

Recent developments in Semitic and Afroasiatic linguistics
Five teaching modules at Addis Ababa University, March 10–14, 2014

3. Issues in morphology

Discussion: internal reduplication; the broken plural

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Lutz Edzard, University of Erlangen-Nürnberg and University of Oslo

(1) Reminder: diatheses in Gə‘əz and Amharic

stem	perfect (3SG.M)	imperfect (3SG.M)	subjunctive (3SG.M)
G	$C_1\ddot{a}C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1C_2\partial C_3$
t-G	$t\ddot{a}-C_1C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial-t-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial-t-C_1\ddot{a}C_2\ddot{a}C_3$
’	$\ddot{a}-C_1C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$yaC_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$	$yaC_1C_2\partial C_3$
s-t-G	$\ddot{a}-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1\ddot{a}C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1C_2\partial C_3$
D	$C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial C_1eC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$
t-D	$t\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial t C_1eC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial t C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$
’-D	$\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$yaC_1eC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$yaC_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$
s-t-D	$\ddot{a}-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1eC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$
L	$C_1aC_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1aC_2\partial C_3$
t-L	$t\ddot{a}-C_1aC_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial t C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial t C_1aC_2\ddot{a}C_3$
’-L	$\ddot{a}-C_1aC_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$yaC_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$yaC_1aC_2\partial C_3$
s-t-L	$\ddot{a}-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1aC_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-t-\ddot{a}C_1aC_2\partial C_3$

(e) *t-*, *’-*, and *s-*affixes in Amharic diatheses (*binyanim*)

stem	perfect (3SG.M)	imperfect (3SG.M)	jussive (3SG.M)
G (A)	$C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_3$	$y\partial C_1C_2\ddot{a}C_3$
G (B)	$C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$
G (C)	$C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1aC_2C_3$
tä- (A)	$t\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2\ddot{a}C_3$
tä- (B)	$t\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2\ddot{a}C_3$
tä- (C)	$t\ddot{a}-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1aC_2\ddot{a}C_3$
a- (A)	$a-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$yaC_1\ddot{a}C_2C_3$	$yaC_1C_2\partial C_3$
a- (B)	$a-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$yaC_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$	$yaC_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$
a- (C)	$a-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$yaC_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$yaC_1aC_2C_3$

a-s- (A)	$a-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$
a-s- (B)	$a-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$
a-s- (C)	$a-s-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-C_1aC_2C_3$

*a-tä- (C)	$a-C_1-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-C_1-C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-C_1-C_1aC_2C_3$
a-s-tä	$a-s-t\ddot{a}-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-t\ddot{a}-C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-t\ddot{a}-C_1aC_2C_3$

(rare, not productive, mostly I gutt.)

t-ä-s-tä $t\ddot{a}-s-t-\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$ (rare)

G-red.	$C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_3$
tä-red.	$t\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2\partial C_3$
a-red.	$a-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$yaC_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$yaC_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_3$
a-s-red.	$a-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-s-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_3$
*a-t-red.	$a-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3\ddot{a}$	$ya-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$ya-C_1-C_1\ddot{a}C_2aC_2C_3$

tän- (C)	$t\ddot{a}n-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial n-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$y\partial n-C_1aC_2\ddot{a}C_3$
an- (C)	$an-C_1aC_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$	$yan-C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$yan-C_1aC_2\partial C_3$

(rare, not productive, mostly C or quadriradical)

(2) Reminder: geminated C₂ in Afroasiatic

G-stem	"perfect"/ "stative" (3SG.M)	"imperfect" / "durative" (3SG.M)	"preterite" / "jussive" "subjunctive" (3SG.M)
Cl. Arabic	$C_1aC_2vC_3a$	$yaC_1C_2vC_3u$	$yaC_1C_2vC_3$
Hebrew	$C_1\bar{a}C_2vC_3$	$yiC_1C_2\bar{v}C_3$	$(way-)yiC_1C_2vC_3$
Akkadian	$C_1aC_2iC_3$	$iC_1aC_2C_2vC_3$	$iC_1C_2vC_3$
Gə'əz	$C_1aC_2aC_3a$	$y\partial C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1C_2\partial C_3$
Cushitic (Beja)	—	$(yi-)danb\bar{i}l$	$yi-dbil$ 'collect'
Berber	—	$i-l\bar{a}kk\bar{a}m$	$i-lk\bar{a}m$ 'follow'
Chadic (Mubi)	$r\bar{e}w$	$r\bar{i}w\bar{w}\bar{a}$	— 'cook soup'

D-stem	"perfect"/ "stative" (3SG.M)	"imperfect" / "durative" (3SG.M)	"preterite" / "jussive" "subjunctive"
Cl. Arabic	$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3a$	$yuC_1aC_2C_2iC_3u$	$yuC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$
Hebrew	$C_1iC_2C_2\bar{e}C_3$	$y\partial C_1aC_2C_2\bar{e}C_3$	$(way-)y\partial C_1aC_2C_2\bar{e}C_3$
Akkadian	$C_1uC_2C_2uC_3$	$uC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$	$uC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$
Gə'əz	$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3a$	$y\partial C_1eC_2C_2\partial C_3$	$y\partial C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$

(3) Reminder: the broken plural in Arabic, Gə‘əz, and Berber

Arabic		Gə‘əz		
<i>ḥizb</i>	→ <i>ʾaḥzāb</i>	‘party’	<i>ḥezb</i> → <i>aḥzāb</i>	‘people’
<i>maṣḍar</i>	→ <i>maṣādir</i>	‘origin’	<i>kanfar</i> → <i>kanāfer</i>	‘lip’
<i>madrasa</i>	→ <i>madāris</i>	‘school’	<i>mo‘alt</i> → <i>maṭwā‘el</i>	‘day’
Berber				
<i>madl</i>	→ <i>i-mudal</i>	‘cheek’		
<i>bayus</i>	→ <i>i-buḡas</i>	‘monkey’		
<i>a-mkkartu</i>	→ <i>i-mkkurta</i>	‘young goat’		

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