The Segmental Phonology of Ethiopian Semitic Overview

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Goals of the Course

- Study a closely related set of morphophonological phenomena in a set of closely related languages

- Get a better understanding of basic phonological processes/mechanisms such as harmony and the OCP

- Get a better understanding of nonconcatenative morphology, especially of templatic morphology

Phenomena

- Long-distance Palatalization and Labialization
  (aka 'mobile affixes')

- Root-internal Reduplication

- Classical OCP-effects

- Sonority-driven Epenthesis

- Class-sensitive Root-and-Pattern Morphology

Local Palatalization – Amharic 2sg fem (Rose 1997:31)

2sg masc	2sg fem	
dɨgäm	dɨgämi	'repeat!'
sɨdäb	sɨdäbi	'curse!'
lɨbäs	lɨbäš(i)	'get dressed!'
wɨsäd	wɨsäǰ(i)	'take!'
kifäl	kifäy(i)	'pay!'
lämmɨn	lämmɨññ(i)	'beg!'

(Palatalization applies only to coronals)

Local Palatalization – Chaha 2sg fem (Rose 1997:60)

2sg masc	2sg fem	
gɨräz	gɨräž	'be old!'
dɨft'	dɨfč'	'hit strongly!'
dɨrg	dɨrgʸ	'hit!'
fɨräx	fɨräxʸ	'be patient!'
nɨt'ɨq	nɨt'ɨqʸ	'snatch away!'

(Palatalization applies only to coronals and dorsals)

Long-Distance Palatalization – Chaha 2sg fem (Rose 1997:61)

2sg masc	2sg fem	
nɨxäβ	nɨxʸäβ	'find!'
nɨgɨf	nɨgʸɨf	'prune!'
nɨqɨm	nɨqʸɨm	'gather (wood)!'
gɨmɨm	gʸɨmɨm	'chip the rim of the utensil!'
qɨfɨf	qʸɨfɨf	'cut the edges!'

(Palatalization applies only to coronals and dorsals)

Coronal Intervention – Chaha 2sg fem (Rose 1997:69)

2sg masc	2sg fem		
gɨdɨf	gɨdif	*gɨ̌jɨf/*gʸidɨf	'stop the fast!'
kɨtɨf	kɨtif	*kɨčɨf/*kʸɨtɨf	'chop (meat)!'

(Palatalization applies only to coronals and dorsals)

Local Palatalization – Harari 2sg fem (Rose 1997:41)

2sg masc	2sg fem	
kifät	kifäči	'open!'
zimäd	zimäji	'drag!'
rigät'	rigäč'i	'kick!'
kifäl	kifäy	'pay!'
libäs	libäši	'dress!'

Long-Distance Palatalization – Harari 2sg fem (Rose 1997:42)

2sg masc	2sg fem	
kitäb	kičäbi	'write!'
sidäb	sĭjäbi	'insult!'
sɨxär	šɨxäri	'be drunk!'
t'iräg	č'irägi	'sweep!'
diräq	ǰiräqi	'be dry!'
sibär	šibäri	'break!'

Long-Distance Labialisation in Chaha (Rose 2006, Akinlabi 1996)

	Verb	Verb + 3sm Objekt	
a.	dänäg	dänäg**w**	'hit'
b.	näkäs	näk**w**äs	'bite'
c.	qätär	q**w**ätär	'kill'
d.	sädäd	sädäd	'chase"

Root-internal Reduplication – Tigre, (Rose 2003:114)

dəgm-aː	'tell, relate'
dəgaːgəm-aː	'tell stories occasionally'
dəgaːgaːgəm-aː	'tell stories very occasionally'
dəgaːgaːgaːgəm-aː	'tell stories infrequently'

Root-internal Reduplication, Class and Templates – Tigre

	Regular	**Frequentative**	
Type A	dəgm-aː	dəgaːgəm-aː	'tell'
Type B	wəlləb-aː	wəlaːləb-aː	'look both ways'
Type C	baːrək-aː	bəraːrək-aː	'bless'

(Rose 2003:116)

Classical OCP-effects

(Ethiopian) Semitic ...

