

Amharic Roots and Patterns

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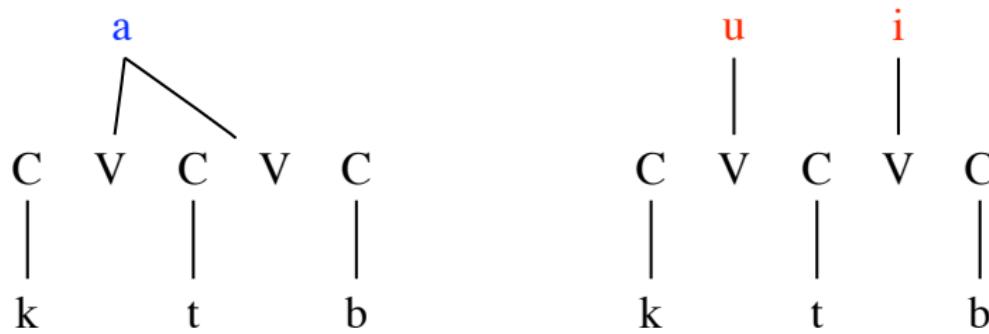
University of Leipzig

Flexionstheorie im Osten, July 14, 2005

Semitic Roots & Patterns (Arabic)

	Perfective		Imperfective	
	Active	Passive	Active	Passive
'write'	katab	kutib	aktub	uktab
'cause to write'	kattab	kuttib	ukattib	ukattab
'correspond'	kaatab	kuutib	ukaatib	ukaatab

McCarthy (1981) on Semitic Roots & Patterns



Chomsky(1951) on Semitic Roots- & Patterns

(1) Concatenation:

- a. ktb + **a** — **a** [+perfect +active +BinyanI]
- b. ktb + **u** — **i** [+perfect +passive +BinyanI]

(2) Phonological Rule: $C_1 C_2 C_3 + V_1 \rightarrow C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3$

(3) Rule Application:

- a. ktb **a** — **a** → **katab**
- b. ktb **u** — **i** → **kutib**

(cf. also Bat-El, 1994; Ussishkin, 2000; Graf, 2003)

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Amharic Roots and Patterns (Leslau,1995,2000)

Vowels in Tri-radicals (Affixes Removed)

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	səbbər	fəlləg	marrək
Imperfect	səbir	fəlliğ	marrik
Participle	səbar	fəllag	marak

Geminates in Tri-radicals (Affixes Removed)

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	səbbər	fəlləg	marrək
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Basic Claim

