

Analytic Causatives in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic: The Case of Afan Oromo, Amharic, Shekkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo

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Abstract: This paper presents an overview of analytic causatives of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. I shall show that, based on main verbs, Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages have two types of analytic causatives. One of these analytic causatives employs the inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ as a matrix verb of the causer event while the other one employs the verb ‘to do’ as the main verb of the causer event of analytic causatives. The inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ that serves as the main verb of the causer event itself is always a complex verb because the causative morpheme and agreement elements are suffixed to it. The causative morpheme that is attached to such an inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ can be single or double depending on the language and the number of causers. This means that if a language permits double causative and the number of causers is two in the analytic causative, the causative morpheme that is added to the inchoative verb is two, and so on. But some other Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages use only the verb ‘to do’ as a main verb of the causer event. In languages where the verb ‘to do’ is used as a main verb, its form shows variations. In some languages, the verb ‘to do’ is a frozen base (i.e., a deponent or non-existing base) and to be used as a main verb of the analytic causative structure, it must get the causative morpheme attached to it. The causative morpheme that is attached to such a frozen base can be single or double. In some other languages the verb ‘to do’ is an already existing verb and it can be used as a main verb of the analytic causative structure as is or as a complex verb form since it can add one or two causative morphemes. Moreover, the paper discusses analytic causatives based on oppositions of causative and non-causative members. Particularly, the paper investigates the verb ‘to be’ and the verb ‘to do’ as correlational opposites to serve as the basis for analytic causative. Moreover, the paper considers some ideophones and analytic causatives as oppositions of causative and non-causative members. I also show that analytic causatives have strict word order; the subject of the main sentence precedes the subject of the embedded sentence while the verb of the main sentence follows the verb of the embedded sentence. The paper also considers structures of analytic causatives in terms of grammatical function changes.

Keywords: analytic causative, complementizer, verb ‘to be’, verb ‘to do’, ideophone, grammatical function

Introduction

This paper is a continuation of my PhD dissertation (Tolemariam, 2009) where I discussed morphological causatives of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages based on three core languages. The three core languages are Afan Oromo representing Cushitic, Amharic representing Semitic and Shekkinoonoo representing Omotic languages respectively. In addition to the three core languages, morphological causatives of other languages are discussed. This paper follows my dissertation in the sense that the same core languages represent similar

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corresponding language families. But unlike my dissertation, the focus of this paper is analytic causatives. The research methodology is the same as my dissertation (Tolemariam, 2009). The data is collected and checked during my fieldwork during 2005-2007.

This paper intends to describe analytic causatives of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages based on the representative languages, Afan Afan Oromo, Amharic and Shekkinoonoo. Analytic causative is one of the two structures in which causative situations are ceded by using two different verbs (Tolemariam, 2009; Tolemariam, 2020; Kulikov, 2001). This paper deals with such type of causative structure. The term analytic causative refers to a structure that employs complex verb form in the sense that it uses the independent verb ‘to do’ or the verb ‘to be’ mixed with causative morpheme to express causative situation (Chappell, 2006). Analytic causative structures consist of the main verb and embedded verb and consequently, they have two subjects, the subject of the main verb and the subject of the embedded verb. Semantically, the subject of the main verb is known as causer while the subject of the embedded sentence is known as causee. The subject of the main verb corresponds to the causer event while the subject of the embedded verb corresponds to the caused event. Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages have two types of main verbs of analytic causatives: the verb ‘to be’ and the verb ‘to do’.

The remainder of this paper is divided into 4 sections. Section 2 is devoted to the discussion of verbs of analytic causatives. In this section inchoative forms of the verb ‘to be’ and the verb ‘to do’ in different languages shall be described. The existing and the frozen forms of the verb ‘to do’ shall be discussed about structures of analytic causatives. Section 3 presents non-causative and analytic causative oppositions while section 4 discusses structures of analytic causatives about grammatical function change. Section 5 concludes the paper.

Verbs of Analytic Causatives

In this section, I shall show that some languages of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages use an inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ as the main verb of analytic causative structure. I also show that in these languages the inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ must be causativized itself to serve as the main verb of the causer event of analytic causative structures. Specifically, I shall show that Afan Afan Oromo, Shekkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo use the inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ in addition to the verb ‘to do’ to code analytic causatives. I shall also describe that Amharic, different from Afan Afan Oromo and Shekkinoonoo/Kafinoonoo, doesn't use inchoative verb form to code analytic causatives; but rather it employs the frozen form of the verb ‘to do’.