- ... has verb roots of the shape C_1 **C_2 C_2** (samam)

- ... doesn't have verb roots of the shape *$**C_1$ C_1** C_2$ (*sasam)

Classical Derivation of the Root Restriction by the OCP

a. s   m

CVCVC

a

b. s [m   m]   *OCP violation*

CVCVC

a

s   m   →   s a[m a m]   *No OCP violation*

CVCVC   C V C V C

a
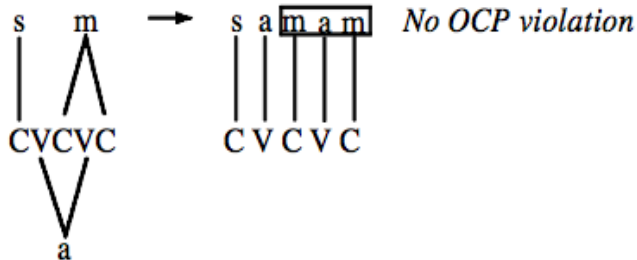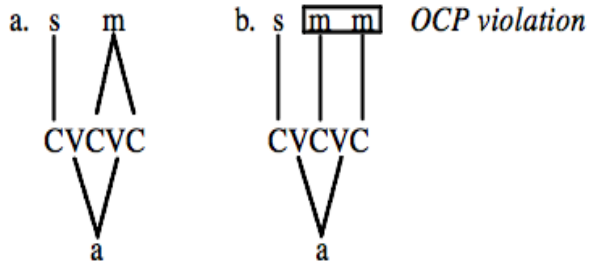
The OCP & Palatalization Chaha 2sg fem (Rose 2007:37)

2ms	2fs	Impersonal	
nɨks	nɨkʃ	nɨkʷʃi	'bite'
fɨrəx	fɨrəxʲ	fɨrəxʷi	'tolerate'
bɨdər	bɨde <bɨdəj	bʷɨdəri	'be first'
sɨβɨr	sɨβi	sɨwri	'break'
nɨk'im	nɨk'ʲim	nɨk'mʷi	'collect'
k'ifɨf	k'ʲifɨf	kifʷifʷi	'cut the nails'
sɨdɨd	sɨ̃jɨ̃j	sɨ̃jɨ̃ji	'drive cattle'
nɨk'ɨk'	nɨk'ʲɨk'ʲ	nɨk'ʷɨk'ʷ	'take apart'

Sonority-Sensitive Epenthesis – Chaha (Rose 2000:399)

c. /jə-mxr-o/   jəmxiro   'let them advise'
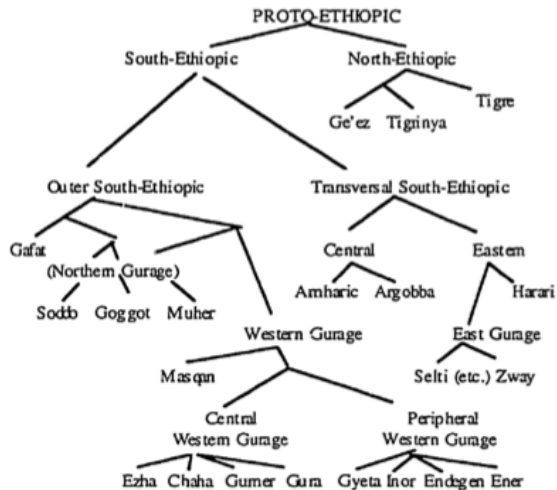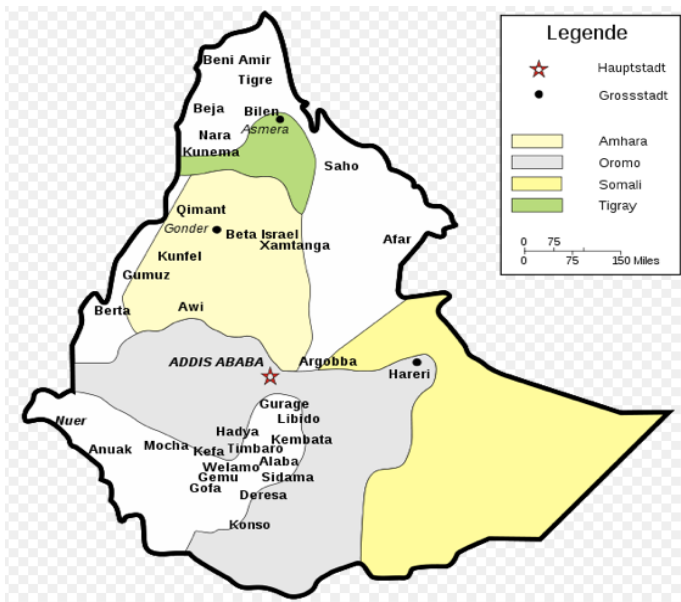d. /jə-dmd-o/   jədɨmdo   'let them join, unite'

