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On the -t suffix in Somali

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Workshop on the Afroasiatic Middle t-Morpheme
Edinburgh, 8-9/05/2024

Introduction

Background information

Cushitic > East > Lowland EC > Omo-Tana > East

country	speakers (M)	inhabitants (M)	status	other
Somalia	6-10	8-10	official	Arabic
Somaliland	3-4	3-4	official	Arabic
Djibouti	0.5-0.6	0.8	'national'	French, Arabic (official)
Ethiopia	7	100	regional (Ogaden)	Amharic (national)
Kenya	2.5-3	47	none	English, Swahili (official)
diaspora	1.5-3			

total: 20.5-27.6 M speakers

(Nilsson 2018)

Basic verb stems

- main:

CV(V)C	gal jeeg	'to enter' 'to tell'
CV _i CV _i C	qosol tidiŋ	'to laugh' 'to braid' (hair)

- others:

short	ŋi	'to cry'
long	adeeg	'to serve sb'

Morphology: concatenative

- derivation and inflection: suffixation
- verb: $\sqrt{\quad}$ - DER - AGR₁ - ASP - TNS - AGR₂

(caveat: 5 exceptional verbs; reduplication; -y- infixation)

/s, n, t/ derivation?

DER		base (IMP.2s)	derived (IMP.2s)
-i(s)	‘caus.’	kar ‘boil’ (intr)	kar-i ‘cook’ (tr)
-am	‘anticaus.’	fur ‘open’ (tr)	fur-an ‘open’ (intr)
-o/at	‘middle’	qaad ‘take’	qaad-o ‘take for os.’
-so/sat	‘middle’	kar ‘boil’ (intr)	kar-so ‘cook for os.’

- “*Forming middle verbs is highly productive*” (Green 2021: 153)
- Agostini et al. (1985)
 - -o/at = 662 items
 - -so/sat = 502 items
 - cf. -i(s) = 647 items

MID: which underlying representation?

- the ‘middle’ suffix: complex allomorphy

	base	‘middle’ derived
PRST.3MS	qab-aa	qab-t-aa
IMP.2S	qab	qab-o
PRST.3FS	qab-t-aa	qab-a-t-aa
PRST.1P	qab-n-aa	qab-an-n-aa

qab ‘hold’, *qab-o* ‘catch’

- ⇒ first task: isolate the suffix and specify its UR
(Bendjaballah & Barillot 98, Barillot & Ségéral 05, Barillot et al. 2016)
- synchronic perspective
- for diachrony, see e.g. Hayward (1975), Tosco (1988)

MID: which semantic values?

“Its complex semantics and inconsistent syntactic behavior have led scholars to analyze it variously as reflexive, reciprocal, autobenefactive, and indeed middle verbs, among other categories” (Green 2021: 153-4)

MID: which semantic values?

- ‘middle’ (e.g. Hayward 1975, Puglielli & Bruno 1988, Saeed 1995)
‘riflessivo’ (Moreno 1955)
‘reflexive-middle’ (e.g. Bruno 1984, Tosco 1988)
‘autobenefactive’ (e.g. Andrzejewski 1968, Puglielli 1984)
- not a classical ‘middle’: in many cases transitive

(1) ʕali baa taariix bar-t-ay.

Ali FOC history teach-MID-PAST.3MS

“Ali learnt history.” Puglielli & Bruno 1988: (18)

- reflexive: only few cases
- sometimes anticausative, medio-passive

MID: a salient ‘autobenefactive’ value

- Hayward (1975: 209) on Afar, Oromo, Somali:
“an autobenefactive function [...] This may be said to be the middle-voice function par excellence.”
- Mous (2001: 77):
“The Cushitic languages with middle derivation in t (or related sounds) include all of East Cushitic – in these languages the middle has a productive autobenefactive meaning – and all of the Southern Cushitic languages where there is no productive autobenefactive meaning.”
- how far can we get with MID = autobenefactive?
⇒ 5 case studies (elicitation with Djibouti Somali speaker)
[acknowledgments: Saalim Saciid Shariif]

Is the UR of ‘middle *t*’ /t/?