Inchoative form of the Verb ‘to be’

In Afan Afan Oromo analytic causatives can be formed with the inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ **tah (?)** - ‘become’. In Afan Oromo the present form of the verb ‘to be’ is **dha** and its past form is **true** as shown in the following examples:

- (1) a. Garbaa-n barsiisaa dha
Garbaa-NOM teacher be
'Garbaa is a teacher.'
- b. Garbaa-n barsiisaa tur-e
Garbaa-NOM teacher be-3MSS
'Garbaa was a teacher.'
- c. Garbaa-n barsiisaa tah-e
Garbaa-NOM teacher become-3MSS
'Garbaa became a teacher.'

(1a), (1b) and (1c) show the present, past and inchoative forms of the verb 'to be' respectively in Afan Oromo. All these forms of the verb 'to be' cannot be used as the main verb of the analytic causative event as the following examples show:

- * (2) a. Garbaa-n [akka gurbaa-n hoolaa bit-u] dha
Garbaa-NOM [COMP boy-NOM sheep buy-INF] be
'Garba made a boy buy a sheep.'
- * b. Garbaa-n [akka gurbaa-n hoolaa bit-u] tur-e
Garbaa-NOM [COMP boy-NOM sheep buy-INF] be-3MSS
'Garba made a boy buy a sheep.'
- * c. Garbaa-n [akka gurbaa-n hoolaa bit-u] tah-e
Garbaa-NOM [COMP boy-NOM sheep buy-INF] become-3MSS
'Garba made a boy buy a sheep.'

But, if the form of the verb 'to be' is allowed 'to be' causativized, the inchoative form of the verb 'to be' can be used as the main verb of an analytic causative structure. This means the form **tah** - 'become' has to add the causative morpheme **-sis-** to become **taa-sis-** 'make' (due to morpho-phonological processes the /h/ is dropped and the /a/ is lengthened (see Lloret, 1987). Such case can be observed from the following examples:

- (3) a. Garbaa-n [akka gurbaa-n hoolaa bit-u]
Garbaa-NOM [COMP boy-NOM sheep buy-INF]
taa-sis-e
be-CAUS-3MSS
'Garba made a boy buy a sheep.'
- b. Garbaa-n gurbaa hoolaa bičč-isiis-e
Garbaa-NOM boy sheep buy-CAUS-3MSS
'Garba made a boy buy a sheep.'

(3a) shows analytic causative while (3b) shows morphological causative counterpart of (3a). In (3a) the subject of the matrix clause well as the subject of the embedded clause is marked for nominative case. The verb **tah**- 'become' is also marked for causative.

Similar to Afan Oromo, Kafinoonoo also uses the inchoative form of the verb 'to be' to express analytic causative events.

- (4). bonoši aro daharo-n bi-wut'-očč
they.NOM he.NOM lion-ACC ASP-kill-COMP
tun-i-i-teete
be-CAUS-CAUS-3PLS
'They made him kill a lion.'

In (4) **bòónóší** 'they' is the subject of the main (matrix) clause; **áró** 'he' is the subject of the subordinate (embedded) clause; **dáhàrò-n** 'a lion' is the direct object; **bi-wut'-očč** 'to kill' is the verb while **tun-i-i-tete** 'they made' is the inchoative form of the verb 'to be'.

The same case is true in Shekkinoonoo where the inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ is used as a matrix verb of the analytic causative structure as shown in (5):

Shekkinoonoo:

- (5) a. dáhàrò (áró-nàà) bì-k’ít’-èyòòmò tùn-i-i-hèètè (S)
 lion-ACC he-INST ASP-die-COMP be-CAUS-CAUS-3PLS
 ‘They had a lion killed by him.’

In (5a) the subject of the main clause is **bòónóší** ‘they’ as we understand from the agreement element – **hèètè** which shows third person plural subject. The subject of the passive structure of the subordinate clause is **dáhàrò** ‘lion’. The causee **áró** ‘he’ is expressed as an oblique object which can be optionally expressed. In this case the verb **k’ít’** ‘die’ is used (this verb can be used both as an intransitive verb and as a lexical passive form of the transitive verb **wút’**-‘kill’). The morpheme **èyòòmò** is a complementizer and it is followed by the causativized form of the verb ‘to be’ **tùn-i-i-hè** ‘made it’.