Roots and Patterns = concatenative morphology + prosody

Amharic Roots and Patterns

Class



dəballəq



v

Tense

Outline

1 Morphosyntax

2 Phonology

3 Cyclicity

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1 Morphosyntax

2 Phonology

3 Cyclicity

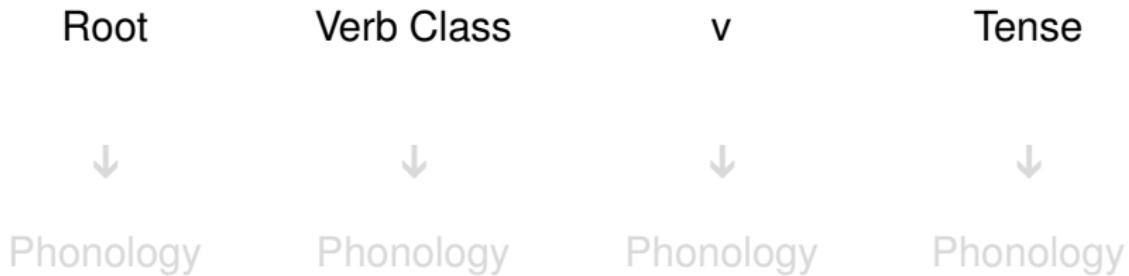
Outline

1 Morphosyntax

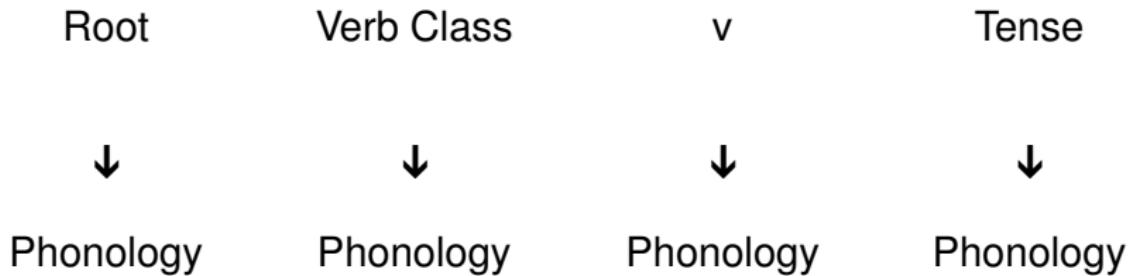
2 Phonology

3 Cyclicity

Spellout Levels



Spellout Levels



Representative Paradigms

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C	Type 2
Perfect	səbbər	fəlləg	məsəkkər	marrək	dəballəq
Imperfect	səb ır	fəllig	məsəkkir	marrik	dəballiq
Imperative	sib ər	fəllig	məs k ır	mar k	dəbal q
Gerund	səb ır	fəllig	məs k ır	mar k	dəbal q
Participle	səb ar	fəllag	məs k ar	mar ak	dəbal aq
Verbal Noun	sib ər	fəlləg	məs k ər	mar ək	dəbal əq

Roots

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C	Type 2
Perfect	s b r	f l g	m s k r	m r k	d b l q
Imperfect	s b r	f l g	m s k r	m r k	d b l q
Imperative	s b r	f l g	m s k r	m r k	d b l q
Gerund	s b r	f l g	m s k r	m r k	d b l q
Participle	s b r	f l g	m s k r	m r k	d b l q
Verbal Noun	s b r	f l g	m s k r	m r k	d b l q

Gemination Class

Don't geminate class A Imperfect forms

Otherwise Geminate all class B forms

Otherwise Geminate all and only (im)perfect forms

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Gemination Class

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C	Type 2
Perfect	s bb r	f ll g	m s kk r	m rr k	d b ll q
Imperfect	s b r	f ll g	m s kk r	m rr k	d b ll q
Imperative	s b r	f ll g	m sk r	m r k	d b l q
Gerund	s b r	f ll g	m sk r	m r k	d b l q
Participle	s b r	f ll g	m sk r	m r k	d b l q
Verbal Noun	s b r	f ll g	m sk r	m r k	d b ll q
Gemination Class	1	all		2	

Vowel Class

Insert a vowel in the penultimate syllable

a

a-class

i

ə-class

/ __ Imperative/Verbal Noun
Type A

ə

ə-class

/ __ CC

Vowel Class

Insert a vowel in the penultimate syllable

a a-class

ɛ ɛ-class / __ Imperative/Verbal Noun
 Type A

ə ə-class / __ CC

Vowel Class

Insert a vowel in the penultimate syllable

a a-class

i ə-class / __ Imperative/Verbal Noun
 Type A

ə ə-class / __ CC

Vowel Class

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Perfect	səbb r	fəll g	m səkk r	marr k	d bəll q
Imperfect	s b r	fəll g	m səkk r	marr k	d bəll q
Imperative	sib r	fəll g	m sk r	mar k	d bal q
Gerund	s b r	fəll g	m sk r	mar k	d bal q
Participle	s b r	fəll g	m sk r	mar k	d bal q
Verbal Noun	sib r	fəll g	m sk r	mar k	d bal q

Little v

Insert **a** in the first syllable

(if not filled)

Little v

Insert **a** in the first syllable

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Little v

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Perfect	səbb r	fəll g	məsəkk r	marr k	dəball q
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Imperative	sib r	fəll g	məsk r	mar k	dəbal q
Gerund	səb r	fəll g	məsk r	mar k	dəbal q
Participle	səb r	fəll g	məsk r	mar k	dəbal q
Verbal Noun	sib r	fəll g	məsk r	mar k	dəbal q

Tense

Insert a vowel into the last syllable:

Participle a

Imperative / __ Type A

Perfect

Verbal Noun θ

Tense

Insert a vowel into the last syllable:

Participle a

Imperative / __ Type A

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Verbal Noun θ

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i-epenthesis

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General Condition on Stem Vowels

No front or back vowels (cf. Buckley, 2003)

	*[+/-back]	FAITH
a. səbir		*
b. səbir	*!	
c. səbur	*!	

ə = [-high -low]

i = [+high -low]

a = [-high +low]

i = [+high -low-back]

u = [+high -low+back]

General Conditions on Prosodic Stem Shape

Stems are prosodic words

Highranked STEM=PRWD (Kager, 1999)

Prosodic Words have a single final trochaic foot

High-ranked ALIGN(FT,R,PWD,R) (Kager, 1999)

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Onsets

- All syllables have onsets
- No complex onsets

Codas

- Final syllables **must** have codas
- Penultimate syllables **may** have codas
- Other syllables **musn't** have codas

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General Conditions on Prosodic Stem Shape

	ONS	*COMPLEX ^{ONS}	FINAL-C
a. misikir			
b. misikiri			*!
c. msikir		*!	
d. imisikir	*!		