DER = 'middle'

✓ - DER - AGR₁ - ASP - TNS - AGR₂

- (2) a. Waḥ-aan laab-ay gaḥan-ta ilma-ha.
FOC-1s fold-PAST.1s arm-DET child-DET
'I folded the arm of the child.'
- b. Waḥ-aan laab-t-ay gaḥan-tayda.
FOC-1s fold-MID-PAST.1s arm-POSS.1s
'I folded my arm.'

Inflection

- subject agreement:

	AGR ₁	AGR ₂
<i>1s=3ms</i>	∅	∅
<i>2s=3fs</i>	t	∅
<i>1p</i>	n	∅
<i>2p</i>	t	n
<i>3p</i>	∅	n

- aspect and tense:

ASP		TNS	
<i>unmarked</i>	∅	<i>present</i>	aa
<i>progressive</i>	ay	<i>past</i>	ay

The allomorphs of MID

	1	2	3
a.	- <u>o</u>	-t-	- <u>a</u> $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ n \end{array} \right\}$
	<u>V</u>	C	- <u>VC</u>
b.	-(i)so <u>o</u>	-(i)st-	-(i)sa <u>a</u> $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ n \end{array} \right\}$
	= CAUS + MID		

a. = c3A (Orwin), c3B (Saeed), b. = c3B (Orwin), c3A (Saeed)

V-∅ alternations

	BASE		
	C_1VC_2	$C_1V_iC_2V_iC_3$	
IMP.2S	qab	tidiŋ	
PRST.3MS	qab-aa	tidŋ-aa	$\Leftarrow C_1V_iC_2C_3$ -aa
PRST.3FS	qab-t-aa	tidiŋ-d-aa	
PRST.1P	qab-n-aa	tidiŋ-n-aa	
	1a	1b	

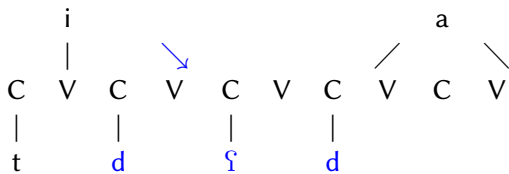
qab “hold”, *tidiŋ* “braid (hair)”

1b stem V-∅ alternation between C_2 and C_3 : *CC{#, C}

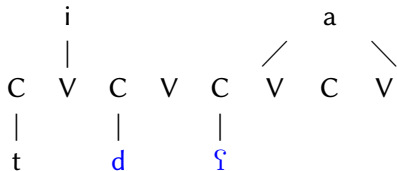
$CV_iCV_iC = /CV_iC\emptyset C/$

V-propagation to avoid *CC{C,#}

- $tid\underset{-}{i}\text{daa}$



- $tid\text{f}aa$



a-∅ alternation in MID

	BASE		DERIVED	
	CVC	CV _i CV _i C	CVC-o	CV _i CC-o
IMP.2S	qab	tidiŋ	qab-o	tidiŋ-o
PRST.3MS	qab-aa	tidiŋ-aa	qab-t-aa	tidiŋ-ad-aa
PRST.3FS	qab-t-aa	tidiŋ-d-aa	qab-at-aa	tidiŋ-at-aa
PRST.1P	qab-n-aa	tidiŋ-n-aa	qab-an-n-aa	tidiŋ-an-n-aa
	1a	1b	2a	2b

qab “hold”, tidiŋ “braid (hair)”, qabo “catch”, tidiŋo “braid one’s hair”

- 2b all aC ⇔ all / CC_V
- PRST.3MS 2b aC / CC_V vs 2a C / C_V

⇒ *CC{#, C}

General application

	BASE		DERIVED	
	CVC	CV _i CV _i C	CVC-o	CV _i CC-o
IMP.2S	qab	tidiŋ	qab-o	tidiŋ-o
PRST.3MS	qab-aa	tidiŋ-aa	qab-t-aa	tidiŋ-ad-aa
PRST.3FS	qab-t-aa	tidiŋ-d-aa	qab-at-aa	tidiŋ-at-aa
PRST.1P	qab-n-aa	tidiŋ-n-aa	qab-an-n-aa	tidiŋ-an-n-aa
	1a	1b	2a	2b

qab “hold”, *tidiŋ* “braid (hair)”, *qabo* “catch”, *tidiŋo* “braid one’s hair”