The Verb ‘to do’

Many Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages employ the verb ‘to do’ to encode analytic causatives. Languages such as Afan Afan Oromo, Shekkinoo, Hadiya and others use the basic base form of the verb ‘to do’ while languages like Amharic use the frozen (deponent) form of the verb ‘to do’.

In Afan Afan Oromo **god-** ‘make’ is used to encode analytic causative structure. In this language, the verb ‘to do’ can be itself further causativized to complicate the causative situation.

- (6) a. Garbaa-n [akka barsiisaa-n gurbaa fiig-s-u] god-e
 Garbaa-NOM [COMP teacher-NOMboy run-CAUS-INF] make-3MSS
 ‘Garba made a teacher make a boy run.’
 b. Garbaa-n barisiisaa-tiin gurbaa fiig-s-is-e
 Garba-NOM teacher-INST boy run-CAUS-CAUS-3MSS
 ‘Garba had a boy run by a teacher.’

(6a) shows the analytic causative structure while (6b) shows the morphological causative counterpart. In (6a) the subject of the matrix clause is Garbaa-n while the subject of the embedded clause is barsiisaa-n 'a teacher'. The subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the embedded clause are marked for nominative case. The embedded clause is introduced by the complementizer akka. In (6a) the verb of the embedded clause is a causative verb while the verb of the matrix clause is not causativized.

To sum up, Afan Oromo analytic causatives are formed with the verb god- ‘make’ and with the inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ tah (?) - ‘become’. The causative verb god- ‘make’ adds the causative suffix –sis- when the process of causativization is doubled (see section 4) while the inchoative form of the verb ‘to be’ tah /(?) - ‘become’ has to add the causative morpheme –sis- to serve as a causative morpheme.

Analytic causative structures are productively formed by employing the verb ‘to do’ in Shekkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo. In analytic causative structures, both the causer and the causee are expressed in the same way in the sense that they are both subjects. The causer is the subject of the main clause while the causee is the subject of the subordinate clause.

Shekkinoonoo:

- (8). Bòónóší áró dáhàrò-n bì-wút'-íss k'àč'-à-yètè
 they.NOM he.NOM lion-ACC ASP-kill-COMP do-CAUS-3PLS
 'They made him kill a lion.'

Kafinoonoo:

- (9). bonoši aro daharo-n bi-wut'-očč tun-i-i-teete (K)
 they.NOM he.NOM lion-ACC ASP-kill-COMP do-CAUS-CAUS-3PLS
 'They made him kill a lion.'

In (8) *bòónóší* 'they' is the subject of the main (matrix) clause; *áró* 'he' is the subject of the subordinate (embedded) clause; *dáhàrò-n* 'a lion' is the direct object; *bì-wút'-ís* 'to kill' is the verb of the subordinate clause; *k'àč'-à-yètè* 'they made' is the verb of the main clause. (9) is similar to (8) except that the verb of the subordinate clause is *bi-wut'-očč* 'to kill'. The verb of the main clause in (9) is *tun-i-tete* 'they made' which is remarkably different from that of (8). In both Shekkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo subjects are not case marked but objects do. From this fact we can understand that both the causer and the causee in these structures are expressed as subjects. But if the subordinate clause is passivized the causee is expressed as an oblique object. In Shekkinoonoo the passivized analytic causative structure could be expressed in two ways. The most common way is attaching the passive marking *-iya-* to the stem of the subordinate verb as shown below:

Shekkinoonoo:

- (10). bòónóší (áró-nàà) dáhàrò-n bì-wút'-iyà-íss k'àč'-à-yètè
 they.NOM he-INST lion-ACC ASP-kill-PASS-COMP do-MID/PASS-3PLS
 'They had a lion killed by him.'

Kafinoonoo:

- (11). bonoši (aro-naa) daharo-n bi-wut'-e-očč tun-i-i-tete
 they.NOM he-INST lion-ACC ASP-kill-MID/PASS-COMP be-CAUS-CAUS-3PLS
 'They had a lion killed by him.'

