

NOTES ON LANGUAGE CHANGE IN AMHARIC¹

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Abstract

This paper describes the rapidly changing phonological, morphological and lexical features in Amharic. The qualitative data collected from spoken and written sources suggest that Amharic sounds are being articulated differently. There is a tendency to articulate ejectives as non-ejectives and the flap as approximant. Shortening of syllables is frequent. There is a widespread replacement of /h/ by /k/ particularly in the 2MS agreement marking. In morphology, the locative marker ገ /ga/ is being replaced with the accompaniment marker ገር /gar/. The 2nd person respect form is being replaced by the 2nd person plural form. There is a tendency to replace the 1SG marker /-hu/ by /-w/ in verbs. Double case marking has become common. The use of incompatible tenses in written and spoken Amharic has become normal. Quite a large number of words are added into Amharic through derivation, compounding and semantic extension. Loan translation from English has brought a number of new words and expressions into Amharic. The extended greeting system is being reduced to ሰላም /sälam/ 'peace' or ሰላም ነው? /sälam n-äw/ 'Is it peaceful?'. There is a widespread use of ገስ ነው? /pis näw/ lit. 'Is it peace?' combining English and Amharic. All the changes witnessed are either internally or externally motivated. The

1 I am grateful to the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) for the financial support of the Linguistic Capacity Building—Tools for the Inclusive Development of Ethiopia project in which I am a member.

ongoing rapid change in the grammar and the lexicon are attributed to language contact, technological innovations and the change of the political landscape of the country since 1991. The young generation of speakers who enjoy ease of articulation and morphological economization in their interest to be viewed modern are the main actors. Quite a significant number of speakers believe that the language is developing, but at the same time worry, that it is suffering from unspeakable linguistic turbulence.

1. Background

We learn from the literature on historical linguistics that language change is a natural phenomenon assuming a relatively long period of time (Aitchison, 1985; Bybee, 2015; Hale, 2007). Language change is inevitable as it should satisfy the unstoppable changing needs of its new generation speakers. Although languages can influence each other in distant geographical areas (for instance: English vs. Amharic & Greek vs. Amharic), contact-induced changes are most common in the study of language change (Thomason, 2003). Language change can also occur from within due to the continuous needs of its speakers. Like any other language, Amharic has gone through changes and hence the variety spoken today is not identical with the variety spoken hundred years ago (Cowley 1974; Getachew 1979; Girma, 2009, 2017). Though language change is a gradual process, the changes witnessed in Amharic in the last three decades or so are presumably rapid beyond imagined in historical linguistics. It is rapid because the changing lexical and grammatical features reach wider areas where dialects are spoken in a relatively short period of time. People in rural areas and lower social classes emulate what has been linguistically and culturally propagated by people in urban areas and upper social classes (Guy, 1988; Labov, 1972). A glance at Amharic language use today makes it clear that the epicenter for the change is Addis Ababa and the actors that ignite the change are mainly the youth (see Hollington, 2015), celebrities and political elites who have frequent access to the mass media: print or broadcast or both. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2001) and Thomason (2003) write that language change, as a social and linguistic phenomenon, starts

most often in a particular social class and geographical area and spreads to other social classes and geographical areas.

The rapidity of the change undoubtedly makes documentation very urgent. That is the main objective of the paper. In a couple of decades, mainly the spoken Amharic will be considerably different from the variety spoken today. Since ordinary people write what they speak, apparently, not only the spoken Amharic but also the written Amharic is being affected by the change. The findings of this research may be applied to take actions on the competence of the young generation of speakers who are blamed for introducing a new Amharic accent and for their exasperating skill in writing in Amharic. It could also help to lay the groundwork to stably use the language. The uncontrolled handling of language use in the media needs a special attention as it reaches millions at a time. The strong language and power relationship proves that dignitaries and celebrities can influence language use the right or the wrong way, as they appear in the media more often. It has become rare to listen to the educated elite talking 'pure' Amharic without mixing English. Code-switching has become rampant in both formal and informal situations affecting Amharic language use. It is evident that the Diaspora who came back home make more code-switches and speak Amharic in a foreign accent.

The historical changes of Amharic are discussed in Cowley (1974), Getachew (1970, 1979), Girma (2017), Little (1974), Podolsky (1991) and Richter (1997). Abraham (1991) has produced a paper on the lexical innovations witnessed during the military regime between 1974 -1991. This paper describes the recurrent phonological, morphological and lexical changes exhibited in the last three decades. The major sources of data are my fieldnotes taken over the years. The focus is though spoken Amharic, additional data was collected from written Amharic. Much of it was collected in the last couple of years from the Ethiopian television and radio stations including FM radio programs. This was supplemented by data gathered from informal conversations, newspapers and magazines. It excludes natural errors

committed by L2 speakers of Amharic and hence the data was collected exclusively from those who speak Amharic as L1.

2. Sound change

Sound change is one type of change exhibited in a language through time. It refers to the change that affects pronunciation or the patterns of sound in a language. Sound change includes sound replacement, sound loss and the emergence of new sounds (Kiparsky, 2003; Guy, 2003). Amharic is known to have lost some sounds historically and has introduced new sounds to its phonemic inventory. Girma (2017) writes that, modern Amharic lost the velar fricative /x/ and the pharyngeal sounds /ʕ/ and /ħ/. He points out that these sounds were recorded in the 17th century texts. Girma (2017) also mentions that /v/ was one of the sounds recorded in Amharic spoken from the beginning of the 18th century onwards.² Podolsky (1991) remarks that, except Titov (1971), who added /v/ as a marginal consonant appearing only in loanwords, the same sound was not included in the phonemic chart of Amharic consonants presented by Cohen (1936), Jushmanov (1959) and Sumner (1957). The velar fricative /x/, though does not exist in modern Amharic, still exists in other languages such as Harari - Semitic (Beniam, 2013), Proto-Agaw - Cushitic (Appleyard, 2012) and Dime - Omotic (Mulugeta, 2008). The pharyngeal sounds /ʕ/ and /ħ/ do not exist in contemporary Amharic but in Tigrinya (Tsfay, 2002) and Afar (Bliese, 1990).

There is a reduction in the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ in contemporary Amharic. As a result, words can be uttered with or without it alternatively as in ኣንተ /ʔantä/ ~ /antä/ 'you (2MSG)', ኣገር /ʔagär/ ~ /agar/ 'country' and ኣርገጥ /ʔirgit/ ~ /irgit/ 'for sure' (Girma, 2017, Podolsky 1991). The reduced occurrence of the glottal stop is clearly shown in the word አእምሮ /ʔaʔmiro/ 'mind' which can appear as ʔamiro/aʔmiro > ʔaymiro > aymiرو > amiro (cf. the Ge'ez equivalent ʔaʔmär- 'know').

2 The voiced alveolar fricative /v/ has not been identified as a phoneme in contemporary Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages.

Ejectives (also known as glottalized or emphatic consonants) are the most common sounds among Ethiopian languages but rare elsewhere. Amharic has a series of five ejectives: /p', s', t', k' and tʃ'/. /p'/ entered Amharic from Greek via Ge'ez and hence limited in loanwords such as ጳጳስ /p'ap'p'as/ 'pope' and ጠረጴዛ /t'äräp'eza/ 'table'. In this context, the name of the country ኢትዮጵያ /itiyop'iya/ proves to be a Greek loanword. Hence, whereas literate native speakers of Amharic pronounce ኢትዮጵያ /itiyop'iya/ with the ejective /p'/, non-literate natives pronounce it as ጦቢያ /t'obiya/ or ይጦቢያ /yit'obiya/ by replacing /p'/ by /b/. The loanwords ጳጳስ /p'ap'p'as/ 'pope' is pronounced as ባባስ /babbas/ and ጠረጴዛ /t'äräp'eza/ 'table' as ጠረቤዛ /t'äräbeza/ in the same way of replacement. As a recent development, the ejective /p'/ is being replaced by /p³/ and hence the name ኢትዮጵያ /itiyop'iya/ 'Ethiopia' is being pronounced as ኢትዮፒያ /itiyopiya/ or ኢትዮፕያ /itiyopiya/. In the attempt to be viewed modern influenced by English, city boys and girls are the best actors in this phenomenon. The new pronunciation of Ethiopia with /p/ has become a daily phenomenon not only in oral communication but also in written texts as in 'ኢትዮፕያ ኢትዮፕያ' የሚሉ የሚያማምሩ ሕጻናት ወልደህ ብታሳድግ ... /'itiyopiya' 'itiyopiya' yä-mm-i-l-u yä-mm-i-y-amammir-u his'an-at wold-äh b-itt-as-addig .../ lit. 'if you give birth and rear kids who say: Ethiopia, Ethiopia ...' (Alemayehu, 2010:72).⁴ The ejective /s'/ is originally from Ge'ez and appears in free variation with /t'/ in the present-day Amharic as in ጸባይ /s'äbay/ vs. ጠባይ /t'äbay/ 'conduct', አጽናና /as'nann-/ vs. አጥናና /at'nann-/ 'comfort someone' and ድምጽ /dimm/ vs. ድምጥ

3 /p/ itself is limited in loanwords in Amharic as in *polis* and *post* (pronounced by uneducated native speakers of Amharic as *bolis* or *folis* and *bosta*).

4 The young artists who pronounced /itiyopiya/ instead of /itiyop'iya/ who were interviewed after their stage performance in Amharic at Addis Ababa University told the researcher that /p'/ is more difficult than /p/ to pronounce and also mentioned that they have /p/ in English, but not /p'/. Note also that the central vowel /i/ was also replaced by the front vowel /i/.