African Languages
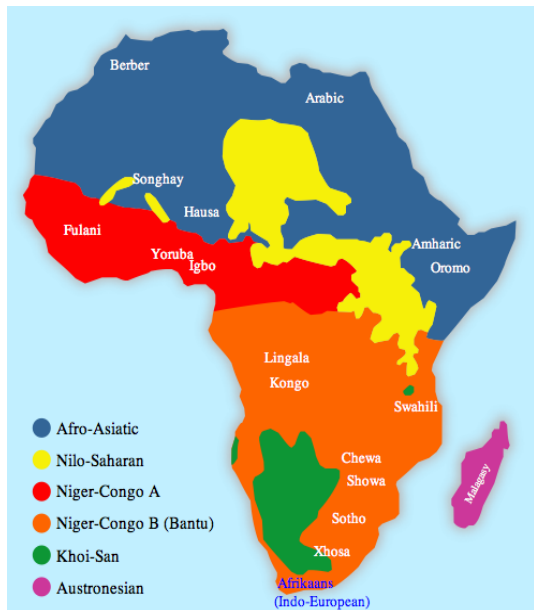
Semitic Languages
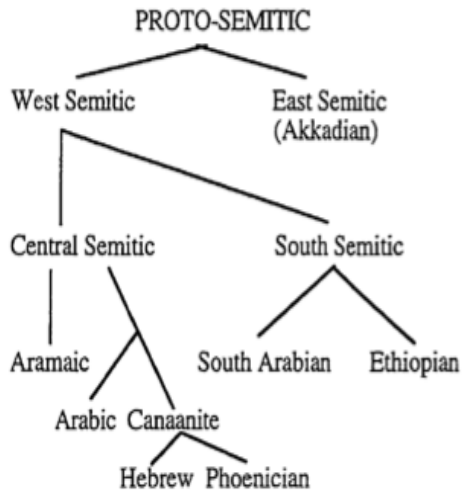
Ethiopian Semitic Languages
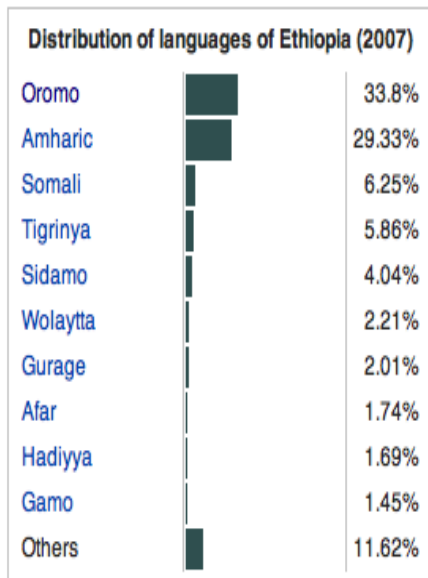
Ethiopian Languages (I)

Ethiopian Languages (II)

Ethiopian Languages (III)

Distribution of languages of Ethiopia (2007)

Language	Percentage
Oromo	33.8%
Amharic	29.33%
Somali	6.25%
Tigrinya	5.86%
Sidamo	4.04%
Wolaytta	2.21%
Gurage	2.01%
Afar	1.74%
Hadiyya	1.69%
Gamo	1.45%
Others	11.62%

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