In (10) *bòónóší* 'they' is the subject of the main clause; *áró- nàà* 'by him' is the oblique object; *dáhàrò-n* 'lion' is the direct object of the subordinate clause; *bì-wút'-iyà-ís* 'was killed' is the passivized form of the verb of the subordinate clause; *k'àč'-a-yete* 'they made' is the analytic causative verb. As shown in (11), the causee is expressed as an oblique object similar to (10).

The Frozen Form of the Verb 'to do'

In Amharic analytic causatives is formed by the verb *adärräg-* 'to make'. The verb *adärräg-* 'to make' is formed from a frozen base *därräg* to which the causative marking *a-* is prefixed. As Leslau (1995: 478) notes the sound /d/ is omitted when the frozen base is inflected for perfect *adärrägä* or *arägä*; imperfect *y(i)adärgal* or *y(i)-arägal*; jussive *y(i)-adärg* or *y(i)-arg*, etc. The verb *adärräg-ä* 'make' takes a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *änd* as shown below:

- (12) a. lij-u mät't'-ä
 boy-DEF come-3MSS
 'The boy came.'
 b. issu [lij-u änd (y)i-mät'-a] adärräg-ä
 he boy-DEF COMP-ASP-come-3MSS CAUS:do-3MSS
 'He made the boy come.'

(12a) is an intransitive sentence and in (12b) the complement clause of the causative verb is (12a). The complementizer that introduces the embedded clause precedes the verb of the

embedded clause; and the verb of the embedded clause has an imperfective form which is marked by the **yi-** that is prefixed to the base of the stem. This form also shows subject agreement; it has different forms for different persons. The verb **adärräg-** ‘to make’ takes not only agentive intransitive, as shown in (12b), but also non-agentive intransitive as shown in (13b):

- (13) a. *inč’ät-u* *därräk’-ä*
 tree-DEF dry-3MSS
 ‘The tree dried.’
 b. *lij-u* [*inč’ät-u* *ind-(y)i-därk’*] *adärräg-ä*
 boy-DEF tree-DEF COMP-ASP-dry CAUS-do-3MSS
 ‘The boy made the tree dry.’

(13a) is non-agentive intransitive; (13b) is the analytic causative construction.

It is also the case that transitive events can be a complement of the verb **adärräg-** ‘to make’ as shown in (14b):

- (14) a. *lij-u* *bäg* *gäzz-a*
 boy-DEF sheep buy-3MSS
 ‘The boy bought a sheep.’
 b. *säw-yyew* [*lij-u* *bäg* *ind* *(y)i-gäz-a*]
 man-DEF.M boy-DEF sheep COMP ASP-buy-3MSS
 adärräg-ä-w
 CAUS:do-3MSS-3MSO
 ‘The man made the boy buy a sheep.’

(14a) is a transitive event. In (14b) we observe an analytic causative structure in which (14a) became an embedded clause. In (14b) unlike in morphological causatives the causee is expressed as a subject of the embedded clause. In such cases if the causee is expressed as object or as oblique noun phrase, the structure would be ungrammatical as shown in (15):

- 15 a. **säw-yyew* [*lij-u-n* *bäg-u-n* *ind-(y)i-gäz-a*]
 man-DEF.M boy-DEF-ACC sheep-DEF-ACC COMP-ASP- buy-3MSS
 adärräg-ä-w
 CAUS:do-3MSS-3MSO
 ‘The man made the boy buy a sheep.’
 b. * *säw-yyew* [*bä-lij-u* *bäg-u-n* *ind-(y)i-gäz-a*]
 man-DEF.M INST-boy-DEF sheep-DEF-ACC COMP-ASP- buy-3MSS
 adärräg-ä-w
 CAUS:make-3MSS-3MSO
 ‘The man made the boy buy a sheep.’

Both (15a) and (15b) are ungrammatical because in (15a) the causee of the analytic causative is marked for accusative case and in (15b) the causee is expressed as oblique noun phrase. The complement clause of the analytic causative can be a passive clause as shown in (16):

- (16) a. säw-yyew [bäg-u ind-(y)i-ggäzz-a]
 man-DEF.M sheep-DEF-ACC COMP-ASP- MID: buy-3MSS
 adärräg-ä-w
 CAUS: do-3MSS-3MSO
 ‘The man had the sheep bought.’
- b. säw-yyew [bäg-u bä-līj-u
 man-DEF.M sheep-DEF-ACC INST-boy-DEF
 ind -(y)i-ggäzz-a] adärräg-ä-w
 COMP -ASP-buy-3MSS CAUS:do-3MSS-3MSO
 ‘The man had the sheep bought by the boy.’