/dɪmt'/ 'sound' (see also Baye, 2000; Girma, 2009; Leslau, 2000; Podolsky, 1991). Whereas the words with /s'/ are most frequently used by educated native speakers, those words with /t'/ are used by the uneducated.

The tendency to articulate the palatal affricate sounds /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ further to the front around the alveolar area is another articulatory change witnessed in Amharic since recently. This (-ATR > +ATR) fronting phenomenon is heard more frequently among young girls. They also impose a rounded feature to these consonants.⁵ Though almost all consonants can be labialized in Amharic (Leslau, 2000), listening to a clearly articulated labialization has become more common in the countryside than in urban centers (see also Bender, 1978). The youth Amharic in urban centers today tends to reduce simultaneous labialization into non-simultaneous labialization and even go to the extent of using a consonant vowel sequence as in ኮላ /k^wälla/ > /kwälla/ > /kolla/ 'short form of coca-cola or to clean metals', ኅላ /g^wälla/ > /gwälla/ > /golla/ 'be bold' and ቆላ /k^wälla/ > /k^wälla/ > /k'olla/ 'lowland'. It seems that the word አዓራ /ab^wara/ 'dust' which changes to አዋራ /awara/ follows the same pattern of change. The other sound change resulted from change of pattern of articulation is witnessed in the /r/ sound. In Amharic, this sound is an alveolar flap (Leslau, 1995, 2000) or alveolar tap (Anbessa and Hudson, 2007) as opposed to the American English [ɹ] which is a postalveolar approximant. In the FM radios, it has become common listening reporters pronouncing the Amharic word ብር /birr/ as bɪɹɹ in the American accent. Hence, [+flap/+tap] /r/ is being changed into [-flap/-tap] /r/ bringing new pronunciation (see also the findings of Labov (1966) in the change of pronunciation of /r/ in Martha's Vineyard).⁶ All these sound changes are attributed to a change in the

5 In most Ethiopian cultures, an offended person rounds and protrudes the lips and hence unrounded sounds are produced rounded during speech.

6 I would suggest all these sound-related changes to be scientifically proved by analyzing the standard Amharic which is unmarked and the

natural articulatory process, namely in place and manner of articulation as also stated in Kiparsky (2003).

As mentioned above, the replacement of one sound by another is one of the types of sound change. In line with this, the glottal /h/ is being replaced by the velar /k/ most often among the young and now spreading out to adult speakers. As shown in example (1), this phenomenon is more frequent in spoken than in written Amharic and occurs exclusively in the 3MS agreement inflections.⁷

(1) እንደምን ነ-ሀ?	>	እንደምን ነ-ከ?
indä-min n-äh		indä-min n-äk
like-what be-2MS		like-what be-2MS
lit. 'What are you like?'		lit. 'What are you like?'
(How are you?)		(How are you?)
አንተ በደንብ አልበላ-ሀ-ም	>	አንተ በደንብ አልበላ-ከ-ም
antä bädänb al-bäl-ah-imm		antä bädänb al-bäl-ak-imm
you (2MS) well NEG-eat.PFV-2MS-NEG		you (2MS) well NEG-eat.PFV-2MS-NEG
'You did not eat well.'		'You did not eat well.'

In written texts too, /-h/ and /-k/ appear alternatively as in ሐመምከን የሚያውቅ ባለመድንኒት፤ ልክህን የሚያውቅ አልባሽ፤ አምሮትከን የሚያውቅ አጉራሽ፤ ስሜትከን የሚይረዳ አጽናኝ፤ የኑሮ ድቀትከንና ግፍህን ከጎንህ ሆኖ ያላየ ተቆርቋሪ ... /himäm-k-in yä-mm-a-y-awk' balä-mädhanit, likk-ih-in yä-mm-a-y-awk' albaḥ, amrot-k-in yä-mm-a-y-awk' ag^wraḥ, simmet-k-in yä-mm-a-y-irrädd-a as'najḥ, yä-nuro dik'k'ät-k-in-inna gif-ih-in kä-gonn-ih hon-o y-al-ayy-ä täk'wärk'wari/ 'A medicinal person who does not know your ailment, a protocol who does not know your size, a feeder who does not know your taste, a comforter who does not understand your

youth or media Amharic which is marked in several utterances using modern software of experimental phonetics.

7 This change is associated to the famous athlete Haile Gebreselassie, who uses more /k/ than /h/ in his ideolect. According to Thomason (2003:687), 'An individual speaker's innovation typically becomes part of the database of historical linguistics only after other speakers have adopted it.'

feeling, a concerned person was not by your side in times of crisis and suppression ...' (Alemayehu, 2010:73). It is worth mentioning that the Amharic /h/ happens to be /k/ in Ge'ez as in ሆነ /honä/ becomes ኮነ /konä/ and ሁሉ /hullu/ becomes ኩሉ /kullu/ (see Girma, 2001). The change of /f/ to /b/ as in /näbs yimar/ instead of /näfs yimar/ 'Let the soul be blessed!' (most frequently occurring in written Amharic) is also a recent development most likely due to the influence of speakers of Omotic and Nilo-Saharan languages, where for the most part, the labio-dental fricative is lacking.

As part of the phonological change, coalescence of syllables is widespread in present day Amharic. The tri-syllabic negative interrogative copula አይደለም? /ay-däll-ä-mm/ 'Is it not?' (can also mean 'Is he not?') is first reduced to the bi-syllabic form አይደል? /ay-däll/ and further to another shorter bisyllabic form አደል? /adäll/ and finally to the monosyllabic one አል? /aal/ which combines the negative prefix aa- (a+y) and the reduced radical l.⁸ The last monosyllabic negative copula has become very common in the speech of the young and adults since recently. Similarly, አልሄደም /al-hed-ä-mm/, as in እሱ አልሄደም /issu al-hed-ä-mm/ 'He did not go.', becomes እሱ አሌደም /issu al-ed-ä-mm/ omitting the first radical of the verb root; አልነበረም /al-näbbär-ä-mm/, as in እሱ አልነበረም /issu al-näbbär-ä-mm/ 'He was not (there).', becomes እሱ አነበረም /issu a-nnäbär-ä-mm/; and አትመጣም? /a-t-mät'-a-mm/, as in አንተ አትመጣም? /antä a-t-mät'-a-mm/ 'Don't you come?/Won't you come?', becomes አንተ አመጣም /antä a-mmät'-a-mm/ omitting the 2MS marker /t-/ from the discontinuous agreement marker morpheme /t-a/ and leaving its trace by geminating the first radical of the verb root /m/. Cutting syllables and change of sounds have become very frequent as in አባክህ /ibakkih/ vs. ባክህ /bakkih/ 'please (2MSG)', አንተ /antä/ vs. አተ /atä/ 'you (MSG)', አንቺ /antji/ vs. አቺ /atji/ 'you (FSG)', and ቦኋላ /bähwala/ as ባላ /b^wala/ 'later', and so on.

8 Note that the reduced negative verb forms አይደል? /ay-däll/, አደል? /adäll/ and አል? /aal/ prove that *al-*, on its own, suffices to be a negative marker without *-mm*. Baye (2012) labels *-mm* as operator and complementizer. Leslau (2000) considers *al-* and *-mm* as a discontinuous negative marker in main verb constructions.

The expression እንኳን አደረሰችሁ /ink^wan adärräs-atʃtʃihu/ lit. 'Congratulations for reaching this day!' is being used as እንኳን አደረሰች /ink^wan adärräs-atʃtʃu/ omitting the *ih* syllable from the 2PL marker. Though omitting syllables is not a new linguistic phenomenon (see Baye 2000; Leslau 2000), the process of simplifying or reducing the number of syllables in a word appears to be covering quite a large number of words in present-day Amharic.

In spoken and written Amharic, it has become a common practice to replace the 1SG agreement marker *-hu* by *-w* as in ነቅቻለው /näk'-itʃtʃ-all-äw/ be aware-1SG-AUX-1SG instead of ነቅቻለሁ /näk'-itʃtʃ-all-ähu/ 'I am well aware.' and አይቻለው /ayy-tʃtʃ-all-äw/ see-1SG-AUX-1SG instead of አይቻለሁ /ay-tʃtʃ-all-ähu/ 'I have seen.'. The triggering factor for such a replacement of the agreement marker *-hu/* by *-w/* is not known yet.

The above and other changes witnessed in Amharic have cumulatively affected the accent of speakers of the language. Amharic spoken in the English accent has become a common practice by young native speakers in towns and cities. The most influenced with such accent shift are those youngsters who join private and community schools which downgrade local languages but advocate English's prestige to their students. The euphoria to English also affects quite a significant proportion of parents who decide their children to be proficient in English than their own respective languages.

3. Morphological change

Morphological change is one of the cross-linguistically common language change phenomena with the exception of isolating languages. It is more resistant and less obvious than phonological and syntactic changes and includes mainly the change in the usage of rules, the phonetic representation and change of the meaning conveyed by a given morpheme (Andersen, 1988; Dressler, 2003). The following data demonstrate the widespread instances of morphological change in present-day Amharic.

