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

(1.3) Autobenefactive: suffix -o

| | | | |
|---------|------------------------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| adeeg | <i>serve</i> [vb intr] | adeego | <i>do tasks for oneself</i> [vb intr] |
| door | <i>select</i> [vb tr] | dooro | <i>select for oneself</i> [vb tr] |
| ballaar | <i>width</i> [nm] | ballaaro | <i>become wide</i> [vb intr] |
| cagaar | <i>green</i> [nm] | cagaaro | <i>become green</i> [vb intr] |
| canaan | <i>reprimand</i> [nf] | canaano | <i>reprimand</i> [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 = [ʃ], 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- \emptyset -aa | 1p | waan | kar- n -aa | <u>Personal markers</u> |
| 2s | waad | kar- t -aa | 2p | waad | kar- t-aa-n | 1s/3ms = \emptyset |
| 3ms | wuu | kar- \emptyset -aa | 3p | way | kar- \emptyset -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 -> \emptyset |
| 1s | [kariyyaa] | < kar+iṣ+ \emptyset +aa | + s -> \emptyset |
| 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 = + CV AUTOBEN = + CV ³
 I t A t

- (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

(15.2) caus: diiri *warm up*

a.

CVCVCV₃ + C₄V₄

| \ / |

d i r I t

PG

b.

—//—
↓ ↓//|

CVCVCV₃ + C₄V₄

| \ / | \ \

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

| \ / | \ \

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.*

(= korodhso)

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

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).

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
↓
∅

(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
↓
∅

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.*

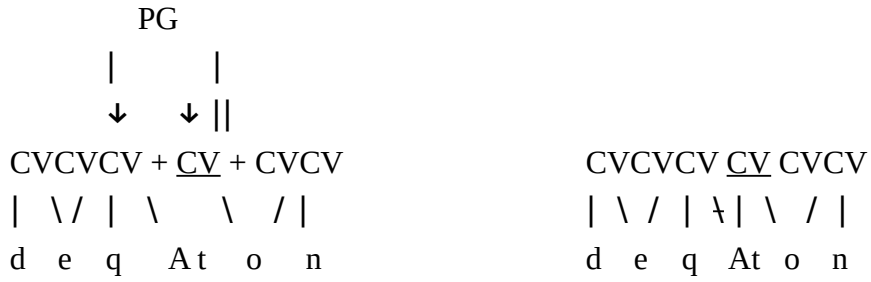
-san adj.der.

liqsan *swallowed*

APPENDIX

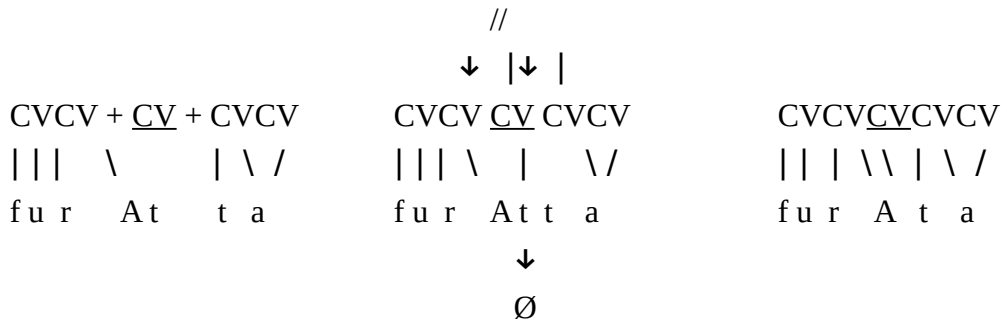
(1) Extension to AUTOBEN

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



(21.2) Inflectional paradigm: CONJ3

a. 2s [furataa]



b. 1p [furannaa]

