause to fly</i> [vb tr]	
	c. CVCVC base	ereg	<i>entrust</i> [vb tr]	ergi	<i>entrust</i> [vb ditr]	<i>V/Ø alt</i>
		hebed	<i>become tame</i> [vb intr]	hebdi	<i>tame</i> [vb tr]	<i>V/Ø alt</i>

(3) CAUS before AUTOBEN

(3.1) -s-

<u>base: vb/n</u>	<u>CAUS</u>	<u>AUTOBEN</u>	<u>CAUS+AUTOBEN</u>
ballaar <i>width</i>	ballaari <i>widen</i>	ballaaro <i>become wide</i>	ballaarso <i>widen for o.s.</i>
dhaar <i>oath</i>	dhaari <i>make s.o. swear</i>	dhaaro <i>take an oath</i>	dhaarso <i>make s.o. swear for o.s.</i>
if <i>give light</i>	ifi <i>make light</i>	–	ifso <i>make light for o.s.</i>
buux <i>be full</i>	buuxi <i>fill</i>	–	buuxso <i>fill for o.s.</i>

(3.2) -is-

<u>base: vb</u>	<u>CAUS</u>	<u>CAUS+AUTOBEN</u>
korodh <i>increase</i> [intr]	kordhi <i>increase</i> [tr]	kordhiso <i>increase s.t. for oneself</i>
ereg <i>entrust</i> [tr]	ergi <i>entrust</i> [ditr]	ergiso <i>take s.t. in trust</i>
–	muldhi <i>peel</i>	muldhiso <i>peel for o.s.</i>

(4) Other evidence that -(i)s- = CAUS: the argumental structure of verbs in -so and -o.²

suffix	intransitive	transitive	nb of arguments: derived vb – base		
			-1	0	+1
-o	56%	44%	20%	77%	3%
-so	39%	61%	10%	46%	44%

² Source: exhaustive examination of APS (1985), i.e. 500 verbs in -so and 550 verbs in -o.

(5) Summary: allomorphy of the CAUS suffix.

in isolation	-i	lali <i>cause to fly</i>	< lal <i>fly</i>
before a derivational suffix => immediately preceded by VC => immediately preceded by CC	-s-	buu <u>x</u> so <i>fill for o.s.</i> (buux <i>be full</i>)	< buuxi <i>fill</i>
	-is-	kord <u>h</u> iso <i>increase s.t. for o.s.</i> < kordhi <i>increase s.t.</i> (korodh <i>increase [intr]</i>)	

2.2. Inflectional suffixation.

(6) Basic conjugation. (CONJ1): stem + SAGR + TNS (+ SAGR) kar *boil* [intr]

1s	waan	kar- Ø -aa	1p	waan	kar- n -aa	<u>Personal markers</u>
2s	waad	kar- t -aa	2p	waad	kar- t-aa-n	1s/3ms = Ø
3ms	wuu	kar- Ø -aa	3p	way	kar- Ø-aa-n	2s/3fs = t
3fs	way	kar- t -aa				1p = n

(7) CAUS conjugation (CONJ2): stem + CAUS + SAGR + TNS (+ SAGR) kari *boil* [tr]

1s	waan	kariyyaa	GEM	1p	waan	karinnaa	GEM
2s	waad	kariṣaa	t -> s	2p	waad	kariṣaan	
3ms	wuu	kariyyaa	GEM	3p	way	kariyyaan	
3fs	way	kariṣaa	t -> s				

(8) Traditional account of CONJ2: CAUS = is

(8.1) paradigm, prst tns

imps	[kari]	< kar+iṣ	+ s -> Ø
1s	[kariyyaa]	< kar+iṣ+Ø+aa	+ s -> Ø
2s	[kariṣaa]	< kar+iṣ+t+aa	+ assim. s+t -> s [L -> R]
1p	[karinnaa]	< kar+iṣ+n+aa	+ assim. s+n -> nn [R -> L]

(8.2) paradigm, prst tns

imps	[dhis]	"build"	
1s	[dhisaa]		
2s	[dhiṣtaa]	< dhiṣ+t+aa, *dhisaa	no assim. s+t -> s
1p	[dhiṣnaa]	< dhiṣ+n+aa, *dhinnaa	no assim. s+n -> nn

2.3. Conclusion.

(9) (9.1) Allomorphy: -i / -s- / -is-

(9.2) Gemination and consonantal change t -> s.

3. Proposal.

3.1. Theoretical background.

(10) (10.1) Government Phonology (KLV (1985, 1990))

PG: A properly governs B iff (i) A governs B from R to L.
(ii) A is not properly governed.