In both (16a) and (16b) the complement clauses of the analytic causatives are passives. In (16a) the subject of the passive clause is omitted but in (16b) the subject of the passive clause is expressed as oblique noun phrase. The verb of the passive clause has a geminated initial consonant due to assimilation of the passive morpheme, **tä-**.

Non-Causative vs. Analytic Causative Members

Analytic causatives constructions form oppositions with non-causative members. These non-causative members are middle verbs, ideophones (verb to say) and verb ‘to be’. In Afan Oromo, analytic causatives can appear in opposition with middle, ideophones and verb ‘to be’ as shown below:

- (17) a. Bunn-i diim-at-e
 coffee-NOM red-MID-3MSS
 ‘Coffee became red.’
- b. Buna diimaa tah-sis-e
 coffee red be-CAUS-3MSS
 ‘(He) made coffee red.’

In (17a) the middle verb *diim-at-e* ‘became red’ is in opposition with the analytic causative *diimaa tah-sis-e* ‘he made coffee red’. In Afan Oromo the middle verb can also appear in opposition with the analytic causative verb ‘to do’ *god-* ‘make’ as shown in (18).

- (18) a. Bunn-i diim-at-e
 Coffee-NOM red-MID-3MSS
 ‘Coffee became red.’
- (18) b. Buna diimaa god-e
 Coffee red make-3MSS
 ‘(He) made coffee red.’

It is also common that the verb ‘to be’ and the verb ‘to do’ form non-causative and causative opposition members. Such causative-non causative opposition is common in Amharic. For instance, *t’ik’ur hon-ä* ‘it became black’ and *t’ik’ur adärräg-ä-u* ‘he made it black’, *näč’č’ hon-ä* ‘it became white’ and *näč’č’ adärräg-ä-u* ‘he made it white’, *gobäz hon-ä* ‘he became cleaver’ and *gobäz adärräg-ä-u* ‘he made him cleaver’, etc., are non-causative -causative oppositions respectively. In these examples the verb *tasis-* ‘to make’ is derived from *ta?* ‘to be’.

In Ethiopia Afro-Asiatic languages ideophones form non-causative opposition members where the causative opposition member is the verb ‘to do’. For instance, in Silt’i (Gutt and Husein, 1977) *täs atrees-e* ‘make happy’, *täktäk aš-e* ‘drop one by one’, *läšläš aš-e* ‘cause ‘to be’ shaky’,

laabe atreeš-e ‘cause to yawn’, butukk aš-e ‘pull out’ are analytic causatives which form their oppositions with verbs *täs bal-ä* ‘appeal to, attract, like something’, *täktäk baal-e* ‘drip, fall’, *läšläš baal-e* ‘be shaky’, *laabe baal-e* ‘to yawn’ and *butukk baal-e* ‘come out’ respectively. In these examples, *baal-e* is the verb ‘to say’ while *aš-e* and *atreeš-e* are used as the verb ‘to do’. This type of analytic causative is productive in Amharic. For instance, compound verbs such as *k’uč’ adärräg-ä* ‘he put down’, *zīm assäñ-ä* ‘he made quite’, *kiffit addärräg-ä* ‘he made it open suddenly’, *sibbir addärräg-ä* ‘he broke it suddenly’ form their correlative oppositions with compound verbs such as *k’uč’ al-ä* ‘to be sit down’, *zīm al-ä* ‘to be quite’, *kiffit al-ä* ‘it is opened suddenly’ and *sibbir al-ä* ‘it is broken suddenly’ respectively. In Afan Oromo *č’al jed-e* ‘to be quite’ and *č’al god-e* ‘he made quite suddenly’; *k’urup’ jed-e* ‘to jump suddenly’ and *k’urup’ god-e* ‘he made jump suddenly’; *haddub jed-e* ‘fall suddenly’ and *haddub god-e* ‘made fall suddenly’; etc., are considered to be non-causative and analytic causative correlative oppositions.

Grammatical Function Changes in Analytic Causatives

In this section, we shall discuss the grammatical function of analytic causatives. We shall discuss that analytic causatives are similar to morphological causatives because both increase argument structures (Tolemariam, 2009). We shall also discuss that grammatical function change of analytic causatives involve passivization. We shall also discuss how double causatives are formed in analytic causatives.