FINAL-C: Prosodic words end in a consonant
(McCarthy & Prince, 1994; Graf, 2003)

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Root

Input: dblq (○= [-cons])

	*[+/-voc]	ONS	*COMPL _{ONS}	FINAL-C
a. d○b○l○q				
b. d○b○l○q○				*!
c. db○l○q			*!	
d. ○d○b○l○q		*!		
e. dibilq	*!*			

→ only empty vowels in the output

→ no distinctive root vowels

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e. dibiliq	*!*			

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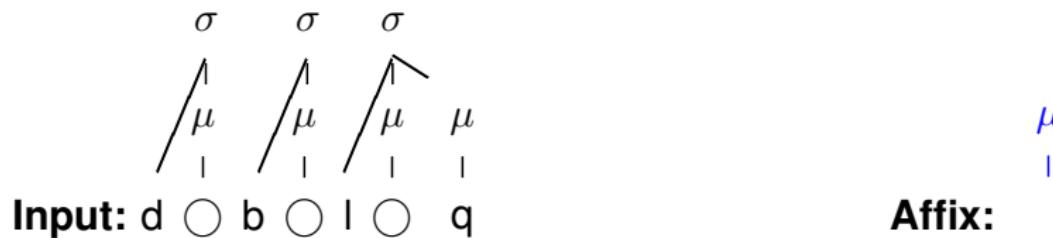
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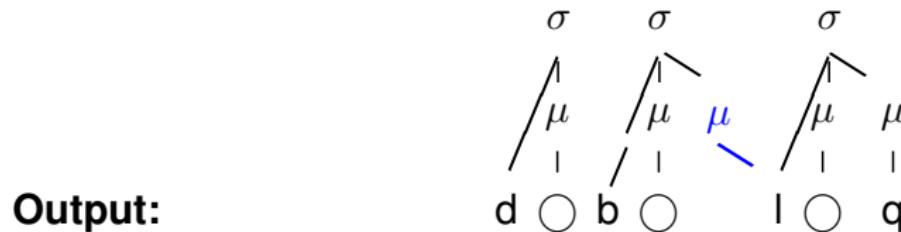
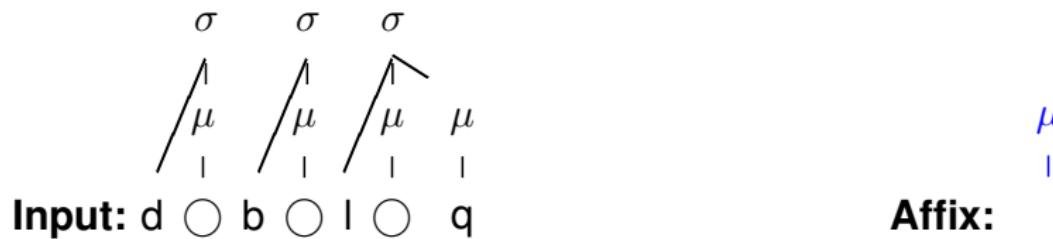
Gemination as Mora Affixation

(Lombardi & McCarthy, 1990; Samek-Lodovici, 1992; Davis & Ueda, 2003)



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Options for mora realization

Long Vowel

d **VV** b l q $*V_{\mu\mu}$

Stem-initial Geminate **dd** b l q $*ONS-\mu$

Stem-final Geminate d b l **qq** $*GEM]_\omega$

Left-aligned Geminate d **bb** l q

Right-aligned Geminate d b **ll** q

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Mora Alignment

Input: $d \bigcirc_\mu b \bigcirc_\mu l \bigcirc_\mu q + \mu$

	MAX μ	STRESSToWEIGHT
a. $d \bigcirc_\mu (b \bigcirc_{\mu+\mu} . l \bigcirc_\mu q)$		
b. $d \bigcirc_{\mu+\mu} . (b \bigcirc_\mu . l \bigcirc_\mu q)$		*!
c. $d \bigcirc_\mu (b \bigcirc_\mu l \bigcirc_\mu q)$	*!	*

STRESSToWEIGHT: Stressed syllables are heavy

Positional Licensing and Vowel Class Position

LIC(F, S-Pos): Feature specification [F] is licensed by (dominated by) strong position S. (Zoll, 1998; Walker, 2001)