- PRST.1P 2a 2b aC / (C)C_C_{agr}
- but PRST.3FS 2a qabataa: VCaCV

*CC_{agr}

The missing C in qabataa

	BASE		DERIVED	
	CVC	CV _i CV _i C	CVC-o	CV _i CC-o
IMP.2S	qab	tidiŋ	qab-o	tidiŋ-o
PRST.3MS	qab-aa	tidiŋ-aa	qab-t-aa	tidiŋ-ad-aa
PRST.3FS	qab-t-aa	tidiŋ-d-aa	qab-at-aa	tidiŋ-at-aa
PRST.1P	qab-n-aa	tidiŋ-n-aa	qab-an-n-aa	tidiŋ-an-n-aa
	1a	1b	2a	2b

qab “hold”, *tidiŋ* “braid (hair)”, *qabo* “catch”, *tidiŋo* “braid one’s hair”

- qabataa = /qab-at-t-aa/
- qa/CaCC/aa

*CCC_{agr}

⇒ V [t] V = /tt/?

Surface [t] behaves like /CC/

- phonetic inventory: *[tt]
- CV_iCC roots:

	IMP.2S	PRST.3MS		
		V/∅ alt.	no V/∅ alt.	
d = /C/	tid ⁱ ʔ	tidʔaa	*tid ⁱ ʔaa	‘braid’
dd = /CC/	bedde ^e l	*bedd ^e laa	bedde ^e laa	‘change’
t = /CC/	mat ^a g	*mat ^a gaa	mat ^a gaa	‘vomit’

Barillot (2002), Barillot & Ségéral (2005)

UR of the ‘middle suffix’ includes A

- distribution of **a** in **MID**: to be ascribed to ***CC{#, C}**

- **a** is not epenthetic:

✓	A	DER	AGR ₁	TNS		
qab	-a	-n	-n	-aa	qabannaa	(C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃)
tidɿ	-a	-d		-aa	tidɿadaa	(C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃)

- IMP.2s qab-o, tidɿ-o

/a/# → [o]#

e.g. ʃaqadii ‘the work’ but ʃaqo ‘work’

- ⇒ **a** is part of the UR of the ‘middle’ suffix

cf. Hayward (1975: 207) on Oromo: “*In fact the suffix [...] comprises a vowel, most commonly an a. This vocalic element is invariably present. It cannot be explained away as epenthetic*”

C = /t/ with lenition: voicing and geminate latency

- intervocalic voicing

PRST.3MS: tidʕadaa = /tidʕ-at-∅-aa/

/t/ → [d] / V _ V

- geminate latency

PRST.3FS: tidʕataa = /tidʕ-at-t-aa/

/tt/ → [t] / V _ V

	CVC-o		CV _i CC-o	
IMP.2S	/qab-at/	qab-o	/tidʕ-at/	tidʕ-o
PRST.3MS	/qab-at-aa/	qabtaa	/tidʕ-at-aa/	tidʕadaa
PRST.3FS	/qab-at-t-aa/	qabataa	/tidʕ-at-t-aa/	tidʕataa
PRST.1P	/qab-at-n-aa/	qabannaa	/tidʕ-at-n-aa/	tidʕannaa

C = /t/ with lenition: assimilation and \emptyset

- nasal assimilation

PRST.1P: tidʕanna = /tidʕ-at-n-aa/
(infinitive -n: additional complications)

/t/ → [n] / _ n

- lenition to zero

IMP.2MS: tidʕo = /tidʕ-at/

/t/ → \emptyset / _#

_V		#	_{#, C}		#
initial	#tV...	657	final	...t#	0
post-coda onset	...CtV...	322	coda	...tC...	6 (loans)
intervocalic	...VtV...	93	geminate	...tt...	0

source: Agostini et al. (1985)

