Amharic

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Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia is the Semitic language with the greatest number of speakers after Arabic. However, while there are large numbers of people throughout Ethiopia who speak Amharic as a second language, mother-tongue speakers are concentrated in the highland plateau extending from somewhat south of Addis Ababa, the capital, northwards to a line running approximately WNW from Korem. This territory is bounded to the East and West by lowland areas where other languages are spoken.

Some good descriptions of Amharic phonetics and phonology are to be found in Armbruster (1908: 4-50), Cohen (1970: 29-68), Ullendorff (1955), and Podolsky (1991). As regards its dialect situation, Amharic is in great need of systematic research. The only published work on the subject (Habte Mariam Marcos 1973) is both useful and suggestive for future work, but it is a brief pioneering effort. The speech of Addis Ababa has emerged as the standard dialect and has wide currency across all Amharic-speaking communities. The most divergent dialect is that of Gojjam province, though the Mänz and Wällo varieties also show their own marked features, especially in phonology.

Ato Yalew Kebede is a 29 year old male Amhara whose speech was recorded and transcribed for this illustration. He was also responsible for the translation of 'The North Wind and the Sun'. He grew up in Gondar, an urban centre noted for its 'good' Amharic. Gondar Amharic is extremely close to the Addis Ababa standard dialect in all its features. However, one or two things emerge in the passage which identify the origin of the speaker; for example, [bəgənza fək'adu] instead of standard [bəgəzza fək'adu] 'by his own will'.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Lab-dent.	Dental	Alve	olar	Pos alve		Palatal	Vé	elar	Glottal	Labialized Labial	Labia Vela	
Plosive& Affricate	(p) b			t	d	tʃ	dз		k	g		bw	k ^w	gw
Nasal	m				n			'n		ŋ		m ^w		
Fricative		f		s	z	ſ	3				h	f ^w		
Tap/Trill					r									
Approx- imant	w			-				j						
Lateral Approx.					1		•							
Ejective stop	(p')			t'		tʃ'						(p ^w ')	kw'	

Additional consonants tw', hw, s'

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'post (mail)'
                                      təkkələ
                                                'he planted'
                                                                    kəbbəbə
                                                                               'he encircled'
   posta
                                                                    gərrəmən 'it surprised me'
   bəkk'ələ
               'it sprouted'
                                      darrasa
                                                'he arrived'
h
p' p'app'as
                                                                 k' k'addada 'he tore s.t.'
               'church patriarch'
                                      t'erreqe 'he swept'
               'he advised'
                                      nəddəfə 'it stung'
m məkkərə
   fallak'a
               'it gushed up'
                                  s
                                      səbbərə
                                               'he broke s.t.'
                                                                    hakim
                                                                               'doctor'
                                      zəffənə
                                               'he danced'
                                      s'afə
                                                'he wrote'
                                  tſ
                                      tfəlləmə 'it got dark'
                                  d3 djommoro 'he began'
                                      t['errese 'he finished'
                                      rəzzəmə 'it became long'
                                      [ederne]
                                                'he plaited'
                                                'sun'
                                      3əmbər
                                      lammana 'he begged'
                                      tənnə
                                                'he lay down'
                                                'there is not'
                                      mellej
               'he swallowed s.t.'
                                                                 kw kwas
                                                                               'ball'
w wat'a
                                                                    kw'akw'ate 'whooping
pw' pw'ugwame 13th month'
                                  tw' tw'af
                                                'wax taper'
                                                                                   cough'
                                                                    gwaggwa
               'pipe (conduit)'
                                                                               'he became
bw bwambwa
                                                                            full of suspense'
mw mwammwa 'it dissolved'
   fwaffwa
               'falling water of
                                                                               'after'
                waterfall'
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The voiceless bilabial stops /p, p', pw'/ are extremely rare, and are confined to words of foreign origin. Phonologically, the postalveolar affricates pattern with the stops. Because of its affinity with the labialized consonants, we have placed /w/ in the 'labial' column. All consonants with the exception of /p, pw', tw', h, hw/ have geminate counterparts. In the case of /p/, single and geminate do not contrast phonologically, and it is usually claimed that the geminate variant occurs intervocalically, while the single variant occurs elsewhere. Consonants may be geminated (strengthened) following nasals; an interesting example in our text is /bət'inkare/ 'in strength' (see further below).

Vowels

i i I	kis mɨn jɪh ~ jɨh	'pocket' 'what?' 'this'	i (i) i (v) \bullet	u
e	k'es	'priest'	\	
ε	jemmil	'he who says'	e \	0
a	bal	'husband'	•(c) • (a)	
Э	kəbt	'cattle'	(3)	
Э	gworf	'flood'	\ \ \	
0	s'om	'fast (n.)'	\ \ \	
ប	kʷ'ʊlf	'lock'		
u	t'ut'	'breast'	a	

Phonetic diphthongs [a1], [a0], [a1], and [a0] occur, but phonotactic patterns suggest that these should be analysed as sequences of /a/ or /a/ followed by /j/ or /w/. The latter interpretation is the one adopted in the transcription of the specimen passage below.