/ga/ vs. /gar/

One instance of morphological change is the case of the locative marker ጋ /ga/ and the accompaniment case marker ጋር /gar/. As a recent change phenomenon, the postposition /gar/ takes over the place of /ga/ as demonstrated in the following examples:

<p>(2) እሱ ሆስፒታሉ ጋ ቆሟል። /issu hospitalu ga k'om-o-all/ he hospital-DEF LOC stand.PFV-3MS-AUX 'He stood at the hospital.'</p>	>	<p>እሱ ሆስፒታሉ ጋር ቆሟል። /issu hospital-u gar k'om-o-all/ he hospital-DEF COM stand.PFV-3MS AUX lit. *'He stood with the hospital.'</p>
<p>አንቺ አደባባይ ጋ ጠብቂኝ። /antʃi addäbabayu ga t'äbbik'-i-jገገ/ you (2FS) square-DEF LOC wait for.IPFV-2FS-1SG 'You, wait me at the square!'</p>	>	<p>አንቺ አደባባይ ጋር ጠብቂኝ። /antʃi addäbabay-u gar t'äbbik'-i-jገገ/ you (2FS) square-DEF COM wait for.IPFV-2FS-1SG lit. *'You, wait me with the square!'</p>

The two sentences in the first column above with the locative marker /ga/ are grammatical in regular Amharic. The other two sentences in the second column with the accompaniment marker /gar/ are non-typical and grammatically wrong but quite frequently used as a recent development. The replacement of /ga/ by /gar/ in locational constructions started in Addis Ababa and is currently being taken to towns and villages all over the country. Once again, the young people are the most frequent users but the substitution of /ga/ by /gar/ has diffused into other sections of speakers in a short period of time. Labov (1972) stated that much of the change in the American English was initiated by the working class and lower middle class which then spread to other classes. Except their phonetic similarity, no further explanation is possible for such a linguistic confusion between the two particles.

Double case marking

Another ongoing change phenomenon witnessed in present-day Amharic is double case marking. In both spoken and written Amharic, the accusative case marker /-n/ appears in both constituents of the genitive noun phrases, which under normal circumstances, is

unacceptable. The following examples are taken from a formal letter submitted to a higher office for an appropriate action.

- (3) የእንግዶችን ማሳረፊያን ይመለከታል።
 /ya-ingidotʃtʃ-in maräfiya-n yimmäläkkät-all/
 GEN-guest-ACC rest place-ACC concern.IPFV.3MS-AUX
 'It concerns the place to rest for guests.'
- የሰራተኞችን ፊርማን አሰባስበናል።
 /yä-särratäɲɲ-otʃtʃ-in firma-n assäbasb-än-all/
 GEN-worker-PL-ACC signature-ACC collect.PFV-1PL-AUX
 'We collected the workers signature.'

Obviously, such kinds of sentences are common in spoken Amharic. They are acceptable as የእንግዶችን ማሳረፊያ ይመለከታል /yä-ingidotʃtʃ-in maräfiya yi-mmäläkkät-all/ or የእንግዶች ማሳረፊያን ይመለከታል /yä-ingidotʃtʃ maräfiya-n yimmäläkkätall/ and የሰራተኞችን ፊርማ አሰባስበናል /yä-särratäɲɲ-otʃtʃ-in firma assäbasb-än-all/ or የሰራተኞች ፊርማን አሰባስበናል /yä-särratäɲɲ-otʃtʃ firma-n assäbasb-än-all/ with slight differences in focus between the two. Such a new development of redundant case marking is becoming regular in spoken and written Amharic.

2PL as 2RES

Amharic uses different ways of plural formation. In nouns, suffixation of *-woʃʃʃ/-oʃʃʃ* is the most recurring plural formation process. In verbs, the portmantau morphemes express agreement in person, number and gender. The respect form in the second and third persons take *-u* like the third plural non-respect forms. The following data was recorded from daily Amharic shows the widespread replacement of the 2PL pronoun for the 2RES and the 2PL verb forms for the 2RES.

- (4)
- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| እርስዎ አይክፈሉ | > | እናንተ አትክፈሉ |
| /irsiwɔ a-yi-kfäl-u/ | | /innantä a-tti-kfäl-u/ |
| you:RES NEG-2RES-pay-2RES | | you:PL NEG-2PL-pay-2PL |
| 'You (2RES), don't pay!' | | 'You (2PL), don't pay!' |

ለእርስዎ ማንን ልጥራልዎት? > ለእናንተ ማንን ልጥራላችሁ?
 /lä-irsiwō mannin li-t'r-a-ll-iwot/ /lä-innantä mannin li-t'r-a-ll-aŋŋiḥu/
 for-you:RES whom 1SG-call-1SG-AUX-2SG:RES for-you:PL whom 1SG-call-1SG-AUX-2PL
 'Whom shall I call for you (2RES)?' 'Whom shall I call for you (2PL)?'

እርስዎ ምን ፈልገው ነው? > እናንተ ምን ፈልጋችሁ ነው?
 /irsiwō min fällig-äw näw/ /innantä min fällig-aŋŋiḥu näw
 you:RES what want-2RES COP what want-2PL COP
 'What is it that you (2RES) want?' 'What is it that you (2PL) want?'

The grammatically well-formed sentences are those in the first column. Those in the second column in which the 2nd person plural pronoun and the 2nd person plural agreement markers are used to address a 2nd person respect subject are ungrammatical and hence not acceptable. However, it has become viral among native and non-native speakers of Amharic since roughly the last five to ten years. The most likely cause for such a change could be the influence of Cushitic languages such as Afan Oromo and Omotic such as Wolaitta which use the 2PL for 2nd person respect and the 3PL for the 3rd person respect.

Overuse of /-mm/

The enclitic /-mm/ is a suffix that can attach to any word bearing different meanings. It appears with verbs, nouns (plus pronouns) and adjectives as a marker of focus and coordination (too, in addition to, both ... and, as well as and though) (Leslau, 2000). Examples are ብዙ በልቶም አልጠገበም: /bizu bäl-to-mm alt'äggäbä-mm/ 'He is not yet satisfied even though he ate a lot.', ካሳም አልመጣም:: /kassa-mm al-mät't'-a-mm/ 'Kassa too did not come.', ነጩ ብቻ ሳይሆን ጥቁሩም በግ ተሸጠ:: /näŋŋ'ŋ'-u biŋŋ'fa sayhon t'ik'u-mm bäg täjä't'-ä 'Not only the white, but also the black sheep was sold.' እናቷም ጠራቻት:: እሷም አቤት አለች:: /inat^wa-mm t'ärr-aŋŋ-at is^wa-mm 'abet' aläŋŋ' / 'Her mother too called her. She said 'yes!' accordingly''

As a recent phenomenon, the suffix /-mm/ is being used in positions where it plays neither of the aforementioned roles. Compare the examples below:

(5) በሰራ ምክንያት ወደ ሌላ ከተማም ተዛወረ።

/bä-sira mikniyat wädä lela kätäma-imm tä-zawwär-ä/

P-work reason to another town-FOC PASS-transfer.PFV-3MS

'Because of work, he was transferred to another town.'

የተወሰደው እርምጃ ብዙ ሰውም አበሳጩ።

/yä-tä-wässäd-äw irmidzä bizu säw-imm a-bbäsaf'f'-ä/

REL-PASS-take.PFV-3MS action many people-FOC make CAUS-angry.PFV-3MS

'The action taken made many people angry.'

Under normal circumstances, in the first sentence, a prior context is needed as to why the enclitic appears with ከተማ /kätäma/ 'town' reflecting the transfer of the man to another town. In the same way, the appearance of the enclitic with ሰው /säw/ 'person' in the second sentence obligatory needs a prior context. Otherwise, the occurrence of the two sentences as በሰራ ምክንያት ወደ ሌላ ከተማ ተዛወረ። /bä-sira mikniyat wädä lela kätäma tä-zawwär-ä/ 'Because of work, he was transferred to another town.' and የተወሰደው እርምጃ ብዙ ሰው አበሳጩ። /yä-tä-wässäd-äw irmidzä bizu säw a-bbäsaf'f'-ä/ 'The action taken made many people angry.' without the enclitic is more grammatical in the language.

/indä/

In Amharic, the particle እንደ /indä/ functions as a subordinator (see Baye, 2000 and Leslau, 2000) as in ካሳ እንደ መጣ ሰምቻለሁ። /Kasa indä mä't-a säm-iff'-all-ähu/ 'I heard that Kasa came.' and as an adposition introducing simile as in ካሳ እንደ አባቱ ረጅም ነው። /Kasa indä abbat-u rädzjimm n-äw/ 'Kasa is tall like his father'. Its appearance in the following contexts conjoining two nouns marking focus is however a new development.

(6) መንግስት እንደ መንግስት እርምጃ ይወስዳል።

/mängist indä mängist irmidzä yi-wosd-all/

state as state action 3MS-take.IPFV-AUX

lit. 'State, as a state, will take action.'

ሕዝብ እንደ ሕዝብ ተሳትፎ ማድረግ አለበት።

/hizb indä hizb täsatfo mä-adräg all-äbb-ät/

people as people participation INF-do AUX-OBL-3MS

lit. 'People, as people, should do the participation.'

አገር እንደ አገር መቆጠል አለበት።

/agär indä agär mä-k'ät't'äl all-äbb-ät/

nation as nation INF-continue AUX-OBL-3MS

lit. 'Nation, as a nation, should continue.'

Such constructions, which are now spreading into the ordinary people, were taken to be the language of politicians at various levels. Another change with እንደ /indä/ is recorded as simile marker with manner nominals such as the following:

- (7) እንደ አካሄድ as a procedure
/indä akkahed/
እንደ ዜጋ as a citizen
/indä zega/
እንደ አመራር as a leader(ship)
/indä ammärar/

The manner nominal አመራር /ammärar/ 'manner of leading/leadership', for instance, is being used in wider contexts replacing the agentive noun መሪ /märi/ 'leader' as in አንድ አመራር ጎድሏል፡፡ /and ammärar godl-o-all/ 'One leader is missing.' as a singular noun, አመራሮች በሙሉ ገብተዋል፡፡ /ammärar-otfj' bā-mulu gäbt-äw-all/ 'All leaders entered.' as a plural noun and አመራሩ በሙሉ ተሳሰረ፡፡ /ammärar-u bā-mulu tänäss-a/ 'All the leaders were removed.' as a collective noun.