	CVC-o		CV _i CC-o	
IMP.2S	/qab-at/	qab-o	/tidʕ-at/	tidʕ-o
PRST.1P	/qab-at-n-aa/	qabanna	/tidʕ-at-n-aa/	tidʕanna

/qab-at/

- PREST.3MS: qabtaa

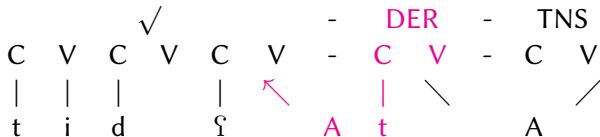


- PREST.3Fs: qabataa



/tidʕ-at/

- PREST.3MS: tidʕad[√]aa



- PREST.3FS: tidʕat[√]aa



-(i)sat = -is-at

-(i)s- = causative, cf. Saeed (1995): 63 among many others

“In the complex form hubso [...] the causative affix is represented by -s- and the middle affix by -o”

	base	-is	-at	-is-at
IMP.2S	ereg	erg- i	erg- o	erg- is-o
PRST.3MS	ereg-aa	erg- iy(y) -aa	erg- ad -aa	erg- is-t -aa
PRST.3FS	ereg- t -aa	erg- i-s -aa	erg- a-t -aa	erg- is-a-t -aa
PRST.1P	ereg- n -aa	erg- in-n -aa	erg- an-n -aa	erg- is-an-n -aa

ereg ‘entrust’ tr; *ergi* ‘entrust’ ditr; *ergo* +ka ‘take in trust’, +ku ‘entrust’ ditr,
ergiso ‘take in trust’

Causative -is

- I in -is obeys the same rule as A in -at (surfaces in *CCC)

	CVC	CV _i CC
IMP.2S	qab-s-o	erg-is-o
PRST.3MS	qab-s-ad-aa	erg-is-t-aa
PRST.3FS	qab-s-at-aa	erg-is-at-aa
PRST.1P	qab-s-ann-aa	erg-is-ann-aa

- /s/ in -is obeys the same rule as /t/ in -at?

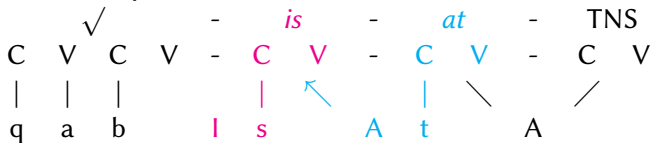
IMP.2S	ereg	erg-i	erg-o	s → ∅ _#
PRST.3MS	erg-aa	erg-iy(y)-aa	erg-ad-aa	∅ vs [d]
PRST.3FS	ereg-t-aa	erg-i-s-aa	erg-a-t-aa	s+t → [s]
PRST.1P	ereg-n-aa	erg-in-n-aa	erg-an-n-aa	s+n → [nn]

The realization of I and A

- PREST.3MS: erg^{ist}aa



- PREST.3MS: qab^{sad}aa



Summary

	1	2	3
allomorphs	-(i)s-o	-(i)s-t-	-(i)s-a $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ n \end{array} \right\}$ -
MIDDLE: -at			
	<i>qab - o</i>	<i>qab - t - aa</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} qab - at - aa \\ erg - ad - aa \\ qab - an - naa \end{array} \right\}$
CAUS+MIDDLE: -is-at			
	<i>qab - s - o</i>	<i>farii - s - t - aa</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} qab - s - at - aa \\ qab - s - ad - aa \\ qab - s - an - naa \end{array} \right\}$
	<i>erg - is - o</i>	<i>erg - is - t - aa</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} erg - is - at - aa \\ erg - is - an - naa \end{array} \right\}$

The UR of the ‘middle’ suffix

MIDDLE *-/at/*

	C	V
A	t	

- A: floating, associated to a host ($\sqrt{\quad}$ or CAUS) if *CCC
- t: subject to several types of lenition

CAUS+MIDDLE *-/is-at/*

	C	V	-	C	V
I	s		A	t	

Is 'middle *-at*' a middle?