ECP: an empty V position may be phonetically non interpreted iff it is PGed or finally licensed.

(10.2) CVCV-hypothesis (Lowenstamm (1996)): skeletal tier = CVCV

3.2. Representation of CAUS.

(11) CAUS CV
I t

(12) (12.1) A derivational suffix entails two elements:

- a derivational morpheme	=	CV t
- a morpheme conveying a specific value: "causative"	=	I
"autobenefactive"	=	A

(12.2) CAUS = $\begin{matrix} + & CV \\ I & t \end{matrix}$ AUTOBEN = $\begin{matrix} + & CV \\ A & t \end{matrix}$ ³

(13) [t] : distributional observation. ⁴ => appears only followed by a vowel.

initial	#tV ⁵	657 words	
onset after coda	...CtV...	322	"
intervocally	...VtV	193	"
final	t#	0	"
coda	...tC...	6	" (loanwords)
geminate	...tt...	0	"

(14) t must be licensed by the following nucleus. ⁶ That is, in order to be linked to a C position, t must be followed by a phonetically interpreted V position.

³ For the AUTOBEN, see Appendix.

⁴ Source: exhaustive list of words < 2 syllables from APS (1985), i.e. 15000 items.

⁵ There are no initial clusters in Somali.

⁶ For a similar constraint on glides in Berber, see Guerssel (1990: 44-47).

4. Analysis.

4.1. Derivational suffixation on CAUS.

(15) Allomorphy in (5): -i vs. -s-

(15.1) base: diir *become warm*

CVCVCV

| \ / |
d i r

-s-

(15.2) caus: diiri *warm up*

a.

CVCVCV₃ + C₄V₄

| \ / |
d i r I t

PG

b.

—//—
↓ ↓//|

CVCVCV₃ + C₄V₄

| \ / | \ Å
d i r I t

(15.3) caus+autoben: diirso *warm s.t. for o.s.*

a.

CVCVCV + C₄V₄ + C₅V₅

| \ / |
d i r I=>t A t

b.

—PG—
↓ ↓-|

CVCVCV₃ + C₄V₄ + C₅V₅

| \ / | \ Å
d i r I=>t A t

c.⁷

CVCVCV CV

| \ / | ||
d i r I=>t A

(16) Allomorphy in (5): -is- vs. -s-

(16.1) base: korodh *increase* [intr]

o
|
CVCV₂CV⁸
| | |
k r dh

(16.2) caus: kordhi *increase* [tr]

o PG
| ↓ |
CVCVCV + CV
| | | \
k r dh I t

(16.3) caus+autoben: kordhiso *increase s.t. for o.s.*

a. PG

o -// -PG—
| ↓ | ↓ ↓-|
CVCV₂CV₃ + C₄V₄ + CV
| | | \ \
k r dh I=>t A t

b. [kordhiso]

o PG
| ↓ | ↓-|
CVCV₂CV₃ + CV
| | | \ \
k r dh I=>t A

(= korodhso)

c. [korodhso]

o —PG—
| \ ↓ ↓-|
CVCVCV + CV
| | | \ \
k r dh I=>t A

(no CCC cluster in Somali)

⁷ We have no explanation for the fact that, in final position, the A of the AUTOBEN is realized as [o]. Note however that there is no final [a] in Somali.

⁸ Evidence that the lexical representation of CVCVC verbs is /CVCØC/, i.e. that V2 is an empty V position can be found in Barillot (1997: 35-43).

4.2. Inflectional suffixation on CAUS.

(17) CONJ2: 1p waan diirinnaa *we warm up*

(17.1) PG

(17.2)

(17.3)

PG PG

$\begin{array}{c} \text{---//---} \\ \downarrow \quad \downarrow // | \\ \text{CVCVCV}_3 + \text{C}_4\text{V}_4 + \text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \quad | \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I t} \quad \text{n a} \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{c} \text{CVCVCV}_3\text{C}_4\text{V}_4\text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \backslash \quad | \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I t} \quad \text{n a} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{c} \text{---//---} \\ \downarrow \quad | \downarrow \quad | \\ \text{CVCVCV}_3\text{C}_4\text{V}_4\text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \backslash \quad | \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{n a} \end{array}$

(18) CONJ2: 2s waad diirisaa *you warm up*

(18.1) PG

(18.2)