In the following new expressions, the conjunction እንደ /indä/ appears with ጉድ /gud/ lit. 'like hell/ surprising' expressing informal emphasis and exaggeration.

- (8) እንደ ጉድ ተሰራ lit. 'It was done like hell.'

/indä gud tä-särr-a/
like hell PASS-work.PFV-3MS

እንደ ጉድ ተበላ lit. 'It was eaten like hell.'
/indä gud tä-bäll-a/
like hell PASS-eat.PFV-3MS

እንደ ጉድ ተሳቀ lit. 'It was laughed like hell.'
/indä gud tä-sak'-ä/
like hell PASS-laugh.PFV-3MS

እንደ ጉድ ተተኛ lit. 'It was slept like hell.'
/indä gud tä-täññ-a/
like hell PASS-sleep.PFV-3MS

Note that the expression እንደ ጉድ /indä gud/ 'like hell/surprising' exaggerates an action expressed by verbs that are all passive. Another new grammatical phenomenon with such expressions is the passivization of intransitive verbs as in ተሳቀ /tä-sak'-ä/ 'be laughed' and ተተኛ /tä-täññ-a/ 'be slept' as shown above. It is mostly accompanied by joke and laughter and hence quite often used by comedians.

Omissions of adpositions

Amharic is a prepositional, postpositional and circumpositional language (Leslau, 2000; Girma 2017). It is however predominantly a prepositional language. Some of the adpositions, such as *kä*, *bä*- and *indä*-, can appear as complementizers in subordinate clauses. In prepositional phrases, these and all other adpositions render significant semantic roles such as location, direction 'to' or 'from', duration, resemblance, reason, comparison, benefactive, malefactive and a number of other semantic functions. Leslau (2000) mentions the optionality of prepositions as in ልጆቹ (እ)ትምህርት ቤት ናቸው። /lidzotʃif-u (i)timihirt-bet n-afʃjāw/ 'The students are in class.' ጉዳዩ የሆነው (በ)ሌሊት ነው። /gudday-u ya-hon-ä-w (bä)-lelit näw/ 'The thing happened at

night.' More omissions are exhibited in present-day Amharic as shown in (9) below recorded from printed and broadcast media:

(9) ደህነት በአለም ላይ ተስፋፋ። > ደህነት አለም ላይ ተስፋፋ።
 /dihinnät bā-alām lay täsfaff-a/ /dihinnät alām lay täsfaff-a/
 poverty all over-world spread out.PFV-3MS poverty all over-world spread out.PFV-3MS
 'Poverty spread out all over the world.'

እነሱ ከአንድ አመት በላይ ታሰሩ። > እነሱ አንድ አመት በላይ ታሰሩ።
 /innässu kâ-and amät bälay tassär-u/ /innässu and amät bälay tassär-u/
 they for-one year over in-prison stay.PFV-3PL they one year over in-prison stay.PFV-3PL
 'They stayed in prison for more than a year.'

The driving force for such omissions could be simplification or morphological economization as mentioned in Dimmendaal (2000). It could also be the influence of speakers of postpositional Cushitic and Omotic languages.

Tense/aspect

Amharic is a tense/aspect language. Tense is manifested as non-past and past and aspect as perfective and imperfective (Baye, 2006; Taddese, 1972). Though tense/aspect should be strictly followed in the language, it has become a common place to use conflicting tenses in both written and spoken Amharic as shown below.

(10) ትናንትና ማክሰኞ ነው።
 /tinantina maksäŋŋo nä-w/
 *'Yesterday is Tuesday.'
 አምና የነበረው ድርቅ ከዘንድሮው የበለጠ ነው።
 /amna yä-näbbär-ä-w dirk' kä-zändiro-w yä-bällät'-ä n-äw/
 *'The draught which occurred last year is more serious than this year.'

The be-verb ነው 'is' does not agree with the temporal adverb ትናንትና 'yesterday'. It is rather the past be-verb ነበር /näbbär/ 'was' that agrees with the adverb as in ትናንትና ማክሰኞ ነበር /tinantina maksäŋŋo näbbär/ 'Yesterday was Tuesday.' In the second case, since አምና 'last year' requires a verb in the past, the acceptable construction could only be አምና የነበረው ድርቅ ከዘንድሮው የበለጠ ነበር /amna yä-näbbär-ä-w dirk' kä-

zändiro-w yä-bällät'-ä näbbär/ 'The draught which occurred last year was more serious than this year.'

The following data shows conflicting tenses between the adverb ድሮ /diro/ 'formerly' and የለም /yä-ll-ä-mm/ 'does not exist'/ not present' and yet taken as grammatically correct.

- (11) ድሮ ጉቦ የለም።
 /diro gubbo yä-ll-ä-mm/
 formerly bribe NEG.3MS-is-3MS-NEG
 'Formerly, there is no bribe.'

In grammatically well-formed Amharic, the above sentence should appear in either of the following two ways:

- (12) ድሮ ጉቦ አልነበረም።
 /diro gubbo al-näbbär-ä-mm/
 formerly bribe NEG-was-3MS-NEG
 lit. 'Formerly, there was no bribe.'

ድሮ ጉቦ የለም ነበር።
 diro gubbo yä-ll-ä-mm näbbär
 formerly bribe NEG.3MS-is-3MS-NEG was
 lit. 'It was the case there was no bribe formerly.'

Hence, ድሮ /diro/ assumes either አልነበረም /al-näbbär-ä-mm/ or የለም ነበር /yä-ll-ä-mm näbbär/ which combines የለም /yä-ll-ä-mm/ 'does not exist'/ not present/ and the AUX ነበር /näbbär/ making the expression remote past.

4. Change in words and expressions

Words are perhaps the most frequently observed aspects in language change. Aitchison (1985) mentions two basic types of lexical change: lexical decay or loss and lexical augmentation or development. In Amharic, both types of lexical change occur though augmentation or

development is more frequent than decay or loss.⁹ Both types of change are clearly seen when the political landscapes between regimes in the past and present are compared. There are some words that are fading away from the everyday speech of Amharic native speakers and several others expanding their meanings in a number of ways.

As stated in Thomason (2003), language change can be well described when the contributing linguistic, social and political factors are seriously considered and analyzed. Between 1974 up to 1991, the political discourse of Ethiopia was socialist-oriented and the more entrenched words and expressions in the language include ኢትዮጵያ ትቅደም /itiyop'iya tik'däm/ 'Ethiopia-First', አብዮት /abiyot/ 'revolution', አቆርቋኝ /ak'ork'wəɔ/ or አድሐሪ /adhari/ 'reactionary', ተራማጅ /tärämäɟ/, 'progressive', ኅብረተሰባዊነት /hibrätäsäbawinät/ 'socialism', ቅይጥ ኢኮኖሚ /kiyyit' ikonomi/ 'mixed economy', ተገንጣይ /tägänt'ay/ 'secessionist', and so on (for details on lexical innovation during the military regime, see Abraham 1991). After 1991, the discourse changes into ሕገ-መንግስት /higgä mängist/ 'constitution', ፌዴሬሽን /fedärefin/ 'federation', ትምክህት /timkihät/ 'chauvinism', ጠባብ /t'äbab/ 'narrow minded', ብሔር /biher/ 'nation', ብሔረሰብ /biheräsäb/ 'nationality'/'ethnic group', ክልል /kilil/ 'region' and ክልላዊ መንግስት /kililawi mängist/ 'regional state', and so on. A number of lexicon such as አምባገብ /ambaገa/ 'bread', አባይ /abboy/ (vocative for elderly) and ጋንታ /ganta/ 'team' and ጠረጎራ /t'ärännäf-/ 'imprison' are words introduced into Amharic via Tigrinya after EPRDF¹⁰ came to power in 1991. From the new verb ጠረጎራ /t'ärännäf-/ 'imprison', the possible derivations such as the active agentive ጠርናፊ /t'ärnafi/ 'imprisoner' and the passive agentive ተጠርናፊ /tät'ärnafi/ 'imprisoned' were widely used. Through time, the use of such words is deteriorating and Amharic words are taking over once again.

9 Words and concepts are disappearing more frequently in the dialects of Amharic as a result of dialect convergence caused by the influence of the Addis Ababa variety of Amharic and change of culture and way of life of its speakers (see Zelealem *fc.*).

10 Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front

During the former socialist-oriented regime, ሂስ /his/ 'criticism' and ግለ-ሂስ /gilä his/ 'self-criticism' were critical in the political discourse and party discussions. This time, the verb ገመገመ /gämäggäm-/ 'evaluate', ግምገማ /gimgäma/ 'evaluation', አገማገም /aggämagäm/ 'manner of evaluation', መገምገሚያ /maggämagämiya/ 'instrument of evaluation', ገምጋሚ /gämgami/ 'evaluator', አገማጋሚ /aggämagami/ 'who made others evaluate each other' and አስገምጋሚ /asgämgami/ 'who causes evaluation of others' and ተገምጋሚ /tägämgami/ 'evaluated' are frequently used, especially, among party members. The term አንድ ለአምስት /and lä'amist/ 'one-to-five' has been in the forefront of the current discourse. Its perception varies from 'tool for change' up to a 'mechanism of controlling people from any counter-activity against the government'. As mentioned in Austin (1962) and Schröter (2014), it is usually the case that it is not words themselves but the uses of words that matter a great deal.