The vowels written /i/ and /ə/ here are often represented by the symbols [ə] and [ä] respectively. It is possible to argue that /i/ is not present in underlying representations, but is always epenthetic (see Hetzron 1964; Hayward 1986). In the Ethiopic script, where each symbol represents either C or CV, C and Ci are not distinguished; for example, the same symbol (†) represents both /t/ and /ti/.

The vowels represented by the symbols $[1, \upsilon, \varepsilon, \upsilon]$ are not independent phonemes, but allophones of the central vowels /i/ and $/\partial/$. Following postalveolar and palatal consonants, (which, from a phonological point of view, form a 'palatal' series), /i/ and $/\partial/$ are often fronted to /i/ and $/\varepsilon/$. Following labialised consonants and /w/, /i/ and $/\partial/$ typically have retracted and rounded pronunciations ($[\upsilon]$ and $[\upsilon]$). Spelling also needs to be taken into account here, since a literate speaker, whose spelling of a particular form indicates /i/ or $/\partial/$, may pronounce [i] or $[\upsilon]$, especially in careful speech (thus, the variation $jih \sim jih$ noted above). In the specimen passage below, we have written $[i, \upsilon, \varepsilon, \upsilon]$, rather than more strictly phonemic /i/ and $/\partial/$, in such cases.

The question also arises of whether $[i, \upsilon, \varepsilon, \upsilon]$ (as allophones of central vowels) are really distinct from the independent phonemes ii/, ii/, ii/, ii/, ii/, and ii/ respectively, as our chart indicates. With regard to the back rounded vowels, the issue is further complicated by the fact that consonants preceding them have anticipatory lip rounding. For example, the ii/ ku/ is phonetically $[k^w]$, and for this reason it is often difficult to choose between ii/ (=ii/kwi/ in a more strictly phonemic interpretation) and ii/ku/ on strictly phonetic grounds.

In non-final closed syllables and final syllables closed by two consonants, the two series of vowels do not contrast. We have interpreted all vowels in these environments as phonemic central vowels. For example, we have written /gwolbət/ rather than /gulbət/ 'strength', and /wodd/ rather than /wudd/ 'dear, expensive'. This contrasts with our informant's spellings of the same words, which indicate gu- and wu-respectively.

In non-final open syllables and final syllables closed by a single consonant, both series of vowels may occur. In such environments, there is potentially a length contrast, /i,u,e,o/ being susceptible to prolongation. Prototypically, these long vowels contrast with short /1, u, e, o/ in both duration and quality, but there is a less certain middle ground. In the case of verbs and their derivatives, morphological considerations will often lead to a decision in favour of phonemic central vowels. For example, in the case of /kw'ut'ir/ 'number', the decision to write /kw'u-/ (/kw'i/in a more strictly phonemic representation) was influenced by the cognate verb /kw'ott'ərə/ 'he counted'. This belongs to the same verb class as /k'ətt'ərə/ 'he hired' and should, therefore, have the same underlying stem vowels; thus, a phonemicization /kw'ətt'ərə/ is to be preferred to /k'ott'ərə/. Our /kw'ut'ir/ agrees with our informant's spelling, which also indicates an initial labialized velar. However, we found it very difficult to decide between /bəkkwul/ and /bəkkul/ 'side, direction', where no such cognate forms are available for comparison. Our final choice of /bəkkwul/ contrasts with the '-kkul' of our informant's spelling. (The complexity of the situation is well-described in Ullendorff 1951; cf. especially pp. 82-83.)

Stress

Stress is weak, and its position is variable. Further investigation is needed concerning the relationship between stress and intonation on the one hand and between stress and gemination on the other.

Conventions

/p, t, tf, k, kw/ are all moderately aspirated. Voiced obstruents are devoiced prepausally and when a voiceless obstruent follows, for example in /libs/ 'clothes', [libs]. /b/ is realised as an approximant [β] medially between sonorants (for example, in /gwulbət/ [gwul β >t]). /l/ is always clear, never dark. Single /r/ is a tap, geminate /rr/ a trill. When they precede the vowels /i/ and /e/, but more especially the latter, consonants may be strongly palatalized, for example in /gize/ [g^lizle] 'time'.