Prosodic Word in Semitic: $\dots \sigma \sigma \sigma (\acute{\sigma} \sigma)_F$

LIC(F , $\acute{\sigma}$)

$\dots \sigma \sigma \sigma (F \sigma)_F$

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LIC(**F**, $\acute{\sigma}$)

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Vowel Class

Input: d○₁b○₂l○₃q-a₄

	TEMPL	LIC ([-low], σ μμ)	MAX V	LIC ([+low], σ)
a. d○ ₁ (b _{a_{2,4}} l○ ₃ q)				
b. d○ ₁ (b○ ₂ l _{a_{3,4}} q)				*!
c. d○ ₁ (b○ ₂ l○ ₃ q)			*!	
d. d○ ₁ b○ ₂ l○ ₃ q-a ₄	*!			
e. a ₄ -d○ ₁ b○ ₂ l○ ₃ q	*!			

Vowel Class II

Input: m○₁s○₂kk○₃r-θ₄

	TEMPL	LIC ([-low], ſ μμ)	MAX V	LIC ([+low], ſ)
a. m○ ₁ (sθ _{2,4})kk○ ₃ r)				
b. m○ ₁ (s○ ₂ kk○ ₃ r)			*!	
c. m○ ₁ (s○ ₂ kkθ _{3,4} r)		*!		
d. m○ ₁ s○ ₂ kk○ ₃ r-θ ₄	*!			
e. θ ₄ -m○ ₁ s○ ₂ kk○ ₃ r	*!			

Vowel Class III

Input: m○₁s○₂k○₃r-θ₄

	TEMPL	LIC ([-low], ſ μμ)	MAX V	LIC ([+low], ſ)
a. m○ ₁ (sθ _{2,4})k○ ₃ r)		*!		
b. m○ ₁ (s○ ₂ k○ ₃ r)			*	
c. m○ ₁ (s○ ₂ kθ _{3,4})r)		*!		
d. m○ ₁ s○ ₂ k○ ₃ r-θ ₄	*!			
e. θ ₄ -m○ ₁ s○ ₂ k○ ₃ r	*!			

V

Input: $\Theta_1\text{-d} \bigcirc_2 \text{ba}_3 \text{ll} \bigcirc_4 q$

	MAX V	ONS	FIN-C	LINEARITY
a. $d\Theta_{1,2}\text{ba}_3 \text{ll} \bigcirc_4 q$				*
b. $d \bigcirc_2 b\Theta_{1,3} \text{ll} \bigcirc_4 q$				**!*
c. $d \bigcirc_2 \text{ba}_3 \text{ll} \Theta_{1,4} q\text{-}$				**!***
d. $d \bigcirc_2 \text{ba}_3 \text{ll} \bigcirc_4 q\text{-}\Theta_1$			*!	*****
e. $\Theta_1\text{-d} \bigcirc_2 \text{ba}_3 \text{ll} \bigcirc_4 q$		*!		
f. $d \bigcirc_2 \text{ba}_3 \text{ll} \bigcirc_4 q$	*!			

v (II)

Input: $\text{ə}_1\text{-ma}_2\text{r} \bigcirc_3 \text{k}$

	IDENT(low) ^{Stem}	MAX V	IDENT(low) ^{Affix}
a. $\text{ma}_{1,2}\text{r} \bigcirc_3 \text{k}$			*
a. $\text{ma}_2\text{r} \bigcirc_3 \text{k}$		*!	
b. $\text{mə}_{1,2}\text{r} \bigcirc_3 \text{k}$	*!		

Tense

Input: $d\theta_1ba_2||\bigcirc_3q-\theta_4$

	MAX V	ONS	FIN-C	LINEARITY
a. $d\theta_1ba_2 \theta_{3,4}q$				*
b. $d\theta_{1,4}ba_2 \bigcirc_3q$				**!**
c. $d\theta_1ba_2 \bigcirc_3q-\theta_4$			*!	
d. $\theta_4-d\theta_1ba_2 \bigcirc_3q$		*!		*****
e. $d\theta_1ba_2 \bigcirc_3q$	*!			

Agreement

Input: də₁ba₂||ə₃q-θ₄

	LINEARITY	MAX V	ONS	FIN-C
a. də ₁ ba ₂ ə ₃ q-θ ₄				*
b. də ₁ ba ₂ ə ₃ q		*!		
c. də ₁ ba ₂ θ _{3,4} q	*!			
d. dθ _{1,4} ba ₂ ə ₃ q	*!*			

Arguments for Cyclicity

- Stem Template is opaque at the word level
- Vowel Licensing is opaque at other levels
- empty root vowels are opaque at other levels

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