አሳለጠ /as-salät-/ 'highlight/put in order', ተሳለጠ 'be highlighted/put in order', ተሳላጭ /tä-salat/ 'one who is highlighted/put in order' and አሳላጭ /as-salat/ 'one who causes the highlighting/putting in order' are all new words in the Amharic vocabulary from the Ge'ez word ስሉጥ /sillut/ 'absolute/final/complete' most likely introduced in connection to the construction of complex roads in Addis some fifteen years ago. Nowadays, the constructions ነገር ማሳለጥ /nägar massalät/ 'to complete an idea', ድርጊት ማሳለጥ /dirgit massalät/ 'to complete an action' are also widely used. ተጣረሰ /tä'tarräs-/ 'contradict' as in እርስበርሳቸው የሚጣረሱ ሃሳቦች /irs bärs-at[ʃ]äw yä-mm-i-t't'arräs-u hassab-ot[ʃ]/ 'ideas contradicting each other', again a Ge'ez word, is replacing the Amharic word ተቃረነ /tä-k'arrän-ä/ 'contradicted' without meaning difference. The intransitive verb ከበደ /käbbäd-/ 'be weighty/difficult' has now new transitive verb forms አካበደ /akäbbäd-/ lit. 'make things unnecessarily weighty/difficult' and አታካብድ /a-tta-kkabd/ lit. 'do not make things unnecessarily weighty/difficult!'.¹¹ The verb ነካ /näkk-/ 'touch!' has now extended its

11 The two new words seems to be synonymous with the existing words አካበደ /akäbbäd-/ 'made it weighty/difficult' and አታካብድ /attakbid/) 'don't make it weighty/difficult!', respectively.

meaning as in ነኩላ /näkk-a-w/ which could mean 'dance well' or do something rapidly like walking fast/driving fast'.

The introduction of new derived nominals from the existing words and affixes affects the lexical stock of Amharic and hence treated here as lexical change. The addition of new derivatives by applying the existing pattern is one of the word formation processes and one of the mechanisms of lexical development (Bauer, 2003). This phenomenon is also known as analogical change (Andersen, 1988; Dressler, 2003). As illustrated in (13), with the new political order since 1991, many abstract nominals entered into Amharic by applying the derivational rule N/ADJ + -(i)nnät.

- (13) ዋና > ዋናነት
 wanna wanna-nätt lit. 'mainness'
 main main-ABS
- አግባብ > አግባብነት lit. 'properness'
 agbab agbab-inätt
 proper proper-ABS
- ተደራሽ > ተደራሽነት lit. 'reachableness'
 tädärraʃtädärraʃ-inätt
 reachable reachable-ABS

All the political discourse is full of the words mentioned above. In the same way, /-nnät/ as in ትምክህተኝነት /timkihät-äḥḥa-nnät/ lit. 'chauvinistness', ሽብርተኝነት /ʃibbir-täḥḥa-nnät/ lit. 'terroristness', ጨለምተኝነት /tʃälläm-täḥḥa-nnät/ lit. 'dark-mindedness', ሁከተኝነት /hukät-äḥḥa-nnät/ lit. 'rioterness', ሙሰኝነት /muss-äḥḥa-nnät/ lit. 'corruptedness', ብዝሃነት /biz-iha-nnät/ lit. 'diverseness' are among the fashionable words of the day more favored by politicians. The new construction አብሮነት /abro-nnät/, derived from the converb form አብሮ /abro/, refers to 'togetherness' and 'federalism'. The guiding principles that are expected to be followed by the civil servant and hence posted in every office door are ግልጽነት /gils'-innät/ 'transparency', ተነሳሽነት /tänas-af-innät/ 'motivation' and ተጠያቂነት /tä-täyyak'-i-nnät/ 'accountability'. These and other examples in the

paper prove that derivation, as an open lexical development mechanism, can be applied to introduce more words in a language.

Amharic process nominals are derived from verbs through internal modification and by suffixing /-a/ as in ሰበረ /säbbär-/ vs. ሰበራ /säbär-a/ and ፈለጠ /fällät'-/ vs. ፈለግ /fälät'-a/. Through this existing pattern, new words such as the following are derived:

- (14) ከፈለ /käffäl-/ 'pay' > ከፈለ /käfäl-a/ 'process of payment'
 ነገረ /näggär-/ 'tell' > ነገራ /nägär-a/ 'process of viva'
 ቀጠረ /k'ät't'är-/ 'employ' > ቀጠራ /k'ät't'är-a/ 'process of employment'
 ቀበረ /k'äbbär-/ 'bury' > ቀበራ /k'äbär-a/ 'process of burial'

Among the youngest but flourishing words in the last one or two decades is the Ge'ez word ህዳሴ /hiddase/ 'renaissance' which is politically motivated to mark the transition from the military regime to 'democracy'. It is one of the most visible words that have changed the linguistic landscape of Addis Ababa and other places in the country where billboards are full of the following compound names:

- (15) ህዳሴ ግድብ /hiddase giddib/ 'renaissance dam'
 ህዳሴ አደባባይ /hiddase addäbabay/ 'renaissance square'
 ህዳሴ ሞባይል /hiddase mobayil/ 'renaissance mobile'
 ህዳሴ ሆቴል /hiddase hotel/ 'renaissance hotel'
 ህዳሴ ድልድይ /hiddase dildiyy/ 'renaissance bridge'
 ህዳሴ ጉዞ /hiddase guzo/ 'renaissance journey'

One female personal name was recorded after ህዳሴ /hiddase/ 'renaissance'. The media uses the expressions ተሃድሶ /tähaddiso/ 'reform', and since recently, ጥልቅ ተሃድሶ /t'ilk' tähaddiso/ 'deep reform' referring to reforms resulting from minor and major political crisis, respectively. It is also used to describe a religious reform which deviates from the dogma.

The emergence of new words in both spoken and written Amharic from the existing pattern is evident in many ways. The new word ተሞክሮ /tä-mokkir-o/ 'experience' is derived from the verb ሞክረ /mökkär-/. It was the word ለምድ /limd/ from the verb ለመደ /lämmäd-/ that served the meaning of 'experience'. አቅርቦት /ak'rib-ot/ from አቀረበ

/ak'ärräb-/, ተግባቦት /tägbab-ot/ from ተግባባ /tägbabb-/ and ተዝናኖት /täznan-ot/ from ተዝናና /täznann-/ are new nominals derived in a similar way by suffixing the derivational morpheme /-ot/. ተግዳሮት /tägdar-ot/ is another new derived nominal from the little-known verb ተገደረ /tägäddär-/ 'to challenge someone in a hoaxing manner'.¹² From the verb ሰነደ /sännäd-/ 'document', the new process nominal ሰነዳ /sinnäd-a/ 'documentation', the passive ተሰነደ /tä-sännäd-/ 'be documented', the agentive ሰናጅ /sännädz/ 'documenter' and the passive agentive ተሰናጅ /tä-sännädz/ 'be documented' are derived in the usual pattern. The verb ዘመነ /zämmän-/ 'be modern' is among the prominent Amharic words. The transitive verb አዘመነ /a-zämmän-/ 'make modern' is derived by prefixing the transtivizer /a-/. The infinitival nominal ማዘመን /m-azämmän/ 'to modernize' and the agentive nominal ዘመነኛ /zämmän-äገገa/ lit. 'time-favored' are also new derivatives. From the verb ጠቀመ /t'äk'k'äm-/ 'be useful/valuable', the noun ጥቅም /t'ik'im/ 'use/value' is derived. Nowadays, there is an additional derived noun ጠቀሜታ /t'äk'äm-eta/ with almost the same meaning. From the passive transitive verb ተጋለጠ /tägallät-/ 'be exposed' (active from is ኢጋለጠ /aggallät'-/), a new passive agentive noun ተጋላጭ /tä-galatf/ 'exposed', the nominal ተጋልጦ /tä-galt'-o/ 'exposure' and the abstract noun ተጋላጭነት /tä-galatf'-innät/ 'exposedness' are formed. The new causative instrumental nominal ማስጨበጫ /m-as-tf'äbbätf'-a/ 'something that causes to hold' is derived from ጨበጠ /tj'äbbät'-/ 'hold' as in the expression የግንዛቤ ማስጨበጫ /yä-ginizzabe m-as-tf'äbbätf'-a/ 'of awareness creation'. From the verb አካተተ /akkattät-/ 'include', a new nominal አካቶ /akkatt-o/ 'inclusion' is derived. The new derived nominal ጅማሮ /džimmar-o/ 'beginning' from the verb /džämmär-/ is replacing ጅማራ /džimmar-e/ with the same meaning. From the verb አየ /ayy-/ 'see', a new manner nominal አተያይ /attäyay/ 'manner of seeing/perspective' is derived and being used.

12 The verb form ተገደረ /tägäddär-/ is widely used in the Gojjam dialect of Amharic as in *arä attigädäräገገn ayya* 'Oh please! you better not challenge/hoax me.' and *indä zare tägäddär-äh-äw attawk'-imm* 'You have never challenged/hoaxed him like today.'