In rural speech, /p/ may be replaced by /f/. In initial position, /z/ is now found only in the speech of Mänz. In Addis Abbaba, it has been replaced by the affricate /dz/. /p/ occurs initially in only one or two rare words. /s'/ is most commonly pronounced as an affricate, [ts']. It is tending to merge with /t'/, especially in initial position. However, complex regional and sociolinguistic factors affect the occurrence of initial /s'/, which may be retained in certain lexical items in educated speech. Our informant consistently pronounced initial [ts'] in the word /s'əhaj/ 'sun'.

/h/ is voiced between vowels, and may be realised simply as breathy voice on a preceding and/or following vowel (for example, in /bəzzihim/ 'and on these terms', phonetically [bəzziːm]). Following /i/ or /i/, /h/ is typically pronounced as a palatal fricative [ç]. Thus, the form [bəzzi] 'at this' would be pronounced [bəzziç] in isolation or in slow speech.

A prothetic [i] is often inserted before word-initial /r/, for example [irəʒʒim] 'tall' (no examples occur in the text). [i] may also be inserted after word-final consonants, when the following word begins with a consonant. In our speaker's rendering of the text below, there is variation, for example [libsi ləbso] with epenthesis, but [libs k'adimo] without it. Such cases of epenthetic [i] are not noted in the transcription. Another case of epenthetic [i] in our informant's rendering of the text which is not noted in the transcription, but which needs to be mentioned, occurs in the form /bət'inkare/ [bət'inikkare]. Here, the /k/ undergoes post-nasal strengthening and this conditions [i] insertion. In other cases, [i] may be devoiced and so short that it is barely audible. This occurs in two forms in our text, when it follows the feminine prefix /t-/ (in these morphological contexts geminated to tt-): [sittidʒemmir] 'when she was beginning' and [jemmittibalt'] 'she who is greatest'. In the second of these, the pronunciation of /b/ as [β] confirms the presence of the vowel.

Transcription of recorded passage

s'ahajınna kasamen jemminafsaw nafas

s'əhajınna kəsəmen bəkkwul jemminəfsəw nəfas inenen t'ənkarra inenen t'ənkarra bəmmil jıkkərakkəru nəbbər. bəzzi gize and məngədenna jebird

məkkəlakəja libs ləbso jıggwaz nəbbər. kəzjam məngədenəw ləbird məkkəlakəja ləbsot jemmihedəw libs k'ədimo jaswəllək'ə bət'inkare jıbəlt'al bəmmil təsmammu. bəzzihim məsərət kəsəmen bəkkwul jemminəfsəw nəfas ballə bəlelləw gwulbət bəhajl nəffəsə. honomgin bəhajl bənəffəsə kw'ut'ir məngədenəw jebasəwnu bələbbəsəw libs jıddəbbən jemmər. bəmətʃ'ərrəʃam kəsəmen bəkkwul jemminəfsəw nəfas bəgənza fək'adu akw'omə. s'ahajm bətərawa wətt'atʃınna muk'ətwan mawrəd sittidəmmir məngədenəw minimm saj kw'oj wədijawnu jeləbbəsəwl libs awəllək'ə. bəmətʃ'ərrəʃam kəsəmen bəkkwul jemminəfsəw nəfas s'əhaj bət'inkare kəssu jemmittibəlt' məhonwan jaləwudd bəgidd ammənə.

Orthographic version

ፀሐይና ከሰሜን በኩል የሚነፍሰው ነፋስ

ፀሐይና ከሰሜን በኩል የሚነፍሰው ነፋስ አኔ ነኝ ጠንካሬ አኔ ነኝ ጠነካሬ በሚል ይከሬከሩ ነበር። በዚህ ጊዜ አንድ መንግደኛ የብርድ መከላከያ ልብስ ለብሶ ይጓዝ ነበር። ከዚያም መንግደኛው ለብርድ መከላከያ ለብሶት የሚሄደውን ልብስ ቀድሞ ያስወለቀ በጥንካሬ ይበልጣል በሚል ተስማሙ። በዚህመ መሥረትከሰሜን በኩል የሚነፍሰው ነፋሰ ባለበሌለው ጉልበት በሀይል ነፌሰ። ሆኖም ግን በሀይል በነሬሰ ቍጥር መንግደኛው የባሰውኑ በለበሰው ልብስ ይጀቦን ጀመር። በመጨረሻም ከሰሜን በኩል የሚነፍሰው ነፋስ በገንዛ ፌቃድ አቀመ። ፀሐይም በተሬዋ ወጣችና መቀቷን ማውረድ እትጀምር መንግደኛውምንም ሳይቀይ ወዲያውኑ የለበሰውነ ልብስ አወለቀ። በመጨረሻም ከሰሜን በኩል የሚነፍሰው ነፋስ ፀሐይ በጥንካሬ ከሱ የምትበልጥ መሆናን ያለውድ በግድ አመነ።

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