**Autosegmentalism in Chaha**

Afro-Asiatic, Ethiopia, 130,00 speakers; Data from McCarthy 1983, Petros Banksira 2000.

**Instructions**

* Develop an autosegmental analysis in OT of the following three morphemes of Chaha and how they’re realized: propose underlying forms for each affix and account for whether and where they are realized
* You can assume that consonant features and vowel features are on different tiers.

æ

**/ \**

* + [nædæf] might look like CVCVC, where, e.g., *æ* abbreviates [+low, +front…].

**| | |**

n d f

* + This will seem weird for labial and palatal secondary articulations on consonants (Cw, Cj), which are typically treated as adding the vowel-ish features [+round] and [+hi] (or [+front], or both): how can you add features from one tier to the other tier? For purposes of this assignment, pretend that features come in vowel and consonant versions, so labialization actually involves adding [+roundC], and palatalization [+hiC].
* Additional pointers can be found below.

***3rd person singular masculine object affix***

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *he Ved* | *he Ved him* | * Assume that the ‘he Ved’ form is the same as the underlying form of the verb root. That is, past tense and 3rd-person-singular-masculine subject don’t add any affixes. * (The above can’t really be true, because the vowels seem to constitute a morpheme; but we’ll ignore that.) * Assume the difference between C and Cw is that Cw is [+roundC]. |
| dænæɡ | dænæɡʷ | ‘hit’ |
| nædæf | nædæfʷ | ‘sting’ |
| k’ænæf | k’ænæfʷ | ‘knock down’ |
| nækæb | nækæbʷ | ‘find’ |
| nækæs | nækʷæs | ‘bite’ |
| kæfæt | kæfʷæt | ‘open’ |
| bækær | bækʷær | ‘lack’ |
| k’æt’ær | k’ʷæt’ær | ‘kill’ |
| bænær | bʷænær | ‘demolish’ |
| mæsær | mʷæsær | ‘seem’ |
| æræs | æræs | ‘build’ |
| sædæd | sædæd | ‘chase’ |
| næt’ær | næt’ær | ‘separate’ |

***Feminine subject (imperative) affix***

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *V! (masc. subject)* | *V! (fem. subject)* | * Assume that the ‘V!’ form is the same as the underlying form of the verb root. Imperative and masculine-subject don’t add any affixes. * (Again, this is not totally true, as you can see from the vowels.) * Assume the difference between C and Cj is that Cj is [+hiC]. * Assume a constraint \*{rj, bj}, arbitrary as it seems. |
| nəmæd | nəmædʲ | ‘love’ |
| nək’ət’ | nək’ət’ʲ | ‘kick’ |
| nəkəs | nəkəsʲ | ‘bite’ |
| ɡəræz | ɡəræzʲ | ‘be old’ |
| wət’æk’ | wət’æk’ʲ | ‘fall’ |
| fəræx | fəræxʲ | ‘be patient’ |
| bənær | bənær | ‘demolish’ |
| k’ət’ær | k’ət’ær | ‘kill’ |
| nəkəb | nəkəb | ‘find’ |
| bəkər | bəkər | ‘lack’ |
| sənæb | sənæb | ‘spin’ |

***A wrinkle to account for***

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *V! (masc. subject)* | *V! (fem. subject)* |  |
| ɡʲækʲæt | ɡʲækʲætʲ | ‘accompany’ |
| sʲəɡær | sʲəɡær | ‘change’ |
| tʲəfʷær | tʲəfʷær | ‘scratch & mark’ |
| ɡʲəkʲær | ɡʲəkʲær | ‘straighten out’ |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *he Ved* | *he Ved him* |  |
| mækʲær | mʷækʲær | ‘burn’ |
| sʲæfær | sʲæfʷær | ‘cover’ |

***Impersonal affix***

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *he Ved* | *impersonal V* | * Again, assume that the ‘he Ved’ form is the same as the underlying form of the verb root. |
| kæfæt | kæfʷætʲ | ‘open’ |
| nækæs | nækʷæsʲ | ‘bite’ |
| t’æbæs | tʼæbʷæsʲ | ‘fry’ |
| dæmæd | dæmʷædʲ | ‘join’ |
| tæzrabæt’ | tæzrabʷæt’ʲ | ‘have hope for’ |
| bænær | bʷænær | ‘demolish’ |
| k’æt’ær | k’ʷæt’ær | ‘kill’ |
| sʲæɡær | sʲæɡʷær | ‘change’ |
| nækæb | nækæbʷ | ‘find’ |
| sænæb | sænæbʷ | ‘spin’ |
| tʲæfʷær | tʲæfʷær | ‘scratch & mark’ |
| ɡʲækʲær | ɡʲækʲær | ‘straighten out’ |
| bætæx | bætæxʷ | ‘dig out’ |
| axʷænæk’ | axʷænæk’ʷ | ‘take off the clothes’ |
| dænæɡ | dænæɡʷ | ‘hit’ |

***Another wrinkle to account for***

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *V! (masc. subject)* | *V! (fem. subject)* |  |
| bætət | bætʲətʲ | ‘be wide’ |
| fætət | fætʲətʲ | ‘be partial’ |
| nəzæz | nəzʲæzʲ | ‘dream’ |
| nək’ək’ | nək’ʲək’ʲ | ‘take apart’ |
| ædəd | ædʲədʲ | ‘cut peas/lentils’ |
| æsəs | æsʲəsʲ | ‘sweep’ |
| səkək | səkʲəkʲ | ‘plant in the ground’ |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *he Ved* | *he Ved him* |  |
| akæk | akʷækʷ | ‘scratch’ |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *he Ved* | *impersonal V* |  |
| sækæk | sækʷækʷ | ‘plant in the ground’ |
| ɡæmæm | ɡæmʷæmʷ | ‘chip the rim’ |
| məræqæq | məræqʷæqʷ | ‘scratch in a straight line’ |
| bəræɡæɡ | bəræɡʷæɡʷ | ‘be startled’ |
| k’ak’a | k’ʷak’ʷa | ‘tie tightly’ |
| ɡərædæd | ɡʷərædʲædʲ | ‘cut in big pieces’ |
| k’əmamær | k’əmʷamʷær | ‘cheat’ |
| tæɡmæmæt’ | tæɡmʷæmʷæt’ʲ | ‘rinse’ |
| tata | tʲatʲa | ‘twist a rope’ |
| at’at’a | at’ʲat’ʲa | ‘rinse’ |
| dæmæd | dæmʷædʲ | ‘join’ |