Concerning grammatical function, changing property analytic causatives are similar to morphological causatives. In morphological causatives, the productive way of suffixation of the causative morpheme to a transitive or intransitive verb increases argument structure by one in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. The addition of one causative morpheme is accompanied by the addition of one external subject. Yet, there are cases where the numbers of causative affixes do not match with the number of subjects (Tolemariam, 2009). It is the case that such causativization process changes the grammatical function of the previous subject since the previous subject becomes the object of the causative clause. This means that, although there are exceptions when the causative morpheme is suffixed to an intransitive verb, for instance, an external argument, causer, is added; and in the meantime, the subject of the intransitive clause becomes the object of the causative structure. But languages show variation in the way the causee, is expressed. For instance, in Omotic languages we could observe three types of causees: the causee could be absolute, marked for an accusative case or marked for instrument case.

Similarly, analytic causatives of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages express the causee as the subject of the embedded clause as shown below from Shekkinoonoo, Afan Oromo and Amharic:

Shekkinoonoo:

- (19) a. *bòónóší* [*áró* *dáhàro-n* *bì-wút’-iss*] *k’ac’-à-hèètè*
 they-NOM he-NOM lion-ACC ASP-kill-COMP do-MID-3PLS
 ‘They made him kill a lion.’
- b. *bòónóší* [*áró* *dáhàro-n* *bì-wút’-iss*] *tún-i-i-hèètè*
 they-NOM he-NOM lion-ACC 3MS-kill-COMP do-CAUS-CAUS-3PS
 ‘They made him kill a lion.’

Afan Oromo:

- (20) a. Garbaa-n [akka gurbaa-n hoolaa bit-u] taa-sis-e
 Garbaa-NOM [COMP boy-NOM sheep buy-AGR] be-CAUS-3MSS
 ‘Garba made a boy buy a sheep.’
- b. Garbaa-n [akka gurbaa-n hoolaa bit-u] god-e
 Garbaa-NOM [COMP boy-NOM sheep buy-AGR] make-3MSS
 ‘Garba made a boy buy a sheep.’

Amharic:

- (21) lij-u [inč’ät-u ind (y)i-därk’] adärräg-ä
 boy-DEF tree-DEF COMP ASP-dry CAUS-do-3MSS
 ‘The boy made the tree dry.’

In (19a) and (19b) we observe two analytic causative structures of Shekkinoonoo. (19a) is different from (19b) concerning the type of the verb of the analytic causatives. In (19a) the verb of the analytic causative is **k’äč’**- ‘do’ while in (19b) the causative form of the verb **tún-** ‘be’ is used as an analytic causative verb. As far as the expression of the causee is concerned both (16a) and (19b) show the same case, the causee is the subject of the embedded clauses. Afan Oromo is similar to Shekkinoonoo in that this language has two analytic causative verbs as shown in (20a) and (20b) as **taa-sis-e** ‘made to be’ and **god-e** ‘do’ respectively. In (20a) the causative form of the verb **taa(h)-** ‘be’ is used. In both (20a) and (17b) the causee is expressed as a subject of the embedded clause. In Amharic, as shown in (21) the verb **adärräg-** ‘do’ is used as an analytic causative verb. In this language, similar to Shekkinoonoo and Afan Oromo, the causee is the subject of the embedded clause.

In Afan Oromo, similar to morphological causatives, the causative verb **god-** ‘make’ adds the causative suffix **-sis-** when the process of causativization is doubled. In such cases, the form of the verb becomes **goosis-** ‘make cause’. This means that the morphophonological process deletes the /d/ and lengthens the /o/ (see Lloret, 1987:148).

- (22) a. Garbaa-n Tolaa-tiin [akka gurbaa-n fiig-u]
 Garbaa-NOM Tolaa-INST [COMP boy-NOM run-INF]
 goo-sis-e
 make-CAUS-3MSS
 ‘Garba had a boy run by Tolaa.’
- b. Garbaa-n Tolaa-tiin [akka barsiisaa-n gurbaa
 Garbaa-NOM Tolaa-INST [COMP teacher-NOM boy
 fiig-sis-u] goo-sis-e
 run-CAUS-INF] make-CAUS-3MSS
 ‘Garba had a teacher make run a boy by Tola.’