The other derivation which has become very productive since the last two or so decades is the vocative adjective as shown in examples (16) below:

- (16) አይረሴ /ay-irräss-e/ 'unforgettable'
 አይደረፊ /ay-iddäffär-e/ 'unattemptable'
 አይፈለግ /ay-iffälläg-e/ 'unwanted'
 አይነኩ /ay-innäkk-e/ 'untouchable'
 አይቆጠሬ /ay-ik'k'ot't'är-e/ 'uncountable'

New derivations from existing rules are observed commonly. The following words apply for political foes and are derived by applying the derivational rule that derives adjectives from nouns by suffixing *-ገገገ*:

- (17) ትምክህተኛ /timkihīt-äገገገ/ 'chauvinist'
 ሽብርተኛ /šibbirt-äገገገ/ 'terrorist'
 ጨለምተኛ /tʃellämt-äገገገ/ 'dark minded'
 ሁከተኛ /hukät-äገገገ/ 'riot creator'
 ሙሰኛ /muss-äገገገ/ 'corrupt'
 ጎጠኛ /got'-äገገገ/ 'tribalist'

ወገን /woggän-/ 'take side' is a word introduced after EPRDF to identify friends. *ወገንተኛ* /woggänt-äገገገ/ 'unfair side taker' is a new derived adjective. Formerly, the adjective *ትምክህተኛ* /timkihīt-äገገገ/ 'chauvinist' referred to male domination on women. These days, members of the ruling party controversially refer to a certain ethnic group. Similarly, *ጠባብ* /t'äbbab/ which originally means 'narrow' has extended its meaning and now also refers to a 'narrow nationalist/ethnocentric' attitude. During the Derg time, *ጻድ* /gʷad/ 'comrade' was widely used among people of the same political affiliation. That same word is no more used among such people at present. Since 1991, the Tigrinya word (also title) *ተጋዳላይ* /täጋdalay/ refers to a person who was originally a TPLF¹³ soldier in the fields. It is now fading away following the integration of the national military force. Until it was completely replaced by the words *ሙሰኛ* /mussinna/

13 Tigray Peoples Liberation Front.

‘corruption’, ሙሰኛ /muss-äñña/ ‘corrupt person’ and ጸረ ሙሰኛ /s'ärä mussinna/ ‘anti-corruption’; ጉቦ /gubbo/ ‘bribe’, ጉቦኛ /gubbo-ñña/ ‘briber’, ጉቦ ሰጪ /gubbo säñ-i/ ‘bribe giver’ and ጉቦ ተቀባይ /gubbo täk'äbbay/ ‘bribe taker’ were exclusively used. The replacement of ‘bribe’ by ‘corruption’ and a number of other expressions such as ኪራይ ሰብሳቢ /kiray säbsab-i/ ‘rent seeker’ implies the seriousness and deep-rooted magnitude of such economic, social and political impediment in the country.

Language changes following technological innovations and the needs of speakers that also change accordingly. Berger (2012) has examined the effects of mobile and internet technology on the youth and adults of developing nations and has found out that, in South Africa, nearly 86% of parents do not understand what their children say via cell phones and social media. Ethiopian languages are not exceptional in this respect. The loanwords ሞባይል /mobayil/ ‘mobile’ as in ሞባይል ተሰረቀ። /mobayile täsäräk'ä/ ‘my mobile phone has been stolen.’, ሚስድ ኮል /misd kol/ ‘missed call’ as in ሚስድ ኮል አገኘሁ። /misd kol agäññähu/ ‘I received a missed call.’, ፔጅ /pedz/ ‘page’ as in ፔጅ አድርገልኝ! /pedz argillññ/ ‘please, page me!’, ቻርጅ /tʃardz/ ‘charge’ as in ቻርጅ የለውም /tʃardz yälläwimm/ lit. ‘It does not have charge.’¹⁴, ቻርጅር /tʃardzer/ ‘charger’ as in የኔ ቻርጅር ፊክ ነው። /yäne tʃardzer fek näw/ ‘My charger is a fake one.’, ዌብሳይት /websayt/ ‘website’ as in የራሴን ዌብሳይት ከፍቻለሁ። /yärasen websayt käfitʃfallähu/ ‘I opened my own website.’ ጉግል /gulil/ as in ጉግል አድርጎ ማግኘት ይቻላል። /gulil adirgo magnät yitʃfalall/ ‘It is possible to google and find out.’ etc. have become nearly Amharic words and expressions used by cell phone and internet users including non-literate monolinguals. Compare also the following loan translated examples from English.

- (18) ሙጫን ‘upload’
/mäʃ'an/
ማውረድ ‘download’
/mawräd/

14 This is to mean ‘The battery ran out’.

ድረ-ገጽ 'website'¹⁵
/dirä-gäs'/

በይነ-መረብ 'internet'
/bäynä-märäb/

የመረጃ መረብ 'information network'
/yä-märrädጌa märäb/

The expressions such as ዛሬ ኔትዎርክ አይሰራም። /zare network aysärram/ 'Network is not functioning today.', ብዙ የፌስቡክ ተከታዮች አፍርቷል። /bizu yäfes buk täkättayotʃʃ afrit^wall/ 'He has so many Facebook followers.' and በኢንተርኔት ብዙ ሃሰተኛ ወሬዎች ይለቀቃሉ። /bä-internet bizu hassätäገገa worewotʃʃ yilläk'k'äk'allu/ 'Plenty of false news are released through the internet.' have become part and parcel of the daily Amharic discourse after the wider use of the internet and cell phone in urban centers and to some extent in rural areas.

Loan translation has been applied in wider contexts in Amharic. Almost all loan-translated words and expressions in Amharic are from English through bilinguals in the two languages. The compound noun ሰበር ዜና /säbbär zena/ 'breaking news' and the imperative construction ወንበር ውሰድ! /wonbär wusäd/ 'take a seat!' are loan translations from English.¹⁶ The expressions የአንበሳውን ድርሻ /y-anbässa-w-in dirʃa/ 'the lion's share', ጊዜ ወሰደ /gize wässäd-ä/ 'took time' are obviously taken from the English discourse. More examples are given below:

- (19) ግማሽ ወንድም /gimmaʃ wondimm/ 'half-brother'
 እንሄድበታለን /in-hed-ibbät-all-än/ 'We will go through it.'
 የአዞ እንባ /y-azzo inba/ 'crocodile tears'
 መሰላሉን መውጣት /mäsälal-u-n mä-wt'at/ 'climbing up the ladder'
 ተንቀሳቃሽ ስልክ /tänk'äsak'aʃ silk/ 'mobile phone'
 ከፈረሱ አፍ /kä-färäs-u af/ 'form the horse's mouth'
 አየር ላይ ዋለ። /ayyär lay wal-ä/ 'It is aired.'

15 ድረ-ገጽ /dirä gäs'/ 'website' is mispronounced as ድክረ-ገጽ /dihrä gäs'/ lit. 'post-page/site' for 'website'.

16 To an ordinary speaker of Amharic, ወንበር ውሰድ! /wonbär wusäd/ means 'take a chair away.'

አንሰኝ	/ans-a-ɲɲ/	‘pick me up’
ጣለኝ	/t'al-ä-ɲɲ/	‘drop me’

The following sentential examples show more loan translated expressions used in daily Amharic (broadcast media, newspaper and spoken Amharic).

- (20) ወደ መሬት አወረድነው
 wädä märet awärräd-n-äw
 to-ground brought it down-1PL-3MS
 'We brought it down on the ground.'

መሬት ላይ ያለው ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ያ አይደለም።
 märet lay y-all-äw tätf'äbbatf' huneta that is not
 ground on SUB-present-3MS objective situation
 'That is not the objective reality on the ground.'

The noun phrase መልካም አስተዳደር /mälkam astädadär/ is loan translated from the English 'good governance', which the people of Ethiopia very much need. There is what they call የጋዜጠኞች ክብ ጠረጴዛ /yä-gazet'-äɲɲ-otʃʃ kibb t'äräp'eza/ 'journalists' round table' exactly from the English round table discussion. The source of the expression አጭሩን ታሪክ ለማሳጠር ያህል /atʃʃ'ir-u-n tarik lä-masat't'är yahil/ is certainly the English equivalent 'to make the long story short'. It is common these days to hear people saying ይህን ካልሁ በኋላ /yihin k-al-hu bä-h^wala/ from the English 'having said this'. የሃሳብ መንሸራሸር /yä-hassab mänʃerafär/ 'the interplay of idea', የአውቀት ሽግግር /yä-iwk'ät ʃigigir/ 'the transfer of knowledge', የትውልድ ቅብብሎሽ /yä-tiwliidd k'ibibbilof/ 'rally of generation' and መሬት የነካ ሃሳብ /märet yänäkka hassab/ 'an idea which touches the ground' are all new expressions. From the existing word ውስጥ /wust/ 'in', the new expressions ውስጤ ተነካ /wust'-e tä-näkk-a/ lit. 'My inner part of the body has been touched.' ውስጤ አዘነ /wust'e azzänä/ 'My inner part of the body has been saddened.' are introduced to express deep sorrow.

The influence of English on Amharic includes modified borrowings. Though there are opponents of such unnecessary

reliance on English, the use of such words is on the rise especially among the educated. Compare the examples in (21):

- (21) ደለተ/dällät-ä/ from 'delete'
 ተየበ /täyyäb-ä/ from 'type'
 በጅተ/bädʒdʒät-ä/ from 'budget'
 አደተ/addät-ä/ from 'edit'
 ፖስተ /possät-/ from 'post'

In Amharic, the imperative in the 2nd person operates through internal modification and suffixation. The following new pattern shows a jussive-imperative form for the 2nd person. The most frequently used verbs in this instance are the following two:

- (22) ይመች-ህ yi-mmätʃ-ih 'Let it comfort you (2MS).'
 ይመች-ሽ yi-mmätʃ-ij 'Let it comfort you (2FS).'
 ይመች-ችሁ yi-mmätʃ-atʃʃihü 'Let it comfort you (2PL).'
 ይጣፍጥ-ህ yi-t'af't-ih 'Let it be tasty to you (2MS).'
 ይጣፍጥ-ሽ yi-t'af't-ij 'Let it be tasty to you (2FS).'
 ይጣፍጥ-ችሁ yi-t'af't-atʃʃihü 'Let it be tasty to you (2PL).'