(18.3) PG PG

$\begin{array}{c} \text{---//---} \\ \downarrow \quad \downarrow // | \\ \text{CVCVCV}_3 + \text{C}_4\text{V}_4 + \text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \quad | \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I t} \quad \text{t a} \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{c} \text{CVCVCV}_3\text{C}_4\text{V}_4\text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \backslash \quad | \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I t} \quad \text{t a} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{c} \text{---//---} \\ \downarrow \quad | \downarrow \quad | \\ \text{CVCVCV}_3\text{C}_4\text{V}_4\text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \backslash \quad | \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{t a} \end{array}$

(19) CONJ2: 1s waan diiriyyaa *I warm up*

(19.1) PG

(19.2)

(19.3) PG PG

$\begin{array}{c} \text{---//---} \\ \downarrow \quad \downarrow // | \\ \text{CVCVCV}_3 + \text{C}_4\text{V}_4 + \text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \quad \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I t} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{c} \text{CVCVCV}_3\text{C}_4\text{V}_4\text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \backslash \quad \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I t} \quad \text{a} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{c} \text{---//---} \\ \downarrow \quad | \downarrow \quad | \\ \text{CVCVCV}_3\text{C}_4\text{V}_4\text{CVCV} \\ | \backslash / \quad | \backslash \quad | \backslash / \\ \text{d i r} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$

5. The "strong causative" suffix -sii: a different suffix?

5.1. Traditional view & alternative proposal.

(20) 2 different causative suffixes

-i "causative"

vs. -sii "strong causative" (cf Saeed (1993:60))

(21) (21.1) only one causative suffix: CV

I t

(21.2) -sii = "double" causative:

CV + CV

I t

I t

5.2. The mechanism.

(22) (22.1) base: ur *emit an odor*

CVCV
||
u r

(22.2) caus.: uri *smell s.t.*

CVCV + CV
|| \
u r I t
↓
Ø

(22.3) caus+caus.: ursii *make s.o. smell s.t.*

a.

CVCV+CV+CV
||
u r I t I t

b.

—PG—
↓ ↓ - | ↓ //
↓ |
CVCV₂ + C₃V₃ + C₄V₄
|| | \
u r I => t I t
↓
Ø

c.

CVCV₂ C₃V₃ CV
|| | \
u r I => t I

d.

CVCV₂ C₃V₃ CV
|| | \/
u r I => t I

5.3. Further evidences for -sii as a double causative.

(23) Some -sii verbs are semantically clearly double causative.

base

ur *emit an odor* [intr]

dhadhan *have savor* [intr]

deeq *be enough* [intr]

-i causative

uri *smell s.t.* [tr]

dhadhami *taste s.t.* [tr]

-sii causative

ursii *make s.o. smell s.t.* [ditr]

dhadhansii *have s.o. taste s.t.* [ditr]

deeqsii *satisfy s.o. with s.t.* [ditr]

(24) Argumental structure of -sii and -i verbs: comparison.

	-sii		-i		total
	eff.	%age	eff.	%age	
intr.	5	4%	130	12%	135
tr.	63	48%	869	84%	932
ditr.	62	48%	38	4%	100
total	130	100%	1037	100%	1167

(25) "Guttural transparency"

base

laq *swallow*

-sii causative

liqsii, *laqsii *make s.o. swallow s.t.*

-san adj.der.

liqsan *swallowed*

APPENDIX

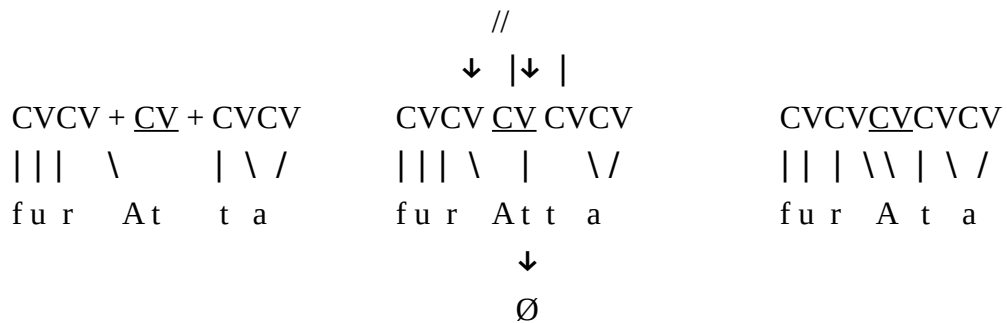
(1) Extension to AUTOBEN

(21.1) Derivational suffix: deeq + at + oon -> deeqtoon



(21.2) Inflectional paradigm: CONJ3

a. 2s [furataa]



b. 1p [furannaa]