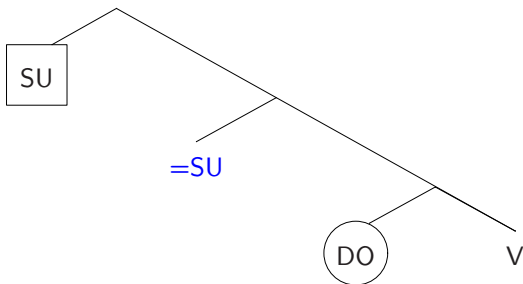
An ‘autobenefactive’ meaning

“The most striking use of the middle affix to non-Somali observers has been its **autobenefactive** meaning, as shown ... [with] the middle verb *karso* (tr) ‘cook for oneself’ ” (Saeed 1995: 64)

- (3) a. Waa kar-ayaa.
PRT boil-PROG.PREST.3MS
“It is boiling, cooking.”
- b. Bariiskii b-uu kar-in-ayaa.
the.rice FOC-3MS boil-CAUS-PROG.PREST.3MS
“He is cooking the rice.”
- c. Bariiskii b-uu kar-s-an-ayaa.
the.rice FOC-3MS boil-CAUS-MID-PROG.PREST.3MS
“He is cooking the rice **for himself**.”

Autobenefactive as reflexivization of IO

- SU does something with DO; SU does it for IO; IO = SU
- **identity between SU and IO**, not between SU and DO



“The semantic range of middle verbs” (Saeed 1995)

1. “actions that are inherently reflexive”
2. “actions that are inherently reciprocal”
3. “actions that affect the subject’s body” (bodily motion and posture, grooming, clothing)
4. “actions which engage the emotions or cognitive abilities of the subject”
5. “verbs where the subjects undergo a process over which they have no control”

How far can we get with -at = autobenefactive?

Case studies

1. straightforward reflexivization of an oblique argument
(‘autobenefactive’/‘locative’ Puglielli & Bruno 1988)
laab ‘fold’, laab-at₁ ‘fold’; ħoq ‘scratch’, ħoq-at ‘scratch os.’
2. a potentially problematic case
laab ‘fold’, laab-at₂ ‘turn back’
3. a problematic case
waal ‘drive so. mad’, waal-at ‘go mad’
4. segmentation of -s- as CAUS
bad-is ‘increase’ (tr), bad-at ‘increase’ (intr), bad-s-at ‘increase (tr) for os.’

underived laab ‘fold’

with referential DO

- (4) Dabayjaa geed-ka laab-tay.
the.wind.FOC tree-DET fold-PAST.3FS
“The wind bent the tree.”
- (5) Buug-gii / Kursi-gii b-aan laab-ay.
book-DET / chair-DET FOC-1S fold-PAST.1S
“I closed the book / I folded the chair.”
- (6) Gaʕan-tiisii b-aan laab-ay.
arm-POSS.3MS FOC-1S fold-PAST.1S
“I folded his arm. (e.g. during a fight)” [ref DO-poss]

derived laab-at

with DO = body part of SU

- (7) *Buug-gii / Kursi-gii b-aan laab-t-ay.
book-DET / chair-DET FOC-1s fold-AT-PAST.1s
intended: “I closed the book/folded the chair.” (in my interest)
- (8) Gaʕan-tii b-aan laab-t-ay.
arm-DET FOC-1s fold-AT-PAST.1s
“I folded the arm.”
(= my arm, e.g. to protect myself from a danger)

-at reflexivizes the possessor dative

- (9) a. *Gaʕan-tiisii b-aan laab-t-ay.
arm-POSS.3MS FOC-1S fold-AT-PAST.1S
intended: “I folded his arm.” (in my interest)
- b. Gaʕan-taydii b-aan laab-t-ay.
arm-POSS.1S FOC-1S fold-AT-PAST.1S
“I folded my arm.” (e.g. to protect myself from a danger)

-at

prevents the referential interpretation of poss and forces binding of poss by SU

reflexive and middle interpretations

underived laab 'fold' and pronominal REFL

- DO=pronominal REFL

(10) Iska ilaali! W-uu *(is) laab-ayaa.
REFL watch.OVER PRT-3MS REFL fold-PROG.PRST.3MS
“Watch out! It(m) is folding up.”