The verb stem for the first form is *tä-mätʃtʃ* 'comfort' and for the second *t'afät* 'be tasty'. It is also interesting that such forms are not productive but limited only to few verbs including ይቅናህ /yi-k'n-ah/, ይባርክህ /yi-bark-ih/, ይርዳህ /yi-rd-a-h/ and perhaps a few more. The reason for such new jussive-imperative forms is yet to be determined.

One of the verbs which comes with plenty of new derivations is ተገብረ /täggäbär-/ 'put into practice' which has had an old result nominal ተገባር /tägbar/ 'practice' and the new process nominal ትገባራ /tigbära/, manner nominal አተገባር /attägäbabär/ 'way of practice' and agent nominal ተገባሪ /tägbari/ 'practitioner'. From the verb አቀረበ /ak'ärräb-/ 'to supply', the noun አቅርቦት /ak'rib-ot/ 'supply' is derived. The Geez-based compound word ስነ ተግባራት /sinä tägbabot/ for 'communication' is new. The word እጥረት, which is known to have the meaning 'shortage', has added the meaning 'limitation/shortcoming' as a recent development. There has been a compound word ደካማ ጎን lit. 'weak side' to express the same meaning. Under normal

circumstances, the verb አስተናገድ /astänaggäd-/ means 'to welcome guests'. These days, it is used in the context of disastrous phenomenon as in አካባቢው ተኩስ ሲያስተናግድ ነበር ያደረገው /akkababi-w täkus si-y-astänaggäd näbbär y-addärä-w/ lit. 'The area was welcoming shootings through the night.' and ኢንዱስትሪያ በሬክተር ስኬል 7.6 የተመዘገበ የመሬት መንቀጥቀጥ አስተናገድኛ /indoneziya bä-rektär skel 7.6 yä-tä-mäzäggäb-ä yä-märet mänk'ät'kät' astänaggäd-äṽfj/ lit. 'Indonesia welcomed earth quake in a rector scale 7.6 magnitude.'. The lexical semantic change is also exhibited in the word አግባብ /agbab/ which refers to 'a proper way of doing something' but these days used in the context of contradictory situations as in ሶስት ሰዎች የሞቱበት አግባብ ነው ያለው /sost säwotfj yomotubbät agbab näw yalläw/ lit. 'There exists a proper way that three persons died.'.

Like simple words, there are quite a large number of compound words newly constructed from existing words. Compounding, as one of the lexical development processes, is hence widely applied. As illustrated below, Amharic names of the military force (including air force and police) have changed considerably since 1991. Primarily, the word ጦር /t'or/, which originally means 'spear' and from which other words such as ጦረኛ /t'or-äṽṽa/ 'warrior/war monger' and ጦርነት /t'or-innät/ 'war' are derived, was intentionally avoided to send the message that the former regime was war-loving but the current peace-loving, and the former regime war-monger and aggressor but the current regime peace-monger and defender. Compare the nomenclatural changes in (23) below for the major military structures:

(23) Former	Current
ጦር ሰራዊት /t'or särawit/ lit. 'spear military'	መከላከያ ሰራዊት /mäkälakäya särawit/ lit. 'defense military'
ምድር ጦር /midir t'or/ lit. 'ground spear'	ምድር ኃይል /midir hayl/ 'ground force'
ክፍለ ጦር /kiflä-t'or/ lit. 'part spear'	ክፍለ ኃይል /kiflä-hayl/ lit. 'part force'

The name አየር ኃይል /ayyär hayl/ 'air force' has survived the change obviously because it does not contain the word ጦር 'spear' in it. The

famous 'Ethiopian Naval Force' known as የኢትዮጵያ ባህር ኃይል /yä-itiiyop'iya bahir hayl/ does not exist anymore. All the naval ranks ranging from the highest Admiral to the non-commissioned officer and the equipment ranging from the naval ship to the anchor are no more in the lexicon of the Amharic vocabulary after Ethiopia became landlocked since 1991. This proves that language changes as the politics and the topography of the nation change. The new compound word ደረቅ ወደብ /däräk' wodäb/ 'dry port' substituted the then natural sea port. Instead of Assab and Massawa (the former Ethiopian ports), people have become more familiar with Djibouti, the country which rents Ethiopia its port.

The title of the police was entirely Amharic-based as ተራ ወታደር /tära wottadär/ 'private', አሰር አለቃ /assir aläk'a/ 'corporal', ሃምሳ አለቃ /hamsa aläk'a/ 'surgeon', ሙቶ አለቃ /mäto aläk'a/ 'lieutenant', የሺ አምባል /yä-ji ambäl/ 'captain', የሺ አለቃ /yäji aläk'a/ 'major', and so on. These titles are no more functional in the police system since 1991. They are renamed following the British-origin titles, namely ኮንስታብል /constabil/ 'constable', ምክትል ኢንስፔክተር /mikittil inspektär/ 'deputy inspector' ኢንስፔክተር /inspektär/ 'inspector', ኮማንደር /komandär/ 'commander' and ኮሚሽነር /komisjinar/ 'commissioner'. The changes in the rank order of the police play a significant role to let people put out of their mind old memories and internalize the current one instead. It happens on the police perhaps because they are more attention-seeking as they are closer to people in daily activities.

As part of lexical change, there are several instances of broadening of the contexts of a word. At first site, the word ኃይል /hayl/ designates 'force/power'. This word is now being used with polysemous meanings, namely 'gut', 'group', 'potential', 'army' and 'energy' which imply that the social perception of the word seems to be changing too. The examples in (24) illustrate its appearance in contexts with or without implying any physical force.

- (24) የሰለጠነ የሰው ኃይል /yä-sälät't'än-ä yä-säw hayl/ 'trained man power'
 ተጠባባቂ ኃይል /tä-t'äbabak'-i hayl/ 'reserve force'
 ልዩ ኃይል /liyyu hayl/ 'special force'
 ግብረ ኃይል /gibrä hayl/ 'task force'

ተቃዋሚ ኃይል	/tä-k'awam-i hayl/	'opposition force'
ድጋፍ ሰጪ ኃይል	/digaf sätf-'i hayl/	'supporting force'

In former times, the word ልማት 'development' used to appear in limited contexts such as የደን ልማት /yä-dänn limat/ 'forest development', የእርሻ ልማት /yä-'rifa limat/ 'agricultural development' and የወተት ልማት /yä-wotät limat/ 'milk development'. Nowadays, it designates a wider range of references such as የሰው ልማት /yä-säw limat/ 'man power development', የጤና ልማት /yä-t'ena limat/ 'health development', የሶፍትዌር ልማት /yä-softwer limat/ 'software development', የመንገድ ልማት /yä-mängäd limat/ 'road development' and so on. Another word frequently used since 1991 in various contexts is ሰራዊት /särawit/ which originally means 'army'. It now occurs in compounds such as የልማት ሰራዊት /yä-limat särawit/ 'development army', የትምህርት ሰራዊት /yä-timirt särawit/ 'education army', የሳይበር ሰራዊት /yä-saybär särawit/ 'cyber army' and so on in connection to the idea of mobilization.

The lexical change extends up to names of administrative divisions. Such names like አውራጃ /awradʒdʒa/ 'district' and ክፍለ-ሀገር /kiflä hagär/ lit. 'country part/province' which were used before 1991 became obsolete and currently replaced by ዞን /zon/ 'zone' and ክልል /killil/¹⁷ 'region'. The former ከፍተኛ /käfit-äñña/ lit. 'upper/town section' became ክፍለ ከተማ /kiflä kätäma/ 'part of city/town'. The use of the term ቀበሌ /k'äbäle/, which refers to the smallest unit in a city/town, is fading out at least in towns and cities. The recently generated compound words expressing responsibilities in different organizational structures include the examples in (25) below:

- (25) ርዕሰ መስተዳደር /ri'sä mästädadir/ 'head administrator'
የሰራ ሒደት ባለቤት /yä-sira hidät baläbet/ 'work process owner'

17 The introduction of ክልል /killil/, derived from the verb ክለለ /källal-/ which means 'bound/restrict/fence' for regional divisions, has been criticized seriously having considered it as one of the ways of implementing the divide-and-rule system in the country.

- ገዢ ፓርቲ /gäz-i parti/ 'governing/ruling party'¹⁸
- ቅሬታ ሰሚ /k'irreta sämi/ lit. 'discontent hearer'
- እንባ ጠባቂ /inba t'äbbak'i/ lit. 'tear keeper' (Ombudsperson)
- ኢንዱስትሪ መንደር /industri mändär/ 'industry village'

The 2nd ministerial positions known as ምክትል ሚኒስትር /mikittil ministir/ 'deputy minister' became ሚኒስትር ዴኤታ /minister de?eta/ 'minister d'etat' but serve almost the same function. Note that the word ምክትል /mikittil/ 'deputy' is more transparent to the community than the French word d'etat. የኅብረት ሱቅ /yä-hibrät suk'/ lit. 'shop of cooperation' became የሽማግሌ ማኅበር ሱቅ /yä-fämmatf-otfj mahibär suk'/ lit. 'shop of buyers association' for the same purpose. የአውራ ጎዳና ባለስልጣን /yä-'awra godana balä-silt'an/ 'Ethiopian Road Authority' became የመንገድ ባለስልጣን /yä-mängäd-otfj balä-silt'an/ replacing ጎዳና /godana/ by መንገድ /mängäd/ which both mean 'road/avenue' and deleting አውራ /awra/ 'major'. The word ግብረ ገብ /gibra gäb/ was widely used in former times than the present-day ስነ ምግባር /sinä migbar/ both referring to 'discipline/moral'. Compare the following new compound words coming with the new political landscape.