(22a) shows the case of double causative in which the verb **god-** ‘make’ is itself causativized. When the causative suffix **-sis-** is added to the verb **god-** ‘make’, the subject Tolaa-tiin ‘by Tola’ is introduced. Such a subject can either be omitted or expressed obliquely. In (22a) the verb of the embedded clause is an infinitive form of the non-causative verb. (22b) is an analytic causative structure in which both the verb of the matrix clause and the verb of the embedded clause are causativized.

Commonly, verbs of the embedded clause of analytic causatives can be passivized. In such case, the subject of the embedded clause is expressed as an oblique noun phrase and in the meantime, the passive morpheme is added to the base of the embedded verb as shown in Kafinoonoo:

Kafinoonoo:

- (23) mit’ò (áró-nàà) bì-kút’t’-iyà-yòòmò
 tree (he.INST) ASP-cut-PASS-COMP

tùn-ì-ì-(h)àné (S)
 be-CAUS-CAUS-3FSS
 'She had a tree cut by him.'

(23) is analytic causative where the passive form of the verb **kút't'**- 'cut' is used.

Not only verbs of the embedded clause but also verbs of the matrix verb are allowed to be passive. For instance, in Amharic, the analytic causative verb **adärräg-ä** 'make' can be passivized as shown in (24):

- (24)a. [bäg-u ïnd-(y)ï-ggäzz-a] tädärräg-ä
 sheep-DEF COMP-ASP-buy-3MSS MID:do-3MSS
 'The sheep was made bought.'
- b. [bäg-u bä-lïj-u ïnd(y)ï-ggäzz- a]
 sheep-DEF INST-boy-DEF COMP-ASP-buy-3MSS
 bä-sew-yyew tädärräg-ä
 INST-man-DEF.M MID:do-3MSS

'The sheep was made by the man to be bought by the boy (by the man).'

(24a) and (24b) show the passive form of the analytic causative verb tädärräg- 'to be made'. In (24a) the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the passive clause are omitted; in (24b) both subjects are expressed as oblique noun phrases.

Conclusion

Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages have two main types of analytic causatives based on independent verbs employed to code analytic causative structures. One of these analytic causatives employs the inchoative form of the verb 'to be' as a matrix verb of the causer event while the other one employs the verb 'to do' as the main verb of the causer event of analytic causatives. Some languages allow the only inchoative form of the verb 'to be' while others allow only the verb 'to do' to form analytic causatives. Some other languages allow both inchoative forms of the verb 'to be' and the verb 'to do'. Some languages, like Amharic, employ the frozen base of the verb 'to do' to form analytic causatives by suffixing the causative morpheme to the frozen base.

Table 1. The verb 'to do' in some Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

Form	Meaning	Language
-aggidi	as/like/that	Afar
-isa	as/like/that	Hadiya
analmalaa	as/like /that	Dorze
bi-	as/like/that	Kafinoonoo
-ataa	as/like/that	Awingi
bì-	as/like/that	Shekkinoonoo
gedee	as/like/that	Sidama
akka	as/like/that	Afan Oromo
ïnd	as/like/that	Amharic

Table 2. Complementizers in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

Form	Meaning	Language
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ab-	to do	Afar
s'ew-	to do	Awingi
iss-	to do	Hadiya
adärräg-	to do	Amharic
k'ač'	to do	Shekkinoonoo
hiz-	to do	Dorze
s'ew-	to do	Awingi
ass-	to do	Kambata
ass-	to do	Sidama
god-	to do	Afan Oromo

In all cases, the embedded clause of analytic causative is introduced by a complementizer.

In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, middle verbs form correlative oppositions with analytic causative verb forms. There also many instances where ideophones (verb to say) form correlative oppositions with analytic causatives. In many instances, the verb to say forms correlative oppositions with analytic causative verb forms.

Analytic causative structures have two verbs and two subjects. The subject of the matrix sentence is the causer while the subject of the embedded sentence is the causee.

Abbreviations

1PLS	first person plural subject
3FSS	third person feminine singulative subject
3MSO	third person singulative object
3MSS	third person ingulative subject
3PLS	third plural subject
ACC	accusative
ASP	aspect
CAUS	causative
COMP	complementizer
DEF	definite
INF	infinitive
INST	instrument
MID	middle voice
M	masculine
MID	middle
NOM	Nominative
PASS	passive

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