- pronominal middle

(11) Kursi-gan **si fudud** b-uu is-ku laab-ayaa.
chair-DEM **way easy** FOC-3MS REFL-**in** fold-PROG.PRST.3MS
“This chair can easily be folded up.”

ħoq ‘scratch’

with referential DO

- (12) Geedk-aa i ħoq-ay.
the.tree-FOC 1s scratch-PAST.3MS
“The tree scratched me.”
- (13) Gidaar-kii b-aan ħoq-ay.
wall-DET FOC-1s scratch-PAST.1s
“I scratched the wall.” (e.g. before doing the painting)
- (14) Gaŋan-tiisii b-aan ħoq-ay
arm-POSS.3MS FOC-1s scratch-PAST.1s
“I scratched his arm.” [ref DO-poss]

ħoq-at

with DO = body part, poss bound by SU

- (15) a. *Gidaar-kii b-aan ħoq-d-ay
wall-DET FOC-1S scratch-AT-PAST.1S
intended: “I scratched the wall.” (in my interest)
- b. Gaʕan-tii b-aan ħoq-d-ay
arm-DET FOC-1S scratch-AT-PAST.1S
“I scratched the arm.”
- (16) a. *Gaʕan-tiisii b-aan ħoq-d-ay
arm-POSS.3MS FOC-1S scratch-AT-PAST.1S
intended: “I scratched his arm.” (in my interest)
- b. Gaʕan-taydii b-aan ħoq-d-ay
arm-POSS.1S FOC-1S scratch-AT-PAST.1S
“I scratched my arm.”

-at is not equivalent with DO reflexive pronoun

- (17) a. M-aad is ĥoq-day?
Q-2S REFL scratch-PAST.2S
“Did you scratch yourself?” [pronominal REFL]
- b. *M-aad ĥoq-**at**-ay?
Q-2S scratch-**AT**-PAST.2S
intended: “Did you scratch yourself?”
- (18) Haa, w-aan is ĥoq-ay.
yes, PRT-1S REFL scratch-PAST.1S
“Yes, I scratched myself.” [intentional]
- (19) Waĥaa i ĥoq-ay geed-ka.
FOC 1S scratch-PAST.1S tree-DET
“I got scratched by the tree.” (ANTICAUS: waan ĥoqmay)

-at and IO reflexive pronoun

- (20) Waḥ-ay is ḥoq-day ḡabar-ka/*keeda.
FOC-3FS REFL scratch-PAST.3FS back-DET/*POSS.3FS
“She scratched her back.”
- (21) Waḥ-ay ḥoq-**a-t**-ay ḡabar-ka/keeda.
FOC-3FS scratch-**AT**-PAST.3FS back-DET/POSS.3FS
“She scratched her back.”

a potentially problematic case

intransitive motion laab-**at**

laab-**at**

- intransitive motion: ‘turn back, go back, return’
e.g. Zorc et al. (1993: s.v.), Saeed (1995: 67)
- problem: no IO \Rightarrow reflexivization of DO, not IO

- (22) a. M-aad laab-**at**-ay?
Q-2s fold-**AT**-PAST.2s
“Have you left?”
- b. Haa, w-aan laab-**t**-ay.
yes, PRT-1s fold-**AT**-PAST.1s
“Yes, I turned back (to where I came from).”

but clearly preferred with anticausative suffix

(23) W-aad laab-**an**-tay.

PRT-2s fold-**ANTICAUS**-PAST.2s

“You turned back.”

(24) a. Waḥ-aan ka soo laam-**m**-ay Nantes.

