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.

- This will seem weird for labial and palatal secondary articulations on consonants (C^w, C^j), 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 [+round_C], and palatalization [+hi_C].
- Additional pointers can be found below.

3rd person singular masculine object affix

| <i>I</i> | | J |
|----------|-----------------------|--------------|
| he Ved | he Ved him | |
| dænæg | dænæg ^w | 'hit' |
| nædæf | nædæf ^w | 'sting' |
| k'ænæf | k'ænæf ^w | 'knock down' |
| nækæb | nækæb ^w | 'find' |
| nækæs | næk ^w æs | 'bite' |
| kæfæt | kæf ^w æt | 'open' |
| bækær | bæk ^w ær | 'lack' |
| k'æt'ær | k' ^w æt'ær | 'kill' |
| bænær | b ^w ænær | 'demolish' |
| mæsær | m ^w æsær | 'seem' |
| æræs | æræs | 'build' |
| sædæd | sædæd | 'chase' |
| næt'ær | næt'ær | 'separate' |
| | | - |

- Assume that the 'he Ved' form is the same as the underlying form of the verb root. That is, past tense and 3rd-personsingular-masculine <u>subject</u> 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 C^w is that C^w is [+round_C].

Feminine subject (imperative) affix

| V! (masc. subject) | V! (fem. subject) | |
|--------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| nəmæd | nəmæd ^j | 'love' |
| nək'ət' | nək'ət' ^j | 'kick' |
| nəkəs | nəkəs ^j | 'bite' |
| gəræz | gəræz ^j | 'be old' |
| wət'æk' | wət'æk' ^j | 'fall' |
| fəræx | fəræx ^j | 'be patient' |
| bənær | bənær | 'demolish' |
| k'ət'ær | k'ət'ær | 'kill' |
| nəkəb | nəkəb | 'find' |
| bəkər | bəkər | 'lack' |
| sənæb | sənæb | 'spin' |
| | | |

- 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 C^j is that C^j is [+hi_C].
- Assume a constraint *{r^j, b^j}, arbitrary as it seems.

A wrinkle to account for

| V! (masc. subject) | V! (fem. subject) | |
|-----------------------------------|--|------------------|
| g ^j æk ^j æt | g ^j æk ^j æt ^j | 'accompany' |
| s ^j əgær | s ^j əgær | 'change' |
| t ^j əf ^w ær | t ^j əf ^w ær | 'scratch & mark' |
| g ^j ək ^j ær | g ^j ək ^j ær | 'straighten out' |
| | | |

he Ved he Ved him

mæk^jær m^wæk^jær 'burn' s^jæfær s^jæf^wær 'cover'

Impersonal affix

| he Ved | impersonal V | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| kæfæt | kæf ^w æt ^j | 'open' |
| nækæs | næk ^w æs ^j | 'bite' |
| t'æbæs | ťæb ^w æs ^j | 'fry' |
| dæmæd | dæm ^w æd ^j | 'join' |
| tæzrabæt' | tæzrab ^w æt' ^j | 'have hope for' |
| bænær | b ^w ænær | 'demolish' |
| k'æt'ær | k'wæt'ær | 'kill' |
| s ^j ægær | s ^j æg ^w ær | 'change' |
| nækæb | nækæb ^w | 'find' |
| sænæb | sænæb ^w | 'spin' |
| t ^j æf ^w ær | t ^j æf ^w ær | 'scratch & mark' |
| g ^j æk ^j ær | g ^j æk ^j ær | 'straighten out' |
| bætæx | bætæx ^w | 'dig out' |
| ax ^w ænæk' | ax ^w ænæk' ^w | 'take off the clothes' |
| dænæg | dænæg ^w | 'hit' |

 Again, assume that the 'he Ved' form is the same as the underlying form of the verb root.

Another wrinkle to account for

V! (masc. subject) V! (fem. subject)

bætət bæt j ət j 'be wide' fætət fæt j ət j 'be partial' nəzæz nəz j æz j 'dream' nək'ək' nək' j ək' j 'take apart' ædəd æd j 9d j 'cut peas/lentils'

æsəs æs^jəs^j 'sweep'

səkək sək^jək^j 'plant in the ground'

he Ved he Ved him

akæk ak^wæk^w 'scratch'

he Ved impersonal V

sækæk sæk^wæk^w 'plant in the ground' gæmæm gæm^wæm^w 'chip the rim'

məræqæq məræq^wæq^w 'scratch in a straight line'

bərægæg bəræg^wæg^w 'be startled' k'ak'a k'^wak'^wa 'tie tightly'

gərædæd g^w əræd j æd j 'cut in big pieces'

k'əmamær k'əm^wam^wær 'cheat' tægmæmæt' tægm^wæm^wæt'^j 'rinse'

tata t^jat^ja 'twist a rope'

at'at'a at'^jat'^ja 'rinse' dæmæd dæm^wæd^j 'join'