- (26) ተጽዕኖ ፈጣሪ /täs'ino fät'ari/ 'influencer'
- ስራ ፈጣሪ /sira fät'ari/ 'work creator'
- ሁከት ፈጣሪ /hukät fät'ari/ 'chaos creator'
- ሙስናን ተጠያፊ /musinna-n tät'äyyafi/ 'corruption avoider'
- ኢንዱስትሪ መር /industri mär/ 'industry led'
- ኢንዱስትሪ መንደር /industri mändär/ 'industry village'
- ውጤት ተኮር /wut't'et täkkor/ 'result oriented'
- የህዝብ ከንፍ /yä-hizb kinf/ 'people's wing'

The following politically-oriented social organizations refer to the same meaning but in slightly different forms:

- (27) የወጣት ማኅበር > የወጣት ሊግ

18 The then ruling EPRDF party labels any opposition party as ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲ /täk'awami parti/ which means 'opposition party'. The shift in the political order since 2018 has introduced the new labeling ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲ /täfokakari parti/ 'competing party' as an inclusive measure.

/yä-wot't'at lig/ youth association	/yä-wot'tat lig/ youth league
የሴቶች ማኅበር 'women's association'	የሴቶች ሊግ 'women's league'
የሰራተኞች ማኅበር 'labor union'	የሰራተኞች ፌዴሬሽን 'labor federation'

The ግምባታ /ginbata/ 'building' -based compound nouns have become enormous as in:

- (28) አቅም ግንባታ /ak'im ginbata/ 'capacity building'
 ሰራዊት ግንባታ /särawit ginbata/ 'army building'
 ገጽታ ግንባታ /gäs'ita ginbata/ 'image building'

All the above nouns are formed on the bases of the existing derivational process that derives old compound words such as ከንጻ ግንባታ /yä-hins'a ginbata/ lit. 'building building' and አገር ግንባታ /agär ginbata/ 'country building'.

The collapse of words and concepts associated to the former regime or systematic replacement of new words and concepts definitely help to get rid of nostalgia from the people and accelerate immersion into the current political, social and economic order in as fast as possible. We learn from the sociolinguistic literature that what matters in a word is not the phonetically realized utterance but the concept embodied in it. A significant number of people believe that almost all new words and constructions were first used by high government officials and celebrities. Quite a significant number of people feel that the pumping of words and expressions is directly related to members of the ruling party. The fact of the matter is however they have now become the language of the ordinary people in daily activities.

5. Greetings

Ethiopian people in general cherish extended greetings and ask about family members, their health, rainfall, crop, cattle and so on. One of the areas in which Amharic change is observed is in greeting expressions. The language has an extended number of greetings and good wishes when meeting and departing. Greetings and departures are time bound: hours, days, weeks, months, and years. Look at the most conservative Amharic greeting pattern in (29) below:

(29)	Meeting		Departure	
	እንደምን ነህ	any time	ደ(ሀ)ና ሁን!	any time
	indä-min n-äh		dähna h-un	
	like-what be-3MS		well be-3MS	
	'How are you?'		'Be well!'	
	ደ(ሀ)ና ነህ?	any time	ደ(ሀ)ና ሁን!	any time
	dähna n-äh		dähna n-äh	
	well be-3MS		well be-3MS	
	'How well are you?'		'Be well!'	
	ደ(ሀ)ና አደርህ?	morning	ደ(ሀ)ና አደር!	morning
	dähna addär-h		dähna idär	
	well pass night-3MS		well pass night-3MS	
	lit. 'How well are you over night?'		'Pass the night well!'	
	'Good morning!'		'Have a Good night!'	
	ደ(ሀ)ና አረፈድህ?	brunch time	ደ(ሀ)ና አርፍድ!	brunch time
	dähna aräffäd-h		dähna arfid	
	well pass brunch time-3MS		well pass brunch time-3MS	
	lit. 'How well did you pass before noon?'		'Have a well before noon!'	
	'Good brunch time'		'Good brunch time'	
	ደ(ሀ)ና ቀልህ?	noon and afternoon	ደ(ሀ)ና ቀል!	noon and afternoon
	dähna wal-h		dähna wal	
	well pass the day-3MS		well pass the day-3MS	
	'How well did you pass the day?'		'Have a well day?'	
	'How are you all the day.'		'Have a good day!'	
	ደ(ሀ)ና አመሽህ?	early evening	ደ(ሀ)ና አምሽ!	early evening

dähna amäjj-äh	dähna amj
well pass evening-3MS	well pass evening-3MS
'How well did you pass the evening?' 'Pass the evening well!'	

ደህና ሰነበትህ?	for days	ደህና ሰንብት!	for days
dähna sänäbbät-h		dähna sänbit	
well pass days/weeks-3MS		well pass days/weeks-3MS	
'How well did you pass the days/weeks?' 'Pass the days/weeks well!'			

ደህና ከረምህ?	after rainy season	ደህና ከረም!	after rainy season
dähna kärräm-h		dähna kiräm	
well pass the rainy season-3MS		well pass the rainy season-3MS	
'How well did you pass the evening?' 'Pass the rainy season well!'			

ደህናባጀህ?	after dry season	ደህና ባጅ!	after dry season
dähna badጎdጎ-äh		dähna badጎ	
well pass the dry season-3MS		well pass the dry season-3MS	
'How well did you pass the dry season?' 'Pass the dry season well!'			

All greetings during meeting are being reduced to ሰላም /sälam/ 'peace' or ሰላም ነው /sälam näw?/ 'Is it peaceful?'. Similarly, all the above extended expressions of departure are reduced to ሰላም ሁን/ሁኝ/ሁኑ! /sälam hun/huገገ/hun-u/ 'Let peace be with you (2MS/2FS/2PL)!'. There are also the following new loan translated expressions from English used during departure.

(30) እስከ በኋላ /iskä bä-h ^w ala/	'till later'
እስከ ነገ /iskä nägä/	'till tomorrow'
እስከ ሳምንት /iskä sammint/	'till next week'
እስከሚቀጥለው ወር /iskä-mm-i-k'ät't'il-ä-w wär/	'till the coming month'
እስከሚቀጥለው ዓመት /iskä-mm-i-k'ät't'il-ä-w amät/	'till the coming year'
እስከምንገናኝ /iskä-mm-inni-ggänገገ/	'till we meet'

Besides, there is also an overuse of ቻው /tʃaw/ from the Italian *ciao* or the English *bye bye* even by monolingual speakers of Amharic. It has become customary to hear people using the word ረፈደብኝ /räffäd-ä-bb-ijገ/ lit. 'It has become late morning to me.' instead of መሸብኝ /mäjj-ä-bb-ijገ/ lit. 'It has become late evening to me.' Under normal circumstances, the former should be used roughly between 6:00 up

until 9:00 am. whereas the latter in the evening. As a recent development, ጤና ይስጥልኝ /t'ena yi-st'-ill-ijj/ lit. 'Let him give you health.' which was exclusively used when meeting someone is being used in departure too. አረፈ.ደ /aräffäd-/ 'to be late before noon' has now expanded to 'to be late at any time of the day'.

6. Concluding remarks

The change we have witnessed in the current Amharic is so rapid and way beyond what has been illustrated here. In sound change, there is a tendency to produce a few sounds in new articulatory mechanisms. In the attempt to produce Amharic sounds in the English accent, particularly by young high school and university students as well as the diaspora, the Amharic accent is being changed considerably. A number of changes are exhibited in morphology. Language contact plays a role for such new developments in morphology. The language has introduced several words and concepts, most of them from the existing stock, through derivation and compounding. In this case, there is no doubt that Amharic is developing. Though not discussed in this paper, there are a new trend of stuffed subordination which makes Amharic sentences unusually longer. The word order is being transformed from ridged into loose. It looks so far that the change Amharic is going through since the last three decades is relatively rapid. The ever-increasing movement of people, the increasing use of modern technologies as well as the mass media have contributed for the rapid change. The young who are active in technological innovations are the best actors in the change that Amharic is facing today. Language is power and hence the huge number of members of the ruling party has had a significant share for the rapid language change witnessed in Amharic today. From the words and expressions used, people identify those highly involved in politics from those less involved and even uninvolved. Still, the understanding of other linguistic and socio-economic factors contributing to the rapidly changing Amharic remains vital. Actions of individual speakers and institutions to develop the language by

maintaining its natural course is extremely necessary today than ever before.

Aitchison (1985) writes that language change is inevitable and hence not wrong. Meanwhile, rapid changes require rapid description and documentation efforts from the linguistics and sociological perspectives. Concerned speakers of the language advocate therapeutic measures to be taken by speakers themselves and language academies. Unusually rapid language change could be socially undesirable and hence could create inconvenience and objection among its speakers. This happens when different groups pull a previously unified language in different directions, or if one group alters its speech more radically than another and finally leads to difficulty in disrupted communication.

Key to Abbreviations

1PL First person plural	GEN Genitive
1SG First person singular	IPFV Imperfective
2FS Second person feminine singular	LOC Locative
2MS Second person masculine singular	N Noun
2PL Second person plural	NEG Negative
3FS Third person feminine singular	NOM Nominalizer
3MS Third person masculine singular	OBL Obligation
3PL Third person plural	PASS Passive
ABS Abstract	PFV Perfective
ACC Accusative	PL Plural
ADJ Adjective	PST Past
AUX Auxiliary	REL Relative
COM Company (Accompaniment)	RES Respect
DEF Definite	SUB Subordinator

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