FOC-1s SOURCE VEN fold-**ANTICAUS**-PAST.1s Nantes

“I came back from Nantes.”

b. Waḥ-aan ku soo laam-**m**-ay Nantes.

FOC-1s LOC VEN fold-**ANTICAUS**-PAST.1s Nantes

“I turned back to Nantes.”

intransitive motion laab-at

- ‘turn back’ interpretation of laab-at: unaccusative
- lexicalization; speaker strongly prefers anticausative -am

waal ‘drive so. mad’

causative with no caus suffix

- (25) Nin-kan w-uu i waal-ay.
man-DEM PRT-3MS 1S drive.mad-PAST.3MS
“This man drove me mad.” (e.g. he cheated on me)
- (26) W-aan is waal-ay.
PRT-1S REFL drive.mad-PAST.1S way-1S
“I did something on purpose to drive myself mad.”
- (27) W-aan is waal-ay sid-aan u qato laʔag.
PRT-1S REFL drive.mad-PAST.1S way-1S in take.AT money
“I pretended to be mad to get the money.”

waal-at ‘go mad’

disappearance of the ‘cause’ role

- (28) a. W-aan waa-ʃ-ay.
PRT-1S drive.mad-AT-PAST.1S
“I fell mentally ill.” (*on purpose)
- b. Gaaḍi-gan m-uu waa-ʃ-ay?
car-DEM Q-3MS drive.mad-AT-PAST.3MS
“Has this car gone mad?” (=it does not react)

cause introduced by ku-adjunct:

- (29) Gabaḍ-an w-aan ku waa-ʃ-ay.
girl-DEM PRT-1S in drive.mad-AT-PAST.1S
“I went mad because of this girl.”

The segmentation of **-is-at** as CAUS--**at**

- 63 √ with both **-at** and **-sat** derived verbs (Agostini et al. 1985)
- any systematic difference?
- case study:
 - bad-an “much, many”, badan.ka “the majority of”
 - -is causative
 - -at middle
 - -sat middle

bad-at ‘increase in quantity’

unaccusative

- (30) a. jaʃabkii Nantes baa ba-t-ay.
the.population Nantes FOC increase.AT-PAST.3MS
“The population of Nantes increased.”
- b. Dabaylihii baa ba-t-ay ayaamahan.
the.winds FOC increase.AT-PAST.3MS these.days
“Lately the number of windy periods increased.”
- c. Rasaastii baa bad-at-ay.
the.shootings FOC increase-AT-PAST.3FS
“There is more shooting.”

bad-i ‘increase (tr)’

-is with DO

- (31) Waddada ŕusub wañ-ay bad-i-say qiimihii
the.road new FOC-3fs increase-CAUS-PAST.3FS the.value
guriga.
the.house
“The new road increased the value of the house.”

bad-s-at ‘increase the quantity for os.’

-at reflexivizes IO

- (32) Sokor-tii b-aan bad-s-ad-ay.
sugar-DET FOC-1s increase-CAUS-AT-PAST.1s
“I increased the sugar (= my consumption).”
- (33) ʕilmi-gii b-aan bad-s-ad-ay.
knowledge-DET FOC-1s increase-CAUS-AT-PAST.1s
“I increased my quantity of knowledge.”

Summary

*bad-

- no external argument
- -at: unaccusative (semantic: internal arg)
- -is: introduces an external argument
- -at in -is-at: reflexivization between oblique and the external argument introduced by -is

⇒ -is- = caus

Conclusion

Summary and some open questions

morpho-phonology

MIDDLE *-/at/*

	C	V
A	t	

- A: associated to a host if *CCC; host = $\sqrt{\quad}$ or CAUS
- t: subject to several types of lenition

Summary and some open questions

semantics

MIDDLE *-/at/*

- value *par excellence* = ‘autobenefactive’, i.e. reflexivisation of an oblique argument.
- unaccusative uses do exist ; reconciled with the autobenefactive default in Modern Somali, or lexicalised remnants of an earlier grammar?